North of the Kabinjebes is another of the cities between the 3rd century B.C. and the 4th-5th century A.D. The ancient civilization of Camulon achieved the union between Western and Indian culture within the framework of Buddhism. This practice is specific to this area. As a result of this union, the figurative arts and the architecture of the city were substantially transformed, and therefore it was previously thought together with the Mathura region farther South that for the first time human features were attributed to Buddha, previously rendered anthromorphically.

The peak in the area of Boeing was also recognized during the Kabinjebes and Kambojebes valleys, which seem to form the focus of this area. In the southern part of the city, the same Buddhist architecture is reflected to the West within the framework of the same cities, as well as the union between Western and Indian culture within the framework of Buddhism. It is believed that the practice of this union was more prominent in the area of Boeing and Kambojebes, where the union was more complete and the influence of the city on the architecture of the area was greater. However, the union of the two areas was more prominent in the Southern part of the city, where the architecture was more anthromorphically rendered.

IsIAO

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Introduction

North of the Kabul river, a tributary of the Indus, between the 3rd century B.C. and the 4th-6th century A.D., the ancient civilization of Gandhara achieved the union between Western and Indian culture within the framework of Buddhism, which reached its peak in this area. As a result of this union the figurative arts and the architecture of the area were substantially transformed; and therefore it was precisely here – together with the Mathura region further South – that for the first time human features were attributed to Buddha, previously rendered aniconically.

* The work in the area of Barikot, as well as in the Najigram, Karakar, and Kandak valleys, which forms the basis of this article, is part of ongoing research on ancient Buddhist architecture in its relations with the West within the framework of an interdisciplinary scientific collaboration agreement between the IsIAO (headed by Prof. Pierfrancesco Callieri, director of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, hereafter IAM) and the Department of History of Architecture, Restoration and Conservation of Architectural Heritage of ‘La Sapienza’ University of Rome (headed by Prof. Piero Spagnesi, who holds the chair of History of Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture at the same university) on the history, conservation and restoration of religious, civil and military architecture of the NW Frontier. A number of aspects treated in this article have already been addressed by Spagnesi, forthcoming b. The numbers in brackets in the text and the figure captions refer to the Site List of the Archaeological Map of Swat Valley Project, in progress (hereafter AMSV): see Olivieri & Vidale, this issue. The identification of the sacred areas of Kandarai 1 (Site 303) and Tokardara 2 (Site 301), described herein, is the result of surveys carried out together with L.M. Olivieri and L. Colliva, with the invaluable help of our head worker and restorer Akhtar Manir and Shafiq Ahmad and Ali Khan of the IAM during two field campaigns carried out by the author in 2004 (April 25-May 10) and 2005 (July 27-August 15). I wish to thank Arch. Silvia D’Acchille for the drawing and 3D model in Figs. 2-3. For the letters in Figs. 9 and 10, see Barger & Wright 1941: pl. XI.3 and Berendt 2004: fig. 110. The basic images in Figs. 9, 13, 17 and 23 are the property of the Department of History of Architecture, Restoration and Conservation of Architectural Heritage of ‘La Sapienza’ University of Rome were taken from digital data recorded on 4 June 2004 by the Quickbird satellite and are covered by Copyright © 2005 of DigitalGlobe, Inc. (Longmont CO USA 80501-6700) [DigitalGlobe and the DigitalGlobe logos are registered copyrights (™) DigitalGlobe, Inc. The right to use and/or disseminate these data and/or any product in any way deriving therefrom is reserved. Any unauthorized use and/or dissemination is prohibited].
Also here some consistency was given not only to his sculptural depictions but above all the buildings for his worship. This led to greater borrowing from more Western cultures of reference to reality, a certain sense of solidity and concreteness, the ways of organizing forms and spaces, the capacity to use large sizes and certain specific decorative systems, attributing to the whole other meanings and transforming it in original ways (1).

