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Cover Photo:
General View of Khoiratta Rock-cut Caves, Azad Jammu and Kashmir, Pakistan
(Photo by the researchers)

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The Discovery of Rock-cut Sanctuary at Khoiratta, District Kotli, Azad Jammu and Kashmir

M. Ashraf Khan
Sundus Aslam Khan

Abstract

Taxila institute of Asian Civilizations, Qauid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, undertook an archaeological survey regarding explorations and documentation of sites and monuments in Azad Jammu and Kashmir, in year 2012. The survey yields a great number of numerous archaeological sites spanning prehistoric to historic period. In the consequence, two rock-cut sites appeared on the heritage map of Kashmir. This paper will focus only on the site located in village Khoiratta of District Kotli. The site is the specimen of rock-architecture, which has been noticed earlier all over the globe and sparsely scattered in the South Asia specifically in India. The rock-cut sanctuary has been deeply hewn-out into a living rock by making internal chambers for cult purposes. The site is distinctive in architectural volume. This type of sanctuaries have been made isolated in mountainous regions near water along the ancient routes, primarily for accruing deep concentration towards religious activities and to have approachable by worshippers. The study shows that this sanctuary was made during c. 8th to 10th centuries. It has Gandharan and native Kashmiri architectural elements. Besides the difference in style and chronology, the monument is huge discovery which defines the historic value of the region.

Introduction

The idea of making rock-cut architecture is an ancient one (Ching et al, 2011: 173). Cave architecture, although it evolved originally from the natural cave dwellings of hermit (Goetz 1962: 252-61), it is made in imitation of traditional buildings but here construction techniques are unalike (Ching *et al*. 2011: 173). Rock-cut sanctuaries may be cut out of rock partially or completely (Ramsay 1912: 37-79). It is not however built of wood or stone in a customary manner but hewn out of a living rock by

the means of pick and then finished by the deft application of chisel (Brown 1942: 24).

There are two kinds of rock-cut architecture, the first one is hollowed like an artificial cave out of a steep cliff having vast chambers; and the other one is carved downward into a rocky outcrop creating architectural volumes of sculptural character (Stierlin 1998: 19-54). The rock-cut caves or grottos (Rice 1995: 383-404) have been used for various purposes in the shape of tombs, monasteries, temples, mosques and houses. Ancient Greek texts are the main and pertinent sources to know the function of rock-cut sanctuaries (Fol 2004: 158).

Rock-cut architecture first appeared in Persia where the earliest known rock-cut architecture includes the tombs at Beni Hasan, which date back to c.2000 to 1900 BCE. The tombs are cut into rock cliffs and provided with sheltering porticoes. These tombs were constructed for minor nobles and court officials, who evidently enjoyed considerable influence and wealth, reflecting the political importance of their builders (Moffett et al. 2003: 135). The said architecture is the practice of creating structures such as temples (India), tombs (Petra, Jordan), dwellings (Cappadocia Turkey) (Rapp 2009:251), mosques (Fars, Iran) (Ball 1986: 103) and Churches (Italy) (Frothingham 1989: 320) by carving the rock formation in situ.

Rock-cut architecture goes back at least to the temple of Ramases at Abu Simbel. The Etruscans created rock-cut tombs; the Nabataeans at Petra carved massive temples and tombs in the sand stone cliffs from 100 BCE to 150 CE. Buddhist monks in India carved multi-story monastic spaces beginning in the 3rd to 2nd century BCE. In Cappadocia, extensive rock-cut houses and churches were built prior to the fifth century CE. Rock-cut architecture in India is more abundant and more varied than in any other place in the world.

The structural qualities of stone are of great importance to the durability and utilization of building stone. These include qualities such as compressive strength, tensile strength, resistance to shear and plasticity. The ability for structures to span openings and achieve vertical heights is limited by these structural qualities of the building masonry (Rapp 2009:251).

Rock-cut architecture has been practiced in many regions of the world in the past, but in none of the instances did the art of the rock-cutter

show so wide a range or such audacity and imaginative power as in India (Brown 1942: 24). Excavation began on a large scale in the early 2nd century BCE in west India and continued significantly for about six centuries with the last known excavation in Rajasthan about 800 CE. Although the principle idea was to create spaces for monks to meditate undisturbed where most of these monasteries are found quite close to main trade routes (buddhamind.info). The tradition of rock-cut architecture, which from the 2nd century BC on to the end of 1st millennium AD was to become so characteristic a feature of Indian architecture, has its roots in the Mauryan period. (Palmer 2009: 140).

In India the term "cave" is often applied in reference to rock-cut architecture, but it is distinctive from a naturally-occurring cave, as rock-cut architecture is a highly engineered and elaborately decorated structure. There are more than 1500 rock-cut temples in India, most of which are religious in nature, adorned with decorative paintings and exquisite stone carvings reflecting a very high level of craftsmanship. In India, caves have long been regarded as the sacred spaces and were enlarged or entirely man-made for use as temples and monasteries by Buddhist monks and ascetics (Boundless 2013: 568-9).

The archaeological evidence suggests that, in the pre-Mauryan period, Indian architects worked in wood but during the Mauryan period they started experimenting with rock-cut architecture. The rock-cut architecture with stupa architecture is also started with the Mauryans. Perhaps the 1st example is the small cave known as Son Bhandar at Rajgir. This traditionally marks the site of the first Buddhist council, and therefore, may belong to the Pre-Mayryan period. It consists of an oblong chamber with a crudely vaulted roof and square undecorated doorway. The fact that the cave contains the later Brahmi inscription is not significant, many other early and well dated caves also contain later inscription (Allchin 1995: 247).

Buddhist rock-cut temples and monasteries were often located near trade routes, and these spaces became stopovers and lodging houses for traders. As their endowments grew, the interior of rock-cut temples became more and more elaborate and decorated. While many temples, monasteries and stupas have been destroyed, cave temples are better preserved due to their hidden locations and the fact that they are constructed in stone, a far more durable material than wood clay or metal

(Boundless 2013.:570). A large number of rock-cut cave temples were found at several places such as Udayagiri, Elora, Nasik and Karle. These caves were of solid rocks and divided into two parts, Viharas (monasteries), the residences of Bhikshus and Bhikshunis and the Chaitya is a hall of worship (Sagar 2012: 108). Beside these, the Ajanta caves are considered masterpieces of Buddhist architecture, situated near Aurangabad in Maharashtra. The caves span six centuries starting in the 1st century BCE, and contained living and sleeping quarters, kitchens, monastic spaces, shrines and stupas (Boundless 2013: 569-71). A great deal of decorative sculptures, intricately carved columns and reliefs, including cornices and pilaster are found here (Boundless 2013 : 569-71). There is an imposing stupa having a standing image Buddha (Sagar 2012: 108).

A notable trait of the rock-cut architecture is the crafting of rock to imitate timbered and carved wood. The Ajanta caves are home to some very early and still preserved wall paintings that decorate the walls and ceiling and date from the 2nd century BCE. Executed using tempera technique on smooth surfaces and prepared by the application of plaster. These paintings were made during Gupta period. The themes of the paintings are the Buddhist and gracefully illustrate the major events of Buddha's life, the Jataka tales and the various divinities of the Buddhist pantheon (Boundless 2013: 569-71).

Rock-cut Sanctuary at Khoiratta
The survey unveiled two rock-cut sanctuaries in district Kotli; at Khoiratta and Kotli Saula. The current paper will focus only on the former. Beside these discoveries, the team also has explored a huge number of sites and monuments including, forts, baolies, baradari, temples, rock carvings and inscriptions and Serais.

Site Location
The cave site is located in a village *Kot* of tehsil Khoiratta, about 35 km in the south of District Kotli. Khoiratta is approximately seven kilometres from the Line Of Control and situated on the western side of Rajouri (Indian Held Kashmir), with Tehsil Charhoi to the west, Rajouri to the east, Noshehra (IHK) to the south, Tehsil Nakyal to the north east and Kotli city to the north west. It is the second largest town after Kotli City

and has an elevation of 2570 meters above sea-level. Kotli is a hilly area rising gradually towards the high mountains of Poonch District. Kotli has officially been declared Madina-tul-Masajid (City of Mosques). The District head-quarter is at a distance of 141 kilometers from Islamabad via Sensa, Holar and Kahuta.

