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Editorial Notes

The authors are responsible for the linguistic and technical qualities of their texts. The editors only tried to ensure minimum coherence to the articles. The editors always reserve the right to make any changes to manuscripts to maintain the Journal's standards. Articles with serial numbers are evaluated through the blind reviews to ensure compliance with the ethical rules of this Journal and the guidelines of Higher Education Commission (HEC), Pakistan.

JAC Vol. 46, No. 2, is dedicated to the memory of Sana Ullah Shinwari, one of the authors of this issue (*A Study of Confiscated Ceramics from Balochistan: The Collection of Islamabad Museum*). Sana Ullah Shinwari was a brilliant and well-respected student at the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, who had just completed his MPhil, but had also been selected as an Assistant Director at the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums in his home province of Balochistan. Unfortunately, he passed away with his beloved mother in a car accident on the 7th of February 2024, when this volume was in the print, leaving a great void among his colleagues and friends.

Our esteemed colleague Luca M. Olivieri (*Sitara-i-Imtiaz* Pakistan) has announced that with this issue he will end his collaboration as Editor of this Journal to make way for younger colleagues.
As of the next issue, he will assume the position of Chairman of the Scientific Board of the Journal.
Therefore, as of the next issue, Mueezuddin Hakal has been appointed Editor, and Elisa Iori Assistant Editor.
Luca M. Olivieri, who has been collaborating with this Journal since 2011, assumed the position of Editor in 2017 and has held it with dedication and constancy for 7 years (from Vol. 38, No. 1, June 2017, to Vol. 45, No. 2, December 2023).
For this we sincerely thank him.

The Editorial Board

The Beads from Gandi Umar Khan in the Gomal Plain, Pakistan: An Introduction

Ayesha Hina / Zakirullah Jan

Abstract

The mature Harappan period urban centre of Gandi Umar Khan is located to the west of Dera Ismail khan city in the Gomal Plain of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in the Northwestern South Asia. Discovered in 1997, the site of Gandi Umar Khan was excavated jointly by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar in 2003 and in 2004. Four cultural periods have been identified namely the Tochi-Gomal, Transitional, Kot Diji and mature Harappan ranging in date tentatively from 3300 to 1900 BC, based on relative chronology from identical sites in the region. In addition to a large number of cultural artifacts such as ceramics, figurines, metal objects and tools, about 1504 beads, pendants, seal and amulets made of stone, bones, terracotta, shell, copper alloys, gold and glass were also discovered during these excavations. Here focus is made only the beads from the site. The extensive study of these beads is fascinating because they can provide significantly more information about populations' mining and technological abilities, as well as their economic and social activities, that we can imagine. Besides, they help us dating and contextualizing other material. The study examines the bead collection in the context of materials utilization as well as its typology, origin and cultic significance. The purpose is to know a better understanding of the significance of the Gandi Umar Khan site in the Gomal Plain.

Keywords: Gandi Umar Khan, Gomal Plain, Beads.

1. Introduction

The focus of the article is to provide an overview of the collection of beads made from Gandi Umar Khan in the Gomal Plain. The importance of Gandi Umar Khan on the Gomal Plain during the Indus Civilization cannot be ignored (Jan, Ali and Khan 2008: 15-30). It yielded a handsome amount of imported material (dating from the end of the 4th millennium B.C. to the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C). Beads represent the earliest form of enduring decorative items created by humans. Beads are little, elegant, long-lasting and precious artifacts that were usually common in all the ancient communities, which are widely recognized as fundamental elements

of human adornment (D'Errico et al. 200): 16051-16056). The utilization of these items exhibits variability not only across different generations, but also transcends various socio-economic, political, and cultural contexts (Pokornowski 1979). One may understand when, how, and where the beads were manufactured and what are their sources by analyzing their material, style, adornment and production processes (Dubin 1987). Beads may significantly supplement the available data obtained from the study of stone tools and ceramics, regarding socioeconomic relations and establishing chronology. It also throws light on sophisticated technology and the area's trade network (Francis 2003: 368-376). The beads are made for other purposes as well rather than decoration. Reliant on the material and/or form and style of the bead, they might have had a spiritual, economical, religious, magical, or medicinal sphere as well (Kenoyer 2007). In this approach, we may obtain a sense of how ancient cultures thought and believed. Subsequently, most beads appear to have been made locally at Gandi Umar Khan, and specific amulets/pendants, beads ornamentation, and colour priority have certain symbolic significance that may have been adopted in the region. Such finds demonstrate that the people of Gandi Umar Khan were aware of the deeper meanings associated with various materials and bead types.

2. Beads Typology

A variety of beads are discovered at Gandi Umar Khan. Based on their material and shapes as well, the following types, are recognized, which is established according to the methods of Beck (1928) and Kenoyer (2007). The latter recently created a systematic framework for explaining various bead types and forms. The form, shape, perforation, colour, material and decoration of the beads are all terms utilized in the approach, thus its vital to define them. Here some of Horace Beck and Mark Kenoyer's definitions have been conveniently used, such as long; very long; short; and very short beads, as they are widely accepted. If the bead's length is greater than its width, it is considered "long" and if the width is greater than the length, it is considered "short". Detailed length class measurements have been mentioned in Table 1 below.

Length Class	Category	Length
Very very short	1	0.1 - 1.0 mm
Very short	2	1.1 - 5.0 mm
Short	3	5.1 - 10.0 mm
Medium	4	10.1 - 20.0 mm
Long	5	20.1 - 30.0 mm
Very long	6	30.1 - 40.0mm
Very very long	7	>40.1 mm

Table 1 - Measurements followed to record the beads length.

3. Beads Shapes

The overall shapes of the beads, documented at Gandi Umar Khan, are mentioned below for better understanding and analysis (Fig. 1). Spherical beads have a sphere-like appearance. The barrel shape beads have blunted ends, giving the bead a distinctive barrel appearance. They are either segmented barrel or barrel with beveled ends. Cone shape beads have either simple cone-like appearance or truncated cone, having a single straight line in the profile that is not parallel to the axis and does not meet the perforation. The bicone (biconical) beads are made up of two equally symmetrical cones that cross in the middle of the bead on a definite line. They are either truncated bi cone with a profile made up of two straight lines at an angle to one another that do not intersect at the perforation or truncated convex bicone with two flat ends due to the curved profile not meeting the perforation. The cylinder shape beads have variations such as tapered, double chamfered, (bicone profile with a truncated cylindrical shape), cylinder with two convex ends, cylinder with one concave end, crenellated cylinder (with a series of wide notches along the perimeter, similar to cogwheel teeth), cylinder with depressed center, lenticular cylinder, and ellipsoid/ square cylinder. The oblate beads with a sphere that has been squashed from the top such that the diameter of the sphere from pole to pole is less than the diameter of the sphere from equator to equator are also there in repertoire. The teardrop / pear shape and pierced annular beads are also the types used at Gandi Umar Khan.

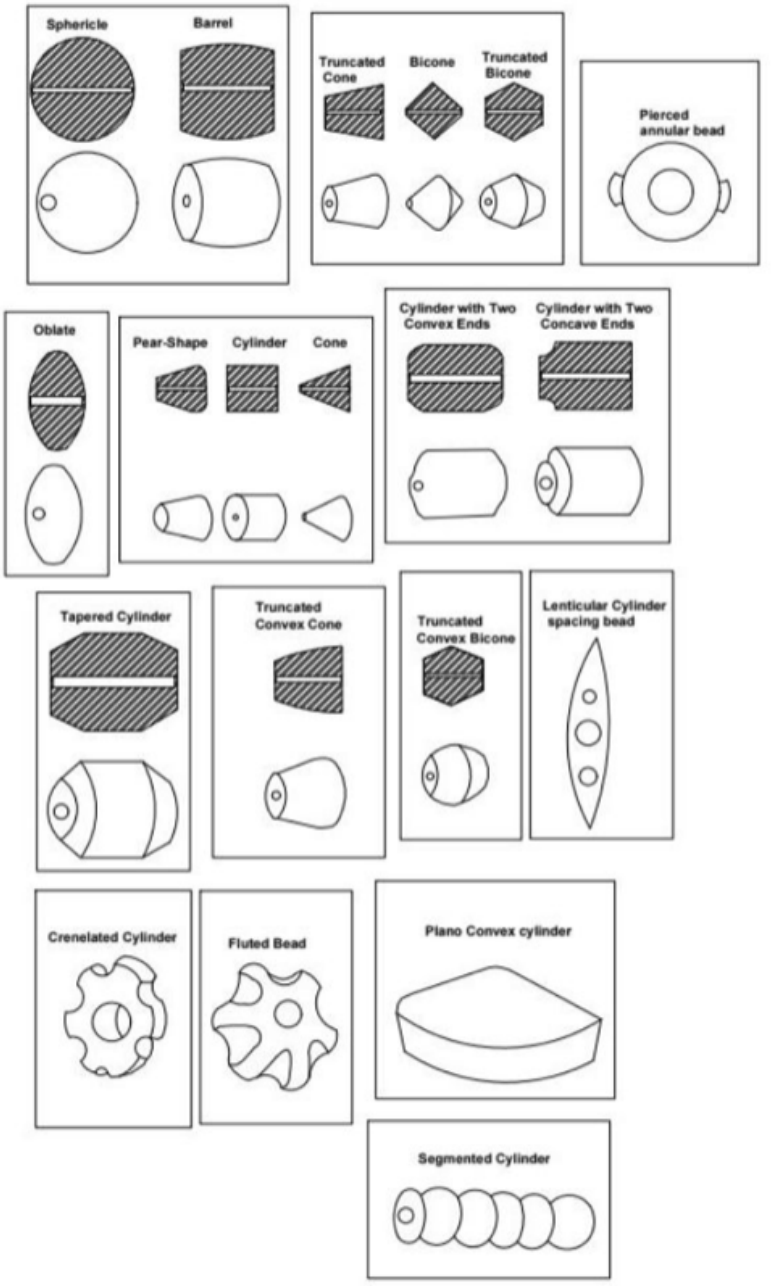


Fig. 1 - Shapes of the beads used at Gandi Umar Khan.

4. Material

About 1504 beads, pendants and button seals have been excavated from Gandi Umar Khan belonging to all the periods with majority of them belong to the mature Harappan period. The material of the beads was identified with naked eye from their texture, hardness and colour, in addition to several non-destructive methods in laboratory at the National Centre of Excellence in Geology, Peshawar University. However, due to complexity, material of the three beads have not been identified. Among these beads and pendants/amulets from Gandi Umar Khan (2003 and 2004), the steatite is outnumbering the terracotta and lapis lazuli. Carnelian beads are plentiful as well. A variety of material has been utilized in the making of beads, which are shown below (Table 2, 3 and Fig. 3).

No	Material	Beads of 2003 Excavation	Beads of 2004 Excavation
1	**Stones**		
1.1	Agate	21	42
1.2	Carnelian	35	87
1.3	Garnet	-	1
1.4	Marble	2	8
1.5	Turquoise	2	2
1.6	Lapis Lazuli	30	103
1.7	Jade	-	1
1.7	Jasper	10	18
1.9	Quartz	4	8
1.10	Serpentine	3	6
1.11	Alabaster	5	8
1.12	Slate	13	17
1.13	Amazonite	1	-
1.14	Calcite	-	3
1.15	Soap stone	-	2
1.16	Sand stone	8	5
1.17	Silt stone	-	3
1.18	Lime stone	12	65
1.19	Clay stone	15	20
1.20	Mud stone	1	2
1.21	Steatite	108	452

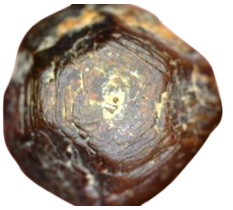
No	Material	Beads of 2003 Excavation	Beads of 2004 Excavation
2	**Organic material**		
2.1	Ivory/Bone	-	4
2.2	Shell	15	25
2.3	Terracotta	89	215
3	**Siliceous material**		
3.1	Glass	1	1
4:	**Metal**		
4.1	Bronze	7	13
4.2	Gold	1	1
4.3	Tin	-	4
5:	**Unidentified**	**1**	**2**

Table 2 - Material-wise number of beads from Gandi Umar Khan

[Below, on the next two pages: Fig. 3 - Various shapes of different material used for bead making at Gandi Umar Khan]

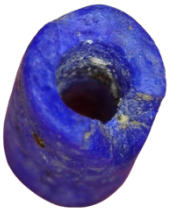

Agate


Carnelian


Garnet


Marble


Turquoise


Lapis Lazuli


Jade


Jasper


Quartz


Serpentine


Alabaster


Slate


Amazonite


Calcite


Soap stone


Steatite

Fig. 3 - Various shapes of different material used for bead making at Gandi Umar Khan (Photos by the Author/s).

Artifact type	Total Artifacts	Raw material	Unfinished beads
Terracotta Beads	304	/	11
Steatite, Lapis, serpentine, Garnet, Agate, carnelian, jasper etc. beads	1125	38	58
Copper/ Bronze, tin beads	24	/	/
Gold beads	2	1	/
Shell beads	40	5	6
Bone/ivory	4	/	/
TOTAL	1499	44	75

Table 3 - Gandi Umar Khan's unfinished beads and raw material from all periods.

Bead material	Total No.	Length class/category
Agate	63	2,3,4,5
Carnelian	122	1,2, 3,4,5
Garnet	1	3
Marble	10	2,4,5
Turquoise	4	2,3
Lapis Lazuli	133	1,2,3,4,5
Jade	1	4
Jasper	28	3,4
Quartz	12	2,3,4
Serpentine	9	2,3,4,5
Alabaster	13	2,3,4,5
Slate	30	3
Amazonite	1	3
Calcite	3	4,6
Soap stone	2	2
Sandstone	13	2,3,4,5
Silt stone	5	3
Limestone	77	2,3,4
Clay stone	35	2,3,4,7
Mud stone	3	2,3
Steatite	560	1,2,3,4,5
Ivory/Bone	4	2,3,4
Shell	40	2,3,4
Terracotta	304	1,2,3,4,5,6,7
Glass	2	Raw material
Bronze	20	1,2,3,4,5
Gold	2	2,3
Tin	4	1,2

Table 4 - Classifications of Bead Materials with Lengths Category.

The table 4 presented above demonstrates the categorization of bead materials based on their length, indicating that stones with lower hardness, such as terracotta, exhibit a wider range of length variations. This shows how terracotta is widely used and popular as a bead material. However, steatite is a soft stone as well and may thus be made into beads of various sizes. There are no long beads since the stone is too fragile to be produced in such a length due to the risk of it breaking. The shells, ivory and bone, which fall into different length groups. According to the above table, bronze beads are also thought to be attractive because they can be bendable, allowing for more complex and compact manufacturing than would be possible with exceedingly lengthy sizes. The most widely used beads in the Indus Valley Civilization were agate, lapis lazuli, and carnelian; as a result, we find here sophisticated beads in a variety of shapes and sizes.

Upon examination of the size distribution of beads shown in Table 5, it becomes evident that throughout the early Bronze Age, there was a limited range of options in terms of bead sizes. The prevailing trend was to go for standardised sizes that were simple to produce and did not need sophisticated technological advancements. In contrast, subsequent stages have a greater prevalence of micro beads and short beads, particularly with the incorporation of elongated beads, in comparison to the earlier phases.

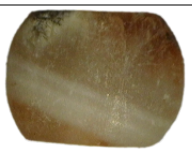
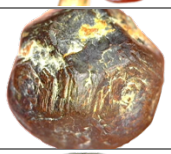
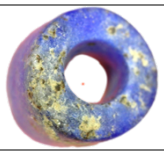
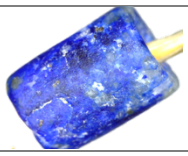
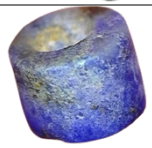
Period	Very very short	Very short	Short	Medium	Long	Very long	Very very long	Total
Layer 19 Tochi	0	Number	0	0	0	0	0	0
		%						
Layer 18 & 17 Transitional	1	10	7	3	1	0	0	22
% age	4.5%	45.45%	31.82%	13.64%	4.55%			
Layers 13, 14, 15, & 16 Kot Diji	7	35	16	8	0	0	0	66

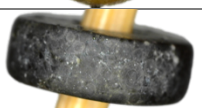
% age	10.61%	53.03%	24.24%	12.12%				
Layers 1- 11 (A, B, C) Mature	237	422	352	100	39	15	31	1196
% age	19.82%	35.28%	29.43%	8.36%	3.26%	1.25%	2.59%	

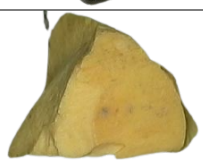
Table 5 – All beads Distribution by Sizes

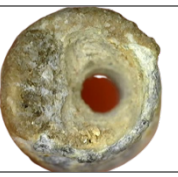
This demonstrates that throughout the late Bronze Age, there was advancement in technology that allowed for the production of a greater variety of sizes in a more sophisticated manner. The following table 6 illustrates the progression towards a higher standard of living, as seen by the representative assortment of beads over different time periods.

[Below, on the next five pages: Table 6 – Representative Types of Beads in Each Material per Period]

Bead material	Layer 19 Tochi Gomal Phase	Layer 18 & 17 Transitional Phase	Layers 13, 14, 15, & 16 Kot Diji Phase	Layers 1- 11 (A, B, C) Mature Harappan Phase
Agate	-			
Carnelian	-	-	-	
Garnet	-	-	-	
Marble	-	-	-	
Turquoise	-	-	-	
Lapis Lazuli	-			
Jade	-	-	-	

Bead material	Layer 19 Tochi Gomal Phase	Layer 18 & 17 Transitional Phase	Layers 13, 14, 15, & 16 Kot Diji Phase	Layers 1- 11 (A, B, C) Mature Harappan Phase
Jasper	-	-	-	
Quartz	-		-	
Serpentine	-	-		
Alabaster	-	-		
Slate	-	-		
Amazonite	-	-		-

Bead material	Layer 19 Tochi Gomal Phase	Layer 18 & 17 Transitional Phase	Layers 13, 14, 15, & 16 Kot Diji Phase	Layers 1- 11 (A, B, C) Mature Harappan Phase
Calcite	-	-	-	
Soapstone	-	-	-	
Sandstone	-	-		
Silt stone	-	-	-	
Limestone	-			
Clay stone	-			

Bead material	Layer 19 Tochi Gomal Phase	Layer 18 & 17 Transitional Phase	Layers 13, 14, 15, & 16 Kot Diji Phase	Layers 1- 11 (A, B, C) Mature Harappan Phase
Mud stone	-	-	-	
Steatite				
Ivory/Bone	-	-	-	
Shell	-			
Terracotta	-			
Glass	-	-	-	
Bronze	-	-	-	

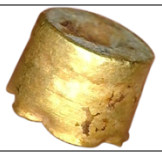
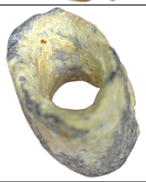
Bead material	Layer 19 Tochi Gomal Phase	Layer 18 & 17 Transitional Phase	Layers 13, 14, 15, & 16 Kot Diji Phase	Layers 1- 11 (A, B, C) Mature Harappan Phase
Gold	-	-	-	
Tin	-	-	-	

Table 6 - Representative Types of Beads in Each Material per Period.

5. Discussion and Conclusions

At Gandi Umar Khan, an enormously diverse and valuable bead assemblage was uncovered. The majority (about 427) of the beads in this collection were crafted of semi-precious stones. The diversity in the semiprecious stones at Gandi Umar Khan reflects the local craftsmen's most and least preferred semiprecious stones, such as carnelian, agate and lapis lazuli, which were more preferred than jasper, quartz, serpentine and turquoise. The first impression is that these beads from Gandi Umar Khan exhibit significantly higher craftsmanship. Due to the lack of natural stones with appropriate structure, bead makers at Gandi Umar Khan developed inventive techniques for producing a wide range of created beads. The techniques and designs used to make beads at the Gandi Umar Khan site offer a distinctive viewpoint on the complex history of the community.

Terracotta and steatite make up the majority of the beads assemblage that was a readily available and simple-to-manufacture substance in the nearby area. Only 136 additional stones, 4 bones, and 40 shell beads have been identified, despite the fact that these materials are found locally or regionally. The beads assemblage has 24 copper alloy beads, 2 glass beads, and 2 gold beads, which is fewer than the quantity of mineral beads. Gandi Umar Khan's trading commodities were most likely engraved carnelian beads. This archaeological investigation of Gandi Umar Khan states that individuals of Gandi Umar Khan not only obtained many exotic beads

through far-reaching exchange contacts, but also that beads were locally manufactured from marine shells and various semi-precious stones whose raw materials would have been sourced from other regions. Furthermore, the advanced-manufactured beads might have been exported to other various regions.

At Gandi Umar Khan's site, the craftsmen made beads out of every material that was conceivable, including terracotta, semi-precious stones and valuable material, gold, bronze, and tin. The existence of very complex micro beads, a wide range of forms, and a vast diversity of raw materials and semi-precious stones that are utilized to make beads is intriguing. The presence of raw material, unfinished beads (Table 3), and some beads production tools have been found from the site constituting indications of bead making. It demonstrates how handcraft technique has advanced along with semi-precious stone import and export. It also reflects the socioeconomic prosperity of the Gandi Umar Khan community.

The bulk of the beads in the Gandi Umar Khan were simple, basic forms made of a variety of semi-precious stones, terracotta, ivory, bone, and shell, as well as a constrained number of siliceous material and metal, according to the technology available throughout the early and later Bronze Ages. It is believed that the rapid morphological and technological development of local beads did not start until the end of the middle Bronze Age, and was particularly pronounced throughout the late Bronze Age. The jewellery of the Bronze Age in the Gandi Umar Khan was part of a developmental continuum growth that spanned from the Neolithic Age to the mature Bronze era. If not for significant looting and other disruptions throughout the past, the bead assemblage would contain valuable artifacts and exhibit signs of a rich accumulation. In this work, we have attempted to highlight the value and need of doing a comprehensive examination of the beads discovered at a site.

