

## Reconstructing Jamālgarhī and Appendix B: the archaeological record 1848-1923

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Information on the ancient remains of Gandhāra started being collected in the 1830s, notably by Claude-Auguste Court, a French officer of the Sikh ruler Ranjit Singh. Like many Europeans, he was initially searching for sites associated with Alexander the Great (Court 1836: 394; 1839; Mairs 2018: 584-585), but in the process produced what was deemed by Alexander Cunningham (Figure 1) the only accurate map of the Peshawar basin (Cunningham 1848: 130). Armed with this map, Cunningham – on his own quest for Alexander – discovered Jamālgarhī in early January 1848.

Here he ‘secured some very near perfect specimens of sculpture’, including a ‘figure of Maya, the mother of the Buddha’ (Cunningham 1848: 104). This shows that he recognized the site as Buddhist, albeit not the figure, which depicts a *yavanī* or female guard (Figure 2). However, his misattribution is useful, for in his 1873 inventory of Lahore Museum sculptures, the same description identifies the relief as no. 184 (Cunningham 1873b: 631-638, no. 22; now in Chandigarh Museum). In the Lahore inventory, however, he misremembers that the find came from Jamālgarhī (according to his letter written to John Lawrence on 10th January 1848, a few days after its discovery) and misattributes it to ‘Nogram’ (sic: Naogram), the village below the Buddhist ruins of Ranigat and an alternate name for that site, which he had also just visited (Cunningham 1875: 55). It is this incorrect provenance that the sculpture still bears (Bhattacharyya 2002: 89, 161, fig. 54).

Official British attempts to organize a system for gaining information on the antiquities of the region began in 1851, when a circular was sent to all District Commissioners requesting a ‘report upon any buildings/relics of former Dynasties ... which it might be worthwhile ... to preserve or partially restore’ (*Punjab Proceedings* 1851). This developed into compulsory annual ‘lists of buildings and objects of antiquarian interest’, to be furnished by all District Commissioners. These lists remained one of the principal methods of obtaining information on the sites for the next forty years. As a system it never functioned very efficiently, for it was dependent on too few officers already juggling with too many responsibilities. Typically, their duties could include tax collector, magistrate, accountant, commander of several regiments, and superintendent of public works, the jail, mule trains and bullocks. In summarizing this list of his concurrent roles, Neville Chamberlain, an overworked District Commissioner at this time, noted ‘As Superintendent I receive appeals from myself to myself’ (Allen 2001: 227-228).



Figure 1. Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham (c. 1885) seated with sculptures from Jamālgarhī and miniature stūpas from Sonala Pind and eastern India. (Photo: courtesy the Kern Institute, Leiden University).

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Figure 2. Panel showing a yavanī or female guard collected by Cunningham at Jamālgarhī in 1848. Chandigarh Museum, inv. 184. (Photo: copyright the American Institute of Indian Studies.)

The first site to be investigated under the antiquities scheme was Jamālgarhī in 1852 (Figure 3a). The results were published by Edward Clive Bayley (1821-1884), District Commissioner of Kangra who was interested in the subject. He says merely that sculptures were collected at the site by ‘Lieutenant Lumsden of the Guide Corps’ and ‘Lieutenant Stokes of the Horse Artillery ... and by their liberality, came into my possession’ (Bayley 1852: 606-621). Cunningham later reported that ‘A man who had seen the *stūpa* before it was opened [in 1852], informed me ... that the platform round it had a number of statues upon it, all of which were removed by a Colonel Sahib on twelve camels’ (Cunningham 1875: 46).

The number of camels seems excessive for the number of sculptures recorded. Bayley describes thirteen schist pieces (Figure 3b), but a further unspecified number were apparently distributed among various interested individuals. Bayley’s own collection, now in the British Museum, includes a fragment of a winged atlas from Jamālgarhī (Figure 4.1: inv. 1892,0801.5). He also mentions two more, the ‘small seated figure wearing short tunic and boots’ (Figure 3b, no.1), and a ‘better example on a large scale’ belonging to Captain Hogge (Bayley 1852: 620).

This last atlas is now in the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 4.2: inv. EA2015.441; Stewart 2016; Jongeward 2018: cat. no. 149). The engraved brass plaque on the sculpture’s mount gives the wrong date (1858), misidentifies the site as Jain, and misspells it ‘Jurnal Ghurrie’, but the publication supplying this misinformation cites Hogge as the owner (*Proceedings* 1865: 71-72).

A number of the sculptures were sent to London for exhibition, only to be destroyed in the Crystal Palace fire of November 1866 (Smith 1889: 113; Burgess 1900: 23). Apart from the Ashmolean atlas, the remaining Hogge pieces suffered an equally dismal fate. They were left in a house which ‘was sold, and the new purchaser finding a lot of old stones, of the value of which he knew nothing, broke them up and filled some holes with them’ (Stewart 2016).

From 1867 onwards an active policy to obtain contributions for the new Lahore Central Museum was implemented by the Punjab Government (Errington 1987: 100-102, 192). This resulted in the first official excavations, which were carried out annually ‘in the cold season’ by companies of Sappers and Miners for the Public Works Department, initially at Takht-i-Bāhī (1871) under the command of Sergeant F.H. Wilcher. Evidently a practical engineer, he had the – then novel – idea of producing ‘a plan and section of the monastic and religious buildings, to which, as being the most interesting, the excavations were mainly confined’ (Wilcher 1874: 528-532; Cunningham 1875: pl. XVII; Errington 1987: Appendix 4, 434-437, plan 2a). Forty-six heads and 110 seated and standing Buddha and bodhisattva statues, ‘2 fragments resembling portions of roof or arch bosses and 7 frescoes’ were recovered and Wilcher’s report became the template for all subsequent Sappers and Miners excavations in the 1870s.

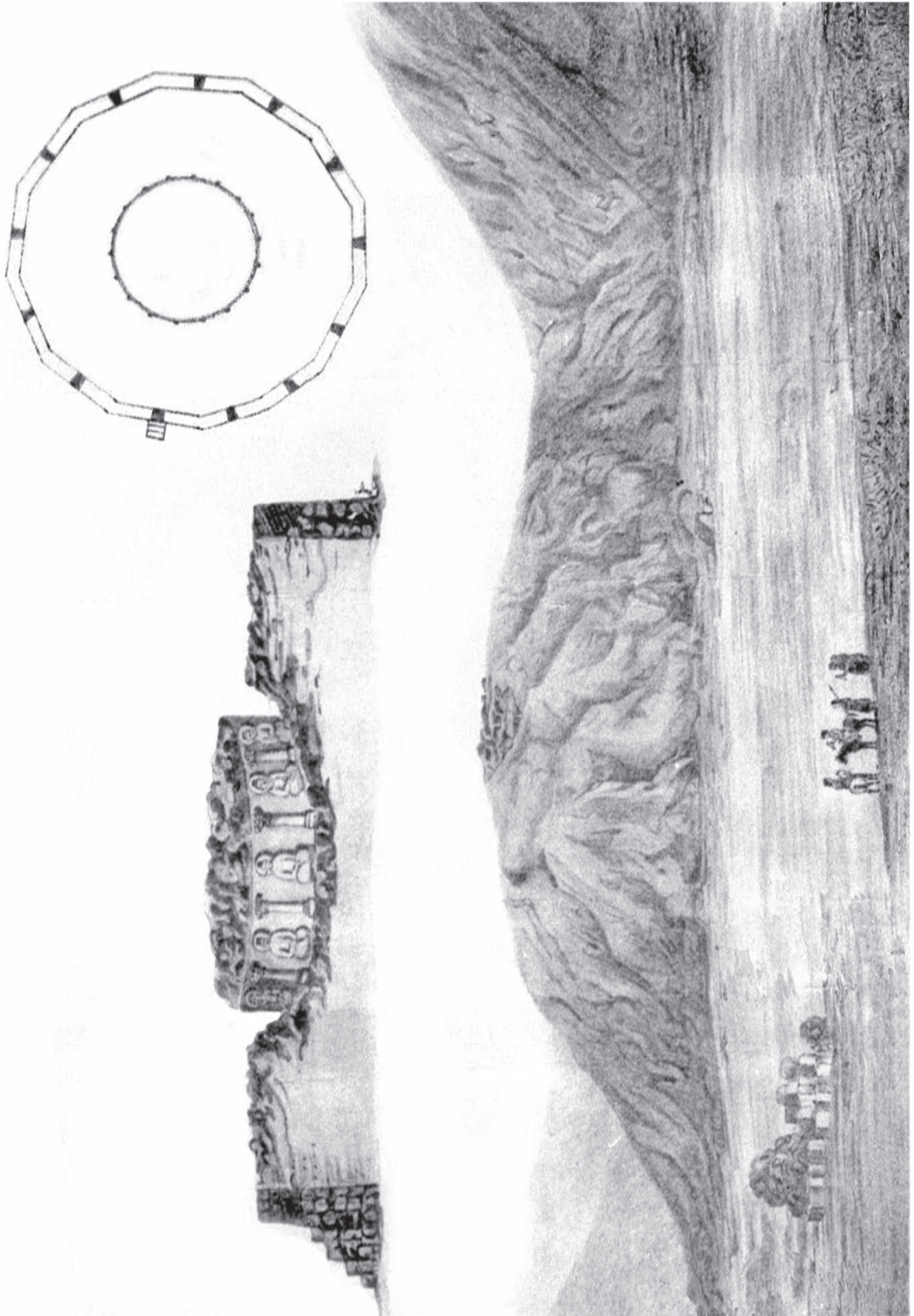


Figure 3a. 1852 excavation by Lumsden and Stokes of the Jamālgarhī main stūpa enclosure: plan and elevation.



Figure 3b. Recorded sculptures from the 1852 excavation. (Bayley 1852: pls XXV-XXXVI.)



Figure 4. Atlantes found in 1852. (1) Former Bayley collection, British Museum inv. 1892,0801.5. (Photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.) (2) Former Hogge collection. Ashmolean Museum inv. EA2015.441. (Photo: copyright the Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.)

Also in 1871, Cunningham was appointed Director-General of a revived Archaeological Survey of India (ASI). Both this and his previous appointment as archaeological surveyor (1861-1864) were conceived as short-term projects that would be completed with limited funding and within a few years, a misconception that continued until the appointment of John Marshall as Director-General of a permanent institution in 1902 (Errington 2007: 223-226).

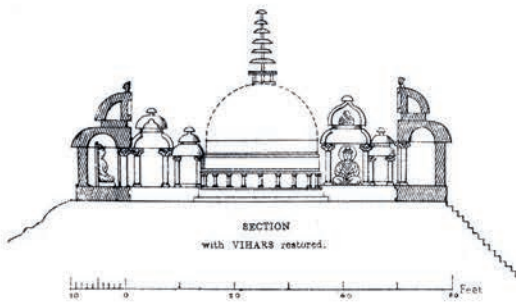
During a tour of the Peshawar district for the ASI in late 1872, Cunningham undertook some exploratory excavations himself at Sahrī Bahlol, where he recalls collecting two reliefs, one ‘nearly 3 feet’ (99 cm) in height, the other *c.* 22 inches (56 cm) square (Cunningham 1875: 43-45; possibly identifiable as R14 and R17: see Figure 23 below). He also saw a large collection of sculptures from Kharkai in the Assistant Commissioner of Mardan, ‘Mr Beckett’s possession’, and initially obtained five pieces – later amended to ‘a considerable number’ – himself, probably from Beckett, as he did not personally visit the site (Cunningham 1873a; 1875: 53-54). However, he observed that as the sculptures ‘are said to be very numerous’; and ‘are generally in good condition’, he considered the complete excavation of the site to be ‘very desirable’. This took place in 1874 (Grant 1874a-b; Errington 1987: Appendix 5, 438-442).

After visiting Jamālgarhī, he recommended that the ‘heap’ of debris surrounding the main *stūpa* should be completely cleared, and all the sculptures rescued (Cunningham 1875: 46-53). He noted the *stūpa* was enclosed by a polygonal courtyard of fifteen shrines ‘each containing sculptures and bas-reliefs’ (Figure 5.2). During the few days he spent at the site, he ‘traced the enclosing wall [of the main *stūpa* courtyard] all round, and cleared the upper part of the flight of steps leading downwards to an oblong courtyard’. In the ‘very small part’ he excavated, he found ‘Corinthian capitals with acanthus ornament ... about a dozen statues of Buddha and several bas-reliefs’ (Cunningham 1875: 47-48).



● Site where sculpture was found

1



2

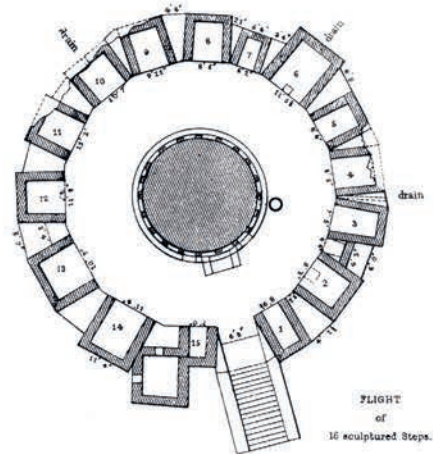


Figure 5. (1) Plan of Jamālgarhī combining the 1873 and 1923 plans with additional outlying structures surveyed in 1988 (author). (2) Cunningham's plan and reconstruction of the main stūpa courtyard (1875: pl. XV).