Architectural Description of the Rock-cut Sanctuary

The rock-cut sanctuary is located in a mountainous area on a hill top. It is approachable by Gulpur-Throchi road to reach Khoiratta bazar, which further takes about 15 minute walk to reach the cave site. The site contains four caves locally called *parian di kothian* in a living rock, facing east, on an upraised terrace. A lot of potsherds have been found scattered all over the land. A flight of 9 carved steps measuring 3.3 meters, at a high terrace, now hidden under soil and patina, goes up to the caves. The terraces below the caves has been used to grow seasonal crops, and also have fruit trees, grown by the owner of the land.

The sanctuary encompasses four caves, carved deep in a living sand stone rock which faces eastward. A lot of vegetation envelops the rock, which causes cracks in the rock as well as inside the caves at some places. It also holds traces of chisel in the shape of horse-shoe arch, which indicates an incomplete facade. The boulder measures 20x20 m from cave 01 to cave 04. The site, on the whole, is in good state of preservation. Besides, the main architectural elements of the caves include; stairs, entrance, Mandala, throne, niches and basin. A good number of potsherds in a great variety including rims, body-sherds, and bases in red and grey ware were scattered all over the site. Along with terracotta sherds, grinding stones in various sizes have also been collected from the site.

Cave 01:

Cave 01 is bigger in size, located on the Northern side of the rock. It holds a rectangular door jamb, 1.65 meter in length and 0.74 meter in width, with a molded door-frame and a thickness of 0.53 meter. Near the entrance, some pillar-like structure has also been observed, but due to the damaged condition it is unidentifiable. But it is suggested that it might be a pilaster or a figure as seen on the entrance of other cave temples of India like Ajanta. Internally, the cave measures 2.83 meters in length and 2.86 meters in width and a height of 1.95 meters. The cave holds three

pyramidal niches of equal magnitude, two in its northern wall and one in the western wall, measuring 1.18 meters high and 0.77 meters wide, with a depth of 0.25 meter. Below these niches, deep basins, carved in a raised cornice are present, which probably indicate that these niches would be used for housing *lingam* and the basins were used to keep milk where *Abhisheka* rituals (Shah 2010: 128) were being performed for the *lingam,* by the pilgrims. The basins approximately measures 0.38x0.26 meters, with a depth of 0.26 meter. The ceiling of cave contains a mandala, in two carved squares, in opposite directions, forming a star-like design. The inner smaller square measures 1.3 meters, and the outer and bigger square measures 2 meters, with a recession of 0.5 meters. Another noticeable feature of the cave is the Devanagri inscription found in the cave on the eastern wall, near the entrance. The inscription has been translated as '*Shri*'. The floor has traces of a throne in its center, where only carved outlines are visible now measuring 0.86x0.60 meters. The walls of cave bears chisel signs which are still clear to eyes. There has also been observed a deep hole in the floor, and according to the owner, he has found a stone pestle from the cave, which indicate that it would have been used for the grinding purpose, most nearly for sacred colors.

Cave 02:
Cave 02 has a semicircular entrance measuring 1.53x1.38 meters. It contains deep holes, carved on all of its corners to fix the door, with diameter of 2 cm. Internally the cave measures 1.88 meters in length and width and 1.75 meters in height. The cave has a square throne in its center measuring 0.86 meter with height of 0.2 meter. Ceiling of the cave bears an octagonal mandala. The cave also contains deeply carved niches in its three walls, one pyramidal niche, larger in size than the rest. The bigger Niche is in its Northern wall and it measures 1.13 meter high, 0.42 meter wide and deep as 0.32 meter The cave has a mandala on its ceiling with 2 opposite recessed borders, bigger is a square, enclosing the smaller octagonal border. The outer square measures 1.4 meter and the inner measuring 0.86 meter. The cave also has an outlet in north-east corner, for carrying the water or milk out of the cave.

Cave 03:

Cave 03 also has a semicircular entrance measuring 1.53x1.38 meters. It also contains deep holes, carved on all corners, with diameter of 2 cm. Internally, the cave measures 1.88 meters in length and width and 1.63 meters in height. The cave has a square throne in its center measuring 0.84 meter with height of 0.18 meter. A mandala in two opposite squares has been carved on the ceiling. Here the outer square measures 1.30 meters and the inner square measures 0.86 meters. The cave also contains deeply carved niches in its three walls, for keeping lamps or some cult objects. Two of the niches are hewn out in pyramidal design, and the other one is semicircular. One pyramidal niche is larger in size than the rest. The bigger Niche is in its Northern wall and it measures 0.87 meters high, 0.56 meter wide and deep as 0.30 meter. It has 5 holes in all its corners with a diameter of 4 cm. The small semicircular niche in the western wall of cave measures 17x16 cm meter and deep as 10 cm. The other small niche, with pyramidal top, in the southern wall of cave No.03 measures 15x14 cm and 0.13 meter with depth of 8 cm. An outlet in north-east corner of the cave has also been obseved which suggest that it had been used for the evacuation of offered milk and also for the draining of water used in bathing the dietiy and cave itself. Similar square stone seat was also present in the center of cave 03, measuring 0.84 meters with a height of 18 cm.

Cave 04:

Cave 04 also has a semicircular entrance measuring 1.53x1.38 meters. It also contains deep holes, carved on all corners, with same diameter of 2 cm. The cave measures 1.41 x 160 meters with a height of 1.63 meters. It has a square throne in its center measuring 0.60 meter with height of 10 cm. A deep recessed basin is the demarcating feature of this cave, which is attached to the throne, measuring 40x36 cm and deep as 15 cm. This structure clearly indicates here that the stone seat has been used as a throne for *lingam* and the recessed basin to keep the milk for pouring onto the *lingam*. A mandala in two opposite squares is carved on the ceiling. Here the outer square measures 0.95 meters and the inner square measures 0.65 meters. The cave also contains deeply carved niches in its three walls, for keeping lamps or some sacred objects. All of the niches are of pyramidal design. One pyramidal niche is larger in size than the rest. The

bigger Niche is unfinished and is carved in the western wall, measuring 15 x 15 cm and deep as 9 cm. The small niche in the northern wall of cave measures 17x16 cm and deep as 10 cm. The other small niche, in the southern wall of cave No.04 measures 17x14 cm and deep as 10 cm. The also has an outlet in north-east corner.

Relative Exploration

There are a number of architectural features of the Khoiratta caves found closely related, or similar to the other rock-cut caves of the world which increases its importance, are discussed hereunder.

Horse-shoe-Arched Facade

Figure no. 04 indicates towards a veiled unfinished horse-shoe arch, which has been a trend on the façade of rock-cut caves in India. The arch has been a recurring symbol and element in architecture all around the world. Though it was known as far back as the times of the ancient Greeks, the arch had to wait until the Roman Empire to gain its concurrence in the West. Romans used the arches in a variety of ways: from giant aqueducts to an architectural element in buildings such as the Coliseum at Rome. In India, there have been signs of arches being used since the Buddhist era (c. 4th century BCE). Here wandering monks cut out caves in the hillsides and often used the arch as a way to mark the entrance of such rock cut caves. The inspiration behind these arches is thought that early Buddhist monks were inspired by the architecture in bamboo and wood, where often two posts were tied together at the top to span a space, though it was rare that this "opening" bore much weight above it. In the caves at Karle and Bhaja, too, we find appropriately shaped "horseshoe arches" defining the entrance to the cave and space inside (Nangia 2014: 1).

The horseshoe arch is based on the semicircular arch, but its lower ends are extended further round the circle until they start to converge. The first known examples were carved into rock in India where this kind of arch is seen on the façade of the earliest rock-cut caves in Brabar Hills, dated to 3rd or 2nd century BCE (Palmer 2009: 140).