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A Study of Confiscated Ceramics from Balochistan: The Collection of Islamabad Museum

Sana Ullah Shinwari

Abstract

Ancient ceramics with attractive features of art have always fascinated the world and created a demand with a higher level of attraction for the artifacts. This has led the treasure hunters actively involved in looting the sites all around Balochistan. In the recent years, this phenomenon has increased at an alarming rate which endangered is harming to the archeology of Balochistan. Many consignments have been confiscated in the decade that include the artefacts from Balochistan. One of such consignments was confiscated in 2005 which includes the pottery of Naal and Kulli, a Bronze Age phase, from Balochistan. This research paper focuses on these artifacts have certainly lost their context, but they are still important as they give numerous clues about the ancient inhabitants of Balochistan. In order to understand these hidden clues, the authors have analyzed the artifacts through observations and comparisons. While doing so, we have been able to trace their tentative position in chronological profile of Balochistan. Apart from the descriptive study of pottery, the paper also deals shortly with treasure hunting and illicit trafficking of archaeological materials of Balochistan.

Keywords*:* Balochistan, Archaeology, Naal and Kulli Cultures, Ceramics, Confiscated Materials

1. Introduction

Archaeological significance of Balochistan province of Pakistan, is marked by this discovery of sites revealing the origin and development leading to maturity as Indus valley Civilization. The credit for discovering its antiquity goes to contributed scholars, who achieved this in over a century survey, excavation or both combined, in different part of Balochistan. Their efforts have resulted in the discovery of about seven hundred ancient sites of different periods which now portrays a presentable picture of the area. As we are dealing with the confiscated materials of Naal and Kulli, they have also found these wares too (Mockler 1877, Stein 1929, 1931, Hargreaves 1929, Ross 1946, Fairservis 1956, 1959, 1971, de Cardi 1959 1965, 1983, Field 1959, Dales 1962, 1966, 1974, 1979, Dales and Lippo 1992, Raikes 1968, Casal 1966, Mughal 1972, 1974, Besenval and Sanlaville 1990,

Besenval 1992, 2005, Jarrige et al. 1995, Jarrige et al. 2013, Franke 1997, Franke-Vogt 1999, 2008 2016). In 2005, a consignment of illegal archeological materials was confiscated from Islamabad Airport in Islamabad, Pakistan by the Custom Authority authorities of Pakistan. This consignment interestingly possessed about 18 pottery pieces which can be claimed from Bronze Age Balochistan i.e., Naal and Kulli wares which were probably dug out from a few sites. They were handed over to Department of Archaeology and Museums (hereafter: DOaM). Now, these objects are in Islamabad Museum, some placed for exhibition also connivingly, this has not been the first time noted treasure hunting and illegal trafficking. Their activities have long destroyed hundreds of sites and the contexts of the artefacts. There is no doubt that hundreds of objects are in different countries in private collections or displayed. It is because the international laws are not well defined or in devolved countries favor. This has led to encouragement of antique mafia in Pakistan in their activities who have most probably succeeded in deporting several consignments out of the country and some have been confiscated too. Although written legislation exists about controlling them, yet not fully implemented (Antiquity Act 1975, KPK Act 2016.)

Naal and Kulli pottery types are different with their own identities. Naal (Jarrige et al. 2011: 13-4) and Kulli (McIntosh 2008: 163) wares have mainly been documented in southern Balochistan (Naal: c. 3100-2700 BCE) (Cortesi 2015: 165) (Kulli: c. 2600-1900 BCE) (Jarrige et al. 2011).

2. An Account on Treasure Hunting and illegal trafficking of artefacts in Balochistan

There is no District where the mounds/sites have not been vandalized for treasures. The literature is full of such references; in other words, there is almost no research book or article on ancient Balochistan which does not mention treasure hunting. To mention a few, Mockler (1877), Hargreaves (1929), Stein (1929; 1931), Fairservis (1956; 1959; 1971), Raikes (1968), Besenval and Sanlaville (1990), Franke (1999; 2014; Franke et al. 2000), etc. mention in one way or the other about treasure hunting activities all over Balochistan. One of the major reasons are that the even major sites are not guarded let alone the other ones in Balochistan (Bukhari and Elahi 2015: 1). However, the sites near the main city of Balochistan are under the observation which has recently been actively working on the heritage.

However, in addition, the inhabitants of Balochistan regard the ancient sites as treasures. According to Matheson (1967: 148) during her survey in northeastern Balochistan, "any prehistoric site yielding signs of human occupation were looked upon as a potential treasure trove". Same is the case in Panjgur, Washuk, and Khuzdar Districts of Balochistan. While surveying Panjgur and Washuk districts, the co-author was always first thought of a treasure hunter. Sometimes even told the real purpose but they did not believe since they have not seen or heard anything like it in these regions. The treasure hunters now-a-days always used modern equipment to search treasure. They have myths too. Sometimes they accompany *Mullas* (a religious figure) who is thought to control the ghosts who the treasure has been entrusted to. The dealears who are powerful cannot be controlled, they think, different consignments have been confiscated in the two decades with the artefacts of Balochistan (Bukhari and Elahi 2015: 1). There are many internet sites which are bidding the artifacts of Balochistan openly in the market (i.e. www.ebay.com; www.picclick.com; etc.). In most of the developed countries, open bidding of ancient artifacts is a common phenomenon too. According to Franke (2015: 8), Balochistan has many artifacts beneath the ground but sadly most of them have already been lost.

Naal Ceramics

They are either very fine, fine, or medium to coarse fabric. They are either wheel-thrown or coil made. The common shapes are necked globular jars, carinated beakers, globular pots, biconical pots, etc. (Cortesi 2015:). They are decorated with geometric, zoomorphic and plant patterns. These are arranged in different registers or panels (Uesugi 2017: 141-42), and in different combinations (Cortesi 2015: 169). There is basically the repetition of a motif by multiplying its outline, often in concentric fashion. Red, blue, or yellow pigment is often applied to the spaces between out lines. In terms of paintings, there are three types: monochrome, polychrome (Hideaki et al. 2009: 79), and bichrome (Cortesi 2015: 168; see also Possehl 1999: 582).

Kulli Ceramics

The beginnings of Kulli ware are problematic; it has been claimed that the ceramics of Nausharo Period ID are the prototypes of Kulli ware because of their designs and dating back to *c.*2700-2600 BCE (Uesugi 2017: 192). To add more, the ceramics of Kulli have been classified from the excavations

at Nindowari as Kulli A (from Period II) and Kulli B (from Period III) (Jarrige et al. 2011: 186). The ceramics are made on wheel and turntable. However, only a small number seems to be produced completely from the wheel throughout (Hideaki et al. 2013: 95). The shapes are bowls, cylindrical vessels, flared wall jars, carinated pots, globular jars, plates, dish-on-stand, vases, etc. (Jarrige et al. 2011: 225-61, 264-73). Buff and black ware are common (McCown 1946: 288) and they are fine (Hideaki et al. 2013: 95). It is rich in iconographic representations with other symbols and signs combined. The designs include geometrics (i.e. straight and wavy lines, rows of checkered triangles, festoons, etc.), zoomorphic (i.e. rows of humped bulls, rows of small caprids, and felines are frequently appear with sigmas, combs, and circle motifs) and naturalistic (i.e. plants) (Jarrige et al. 2011: 95, 97-8, 186). It is well fired (Hussain 2019: 237). It has been found in domestic and burial contexts (Uesugi 2017: 231).

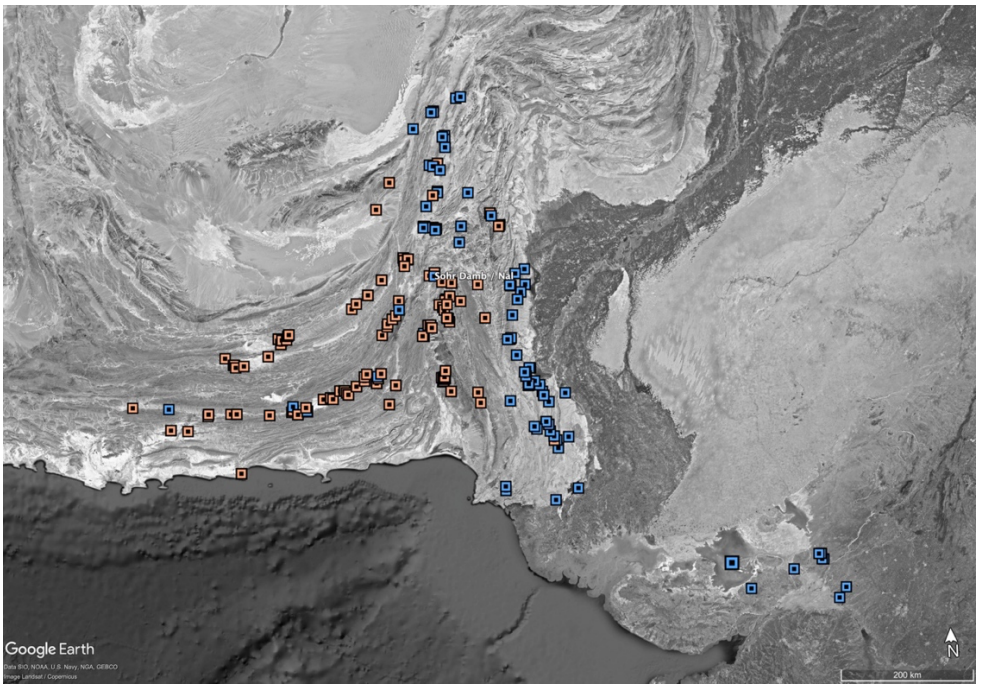

Fig. 1 - Map of Amri-Naal [blue] and Kulli [orange]
(Locations marked by Randall Law, developed by M. Hakal).

3. Description of the Confiscated Collection

There are eighteen pottery artefacts from the confiscated materials of International Airport Islamabad in 2005. Some of the confiscated ceramics have been displayed in Islamabad Museum and the rest of the ceramics kept in the storage room of DOAM. After their analysis and proper study, it is proved that they belong to Naal and Kulli culture of Balochistan which are described above.

The number of Naal ceramics is twelve under study of different kinds and decorations. The Naal ceramics are either very fine or fine and well fired. They have similar fabric and pottery forms as discussed above. All the ceramics are decorated. They have geometric, animal and plant motifs, sometimes in friezes, similar to those documented in the earlier records. They are arranged in panels. They are monochrome, bichrome and polychrome with use of colors like black, brown, red, blue, yellow and white on the background for the clearer and more effects of the paintings. Furthermore, their making techniques as observed is most likely wheel and turntable made. The shapes also clearly resemble those of Naal wares in the records. They are certainly unmatchable in South Asia. Their careful making and finishing with thoroughly drawing the paintings may have taken them some time. It is likely that they had specialists in the field of pottery making and their paintings. They can be called the experts of their time. They have diverse and unique aesthetic sense. The ceramics of this culture are a delight to look. They certainly give the museum collection an extra edge since they stand out from other artifacts (see Catalogue 1-11).

The Kulli type ceramics have uniqueness in its own type. They are five. In terms of fabric, it is more like the Kulli ceramics i.e., mostly buff. They are fine most probably made with wheel and turntable. All of them are painted in black. The painted motifs are wide eyed bulls often tethered in combination with geometric motifs, different plants, sigmas, circles, etc. always organized in panels. All the shapes present here resemble the Kulli shapes. Black color is dominantly used for decorations; however, in one case red is used as a filling color. They are crowded. The craftsmanship is commendable which is likely that of professionals in the field. There is no doubt of their exceptional quality. The execution of paintings may have taken caution and a long time since they are crowded. The bull, which frequently appears on the catalogued Kulli pottery, may be associated with their belief or it may be treated important for some uncertain reasons (see Catalogue 13-17).

A General Comparison of the Naal and Kulli Ceramics

Naal and Kulli cultures have more or less similar distribution areas but at different times i.e. Naal (*c.*3100-2700 BCE) and Kulli (*c.*2600-1900 BCE) (Uesugi 2017: 5). There is no rule regarding specific painting motifs and their execution on specific pottery shapes. It looks the ancient people of Naal culture did apply these openly on different shapes with no rules in mind. Both the wares carefully drew the drawings using different colors in panels using monochrome and bichrome; nevertheless, Naal culture has beautiful polychrome too. Naal is more unique and diverse in terms of designs. They draw geometric, naturalistic, and zoomorphic designs in differently and in different combinations. However, Naal culture used more beautiful colors than Kulli culture. They always have different shapes and fabric. The ceramics of these culture are well fired.

4. Discussion: A Comparative Study

Among the eighteen example, Naal and Kulli pottery is distinguishable. For instance (Fig. 1) shows similar features with intersecting circles in one row. However, this example is monochrome comparable to several other examples (Cortesi 2015: cat. 500; Uesugi 2012: fig. 80). The pottery with similar shapes and designs of Naal Culture have also been reported from various sites (Marshal 1904-5: fig. XXXIII; Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVI, No. 7; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 3-2, 3-3, 3-4, 3-6; Cortesi 2015: cats. 500-501, 504-505, 5015; Uesugi 2017: figs. 7-164). Moreover, there are three similar examples we noticed in previous studies with two rows of intersecting circles, but in design the rows of circles are organized with a bit of distance in other reported evidence (Uesugi 2017: Figs. 129-131). Such interesting circles are typically found on vaious shapes of pots, marking its relation to Naal culture, however, often found in one row (Marshal 1904-5: fig. XXXIV; Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVIII, no. 15, pl. XVII, No. 39; Stein 1931: fig. XXXIII, Nal. 6; Raikes 1968: fig. 10; Uesugi 2017: figs. 30-31, 33, 132; 2012: fig. 87; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 5-47, 21-3). The antiquity of this period can be dated to between 3100-2700 BCE.

There are shapes which to some extent resembles (Hargreaves 1929: Plate XVI, No. 6; Franke 2015: Cat. 209) the evidence of Kechi Beg culture (Fig. 2). In this culture we have evidences of almost the same types of

bichrome ceramics, but with slightly different decorations. However, the matching decorations are only panels with checkerboard decorations but not hatched rather filled (Franke 2015: cat. 207, 226). See Cat. 2 for shape comparisons. There are hatched triangles on similar pottery (Franke 2015: cat. 245) and multiple squares in differently arranged on other ceramics of Naal culture (Cortesi 2015: cats. 366, 398-399, 448, 450-451). Moreover, there is no comparative pottery with these decorations.

There is one pottery with the similar shape but different decorations (Franke 2015: cat. 208). There are no exact shapes but there are ones which can to some extent match this shape (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVI, no. 20; Franke 2015: cat. 208). Rows of horizontal hatched diamonds and standing hatched hourglasses do occur but they are somewhat differently organized (Shudai et al. 2010: fig. 5-33).

Hatched pipal leaves are also prevalent in Naal ware as attested by several scholars (Stein 1931: pl. XXVI, no. Nun. 18, II, Nno. Kar.b.4, Chakrabarti 2014: Ffig. 15b). There are examples on different shapes the hatched pipal leaves are very close to each other in a row (Uesugi 2017: figs. 17-23, 100-106; Cortesi 2015: cat. 543).

This type is recorded in by Cortesi (2015: cat. 354b). This shape is common in Naal culture; however, sometimes they have slightly outward walls (Hargreaves 1929: plate XVI, No. 6; Uesugi 2017: figs. 1, 4-6, 8-10, 14-15, 17-18, 20, 36-41, 43-48, 50, 54, 57-60, 63, 66-68; 2012: figs. 1-40; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 5-1 to 5-27; Cortesi 2015: cats. 354b-460). Such decorations are recorded on a different shape (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVIII, No.11; Chakrabarti 2014: fig. 15f). The same shape with the same motifs is recorded recently (Cortesi 2015: cat. 447). This form has been found commonly (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVI, No. 6). Hargreaves (1929: pl.XVIII, No. 8). The decorations are also found on another form (Franke 2015: cat. 560a).

It is one of the most frequently found shapes in Naal culture; nonetheless, slight differences may occur in them too (Marshal 1904-5: fig. XXXIV; Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVI, No. 5; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 2-1, 2-2, 2-3, 2-4; Cortesi 2015: cats. 583-608; Uesugi 2017: figs. 165-181). The almost same body decorations exist on a different form of pots (Uesugi 2017: pl. 1, 3-5, 8-10; Chakrabarti 2014: fig. 15a; Uesugi 2017: figs. 81-83; 2012: fig. 79). The single frieze of fish can be seen on different forms of Naal ware (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XX; Raikes 1968: fig. 10; Uesugi 2017: fig. 71-88; Cortesi 2015: cats. 369, 506-510). However, there is one example of the same shape but with two rows of fish on the body and the

upper part with a different decoration (Uesugi 2017: fig. 165). See Cat 8. for shape comparisons. Moreover, single intersecting circles are common in Naal wares (Hargreaves 1929: pl. XVII, no. 39). There is a multiple or double intersecting circles but differently arranged (Chakrabarti 2014: fig. 17d; Uesugi 2017: figs. 129-131). (Cortesi 2015: 252). see Cat. 8 for shape comparisons. Moreover, the co-author in a short scale survey to Khuzdar recently found two sherds with such decorations at Londo site.

There many comparative stands with different Naal decorations (Marshal 1904-5: fig. XXXIV; Franke 2016: fig. 31; 2008: fig. 30; Uesugi 2017: fig. 182). It has geometric designs in triangular shape on the body with black color on buff ware (Franke 2016: 185)

Bull and the scenes have several records in reports (Stein 1931: pl. XXX). However, there are many similar shapes recorded with different Kulli motifs or organization (Uesugi 2017: fig. 194; Shudai et al. 2010: figs. 4-5, 10-14; Franke and Cortesi 2015: cat. 720; Jarrige et al. 2011: fig. 24, Nos. 2-3). Nindowari site pot (Casal 1966: 14-15).

The bull surrounded with other elements has several records (Stein 1931). Similar shapes with bull and other motifs exist but somewhat differently decorated (Uesugi 2017: fig. 197; 2013b: fig. 40; Shudai et al. 2010: fig. 4-3; Possehl 1986)

The tethered bull surrounded by plants and other motifs have been reported many times (Stein 1931: pl. XXX; Uesugi 2017: figs. 185-191, 193, 195-198, 200, 202-204). Uesugi (2017: fig. 187; 2013b: figs. 35, 39-40) has given an almost the copy of the same pot with completely the same decorations but very few different ones. There is another similar pottery with slightly different decorations (Franke and Cortesi 2015: cat. 721).

These scenes and decorations are common in Balochistan archeology (Stein 1931: pl. XXX). There is one ceramic with the same shape with bull and surrounded by the typical Kulli pot scenes; however, they somewhat have different decorations (Shudai et al. 2010: fig. 4-1). It can be compared with pots which have different Kulli designs and some cordoned but the shapes somewhat match (Uesugi 2017: fig. 201; Jarrige et al. 2011: fig. 24. Nos. 7-11).

This shape has been found in a museum in Japan but with different Kulli decorations (Uesugi 2017: figs. 192-193; 2013b: fig. 41). Similar lobbed ware was discovered by Hargreaves at Naal (1929: pl. XIX, no. 3). (Cortesi 2015: 259)

There is a ring pot documented but its context are missing and it is also attached with animal figurines; it is associated with Kulli culture (Uesugi 2013a: 1-8).

5. Conclusions

To conclude, the eighteen confiscated ceramics in complete shape and almost all decorated, which are now either in Islamabad Museum or at DOAM, Islamabad, mostly belong to two well-known cultures of Balochistan—Naal and Kulli—which are dominantly found in southern Balochistan. The ceramic may have been dug out by treasure hunters from one part of Balochistan; however, the exact location cannot be determined. They were on the way to take out of Pakistan; nonetheless, they were caught. Though they have contexts from the sites, yet they are culturally important because they provide a lot of information about technology and aesthetics of the ancient people in Balochistan i.e. making techniques, shapes of ceramics which speak a lot about their use, paintings which provide information about the animals and plants they know. There is no doubt that many of the artifacts have already been excavated from all over Balochistan and exported to different countries of the world. Some of them are even exhibited in the western countries in the museums. Their making techniques (wheel and/or turntable made), paintings (geometrical, floral, and zoomorphic in monochrome, bi-chrome and polychrome), and other treatments mostly resemble with the existing data of Naal and Kulli cultures. They have likely been used for drinking, eating, preserving, decorations and in some cases used for ritual practices too. They, Naal and Kulli wares, probably have been kiln fired; they are well-fired as per the observations. Both the cultures show quality and diversity in the production of these ceramics. However, Naal culture has already been praised for its unique and diverse qualities. However, there is no pottery as beautiful as Naal ware in South Asia.

There are many such confiscated collection which require attention of the research. They may have lost their contexts, but they certainly do have cultural value. Moreover, it is pertinent for the responsible authorities to also work on the security issues particularly at the airports and seaports. The custom officers need to be trained in identifying cultural objects so that no one could take them illegally. They should take strides in controlling the illegal diggings. It can be done involving the locals of the areas if financial difficulties are the hurdles. Public awareness should be spread via multiple

mediums i.e. workshops, seminars, visit of mobile museums, research on the unknown heritage, etc.