Following Cunningham's recommendation, the site was cleared and explored by a detachment of Sappers and Miners under Lieutenant A. Crompton in 1873 (Crompton 1873; Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 443-450). In an inspired moment Cunningham suggested that all sculptures from the site should be incised with a 'J' (Cunningham 1885: 93), and this has become the principal means of recognizing pieces from the 1873 excavation (Figure 22.1: R6). The finds were initially divided between Calcutta, Lahore and later the British Museum, but are now also in Chandigarh (Bhattacharyya 2002: *passim*), with stray pieces in other museums, including one noticed by Peter Stewart as far afield as Stockholm (Väldskultur Museerna OS-120/S-113B).<sup>1</sup> The sculptures sent to Calcutta were individually crated in numbered boxes and photographed. Cunningham also compiled an inventory – published in his 1873 *Report* as 'Appendix B' – in which the numbering system corresponds to that of the photographed sculptures (Cunningham 1875: 197-202). But he never mentioned the link between the two, which gave me a eureka moment when I realized it while looking through his personal set of these photographs inherited by the British Museum. The revolutionary strategy of numbered and photographed sculptures, together with the incised 'J' has made it possible to track and reconstruct a substantial part of the 1873 archaeological record (see Table of records for Appendix B sculptures pp. 36-42 below).<sup>2</sup>

Further excavations were conducted at Jamālgarhī by the ASI Frontier Circle in 1918-1923 (Hargreaves 1921-1926).<sup>3</sup> A partial plan was produced (Hargreaves 1924b: pl. VIII), but the intended complete report was never published. The sculptures (Figure 6) mostly went to the new Peshawar Museum, but some were sent to museums in Lucknow, Mumbai, and Patna. The British Museum has one example (inv. 1932,0709.1: Dream of Māyā), on which it is evident that the excavation details were recorded in white paint on the pieces, but this has not lasted as well as the incised 'J'.

Finally, after a four-day visit in 1988, I produced a complete plan of the site (Figure 5.1), combining the 1873 and 1923 plans with my own survey of any omitted buildings (principally Areas 10-11). This shows that there is no monastery associated with the main *stūpa* complex, although there are stairs to an upper floor on the east side of Courtyard 7 which may feasibly have served this purpose. Primarily, however, there is a series of self-contained accommodation complexes, each with its own *stūpa* and/or shrine (Areas 2-11) arranged in terraces on the slopes of the hill. The bulk of sculpture came from the spoil heaps of the main *stūpa* and associated courtyards 3 and 4 (Figures 6-7). In 1873 Area 2 is said to have produced a quantity of sculpture too, but no record of specific pieces was kept. Only a few stray examples were found elsewhere on the site.

In the 1920-1921 season, Room 16 on the north side of Courtyard 7 also produced thirty-seven items, including eleven heads, seven pedestals, two stucco atlantes and an inscription dated in the year 359 of the Yona era of *c.* 180 BC (Figures 8 and 9). This provides a date of *c.* AD 179 for the foundation of an 'asylum in possession of the Dharmaguptikas'<sup>4</sup> but the disparate nature of the finds makes it difficult to determine the precise function of the room. The adjoining room 16A only opens onto Courtyard 7, while 16 is completely sealed off from the courtyard and adjoining main *stūpa* complex, with an independent entrance on its north-west corner. The inscription implies it could have been a shrine, but equally it

1 Object record: <<http://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-om/web/object/113176>> (last consulted 20th January 2022).

2 The Appendix B photographs included here are reproduced from Cunningham's personal photographic collection. All are courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. Additional copies are held by the Warburg Institute, London University and the Kern Institute, Leiden University (former J.Ph. Vogel Collection).

3 The ASI Frontier Circle photographs of the Jamālgarhī excavations and sculptures are held by the British Library and Archaeological Survey of India in New Delhi. I am forever grateful to the curators of this photographic archive at the India Office Library, for allowing me to make my own copies of these photographs in the 1980s, prior to the transfer of the India Office collections to the British Library. The 1907 photographs however are missing from the British Library India Office holdings, but are held by the Kern Institute and the Archaeological Survey of India in New Delhi.

4 The full text reads: 'Anno 359, on the first of Aśvayuj, an asylum in possession of the Dharmaguptikas was established in this grove by the śrāvaka Potaka, with (or for) the Uddīliaka companions, father and sons, in the acceptance of all beings' (Konow 1929: 110-13, no. XLV, pl. XXII.1).

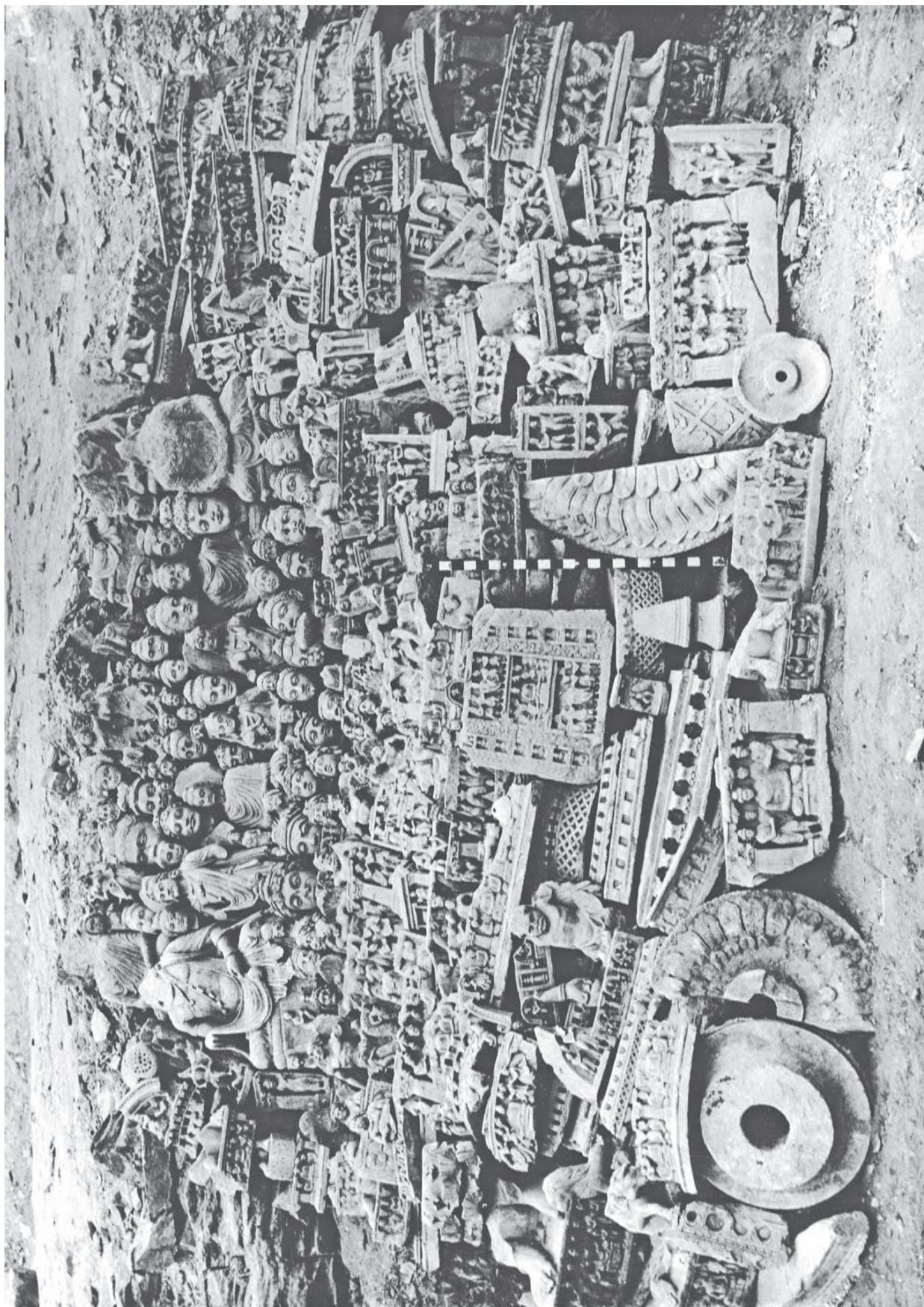


Figure 6. Sculptures and stucco heads recovered during the 1920-1921 excavations. (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 56, no. 1877.)



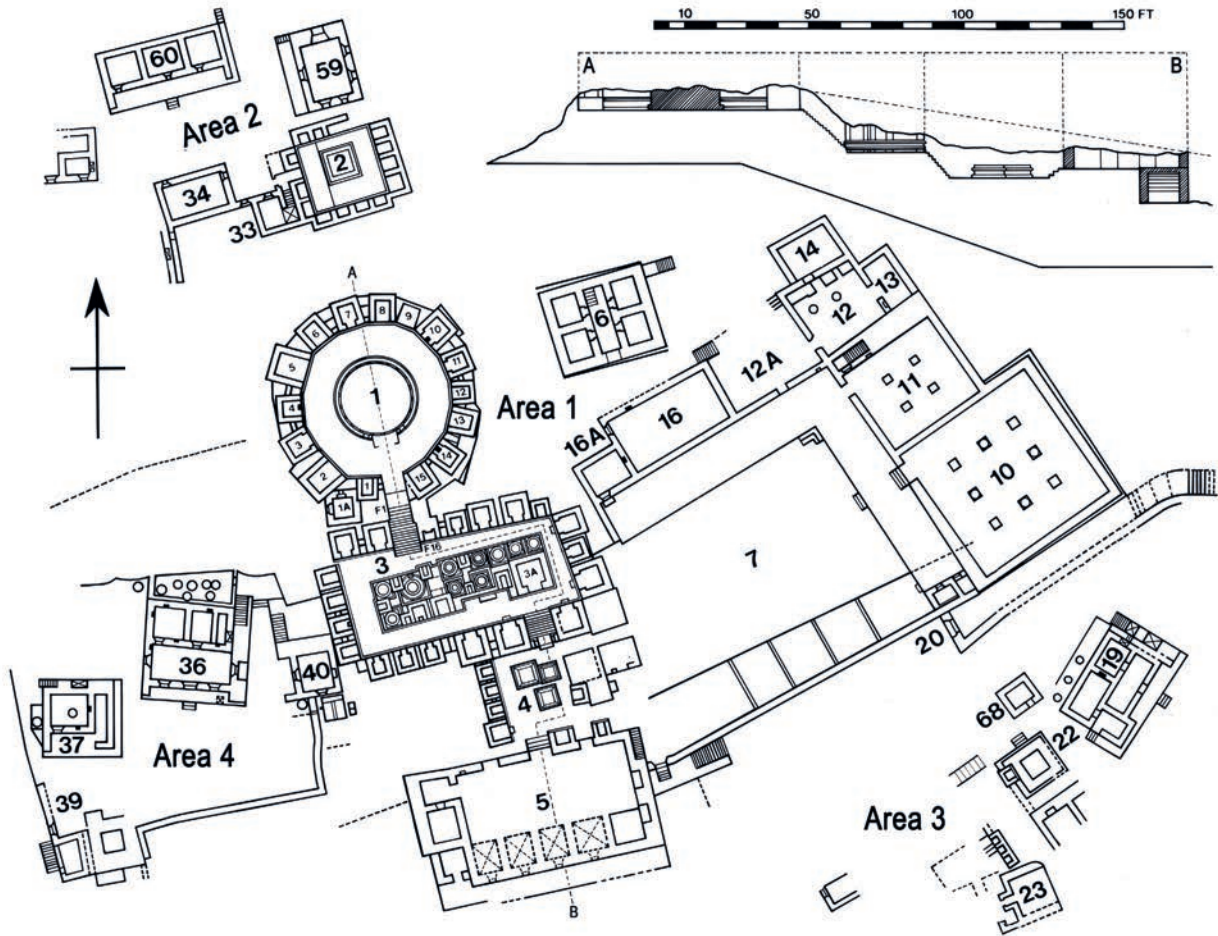


Figure 7. Plan of the site showing the main *stūpa* complex and adjoining Areas 2-4 (author).

could have been a storeroom for broken (but still sanctified) objects, or merely the overspill of the spoil heaps from the previous excavations of Courtyards 1 and 3.

Like the earlier explorations, the 1920s ASI excavations uncovered stucco decoration still *in situ*, specifically around *Stūpa* 22 (Area 3), where the courtyard wall had the remains of Buddhas seated on lotuses and where a few fragmentary reliefs, 16 heads and two seated statues were also found (Figure 10).

### The main *stūpa* complex (Area 1): site data and interpretations (Figure 7)

An aerial view on Facebook of the site after several restorations shows that the main *stūpa* now has a flight of steps (Figure 11.3), while all details of the *stūpas* and shrines in Courtyard 3, some of which still survived to some height in 1873 (Figure 21), are covered by square slabs and are no longer visible. It also shows that the high platform of Courtyard 1 was built on a base of earlier structures that were originally level with Courtyard 3.<sup>5</sup>

The surviving base of the main *stūpa* is 6.7 m (22 ft) in diameter and is encircled by a narrow plinth (Figure 11.1-4). In 1873 the structure was 1.45m (4.75 ft) high (Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 444). Above the

<sup>5</sup> <<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=650516435495835&set=pcb.650516865495792>> (last accessed 19th January 2022; authorship unknown).



Figure 8. Inscription in year 359 of the Yona era and sculptural fragments found in Room 16  
(Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 40, 58, 60-63, nos. 1819, 1880, 1885-1887, 1891-1894.)

plinth was an uninterrupted sequence of pilasters alternating with seated Buddhas ‘executed in coarse stucco’ and bearing ‘many traces of having once been coloured red’ (Figures 3, 11.4; Cunningham 1875: 47). The plinth appears to have been added later, perhaps to reinforce the structure. It only encircled four-fifths of the base, then formed two right-angled projections, with the original base of the *stūpa* still visible in the gap between them (Figures 11.1-2; Hargreaves 1924b: 20). The feature has been interpreted and subsequently restored as steps leading to the top of the extant *stūpa* drum (Figure 11.3), but there is no firm evidence to support this. Instead, the 1920s photographs and plan mark only an open structure at this point (Figures 5, 7, 11.1-3), which is best interpreted as an image niche fronting the *stūpa*, with the surrounding courtyard functioning as the *pradakṣiṇāpatha*. All stucco features were later additions.



Figure 9. Heads and pedestals retrieved from Room 16. (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 63, no. 1892).

1907 photographs also show the remains of stucco on the five outlined pilasters below shrine 5, and traces of a seated stucco Buddha below shrine 4 (Figures 11.5-6). According to Cunningham (1875: 47), most of the facade was ‘ornamented with seated figures of Buddha, alternately Ascetic and Teacher, and smaller standing figures of Buddha between them’, all in stucco, but none of this now survives. Crompton says that ‘many fragments of large [schist] statues of Buddha’ were also found in the main *stūpa* courtyard, ‘but few good or perfect specimens of sculptures’ (Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 448).