In the valley of the Swat river (N.W.F.P., Pakistan), a tributary of the Kabul river West of the Upper Indus, the followers of Buddhism and – later – of his Tantric reform with its strong magic overtones, found ideal conditions for their settlements also because of the relative distance of the zone from the stronger lines of communication with the Iranian highlands, Central Asia and China. The importance of Swat had however already emerged under the reign of the Buddhist emperor Aśoka Maurya in 3rd century B.C. (272-237 c.) and had continued throughout the Kushana reign and later until the time following the destruction of Taxila by the White Huns slightly after the middle of the 5th century A.D. It is a known fact – although the chronological details are still being debated – that the valley with the river and the related smaller valleys were crossed by Chinese pilgrims from the 4th to the 8th century A.D., along their religious itinerary towards India; in the 13th century A.D. they were reached by Tibetan pilgrims when the Buddhism itself had almost disappeared and the most important shrines were in ruins as they were still being sanctified in the 8th A.D. by the birth of Padmasambhava, who was virtually a second Buddha (Tucci 1963a, repr. 1978: 17-23). Over this long period of time, in parallel with what was taking place on the Peshawar plain, in Gandhara itself, here – at the foot of the Hindukush – various ideas were being tried out, to give shape to functional artifacts having artistic worship related forms that were normally better known than the architecture, in particular painting and sculpture. In all this the individual constructions were linked together by hierarchies deriving from constructive sequences and various symbols, and by the reflection in these of the transformations undergone by the Buddhism of the time. From all this there derived different ways of laying out the sacred areas to which these constructions belonged vis-à-vis towns and villages, their relative proximity to the large roads running through the valley bottoms and the various mountain passes, the variety of forms of the related monasteries, the fact that the organization of the surrounding territory actually hinged mainly on them (see Schopen 2006). As far as we know, the Buddhist settlements were numerous mainly in the lower Swat area, where the geomorphological characteristics offered a wide range of choice for building various different types of sacred settlements and the variety of possible links with the dwellings. In this area, lying roughly between the Shamelai spur to the North (Stein

(1) For effective syntheses of the state of studies on the art of Gandhara, as well as Bussagli 1984, see, for example, Taddei 1994 and Fussmann 1995, both accompanied by extensive bibliographies.
and Barikot to the South, the river bed widened, almost suddenly, as it still does today, slackening the original torrential flow rate and allowing villages and roads to be built on flat land and fields to spread over the valley and up to the required height (Figs. 1-3). First studied by the A. Foucher in the early 20th century, by A. Stein in 1926-30 and above all by G. Tucci and his team from the mid 20th century on, the valley – as is known – it was the object of thorough excavation and reconnaissance campaigns carried out in particular by the competent Pakistani
Fig. 2 - The area of Barikot and adjacent valleys, seen from NNE. 3-D model of the land. 6: Barikot (Bir-kot-ghwandai), settlement (Site 001c); 6a: Barikot (Bir-kot-ghwandai), top-hill (Site 002b); 7: Tokar-dara 1 (Site 201); 7a: Tokar-dara 1, isolated houses; 8: Tokar-dara 2 (Site 301); 9: Abbasahbeh-china 1 (Site 209); 9a: Abbasahbeh-china 2 (Site 302); 10: Kanderai 1 (Site 303); 10a: Kanderai 1, isolated houses; 11: Amluk-dara (Site 314); 12: Gumbat (Site 139); 13: Nawagai (Site 383); 14: Gumbatuna; 16: Kanjar-kote 1 (Site 116); 17: Abwa 1 (Site 104b); 22: Najigram (Site 203); 23: Shinghardar. (Data image processed by Silvia D'Acchille).

Fig. 3 - The area of Barikot and adjacent valleys, seen from SSW. 3-D model of the land. For the caption, see Fig. 2. (Data image processed by Silvia D'Acchille).
authorities and by the Italian Archaeological Mission (2). Their combined efforts over the past fifty years have led to the discovery of large and significant monuments and have laid solid foundations for future research. Unlike Greek and Roman architecture, the state of studies on Buddhist architecture in Gandhara still does not authorize any comprehensive consideration being made in the historical-architectural field: many known sites are still to be excavated; some, hitherto unknown, have just been discovered; very few have been published. It is thus still impossible to address the large complexes within a clear chronological framework and to examine the characteristics and the relative weight of their various transformations over time. Nevertheless, it has been ascertained that at least the relative sacred areas display definite common features: pattern types of spaces, volumes and figurative characters which can be related back to various relatively well documented cases (3).

At the outset of studies on the art of Gandhara, the architectural fieldwork was limited by Foucher himself to three fundamental building types: the stūpa, the vihāra and the saṃghārāma, which are respectively a funerary monument, a chapel and a monastery (Foucher 1905-51: 47-201). Since then, in any case, this classification has never been modified and all the subsequent discoveries have been related back to it; despite the new research, nothing more suitable has been found to replace the ideas of Foucher since the early 20th century (4). Therefore, again proceeding from these

(2) For extensive accounts of the work of the Italian Archaeological Mission from 1956, see Tucci 1958a; Faccenna 1962; Gullini 1962; Faccenna 1964a; Tucci 1963a, 1977; Faccenna 1980-81; Callieri 1992; Faccenna 1995b; Taddei 1998a; Olivieri 2003a, this issue; see also the ‘Selected Bibliography’ at the end of the present volume.

(3) For the overall historical background to the phenomena affecting the valley from the second half of the 4th century B.C. on and for his first general reconnaissances, the contributions by Stein (1929, 1930) Barger & Wright (1941: 14-37) and Tucci (1958a) are still fundamental. For a complete history of the area, nowadays part of the North-West Frontier of Pakistan on the border with Afghanistan, see Caroe 1958.