Catalogue of Confiscated Ceramics from Islamabad Airport

1.	**Object:** Carinated non-necked pot; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE (Naal) *Measurements:* 16x16 cm
	Description: Wheel or slow turntable using clay coils, stone ware (fine and smooth), perpendicular rim, ring base, and damaged at one side of the rim *Decorations:* White slipped, (polychrome—black, blue and red), two friezes of intersecting circles; badly damaged from below the rim.
2.	**Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** *c.*3600-3200 BCE (Kechi Beg) **Measurements:** 10x15.3 cm
	Description: Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, everted rim, ring base, two cracks on the body *Decorations:* White slipped, bichrome—black and red, geometric motifs i.e. hatched squares arranged in rectangular panels and vertical and horizontal hatches organized in rectangular.
3.	**Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** *c.*3600-3200 BCE (Naal) **Measurements:** 10x13.4 cm
	Description: Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, perpendicular rim, ring base *Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (black), geometric designs like rows of hatched diamonds in panels and rows of squares in the spaces and other lines
4.	**Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** *c.*3600-3200 BCE (Naal); **Measurements:** 11.4x16 cm
	Description: Wheel made, stone ware—fine and smooth, everted rim and ring base *Decorations:* white slipped, monochrome (brown), geometric as hatched triangles and friezes of hatched lozenges arranged systematically in panels and few lines, incised line on the
5.	**Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE (Naal); **Measurements:** 9.3x7 cm
	Description: Wheel made or slow turntable using clay coil technique, stone ware; fine and smooth, everted rim and ring base *Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (brown), plant and geometric motifs like frieze of attached pipal leaves and zigzag ling crossing them
6.	**Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE (Naal); **Measurements:** rim 10.2 cm, base 4.4 cm, h. 7.6 cm
	Description: Wheel or slow turntable made of clay coils, stone ware; fine and smooth finish, perpendicular rim and ring base *Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (black), geometrics i.e. double zigzags filled with attached stepped motifs
7.	**Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE (Naal); **Measurements:** rim 11.5 cm, base 10.8 cm, h. 6.6 cm

	Description: Wheel or slow turntable made using coils of clay, stone ware; fine but rough because of stuck sand, perpendicular rim, ring base *Decorations:* Buff surface, monochrome (black), geometrics as stepped motifs in panels now dim or covered with sand
8.	**Object:** Canister; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE (Naal) **Measurements:** 7x14 cm
	Description: Wheel or slow turntable with clay coils, stone ware (fine and smooth finish), small mouth and perpendicular rim and flat base *Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (brown), geometric patterns i.e. a row of fish and double zigzag line in panels on the body and stepped patterns on the top
9.	**Object:** Canister; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE (Naal) **Measurements:** 10x20 cm
	Description: Wheel or slow turntable with clay coils, stone ware; fine and smooth, short mouth with small perpendicular rim, and flat base *Decorations:* White slipped, bichrome (brown and yellow), geometric intersecting circles and stepped bichrome motifs on the top of it.
10.	**Object:** Canister; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE (Naal) **Measurements:** rim 4.9 cm, base 8.9 cm, h. 5.2
	Description: Wheel or slow turntable using coils of clay, stone ware; having fine and smooth finish, small mouth with sharp rim, and flat base *Decorations:* White slipped, polychrome (black outline and red and yellow fillings), geometrics like intersecting diamonds and triangles which have further diamonds and other decorations inside and the top has intersecting frieze of circles
11.	**Object:** Jar stand; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE (Naal) **Measurements:** 20x17 cm
	Description: Wheel or slow turntable using coils, stone ware; fine and smooth, averted rim and ring base Decorations: White slipped, polychrome (black outlines, red and yellow fillings), geometric i.e. and an embossed head of a horned animal
12.	**Cat. 12. Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** *c.*3100-2700 BCE? (Naal?) **Measurements:** 7.8x12 cm
	Description: Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, slightly everted rim and ring base *Decorations:* White slipped, monochrome (black), geometric motifs as row of triangles and broad bands
13.	**Object:** Pot; **Period:** *c.*2600-1900 BCE (Kulli) **Measurements:** 18x20 cm
	Description: wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, everted rim and flat base *Decorations:* Buff ware, monochrome (black) geometric animal, and plant designs arranged in panels i.e. hatched wide eyed and tethered humped bull in Kulli style surrounded by plants and geometric motifs and there are strokes, friezes of hatched triangles and semi-circles arranged in panels.
	Object: Pot; **Period:** *c.*2600-1900 BCE (Kulli)

14.	**Measurements:** 14x9cm;
	Description: Wheel made, stone ware fine and smooth finish, everted rim supported with a neck and ring base *Decorations:* Buff ware, bichrome (black and orange) with geometric, animal and plant motifs in panel in typical Kulli style like hatched humped bull having wide eye is accompanied with plants, sigmas, circles, etc. and there is also a wavy hatched line on the above
15.	**Cat. 15. Object:** Straight-sided bowl; **Period:** *c.*2600-1900 BCE (Kulli) **Measurements:** 15x18cm
	Description: Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth, everted rim and ring base *Decorations:* Buff ware, monochrome (black) geometric, animal and plant decorations in combination in Kulli style i.e. hatched wide eyed and tethered bull with plants, sigmas, doted circles in panels
16.	**Object:** Pot; **Period:** *c.*2600-1900 BCE (Kulli) **Measurements:** 14x9.2 cm
	Description: Wheel made, stone ware; fine and smooth finish, everted rim with a neck and ring base *Decorations:* A similar pot has been recorded with somewhat similar decorations (Franke and Cortesi 2015: Cat. 730). Buff ware, monochrome (black) designs in typical Kulli style in panels like tethered wide-eyed humped bull accompanying plants and the above panel has hatched zigzag motifs
17.	**Object:** lobed bowl; **Period:** *c.*2600-1900 BCE (Kulli) **Measurements:** 8x7.5 cm
	Description: Wheel made, buff and fine, inverted lobbed or folded rim, ring base, *Decorations:* Buff ware, monochrome (black) animal and geometric decorations organized in a panel of triple lines and in the middle is a wide-eyed bird
18.	**Cat. 18. Object:** Ring ritual pot; **Period:** *c.*2600-1900 (Kulli) **Measurements:** rim 4.9 cm, base 8.9 cm, h. 5.2
	Description: It is an object with round hollow figure with a small mouth. There are no decorations applied on it. It may have been used for ritual purposes.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

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One theme, two sculptures and three possessions. Buddhist relief panels from Gandhāra representing Siddhārtha going to school.

M. Nasim Khan

Abstract

Two panels, one was in the Mardan Museum, Pakistan, and the other is presently in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, represent the same theme with the same general iconographic features and they are also identical in shape. The Mardan Museum sculpture remained on display for long time but since then has passed from sight, conversely, photographs of an identical panel have long been preserved in the archives of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. This article focuses on the whereabouts of these three objects, their acquisition history in addition to the reason for their iconographic similarities and other related facts such as the question of their authenticity.

Keywords: Gandhara, Mardan Museum, Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, Buddhist sculptures, Siddhārtha schooling, private collections.

1. Introduction

Mardan Museum is located in Mardan town in the province of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. It was first established in 1991 at the town hall of the city and initially consisted of a single room where Gandhāra artworks were exhibited. Most of these sculptures were transferred to the Museum from the reserve collection of the Peshawar Museum. The Mardan Museum collection was also based on seized materials believed to have been discovered in Gandhāra. In 2009, a museum-specific building was constructed and all antiquities were moved to the new building. One of the sculptures exhibited in the old museum building was a relief panel in schist depicting the episode of Prince Siddhārtha going to school (Fig.). Alike panel is supposedly preserved in a private collection in Peshawar (Fig. 2), hereafter PCP. Both these sculptures are similar in form and contents to the panel preserved in the Victoria and Albert Museum, hereafter VAMP (Fig. 3). Apart from their form and the episode depicted therein, what other relationship there might have been in the three occurrences is worth

knowing. But, before trying to understand their relationship, it may be necessary to first know the acquisition history of these panels.

Fig.1 - Sculpture in Mardan Museum, KP: Siddhartha riding a chariot (see text for credits).

Fig. 2 – Siddhartha riding a chariot (see text for credits).

2. Three possessions: a descriptive study

The existence of the PCP became known to the author through photographs available in the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. The panel is apparently not in the possession of the Department, but one may wonder how photographs of this sculpture which is similar to the one that was preserved in the Mardan Museum became part of the archives of the Department of Archaeology. Apparently, and as customary, people from the region, sometimes, bring their archaeological finds to the Department for analysis and identification. Most likely, this object was also brought to the

Department for the stated purposes, somewhere in the 1980s, and which was probably photographed by a staff member of the Department. The digit 19 marked on the sculpture was most probably the initial number which was given to the object by its owner. The same number, marked in the same area and under the shadow of the *śāla* tree, is also observed in the MMP. But, in case of the MMP, the number is repeated and is also added to the front of the pedestal which is not the case in PCP. Regarding the MMP, the information about its existence was first shared with the author by a colleague who at the time worked in the Directorate of Archaeology and Museum, Government of KP.

The MMP shows Prince Siddhārtha accompanied by his fellows and being lured to school in a two-wheeled chariot pulled by two rams and driven by a charioteer. The rams are healthy and meaty and the wheels of the chariot are huge. The Prince's seat is relatively small but at the same time suitable for his age. The front of the pedestal or plinth on which the event takes is decorated with pointed arch-shaped patterns. The sculpture is broken into two pieces but they are being repaired and repositioned. However, traces of the joints are still visible. The image of Siddhārtha, the person standing behind him, one of the rams, including the yoke, and the base are damaged. For this reason, the left side of the head of the person standing behind Siddhārtha is flaked off vertically and is partially missing. Siddhārtha is depicted without a halo and because of this, the left hand of the person standing behind is visible. The physical description and the few iconographic features of the MMP show that the two sculptures, the MMP and PCP, are identical and the photographs produced here (Figure 1, 2) are of the same sculpture taken on two different occasions and may be for two different reasons.

How and when the MMP was acquired? Is it still in the Museum? As already observed the PCP and the MMP are the same. I guess this sculpture was originally part of the collection which was seized by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of KP, in 1990. In the same year, the antiquities were then shifted to the newly established Mardan Museum for display. But, later on, after the court order, the seized antiquities were returned to the owner including, probably, the sculpture in discussion which was already assigned Mardan Museum Registration No. MM 00582.

The episode and the iconography of the VAMP have already been well explained and there is nothing special to add except that this sculpture is similar in style and content to the MMP. Now the question is, are MMP

and VAMP two different sculptures? Except for the damages in the MMP and the missing front leg of one of the rams in VAMP, the shape of both panels, the arrangements of the figures and their general iconography are the same, and at first glance, the photographs appear to be of the same panel. But their detailed iconographic study shows that they are two different sculptures.

The VAMP was discovered in Charsadda in the Peshawar valley (Marshall 1960: 76, fig. 95). The panel is said to have been added to the Museum's collection in 1947/1948 under inventory no. I.S. 51-1948 (Ackermann 1975: 76, pl. XVII). It was originally in the possession of Maj. Gen. H. L. Haughton, then became the property of the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. This sculpture was first published by Buchthal in 1945 and stated it was an unidentified scene. Later on, the sculpture was displayed in an exhibition held in the Royal Academy of Arts, London in 1947-1948 (Ashton 1948; Rawlinson 1947-1948: 13, 106). This exhibition was opened to the public on Saturday, November 29, 1947, and closed on Sunday, February 29, 1948. The sculpture was published in a catalogue edited by Professor H.G. Rawlinson with exhibit no.106 but without a photograph of the object. In a note, the sculpture is mentioned "a chariot" of the Lesser Vehicle based on Chinese sources and examples and is dated to 2nd-4th century A.D. It was published in another catalogue of the same exhibition but, edited by L. Ashton, which appeared in 1948 (Ashton 1948: pl.19 (111).

In the introductory note by Rawlinson (1947-1948) and Ashton (1948), it is believed to have been found in Gandhāra but with exact provenance unknown. Ashton introduced the panel as "Buddha in goat-cart, symbol of the Lesser Vehicle (Hīnayāna)". The sculpture was later published by Hargreaves (1951) who identified the scene "Siddhartha is going to school". It was then published by Marshall (1960: 75, fig.95) and Veronica Ions 1967 (Ions 1967: 132) and later by some other scholars e.g. by Hallade (1968-1975: 129, Abb.8). But a more detailed iconographic study has been published in the Victoria and Albert Museum catalogue appeared in 1975 (Ackerman 1975: pl. XVII). When and how it came in the possession of the Victoria and Albert Museum? It was probably acquired at the exhibition in 1947/48 since Ashton has mentioned this in the exhibition catalogue saying that it is now in the possession of the Victoria and Albert Museum (Ashton 1948: pl. 19 (111).

Figure 3. Sculpture in the V&A Museum, London
(After Marshall 1960: fig.95)

3. Discussion and conclusions

What relationship does the VAMP have with MMP? If there was any, one may need to understand. To have a general look at the photographs, the first impression one might get is that they are of the same sculpture. But analysing them closely, one may also reach a different conclusion.

Fig. 4 - Aphrodite and Eros, grey steatite (10 cm),
Islamabad Museum (Photo by the Author).

The base of the VAMP is plain while the MMP features arch-shaped patterns. In the MMP Siddhārtha is without a halo but in VAMP the halo is depicted. The charioteer is shown somehow frontally while in the MMP it is turned 3/4 to his right. His right arm is also flaked off in the VAMP. The person standing to the right of Siddhārtha in the MMP is shown frontally. While in the VAMP, the head of the same person is turned to his left and looks towards Siddhārtha. The hair is also not of the same style. The form of the knot of the garment on the shoulder of the same person is in a heart-shaped design while in the MMP it is not present. The difference in the

iconography of the four persons standing in the background in the two panels is also evident. The person standing on the right is bald except for the mesh on his cranium in the VAMP but it is not the case in the MMP. However, in the MMP the person is probably adorned with neck jewellery which is identical to that worn by the female figure (?) who stands before the rams. Both persons do not wear neck jewellery in the VAMP. In the MMP, the central figure, among the last three persons in the background, holds a pointed writing board which is not the case in VAMP where all are rectangular. In the MMP, the figures are probably sleeveless while the second last person in the background, and to the left, has his arm covered with his robe/garment. In VAMP, the tree is shown as more stylised.

To conclude, the group of these objects represents two sculptures, which are in two different places, but both depict the same theme. Is the MMP a fake or a copy of the VAMP? Circumstantial evidence suggests that it may be a fake sculpture and could be a modern copy of the VAMP. While this may be the case, the MMP still requires physical study and analysis of its material, as drawing conclusions from the photographs would be a bit risky. The PC/MMP/VAMP is not the only exception of travelling or escaping of Gandhāran objects from one place to another with false sources and identifications but there are several examples of such cases, cloaked in one or another form, throughout the world. Few years back, a group of objects from Gandhāra which probably first travel to Japan and then reached to USA, is returned to Pakistan some of which are in display in the Islamabad Museum (e.g. Fig. 4). Presumably, some of these objects are included in an article which is published few years back (Kurita 2014); one of these (Kurita 2014: pl. 28, fig. 22 and pl. 27, fig. 19) is on display in the Islamabad Museum (see Fig. 4).

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Seven (not so) *Easy Pieces*: A Note on Some Found Objects from Gandhāra

Alice Casalini

Abstract

Recently, a few sculptural fragments with no provenance information were found in the warehouses of the Italian Archaeological Mission (MAI) at Saidu Sharif Mission House in Mingora. The fragments were found in a box of objects collected or excavated in the late 1950s or early 1960s. The 2005 earthquake caused the old wooden shelving in the storage rooms to collapse and the original basket with the provenance information fell, with hundreds of others. In the following years, all baskets were reconstructed with patient collection work, thanks to the fact that Mission had (and still has) the habit of inking each piece, whether it was a sculptural or pottery fragment. Very few pieces remained un-inked. Being part of this small group, some of these pieces lost their provenance information. Therefore, this note presents an attempt to reconstruct the provenance of these objects and discuss their iconography. In addition to these pieces, which have been inventoried as Varia New Series (VSN) and handed over to the Swat Museum, there is one from a stratigraphic context, from Barikot, already at the Museum, which has features that have suggested the hand of one of the sculptors of Butkara I or Saidu Sharif I.

Keywords: Gandhara Art, Butkara I, Swat.

1. A female figure

This piece is a fragment in green schist, representing the upper part of a standing female figure (Fig. 1). It is a fragment of a larger figure in green schist. The surface is heavily abraded, and the fragment is chipped and broken at all ends. However, it is possible to recognize the head of a female figure on one side of the object. The figure is shown frontally, or she might be slightly turning to her left. She is wearing long tubular earrings decorated on the top part with two raised bands, and a soft long necklace made of four strands of small round beads.

The face of the figure and most of the hair is unfortunately lost, but the comparison with other similar objects allows us to imagine the original appearance. The hair was held up in an elegant and quite ornate updo. She was most likely wearing her hair with short straight bangs while the rest of

the long hair was twisted in a knot on the left side of her head and kept together by a garland or a festoon. Weaved in together with the hair is a small garland or a strand of beads. Part of these elements are clearly visible on the left side of the object. On the right side of her head, she was wearing a large round ornament, a studded medallion or perhaps a flower. The rest of the long hair is left down and falls over the woman's shoulders. This female figure belongs to the same typology of another coeval sculpture from Butkara I (Fig. 2), who wears her hair in a similar manner to that of our piece. This same hairstyle—as well as similar jewelry—is worn by many other female figures in reliefs from Butkara I,[1] and from Saidu Sharif I.[2]

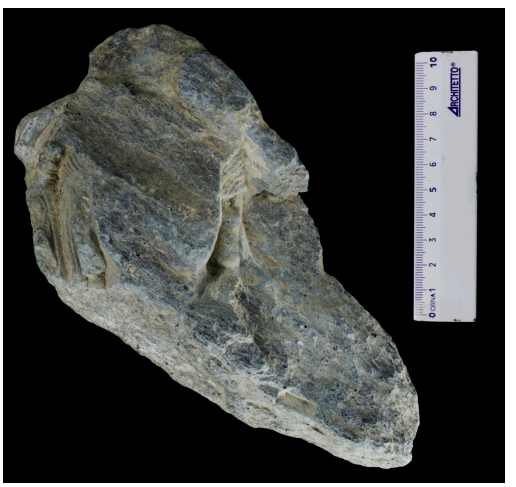

Fig. 1 - Female figure (VSN 88) h. max. 12.4 x l. max. 14.4 x t. max. 4.5 cm (Photo courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Mission).

The woman's body is almost completely lost. Only part of the neck can be seen, with two fleshy folds; while they are typical of human depictions of this time, the emphasis which the fold lines are sculpted indicates that perhaps the woman was turning slightly to her left. Almost nothing of her

[1] See for example, B 1710 (Faccenna 1964, tav. CDXXVII a); B 1716 (Faccenna 1964, tav. CDXLVI); B 4230 (Faccenna 1964, tav. DC b); B 4325 (Faccenna 1964, tav. CCCLII), B 168 (Faccenna 1964, tav. CDXLIII a).

[2] One example from the frieze of the main stupa of Saidu Sharif I is the fragment depicting Chandaka's return to Kapilavastu, as he brings back Siddhārta's turban to his wife Yaśodharā. Her coiffure is like that of the woman in our piece (Callieri and Filigenzi 2002: 186 and tav. VII), sans the rounded ornament.

arms survives, however, some elements point to the fact that the figure was holding her left arm up towards her head, touching the large round ornament with her fingers. The long hair to her left curve slightly to the right—conversely, those drawn on the left side follow a rather straight vertical line. A thin but quite clear line juts out almost horizontally from her shoulder, indicating the raised arm. Traces of ad added volume can be recognized right next to the head ornament on the right, which could be interpreted as a hand. In this case, the figure would recall those standing *yakṣī* and *yakṣinī* who raise one hand to grab the branch of a tree (Skt. *śālabhañjikā*). Similar figures were found in Butkara I.[3] She is perhaps showing off her figure, or she is emoting within the context of the scene represented in the rest of the frieze, now unfortunately lost.

Fig. 2 - Female figure (B 194) (After Faccenna 1964, tav. CDXLVII).

[3] In this regard, see Faccenna 1964, tav. from CDXXVI to CDXXIX.

It is more likely, however, that the figure is wearing a mantle, which she is holding aside with her left hand, in a pose not unlike the one of Fig. 3. This would account for the three parallel lines next to her hair on the right side, and for the slightly slanted line over her head (Fig. 4), which are signs of the drapery of the mantle.

Fig. 3 - Female figure with mantle (Ref. No. WS. 26)
(After Faccenna 1964, tav. CDXXX).

Fig. 4 - VSN 88. Detail of the fragment with arrows showing the folds of mantle (Photo courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Mission).

I believe a female figure from Butkara I, B 2486, is the closest comparison and companion to our piece VSN 88 (Fig. 5). This figure holds a lotus bud in her left arm, which is bent towards the shoulder. Her right arm is slightly raised to lift the mantle draped around her. The mantle falls from her head, where it covers part of her hair. The hair is twisted in a topknot on the right side, held together by a garland and beaded decoration while on the left side she is wearing a studded hair ornament. Her fringe is straight, and the rest of the long hair falls over her shoulders. She is wearing long tubular earrings decorated with two bands on the top part, and a long necklace made of four strands of small beads. Her chest is bare. The iconographic characteristics of B 2486 match almost exactly those of our piece under examination here.

Fig. 5 - Female figure with a mantle (B 2486)
(After Faccenna 1964, tav. CDXXXI).