Cunningham reports that a piece of round kankar shaft about 53.34cm (1.75 ft) in diameter, was ‘still standing *in situ* on the east side of the *stūpa*’ and marks a column in this position on his plan (Figure 5.2; 1875: 48, pl. XV). No column was recorded in the subsequent 1873 excavation and, perhaps more significantly, no trace of such a feature was found when all the debris on the *pradakṣiṇāpatha* was finally cleared in the 1920s.

But the 1873 finds do include numerous capitals and a small ‘base’, 35.5 cm (1.16 ft) in diameter. Cunningham incorporated this last item and a ‘half capital of Indo-Corinthian pillar with lower member complete’ into an attempted reconstruction, partly of wood (Cunningham 1875: 195). Inspired by Sanchi relief depictions of Indo-Persepolitan pillars, an imaginative inclusion of elephants crowns his creation. However, one photograph of his composite column together with some square columns and elephants is annotated ‘Base of a pillar, Indo-Corinthian capital: elephants from base of *stūpa*’ (Figure 12). So he was evidently aware of the role that elephants, together with atlantes and lions play in ‘supporting’ structures.

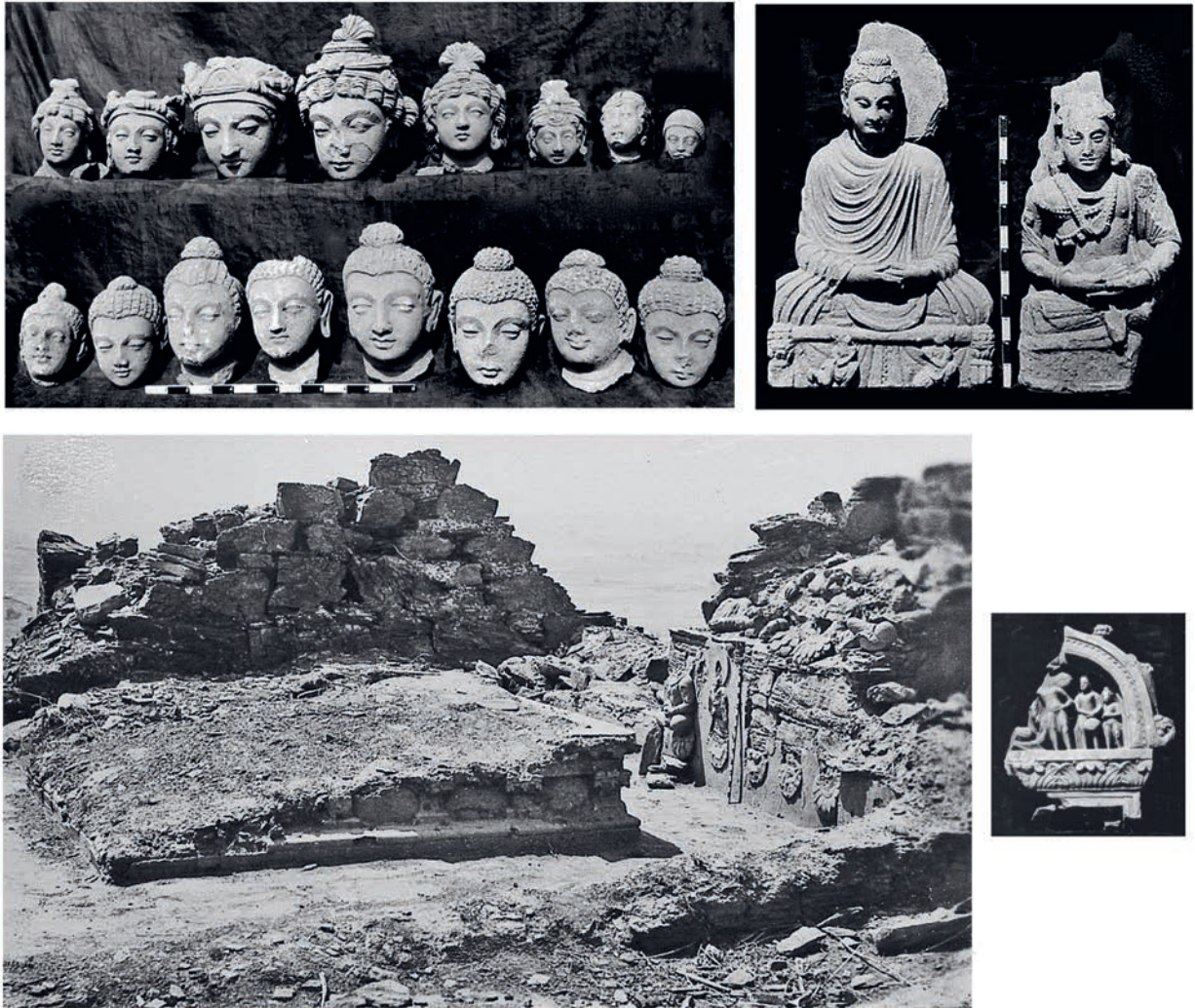


Figure 10. Stūpa 22 with surviving stucco decoration on one of the courtyard walls and stucco heads, schist statues and a relief fragment retrieved in the 1920-1921 excavations. (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 55, 58, nos. 1873, 1881).

Furthermore, the ‘base’ is not part of a free-standing column, but a section of the umbrella superstructure of a *stūpa*, a complete example of which was recovered in the 1920s (Figure 6: bottom left). Self-supporting columns were much more substantial structures, as demonstrated at Dharmarājikā and sites in Swat (Faccenna 1984; 1991; 2007). The finds of Loriyān Tangai moreover show that the lower half of an Indo-Corinthian capital could equally be part of the umbrella superstructure (Errington 1987: fig. 8.26).

Crompton records ‘some circular carved stones’ pierced through the centre. The best example is again one of the elements of a *chattrāvala*. It is now in the British Museum (inv. 1952,1024.2), having previously served time as a table in the Guides’ Mess at Mardan (Figure 13.1). Reliefs from Takht-i-Bāhī and Sahrī Bahlol show that capitals could also function as a platform for a *stūpa* (Figure 13.2; Tissot 2002, pls. VIII.3, IX.4, fig. 33). Yet the precise position and use of the numerous capitals at Jamālgarhī is uncertain. Cunningham (1875: 49) says that,

The upper half ... was always made in four pieces, of which two, for the front and back, ... each had two volutes, while the other two were small straight pieces to fill in the side gaps ... All were carefully joined by iron cramps.



Figure 11. Jamālgarhī main stūpa and surrounding courtyard. (1) Stūpa showing the gap in the plinth with one of two projections at right angles to it. (Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 45, no. 1850). (2) Enlargement of (1) showing detail of the gap, showing the original moulded base of the stūpa executed in diaper masonry. (3) Modern steps in this position (author). (4) Remains of stucco seated Buddha figures encircling the stūpa base in 1907 (ASIFCAR 1907-1908: photo no. 173, courtesy the Kern Institute, Leiden University: shelf mark P-036501). (5) Base of the encircling shrines in 1907, still retaining traces of stucco figures and pilasters (ASIFCAR 1907-1908: photo no. 172, courtesy the Kern Institute, Leiden University: shelf mark P-036500). (6) Surviving stone framework of pilasters, which were originally coated in stucco (author).

This is no doubt correct for examples found elsewhere, but it does not fit the evidence from Jamālgarhī. Crompton found ‘no trace of the pillars or pilasters themselves’ (Cunningham 1875: 49), even though the excavations produced eleven upper capitals (Figures 14-15). Eight plus several sections of lower capitals are in Appendix B (1875: 200, P1-8). The upper capitals are all half sections, with irregular, unworked backs and sides. There are no matching pairs. Cunningham says that while ‘bas-reliefs



Basilar

Jamālgarhī.

(1017.)

Base of a pillar: Indo-Corinthian capitals: elephants from base  
of Stūpa.

Figure 12. Cunningham's imaginative reconstruction of a freestanding column (in wood) at Jamālgarhī using pilaster capital P7, topped by elephants, with capital P3 below, and flanked on either side by two square pilasters and another pair of elephants. (Photo: Cunningham Collection).

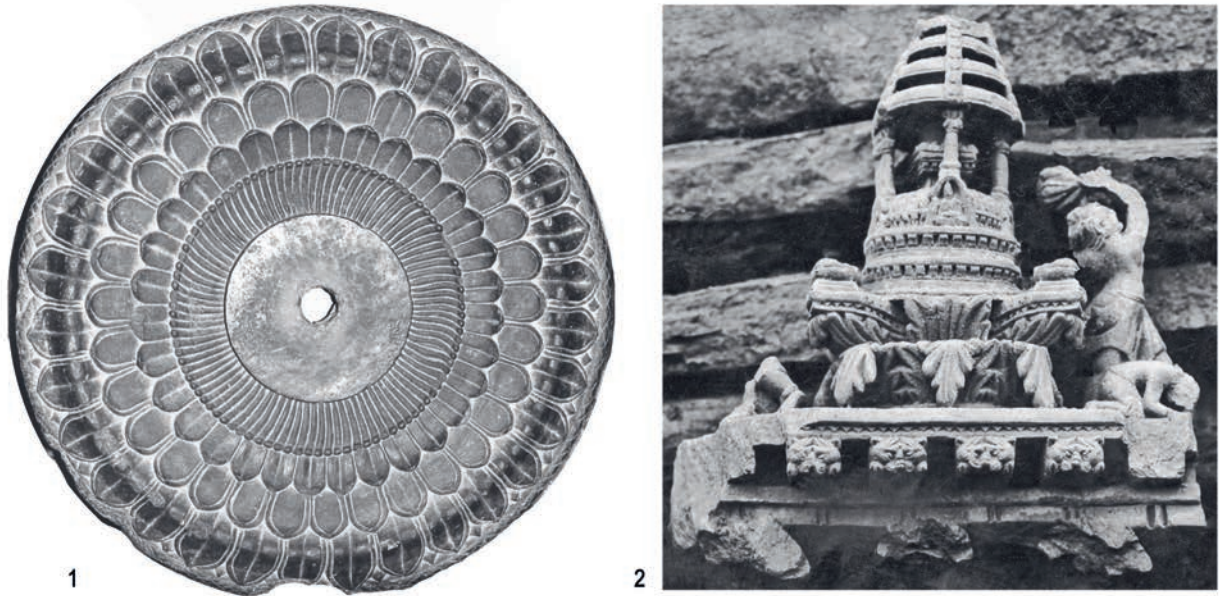


Figure 13. (1) Underside disc of a chattrāvali. British Museum, inv. 1952,1024.2. (Photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum.) (2) Takht-i-Bāhī relief fragment, from Chapel XX, depicting a capital functioning as a stūpa base. (ASIFCAR 1910-1911; photo: courtesy the Trustees of the British Museum.)

show there were both round and square pillars ... the round shaft was the more common form, as only one [P2] ... belonged to a square pillar' (Cunningham 1875: 191, 193). The incised 'J' examples have two, or – in the case of P2 – four parallel cramp marks on the upper surface, positioned at right angles to the face, and suitable for attaching the capitals to a wall. Only the one without an incised 'J' (P6: bottom left) has three cramps positioned to allow for attachment at the sides and there is one without volutes (bottom right), incised 'J', that is identifiable by its cramp marks as a possible 'side' piece'.

Cunningham found several pilaster capitals 'on clearing the pavement below' the 'chapels' or shrines of Courtyard 1. This suggests that they were incorporated into the encircling platform of shrines. However, they were not exclusive to the main stūpa enclosure. The largest (P1), and the only example depicting a bodhisattva, was

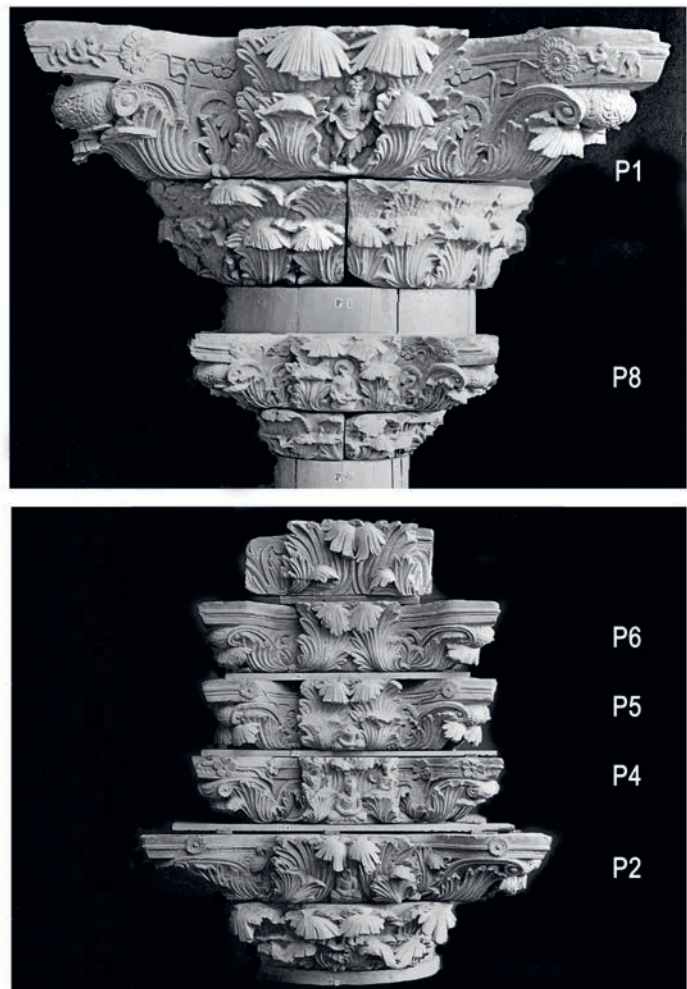


Figure 14. Appendix B pilaster capitals P1-2, 4-6, 8. (Photo: courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum).