(4) After the first overall considerations in Brown 1959: 7-39 – now outdated but still of interest – there is still a lack of up to date and wide ranging syntheses of ancient Buddhist architecture. For a useful start on a different approach to the archaeological one, the contributions of Bussagli 1973 (an art historian) and Benevolo 1988: 17-32 (an architect) are interesting, although too short and isolated. More in general, there is a lack of any unitary historical-critical treatment, which in any case is still perhaps quite difficult (the recent Berendt 2004 is unconvincing; see Fussmann 2004). For general handbooks and basic contributions on particular topics or individual places during this period, all accompanied by extensive bibliographies, see above all: Barthoux 1930-33; Marshall et al. 1939; Marshall & Foucher 1940; Marshall 1951; Rowland 1953; Bussagli 1958: 643-46; Rowland 1958; Tucci 1958c: 36-38; Franz 1959; Benisti 1960; Marshall 1960a, 1960b; Sarkar 1966; Tamburello 1966; Taddei 1970: 47-173; Mitra 1971; Taddei 1972: 33-101; Faccenna 1974a; Pant 1976; Irwin 1979; Dalalpiccola 1980; Dar 1980; Franz 1980; Goswamy 1980; Roth 1980; Higuchi 1984; Kuwayama 1984; Matsumura 1985; Dani 1986; Nishikawa et al. 1986; De Marco 1987; Snodgrass 1988; Erdosy 1990; Fisher 1993: 29-61; Kuwayama 1997a, 1997b: 85-97; Rhie 1999, I: 162-431; Shaw 2000; Fitzsimmons 2001; Ioppolo 2001; Spagnesi 2001; Picard 2003; De Marco 2004a, 2004b; Lo Muzio 2004.
Ideas, a number of certainties emerge certainly precisely in the light of ongoing research, in view of the fact that compared with the early 20th century, far more information is currently available on both the Swat valley and for the whole of Gandhara as such.

Sacred Areas: Stūpa and Vihāra

Even more recent studies have not provided evidence that contradicts the fact that in the Saka-Parthian-Kushana period (1st-3rd/4th century A.D.) the most important sacred areas in the zone may be considered to be of two different types, that is, with a great stūpa or a great vihāra as main building, regardless of the presence or absence of a monastery in the neighbourhood: perhaps different places for different forms of worship (5). Among other things, it is a fact that much of the information on the buildings, many of which have disappeared, come from the bas-reliefs (Figs. 4-6), models and

(5) The topic of the architectural typology of the Buddhist sacred areas is a vast one and remains to be explored; for an introduction, see for example Tucci 1931, 1950: 32, 34-35; for a methodological comparison with existing knowledge in the West, for example, on the typology of the Greek sacred precincts of the classical age (mid 5th century B.C.), see Tiberi 1983-1987.
reliquaries which themselves render on a small scale the features of real buildings and replicate definite architectural types, and not just symbols (6). The sacred area with great stūpa was characterized by a principal building lacking interiors (Figs. 4 and 6, left). Inside its mass there was a tiny inaccessible cable for a reliquary with sacred remains. The entire volume was full, without any empty spaces other than an occasional small area, perhaps a service room, in the base. The function was celebrated on the outside during significant occasions, in the front or around the outside, along a sacred itinerary in a clockwise direction on the two levels of the principal building: around the base on the ground and on the relative summit astride the drum of the false dome. The majority of the Buddhist sacred areas known from the 1st-3rd/4th century A.D. in lower Swat, in particular in the valleys South and Northeast of Bir-kot-ghwandai, belong to this type: large and with large relatively isolated stūpa, or much smaller with small stūpa in the built-up areas. The better known ones include, in the first group, those of Saidu Sharif I (Figs. 1.2, 7), Panr I (Fig. 1.3), Jurjiurai (Fig. 1.4), Loebanr (Fig. 1.5), Shna-Shah (Fig. 1.19), Shankardar (Fig. 1.23); further South, Gumbatuna (Fig. 1.14), in part those of Nimogram (Fig. 1.15), and Abbasaheb-china 1 (Figs. 1.9, 9-12), Tokar-dara 1 (Figs. 1.7, 17-22), (6) On bas-reliefs with stūpa and vihāra, see Faccenna 1986a; De Marco 1987; Faccenna 1995b, I: 502-15, 531, no. 1; 1995d: 3 (nos. 1-15). There are also many reliquaries: for lists of known ones, see Faccenna 1995b, I: 529, 531, no. 1; 1995d: 3-4 (nos. 16-24).
Amluk-dara (Fig. 1.11, 23-24), Nawagai (Fig. 1.13) and Barikot (7). To be included in the second group is the small sacred area near the walls of the ancient city of Bazira, on the outskirts of the present-day village of Barikot: hitherto unique, it is an example of a way of proceeding previously known only in other zones of Gandhara, for instance at Sirkap (Taxila) (Callieri 1992).