The two pieces also match closely in terms of dimensions (Fig. 6). In both cases, the dimensions of the face—calculated from the bottom of the chin to the top end of the fringe—is slightly over 7 cm (7.2 cm for B 2486 and 7.1 cm for our piece), and its width is 5.2 for our piece and 5.5 for B 2486. The width of the necklace is 1 cm for B 2486 and 0.9 cm for the fragment; the length of the earrings is in both cases 2.2 cm. On top of both their heads, a projection extends for a length of around 2 cm. Given that in B 2486 it is clear that this projection is a tenon for inserting the figure in architectural, it is reasonable to assume that the same projection in our piece is also a tenon. Unfortunately, due to the poor preservation of our piece, no other dimensions can be compared, however, even from these measurements it seems apparent that these two objects are closely related, and perhaps even two companion pieces that donned the podium of a small stupa in Butkara I.

Fig. 6 - The dimensions of VSN 88 compared with those of B 2486.

The treatment of the surface is similar in both objects, especially that of the hair, cut with a small point chisel. A similar tool is seen in other objects from Butkara I, used specifically when sculpting small details with fine lines, and especially the hair—as it is the case, for example, of the female head in Fig. 7. The hair under the topknot in both our piece and B 2486 is cut more deeply into the surface of the stone, while the hair on the other side is left flatter. The earrings' double-band decoration is cut rather shallow in both cases, but each bead in the strands of the necklace is defined with care and attention.

Fig. 7 - Female figure (B 1716) (After Faccenna 1964, tav. CDXLVI).

Given all these elements, it is almost certain that the female figure depicted in our piece is a woman lifting her mantle and her original look was very similar to B 2486, only in a mirrored form (Fig. 8).[4] Seeing how similar it is to this latter piece, it could be part of the same series, possibly made in the same workshop of B 2486 or by the same hand(s). It is very likely our piece comes from Butkara I.

Fig. 8 - Line drawing reconstruction of VSN 88 overlapped with a photo of the fragment (Drawings by the Author).

[4] Faccenna uses the term *yakṣī* for all these types of figures, however, in most cases there is no tree associated with them, which would be the main iconographic characteristic of *yakṣī*s. The figure might be that of a donor, as argued by Elahi (2023).

2. A *jambu* tree

The fragment, in grey schist, depicts several branches of a *jambu* tree (Fig. 9). The branches are slightly undulated and point upwards; they are disposed in two rows, with four of them in the forefront and a couple of them emerging from the background. Each branch is aligned and slightly overlaps with the one to its right. The branches are quite thick; the lanceolate leaves are well defined and decrease in size towards the end of the branch, as they are all inscribed in a roughly rhomboid shape.

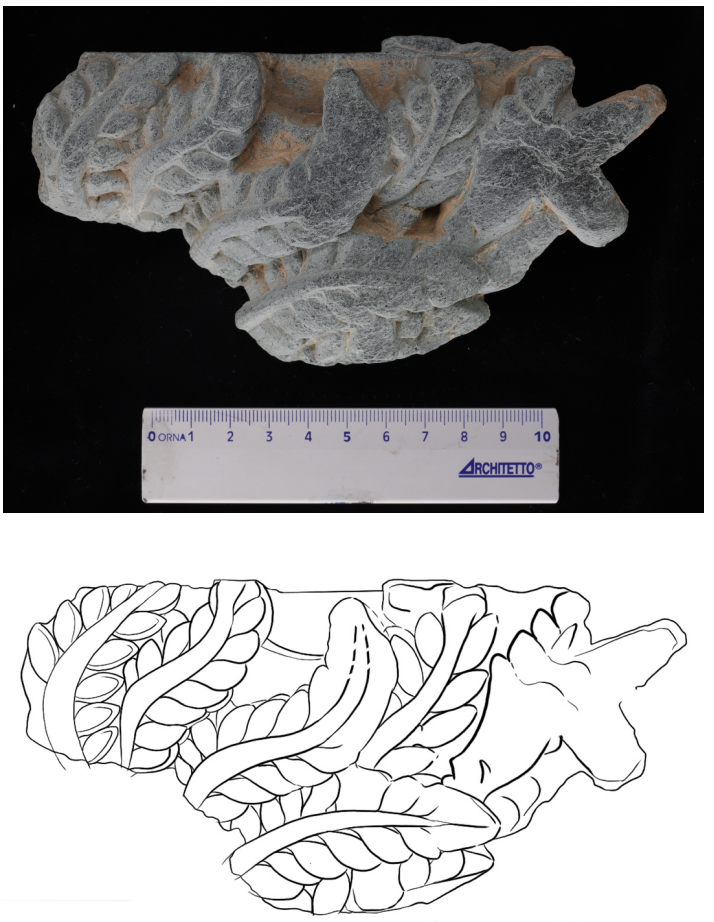

Fig. 9 - Fragment of a *jambu* tree with line drawing (VSN 94) l. max. 15.4 x h. max. 7.9 x t. max. 0.6~2.8 cm (Photo courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Mission; drawings by the Author).

The fragment was part of a larger panel at the upper border in the right-hand section of the panel. These branches probably had a similar, if not almost identical counterpart mirrored in the left-hand side of the panel, so in its whole form the length of the object was certainly bigger than 30 cm. In some points the stone is only 0.6 cm thick, but the object broke in the back and a whole slab split away. Schist tends to foliate, so the split appears quite regular at a first glance. The object is also broken at both sides and at the bottom.

Despite the extremely fragmentary state of the piece, some hypotheses regarding the original iconography of the whole panel can still be made. The tree represented here is a *jambu* (*Syzygium malaccense*), showing the typical ovaloid leaves arranged opposite to each other along the branch. The branches seem to radiate from a point to the left of the panel, and they gently slope inward in that point. Given these factors, and the slight curve to the breakage pattern there, it is clear that a halo originally stood there. We can reasonably assume that the central figure was either a Buddha or a bodhisattva.

We can speculate further and discuss who exactly was in center of the panel and what he was doing. The *jambu* tree often appears as Siddhārta's canopy in the depiction of the episode of the first meditation: a striking example of this iconography is a sculpture from Sahri Bahlol, now in the Peshawar Museum (Fig. 10). The bodhisattva is sitting under a *jambu* tree canopy and, with his eyes closed, looks serene as he meditates. On the pedestal, the image of plowing on the right side of the flaming altar is the clear iconographic clue of the scene (Rhi 2006: 157-158).

Another *comparanda* for our piece is a panel from Butkara I, B 1213, which shows the prince in *dhyānamudrā*—the hands do not survive, but the sharp angle of the bent arm clearly shows that his hands were laying in his lap—under the *jambu* tree crown (Fig. 11). To his left, two male figures wearing princely attire are worshiping him, while above them, a winged figure is flying towards Siddhārta and is about to shower him with flowers (Taddei in Faccenna 1964: 55). The tree, as in our piece, is depicted with the branches pointing upwards.[5]

[5] Other reliefs from Butkara I have a similar iconography: B 2147 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCXI a; B 2870 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCXI; B 2617 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCXII; B 1545 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCXVI.

Fig. 10 - The First Meditation, from Sahri-Bahlol Mound C
(After Rhi 2006, fig. 7.6).

Fig. 11 - Buddha in meditation (B 1213) (After Faccenna 1964, tav. CCVI).

The directionality of the branches deserves some discussion. In the frieze of Saidu Sharif I, the branches of the *jambu* tree are usually shown pointing downward.[6] In our piece, however, the branches are pointing upwards. Moreso, the artist carved them with a vitality and fluidity that makes them look as if they are slightly shaking in the wind. In B 1213, the *amorino* barging into the scene might be responsible for the slight flutter of the leaves in the scene, but one might wonder whether the branches are shaking in response to the spiritual strength of the Buddha taking center stage in the relief.

Upward-pointing radiating branches in reliefs from Butkara I, in fact, most often (but not solely)[7] appear in relation to the figure of the meditating Buddha.[8] In these panels, the Buddha is shown in *padmāsana* on a square throne, the hands are in *dhyānamudrā* in his lap, and he is usually flanked by one or two worshipers per side. The presence of the *jambu* tree would suggest these panels represent the young Siddhārta—here still technically a bodhisattva—engaged in the First Meditation. However, in depictions of this episode the prince is often shown dressed in princely garb, donning long earrings, necklaces and bangles (more similar, for example, to the sculpture in Fig. 10), while in the reliefs examined here, he is dressed more demurely, without any type of jewelry—save the presence, in some cases, of a small string or band at the base of the *uṣṇīṣa*—and is almost bare-chested.

The way the Buddha wears the robe in these scenes is highly reminiscent of a young ascetic's appearance (Fig. 12). His right shoulder is bare, while the left one is covered by the *uttarīya* tied in a knot. The end of the fabric falls almost vertically in the lap, leaving the chest mostly bare. This robe for the meditating Buddha seems to be particularly favored in Butkara I, where it appears not only in many panels,[9] but also in high-relief sculptures from the side of the Great Stupa (Fig. 13). The concomitant presence of all these elements—the position of the hand and the body, the ascetic robe, the branches pointing upwards as if shaken by the strength of Siddhārta's meditation—seem to prove that these scenes are meant to

[6] See for example the panel S 1112, described in Faccenna 2001: 261-262.
[7] See for example B 2858 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCIX a (*Offering of the for Bowls*).
[8] Among others: B 1213 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCVI; B 2870, Faccenna 1964, tav. CCXI; B 2617 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCXII.
[9] In addition to the reliefs already mentioned, we can also add B 2535 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCX a, B 2147 Faccenna 1964, tav. CCXI and purchased from Udegram Faccenna 1964, tavv. CCXII a and CCXVIII.

showcase the meditative power of the Buddha. Indeed, in the catalogue of the sculptures from Butkara I, Taddei was discerning enough to never declare any of these scenes as 'First Meditation's, but rather he always described them as generic scenes of worship of *padmāsana* Buddhas (Taddei in Faccenna 1964).

While the discussion of the robe of the Buddha and its relation to the *jambu* tree branches might seem a digression, it is important to remember that, as Filigenzi (2005) has shown in her masterly discourse on the Buddha robe, even small details—deceptively secondary in the visual largesse of some panels—can be iconographically significant. I believe this to be the case for the directionality branches of the *jambu* tree, as I have briefly outlined here. Turning back to our piece here, then, the tree fragment was part of a larger panel that might have depicted a Buddha in meditation, most probably dressed in the ascetic garb. The popularity of this iconography in Butkara I, as well as the many technical and stylistic similarities with other pieces from this site outlined above, points to the same possible provenance for our piece as well.

Fig. 12 - Two young ascetics (B 3673) (After Faccenna 1964, tav. CXCIX).

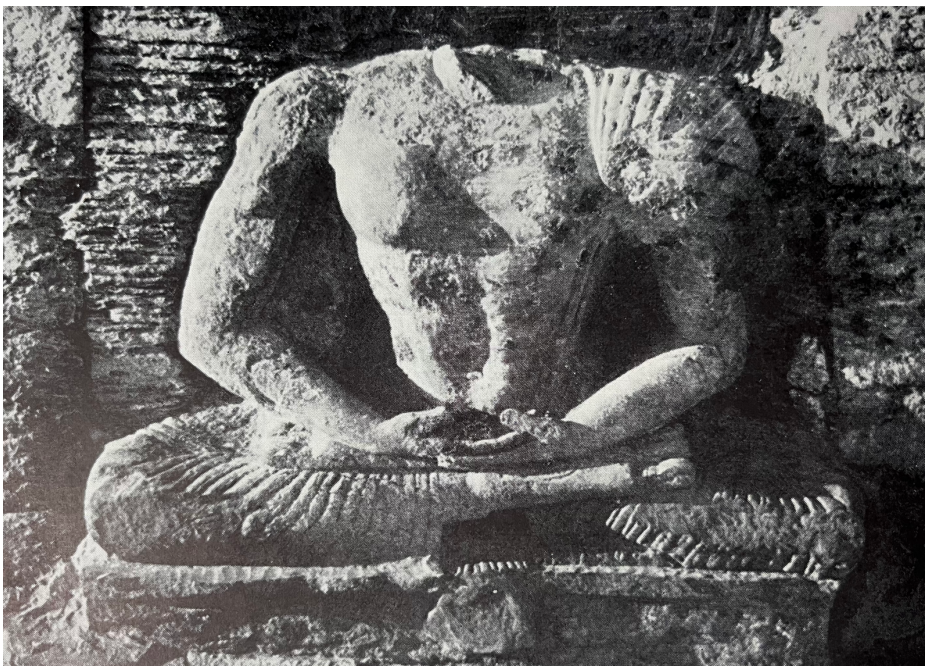

Fig. 14 - Buddha in meditation (B 3799) (After Faccenna 1964, tav. CCX b).

3. Siddhārta under a tree

This piece comes from Barikot and is inventoried as BKG 2342 (Fig. 15). The object, in green schist, is very fragmentary (the piece as it stands today was recomposed from two fragments, and its surface is heavily abraded). Despite the poor conditions, the face of a bodhisattva sitting under a tree is clearly recognizable. The bodhisattva has a round face with a large forehead and a thin neck. His ears are slightly elongated but sculpted close to the face, and a trace of thick moustaches is still visible despite the abrasion of the surface. The hair is tied in a tall and wide knot on top of his head—giving the impression of a *uṣṇīṣa*—with a double band decorated at the center with a gem in the shape of a disk or, possibly, a rosette. The halo behind his head, circular and undecorated, is partly covered by the branches of the tree which fall down around the bodhisattva like a canopy. The background behind the tree remains plain.

Fig. 15 - Siddhārtha under a tree (BKG 2342) l. max. 16.3 x w. max. 16.5 x t. 6 (Photo courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Mission).

Despite coming from Barikot, the piece shows a remarkable stylistic resemblance with several pieces from Butkara I and Saidu Sharif I, hinting at the large aesthetic reach of major religious sites in the region, even within urban cultic contexts. Good comparisons for BKG 2342 are the two fragmentary panels in Fig. 16 and 17. In the first one (B 2615), the treatment of the hair corresponds quite closely to the one in our piece: not only the hair itself is drawn in continuous narrow parallel grooves, but it is also held up with a similar double string decorated with a central circular element. The hand of the sculptor of BKG 2342 is a happier one, which was able to carve the small details of the hair strands with a fluidity that does not quite appear in B 2615. Similar too is the piece in Fig. 24, B 3120. More of this panel is preserved, and consequently we can see part of the tree behind the bodhisattva. Siddhārtha's hair is tied up in a tall hairdo with a double band,

here decorated with a starlike-shaped ornament in the center. The eyes of the bodhisattva here as in B 2615 are demarcated with a heavy top lid drawn with a sharp and deep cut in the stone and a softer lower lid; inside the eye, the iris is delineated, but unlike the pieces from Saidu Sharif I, the pupil is not shown here. In our piece, the eyes are treated in a similar way with the incised iris. It looks like the pupil might be present, but the surface of the stone is too abraded to tell for sure.

Fig. 16 - Siddhārtha under a tree. B 2615 (after Faccenna 1964, tav. CXVII a).

Fig. 17 - Siddhārtha under a tree. B 3120 (after Faccenna 1964, tav. CXVI).

In terms of subject matter, the episode represented here seems to be a general worship scene with a central Buddha under a tree, originally flanked perhaps by two attendants or by Indra and Brahma. The presence of the tree, however, might give us a clearer indication of the scene depicted here, which might be a meditation scene—perhaps even the representation of Siddhārtha's First Meditation. We can compare the tree branches with the object described here previously (Fig. 9) to see that the tree shown here is in fact a *jambu* tree, usually associated with the bodhisattva's meditation and especially with the First Meditation, as explained above.

4. A young ascetic or brahmin

This piece is a fragment in green schist and is damaged at all ends, making it virtually impossible to gather the original dimensions of the relief panel. The surface is heavily abraded as well. However, part of a head of a young ascetic or brahmin stands out against the background of an architectural

structure (Fig. 18). Differently from all the pieces examined so far, the general provenance of this one is known. The object is in fact inked in the back as 'SI / A.' 'SI' refers to the site of Saidu Sharif I, however, the reference for the second part of the designation remains unclear and it has not been possible to reconstruct the exact provenance of the piece within the site from just these letters. The piece is a good example of the drawing style (*stile disegnativo*), characterized by a greater emphasis on lines rather than volumes, and shows the eye treatment—with thinly drawn eyelids and double pupil—that is typical of the Maestro of Saidu Sharif I. It was probably sculpted by either an imitator or by someone who was formed at the Maestro's workshop.

The object depicts a young man. The man's curls are well defined in round bosses with a central depression, and they are held up on top of the head in a small topknot that is typical of the depictions of ascetics or brahmins. The same hairdo appears on figures of bodhisattvas holding flasks, usually identified as Maitreya, and on depictions of the god Brahma, who usually appears as part of a set flanking Śākyamūni with Indra. He is in front of city walls, as evidenced by the row of oblong arrow loopholes carved into the background behind the figure' head. Two flat bands run horizontally right behind his topknot: it is unclear whether they are part of the urban architecture—perhaps part of a string course? — or part of an element draped on top of the walls that is falling down towards the figure. Another element that is quite difficult to decipher is the projection above the figure's head. It is heavily damaged but still shows a roughly rounded profile—once again, it could be an object posed on top of the ascetic's head or something falling from whatever was originally present on top this figure. On the right side, a triangular shape emerges right above the breakage: it is slightly projecting from the background of the relief and is now almost completely abraded.

Given the very fragmentary state of the piece, reconstructing its iconography is quite challenging, however, a few hypotheses can be advanced on the basis of the setting of the scene (an urban environment, or rather just outside of it) and our main character (a brahmin or ascetic, who could be either the main character in the scene or one of the side figures attending to the protagonist.

The episodes that combine the two elements of the brahmin (or a brahmin-like figure) and the city walls in Gandhāra are not many: unless this is a completely new iconography (and the chance is always there)

and/or an unknown *jātaka*, it is likely that our piece might represent one of these.

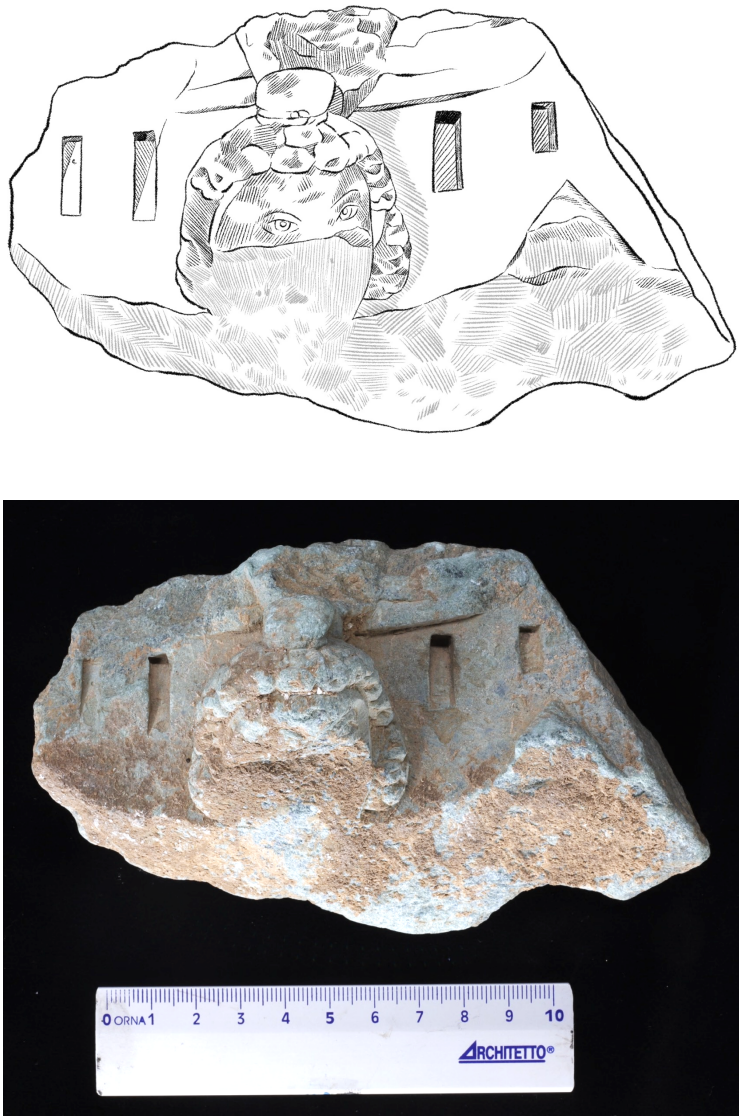

Fig. 18 - Young ascetic or brahmin with line drawing (VSN 92)
l. max. 14.5 x h. max. 8.4 x t. 4.9
(Photo courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Mission; drawings by the Author).

The Dīpaṅkara jātaka

This episode recounts of the very beginnings of the historical Buddha Śākyamūni. In one of his previous lives, when he was still a brāhmin by the name of Megha (Sumedha or Sumati, according to other traditions),[10] Siddhārta took the ambitious vow to become enlightened in front Buddha Dīpaṅkara. Megha-Siddhārta then prostrated himself in front of Dīpaṅkara, who had so inspired the ascetic through his countenance and superior mental qualities, and had the Buddha walk all over his matted hair.[11] The episode happens in front of the city of Dīpāvatī, according to the *Divyāvadāna*, right as the Buddha is about to enter the city. In this case, the figure represented here could be the very Megha, turning to his left to offer flowers to the Buddha, under the watchful eyes of the citizen of Dīpāvatī, looking down from the city walls adorned with banners and garlands. Such scene is in the relief in Fig. 19, where Megha appears four times—buying flowers from the flower girl; throwing flowers towards the Buddha; prostrating in front of him; levitating in the air. Behind him the loopholes for arrows are visible, cut in the city walls.