Pilaster capitals not in Appendix B

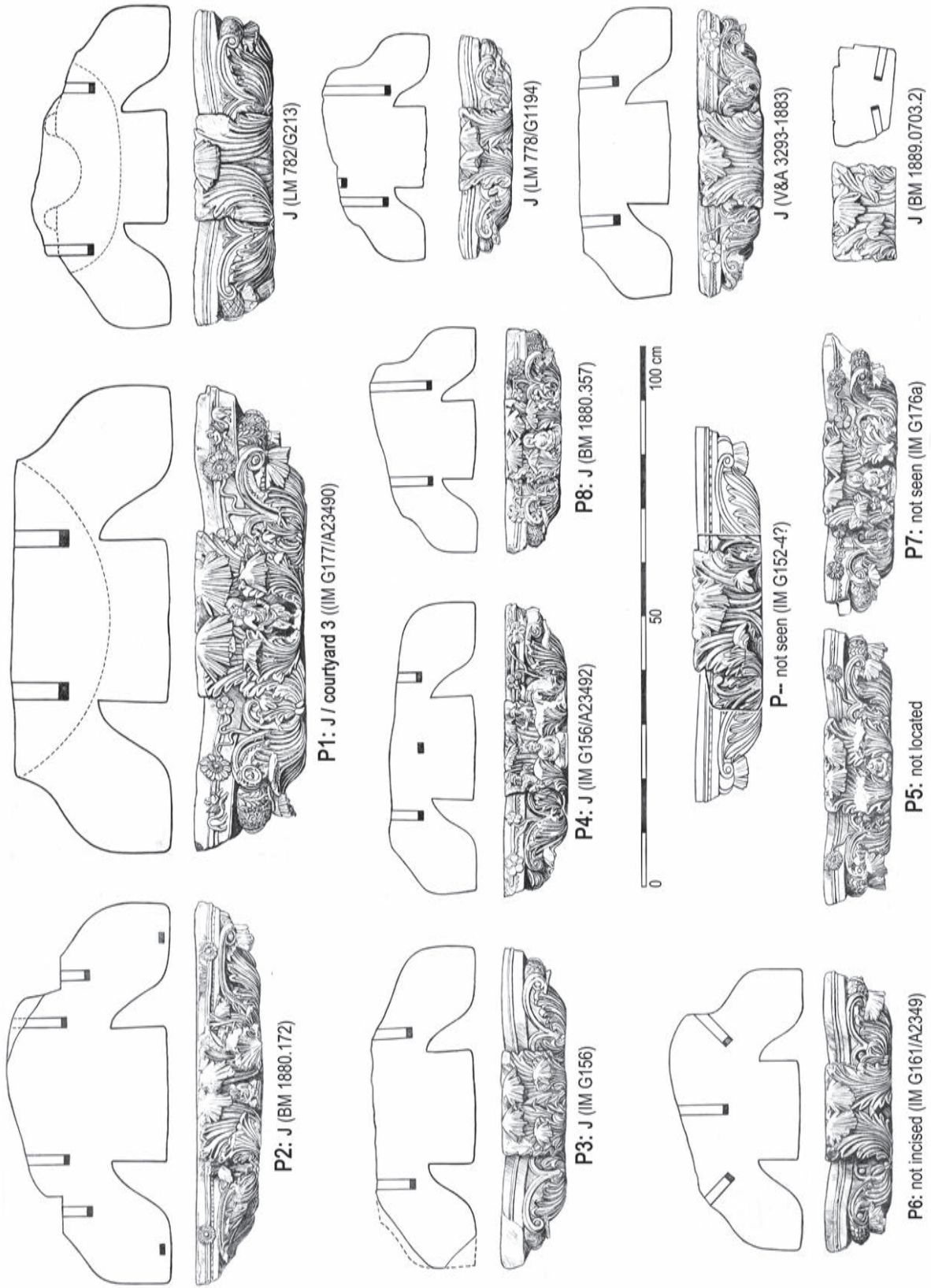


Figure 15. *Jamālgarhī* pilaster capitals (Appendix B: P1-8) and additional capitals incised 'J' in the Lahore Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, and British Museum.



found in the corner of Courtyard 3 near the steps leading to Courtyard 4, where it had evidently fallen when the structure supporting it collapsed (Figure 7). Although all that remains of the shrines is the platform and low sections of their end walls, Takht-i-Bāhī provides prototypes of their original form (see Cunningham's reconstruction Figure 5.2 above).

So how were the pilaster capitals utilized? Cunningham thought they were sited at the ends of the side walls of individual shrines. But this does not explain the lack of matching pairs, or their differences in size and decorative detail. The use of stucco on the lower platform facade moreover suggests that any sculptural features on the end walls are likely to have been executed in stucco too, as can be seen at Jauliāñ (Marshall 1921: pl. XII.c). The fifteen shrines encircling the courtyard differ in size and are not uniformly spaced. The eight largest gaps between individual shrines range from 41-76 cm (1.34-2.49 ft). Excluding P1 from Courtyard 3, all the capitals are between 40 and 71 cm (1.31-2.33 ft) in length, and could thus fit into the different sized spaces provided. This provides one solution, but equally, their siting could have been secondary and coupled with the later renovation of the site.

The second distinctive group of Jamālgarhī sculptures are the numerous schist atlantes found – like those from the 1852 excavations – in the debris of the main *stūpa* (Figure 16). Another was found in Courtyard 3 and three more in Room 16, including a pair of stucco examples (see also Figure 8). There are three different sizes, suggesting either that the drum of the main *stūpa* was tiered or that they belonged to different *stūpas* from different courtyards, specifically Courtyards 3-4. However, the existence of stucco Buddha figures on the base of the main *stūpa* and surrounding shrines suggests that while it may have been the case originally, stucco replaced schist decoration here and the atlantes were re-used in random secondary positions.

Evidence for at least one renovation of the main courtyard is provided by the existence of a second pavement of thick slate slabs above the original one of diaper masonry. Two of the slabs had circular depressions made by coin offerings; one still retained a coin of Vasudeva (Hargreaves 1924a: 57; Göbl 1984: type 1001, no. 10), together with an inscription recording a votive offering, the 'gift of Buddharakshita' (Stein 1912: v; 1915: 12, 23, pl. I; Konow 1929: 116-117, no. LII, pl. XXII.8; Peshawar Museum, inv. 01873).

Reported coin finds are limited and not illustrated. Cunningham says that seven of the eight Kushan coins found in 1873, were again those of Vasudeva (Cunningham 1875: 194). No other details are given, so it is impossible to determine if they were issues of Vasudeva I (c. AD 190-230), or were later imitations (c. AD 230-380). Hargreaves records one Kanishka I (c. AD 127-150) and two Huvishka (c. AD 150-190) copper coins and six silver coins of the Hun ruler Kidara (c. AD 425-457), in the 1920s excavations (Hargreaves 1921a: Appendix V, 23-27, nos. 140; 192-193, 241-242; Hargreaves 1923: 19; Appendix V, 23, no. 140; 28; nos. 263-264). Crompton also mentions finding silver coins, probably again of Kidara (Errington 1987: appendix 6, 448).

The UNESCO and Japanese excavations in 2015 'discovered coins from 158 CE' (Khan 2015), which corresponds to the reign of Huvishka. The inscription from Room 16 dated in Yona year 359 (i.e. c. AD 179) recording the foundation of an 'asylum in possession of the Dharmaguptikas' (Figure 8), further suggests that renovations may have taken place in the time of Huvishka (Hargreaves 1923: 5-6; Appendix 5: 21, no. 42).

The circular plan of the Jamālgarhī main *stūpa* enclosure has been linked to Dharmarājikā (and by extension to Butkara I), and led to an unsubstantiated suggestion that it is equally early in date (Marshall 1951: 248). But as Kurt Behrendt has pointed out, it sits on a high platform built on top of earlier structures (Behrendt 2004: 62). Positioned as it is on a rocky outcrop at the apex of the hill, its circular form and relatively small size are primarily governed by topography, not date. In reality,

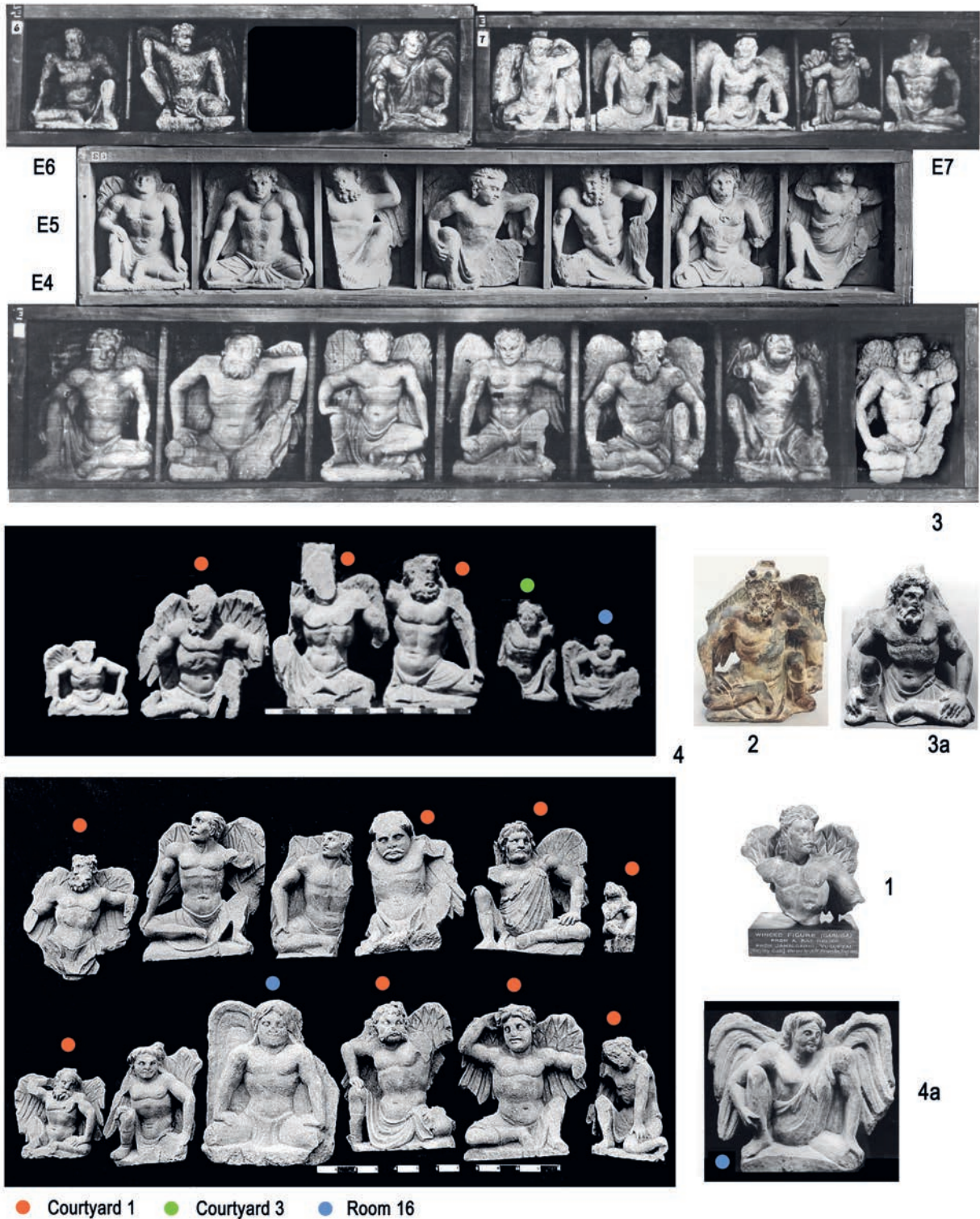


Figure 16. Forty-four atlantes from the main stūpa complex (Area I). (1-2) 1852 excavation. (3) 1873 excavation (E4-7: twenty-three atlantes). (3a) Atlas incised 'J'. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. IM.123-1918. (Photo: copyright Victoria and Albert Museum). (4) 1920-1921 excavations: nineteen atlantes, of which eleven are from the spoil heaps of Courtyard 1, a single example is from Courtyard 3, and three are from Room 16 (ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: nos. 1879, 1892, 1894).

Jamālgarhī fits neatly within the time frame of its neighbouring sites. Numismatic evidence for the Peshawar basin is generally lacking for the pre-Kushan period, with only one or two random coins at most (Errington 1999-2000: 213). Typically, Aziz Dheri produced stray mid-1st century BC to 1st-century AD coins (Apollodotus II, c. 80-65 BC and Azes II, c. AD 16-30), together with a higher number of Kushan coins from Wima Takto (c. AD 90-113) onwards (Gul Rahim Khan 2008: 201-221; Nasim Khan 2010: 19-49). Ranigat provides similar evidence and had a coin of Wima Kadphises (c. AD 113-127) inserted – as at Jamālgarhī – in the pavement encircling the original core *stūpa* (Nishikawa et al. 1988: 47, 89, fig. 43). However, it is clear that what survived of the main *stūpa* complex at Jamālgarhī are primarily later renovations. These no doubt included the extensive re-use of earlier sculptures. The likeliest cause of destruction are earthquakes. In October 2015, one of 7.5 magnitude caused substantial damage to the site (Khan 2015).

The re-use of earlier sculptures could be random, as at Pānṛ (Faccenna et al. 1996: 100-101, pls. 70b-73), or site specific, as with the fragmentary stair-risers of the Aziz Dheri *stūpa*, behind which a pot of Kushano-Sasanian and late Kushan coins was buried, presumably at a time of refurbishment (Khan 2008).

According to Crompton (Errington 1987, appendix 6: 444), at Jamālgarhī,

To the south of the polygonal temple (No. 1), and communicating with it by a descending staircase, is an irregular quadrilateral temple [Fig. 17: Courtyard 3] with 26 idol-houses around the walls.

At Jamālgarhī, the only place where original schist reliefs were found *in situ* was – like Aziz Dheri – on the risers of the sixteen steps connecting the main *stūpa* Courtyard 1 with the lower Courtyard 3 (Figures 18-20). These illustrate secular scenes and *jātakas* and – according to Crompton – were apparently in ‘a



Figure 17. Courtyard 3 from the west, with the restored flight of steps leading up to the main *stūpa* on the left.  
(Photo: ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: no. 1923).