Viewed as a whole, a sacred area with a great stūpa or a great vihāra was built on one or more terraces obtained by leveling out natural slopes sometimes involving even massive substruction works. In particular in the 1st-2nd century A.D., the space surrounding the principal building was often characterized by a carefully finished paving exactly defining the extent; in the case of large terraces, the substructions themselves serve as a further limit. At later stages, the size of the limits to the sacred space could change: the various pavings, which did not impede transit, could be replaced by rows of secondary construction – small stūpa and vihāra – to enclose the area around the principal building, sometimes also extending the original size. In particular, the small successive vihāra could be placed so that they abutted each other to form a continuous barrier or else be separate, reciprocally isolated by short gaps – actual interruptions. After all it might be a coincidence that in the same geographic area the same two attitudes recur also in sculpture in the composition of bas-relief figured friezes, where the various panels could contain the different scenes of a single story or various isolated scenes, each with events enclosed in themselves and without reciprocal narrative links (8). In the sacred areas, however, everything was crowded with constructions: the great stūpa, the pole of ritual; isolated columns of Persepolitan inspiration nearby and/or on the same base; a few small statues on pedestals; other smaller stūpa and vihāra in the surroundings: in the earliest known case (at Butkara I, founded in the 3rd century B.C.) in a circle on the edge of the circular sacred itinerary, in other cases (1st-3rd/4th century A.D.) in different ways. Everything contributed to form compositions aimed at allowing a visual perception of the great stūpa, even in cases in which the entire surrounding sacred space, originally free, had gradually become saturated. The other sacred area, with the great vihāra,

(7) Sacred areas and stūpa at Bir-kot-ghwandai and Loebanr have now disappeared. Fig. 1.6a, indicates the possible Buddhist sacred area on the top of the acropolis of Bir-kot-ghwandai, hitherto evidenced only by occasional finds (see Olivieri 2003a); for an overview of Buddhist architectural finds in the Kandak, Najigram and Karakar valleys within the framework of the AMSV Project of the IAM, see Olivieri & Vidale, this issue, with the previous bibliography. For recent inventories of the large known sacred areas of Swāt, see Qamar & Ashraf Khan 1991; Ashraf Kahn 1993; Ashraf Khan et al. 1996; Ashraf Khan & Lone 2004: 30-33. On the excavation and reconnaissance of several of these, the following are fundamental: Tucci 1958a; Faccenna 1962; Gullini 1962; Dani 1968-69, 1968-69a; Rahman 1968-69; Faccenna 1980-81, 1984; Callieri 1989; Rahman 1990, 1991; Faccenna 1991; Said Qamar & Ashraf 1991; Faccenna, Nabi Khan & Nadimi 1993; Rahman 1993; Callieri et al. 1992; Callieri 1995; Faccenna 1995b; Ashraf Khan 1996; Olivieri 1996; Faccenna 2001; Olivieri 2003a; Qamar 2004; Filigenzi, forthcoming f.

(8) This is a complex theme that is known to call for further study: see, for example, Taddei 1993: 30-43; Faccenna 2001: 139 ff.
was going in the same direction although with one substantial difference. Also its principal building was frequently depicted in bas-reliefs and models as architecture in its own right with its own characteristics (9) (Fig. 5): chapel for worship of images, it was not a full volume but a construction with interiors, in the more significant cases which were interconnected, accessible and of a certain height. Also in this case the surrounding space had been obtained by flattening the soil and with possible substructions, occasionally constructing several different adjoining sacred areas. As around a great stūpa, also the edges of the spaces surrounding a great vihāra were clear-cut, with paving or other artifacts enclosing the principal building, in some cases, on a high platform flanked by isolated columns, and other smaller vihāra and stūpa filling in the space as a function of the way they were perceived (Fig. 6, right). The few known cases of sacred areas with great vihāra in Swat so far seem to follow this pattern: maybe at Butkara III, near Butkara I in the vicinity of the ancient capital of Mingora; partly at Nimogram, situated in a secondary valley on the left bank of the river (Fig. 1.15); perhaps at Gumbat, in the Kandak valley (Figs. 1.12, 25-26). To these, in view of other results of the ongoing studies, might possibly be added the sacred area behind the monastery of Tokar-dara 1 (Figs. 1.7, 17.5, 18); perhaps part of the settlement of Tokar-dara 2 in the valley behind Tokar-dara 1 (Figs. 1.8, 17.17, 21-22); above all, the principal sacred area of the large settlement of Kanderai 1, in the Karakar valley above the village of Nawagai (Fig. 1.10, 13-16; three vihāras in Afghanistan show a very articulated internal spaces, at Bag-Gai [no. 56] and Tape Shotor in Hadda, and at Dada Rahim at Seh Topan in the country of Kamari south of Kabul, see Barthoux 1930-33, I: 160-66, pls. 22c-25; Tarzi 2006).