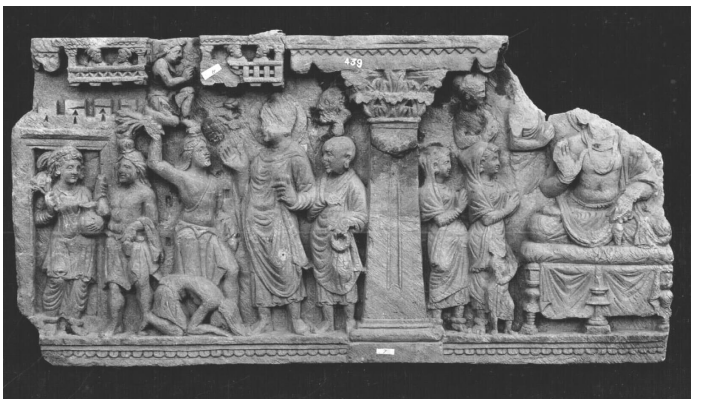

Fig. 19 - Dipankara Jataka (left); worship of Maitreya (right). Peshawar Museum. Acc. No. 2718 (Photo courtesy of the Kern Institute [P-036881]).

[10] For the *Dīpaṅkara jataka*, see Jones 1949 and Rotman 2008 and 2017.

[11] In the *Mahavastu*, Megha cleans the Buddha's feet with his matted hair—the variation in this small detail is preserved in a panel now in the Art Institute of Chicago (Acc. No. 2015.447), where Megha's hands grab the Buddha's feet from above and he covers them with his hair. The detail is unusual, and since the exact provenance of the Chicago piece is unknown, the possibility that this is a modern object cannot completely be ruled out.

The division of the relics/Guarding of the relics

After the Buddha's passing in Kuśinagara, the rulers of the neighboring kingdoms vied for the possessions of his bodily remains. To avoid outright wars, the brahmin Doṇa took upon himself to divide the Buddha's relics and distribute them evenly. In this scene, the brahmin is usually represented sitting behind a table upon which the parts of the relics are arranged evenly. In some cases, the scene happens in front of the city and, in some cases, even on top of the city walls, like in a panel from the Peshawar Museum (Fig. 20). If it is the case that our piece represents the division of the relics, the conical object whose point survives to the right of the panel could be the top of a reliquary casket. Another scene that our piece could be part of is the guarding of the relics, a moment that happens just prior their division—this scene is also represented in front of city walls, as seen in Fig. 21.

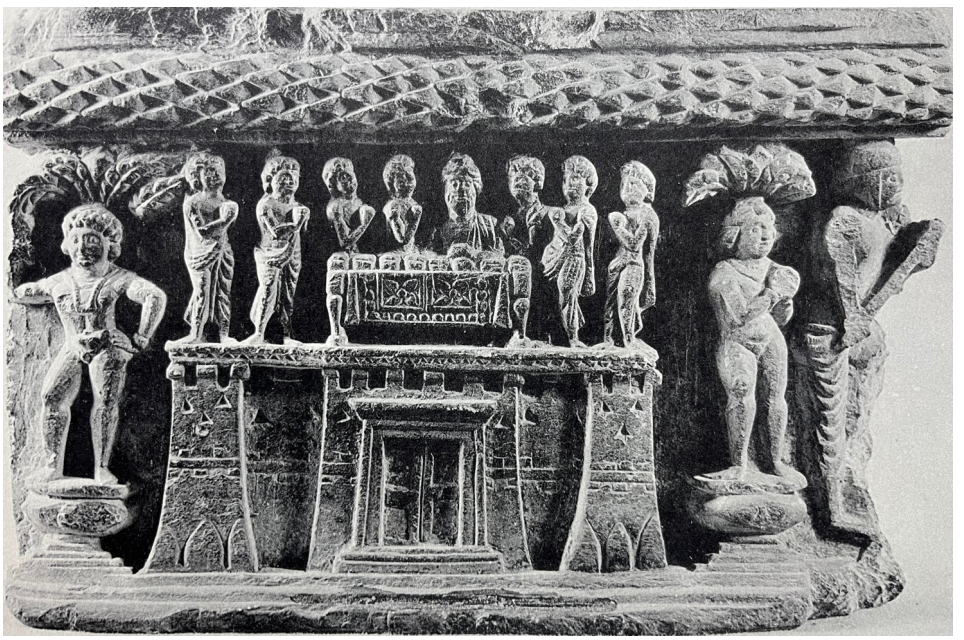

Fig. 20 - Division of the relics, Peshawar Museum (After Ingholt 1957: pl. 152).

Fig. 21 - Guarding the relics, Lahore Museum (After Ingholt 1957: pl. 151).

Ānanda asks the casteless girl for water

Rarer is the depiction of the episode where Ananda asks for water from Prakriti, a casteless girl from Śrāvastī—an episode that still constitutes possible *comparanda* for our piece. The story is represented in a panel from Śikri now in the Lahore Museum and shows Prakriti on the right drawing water from the well (Fig. 22). She gestures to a man on her right, probably her equally low-caste brother.[12] To the left of the panel, two worried citizens are leaving the city to go interrogating the Buddha about such episode, as members of any caste could not interact with casteless people, a ban that Ānanda completely disregarded to get water from the woman. One of the figures exiting the city is wearing his hair in a similar updo to the man in our piece and stands in front of the city gate. On the right, arrow-shaped slits can be seen donning the city tower and the city walls.

The options for the identification of our piece are certainly not exhausted—because of the presence of the city walls, possible additional *comparanda* are: the *Maitrakanyaka jātaka*, where Maitrakanyaka enters a series of cities before ending up expiating his sins against his mother by having a rotating iron wheel installed on his head; and the invitation of Śrigupta, when the rich houseowner Śrigupta attempted to end the Buddha's life by inviting him to lunch and concealing burning coals under a ditch

[12] This is Foucher's interpretation as exposed in Ingolt 1957: 78.

right at the entrance of his house. In both cases, however, it is not so easy to explain the presence of a brahmin or a young ascetic.

Fig. 22 - Ānanda asks a casteless girl for water, Lahore Museum (After Ingholt 1957, pl. 103).

5. A Gandhāran-Corinthian column

The piece in Fig. 23 is a Gandhāran-Corinthian semi-column encased in a flat fillet in green schist. The surface is almost completely covered by a light brownish encrustation, but the décor of the column is still clearly visible. The acanthus leaf is well defined and opens below a palmette topped by a rosette with four petals on the abacus. On the underside of the surviving volute on the left side, a series of parallel horizontal lines give the impression of a snake-like belly.

The column is today but a fragment, and only part of the top left side survives. It is not inked, but it is quite clear that it comes from the site of Saidu Sharif I. Not only it comes from this site, but it was also part of the figurative frieze on the main stupa drum. This hypothesis is confirmed, and

can be believed, by comparison with other architectural pieces belonging to the frieze in terms of style, iconography, and dimensions.

Fig. 23 - A Gandhāran-Corinthian semi-column (VSN 93); h. max. 11.5 x w. max. 10.2 x t. 4.4 cm (Photo courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Mission).

The capital has all the elements that are typical of the semi-column dividing element of the great frieze of Saidu Sharif I: the acanthus leaf, the rosette, the two volutes flanking the central drooping leaf. The collar of the capital is made of two flat fillets and the entire semi-column is enclosed within a rectangular frame. Our capital shows all the characteristics of the columns of Group A: the leaves are well-defined, the rosette is big and spans to the entire height of the abacus with full, non-bilobated petals, the top leaf is shaped like a fan, and the lines are sharp but not schematic.[13]

[13] Faccenna 2001, p. 131-132.

Our piece has a continuous vertical rebate on the back of the left side, indicating that another piece was inserted to its left. In the known pieces from Saidu Sharif I, too, the rebate is on the left side, and the width stands between 1.8 cm and 2.2 cm while in our piece it stops at around 2.1 cm. The depth of the rebate in our piece stands at 1.7 cm—but it might have been a little bit more given how the back surface is slightly abraded. The depth of the rebate in the known Saidu pieces is between 1.6 cm and 1.9 cm.[14] Since the right side of the object is lost, it is impossible to ascertain whether this column was part of a relief panel with a figured field to the right, or it was an individual dividing element.

The many parts of the capital also correspond to the known Saidu Sharif I pieces in terms of dimensions—have now been made these relations clearer by reconstructing the whole piece in Fig. 24 and pairing it with one of the measured drawings in Faccenna (2001). Given all these elements, the provenance of this piece can without a doubt be assigned to the frieze of the stupa of Saidu Sharif I.

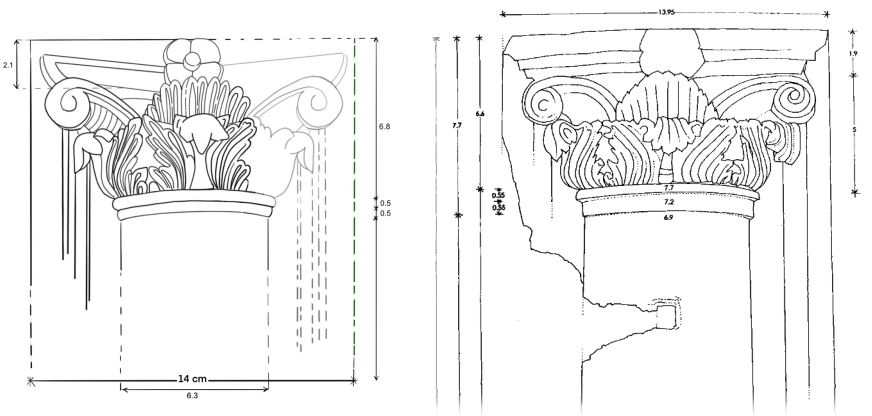

Fig. 24 - Line drawing of VNS 93 with measurements, compared with a similar object in Faccenna 2001, fig. 10, p. 48 (Drawings by the Author).

[14] Faccenna 2001, p. 38.

Two nāgadantas

The final two pieces in this note come from one of the minor stupas of Saidu Sharif I. These two *nāgadanta*s—a particular type of architectural element that functions as a peg to hold garlands and banners around the lower part of a stupa drum (Provenzali 2022: 188)—are both inked on the bottom as SI / AC. The letter A designates a provenance from the monastic part of the whole sacred precinct. The first *nāgadanta* of the pair, VSN 95 (Fig. 25), depicts a winged woman playing an instrument—probably a conch shell which is now lost because of the damage sustained by the object. She is wearing big round earrings, a long tunic with long sleeves, and her hair is arranged in two loops of tresses on top of her head.

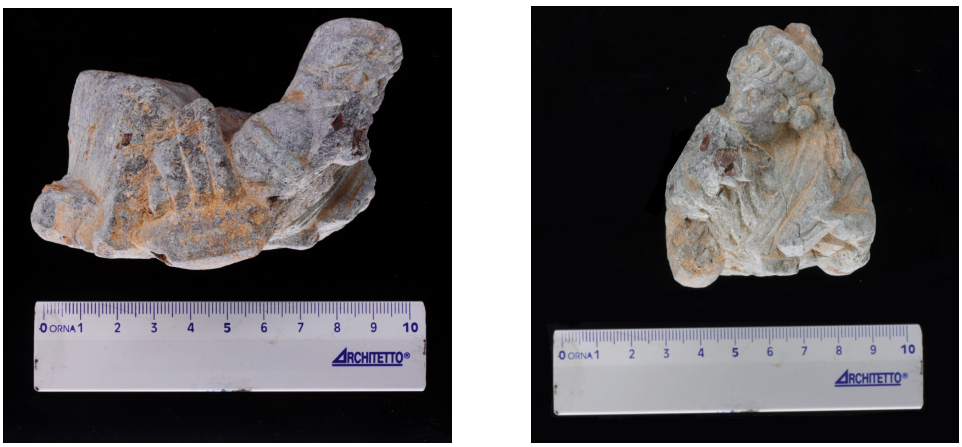

Fig. 25 - *Nāgadanta* (VSN 95) h. 5.7 x w. 4.8 x t. 9 cm
(Photo courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Mission).

The second *nāgadanta*, VSN 96 (Fig. 26), is a winged man dressed in a sleeveless tunic, perhaps an *exomis*. He is raising both his hands to the right side of his face in a dance. Specifically, he is performing the "Persian snap," which is a move performed whenever a dancer uses their hands to mark the time (Lo Muzio 2019: 54). It is not an uncommon sight in early Gandhāran art, and it is most often performed by figures wearing Persian attire, following a pictorial tradition that goes back to the Hellenistic world (Lo Muzio 2019: 81-82). The snap points to the important political and cultural presence of the Indo-Parthians in Gandhāra, a presence that would be very large at least until the end of the 2nd century (Goldman 1978). However, as

Lo Muzio points out (2019: 80), we should be careful in attributing any specific ethnos to the Persian snap, as it is performed by a variety of figures wearing different attires—such is the case of VSN 96, where the man is wearing a Hellenistic *exomis*, rather than Parthian clothes and/or Phrygian cap. That said, it is clear, however, that these two *nāgadanta*s are made to recall the Iranian world in general—in this sense, they fit in a strategy of self-representation of the royal elites of Swat, as they showcase a full mastery of the Graeco-Iranian visual language (Olivieri and Iori 2021).

Fig. 26 - *Nāgadanta* (VSN 96) h. 5.8 x w. 4.6 x t. 11 cm
(Photo courtesy of the Italian Archaeological Mission).

The style of the two *nāgadanta*s deserves some words. Even though most (if not all) of the *nāgadanta*s found so far belong to the drawing style (Provenzali 2022: 189), VSN 95 and VSN 96 already seem to be moving towards a more plastic treatment of the volumes: the figures project out from the surface quite dramatically and, despite the small dimensions of both objects, the facial features are well-defined and almost in high-relief, rather than delicately incised like it is the case with many of the known examples of the drawing style. They are perhaps a good, albeit diminutive, example of a moment of transition between the drawing style and a more volumetric and plastic treatment of the sculptural surface. Still, however, they belong to the earliest phases of production of the art of Gandhāra, and especially to a production that was typical of Swat—few other *nāgadanta*s have been found in Taxila, but their style follows quite closely the *stile disegnativo* and they belong to the earlier phases (Marshall 1951: 707-708). A final note on the *nāgadanta*s must be devoted to their directionality in their original location. As a *nāgadanta* is basically a form of bracket, these

two objects would have been part of a cornice. Their size tells us that they were on a small stupa; the sockets and tenons on the back tell us that they were corner elements, that is, mounted on the corner of the rectangular podium of a stupa (Fig. 27). Both VSN 95 and 96 show the same type of joint system in the back.

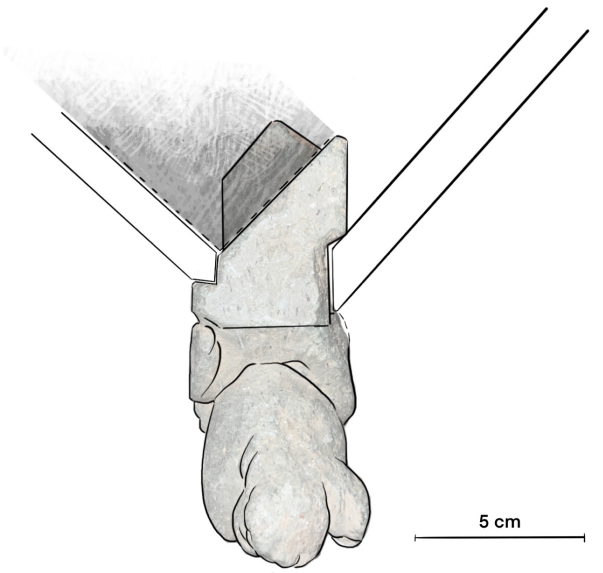

Fig. 27. Reconstruction of the mechanism of the joint in the back of VSN 96 (Drawings by the Author).

A similar object was found in Saidu Sharif I in the north-eastern corner of the monastic area, inventoried as S 2140 (Fig. 28). Its dimensions correspond to the two *nāgadanta*s discussed here, making it likely that it, too, belonged to the same series and to the same monument.[15] This piece comes from a layer associated with Period I of the construction of the monastery, dated to the 1st century CE (Callieri 1989: 120).

Despite its poor state of conservation, it also seems to depict a man either performing the "Persian snap," or holding a long object (perhaps a musical instrument). It mirrors VSN 96—as per the description in the archaeological report, it shows a "youthful figure [who] holds both hands by his sides near his shoulders. He wears a robe […] over his left shoulder;

[15] Only the depth of the tenon changes between the pieces.

his face is slightly raised and turned to the right" (Callieri 1989: 147). It is indeed very similar to our piece(s), but the figure is turning the other way. If these are indeed part of the same monument, we must consider that another similar *nāgadanta* was present originally as decoration of the fourth corner but is now lost. We cannot know whether the figure was turning right—like VSN 95 and 96—or it was turning left—like S 2140.

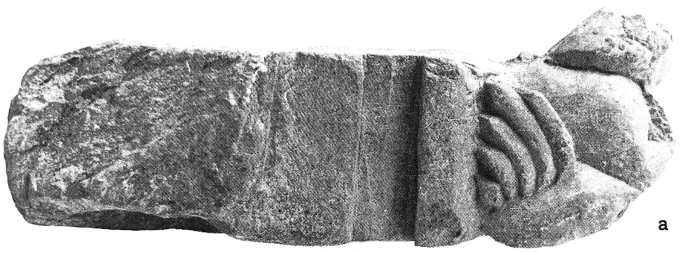

Fig. 28 - *Nāgadanta*. S 2140 (After Callieri 1989: 148).

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A Chrono-Typology Study of Metal Arrowheads at Barikot (Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai), Swāt, Pakistan

Naghmeh Mahzounzadeh

Abstract

The archaeological examination of arrowheads plays a significant role in understanding technological advancements, offering perspectives on the evolution of weaponry, and shedding light on hunting and warfare practices. The rigorous analysis enables researchers to extract crucial details about craftsmanship, material utilization, and societal behaviors, thereby enriching our comprehension of past civilizations. Notably, the ongoing excavation of the urban site of Barikot in Swat, Pakistan, since 1984 has unearthed a diverse assemblage of arrowheads. This article employs a systematic approach to provide a chrono-typology, categorizing these artifacts and conducting a thorough analysis of their morphology to elucidate morphological changes over time.

Keywords: Swāt (Swat); Barikot; Arrowheads; Metal; Chrono-typology.

1. Introduction

The study of material culture is a cornerstone of archaeological research, providing invaluable insights into the past through the examination and analysis of artifacts, structures, and other physical remains left by human societies. Material culture encompasses the tangible aspects of human existence, that shed light on the technology, social organization, and daily practices of human societies. Among the diverse array of archaeological artifacts, arrowheads stand out as crucial components for understanding human history and technological evolution.

These small projectile points represent not only technological advancements but also offer clues about subsistence strategies, hunting practices, and even symbolic or ritualistic aspects of ancient societies. Regrettably, in many cases, they did not receive due recognition.

The bow, used by many cultures throughout history, was a critical tool for hunting and warfare until the introduction of firearms. The bow, as one of the first projectile weapons capable of storing energy, exceeded earlier hand-thrown in terms of power and effectiveness, becoming indispensable for both combat and sustenance. The significance of bow and arrow, as documented in various written and oral histories, artistic representations,

literature, and folklore, can be seen in the numerous archery traditions and practices that continue today (Grayson et al. 2007).

Variations in bows and arrows over time and space are caused by a multitude of factors, such as the materials and tools used to make them, the environment in which they are used and the purpose for which they are made.

This weapon is rarely discovered in archaeological sites due to the perishable quality of its majority components, with the exception of the arrowhead. Fortunately, arrowheads, with their distinct shapes, sizes, and manufacturing techniques, exhibit a variety of characteristics that make them highly valuable artifacts in archaeology. These artifacts have the potential to reveal many aspects of historical contexts. They offer insights into the past by shedding light on the environment in two crucial ways. First, they provide information about access to natural resources used in crafting arrowheads. This shed light on the technological capabilities and resource availability of past societies. Second, these artifacts provide insight into ancient communities' interactions with their natural surroundings, particularly regarding nutrition and dietary practices.

Furthermore, these artifacts can provide information about the movement of populations and their interactions with others. Whether through war, immigration, or trade, studying these aspects can help trace the diffusion of technological innovations across different regions and communities, offering a comprehensive view of how technologies spread and evolved over time.

Through a comprehensive examination of arrowheads and their classification according to material, typology, chronology, and regional differences, it is possible to offer new perspectives to help in the reconstruction of diverse elements of historical, social, economic, and technological conditions.

2. Arrowheads at Barikot

Barikot (Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai), located in the Swat valley in north-west Pakistan, is an urban archaeological site that has been excavated and studied by the Italian archaeological mission since 1984. The Italian archaeological mission’s activities that are still ongoing, under the direction of by Prof. L.M. Olivieri, have generated a significant stratigraphic sequence spanning from the Chalcolithic period to the 20th century (Olivieri 2020: 3-7; 38-41, Table 3). A total of 180 metal arrowheads were discovered during the

archaeological excavations in Barikot, spanning from the first campaign to the year 2022. Although a significant portion of the objects were discovered in a fragile and extremely rusted condition, rendering it challenging to recognize their shape. Hopefully, a remarkable proportion of them maintained their original form. Considering this condition, in order to organize a systematic investigation of arrowheads, a two-step study was arranged. Initially, by examining arrowheads that retained the essential traits of structure, a typology of arrowheads is established. This paper presents the outcomes of this step. As previous studies on Barikot's findings (Alterio, Esposito 2020; Colliva 2019) have been published in this journal, the preliminary result of this research is provided here.