F1-5

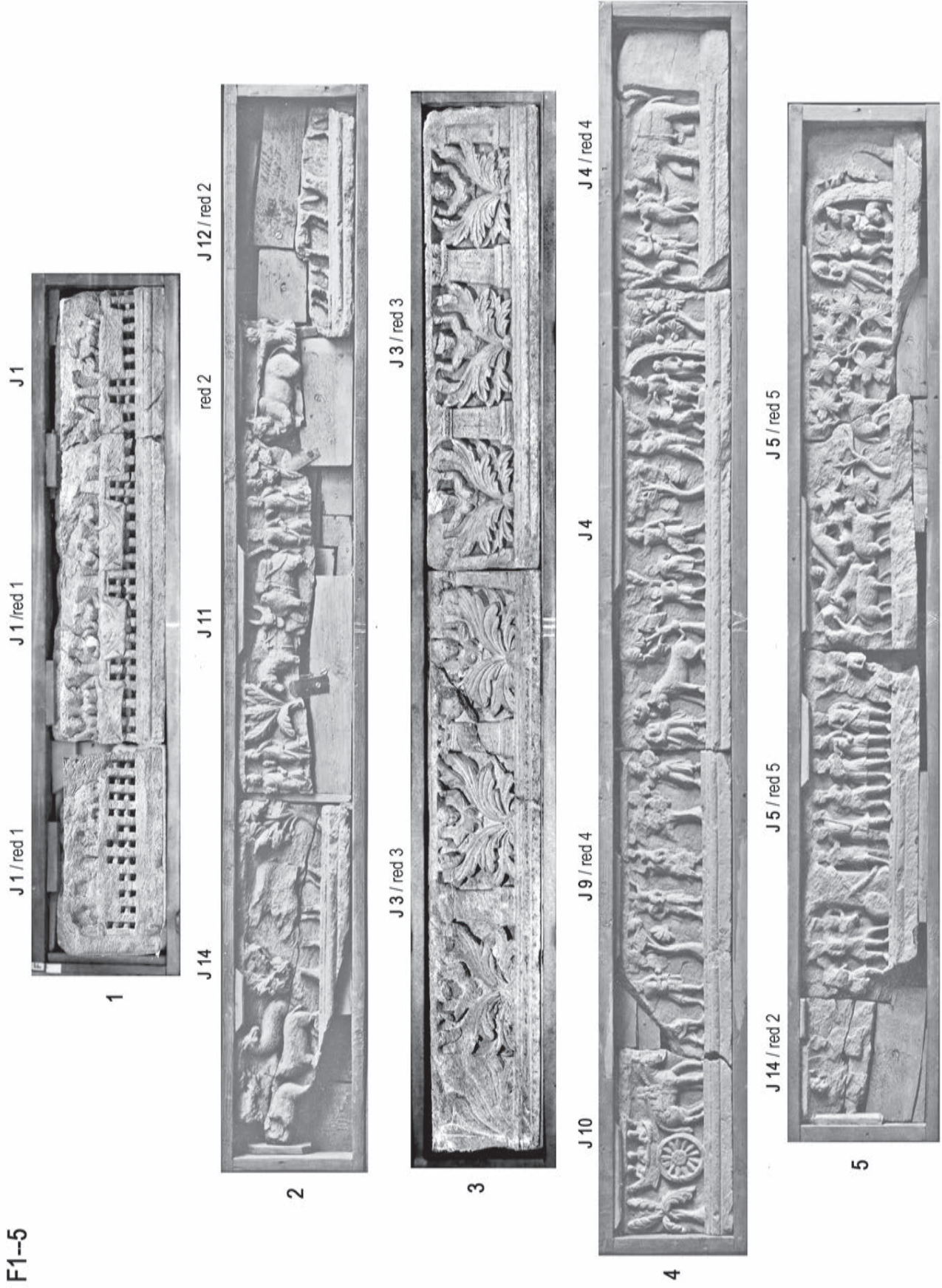


Figure 18. Jamālgarhī stair-risers. Appendix B, F1-5: F1. Balconies with figures. F2. Men driving goats, pack animals and a bull. F3. Female busts in foliage. F4. *Viśvaṅtara jātaka*. F5. Unidentified *jātaka*(?) with a man and lion seated in a hut facing a woman and child.



Figure 19. Jamālgarhī stair-risers. Appendix B, F6-10: F6. Maitrakanyaka jātakā; The story of the jeweller, monk, and bird. F8. Śyāmajātaka. F9. Nāga musicians and dancers. F10. Hunting lions and a boar.



Figure 20. Jamālgarhī stair-risers. Appendix B, F11-16: F11. Candakinnara jātaka. F12. Pairs of mounted horses and standing figures. F13. Swag and putti. F14. Unidentified jātaka(?) with paired standing and seated couples interspersed between a tower, doorways and trees. F-14'. Candraprabha jātaka. F15. Tritons. F16. Musicians, dancers, and drinkers.

perfect state' when first uncovered. But 'during the absence for a few hours of the Sappers and Miners' the reliefs were 'hacked to pieces' by locals (Childers 1875: 3).

There is such a discrepancy between the extant lengths of individual risers that it is hard to believe the destruction was solely due to vandalism. If the reconstructed sequence is accurate to any degree, then it is possible that only part of each riser had a relief. If so, it could be that the reliefs had been re-used in a later renovation, possibly when the main *stūpa* courtyard was repaved and embellished with stucco decoration.

Most of the fragments from each riser are not only marked with a 'J', but are also incised and/or painted with a number between 1 and 16. The 1870s photographs show the individual fragments boxed together, apparently in the order in which they were originally positioned on the individual steps. The Roman numerals (I-XVI) which are just visible on each wooden surround agree with the red painted numbers on the pieces they encase. However, the incised number on many of the fragments often differs from the painted numeral. In at least three instances (F4, F7, F16), two adjoining fragments of the same original relief have been assigned totally different numbers.

The likely reason for this anomaly is that individual fragments were thrown in different directions when vandalized. So, the incised numbers represent the disrupted order in which the pieces were found, while the painted numbers are an attempted reconstruction of the original sequence. The reliefs are all in the British Museum, apart from one section which remained in Kolkata. This is incised 'J4', but is excluded from the Appendix B list and has no F number although it is included with the other stair-risers in the Appendix B photographs (Figure 20).

Four risers illustrate repetitive motifs: balconies with figures (F1; Zwalf 1996: 275, nos. 412-413), female busts in foliage (F3; Zwalf 1996: 254-255, nos. 346-347), swag and putti (F13; Zwalf 1996: 254-255, nos. 346-367), and tritons (F15; Zwalf 1996: 252-253, no. 342). There is a frieze of *nāga* musicians and dancers (F9; Zwalf 1996: 248-250, nos. 336-40), another of musicians, dancers and drinkers (F16; Zwalf 1996: 248, no. 330) and one of hunting lions and a boar (F10; Zwalf 1996: 141-142, nos. 315-317). The remaining risers all appear to represent *jātakas*, but the subject matter of only five has been identified.

Two *jātakas* (F6 and F11) are recognizable from a single relief fragment each. The rare depiction of a boat in riser F6 represents the shipwreck of Maitrakanjaka and his reaching dry land on a plank (Figure 19; Zwalf 1996: 139-140, no. 134). He was then successively entertained in four cities (as represented by doorways), by increasing numbers of *apsarases*. The remaining left hand F6 relief (two fragments, now joined) has a red painted '6' and, from the left, depicts a seated couple, another doorway and a tree, interspersed with twelve standing figures (Zwalf 1996: 239, no. 132). It is too broken to exhibit any obvious connection with the Maitrakanjaka theme.

The right-hand section of F11 – marked with only a red painted '1[1]' – is thought to represent the *Candakinnara jātaka* (Figure 20) and shows the king on horseback meeting the kinnara and his wife (shown twice as a female dancer and male harpist). The two remaining incised F11 fragments are too abraded to be precisely identified, but seem to include dancers and musicians (Zwalf 1996: 140-141, no. 135; 246-247, nos. 328-329).

One of the most complete risers is F8 (Figure 19; Zwalf 1996: 138-139, nos. 232-233). This illustrates the *Śyāma jātaka*, in which a raja hunting deer accidentally kills a youth collecting water for his blind parents. The raja then delivers the water jar to the parents and leads them to the body, whereupon the son is restored to life. The story is not presented chronologically, but reads from the viewer's left as scenes 4, 5, 6 – 3, 2, 1. This implies that the scenes were deliberately split, perhaps in order to lead up to the climax in the centre.

F4 illustrates the *Viśvaṅtara jāataka* in which Viśvaṅtara gives away his elephant, horses and ultimately children to a Brahman (Figure 18). Again, the story is not presented chronologically, and reads from the left as 2, 3, 4 – 7, 6, 5 – 1, with the (missing) climax in the centre (Zwalf 1996: 142-145, nos. 137-138, 140). However, the order could equally have been governed by a topographical division of events, following a similar narrative tradition to that found at Ajanta and elsewhere in India (Foucher 1955: 28).

The question now arises whether the Kolkata relief incised 'J4' belongs to F4 (Figure 20). The fragment contains a seated couple in the centre, a bent figure with his hair tied to a tree to the left, and two men on the right with a pile of three heads at their feet. Anderson, in the *Indian Museum Catalogue and Handbook*, incorrectly identified the heads as 'a child seated at the base of a pillar', but the heads are clearly visible and show the relief is definitely not part of the *Viśvaṅtara jāataka* (Anderson 1883: 231). Instead, it has been identified by David Jongeward as a scene from the *Candraprabha jāataka*, as a better preserved relief of the subject from Sahrī Bahlol confirms (Jongeward et al., forthcoming: SI figs. 47a, 48a). The *jāataka* tells of the bountiful, righteous and beloved Candraprabha, ruler of the idyllic kingdom of Jambudvīpa. The scene depicts the king readying himself to give the ultimate gift of his own head, at the request of a Brahmin, while his minister is offering three jewelled replicas in its place.

The final narrative sequences to be identified occur in two fragmented reliefs of an apparently complete riser designated F7 (Figure 19). The scene on the right does not survive as a *jāataka*, but occurs as an *avadāna* (a moral story about a meritorious act by any being) in two Chinese translations of Buddhist texts, the *Sūtrālaṃkāra* (Huber 1908: 321-330) and the *Tripitaka* (Chavannes 1911: 210-211; Foucher 1917: 271-281, pls II-IV) and tells of a jeweller, a monk, and a bird – a goose in one version (Huber 1908) and a parrot in the other (Chavannes 1911; Zwalf 1996: 239-241, nos. 313-314). While the jeweller is away from his shop finding food for the monk, the bird steals a valuable jewel. Rather than disclose this and cause the bird's death, the monk accepts culpability and is led away and flogged. When the bird attempts to drink the monk's blood during this ordeal, it is inadvertently killed by the blows, whereupon the monk is free to tell the truth. This is confirmed when the bird is cut open and the jewel found inside it.

According to Zwalf after Foucher, the whole riser depicts this story, the events reading from right to left as the jeweller's shop, with a bird just visible in front of a table or counter and the monk standing at the doorway, then with his staff and bowl being taken from him and his being stripped, yoked and flogged, with the bird pecking at his feet. The final scene of this fragment shows the monk fully clothed again, flanked by two figures, one of whom is identified as Indra, come to intercede on the monk's behalf. In the next section, the jeweller kneels before the monk and again, with hands clasped, towards a slightly elevated monk. A tree in full bloom divides this from the next scene, in which a figure identified as Indra points at the bird sitting among the skeletal branches of a leafless tree. The same scene with slight variations is repeated, followed by a figure holding the bird in front of a doorway and finally again inside the jeweller's shop where crouching figures presumably extract the jewel.

As Foucher (1917: 278-9, pl. III) remarks and Zwalf (1993: 240) concurs, this stair-riser is exceptional in representing a theme not connected with the Buddha. But is this true? The right-hand relief certainly fits Foucher's identification, and the depiction of the bird remains consistently the same throughout. However, an element of doubt arises from the left-hand depiction of a tree in full bloom, half stripped and then dead, with a bird seated in its branches, flanked by two figures. This appears rather to allude to the *Mahāsuka jāataka* or *Cullasuka jāataka* (Cowell 1895-1897: 291-294, nos. 429-430), wherein a contented parrot king promised never to leave a fig tree which had generously always shaded and fed him. As a test of his constancy, Sakka, king of the devas, and his wife Sujā slowly killed the tree, but the faithful bird remained steadfast and was rewarded by Sakka who restored the tree to fruitfulness.



The fact that the two stories refer to two different types of bird does not seem to have concerned the sculptor. Furthermore, the left-hand section of the riser can be read in both directions, either right to left with the tree becoming barren, which would inevitably lead to starvation and death of the bird, or what seems more apt, from left to right culminating in the tree being restored to full bloom and nirvana for the bird. The chamber at the left end can be understood as serving a dual function of determining the fate of both birds – either death and retribution, or rebirth as a higher being – as a result of their own actions. So, like the *Viśvaṅtara* and the *Śyāma jātaka*s, these two stories climax in the centre of the riser.

This example further suggests the possibility that some reliefs could incorporate ciphers of more than one *jātaka* in each riser. So, in a similar way to F7, the *Maitrakanjaka jātaka* (F6) and *Candraprabha jātaka* (F11) might only exist as single scenes, alongside other as yet unrecognized stories. Although some of the *jātaka*s and perhaps other stories have not yet been identified, the Jamālgarhī stair-risers overall show a variety of different traditions in use at the same time – from purely decorative repetitive friezes of tritons and mythical beings to *jātaka*s and moral tales like F7 – all executed in a remarkably homogeneous style.