Sacred Areas: Types of Samgharāma

Owing to its complexity, which was also recognized as early as the beginning of the 20th century, the monastery which, together with the sacred areas with great stūpa or great vihāra, formed the sacred settlement was always defined by Foucher with a single term – samgharāma – to identify under real conditions a highly complex set of buildings and spaces given over to the monks’ everyday life. In its turn, this same complex could be of two different types: on the plain or in the hills, depending on whether it was contained in a single level or had two or more large terraces. In both cases it consisted of two separate complexes, two distinct architectural entities: a building with cells arranged around a courtyard, functional to a community type of life, and one or more isolated houses a short distance away, perhaps of a hermit type.

(9) The possibility is discussed that the individual vihāra on the bas-reliefs symbolize a monastery – a complex construction – rather than a single building, an isolated construction as quoted in late Tibetan records, cf. for instance Tucci 1950b: 56; De Marco 1987: 200, 202 n. 22, fig. 6.
Since then they have always been indicated as examples of many monasteries in the area around Taxila, the capital of the real Gandhara (at Dharmarajika, Jaulian, Bahamala, Jamal, Kunala, Kalawan, Mohra Moradu, Pippala), and of the second those of the nearby locations of Jamal-ghari, Takhti-Bahi, Mekhasanda and Thareli) \(^{(10)}\). Then, beside all these, precisely those of the zone of the lower Swat they identify an even more different reality. Here, in an area of mountains and narrow valleys, again in the Saka-Parthian-Kushana period (1st-3rd/4th century A.D.) both types were present, perhaps in the service of different monastic realities that coincided or followed each other in time, and certainly to testify to various different building techniques. But on the whole it is a fact that, observing these monasteries of the Northwest in particular, and now seeking a rule for both them and the others, it is a fact that it is still too early for a criterion that can be used to order architectural realities that are so different on the basis of studies that are still quite lacking in detail and that still do not contemplate sacred settlements viewed as a complex formed by a sacred area with a great stūpa or a great vihāra combined with a samghātana in its various forms: this is because the current state of research only allows certain cases to be recognized and does not allow a critical overall framework to be formulated.

For the period in question, in addition to those already known and excavated at Saidu Sharif I, Panr I, Nimogram, Gumbatuna and other less investigated sites in the Saidu and Jambil valleys South of Mingora, but always on the left bank of the Swat (see n. 7), the monastic settlements that are currently better conserved are those lying South of the ancient Bazira (Barikot – Bir-kot-ghwandai), in the Kandak, Najigram and Karakar valleys (Fig. 8) a short distance away from the present-day road to Thana from Mingora and its intersection with another crucial itinerary in the area – the one along the Karakar torrent through the pass of the same name up on the side of Mt Ilam: the ancient road leading into the Indus plain followed also by Alexander the Great (Olivieri 1996a, 2003a) (Figs. 2-3). The very hill of Barikot, the acropolis of the Indo-Greek city

\(^{(10)}\) Foucher 1905-51: 146-77; Callieri 1989: 113-16; Berendt 2004: 33-38; Lo Muzio 2004: 244. Regarding the reasons for the layout of the Buddhist monastery complex consisting in two parts, cells lining a courtyard and one or more isolated houses, see also Tucci 1950: 120 and passim.
of the same name, is a strategic site on the river curve where the Swat changes direction from North-South to East-West. From the top of it, which is visible on all sides from a distance, its importance in both ancient times and later is easy to see. From here the surrounding area is dominated on all sides: towards the West, in addition to the Kanjar-kote heights with the ruins of another sacred settlement and, further down, of the ancient township of Abwa in the direction of Thana and of the access route to Afghanistan corresponding to the present-day fort of Chakdara; towards the North, as far as the distant snows of the Hindukush; towards the South-East inside the valleys of Kandak and Karakar; as far as the Karakar Pass below Mt Ilam (Figs. 1, 8, 16).