A total of 101 arrowheads were examined in the initial phase. Arrowheads are exclusively from stratigraphical archaeological contexts that provide valuable chronological information. All the arrowheads, except for one crafted in copper alloy, were made in iron. Arrowheads have been found throughout a wide range of time, from the 2nd century BCE to the 15th century CE (Alterio 2018/2019; Esposito 2018/2019; Alterio and Esposito 2020; Colliva 2012; 2019; Olivieri 2014; 2020; Rabbani 2022; Personal communication with Prof. Luca M. Olivieri and Dr. Elisa Iori).

The earliest evidence of metal arrowheads at Barikot is represented by a group of 14 arrowheads that have been found in contexts dated from the 2nd century BCE to the 1st century CE and attributed to the Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian periods. Most of the arrowheads, comprising 70 in total, were discovered in archaeological contexts associated with the Kushan period, which ranged from the 1st to the 4th century CE[1]. A total of 24 arrowheads have been discovered in various contexts dating from the 4th century CE to the 15th century CE. However, within this group, 10 arrowheads were specifically found in contexts that date back to the 8th and 9th century CE.

As regards their spatial location, a total of 11 arrowheads were discovered on Acropolis Hill (specifically in BKG 6, BKG 9, BKG 14, and BKG 15), while the remaining arrowheads were found in the trenches situated in the lower town (Fig. 1). On Acropolis Hill, arrowheads have been found in contexts dating from the 8th to the 9th century CE, likely

[1] During this period, another discovery concerning military artefacts is 107 iron fragments of scale coats or armours. They were found in the fortified city, namely in trenches BKG 1, 3, and 4-5, in archaeological contexts that have been dated to the period between the 2nd and 4th century CE (Olivieri 2011).

associated with the fortified hill settlement during the Turk-Shahi period, while in the lower town, archaeological evidence of a defensive wall has been discovered dating from the Indo-Greek period to the Kushan period (Olivieri *et al.* 2019; Coloru *et al.* 2022).

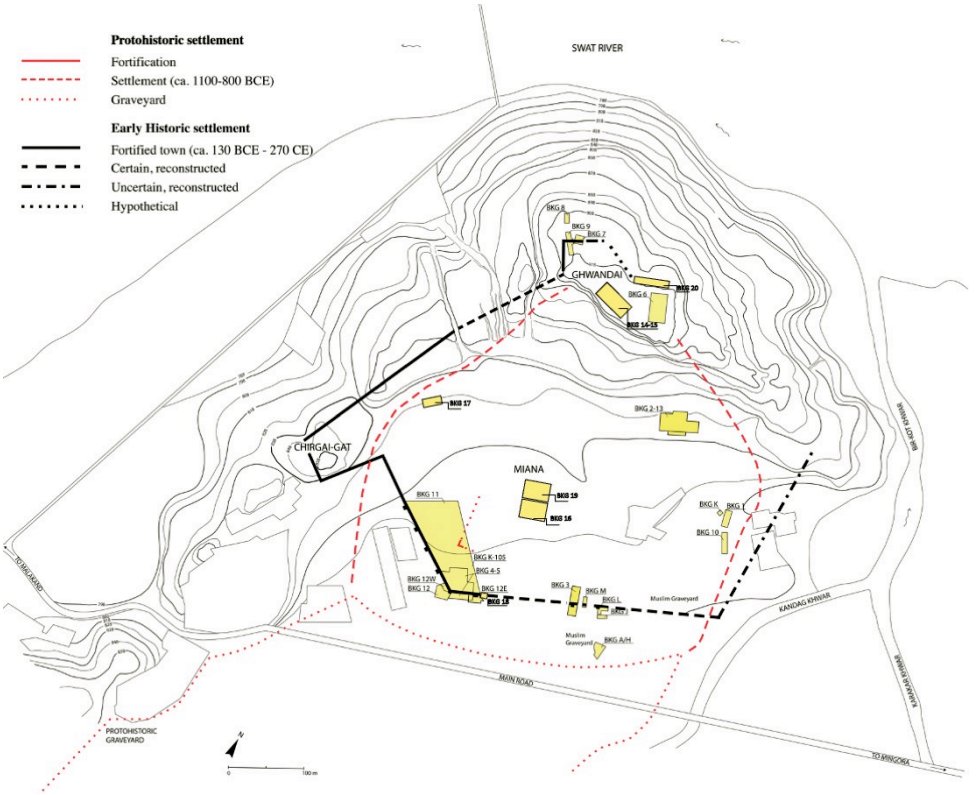

Fig. 1 - Map of Barikot: the location of trenches excavated from 1984 to 2022. (After Olivieri et al. 2022).

In the subsequent phase, the rest of the arrowheads will be studied in relation to the outcome of the first step, i.e., the chrono-typological framework. This framework will be utilized to categorize and evaluate the classification of the arrowheads that are in a poor state of preservation condition. Proposed modifications or additions to the typology will be made, and the typology will be enriched with additional data, whether

quantitative, qualitative or both, to improve the interpretation of the arrowheads found in Barikot.

3. Typology

The study of arrowheads relies on a systematical description to establish analytical classes that can be compared to existing descriptions of archaeological types (Mahzounzadeh, Bortolini 2020).

Through the documentation of arrowheads following a detailed and systematical approach, various cross-section's shapes of the arrowheads' blades and bases[2] have been registered. The arrowheads' base cross-section were oval, circular, rectangular, and square shapes. In this study, the oval and circular cross-sections have been classified together due to their analogous aspects. Likewise, the rectangular and square cross-sections have been grouped together. Firstly, considering the process of craftmanship (typically, forging) and the close similarity between each of these two forms, it is challenging to attribute significant meaning to the slight differences. Secondly, iron archaeological artefacts undergo changes over time, becoming deformed, and covered with oxidation products that can make it challenging to distinguish such a slight difference accurately. From my perspective, considering the number of artefacts, the production process, and the characteristics of iron indicate that minor variations are more likely to cause confusion in classification and analytical errors rather than providing significant distinctions.

The approach employed in delineating types, sub-types and variants relies on the indicators of change in morphology or function over time. These indicators may manifest as a set of characters or singular specific character that marks a specific group of arrowheads. These arrowheads are classified based on criteria such as material, blade cross-section, dimensions, ratio of structural features, blade shape, and the presence of specific attributes.

In a comprehensive study of 101 metal arrowheads discovered at the archaeological urban site of Barikot, 6 types (A, B, C, D, E, and F), 7 sub-types (A.I., A.II., B.I., B.II., B.III., C.I., and C.II), and 7 variants (A.II.1., A.II.2., A.II.3., B.II.1., B.II.2., B.III.1., and B.III.2.) have been identified. The majority of these arrowheads (100 out of 101) are crafted in iron,

[2] The blade is the cutting part of the arrowhead that includes tip and in some cases midrib, barb and boss. The base is the supporting part of the blade, which can be a socket or a tang. For the terminology of structural elements of an arrowhead see Mahzounzadeh, Bortolini 2020.

representing types A, B, C, D, and E, while a single arrowhead, made of copper alloy, belongs to type F. The critical aspect to division of types A, B and C is primarily the cross-section of the blade and subsequently for the sub-types and variants is the dimension of the arrowhead, the ratio of its structure features and the shape of the blade. Types D and E are differentiated by unique features such as the presence of a stem, barb, and/or double-blade.

A. Rectangular/Square-head tanged arrowheads

42 iron arrowheads represent this type. Arrowheads with rectangular or square-head and tang have persisted throughout various periods in Barikot. Different cross-section shapes of tang are in this type, such as oval/circular or rectangular/square shape. Taking into consideration that forging a four-sided arrowhead requires considerably less time than producing a rounded variant, and notably, a tri-bladed arrowhead, the continuity of this tradition across time appears plausible. Most of these arrowheads have been unearthed in the archaeological contexts dating back to the Kushan period, spanning from the 1st to the 4th century CE (Fig. 2).
Sub-types and variants of these arrowheads are:

A.I. Rectangular/Square-head with oval/circular tang

This sub-type is characterized by 6 iron arrowheads that have predominantly square-heads, circular tangs, and lanceolate blade shapes. Their length ranges from 6 to 3.5 cm and their weight ranges from 7 to 10 gr. One of them has a weight of 30 grams, which is uncommon but not particularly rare. These artifacts have been discovered in archaeological contexts associated with the Indo-Greek settlements, dating to the late 2nd century BCE (Fig. 2).

A.II. Rectangular/Square-head with rectangular/square tanged

A total of 36 iron arrowheads have been identified in this sub-type. They have been divided into 3 variants in order to gain a deeper understanding of the alterations in their morphological variation over time. The distinguishing characteristics of A.II. include the type of tang cross-section that is either rectangular or square, as well as the length of the arrowhead. They typically have a greater length than A.I. arrowheads. Another aspect

concerns the blade's shape. Although both A.I. and A.II. exhibit a lanceolate blade shape, A.II. gradually assumed a longer and narrower form. They have been discovered in archaeological contexts ranging from the 1st to the 9th century CE.

A.II.1.
The specimens of this variant consist of 6 iron arrowheads, measuring between 3.5 and 5 cm in length and weighing between 3 and 13 gr. The maximum width of the blade is positioned in the lower part in comparison to the A.I. examples, both of which have a lanceolate-shaped blade. The variations in shape are not notably significant however, the variation in the type of tang cross-section is more important. Among type A arrowheads, the quantity of rectangular/square tang arrowheads exceeds that of circular/oval ones. They have been discovered in archaeological contexts dating from the 1st to the 4th century CE.

A.II.2.
This variant consists of 13 iron arrowheads with rectangular/square-head. Most specimens in this group have a rectangular/square tang, although a few exhibits a circular/oval tang. The length of the arrowheads ranges from 4 to 8 cm, with the tang being nearly equal in length to the blade. Their blade shape is lanceolate, gradually elongating and narrowing over time, with the maximum width of the blade shifting towards the lower part. They have been discovered in archaeological contexts ranging from the 1st to the 4th century CE. A few comparisons have been found at Taxila (Marshall 1951: 547-549, Pl. 165, No. 80) and Saidu Sharif (Callieri 1989: 216, Fig. 154, S2068 – S2125).

A.II.3.
This variant is represented by 17 iron arrowheads with rectangular/square-heads. Within this group, there are specimens that have a rectangular/square tang, as well as specimens with a tang that is circular/oval in cross-section. It is worth noting that the number of circular/oval tangs increases in this variant.
The specimens of A.II.3 have a range in length from 5.6 to 12.5 cm and a weight ranging from 4 to 16 gr. They become even narrower than the previous subtypes. The key criterion for categorizing these arrowheads into this sub-type is the decreasing width of the blade as the blade length increases. Here, the arrowheads have blades that are two or three times

longer than their tangs. These artefacts have been found in various contexts ranging from the 4th to the 15th century CE. A number of comparative examples can be found at Taxila (Marshall 1951: 547-549, Pl. 165, No. 81) and Damkot (Rahman 1968-69: 108-111, Fig. 16, No. 13).

B. Tri-bladed/Triangular-head tanged arrowheads

Here are presented 41 iron arrowheads. Most of them have been unearthed in contexts dating from the 1st to the 4th century CE. Moreover, this category comprises two specimens dating back to the late 2nd century BCE, one specimen dating from the 1st BCE to the 1st CE, and eight specimens dating from the 5th to the 10th century CE (Fig. 2).

B.I. Tri-bladed/Triangular-head with circular tang

This sub-type consists of a collection of 12 iron arrowheads. There are 4 tri-bladed arrowheads and 8 triangular-head arrowheads, all of which have circular tang. The specimens of this group are damaged and often lack either all or a portion of the tang. Their length ranges from 3 to 5.6 cm and they weigh between 3 to 12 gr. All of them have a lanceolate blade shape. These arrowheads have been categorized based on the length and shape of the blade, as they have suffered significant damage and lack of tang. The archaeological context of these findings spans from the late 2nd century BCE to the early 4th century CE. Possible comparative examples could be 2 arrowheads found at Charsadda (Coningham, Ali 2007: 151, Fig. 9.1, Sfs 476 – Sfs 929), but unfortunately, they are not from stratigraphic contexts.

B.II. Tri-bladed with circular tang

This sub-type includes 17 iron tri-bladed arrowheads that almost all of them have circular tang. These arrowheads are presented in two variants based on their measurements and the ratio of blade and tang.

B.II.1.
This sub-type is represented by 10 iron tri-bladed arrowheads. All arrowheads, except for one with a rectangular tang, have circular tangs. Their length ranges from 4.4 to 8.8 cm, while their weight falls between 9 and 19 grams. 4 of them feature a deltoid-shaped blade, while the rest have a lanceolate blade shape. Despite having a lanceolate form, the widest

section of the blade is positioned very close to the tang, creating a similarity to a deltoid shape. According to 3 specimens that still have intact tangs, the blade's length is twice that of the tang. Two of them have barbs. Considering that the elongation of the lower sections of blades, referred to as barb, is mainly linked to the deltoid blade's shape, it is possible to assume that other examples, or at least some of them, initially had barbs. The arrowheads of this specific sub-type reveal increased dimensions in terms of length, weight, and width when compared to prior versions of type B. Interestingly, these artefacts have been found during a specific time, spanning from the 1st to the early 4th century CE. For this sub-type, the comparisons could be found at sites such as Ai Khanoum (Bernard 1973: 159, Fig. 41, No. 028), Taxila (Marshall 1951: 547-549, Pl. 165, No. 88), Saidu Sharif (Callieri 1989: 216, Fig. 154, S2073) and Surkh Kotal (Fussman 1990: 158, Pl. 8, Nos. 540-541).

B.II.2.
This variant includes 13 iron tri-bladed arrowheads with circular tang. 7 of them have a deltoid shape blade, while the remaining ones have lanceolate blade shape. Their length ranges from 5 to 9 cm, while their weight varies between 3.94 and 18.7 gr. Their blades have a narrower width compared to B.II.1. This type presents a range of sizes, but a crucial criterion is that the length of the tang is nearly equal to the length of the blade. Most of these artefacts have been discovered in contexts ranging from the 3rd to the late 4th century CE. Two of them were revealed in later contexts, dating from the 5th to the 10th century CE. A few comparisons are mentioned among findings at Shaikhan Dheri (Dani 1965-1966: 119) and Damkot (Rahman 1968-1969: 108-111, Fig. 16, No. 18).

B.III. Triangular-head with oval/circular tang

This sub-type includes 6 iron arrowheads with triangular head and oval or circular tang. The specimens of this sub-type have been categorized into two variants according to their measurements.

B.III.1.
This group consists of 3 iron arrowheads characterized by the triangular-head, oval tang, and the lanceolate blade shape. Their length ranges from 3.92 to 4.36 cm, and their weight varies between 5 and 14.53 gr. They have been discovered in contexts ranging from the 5th to the 10th century CE.

B.III.2.
This variant consists of 3 iron arrowheads characterized by the triangular-head, circular tang, and lanceolate blade shape. Their length ranges from 5.2 to 6.6 cm, and their weight falls between 9.17 and 15 gr. On comparing them to examples of B.III.1, arrowheads of this varinat exhibit greater length, width, and weight. Additionally, they have a distinct form of tang. They have been discovered in archaeological contexts ranging from the 5th to the 15th century CE.

C. Bi-Bladed arrowheads

This type comprises 7 iron bi-bladed tanged arrowheads, classified into 2 sub-types based on their distinguishing features, particularly the presence or absence of a stem (Fig. 3).

C.I. Bi-bladed with tang and stem[3]

This sub-typr includes 4 iron bi-bladed tanged arrowheads with stem. Furthermore, one of the arrowheads has barb as well. There is a morphological variation among the stems. The length of arrowheads varies from 3.96 to 8 cm, while their weight ranges from 8.1 to 25.7. These artefacts have been found in archaeological contexts dating to the mid-late 2nd century BCE.

C.II. Bi-bladed with oval tang

This sub-type contains 3 iron bi-bladed tanged arrowheads. Their length ranges from 8.35 to 11.6, while their weight ranges from 8.21 to 16.84. Their blades are lanceolate, and the tangs have oval/circular cross-section. The chronology of their contexts spans from the 1st to the early 4th century CE. A possible comparison could be among the findings of Saidu Sharif (Callieri 1989: 216, Fig. 154, S1896).

In addition to the aforementioned examples, certain arrowheads have distinctive traits that set them apart from others.

[3] The stem is a narrow structural feature of the arrowhead that is placed between the blade and the base. It is part of the base.

D. Double-bladed arrowheads

The term "double-blade" is used to describe arrowheads that feature a blade exhibiting a profile of sigma (Σ) shape, resembling two levels of blades. They are described also as double-curved edges blade (Snodgrass 1964: 146).

3 iron arrowheads of this particular type were revealed in Barikot. These artefacts contain circular or oval tang cross-sections. Two of them have blades with tri-blade or triangular cross-sections, while one has a rectangular-head. The earliest example was found in a context ranging from the 1st to the 2nd century CE. Only the upper portion of the blade reached us. It measures 3.4 cm in length and weighs 7.2 gr. The second example, which features a rectangular-head, was discovered from a context dating back to the 2nd and 3rd century CE. It measures 5.1 cm in length and weighs 11.84 grams. The third example, which is exceptionally well-preserved, exhibits two distinct types of blade cross-section: a triangular upper blade and a tri-blade lower blade. Furthermore, it also includes barbs. This arrowhead measures 9.49 cm in length and weighs 16.83 gr. It has been discovered in a layer dating to a period between the middle and late 4th century CE. Some arrowheads found at Damkot (Rahman 1968-69: 108-111, Fig. 16, No. 15), Taxila (Marshall 1951: 547-549, Pl. 165, Nos. 79-82-85) and Saidu Sharif (Callieri 1989: 216, Fig. 154, S2011-S2012-S2018) could be compared to this type (Fig. 3).

E. Arrowheads with stem

This type contains a total of 7 iron arrowheads. Their shared characteristic is the presence of a stem. There are four arrowheads with a square cross-section, two with a rectangular cross-section, and one with a triangular cross-section blade.

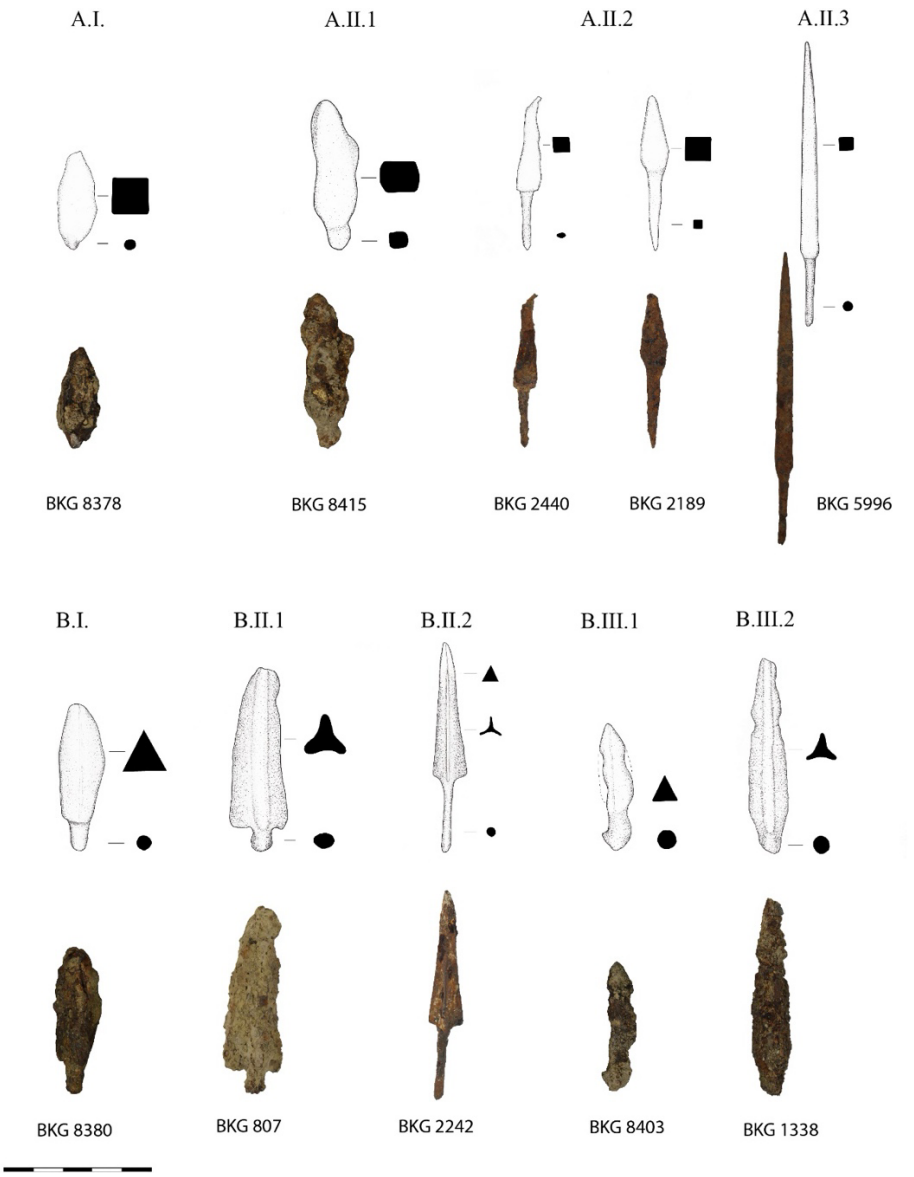

Fig. 2 - Typology of arrowheads: Type A and type B
(Photos and drawings by the Author).