In addition to the stair-risers, the approximate find spot of two more reliefs can also be ascertained. According to Crompton (Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 444-445, 447-448),

In the centre of [Courtyard 3], instead of the usual platform, we find a number of small circular topes ... and also some idol recesses, all placed in an irregular manner that leads an observer to suppose that they were built at different times... The drawing [Figure 21] is that of the most perfect of the topes found in this temple. It is about the smallest in the collection. Some were 8 feet in diameter at the base or circular portion.

He says further that ‘some of the most delicately carved’ reliefs came from the south-east corner of Courtyard 3, near the steps leading down to Courtyard 4, where the largest capital (P1: Figure 14) was found, and that most of them, including the capital, bore traces of gold leaf. From this it is possible to identify R6 (depicting the dog that barked at the Buddha) and R7 (possibly depicting the *Dīpaṅkara jātaka*), for both retained traces of gilding (Figure 22.1-2; Cunningham 1875: 201; Anderson 1883: 220).

The repetitive nature of some reliefs is useful in identifying pieces of the same original frieze now in different museums and not listed in Appendix B. For example, two reliefs in the British Museum (Appendix B: T4) and one in the Lahore Museum (inv. 820), appear to be from the same original *stūpa* in Courtyard 3 (Figures 22.3-4). They all exhibit the distinctive back view of a standing figure. The stance appears to be a favourite one at Jamālgarhī and is recognizable in several reliefs, including R6 (Figure 22.1).

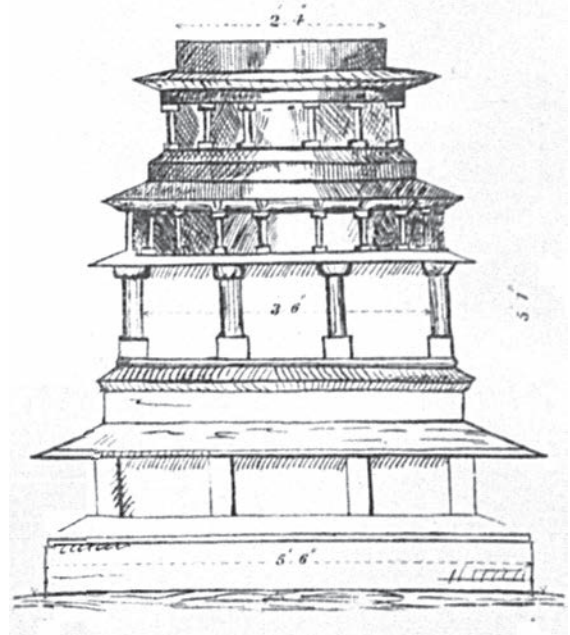


Figure 21. Crompton's sketch of a votive *stūpa* in Courtyard 3 (1873: fig. 3).

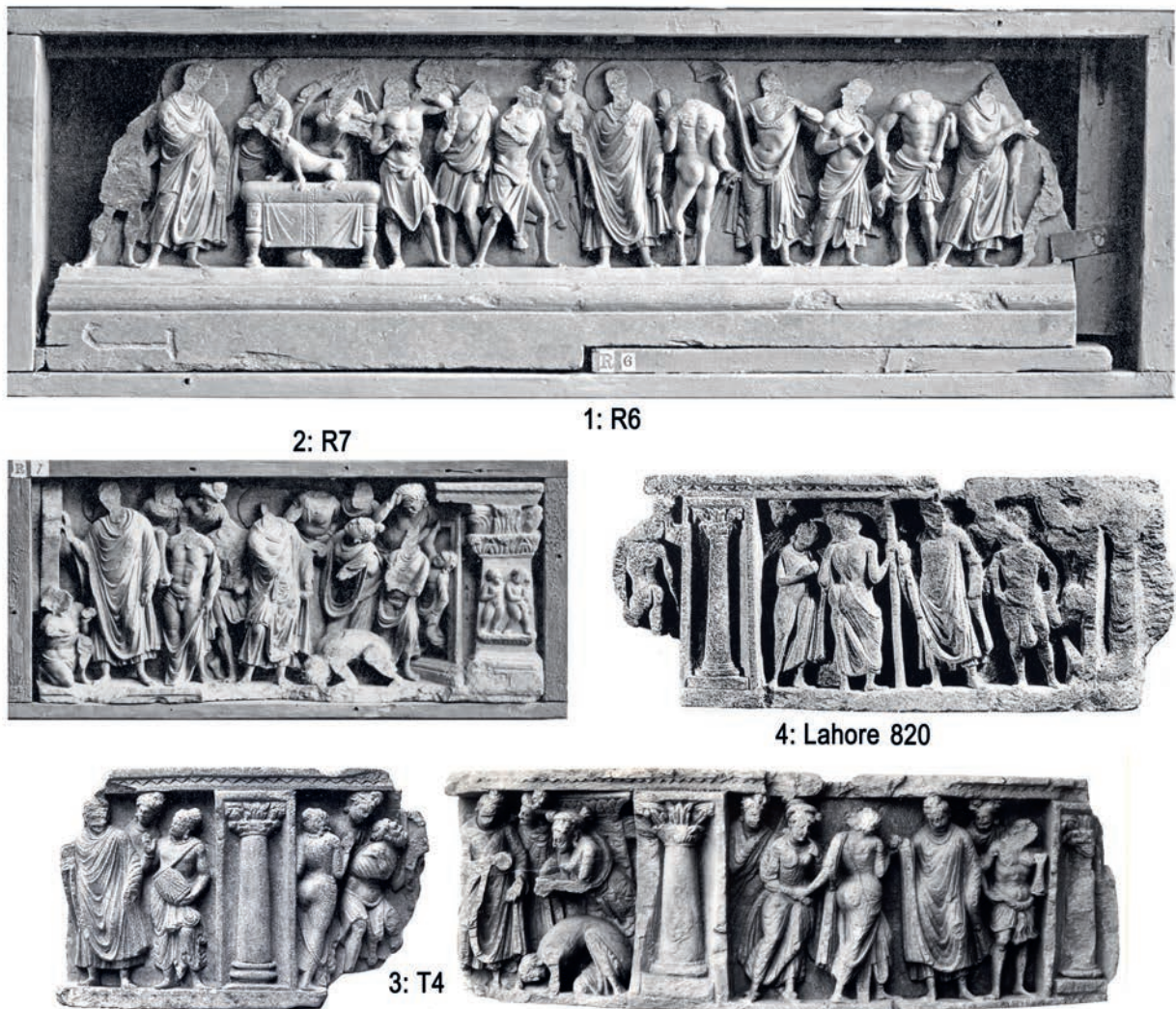


Figure 22. Appendix B reliefs. (1-2) (R6, R7), from north-east corner of Courtyard 3. (3-4) Linked curved reliefs from the same votive stūpa in Courtyard 3. All incised 'J'. (T4 and Lahore Museum, inv. 820/G1322/GR86.) (Photo: courtesy of the Warburg Institute.)

### Reconstructing Appendix B

According to Cunningham, Appendix B lists '165 pieces, nine-tenths of which are from Jamālgarhī with a few from Sahrī Bahlol, Takht-i-Bāhī and Kharkai' (Cunningham 1875: 196-197; see also Table of records, pp. 36-42 below). Appendix B only identifies two examples from Sahrī Bahlol (Figure 23: R14, R26). R17 is a probable third, as its subject matter of the Buddha flanked by two bodhisattvas is one closely associated with the site and its large size relates to Cunningham's almost square relief acquired in 1873 (see above). It is now misattributed to Loriyān Tangai in Indian Museum records.

Only one relief is attributed to Takht-i-Bāhī (Figure 23: C3/C12), but the unmarked R50 can be identified as a companion of a relief in Lahore Museum (Figure 23.1: inv. 588). Both have strong links to depictions of the same subject said to be from Takht-i-Bāhī (Figure 23.2-3): one in the Leitner Collection of the Berlin Museum of Asian Art (inv. I 95), the other in the British Museum (inv. 1899,0715.10).

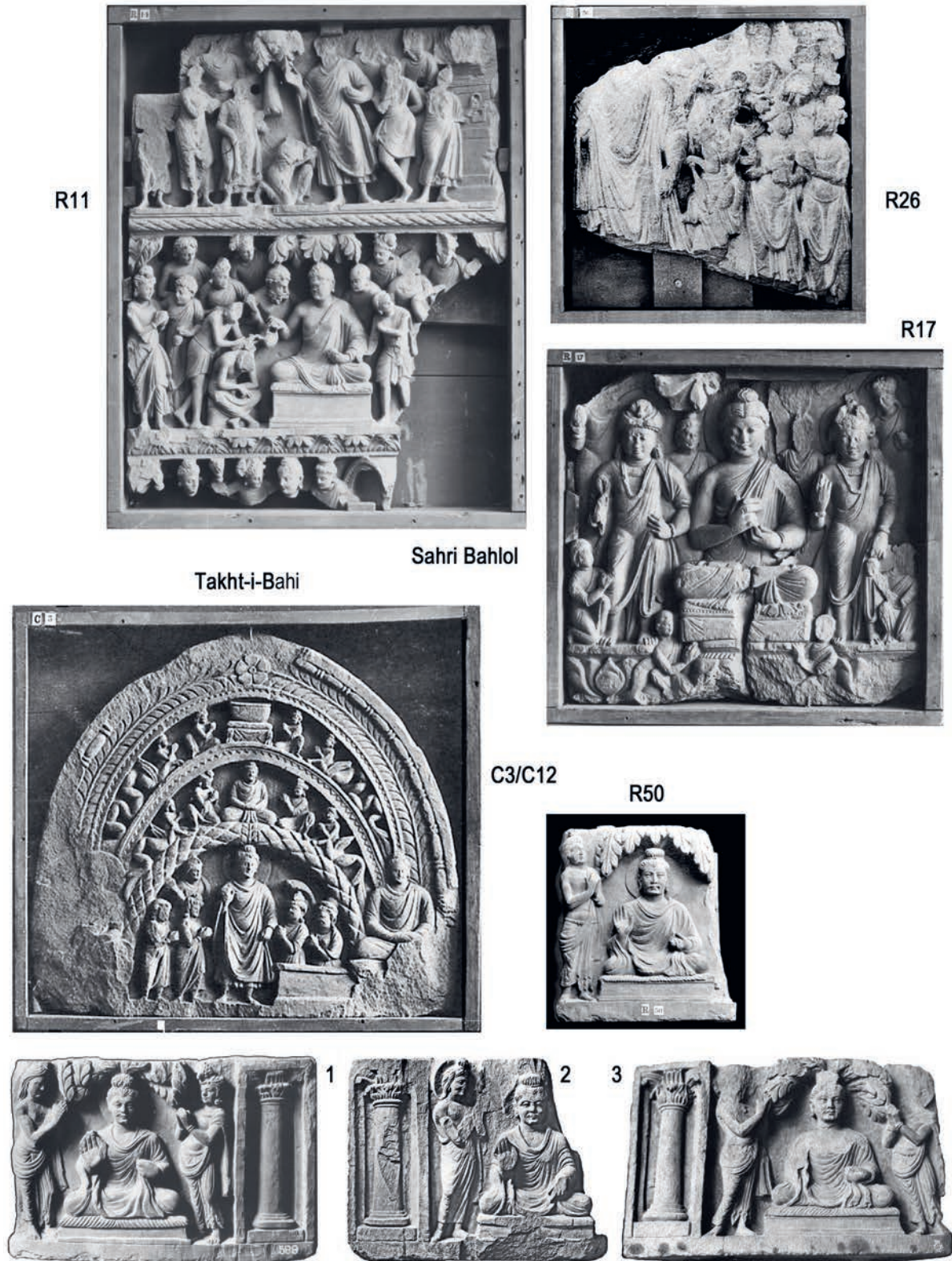


Figure 23. Appendix B sculptures from Sahrī Bahlol (R14, R26, R17) and Takht-i-Bāhī (C3/C12, R50). 1-3: Reliefs from Takht-i-Bāhī linked to R50. (1) Lahore Museum inv. 588/G262/GR9 (photo: courtesy of the Warburg Institute). (2) Berlin Museum of Asian Art inv. I 95 (Leitner Collection; photo: copyright Museum of Asian Art). (3) British Museum inv. 1889,0715.10 (photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).



S16



R41

Kharkai  
incised 'K'

R31



S15



R18/R32



P-: G159



E6: G83i

Figure 24. Appendix B sculptures from Kharkai, incised 'K': two seated bodhisattvas (S15–16); three reliefs (R18/32, 31, 41); a square pillar (P- /G159) and an atlas (E6/G83i). (Photos: courtesy of the Warburg Institute.)

Kharkai  
incised 'K'

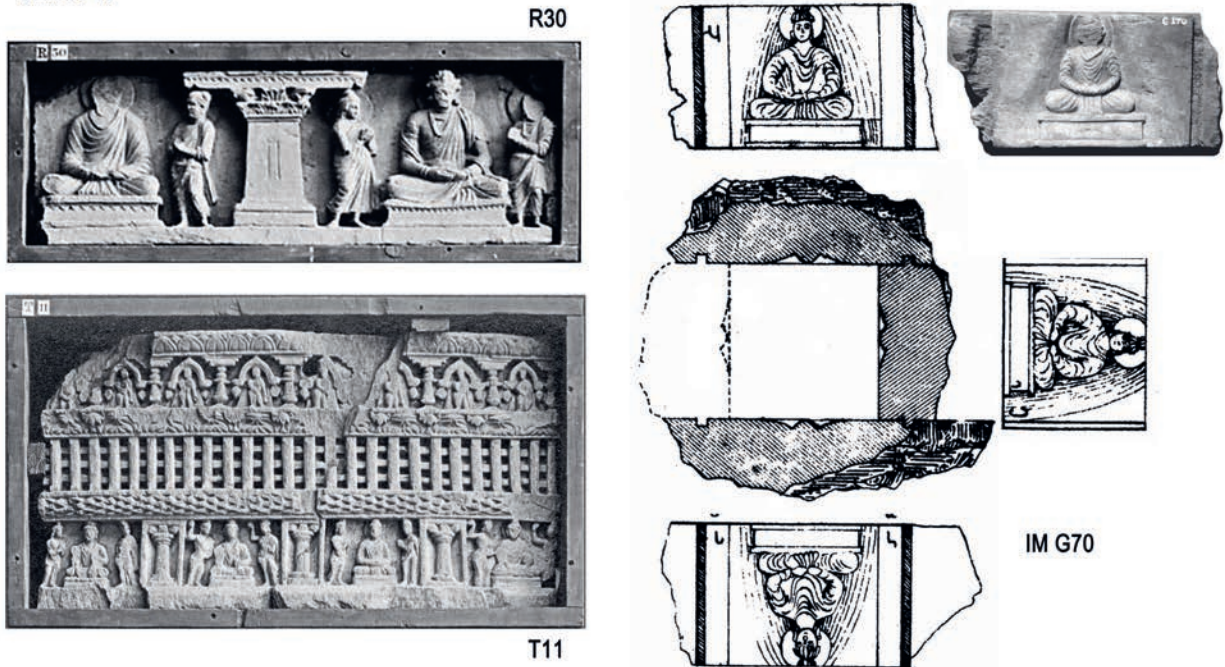


Figure 25. Appendix B sculptures from Kharkai, incised 'K' (R30, T11); drawing of a relic cell from Kharkai (Indian Museum, inv. G70; Cunningham 1875: 54, pl. XII).