Molded Door-frame

The door of the cave 01 is the most interesting and the best decoration part of this site. It is rectangular in shape and approached by a flight of nine

carved steps. This tradition is believed to be one of the main feature of South Kafir Kot temple E, F and G and can also be observed in caves and structural temples of the Gupta period (Masih 2000: 192) The trim around windows and doors greatly influences the look and style of the interior (The Kelleher Corporation 2005: 13). The molded door-frame has four raised fielded panels above two flush panels (Royal Commission 1981:271). This type of door architecture is wide spread in different regions of the world, which shows the cultural linkage between the people of these regions, because these architectures are mostly constructed along ancient trade routes. The figures 5, 6 and 8 closely relate the molded door-frame found in different regions.

Mandala
Another noteworthy architectural element at the caves of Khoiratta, are the carved mandala like structures on the ceiling. This tradition of mandala appears in the North China at the Buddhist Mugao caves, Dunhuang and at Lakulisa temple, Pandrithan, in Srinagar. Hence the caves of Khoiratta, on the one hand, are the sole specimen of its type showing strong influence of Kashmir Architecture and the genius of the local architect who proved it by skillful amalgamation of the local and Central Asian features.

In Hindu and Buddhist philosophy, *mandala* is a sacred mansion, at the heart of which a deity resides. A vital part of Hindu devotion is the contemplation of divine images, lying deep within the temple, in the deity's sanctuary. It is a meditational territory through which, the initiate is invited to travel. This territory of *mandala* is organized with circles, lotus flowers, squares and other sacred symbols. In the course of devotional prayer, the devotee moves through courtyards, past emblems of the deity, its icon and symbolic animal, and at the last comes to the principal god's shrine to seek *darshana*. The aim of voyage through the temple is in three folds i.e. it signifies respect for the deity, acts as meditational preparation, and awakens a sense of manifold divine immanence. All the symbols encountered on the way, toward the deity, represent components of the universe, in which the god is the centre. On the return journey, the same symbols appear to follow out of the deity as elements of the divine creation (Lowenstein 1996: 142-6).

Mandala design originated in the structure of the universe as conceived by Hindu-Buddhist myth (Ibid: 145). The universe in the

mandala is thus described and represented as a palace, and at the same time, the mandala as a whole is conceived as being located in a *kutagara*, a three-storyed eaved palace, resting on top of Mount Sumeru (Malandra 1993: 1), the cosmic axis, surrounded by concentric rings of mountain and the four continents. Much Hindu and Buddhist architecture are constructed in a mandala form, representing this cosmic pattern (Lowenstein 1996: 142-6).

Throne and the Basin

From the comparative study, the purpose of the deeply carved basin and the throne in the centre of the Khoiratta caves is very clear. These caves were actually the Shivalinga shrine, where worshippers used to perform their cult practice, which is clear from the architecture. The Figure no. 27 is taken from a living temple in Peshawar, The Valmiki Temple, locally called as *Kali Bari*, built in the 1860's by the local Hindus. It contains a main central hall and two shrines, dedicated to *Shivalinga* and Vishnu (Shah 2010: 124-28). The figure clearly indicates that the throne is used for placing the *lingam*, whereas, basin has been used to keep milk, as here a bucket, containing milk, is seen in the picture. After comparative study, now it is very clear that the basin at Khoiratta caves has been used to keep milk, while the raised platform or throne, was reserved for placing the *lingam*. Similar cult practices can also be seen at Elephanta and Ellora caves, India.

Pyramidal Kashmiri Arch

Another noteworthy and pertinent feature of the Khoiratta caves, are the triangular pediment arches. The triangular arches are also very common feature of Buddhist architecture. Thus, these so called diagnostic elemens of Kashmiri temples and caves may have actually originated in the region of Gandhra (Masih 2000: 130). These triangular arches of Khoiratta also show great affinity with Kashmiri style of temple architecture at Sharda in Neelum Vlley, Mndol temple at Poonch District, Lakulisa temple, Pandrethan, Srinagar and temple at Loduv, dated to 7th-8th century CE.

Many of the typical features of the Kashmiri stone temple can be seen in the figures 21, 22 and 23 respectively. It's double slanting roofs, trefoil niches, and vast surrounding colonnade are basic elements of nearly all Kashmiri temples. These architectural characteristics are immediately

different from the style in northern India, where the *sikhara* or tall curving tower dominates the sanctuary. In Kashmir the winter snows dictated the pent-roof design, while the unique blend of foreign influences created an architecture that seems, at first glance, to be just as close to the stave churches of Norway as to the great Indian temples of Khajuraho. This distinctive roof design is well preserved in the small Hindu temple at Payar about 20 kilometers from Srinagar dedicated to Siva in his *lakulisa* form, one of Siva's incarnations. *Lakulisa*, a form of Siva based on an actual person, is believed to have lived sometime around the first century after Christ near Baroda in the Gujarat State, the area along the western coast of India above Bombay. A renowned Siva teacher, *lakulisa* was apotheosized into a cult figure after his death. Known as "lord of the staff," he is usually represented as seated in yogic or meditating posture, much like a Buddha image, and he carries his primary attribute, the club (Fisher 1982: 49-50).

Conclusion
The rock-cut architecture has a long history and voyage to reach the Kotli valley. Starting from Egyptian tombs, evolving into Cappadocian dwellings, it developed in the form of a sanctuary in the Indian subcontinent. The rock-cut architecture saught its boom in India, where hundreds of sanctuaries have been constructed and transferred to the other regions of central Asia. These rock-cut sanctuaries survived well because of the construction material i.e. stone.

Although, there are found rock-cut sites in abundance all over India, and in Indian administered Kashmir, but the caves discovered at Khoiratta, are of its only type in the region of Kashmir administered by Pakistan. These caves contain local Kashmiri, northern Indian as well as Gandharan influences. These cave are built in same customary manner, hewn-out in a living rock, provided with carved steps and a raised platform, to reach the caves. The purpose of making this kind of architecture was specifically the durability and low cost of the monument. This is justified by all of well-preserved rock-cut monuments, found still alive in different regions, i.e. Ajanta caves, Ellora caves and many others, whereas, other earliest monuments are mostly found deteriorated.

The rock-cut caves at Khoiratta, which are four in number, vary in size and versatility, which indicates their status. In consequence, cave.no.1 is bigger than the rest, and at a noticeable distance to the other

three closely excavated the caves. The inner elements of the cave.1 are also different to the rest of caves. The other three caves are almost of same size and the same architectural features. The architectural elements show that these caves have been used as *Shivalinga* shrines. Potsherds scattered at the cave site also reveals that these caves were among the important temples where people from different areas used to visit the shrine. As the said architecture has been constructed mostly along the trade routes, so, it suggests that the Khoiratta was also an ancient trade rout and the extant of rock-cut caves culture was very vast. It started from one part of the world, entered India and kept moving to the other parts of the land.

The site is dated to 7th-8th century CE, due to similar architectural elements found in the other contemporary Hindu temples of the above mentioned period, specifically the pyramidal Kashmiri style niches. Architectural elements confirm the belongings of the site. It was a *Shivalinga* shrine, made by the followers of lord Shiva, who were influenced by the rock-cut architecture.