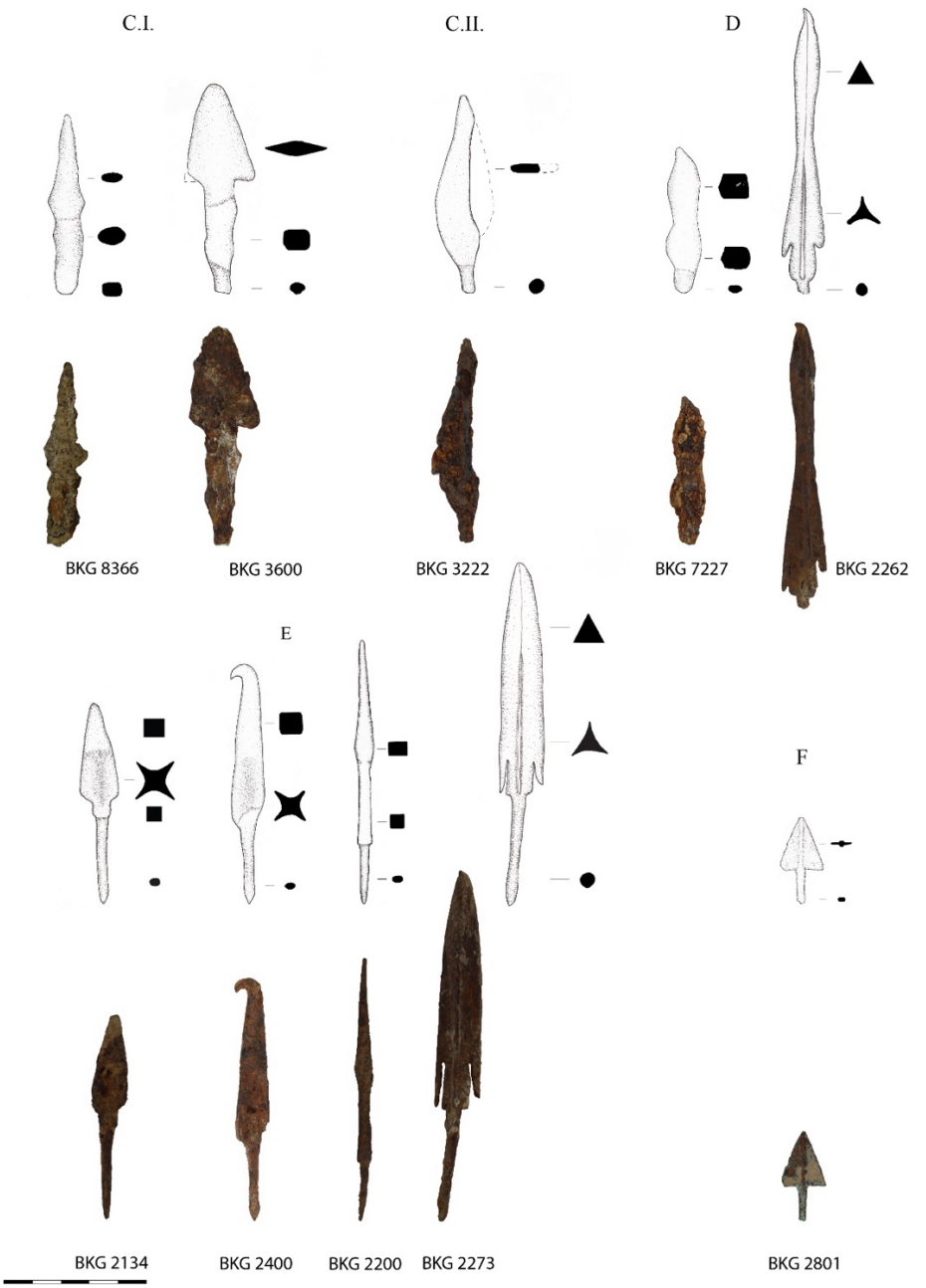

Fig. 3 - Typology of arrowheads: Type C, D, E and F
(Photos and drawings by the Author).

One arrowhead also has a barb. The arrowheads feature a circular/oval cross-section tang. Their length ranges from 5.6 to 12 cm, while their weight ranges from 8.55 to 35 gr. The length of the blade exceeds that of the tang, and most of them have a deltoid blade shape. These artefacts have been discovered in archaeological contexts ranging from the 2nd to the 9th century CE. However, it is important to highlight that five of them were revealed from contexts dating back to the mid-late 4th century CE. A few comparable arrowheads have been found at Taxila (Marshall 1951: 547-549, Pl. 165, Nos. 72-73-74-77-78-84-89) (Fig. 3).

F. Copper alloy arrowhead

Only 1 copper alloy arrowhead has been discovered in Barikot. This arrowhead is a bi-bladed that has been equipped with a rectangular cross-section tang. It has a deltoid blade shape and features a midrib, which serves to enhance the strength of the blades. The arrowhead is characterized by its diminutive size and lightweight nature, measuring 3.1 cm in length, and weighing 1.56 grams. Given its dimensions, it is probable that it could be used for the purpose of hunting diminutive fauna. It has been found in context attributed to the late Kushan period and dated to the 3rd century CE (Fig. 3).

4. Conclusions

The earliest evidence of metal arrowheads in Barikot has been found in the Indo-Greek phase, dated to the late 2nd century BCE. It includes three sub-types of arrowheads: with rectangular-head and tang (A.I.), tri-blade and triangular-head arrowheads with circular tang (B.I.) and bi-bladed tanged arrowheads with stem (C.I.). We lack supporting evidence that the production of bi-blade tanged arrowheads with stem continued in subsequent periods. Merely 3 examples of bi-bladed tanged arrowheads, without stem, surfaced from contexts dated between the 1st and the 4th century CE.

In contrast, rectangular-head arrowheads (referred to as type A and divided into 2 sub-types and 3 variants) and tri-bladed/triangular-head arrowheads (referred to as type B and divided into 3 sub-types and 4 variants) have undergone manifold modifications over the centuries. These types emerged as the predominant arrowhead forms and maintained their

prominence until the 15th century CE. Collected data clearly demonstrates that these arrowheads account for 90% of the corpus studied.

The current findings from the excavations at Barikot reveal a significantly larger assemblage of arrowheads discovered in contexts dating from the 1st to the 4th century CE. During this period, there is a noticeable alteration in the structure of arrowheads. The arrowheads' length increased progressively. Initially, the blade and base had equal lengths, as shown in variants A.II.2 and B.II.2. Subsequently, the blade's length surpassed that of the base, as in variant A.II.3.

Changes in size are accompanied by the narrowing of the blades (A.II.2, A.II.3, and B.II.2), and the lanceolate shape of the blade gradually changes to the deltoid shape. An increase in width and weight appears exclusively in variant B.III.2. It is curious that as various types of arrowheads decrease in width, only one group increases in width and weight. Further investigation is required to explore the potential causes for this alteration. However, it is crucial to recognize that comprehending this matter involves acknowledging the distinct performance characteristics of various blade types and aligning them with user requirements. For instance, experimental archaeology and anthropological studies reveal that tri-bladed arrowheads cause more severe damage (Karger et al. 1998). Hence, crafting a broader tri-blade arrowhead could have both strategic and practical factors to consider.

The rectangular arrowhead has a distinct advantage in terms of accelerated production when compared to its tri-bladed counterparts. The manufacturing process is quicker and simplified due to its uncomplicated design. This implies that a greater number of arrows can be manufactured within a shorter period of time, offering a practical benefit for individuals requiring arrows urgently (Cole 2023: 51-61).

Regarding types D and E, their limited quantity doesn't necessarily reflect their overall production. Instead, what stands out is the inventive approach taken in their crafting. Adding various structural features, including barb, stem, double-blade, and even a combination of these elements, underscores the innovation and skill applied during their production. These enhancements not only show the artisan's skill but also serve to increase the lethality of the weapon.

Arrowheads with similar characteristics of both types have been discovered at Taxila. S.J. Marshall labelled all of them as “double-tanged arrowheads” (Marshall 1951: 547-579). The term “double-tang” does not correspond precisely and correctly to the functional definition of the

structures of an arrowhead. In the case of some of these arrowheads (i.e. type E), there exists a stem that is situated between the blade and the base. The main function of the stem is to strengthen the arrowhead, thereby preventing the blade from breaking or detaching from the base when it hits a target. It is crucial to highlight that the stem is not designed for cutting (its width is significantly less than the blade). Instead, its purpose is to provide support for the arrowhead to achieve the best possible penetration into the target. Furthermore, in some arrowheads (i.e. type D), there exist two levels of blade. The second blade (the lower one) has a width that is equal to or greater than the upper blade. This differentiation indicates its application as a secondary blade, causing more severe injuries.

In this case, the term double-tang not only ignores the accurate description of the structural features of the arrowhead but also oversimplifies the differentiation between two structural features that serve different purposes. By accurately acknowledging the structural features of the arrowhead and by proposing a typology grounded in a systematic description, two key points are argued here:

First, the double-blade arrowhead represents an innovation in arrowhead production, with its earliest archaeological evidence in Barikot dating back to the 1st century CE. In contrast, the earliest archaeological evidence of stem in Barikot dates back to the 2nd century BCE (sub-type C.I.). Following a gap period of approximately two centuries, there is again evidence of arrowheads with stem dating back to the 2nd century CE. Besides the chronological distribution, another consideration is regarding the quantity of arrowheads with stem and double-blade. There is a higher prevalence of arrowheads with stems in both Barikot and Taxila, while only a few examples of double-blades have been found.

The development of this chrono-typology, employing a systematic descriptive approach, has enabled the identification of morphological traits in the structure of arrowheads over time, leading to the determination of distinct arrowhead types. By studying a collection of artefacts from stratigraphic archaeological contexts with precise and updated dating, the typology has been enriched with valuable chronological data. The findings of this study shed light on the evolving production process of arrowheads at Barikot. Noteworthy aspects, such as periods of innovation, heightened production needs, and the prolonged dominance of certain forms, have emerged within this evolutionary process. These findings not only contribute to our understanding of arrowhead production at Barikot but also propose new subjects for further research in this field.

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Notes and Items for Discussion

A few notes on the Turk Shahi elite and Buddhism. East Asian sources and archaeology

Arina Mrachkovskaya

Abstract

East Asian Buddhist pilgrims portrayed Turk Shahi as Buddhist rulers – they regularly made offerings, provided Buddhist feasts, built monasteries on their donations. However, archaeological evidence shows a more complex situation. Under Turk Shahi reign Brahmanical cults spread through the region, while esoteric Buddhism steadily gained popularity.

Keywords: Turk Shahi, Buddhism, Brahmanical cults, Gandhara, Kabul, Swat.

1. Introduction

In the 6th century, the Turkic Khaganate conquered the Hephthalite confederation (Klimburg-Salter 2010: 40), and – around 650 CE – Kabul became the capital of the Turk Shahi kingdom, who ruled over Kabul-Gandhara until the 9th century, when Hindu Shahi came to power (*ibid*.).

The Turk Shahi period was a very fertile and fortunate period for artistic production and the construction or renovation of worship centres. Sculptors and craftsmen of local regional tradition were apparently employed on a large scale. A new figurative language, and new sculptural types (stelae mainly, but also statues) was also introduced (see Kuwayama 1976), possibly also due to the presence of stonemasons and sculptors connected to the Indian tradition of marble art. Much of these marble materials are of Hindu subject matter, yet it should not be forgotten that during this period, at least in Kabulistan, a great many Buddhist centers were renovated.

In fact, there is evidence of Turk Shahi's support of Buddhism – Buddhist complexes and sculptures dating back to the Turk Shahi period (in particular red clay-based Buddhist high-reliefs; Kimmet 2022). It is really significant that among these statues, some artworks depict the elite and donors, such as the figures from Tepe Maranjan (*ibid*.: 11-12).

Not only archaeological but also text sources provide evidence on the Turk Shahi support of Buddhism through donations and offerings. The Buddhist canon Dazang Jing contains an account of a Turkic queen of Uddiyana, who reigned in the 8th(?) century, asking monk Shubhakarasimha to teach her the Law (Inaba 2010: 445). In this paper we tried to find out the correlation between the Turkic elite and Buddhism and the status of Buddhism under Turk Shahi.

2. Turk Shahi in the travelogue of Jibin: Gandhara

One of the text sources which provide information on Turk Shahi and Buddhism is the travelogue Memoir of the Pilgrimage to the Five Indian Regions by a Buddhist pilgrim Hyecho. The text includes a description of Gandhara in the first half of the 8th century.

Hyecho writes "The king and military are all Turks, while the local people are Hu and also some Brahmins" (Yang 1984: 48). The Buddhist monk describes the ruling elite as Turks, mentions that there were Brahmins in the country. This means that Brahmanical cults were practised and Buddhism was not the only religion in Gandhara at that period. However, Hyecho claims that the Turkic elite supported Buddhism. It is clear from the following part – "Though the king is a Turk, he reveres the Three Jewels deeply. The king, queen, princes, and generals each build temples and give offerings to the Three Jewels…" (Whitfield 2012: 127). The ruling family made donations, including sponsoring the construction of monasteries. By doing this, they both received merits and perpetuated their names.[1]

Hyecho continues: (After donation) for [king's] wife and elephants, he (the king) would order the monks to set a price so that he could purchase them back again. Besides these things, the monks would sell off the donated camels, horses, gold, silver, clothing and furniture, and share the proceeds (Whitfield 2012: 127). This interesting episode illustrates commodity-money relations in Samgha.[2] From Hyecho we learn that a monastic community could sell off received gifts. Money, precious metals and gems were divided into two parts: one for Dharma, another for Samgha – donated treasures were sold and the proceeds were distributed among monks (Takakusu 1896: 192). So, monks receive donations, they sell donated gifts, and after trade they use money to fulfil cult needs. This process shows that the monastic community was a part of economic life. Hyecho writes that a king could purchase his wife and elephants back from the monastic community. By writing this, Hyecho portrays the Turkic king as a zealous Buddhist who donates the most precious to Buddha to show his favour to this religion to benefit in a political way. It might also be a symbolic donation, once again, possibly for political purposes.

3. Turk Shahi according to Jibin

Before analysing the next part of the text, we should understand which toponym is not used in the text. Hyecho writes in Classical Chinese and uses Chinese toponym

[1] Another reason for supporting Buddhism might be legitimisation. We will consider the reasons why Turks supported Buddhism in the final part of this paper.

[2] As A. Bareau writes, the donation system changed from direct to indirect ones; indirect donations produce rent or interest which monks could use to fulfil cult needs (Bareau 1961: 445).

Jibin (罽賓). There are certain difficulties with identifying Jibin. In this we agree with Shoshin Kuwayama and relate Jibin of the 8th century to Kabul, not Kapisi. As after the Turk Shahi usurpation of Kapisi, the toponym Jibin was still used but referred to Kabul (Kuwayama 1999: 60).

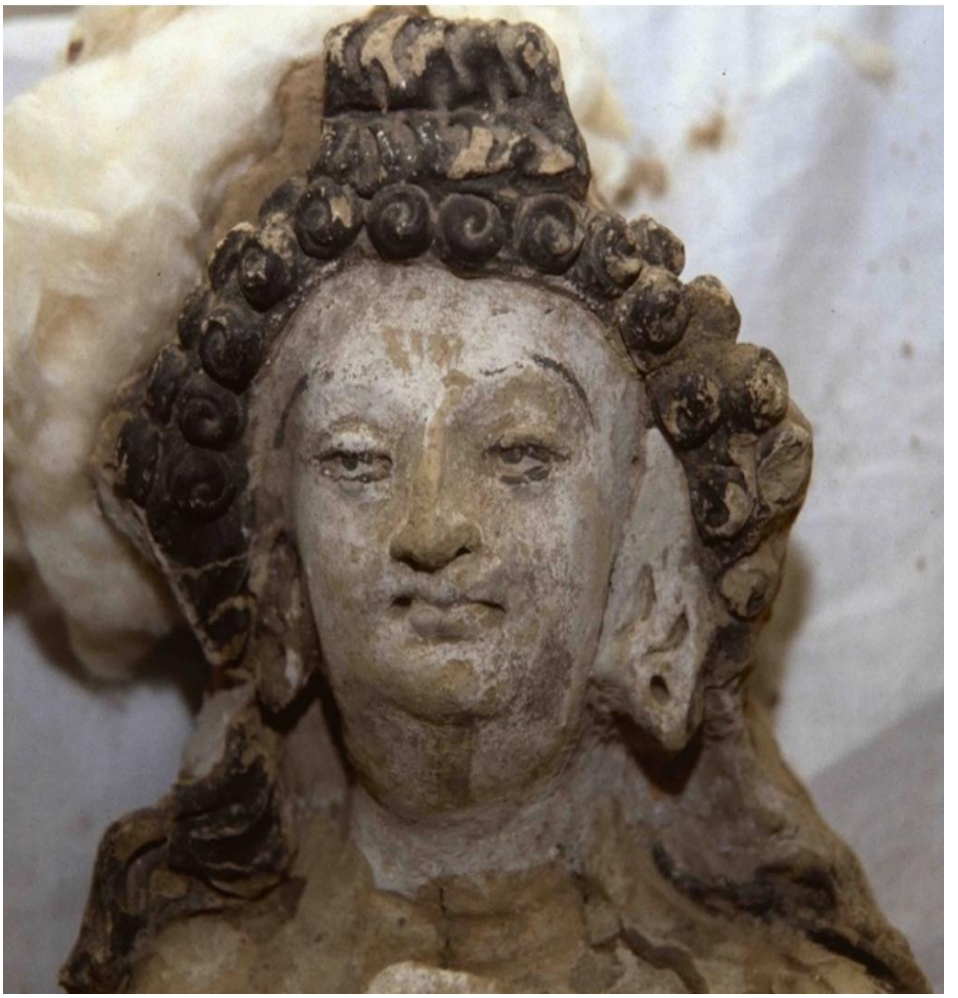

Fig. 1 - Head and torso of a female donor figure. Photo by D. Klimburg-Salter. (from Khawar [Kafir Kot], Afghanistan: Buddhist Clay-based Sculpture from the Early Period of the Śāhi Kingdoms. URL: https://shahimaterialculture.univie.ac.at/sourcebook/)

Hyecho writes "This country is also under the authority of the king of Gandhara. During the summer, the king comes here to spend time in a cool place, and then in the winter, he lives in Gandhara to be where it is warm" (Whitfield 2012: 136). According to this account, Turkic kings had two capitals: Kabul as the winter one and Hund as the summer one. Based on the city location description, we suggest that the city Hyecho visited in Gandhara is Hund (see on that Verdon 2021), while in this part he describes the Kabul region. "The people are most reverent of the Three Jewels and there are many monasteries and monks." According to Hyecho, Buddhistm was the dominant faith in Kabulistan. That should not surprise us, since, as said at the beginning of these notes, archaeological evidence supports the existence of coeval Buddhist centres near Kabul, such as Tepe Khazana and Tepe Narenj. "Every commoner's household contributes to the founding of temples and gives offerings to the Three Jewels." (Whitfield 2012: 137).

Hyecho continues "In the big city, there is a monastery called Sahis. Preserved here are relics of the Buddha, including a curl of his hair and some bone sarira [*śarīra*]." (Whitfield 2012: 137). We do not have doubt that that "big city" was Kabul, then the aforementioned monastery could be one of the Buddhist monastery ruins located near the capital of modern Afghanistan. Another interesting detail is the name of the monastery. Although the name would suggest an association with the ruling Shahi in Hyecho's time, the name is reported as traditional. Before the Turk Shahi the term *ṣāhi* as a title was used by the Alkhan Huns (Errington 2010: 153; see also Vondrovec 2012: 183) and earlier also by the Kushans (Falk 2010: 80). So, "Shahi monastery" might have simply meant a monastery founded or supported by any of these rulers.

Another evidence of the Turkic elite sponsoring Buddhism is an account of Chinese monk Wukong who travelled to Kashmir in 759–763 CE. Wukong reports on numerous Buddhist sacred places in Kashmir founded by the Turk Shahi ruling dynasty (Stein 1900: 90). Aurel Stein writes that these structures belong to the period of Lalitaditya Muktapida (742–760 CE), under whose reign many Buddhist shrines and stupas were erected (Stein 1900: 90-91). Wukong describes two Buddhist monasteries in Kashmir built on donations of the Turkic elite – Yelitegin and Khatun monasteries (Levi, Chavannes 1895: 18-19). Another monastery, named in honour of a general, might be connected with a Turk minister of Lalitaditya (Stein 1900: 90). In Gandhara Wukong also records a Khatun monastery, built by a wife of a Turkic king (Levi, Chavannes 1895: 21). As M. Inaba considers, the aforementioned monasteries were probably built on donations of the Turk Shahi dynasty members as Kashmir was an important Buddhist centre and both regions were connected through religious networks (Inaba 2010: 450). To conclude, Turks named Buddhist buildings in honour of themselves, they made donations on monastery constructions not only in Kabul-Gandhara, but also regions outside their direct political rule, in Kashmir.

Fig. 2 – Head of a bodhisattva, Tapa Sardar, 7th-8th century CE.
Photo by E. Monti, Italian Archaeological Mission in Afghanistan
(Ater EASAA: https://easaa.org/gallery/)

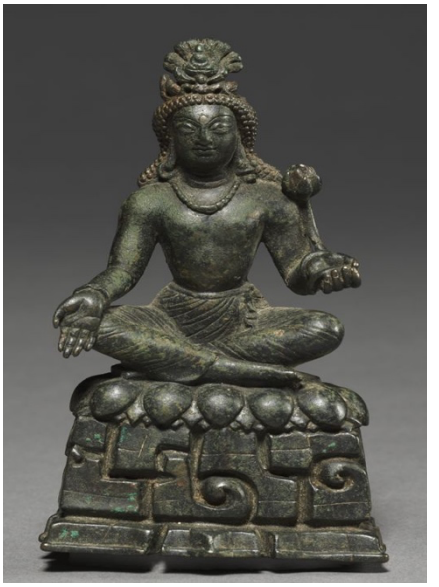

Fig. 3 – Padmapani Lokeshvara seated on the Rock, Kashmir, 8th century CE.
(After Artstor https://jstor.org/stable/community.24612954).