Again, Appendix B lists only one sculpture from Kharkai (R41: actually two fragments boxed together, comprising a Buddha in *dharmachakramudrā* and part of a relief depicting the attack of Māra; Figure 24: R41). Cunningham also published a drawing of the three sides of a relic cell found at the site (Figure 25; 1875: 54, pl. XII). Although he omits to mention it, a further nine sculptures noted so far in the Indian Museum are incised 'K' denoting Kharkai (Figures 24-25; see Table of records). The 'K' can be clearly seen on R18. It should not be confused with the incised 'K' sculptures in Lahore Museum, which are from Karamar (Maxwell 1882).

Although 'nine-tenths' of the finds are attributed to Jamālgarhī, not all have an incised 'J'. This occurs particularly when the subject matter is repetitive as with the atlantes (Figure 16; Table of records: E4-6). An additional complication is that some of Cunningham's Appendix B photographs are annotated on the back in his handwriting as being from 'Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī' (British Museum's Asia Department), a designation that is repeated by James Burgess (1900; see Table of records: R50, S9-13).

Crompton says that in the main *stūpa* courtyard of Jamālgarhī were 'many fragments of large statues of Buddha, but few good or perfect specimens' (Errington 1987: Appendix 6, 448). In contrast, at Takht-i-Bāhī in 1871, Wilcher collected '46 human heads; 35 squatting human figures; 75 erect human figures' i.e. 110 Buddha and bodhisattva statues, 46 heads and little else (Errington 1987: appendix 4, 437). Only four Buddha statues are recorded in Appendix B (Figure 26: S1-4). Stylistically they appear to be a rather disparate group, unlike the seated Buddhas from the 1920-1921 Jamālgarhī excavations. Only one has been examined (S1) and it lacks a 'J', so could be from Takht-i-Bāhī. There is a strong possibility that S2-4 are from Takht-i-Bāhī too, given the high number of statues retrieved from the site, in contrast to the paucity of examples from Jamālgarhī. Only one Buddha statue has been found with a 'J' and it is not in Appendix B, but was given to the India Museum in London by Captain Blair, Executive Engineer of Peshawar in the



Figure 26. Buddha statues from Appendix B (S1-4) and the 1921 excavations (ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 62, no. 1891); Blair Collection British Museum inv. 1880.189, incised 'J' (photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).

early 1870s and transferred to the British Museum in 1880 (Figure 26: Blair Collection no. 7; Zwalf 1996: no. 13). An intact seated Buddha in the British Museum is also attributed to Jamālgarhī (Figure 27.2; Zwalf 1996: no. 24: ht. 3ft/94cm), as is a large standing Buddha lacking its lower legs and pedestal in the Lahore Museum (Figure 27.1: Lahore Museum inv. 948, Ingholt and Lyons 1957: 110, no. 202; ht 5.25 ft/160 cm).

According to Crompton (Errington 1987, appendix 6: 447), in Courtyard 3,

A great number of statues of men, with moustaches, with jewellery on the neck and right arm, and with sandals on the feet, which I take to be those of kings, were found ... some in good preservation, the larger number considerably damaged; none as large as lifesize were found of these.



1. Lahore Museum 948/G379

2. BM 1895,1026.1



Figure 27. Buddha statues from Jamālgarhī. (1) Lahore Museum inv. 948/G379 (photo: courtesy of the Warburg Institute); (2) British Museum inv. 1895,1026.1 (photo: copyright the Trustees of the British Museum).

Appendix B includes thirteen bodhisattva statues (Figure 28), of which four have an incised 'J' (S5, 6, 12, 18), four have no provenance mark (S7, 11, 13-14) and five have not been examined (S8-10, 22-23). There appear to be stylistic links between some of the statues, e.g. S6 (incised 'J') and S8 (not seen), or S10 and S22 (both unexamined), or S7 (not incised) and S12 (incised 'J'). It is difficult to decide whether the lack of a 'J' in this last instance is due to inconsistency – as definitely occurred with the atlantes (Table of records: E4-7) – that not all the 1873 sculptures were incised with a provenance mark, or if many of the Buddha and bodhisattva figures are from the 1871 Takht-i-Bāhī excavation.

The bulk of the reliefs were also found in Courtyard 3, but it is too large a corpus of material to deal with here. The discrepancy in quantity of the finds between Courtyard 3 and the main *stūpa* enclosure is no doubt due to the more exposed location of Courtyard 1, the fact that schist sculptures had largely been replaced by stucco here and because the remains of Courtyard 3 were protected by being entirely buried, in part because some of the 'accumulated rubbish' of previous excavations (Cunningham 1875: 49). The 1920s excavations similarly had to contend with the spoil heaps of 1873.



Figure 28. Bodhisattva statues from Appendix B (S5-14, 18, 22-23) and the 1921 excavations (ASI Frontier Province 1920-1921: 57, no. 1878).

There are a further seventy sculptures in Lahore (fifty) and Chandigarh (twenty) with the identifying incised 'J' of the 1873 excavation which have also been traced, but are not included here. But the fact that they are still identifiable is thanks to Cunningham's inspired idea of incised provenance marks, his Appendix B list and for embracing the then novel use of photography for recording the finds. Archaeological practice may have been far from ideal by present day standards, but much can still be learned from the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century archaeological records.



## Abbreviations

AGBG	Foucher 1905
AMI	Burgess 1900a
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASIAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India Annual Report</i>
ASIFCAR	<i>Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle Annual Report</i>
ASIR V	Cunningham 1875
BM	British Museum
Cat.	Anderson 1883
GS	Burgess 1900b
Guide	Majumdar 1937
IM	Indian Museum, Kolkata
JASB	<i>Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal</i>
LM	Lahore Museum

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Table of records for illustrated Appendix B sculptures

<b>Key:</b> X no marks J Jamālgarhī K Kharkai ? not seen (X) incorrect <b>Abbreviations:</b> AGBG: Foucher 1905. AMI: Burgess1897. ASIR V: Cunningham 1875. Cat: Anderson 1883. GS: Burgess1900. Guide: Majumdar 1937.							
List/ photo	Fig.	Reg. no.	Subject	mark	Site	Size in inches	Bibliography
C 3/ C12	23	IM G59/A23265	Arch: worship of alms-bowl; Buddha; Nāga Kālīka	X	Takht-i- Bāhī	18.5 x 20.5	Cat 230; Guide 44; Appendix B: Takht-i- Bāhī. AMI pl.99.1
E 4	16	BM 1880.178	Atlas wearing boots; wings broken	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	GS pl.24.2
E 4	16	BM 1880.181	Atlas, bearded, booted; 1 wing lost	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 8.7	
E 4	16	BM 1880.183	Atlas, wearing boots; wings complete	X	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	part of series E4
E 4	16	BM 1880.179	Atlas, wings complete; left arm and leg broken	X	Jamālgarhī	ht 8.7	GS pl.24.4; part of series E4
E 4	16	BM 1880.182	Atlas, bearded, winged, booted	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	GS pl.24.3
E 4	16	BM 1880.184	Atlas winged; abraded, right arm lost.	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	
E 4	16	BM 1880.78	Atlas winged, booted, arm raised	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	
–	16. 3a	V&A IM 123-1918	Atlas, bearded, wearing boots; wings mostly lost	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	Reg. Jalalabad (X) R. de Villamil
E 5	16	IM G81d	Atlas winged, wearing boots	X	Jamālgarhī	7 x 5.5	Cat. 238; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81f	Atlas winged; cross-legged, knees on the ground	X	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 6.5	Cat. 238; Guide 161: Jamālgarhī; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81b/A23370	Atlas winged, bearded; right side lost	X	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 5	Cat. 238; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81a	Atlas winged, with hair- band and boots. 1 leg lost	J	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 7	Cat. 238; Guide 160; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81e	Atlas, bearded. No wings; both legs abraded	X	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 6.5	Cat. 238; Guide 163: Jamālgarhī; AMI pl.101
E 5	16	IM G81c	Atlas winged, in tunic and boots. Arms and leg lost	X	Jamālgarhī	7.7 x 5	Cat. 238; Guide 165: Jamālgarhī; AMI pl.101
E 6	16	IM G83a?	Atlas, bearded and winged	?	Jamālgarhī?	5.7 x 5.7	Cat. 238
E 6	16	IM G83f	Atlas winged, seated on plinth	X	Jamālgarhī?	6 x 6	Cat. 238; Guide 164: Jamālgarhī
E 6	24	IM G83i	Atlas with large wings, squatting	K	Kharkai	6 x 6	Cat. 238

E 6	16	IM G83g/A23351	Atlas winged, wearing tunic	J	Jamālgarhī	6 x 6	Cat. 238
E 7	16	IM G83e	Atlas bearded and winged	J	Jamālgarhī	5.5 x 5.5	Cat. 238
E 7	16	IM G83c?	Atlas bearded, winged; hand on knee	X	Jamālgarhī	5.5 x 5.5	Cat. 238
E 7	16	IM G83b	Atlas bearded, winged; hand on foot	J	Jamālgarhī	5.5 x 5.5	Cat. 238
E 7	16	IM G83d/A23352	Atlas: 1 wing; no arms; tunic with clasp	J	Jamālgarhī	5.5 x 4.5	Cat. 238; Guide 159
E 7	16	IM G83h?	Atlas: face, wings, right arm missing	X	Jamālgarhī?	6 x 5	Cat. 238
F 1	19	BM 1880.881	Draped balconies containing figures	J	Jamālgarhī	13 x 6.5	incised / red 1
F 1	19	BM 1880.61	Draped balconies containing figures	J	Jamālgarhī	28.2 x 6.5	incised / red 1
F 2	19	BM 1880.56	2 trees; deer and abraded animals	J	Jamālgarhī	22 x 7	incised 14
F 2	19	BM 1880.44	Upper part: trees; men; pack animals	J	Jamālgarhī	22 x 4.5	incised 11 / red 2
F 2	19	BM 1880.887	Upper part: herdsman lassoing a bull	X	Jamālgarhī	8.7 x 3.5	red 2
F 2	19	BM 1880.879	Lower part: human and animal legs and a tree (?)	X	Jamālgarhī	14.5 x 3.5	GS pl.22.5; incised 12
F 3	19	BM 1880.58	Female busts in foliage, pilasters	J	Jamālgarhī	35.5	GS pl.21.1; incised 3
F 3	19	BM 1880.60	Female busts in foliage, pilasters	J	Jamālgarhī	28 x 6.7	GS pl.21.1; incised / red 3
F 4	19	BM 1880.45	Viśvaṅtara and chariot; figures and trees	J	Jamālgarhī	28 x 7	AMI pl.151; incised 9, 10 / red 4
F 4	19	BM 1880.48	Viśvaṅtara jātaḱa: lion, figures, trees and hut	J	Jamālgarhī	27 x 6.5	GS pl.21.5; red 4
F 4	19	BM 1880.42	Viśvaṅtara giving away the elephant	J	Jamālgarhī	15.1 x 6.8	AGBG 283, fig.144; incised 4
F 5	19	BM 1880.884	Upper part of 2 abraded figures	J	Jamālgarhī	7.2 x 4	GS pl.22.4; incised 14 / red 5
F 5	19	BM 1880.33	11 figures including musicians	J	Jamālgarhī	20.2 x 6.8	GS pl.22.4; incised 5
F 5	19	BM 1880.47	Grazing animals; woman and child; man and lion seated in hut	J	Jamālgarhī	29 x 6.7	GS pl.22.3; incised / red 5
F 6	20	BM 1880.32	12 figures; doorway and tree	J	Jamālgarhī	32.2 x 7	GS pl.22.2; red 6
F 6	20	BM 1880.41	Maitrakanyaka jātaḱa (?): 10 figures; 3 doorways; and a boat	J	Jamālgarhī	38 x 6.7	GS pl.22.2; incised / red 6
F 7	20	BM 1880.38	Mahāsuka jātaḱa: a bird in a dead tree and 2 figures shown twice	J	Jamālgarhī	40.2 x 6.8	GS pl.21.3; incised / red 7