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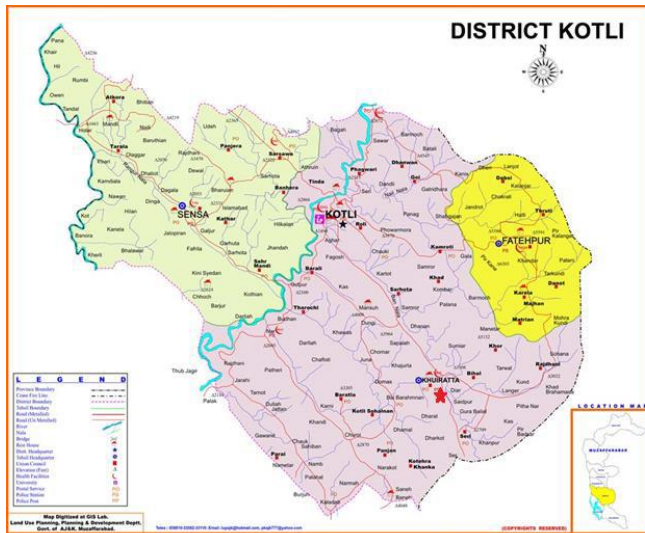
Fig.1. Map of District Kotli (Mirpurinfo)
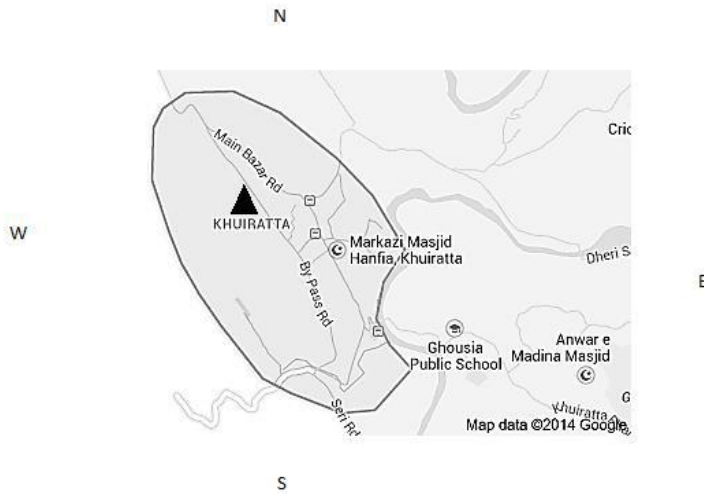
Fig.2. Map of Khoiratta (www.maps.google.com)
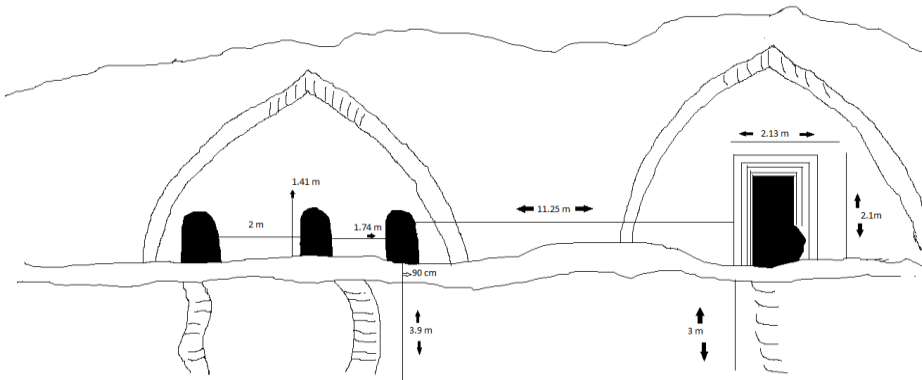
Fig.3. Plan of Khoiratta caves (Sketch by Researchers)

Fig.4 General View of Khoiratta Rock-cut Caves
Showing unfinished facade[1]

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[1] All the photos except Fig. No. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26 and 27 have been taken from the unpublished report "Threat to the Cultural Heritage of Pakistan: Survey and

Fig.5. Barabar Cave, Bihar
(http://167.206.67.164/resources/humanities/Art History)
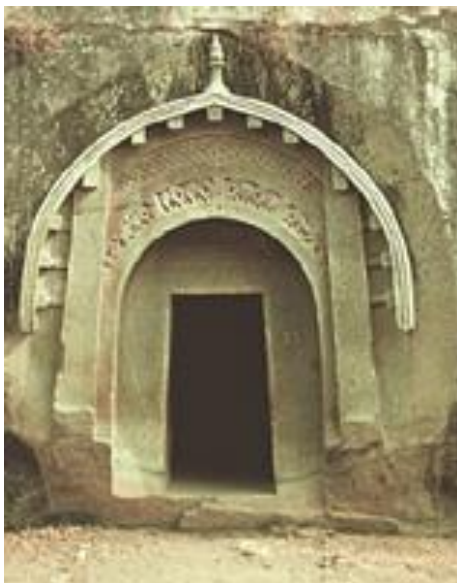
Fig.6. A view of Cave no.01 with carved steps
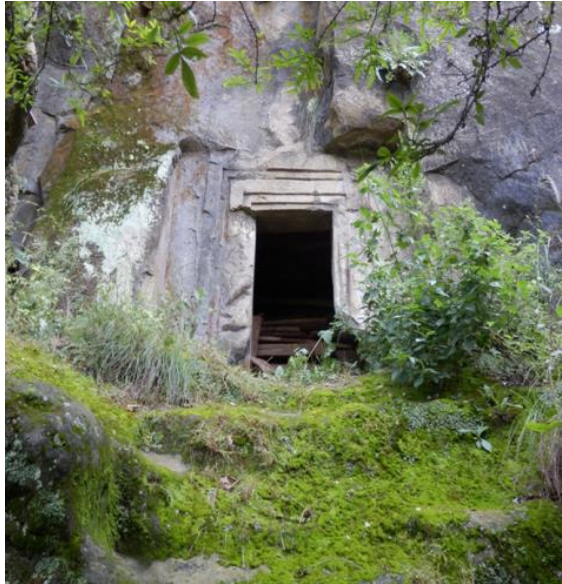
Fig.7. Entrance of Cave No.01 (2006)

Fig.8. Entrance of Shivalinga shrine in Elephant Caves, India (Elephanta 2006)

Fig.9. Inner View of Cave no.01

Fig.10. Devanagri Inscription in Cave no.01

Fig.11. Deep Pyramidal Niche in Cave no.01
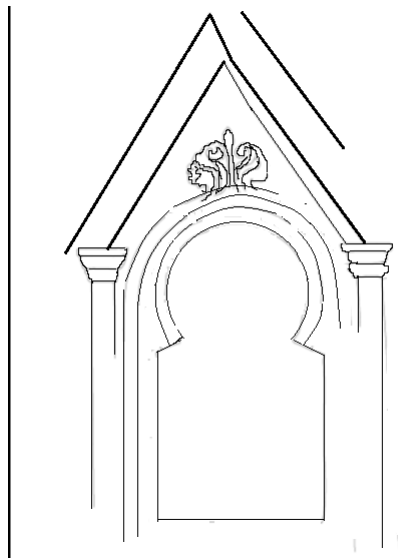
Fig.12. Drawing of Pyramidal Niche in Cave.1

Fig.13. Entrance of Cave no.02 with outlet

Fig.14. Inner view of cave with stone seat

Fig.15. Mandala on the ceiling of Cave.02

Fig.16. Mandala on the ceiling of Cave.04
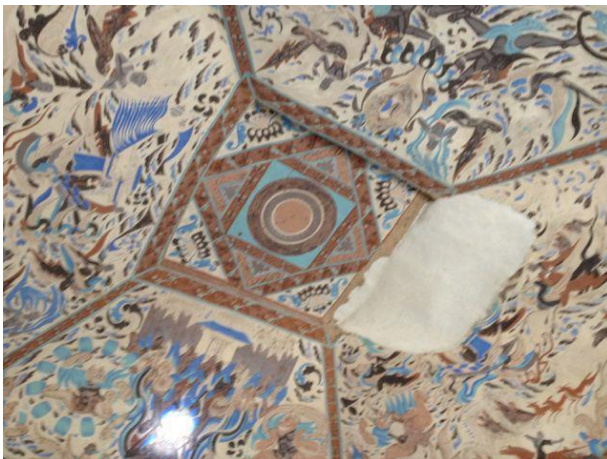
Fig.17 Mandala in Mogao Caves, Dunhuang, China (nomadsnoworries)

Fig.18. Mandala in Lakulisa Temple Pandrethan, Srinagar (Fisher 1982)