4. Turk Shahi and Buddhism

There is evidence of different Buddhist schools practised in the Turk Shahi kingdom. According to Hyecho, Theravada was practised in the Kabul region, while in Gandhara, both Mahayana and Theravada schools were popular. Moreover, Deborah Klimburg-Salter provides examples of esoteric practices, for instance, *mandala* in Tepe Narenj (Klimburg-Salter 2010: 172). Zaifar Paiman shows another evidence of esoteric influence in Tepe Narenj - the five *jina*s in Chapel 3 (Paiman, Alram 2010: 36).

There may be several reasons for Turks, who were not culturally Buddhist, to support Buddhism. As foreigners in the Kabul-Gandhara region, they had no genealogical legitimacy. They also were out of the *varṇa* system, which means, in the Brahmanical view, they could not rule as they were not *kṣatriya*. Turks needed to search for other sources of legitimacy, and they might have found it in Buddhism, which does not accept the *varṇa* system, or does not regard it as a system of separation and social control. Moreover, by the Turk invasion Buddhism

had a long history in the region and, as pilgrims mention, a significant part of the population followed Buddhism. By supporting this religion, Turks showed themselves as a part of society. Moreover, by demonstrating their favour to Buddhism, Turk Shahi could establish diplomatic connections with Buddhist neighbours. Turk Shahi established alliances with adjacent kingdoms of Zabul (Hyecho suggests Zabul and Turk Shahi kings were close relatives), Bamiyan, and Kashmir (Klimburg-Salter 2010: 41). Based on *Rajatarangini*'s description of Shahi princes and a Turkic minister at Lalitaditya court, Aurel Stein suggests that Turk Shahi relations with Kashmir were complicated (Stein 1900: 93). For us, Turks at Kashmir court is an argument to suggest that the two neighbours had complex relationships despite nominal sharing the same religion – Buddhism.

4. Buddhism and Brahmanical cults

Buddhism was not the only religion in the Turk Shahi state. There is also evidence of Brahmanical cults. Xuanzang describes followers of Brahmanical ascetics in Kapisi as naked people or those who put on ashes (Alexandrova 2012: 51). His records are written evidence of the Brahmanical cults' existence in the Kabul Valley before the Turk invasion. Archeological evidence supports the Chinese pilgrim notes. Xuanzang describes two Brahmanical monuments in southern Kapisi. Soshin Kuwayama suggests that these two sites might be Tapa Skandar where a marble Umāmaheśvara statue was found; and Khair Khana where other Brahmanical statues roughly datable to the 7th century were discovered (Kuwayama 1999: 26). Another evidence of Turk Shahi's support of Brahmanical cults is a Gaṇeśa marble statue from Gardez with two lines of inscription in Brahmi, with the preserved name of a donor (a king of Oḍiyāna, i.e. Swat, by the way).[3] According to S. Kuwayama, the statue dates back roughly to the 8th century (Kuwayama 2002: 257-259). However, Brahmanical marble statues have been found not only in the Kabul region. Several fragments of analogous Brahmanical marble statues were also found near the temple, located on the top of Barikot hill, excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission from 1998 to 2000 and from 2019 to 2023 (Olivieri 2023: 261). The foundation of the temple is a massive artificial terrace which belongs to a pre-existing Buddhist sacred area (Olivieri 2023: 261).

[3] Another was found near Kabul at Sakar-dara. The inscription on the Gardez statue reads: "On the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of Yestha, the [lunar] mansion being the Visakha, at the auspicious time when the zodiacal sign Lion was bright on the horizon (*lagna*), in the year eight, this great [image] of the Mahavinayaka was consecrated by the supreme lord, the great king, the king of the kings, the Sri Shahi Khiṃgāla [Kinghala was Turk Shahi ruler], the king of Odyana". (Translation: Hideaki Nakatani) (Kuwayama 1999: 44, 71; see also Dhavalikar 1971 and Sircar 1966: 44-47).

Radiocarbon dates associated to the finding of the aforementioned fragments suggests that the Buddhist site located on top of the Barikot was rebuilt as a Brahmanical temple in the 7th– early 8th century, and that the possible donors were Turk Shahi (Olivieri 2010: 358, 361).

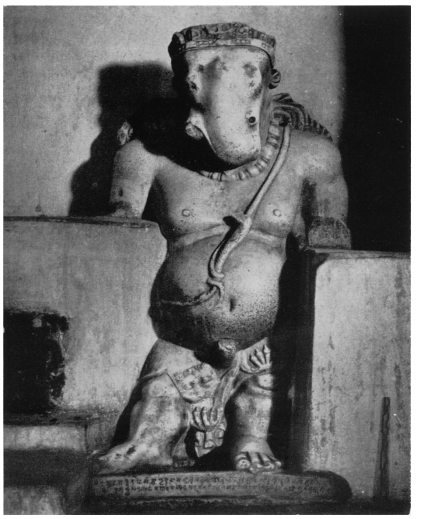

Fig. 4 - Ganesha, Gardez, 8th CE. (from Dhavalikar 1971).

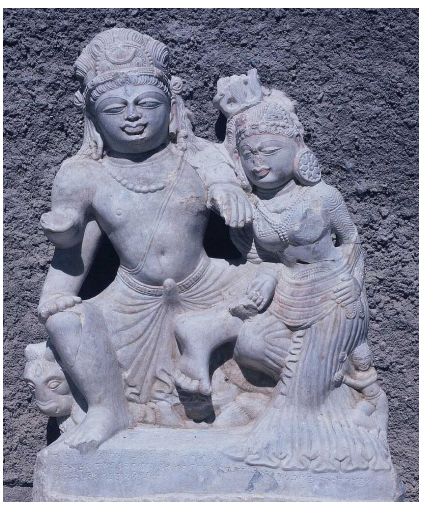

Fig. 5 - Umāmaheśvara, Tapa Skandar, 7th CE.
(Photo by courtesy of The Committee of the Kyoto University Scientific Mission to Central Asia; After Shahi Kingdom Database: https://shahimaterialculture.univie.ac.at/database/).

Despite support of Buddhism, Turk Shahi were not Buddhist kings to the full extent. There are several reasons for this. First, we could not find any Buddhist symbols on Turk Shahi coinage. Although a wheel is represented on some coins, A. Rehman suggests that the depicted wheel is a solar wheel, not a *chakra* (Rehman 1976: 183), which correlates with Anna Filigenzi's idea that Turk Shahi experienced a strong impact of Solar cult (Filigenzi 2006: 199).

Fig. 6 – Chorasan Tegin Shah coin, Kabulistan, 7th-8th CE.
(from Shahi Kingdom Database: https://shahimaterialculture.univie.ac.at/database/).

5. Turk Shahi and Brahmanical cults

The 7th–8th centuries was the time of international trade. In such cosmopolitan atmosphere not only goods but also ideas and thoughts spread through trade routes. For example, Tang-influenced style paintings were found in Bamiyan and Indian-Kashmiri style Brahmanical statues were excavated in the Kabul region (Klimburg-Salter 2008: 133). In the 7th–8th centuries Brahhmanical centres, as well as Buddhist ones, expanded in Afghanistan due to economic affluence (Klimburg-Salter 2008: 132).

During Brahmanical cults spread, such phenomena as Brahmanical implications at Buddhist sites appeared. For example, K.A. Behrendt reports on Brahmanical statues in Buddhist monasteries (Behrendt 2010: 306; see e.g. at Tepe Sardar). A. Filigenzi reports on four reliefs in Tindo Dag (Swat), placed not far from each other, three of which are Buddhist but the fourth depicts Brahmanical deities – Surya, Vishnu and Ganesa (Filigenzi 2006: 200). This is an example of two religions coexisting in one place. There are also interesting images which can be interpreted as Shiva Maheshwara, the esoteric conception of Avalokiteshvara (Behrendt 2010: 307). According to K.A. Behrendt, there might be interactions between ascetic Buddhism and Brahmanical ascetic practices that led to ideological exchange (Behrendt 2010: 307). If Buddhism shifted towards esoteric practices and there was an ideological exchange between Buddhism and

Brahmanical cults, Turk Shahi could support both as esoteric Buddhism and Brahmanical cults were steadily gaining popularity. Because of ideological exchange, Buddhist esoteric practices and Brahmanical cults were closely related. The interaction can be observed not only in archaeological but also in written sources. First, there is evidence that Tantric mantra was an adaptation of the Shivaite formula (Behrendt 2010: 306). Second, based on the Adivaraha-Perumal temple inscription, we can see that Buddha was considered as one of the ten Vishnu avatars already in the 7th–9th centuries (Salomon 2017: 12). Moreover, veneration of Vasudeva and Buddha took place. There is a Turk Shahi marble mutilated pedestal probably from Swat, the pedestal bears an inscription (Salomon 2017: 15-17). Although a *vāsudeva-pratimā* writing, the text has characteristics of Buddhist donative texts (*ibid*.). The aforementioned examples illustrate deep interconnections between the two religions.

6. Conclusions

In written sources such as accounts of Hyecho and Wukong Turk Shahi are represented as patrons of Buddhism – they sponsored feasts, made donations, and built monasteries, under their reign large monasteries functioned, Samgha received offerings. We suggest that Buddhism for Turk Shahi was a source of legitimacy as Turks were out of the varna system. Buddhism was also useful for diplomatic relations since Turk Shahi political neighbours patronised this religion. However, Turk Shahi relations with this religion are more complex. The Turks did not use Buddhist symbols on coinage. Moreover, they made donations not only to Buddhism but also to Brahnical cults, which gained popularity.

As a result of Brahmanical cults and Buddhism interaction, syncretistic deities and the presence of Brahmanical statues in Buddhist sites appeared. Turk Shahi supported Buddhism, but it was not the only religion they demonstrated favour for. Although monasteries still flourished and the ruling elite made donations, Brahmanical statues in Buddhist monasteries, rebuilding monasteries into temples, and the fact that Buddhism was not the only religion supported by the elite – all of this allows us to suggest that Buddhism under Turk Shahi began to fade away, yielding to other religious practices.

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Pir Shah Jurio at Risk:
A Coastal Harappan Site on the Bank of Hub River

Waqar Ali Chang

Abstract

The civilisation of the Indus Valley is spread across several naturally resource-rich areas, a reason for internal and external trade. Connectivity from one area to another should be the reason why the thousand settlements support each other from different perspectives. The Karachi region, located in an important geographical position between the mountain belt to the north and west and the plains to the east, its maritime environment should be an important source of seafood at the time. Unfortunately, many of the sites prior to detailed studies have been little studied or even are now at risk from building and industrial expansion. One very important site is Pir Shah Jurio, strategically located on the eastern bank of the Hub River and only 5 kilometres north of the sea in the Karachi region.

Keywords: Coastal sites, Indus valley civilization, Karachi, Sindh.

1. Introduction

The Indus Valley civilisation at its peak covered an area of 3,133,886 square kilometres between Afghanistan, Pakistan and India (Coningham 2015). Within this geography, the region of present-day Sindh stands out in importance (Chakrabarti 2014). The Khirthar foothills area, dissected by streams descending from this bastion-shaped hill system between Sindh and Baluchistan, is a fascinating area of occupation due to its open valleys, low hills and hot springs. In the Khirthar foothills area, agriculture depends on dams built to control the flow of streams from the hills. Some of these streams are also perennial, being fed by springs. Local routes between Sindh and Baluchistan are also found in this area. Its Harappan sites are related to such routes and agriculturally suitable spots. The sites of Amiliano, Orangi and Allahdino are oriented towards Karachi (Chakrabarti 2014). Lahiri (1992) published a detailed inventory of the raw materials and finished products, mostly identified from the excavations of the Mature Harappan sites till the late 1980s. Mohenjo-Daro and Chanhu-Daro yielded the largest number of items and the composite list was found to comprise the following: steatite, alabaster, shell, ivory, carnelian, agate, jasper, jade, lapis lazuli, copper-bronze, gold, silver, lead, semi-precious stones and ordinary stones. The last two categories included, in their turn, serpentine, turquoise, amazonite, onyx, topaz, haematite, bloodstone, amethyst, plasma, feldspar, chalcedony, chert, limestone, slate, flint, sandstone, milky quartz, basalt, Jaisalmer stone, tachylite, calcite,

diorite etc. To understand the Harappan internal trade in its proper historical context one has to focus on the network of routes linking different small regions of its distribution zone (Chakrabarti 2014).

Fig. 1 - General views of the mounds, A (left), B (right), looking northwest corner (Cortesy MAHI).

The region of Karachi and its friendly environment, flat intervening valley and low parallel ridges, watered by perennial and semi-perennial streams, springs, and its maritime environment should be very favourable for being itself the home of indigenous cultures, and must have played an important role in the progress of different human cultures from the pre- historic times (Khan, 1968). As rich in the archaeological record of different stone age periods (Biagi 2004, 2008), the number of Harrapan settlements as well are reported by different researcher (Majumdar 1934, Fairservis 1982, Khan 1968), some of the well-known are Pir Shah Jurio, Amiliano, Allahdino, Hasan Wali, Hab Chauki, and Ghazkar or Ghazkal.

Pir Shah Jurio the name by a grave of Sufi saint correctly Pir Shah Jerio written on the slab of his grave and locally famous, geographically the site is locating 24 55 61 44 66 44 49 68 on the tip of a conglomerate terrace about 50 feet above the sea level (Khan, 1968), on the eastern bank of Hub River. The site consists of two small mounds; mound A with the circumference of 330 metres, and mound B with circumference of 40 metres which both nowadays partly covered by a cemetery.

The site was documented by a team of the Geology Department from University of Karachi during the geological and geomorphological survey of the region (Khan, 1964, 1979a). During the survey, the geological team also documented the presence of archaeological material: plain, painted and perforated pottery sherds, broken frame pieces of the toy carts, chert blades and scrapers, polished weight, copper pieces, terracotta and shell bangles, and triangular clay tablets. Furthermore, the geological survey helped to understand the strategic location of the site, and its potential role as an ancient port-site. The site would

have been important to the other coastal sites of Sutkagen Dor, Sokta Koh, and Kot Bala.

Geographically the site is locating on very planned location on the bank of river and the terrace where the site located is surrounded by low height plains currently cultivated by locals can be assumed also used similarly in ancient times. The mounds of the site, importantly the square feature very similar to the stone wall foundation (Fig. 1. Right) on mound B very close to the river and scattered cultural material are suggesting the permanent settlement. The closeness to the sea should be feasibility as a port for the sites that time located in the east of Hub River and close to the site of Pir Shah Jurio.

Fig. 2 - A view of the boundary wall around the site (Photo by Usman Kez).

2. Current visit and condition of the site

Moving forward the current conditions of the site, it was very shocked that someone has grabbed the hill where site located and a boundary wall around the site is built by him (Fig. 2), after getting permission from caretaker to enter, inside the boundary, there were many new buildings including, houses, cattle and poultry forms (Fig. 4). The site needs a quick response of the responsible authorities for the protection, otherwise the total area inside the wall will As mentioned above the site is covered by graves and using as the graveyard by Jokhiasa local Balouch tribe (Fig 1. Left), the graves are simply made of local stone slabs can be measure 2.5×1.2=0.8 m maximum without any identical feature which used to be relative date. According to the locals they are continuously using it, and these graves are two to three hundred years old, if they

are continuously using, hardly the graveyard should be three to four hundred years old because the number of graves is not in much quantity.

On both mounds along with the graves the cultural material specifically the pot sherds, can be classified; painted and plain of the red and grey ware (Fig. 3). The type of red ware were mostly the pieces of dish on stand, small and large storage jars, pots, and bowls. The painted pieces of large globular or near globular jar with a base and beaked shape of rim, painted with deep red glossy slip on the body and a wide black band on the neck from the exterior, unintentionally the splashes of red slip and concentric lines can be also observed very visible from the interior (Fig. 3.E). The pieces of bowl painted with dark red or very similar to the deep brown slip traces on the rim and exterior with beaked shape of rim, further the exterior can be observed crude with some grooved lines and cord mark impression (Figs. 3.A and B).

The pieces of grey ware were observed in two different variants, the black on grey (Figs. 3.C and D) and undecorated grey similar to those already identified by Fairservis from Quetta valley (1956), the pieces of greyware painted with black can be observe a form of plate with beaked shape of rim (Fig. 3.C), further, the pieces of undecorated grey of a cooking pot with short beaked rim and crude surface most probably due to over firing (Fig. 3.D), moreover, along these the numbers of other plain ware in different shapes and form were scattered over the entire surfaces of the site (Fig. 3.F). The discussed painted and plain pot sherds and other on the surface in the shapes and their manufacturing technology were mostly similar to those of Harrapan period observed on many sites (Mackay1967, Dales and Kenoyer 1986, Fairservis 1956).

3. Chronology of the site

The site of Pir Shah Jurio since its discovery is surveyed by many researchers, and all them have mostly focused on the spatial analysis (Khan 1964, Akhtar and Dhanani 2016, Biagi et al. 2013). After many years, despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that the site is used as a cemetery, there is still much ancient cultural material. As can be seen in Fig. 3, ceramic materials are scattered over the entire surface of the site, even almost complete pieces, such as those of a large painted globular or near-globular vessel (Fig. 3.E). Moreover, the other cultural material, described in above portion is very similar to the Harrapan period. Khan (1968) observed the cultural material including plain, painted and perforated pottery sherds, broken frame pieces of the toy carts, chert blades and scrapers, polished weight, copper pieces, terracotta and shell bangles, and triangular clay tablets**,** and all those relate by him to the Harappan period of Indus valley civilization, later the similar observation were also made by Akhtar and Dhanani during their survey.

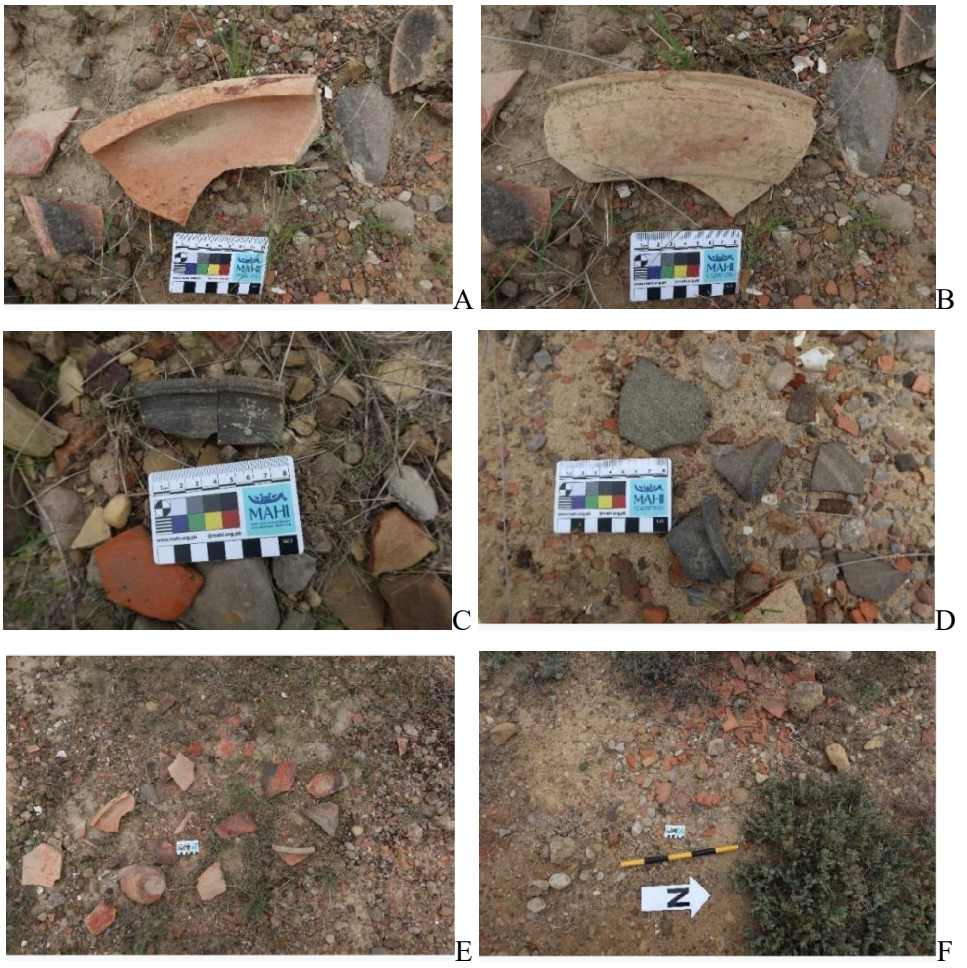

Fig. 3 - Material scattered over the surface of the site (Source MAHI).

The most important attempts were made by Biagi and his team, during the survey of Arabian Sea coastal zone, where they mapped out numbers of the early fisher villages and communities of Neolithic and Bronze age (Biagi et al. 2011, 2014, 2018). The radiocarbon date during the survey of the region, the samples obtained from the site of Pir Shah Jurio, resulted with early half of the 3rd millennium BC (Biagi et al. 2021, 2014).

Fig. 4 - Site inside the modern boundary wall and other architectural building. Yellow; site outer limits, Red; modern boundery wall, Green; Architecturalfeatures (Source Google earth).

Fig. 5 - Aerial imagery of the Alladino site; A, Feb 2019 and B, Jan 2020 with the modern construction of a water tankon the site (Source Google earth).

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Pl. 4 - Gumbat (Swat): the Main Stupa, E side (Drawings by the Author).

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