F 7	20	BM 1880.35	Avadāna: story of a monk, a jeweller and a thieving bird	J	Jamālgarhī	41 x 6.8	GS pl.21.3; incised 2 + 7 / red 7
F 8	20	BM 1880.54	Śyāma jātaḥ: youth collecting water is shot by a rāja hunting deer	J	Jamālgarhī	24.5 x 7	AGBG 279, fig.143; incised / red 8
F 8	20	BM 1880.55	Rāja leads parents from hut to their fallen son; the youth restored to life	J	Jamālgarhī	36.5 x 7	GS pl.21.4; incised / red 8
F 9	20	BM 1880.34	6 nāga musicians and a dancer	J	Jamālgarhī	16.7 x 6.8	incised / red 9
F 9	20	BM 1880.30	15 nāga musicians and dancers	J	Jamālgarhī	39 x 6.7	GS pl.22.5; incised / red 9
F 9	20	BM 1880.40	4 nāga musicians and a dancer	J	Jamālgarhī	11.5 x 6.7	AGBG 180 note; incised / red 9
F 9	20	BM 1880.36	9 nāga musicians and dancers; tree	X	Jamālgarhī	22.2 x 6.8	incised / red 9
F10	20	BM 1880.52	7 hunters and 2 lions; section lost	J	Jamālgarhī	35 x 6.8	AMI pl.151; incised 11
F10	20	BM 1880.886	Abraded fragment with human figures and a monkey (?)	J	Jamālgarhī	17.7 x 6.7	AMI pl.151; incised / red 10
F10	20	BM 1880.51	5 hunters; a lion; a boar and a tree	J	Jamālgarhī	24.2 x 7	AMI pl.151; incised / red 10
F11	21	BM 1880.885	Bacchanalian scene with 5 figures	J	Jamālgarhī	18.7 x 7.5	incised 11
F11	21	BM 1880.882	Bacchanalian scene with 11 figures	J	Jamālgarhī	25 x 6.7	incised 11
F11	21	BM 1880.39	2 musicians, 2 dancers, a tree and a horse rider: Candakinnara jātaḥ	X	Jamālgarhī	22 x 6.8	no marks
F12	21	BM 1880.358	Fragment: 2 figures; 2 trees; figure in hut; rider	J	Jamālgarhī	18 x 5	AMI pl.151; incised / red 12
F12	21	BM 1880.50	2 men leading a horse; a tree; a standing figure and a rider	J	Jamālgarhī	22 x 7	GS pl.22.1; AMI pl.151; incised 9 / red 12
F12	21	BM 1880.524	Horseman riding past a doorway; 2 figures	J	Jamālgarhī	12 x 7.6	J reversed; no other marks
F12	21	BM 1880.49	Upper part: 2 guards; 2 horsemen; figures and a tower	J	Jamālgarhī	31 x 5	GS pl.22.1; incised / red 12
F13	21	BM 1880.59	Swag with 5 putti; winged figures in upper spaces	J	Jamālgarhī	32.8 x 6.6	GS pl.21.2; incised 13
F13	21	BM 1880.883	Swag with 2 putti and 2 winged figures	X	Jamālgarhī	12.2 x 5.7	GS pl.21.2; incised / red 13
F –	21	IM G60	Abraded gable: 2 seated, 2 standing figures and pile of 3 heads; 2 trees	J	Jamālgarhī	25.7 x 6.7	Cat. 230; incised 4

F14	21	BM 1880.43	4 standing figures; trees; 1 doorway	J	Jamālgarhī	16 x 6.7	incised 8 / red 14
F14	21	BM 1880.46	2 seated, 4 standing figures; a tower, tree and doorway	J	Jamālgarhī	34.5 x 6.7	GS pl.22.3; incised 7 / red 14
F14	21	BM 1880.880	Half-open doorway and 3 figures	J	Jamālgarhī	10.7 x 6.7	GS pl.22.3; incised 2
F15	21	BM 1880.57	4 alternating tritons and Indo-Corinthian pilasters	J	Jamālgarhī	32.5 x 7	GS pl.21.2; incised / red 15
F16	21	BM 1880.37	Upper part of 7 standing musicians	J	Jamālgarhī	16.7x 7.1	GS pl.22.4; incised 16
F16	21	BM 1880.31	19 standing musicians and dancers	J	Jamālgarhī	40 x 7.2	GS pl.22.4; incised 2, 16 / red 16
M –	12	IM G157/5410	Elephant holding a bunch of flowers in his trunk	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 6	Cat. 252; AMI 6, pl.76; now 'Caddy collection (Swat)' (X)
M –	12		Elephant, abraded; forelegs broken; trunk lost	?	Jamālgarhī?	ht 6	not located
M –	12-		Elephant and headless mahout; trunk and forelegs lost	?	Jamālgarhī?	ht 6	not located
M –	12	IM G156/5412 /A23388	Elephant and mahout; end of trunk and forelegs broken	X	Jamālgarhī	ht 6	Cat. 251; AMI 6, pl.76; now 'Caddy collection (Swat)' (X)
P 1	14–15	IM G177/A23490	Corinthian half capital; bodhisattva in foliage	?	Jamālgarhī Courtyard 3	34 x 8	Cat. 255; Guide 241; AGBG 235, fig.112
P 1	141	IM G177a-b?	Lower half of Corinthian capital in 2 pieces	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 9	Cat. 255; AMI pl.77; ASIR V pl.L
P 2	14–15	BM 1880.172	Corinthian half capital; seated Buddha in foliage	X	Jamālgarhī?	28 x 5	ASIR V 191, pl.XLIX; AMI pl.78; painted 2
P 2	14	BM 1880.197	Lower half of Corinthian capital	X	Jamālgarhī?	15.7 x 5	AMI pl.78; ASIR V pl.XLIX
P 3	12, 15	IM G155	Upper Corinthian half capital; acanthus foliage	X	Jamālgarhī?	23 x 4.5	AMI pl.78; ASIR V 191
P 4	14–15	IM G158/A23492	Upper half capital; Buddha and 2 devotees in foliage	J	Jamālgarhī	21.8 x 4.7	Cat. 252; Guide 245; ASIR V 191, pl.XLIX
P 5	14–15	not located	Upper half capital; headless Buddha in foliage	?	Jamālgarhī?	21 x 5.1	AMI pl.78; ASIR V 191; not located
P 6	14–15	IM G161/A23494	Upper Corinthian half capital; acanthus foliage	X	Jamālgarhī?	21.1 x 4.8	Cat. 252; AMI pl.78; ASIR V 191
P 7	12, 15	IM G176a	Upper half capital; Buddha and a devotee in foliage	?	Jamālgarhī?	20 x 4.5	Cat. 255; ASIR V 191, pl.XLVIII
P 7	12	IM G176a	Lower complete Corinthian capital	?	Jamālgarhī?	12 x 3.2	Cat. 255; AMI 6, pl.76; ASIR V 191
P 8	14–15	BM 1880.357	Upper half capital; seated Buddha in foliage	J	Jamālgarhī	16.5 x 4	AMI pl.77; ASIR V 191

P 8	14.	BM 1880.327	Lower quarter section of Corinthian capital	X	Jamālgarhī?	13 x 4.7	AMI pl.77; ASIR V 191
P 8	14	IM G164 ?/St4	Lower quarter section of Corinthian capital	X	Jamālgarhī?	7.5 x 4.5	AMI pl.77; ASIR V 191
P –	15	V&A IM 3292-1883	Upper Corinthian half capital; acanthus foliage	J	Jamālgarhī	21 x 5	Reg. Takht-i-Bāhī (X) Punjab Govt.
P –	14-15	IM G162?	Centre section: upper Corinthian acanthus capital	?	Jamālgarhī?	12.5 x 5	Cat. 252; AMI pl.78; Reg. G162-4: 3 capital fragments
P –	15	BM 1889,0703.2	Centre section: upper Corinthian acanthus capital	J	Jamālgarhī	7.5 x 5	Reg. from Buner-Yusufzai frontier (X) H.A. Deane
P 10	12.	IM G122	Square corner pilaster; fragment of relief on 2 faces	J	Jamālgarhī	12.6 x 9	Cat. 245; Guide 171
P 11	12	IM G146	Square corner pilaster; fragment of relief on 2 faces	J	Jamālgarhī	12.6 x 9	Cat. 250; Guide 169
P 13	24	IM G159	Small square Corinthian pillar, 2 faces	K	Kharkai	ht 5.8	Cat. 252; AMI pl.149
P –	12	IM G176a	Half section of a <i>chattravali</i> base	?	Jamālgarhī?	14 x 3.5	Cat. 255; ASIR V 191, pl.XLVIII
R 6	22.1	IM G34/A23232	Dog barking at the Buddha; standing figures	J	Jamālgarhī	24 x 7.5	Cat. 219; Guide 82; AMI pl.79; AGBG 525, fig.257
R 7	22.2	IM G61/A23287	2 scenes: figure doing homage to the Buddha	J	Jamālgarhī	17.7 x 7.2	Cat. 231; Guide 135; AMI pl.79
R11	23	IM G11/A23282	2.5 tiers: Ordination of Nanda	X	Sahrī Bahlol	19 x 25	Cat. 209 Sahrī Bahlol; Guide 73; AGBG 464, fig.238
R15	R15	IM G17	2 tiers: seated monks; submission of Nāga Apālala	X		9.2 x 22.2	Cat. 212; AMI pl.102.3; Jamālgarhī AGBG 549, fig.272
R16	R16	IM G7	Back view of Vajrapāṇi; 4 figures holding lotuses	?		7 x 20	Cat. 207; AMI pl.102.2
R17	23	IM G24/5424/23218	Seated Buddha flanked by 2 bodhisattvas and devotees	X	Sahrī Bahlol?	18 x 16.7	Cat. 214; Guide 94: Loriyān Tangai (X)
R18/ R32	25	IM G31/A23270	Buddha seated under tree flanked by 6 devotees (duplicated as R32).	K	Kharkai	11 x 8.5	Cat. 217; AMI pl.146.8
R26	23	IM G15	Buddha torso, back view of swordsman, 6 figures	X	Sahrī Bahlol	14.7 x 14.2	Cat. 211; Appendix B
R30	24	IM G175/A23373	Seated Buddha/bodhisattva and devotees divided by a pilaster	K	Kharkai	17 x 5.7	Cat. 255; AMI pl.102.4
R31	24	IM G171	Figure feeding flame of fire altar	K	Kharkai	5.2 x 8	Cat. 254; AMI pl.147.5
R41	24		Part of tree; 4 figures in masks: host of Māra	?	Kharkai	10 x 18	not located; listed as R41: Kharkai



R41	24		Bust of preaching Buddha; right side and halo lost	?	Kharkai	5 x 11	not located; boxed as R41
R50	23	IM G63/A23379	Seated Buddha under tree; 1 standing devotee	X	Takht-i-Bāhī?	8.7 x 9.7	<i>Cat.</i> 231; <i>AMI</i> pl.92 Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
–	25	IM G170 a, b, c	3 slabs of relic casket, each with seated Buddha; incised <i>ar-a-de[va?]</i>	K	Kharkai	ht 6	<i>Cat.</i> 253; <i>ASIR</i> V 54, pl.XII
S 1	26	BM 1880.73	Standing Buddha. Right hand lost; pedestal abraded; fixed modern base	?	Jamālgarhī?	ht 35	<i>AMI</i> 7, pl.92; original stand: Jamālgarhī
S 2	26	IM G125a/A23214	Standing Buddha. Both hands lost; pedestal abraded	X		12 x 34	<i>Cat.</i> 245; <i>Guide</i> 259: Jamālgarhī; <i>AMI</i> pl.92
S 3	26	IM G145a/A23368	Standing Buddha. Pedestal: bodhisattva, 2 devotees	X		7 x 17.5	<i>Cat.</i> 250; <i>Guide</i> 332: Jamālgarhī
S 4	26	IM G148/A23518	Seated Buddha; rosette and dart pedestal. Hands lost	X		10.5 x 16	<i>Cat.</i> 250; <i>Guide</i> 334; <i>AMI</i> pl.92
S 5	28	IM G134/5014/A2319	Standing bodhisattva; garuda in turban; arms lost	J	Jamālgarhī	13 x 38.5	<i>Cat.</i> 247; <i>Guide</i> 315; <i>AMI</i> pl.83; 'Swat' (X)
S 6	28	BM 1880.72	Standing bodhisattva with halo; hands and feet lost	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 36	<i>AMI</i> pl.82; original stand: Jamālgarhī
S 7	28	IM G138/A23190	Standing bodhisattva; hair on shoulders; arms lost	X	Jamālgarhī?	11 x 30	<i>Cat.</i> 248; <i>Guide</i> 295: Jamālgarhī; <i>AMI</i> pl.83
S 8	28	IM G132/A23188	Bodhisattva standing on lotus decorated pot base	X	Jamālgarhī?	12 x 30	<i>Cat.</i> 247; <i>Guide</i> 306: Jamālgarhī; <i>AMI</i> pl.82
S 9	28	BM 1880.218	Standing bodhisattva. Pedestal: 4-petalled flowers	?		ht 30.5	<i>AMI</i> pl.82: Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
S10	28	IM G135	Standing bodhisattva. Nose, arms and legs lost	?		ht 32.5	<i>Cat.</i> 248; <i>AMI</i> pl.83: Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
S11	28	IM G130	Standing bodhisattva with halo. Arms and legs lost	X		ht 24	<i>Cat.</i> 240; <i>AMI</i> pl.84: Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
S12	28	BM 1880.198	Standing bodhisattva with halo. No hands or legs	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 22.2	<i>AMI</i> pl.84
S13	28	IM G150/A23375a, b	Standing bodhisattva on rosette and dart pedestal	X	Takht-i-Bāhī?	8 x 19	<i>Cat.</i> 251; <i>Guide</i> 325; <i>AMI</i> pl.84: Takht-i-Bāhī or Jamālgarhī
S14	28	IM G131a/A23369	Standing bodhisattva; long locks; no hands or legs	X		ht 15	<i>Cat.</i> 240; <i>AMI</i> pl.84
S15	24	IM G142	Seated bodhisattva; hole for jewel in forehead	K	Kharkai	15 x 20.5	<i>Cat.</i> 249; <i>Guide</i> 317; <i>AMI</i> pl.88
S16	24	IM G140/A23498	Seated Maitreya; fire-altar on pedestal	K	Kharkai	12 x 20	<i>Cat.</i> 249; <i>Guide</i> 309; <i>AMI</i> pl.88

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T4	22.3	BM 1880.103	2 fragmented Buddhist scenes	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 6.7	AMI 7, pl.101
T4	22.3	BM 1880.74	2 scenes: <i>Dīpaṅkara jāta</i> ka,	J	Jamālgarhī	ht 6.8	AMI 7, pl.101
T11	25	IM G96	3 tiers: arches and pilasters; railing; Buddha and devotees	K	Kharkai	18 x 9.5	Cat. 241; AMI 14, pl.150