Fig.19. A Pyramidal Niche in Cave.02

Fig.20. Pyramidal Niche in Cave.03

Fig.21.Pyramidal Arch in Lakulisa Temple, Pandrethan (Fisher 1982)
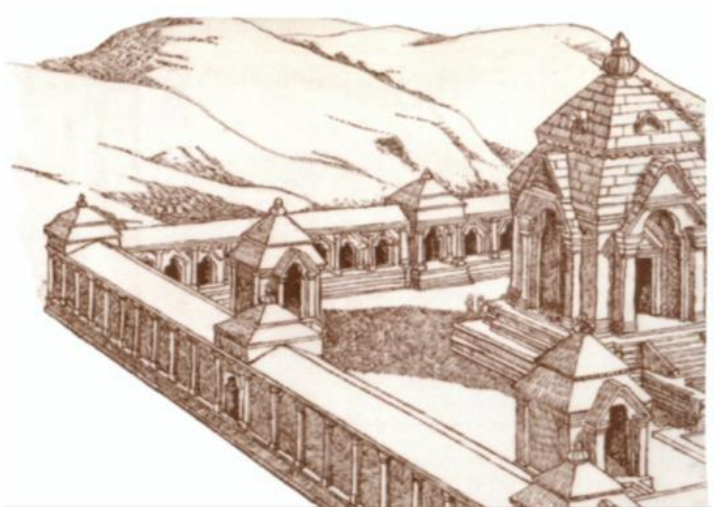
Fig.22. Pyramidal Arch in Martand Sun Temple, Srinagar
(Fisher 1982)

Fig.23. A View of Sharda Temple, Neelum AJK, Showing Pyramidal Arch

Fig.24. A small Pyramidal Niche in Cave.04

Fig.25 Stone Seat with Carved Basin in Cave.4
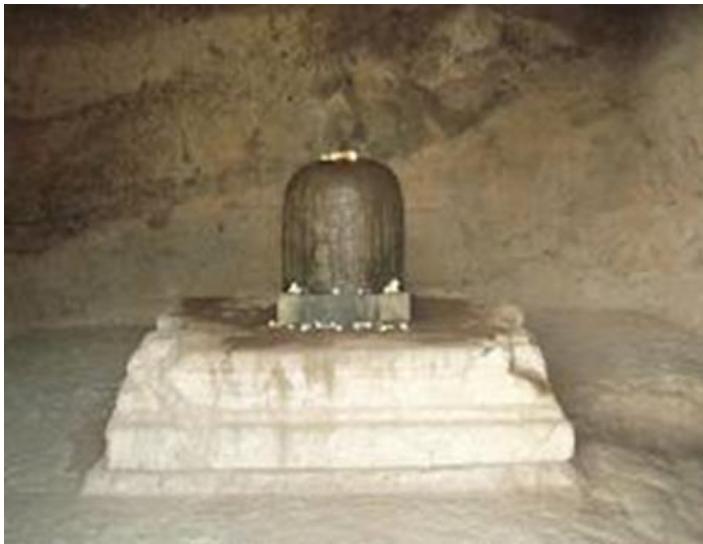
Fig.26. A Throne inside Elephanta Caves with Shivalinga (routeyourworld)

Fig.27. Shivalinga shrine, Valmiki Temple, Peshawar (Shah 2010)

-2-

Post-Ksuhana Gold Coins in the Cabinet of the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi

Gul Rahim Khan

Abstract

The present paper is the second in a row based on the gold coins lying in the cabinet of the National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi. The first paper was consisted of the gold coins of the Bactrian Greeks, Kushans and the Kidarites (Khan 2009) while the present paper deals with the coins issued after the Kushans and Kidarites or their contemporaries struck in the ancient territories of Pakistan, India and surrounding region. Accordingly, this paper comprises the gold coins of the Gupta, Post-Gupta, Sasanian, Hephthalite and Kashmir dynasties. Looking to the stuff of this collection, some coins are noteworthy for their design, style and novelty. Only five of these are illustrated by Pervin T. Nasir, a former curator of the museum, in her brief accounts of the Rare Coins in the National Museum (Nasir 1996) but rest of them are unpublished and will be remarkable to bring into the notice of the scholars working on the coins of this region.

Identification and Discussion
Sasanian Coins (3rd – 6th century CE)

The Great Sasanian dynasty of Persia (Iran) is represented by two coins and both belong to the late period associated with king Khusrau II (590-627 CE). The obverse design of these coins is almost same bearing crowned bust of king facing to right but reverses have different designs; one has the frontal bust of Anahita and another fire-altar with attendants. The weight of both coins is also same stuck between 4.5 and 5.0 gm. In view of the available date, the first coins is said to have issued in the regnal year 21 (king Khusrau II) = 611 CE (Göbl 1971: 53). The authenticity of the second issue is questionable. On a general assumption supported by Joe Cribb, the said coin seems to be a modern forger's copy as this specimen is characterized by its odd style amongst the Sasanian coinage.

Kushano-Sasanian Coins (3rd - 4th century CE)

There is a single coin to be designated as the Kushano-Sasanian issue. It seems to be a copy of Hiormizd I coins struck in the famous gold scyphate series of the said dynasty issued at Bactria. These coins were imitated after the coin design of the Kushan king Vasudeva I. The obverse has standing figure of the king at altar to left, inscribed with cursive Greek legend and reverse Oesho with bull facing to left. The authenticity of this issue is also challengeable due to its poor style of execution and debased gold contents. This coin, according to the expert opinion of Joe Cribb, was a contemporary fake coin produced in the imitation of genuine coins of the same design.

Hephthalite Coins (5th-7th century CE)

Like a single coin of the Kushano-Sasanians, the Hephthalite dynasty is also identified by a single coin. The design of this coin was adopted in continuation of the Kushan style followed by the Kushano-Sasanians and then by the Hephthalites issued at Bactria. It is made in the scyphate pattern but the style is degenerate and particularly the reverse design is badly executed. The Hephthalite *tamga* with S-shaped symbol below is depicted in the right field but the Greek legend shown in roundels is corrupt and illegible. This coin belongs to the regular type of the Late Hephthalites.

Gupta Coins (4th – 5th century CE)

This dynasty is known by eight gold coins. All coins are finely executed in dinar weight and in well preserved condition. They belong to the period of three great rulers succeeded one after another. Of these, one coin is assinged to Samudragupta (330-370 CE), three to Chandragupta II (375-414 CE) and four to Kumaragupta (414-55 CE).

The single coin of Samudragupta is associated to his common issue, known as 'Standard Type', which is well reported by Altekar and Allan in their catalogues. The obverse depicts standing figure of the king adopted from the Kushan coinage, facing to left with *guruḍa* standard stands in front of him in the left field. The reverse design shows enthroned figure of Lakshmi also based on the Late Kushan style of the seated goddess, Ardoxsho. The name Samudra is inscribed vertically in Brāhmī script underneath left arm of the king.

Two coins of Chandragupta belong to his common series 'Archer Type', one (no. 6) is very fine and the other is also good but the obverse die is slightly moved and re-struck (no. 7). In obverse, the king is standing to left with long bow in raised right hand, wearing Indian costumes and jewellery with bird standard before him in the left field. The king's name *Chandra* in Brāhmī is written vertically underneath left arm of the king. The reverse figure Lakshmi is seated frontally on lotus flower. The third coin belongs to the interesting series of 'Couch Type' of the king. The coins of this type are rare but full of variety and Altekar reported five different varieties in it (Altekar 1957: 133-38). The present coin is identical to the fifth variety (E) of Altekar where the enthroned pose of the obverse and reverse figures is same. The king is enthroned on backed chair three-quarter facing left in ease style, wearing Indian dress and jewellery with flower in the right hand. On reverse, the goddess Lakshmi is also seated on a cushion-spread couch in the same attitude but the seat is without back and holding a flower in hir right hand. There is a long Brāhmī legend around the obverse margin while the Kushan style vertical legend is dropped.