Of all the ancient Buddhist settlements in this rich zone, one of the most significant is that of Tokar-dara 1 at the bottom of the Najigram valley (Site 201): this complex was already well known as one of the largest not only in the valleys below Bir-kot-gwandai but perhaps also in the entire Swat, in a side valley to the South-west of the scattered remains of another settlement just above the present-day village of the same name (Site 203) (11) (Figs. 17.1-14, 24, 18-22). Owing to the typological characters similar to those of the buildings of the sacred area of Saidu Sharif I – where there are similar samghārāma and a sacred area with great columned stūpa, which are widely known and documented – it too could be dated to the 1st century A.D. Considering its present visible state, size and layout it may be viewed as consisting of at least two large complexes: the first at the valley bottom and situated on four artificial terraces – for the larger sacred area with the great stūpa and lesser stūpa, for a monastery with cells lining a square courtyard, for a large assembly hall and a smaller sacred enclosure with the type with a great vibhāra (Fig. 17.1-5); the second is of a quite different composition, formed by a certain number of mono- and multi-cellular dwellings, perhaps with other small adjacent sacred areas scattered all over the slopes North-west of the valley (Fig. 17.6-14). However, there are also other work themes: the co-presence of different types of sacred areas (with great stūpa and great vibhāra) in a single settlement (as at Nimogram and maybe Butkara III); an unusual meeting room, also particularly large (in the entire Swat a similar example has so far been found only at Kanderai 1); the existence of a large hydraulic service system (aqueduct and cisterns), which has also been found since only at Kanderai 1, albeit in other forms (see below); the fact that the monastery itself, with its cells and courtyard on the second terrace – mountain samghārāma according to Foucher’s definition – may perhaps be larger than the only other two known at Nimogram and again at Saidu Sharif (Figs. 1.2, 15, 7). Moreover, note should again be taken of the importance of the entire zone South of Bir-kot-ghwandai in the framework of the distribution over the territory of the lower Swat of the complex of Buddhist settlements in the entire valley and further emphasis is given to the orographic basin

of Tokar-dara by the large monastic settlement of Tokar-dara 2 (Site 301), further to the Southwest at the bottom of the Tokar-dara 1 valley itself and perched on the wall of the slope and perhaps forming a single unit with the former (Olivieri & Vidale, this issue) (Figs. 17.17-23, 20-22). Like Tokar-dara 1, also Tokar-dara 2 is spread over various heights; in this case however they are such as to determine a quite different overall configuration. Because of the very steep slope, here everything is spread over two single large terraces that are very far apart, partly dug out of the rock and partly consisting of masonry substructions. The first, lower down, is for a complex of vihāra and small stūpa along a track and immediately below; the second is much higher and acts as a flat surface for the monastery; it is partly of masonry and partly dug out of the rock and in any case lacks the square courtyard owing to the very steep slope. Much less significant minimal terraces have been made for smaller stūpa and vihāra lower down the track. Also referring to the same theme is the large sacred settlement of Abbasheb-china, again at the bottom of the Najigram valley and in a valley to the South after that of Tokar-dara. Like Tokar-dara 1, also this one is split into two parts as a result of the layout and the consistency: Abbasheb-china 1, with the principal sacred area and the relative actual monastery (Site 208) and Abbasheb-

Fig. 9 - Abbasheb-china, the principal sacred area with the great stūpa and the monastery (Fig. 2.9; Site 208), complex of various isolated houses and smaller sacred area on the N-W slopes (Fig. 2.9a; Site 302), satellite view on 4 June 2004 (Image Copyright © 2005 DigitalGlobe™-Telespazio). Main sacred area: A: great stūpa; B: stūpa; C: stūpa; D: vihāra; E: vihāra; F: vihāra; I: modern house on vaulted chamber of monastery; L: stūpa; M: two isolated cells with false dome; P: monastery courtyard; S, T, V: monastery rooms. 1: house substructions; 2: house substructions; 3: house substructions; 4: sub-structions; 5: remains of two houses; 6: substructions and remains of houses; 7: substructions and remains of houses; 8: group of houses on substructions; 9: modern houses; 10: large isolated house on terrace; 11: four isolated houses on substructions (?); 12: large isolated house on terraces; 13: large isolated house on terrace; 14: two plinths filled with small stūpa or vihāra; 15: group of mono-cellular houses; 16: isolated house. (Photo processed by the Author).

(12) Barger & Wright 1941: 24-26, 61-62, pls. XI.3, XII; Tucci 1958a: 317-18, figs. 31-34; Olivieri & Vidale, this issue; Faccenna, forthcoming a.
china 2, a large complex of houses (Site 302) (12) (Figs. 1.9-9a, 9). The peculiarity of Abbasaheb-china 1 lies in two aspects: first, perhaps once again, unlike the other one, here a single sacred area of the stūpa type – again with the monastery at the side – might be on at least four different terraces (Fig. 10); second, the sacred area itself is so large that it spreads over the torrent bed at the valley bottom and is occupied by smaller stūpas and very large vihāras considering they are only secondary constructions, giving rise to architectural presences that almost clash with that of the great stūpa (Fig. 11). For Abbasheb-china 2 it is a different matter because here, as for example at Jamal-ghari and Takht-i-bahi in the Peshawar valley – in parallel with the larger sacred area on the valley slopes there exists a complex settlement of houses of various sizes, both isolated and grouped together and with smaller sacred areas, not just simple annexes of the larger monastery (Figs. 9.1-16, 12).