The next ruler Kumaragupta is represented by four coins and all belong to his different types. Accordingly, one each belongs to 'lyrist type', 'rhinoceros-slayer type', 'elephant-rider type' and 'horseman type'. The first example is identical to the lyrist type illustrated by Altekar (Altekar no.5, pl. XIV). The coins of this type are common and said to have adopted from the coins of Samudragupta. The obverse displays seated king on a high-backed throne to left, wearing Indian dress and jewellery and playing a lute with right hand. The reverse has a female figure either queen or goddess also seated in the same style on a backed-throne and holding a lotus flower in her right hand. The obverse legend is around the margin and the reverse vertically written in the left field. The 'Rhinoceros-slayer Type' is the most beautiful example of Kumaragupta of the Gupta series in the present collection of coins. The coins of this variety are rare as five specimens mentioned by Altekar; four from a Bayana hoard and one from the Lucknow Museum (Altekar 1957: 197-98). A coin of this type is not known in the catalogue of the British Museum (Allan 1914). Recently one such example has been uploaded on the website coinindia, the virtual museum of Indian coins (coinindia.com//galleies-kumaragupta.html, dated 08-03-2012), which is identical to the coin under discussion. The obverse exhibits riding king armed with sword attacking

on a rhinoceros to right and the rhinoceros turned his head back up towards the king. The reverse has a nude tall female figure perhaps goddess Gaṅgā with elephant-headed crocodile before her in the left field and a small female attendant holding a parasol behind her. The obverse has a long Brāhmī legend around the margin and reverse legend short vertically on the left.

The third coin is known as 'Elephant-rider Type'. It is also an interesting and rare type and considered in the sports variety of Kumaragupta. Three examples of this category of coins are reported from the Bayana hoard (Altekar 1957: 194). The obverse displays king riding on elephant to left accompanied by a small figure of the attendant who carries a parasol over the head of king and reverse shows a nude figure of Laskhmi, standing frontally holding a stalk of lotus and a cornucopia. The obverse is inscribed with a long Brāhmī legend and the reverse with a short legend on the right side. The fourth coin belongs to the 'Horseman Type'. It is the most popular and common variety of Kumaragupta. In obverse the king is riding on horseback to right and reverse has goddess Lakshmi seated to right on a low stool and feeding a peacock with fruits stands before her. The obverse carries a long Brāhmī legend round the margin and reverse short one on the right side behind the goddess. Altekar identified four reverse varieties in this type, the goddess feeding a peacock. The present coin belongs to the third variety (variety-c) of Altekar.

Post Gupta Bengal Coin (6th – 7th century CE)

The Museum collection has a single specimen of the Post-Gupta series. The coin exhibits a stylized figure of the standing king in Kushan style, holding an arrow and a bow and inscribed with a short Brāhmī legend *Java/ta*. The reverse has a degenerate figure of a female figure standing to right, holding something in both hands and the legend is uncertain. The weight of this specimen is 5.74 gm.

Guaḍa Coins (Central Bengal)
King Śaśāṅka (600-625 CE)
Śaśāṅka, the king of Guaḍa or Karṇa-Suvarṇa is represented by a single coin. This is the common type of the said king and often reported by the scholars. The obverse depicts kneeling bull with Śiva facing to left and the reverse has enthroned deity holding a lotus also facing to left. The weight of this coins is identical to the previous one i.e. 5.74 gm.

Karkota Coins (7th – 9th century)
This dynasty is represented by ten coins of debased gold. The colour of these coins is quite changed from genuine gold and looking brownish-white like base metal. The figural design on these coins is produced in high relief and thus the coins are well struck. One side has the standing figure of king and the other enthroned deity. These coins are much stylised and it is difficult to identify the figure certainly, the figures' heads and hands often shown in pronounced dots. The arms of deity are always replaced by the legend written on that side. This coin design is copied from the gold issues of the Late Kushans from whom it was borrowed by the Kidarites and other subsequent dynasties and then by the Karkota rulers (Cunningham 1967: 36). The coins still exhibit the vertical Brāhmī legend *Kidara* on the obverse. In present collection one coin belongs to Vigrahadeva (7th century) and remaining to king Pratapaditya II (8th century). As a rule, the king name is written in Brāhmī on the back side of the coin.

These coins published by different scholars like Cunningham (1967, 42-44, pl. III) always considered them as the issues of the Kashmir. But the coins of this group are well reported from Punjab and eastern extents. Joe Cribb suggests that certain coins would likely to be issued in the Punjab and farther east.

Kashmir Rajas Coins (10th -14th century)
The Museum collection comprises two gold washed coins of the Kashmir rajas. Of these, one coin (no. 25) belongs to Didda Rani (979-1005 CE) and one (no. 26) to her successor Sangramaraja (1005-28 CE) of the Lohra dynasty. Both the coins are executed in the same pattern having enthroned deity on the obverse and standing figure of the king on the reverse. They are inscribed with the Sharda legend bearing the name of concerned rulers.

These coins are made in the copper style, which are exceedingly common. It is uncertain where the coins of this form are genuine or made by forgers.

Catalogue of Coins

A. Sasanians
Khusrau II (590-627 CE)
1.1. Bust of king and bust of Anahita
Acc. no. 771 (1957), image no. 177.5, weight. 4.58 gm, size. 22.1x0.7 mm

Obv. Within dotted circle, bust of king to right, wearing crown of two turrets with pair of wings above it and topped by a star in crescent and jewellery, and another crescent at the crown above mid-forehead. The king has long curly hair with ribbon behind head and two twisted object standards placed one each left and right of the bust. There is a star in crescent to the right and another star to the left of head; star and crescent both on the left and right arms. Pahlavi legend: HaRaMan AFZUTaN (left) and KhUSRU MaLKaN MaLKa (right)

Rev. Bust of deity (Anahita) facing frontally with flaming halo and a rosette in centre around head, twisted standard to the left and right of the bust. To right AIRaN AFZUTaN ITI and to left SICh VISTI, date 21 (611 CE)

Reference: Mitchiner 1978, no. 1107-08, p.181; Göbl: 1968/ 1971, no.

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Coin no. 1

1.2. Bust of king and fire-altar with attendants

Acc. no. 500/1 (1993), image no. 172.2, weight. 4.90 gm, 27.7x0.7 mm

Obv. Within double circles, bust of king to right, wearing crown of two turrets with pair of wings above it and topped by a star in crescent, twisted standard shown to left and right shoulder of the bust. Similar astral symbols are flanking the crown, one each on the left and right and multiple circles appeared at the back. Star in crescent to the right, left and bottom outside the outer circle are depicted in regular interval.

Rev. Within three circles, fire-altar flanked by attendants facing inwards, each attendant has a star above curved headdress, to the right of alter is a small crescent and to the left a star. In addition, a star in crescent to right, left, bottom and top outside the outer circle.

Reference: Mitchiner 1978, no. 1118, p. 183; Göbl: 1968/ 1971, no. 211
Coin no. 2

B. Kushano-Sasanians
Hormizd (Scyphate shape)
2.1. King at altar and Oesho with bull

Acc. no. 500/2 (MFC 1993), image no. 261.2, weight. 7.22 gm, 31.2x2.0 mm

Obv. King standing facing with head turned to left wears lion-head crown with globe above it, right hand sacrificing over altar and left holds a trident. Another trident bound with fillet stands in the left field. *Nandipada* symbol is in the right field and three dots appeared underneath left arm of the king. Cursive Greek legend illegible but the last word KOÞANO is visible

Rev. Oesho and bull standing to left, deity holds a diadem in the right hand and a trident in the left.

Reference: Göbl: 1968, no. 744 (Ohrmazd), 1 Emission Boxlo/ Cribb: 1990, no. 4, p. 183
Coin no. 3

C. Hephthalites (coin based on Kushano-Sasanians gold Scyphate)
3.1. King at altar and Oesho with bull
Acc. no. 772 (1957), image no. 178.1, weight. 7.32 gm, 34.0x0.2 mm
Obv. King standing to left, wearing a tunic and trousers, headdress takes
    the form of three streamers (pellet); right hand sacrificing over altar
    and left holds a trident. Another trident topped by a crescent and
    bound with fillet stands in the left field and Hephthalite *tamga* with
    S-shaped symbol below is in the right field. Legend corrupt and
    illegible
Rev. Oesho and bull standing to left, extremely defaced.
Reference: Göbl: 1968, no. 739 (14?), emission: 20, die imitation, Em 67.
Coin no. 4

D. Gupta
Samudragupta (335-80 CE)
4.1.1. Standard Type
Acc. no. 9 (MFC 1952), image no. 233.1, weight. 7.82gm, size. 20.7x2.0
    mm
Obv. King standing to left, nimbate, wearing a close-fitting cap, coat and
    trousers, ear rings and necklace, right hand extended over altar in the
    left field and holds a standard bound with fillet in the left. Behind
    altar is a bird standard bound with fillet and surmounted by a *garuḍa*
    facing frontally.
    Brāhmī legend *Samudra* vertically underneath king's left arm.
    Margin: *Samaraśatavitatavijayo jitaripur ajito divaṁ jayati*
Rev. Goddess (Lakshmi) seated on a high backed throne, facing frontally,
    nimbate, wearing necklace, armlets and loose robe, holding a
    diadem in extended right hand and a cornucopia in left arm over
    shoulder, feet rest on ornate mate. Four-pronged *tamga* is on left and
    Brāhmī legend *Parākramaḥ* vertically down on right.
Reference: Altekar: no. 15, pl. I, pp. 40-**49**; Allan: no. 1, pl. I, p.1-2
Coin no. 5

Chandragupta II (375-414 CE)
4.2.1. Archer Type
Acc. no. 11 (MFC 1952), image no. 233.3, weight. 7.80gm, size. 18.7x3.2
    mm
Obv. King standing to left, nimbate, wearing a close-fitting cap, long tunic

and trousers, earrings, necklace and armlets. He is drawing an arrow from a quiver with his right hand which rests in the left field and holding a long bow with string inwards in the left hand. *Garuḍa* standard stands in the left field. Brāhmī legend *Chandra* is vertically underneath left arm.

Legend off flan

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmi) seated facing on a lotus flower, nimbate, holding a diadem in extended right hand and lotus with long stalk in the left. *Tamga* is on left and legend illegible

Reference: Altekar: no. 13, pl. IV, pp. 91-99; Allan: no. 71, pl. VI.13, p.27, Var. B

Coin no. 6

Acc. no. 12 (MFC 1952), image no. 233.4, weight. 7.72gm, size. 18.2 x2.8 mm

Obv. As 4.2.1.

Legend off flan

Rev. As 4.2.1.

Reference: see 4.2.1.

Coin no. 7

4.2.2. Couch Type

Acc. no. NM 783 (1957), image no. 176.5, weight. 7.48gm, size. 19.2x1.9mm

Obv. King seated frontally on a high-backed throne with head facing left in ease pose, wears tight fitting dress and jewellery, right leg flexed and left bent back resting on couch, holding a flower (bud of lotus) in the right hand and left rest on the back of the throne, a spittoon placed below the couch before him.

Brāhmī legend *Paramabhāgavata-mahā* [*rājādhirāja-Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*] Allan (p.45)

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmi) seated on a backless low couch covered with lotus, a rectangular object (mat) below couch, right leg bent upwardly and left extended, wears tight fitting cap and dress and jewellery, holding a flower with long stalk in raised right hand and left aside on couch. Brāhmī legend …*vikramaḥditya* vertically in the right field

Reference: Altekar: no. 5, pl. IX, pp. 133-137-38**;** Perveen **no.** 53

This type recalls the type of Samudragupta, Coinindia identical with
   Coinindia and Altekar
   Coin no. 8

Kumaragupta I (414-55 CE)

4.3.1. Lyrist Type with new reverse

Acc. no. 785 (NM 1957), image no. 177.3, weight. 7.88gm, size. 19.0x2.4
   mm

Obv. King seated cross-legged on a high-backed couch facing to left,
   wearing waist cloth, close fitting-cap, necklace, earrings and
   armlets, left leg crossed over the right one, playing four-stringed lute
   (lyre) with the fingers of right hand that placed on the lap, elbow of
   left hand rests on cushion.
   Brāhmī legend *maharajadhiraja-Śri-Kumaraguptaḥ* 1 o'clock (Allan
   p. 64)

Rev. Within dotted border, queen (or goddess?) seated on high-backed
   couch leaning back on her left hand, right leg folded under the couch
   with left leg crossed over it, wearing tight-fitting tunic and lose robe
   over lower body and jewellery. The deity holds a lotus flower with
   long stalk in raised right hand before face.
   Brāhmī legend *Kumaraguptaḥ* vertically in the left field (up)

Reference: Altekar: no. 5, pl. XIV, pp. 211-12; Allan: no. 1-8, pl. V, pp.18-
   20; Perveen no. 51

This type is the revival of Samudragupta type; the reverse is identical with
coinindia (www.coinindia.com) and Altekar no. 5 (XIV)
Coin no. 9

4.3.2. Rhinoceros-slayer Type

Acc. no. 782 (NM 1957), image no. 177.1, weight. 7.86gm, size.
   18.0x2.1mm

Obv. King riding on horse to right, wearing waist cloth, jewellery and cap,
   leaning forward and attacking a scaly skin rhinoceros with the sword
   in right hand. The beast stands at bay before horse with head turned
   back to attack it, the mouth being open and looking furious. Rare
   part of the horse is off flan while the head is raised up. Brāhmī
   legend *Bharta khaḍgatrātā Kumāragupto jayatyaniśaṁ*

Rev. Within dotted border, goddess Gaṅgā standing on *makara* (river god)
   frontally with head facing left, naked, wearing jewellery, receiving a
   lotus flower in the right hand offered by the snout by the elephant-

headed crocodile before her, left hand is hanging down by the side empty. A small female figure holding a parasol above goddess stands behind her. Four-pronged *tamga* is on the right field above attendant and Brāhmī legend *Śri Mahendrakhaḍga* inscribed vertically on the left.

Reference: Altekar: nos. 3-5, pl. XIII, pp. 197-200; coinindia.com//galleries-kumaragupta.html; Perveen, no. 54

Coin no. 10
Artistically this type is unique.

4.3.3. Elephant-rider Type

Acc. no. 784 (NM 1957), image no. 177.2, weight. 8.26 gm, size. 18.6x2.7mm,

Obv. King seated on elephant moving to left, wearing tight-fitting dress and jewellery, holding an elephant's goad in the right hand and left resting on waist. Behind him a small figure of seated attendant who holds a *chattra* (umbrella) over the head of king. Brāhmī legend uncertain, probably *Kshataripu-Kumāagupto rājatrātā jayati ripuṅ*

Rev. Goddess (Lakshmi) standing facing on a lotus flower, nimbate, wearing jewellery, grasping stalk of lotus growing before her in her right hand and holds a cornucopia in the left arm. A conch and Brāhmī legend *Śrimahendragajaḥ* are in the right field.

Reference: Altekar: no. 14-15, pl. XII, pp. 194-95; Allan: no. 16, pl. XV, p.88; Perveen no. 52

Coin no. 11

4.3.4. Horseman Type

Acc. no. 13 (MFC 1952), image no. 233.5, weight. 8.06 gm, size. 19.4x2.8 mm

Obv. King riding on horseback to right, nimbate, wearing jewellery, tight-fitting dress and sash the ends of which fly behind him.

Brāhmī legend *Kṣitipatir ajito vijayī* (*Kumāaragupto divam jayati*) 1 o' clock

Rev. Within dotted border, goddess (Lakshmi), seated on low stool, nimbate, holds a lotus in the left hand and offering fruits to the peacock standing before her. Brāhmī legend *Ajitamahendraḥ* is on right and no use of *tamga*.

Reference: Altekar: no. 9-10, pl. XI, p. 174-83, Var. C; Allan: no. 210, pl.