Apparently of the same type as the previous ones is Amluk-dara 1 (Site 314), in a side valley to the South-east of the Karakar valley, almost at the same altitude as the fundamental valley bottom itinerary with the pass of the same name towards ancient Bazira (13) (Fig. 1.11). The state of the remains of the complex leaves little scope for

(13) Stein 1928: 32-33, 49; 1930: 18-19, figs. 16, 18, pl. 3; Barger & Wright 1941, pl. XII; Tucci 1958a: 315-18, figs. 38-39; Olivieri 2003a: 21; Olivieri & Vidale, this issue; Faccenna, forthcoming a.
making considerations as only the principal monument is perceptible and little else owing to the substantial transformation undergone by the landscape, today with its large terraces for farming, since the time of the first visit by A. Stein in 1930. The impressive great stūpa could be of the same type with columns as those of Tokar-dara 1 and as the much smaller one of Saidu Sharif I. And as at Tokar-dara 1 and Abbasaheb-china 1 in the Najigram valley, and at Saidu Sharif I and Panr I in those of Saidu and Jambil, also here the sacred settlement must have been built on several flat levels sloping down towards a torrent, albeit with the principal sacred area of the great stūpa and the related sacred buildings higher up than the monastery (Figs. 23-24). And as in all the previous cases, once again the perception of the various buildings emerged gradually. As a function of the terraces themselves it was actually always such that, when approached from a distance, the great stūpa could never be viewed along the axis running up along the staircase on the principal plinth but always from the side (Fig. 24).

Lastly, the settlement of Kanderai 1 (Site 303) on the hill dominating the intersection of the Karakar and Najigram valleys (14) (Fig. 1.10-10a, 13) is different from all the other settlements. Its position is significant: it lies on a hill south of the junction between the valley of Karakar to the East and Najigram to the West, and is much higher than the other large Buddhist sacred settlements in the zone (Fig. 1.12-15). From here the gaze carries as far as Barikot to the North, with Swat to the rear, inside the valleys and the relative sacred complexes of Tokar-dara and

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(14) Stein 1930: 17-18; Barger & Wright 1941: 26-27, 61, pl. XII; Tucci 1958a: 315; Said Qamar 2004; Olivieri & Vidale, this issue.
Fig. 13 - Karakar valley, the large sacred settlement of Kanderai 1 (Fig. 2.10-10a; Site 303), viewed from satellite on 4 June 2004 (Image Copyright © 2005 DigitalGlobe™ - Telespazio). Main sacred area: A: great vihāra; B: small vihāra; C: assembly hall; D: courtyard; E: entrance; F: stūpa terrace; G: vihāra; H: cell with vihāra; L: walls; M: cell. 1: isolated tower house; 2: isolated tower house; 3: large isolated house on terrace with small sacred area of stūpa; 4: isolated tower house; 5: cisterns; 6: isolated house; 7: modern water tank; 8: modern abandoned village; 9: sacred area (?); 10: sacred area (?); 11: terraces. (Photo processed by the Author).
Abbasaheb-china to the West, as far as the Karakar pass to the South and practically as far as the village of Amluk-dara in the relative valley to the East. In its position and architecture it was a key settlement, at least at the time it was abandoned. Its peculiarity lies in the fact that here there was no actual monastery, unlike what has always been found, at least so far, not only in the Kandak, Najigram and Karakar valleys but also in those of Saidu and Jambil, if not perhaps in the whole of the rest of Swat. Beside the actual sacred area – in this case a terrace with a great vihāra – there is no monastery of the type with cells laid out around a courtyard – as at Tokar-dara 1, Saidu Sharif I, Nimogram and perhaps Abbasaheb-china 1 (Fig. 12, 7, 9, 15) – or alternatively, no building without a courtyard, as is usually found in the various other complexes. At Kanderai 1, indeed, on the four sides of a principal

Fig. 14 - Kanderai 1 (Site 303), the main complex seen from SSE. (Photo processed by the Author).

Fig. 15 - Kanderai 1 (Site 303), courtyard of principal sacred area: the vihāra A. (Photo by the Author).
Fig. 16 - Kanderai 1 (Site 303), isolated tower houses on the SW slope of the sacred area, visible in background (Figs. 2.10a, 12.1-2). At the back, the Karakar pass road and the hill of Barikot – Bir-kot-ghwandai with the Swat river. (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 17 - Tokar-dara valley, the sacred settlements of Tokar-dara 1 and Tokar-dara 2 (Fig. 2.7-8; Sites 201, 301), viewed from satellite on 4 June 2004 (Image Copyright © 2005 DigitalGlobe™ - Telespazio). Tokar-dara 1: 1: great stūpa and smaller stūpa; 2: aqueduct; 3: monastery; 4: large hall; 5: vihāra; 6: house; 7: monocellular house with false dome; 8: bi-cellular house with false domes; 9: substruction; 10: group of houses; 11: track substructions; 12: platform, perhaps track substruction; 13: large house with several cells on a platform with a false dome; 14: corner of platform, perhaps track substruction; 15: two modern houses; 16: modern house. Tokar-dara 2: 17: monastery partly dug out of the rock, partly on a terrace; 18: large platform partly dug out of the rock, partly on substructions with 10-12 isolated buildings facing the mountain; 19: two vihāras, one uphill, the other downhill; 20: vihāra on a platform; 21: group of houses on substruction wall with platform, almost a rampart; 22: group of houses on the track linked to the preceding one; 23: group of houses; 24: track substruction wall. (Photo processed by the Author).
Fig. 18 - Tokar-dara 1 (Site 201), the sacred area. From the left, the terrace with the great stūpa and the smaller stūpa, and those of the monastery, the large hall and the vihāra. (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 19 - Tokar-dara 1 (Site 201), the complex from the back, from the isolated houses on the SW slope. (Photo processed by the Author).

courtyard we have: a principal vihāra and several smaller ones to the East; to the North and South, again vihāra in isolation or connected with single story cells or actual several-story houses; to the West what is probably a large meeting room: it is very tall with at least one service group under a staircase leading up from ground level to a higher level (Figs. 13-16). At the back of this room, further West and as far as the edge of the embankment walls, there is another small sacred area with small stūpa and again small vihāra. A short distance from this larger settlement two or three story houses, both single and multi-cellular, with external staircases and
small sacred areas were used for shelter or for dwelling on the hill to the South beyond the arrival crest of the track from the bottom of the valley from which you can see as far as Barikot (Figs. 1.10a, 13.1-2, 16). Around the complex, along the entire arc stretching from the North-west to the East there is a complex of terraces with large flat areas served by hydraulic works, including at least a group of vaulted cisterns, which crowned the actual sacred complex, pointing to a complex anthropization of the site, and its use not only as an important place of

Fig. 20 - Tokar-dara 2 (Site 301), isolated buildings along the track on the South slope (Fig. 17.18) at the bottom of the valley behind Tokar-dara 1. (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 21 - Tokar-dara 2 (Site 301), the monastery in the rock and on the terraces (Fig. 17.17), just above the isolated buildings along the track from Tokar-dara 1. (Photo processed by the Author).
worship but also probably for large-scale farming activities. In close relation to all this and on the plateau downhill from the hill with the actual settlement there is indeed also a direct source of water supplies—the Ab-chiña spring (Site 327) (Olivieri & Vidale, this issue). Located partly in two natural cavities in the rock and partly in masonry, it represents an important source of supply of groundwater for the fields downhill from the sacred settlement as well as perhaps for the smaller inhabited areas, today reduced to a few outcropping ruins; with the pond lower than the level of the fields.

Future research will clarify the size and limits of the various sacred areas of which the Kanderai 1 complex seems to be formed; these might also have been functional to several of the surrounding terraces North of the principal settlement, perhaps with several vibāra on both of the flat areas in the vicinity of the steep descents, isolated and distant from the principal sacred area at the top of the hill.
already in ancient times it was accessed through an internal staircase descending into the larger cavity.

Conclusions

Typology is not an exact science. If pushed too far it ends up by reproducing the complexity of the object under study without reducing it to an exemplifying image; conversely, when applied to too limited a sample it may become a banalization, not a work tool. In general, the fact that the residual reality of the whole of ancient architecture is after all extremely scanty means that classification by types – ideal models – cannot be too detailed, so as to link each new discovery to a complex without each time modifying the general framework. This is even more true for the ancient Buddhist architecture of the North-West Frontier Province where

Fig. 25 - A view of the Kandak valley from the sacred area of Gumbat; Barikot is visible in the background. (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 26 - Kandak valley, the great vihāra of the sacred area of Gumbat (Fig. 2.12; Site 139). (Photo by the Author).
the contributions from West and East were so strongly interwoven that they have still not been completely perceived also because, compared with the Graeco-Roman architecture itself our knowledge of them is still highly incomplete: in this sense, owing to the profound and continual attention paid to an area of strategic importance at the time of Gandhara, the research over the past fifty years of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat represents an exception. To approach the topic of the sacred areas and monastic settlements of the latter from the typological point of view and at the same time viewing them as unitary complexes formed by several interconnected artifacts and the surrounding conditions, contributes to the relaunching of a method in the field of architectural history in which the buildings are considered as a whole for the purpose of relating volumes and spaces to a way of life and no longer considers them as mere material remains of a past culture.
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