XIII.13, p.71, Var. γ

Coin no. 12

E. Post-Gupta Bengal (3rd Gupta dynasty of West Bengal c. 550-700 CE)

5.1. Sanding king and female figure

Acc. no. 498/16 (NM 1993), image no. 179.1, weight. 5.74gm, size. 19.5x1.5 mm

Obv. Within dotted border, degenerate figure of standing king holding a bow in the left hand and an arrow in the right, a pot placed below the standard topped by a conch like object, something between the legs, legend between bow and left leg of the king reading *Java/ta*

Rev. Within dotted border, female figure standing to right with flowing cloak or wings, holding an object with both hands, illegible and meaningless legend (prob. *Sri*) on the right.

Reference: Allan, nos. 620-22, pl. XXIV, 17-19, p. 154; Mitchiner 1978 (ACW), nos. 4923-25; Mitchiner (non-Islamic States): nos. 322-24, uncertain dynasty (AD 550-730), Anonymous post-Gupta staters of Bengal, pp. 55

Coin no. 13

F. *Śaśāṅka,* King of Guaḍa (Karṇa-Suvarṇa), c. 600-625 CE

6.1. Śiva with Nandi and Lakshmi

Acc. no. 26 (NM 1960), image no. 177.4, weight. 5.74gm, size. 20.4x1.4mm

Obv. Within dotted border, Śiva on Nandi reclining to left with left hand raised and holding an uncertain object. There is a dot representing to moon (*Śaśāṅka*) above bull's head before deity. Brāhmī legend *Śaka* below bull.

Rev. In dotted border, goddess Lakshmī, nimbate, seated frontally with head turned to left on a lotus flower, holding something (lotus) in extended right hand and lotus flower in the left arm. Brāhmī legend *Śrī Śaśāṅka* on left vertically (down).

Reference: Altekar: no. 10, pl. XIXA, pp.328-30; Allan: no. 612, pl. XXIV-2, p.148; Perveen no. 54A

Coin no. 14

G. Punjab/ Jammu and Kashmir (Base Gold)
Vigraha Deva (*Śri Vigra*[*ha*])
7.1.1. Standing king and enthroned deity
Acc. no. 163 (NM 1960), image no. 178.2, weight. 7.64gm, size. 22.0x3.7
    mm
Obv. King standing frontally of the Kushan style, rudely executed, many
    dots in the left field. Brāhmī legend *Kidara* underneath left arm of
    the figure.
Rev. Stylized portrayal of enthroned Ardoxsho facing frontally. Brāhmī
    legend *Śri Vigra*[*ha*] on right and *deva* on left.
Reference: Mitchiner; CNG 170, Lot 152
Coin no. 15

Pratapaditya II (*Śri Pratapa*)
7.2.1. Standing king and enthroned deity
Image nos. 173.3, 173.4, 173.6, 173.1, 173.2
Obv. Standing king of the Kushan style, rudely executed, vertical dots
    underneath right arm and Brāhmī legend *Kidara* underneath left.
Rev. Stylized portrayal of enthroned Ardoxsho, Brāhmī legend *Śri Ja*
    Pratapa…. on right
Reference: Mitchiner 1978, nos. 3645-47, p. 479
Coin nos. 16-20

7.2.2. Standing king and enthroned deity
Image nos. 173.8, 173.9, 173.5
Obv. King standing frontally in the Kushan style, vertical dots
    underneath right arm and Brāhmī legend *Kidara* underneath left.
Rev. Stylized portrayal of enthroned Ardoxsho, Brāhmī legend *Śri Ja*
    Pratapa on right
Reference: Mitchiner 1978, nos. 3645-47, p. 479
Coin nos. 21-23

7.2.3. Standing king and enthroned deity
 Image nos. 173.7
Obv. As 7.2.2.
Rev. As 7.2.2, Brāhmī legend *Śri Pratapa* on right
Reference: Mitchiner 1978, nos. 3645-47, p. 479

Coin nos. 24

H. Kashmir Rajas
Dida Rani c. 958-1003 CE

8.1.1. Enthroned deity and standing king

Acc. no. 314/1-44 (MFC 1995), image no. 258.2, weight. 5.66gm, size. 18.2x2.5 mm

Obv. A stylized female figure seated frontally.
Śāradā legend *Śri Didda*

Rev. Stylized figure of king standing facing, Śāradā legend *devya*

Reference: Mitchiner

Coin no. 25

Sangramaraja c. 1003-1028 CE

8.2.1. Enthroned deity and standing king

Acc. no. 314/1-44 (MFC 1995), image no. 258.3, weight. 5.50gm, size. 19.2x4.2 mm

Obv. A female figure seated frontally in stylized form.
Śāradā legend *Sangrama*

Rev. Stylized figure of king standing facing, Śāradā legend *deva*

Reference: Mitchiner

Coin no. 26

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-3-
Political Condition of Ancient Gandhara Region from Sixth Century BCE to Sixth Century CE.

Kiran Shahid Siddiqui

Gandhara forms a most important link connecting India with the West due to its distinctive position among all the regions of India since its history may be traced with notable continuity from the earliest times to the recent days. Its fame rests mainly on the fact that it had been a cradle of Buddhist religion even though it was never visited by Buddha himself. Gandhara fascinated the invaders, due to its location, from all over the world who controlled this region for a considerable period of time. Many times it proved to be a gateway and provided the invaders to invade the rest of South Asia. The political history of Gandhara region appears to be the history of foreign control since it remained under the rule of Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushans for a significant period.

The political history of Gandhara region commence while Magadha, in the eastern India, was emerging as a paramount power for the first time in the history of India. Gandhara submitted to the Persian supremacy in the sixth century BCE due to its internal quarrels and political disunity caused after the death of Pushkarasarin or Pulusaki, a ruler of Gandhara (Jain 1991). Gandhara was a prosperous and peaceful region in the times of Pushkarasarin, with his capital at Taxila (Shah 1938). No historical record mentioning his predecessors and successors is available. Only a little is known about himself. He and the ruler of Magadha, Bimbisara maintained cordial relations and exchanged gifts with each other (Shah 1938). Pushkarasarin is said to have a desire to meet Bimbisara in person, and to appear in attendance of the two great reformers of the time, Buddha and Mahavira, who resided in Magadha. Pushkarasarin, in accordance to fulfill his desire, proceeded towards Magadha but couldn't reach due to severe illness and died on his way (Shah 1938). There is no historical testimony of any of his successor who ruled Gandhara and it seems that the region was thrown into political chaos after his death.

In the 6th century BCE., the Achaemenids emerged as the first paramount empire in the documented history after deposing the Medes

who had been ruling the north-west Persia with their capital, Ecbatana (modern Hamadan) Cyrus (ca.558-530 BCE), the founder of the Achaemenid Empire, had the knowledge about the wealth and prosperity of India and was almost waiting for an opportunity to absorb it and he was the first to invade the Gandhara region making the most of its political chaos (Shah 1938).

Pushkarasarin's death provided him with this opportunity and he began to draw away enormous amounts of wealth from this region of India, as a tribute. The exact limits of his eastern conquests are unknown. But during the days of Cyrus, Gandhara included the Kabul valley and extended in the north up to Swat and Buner (Sen 1999). Cambyses, the successor of Cyrus, was all time occupied in crushing the rebellions and thus was not able to think of any further conquest beyond the region of Gandhara (Sen 1999). Darius (ca.522-486 BCE) mentions Gandhara in his *Behistun* inscription as one of the countries, he inherited when he became the king of Persia. Darius sent an expedition towards Kabul and succeeded in extending his control up to Gandhara or Peshawar (Ghirshman 1954). He is said to have subjugated the inhabitants of Gandhara following a long struggle after which they remained under the status of a submitted nation till the advent of Alexander (Herodotus, Rawlinson, Rawlinson, & Wilkinson 1862). He probably annexed the whole of the Western India and the Indus Valley to the Persian empire (Ghirshman 1954). An eastern satrapy was carved out of these conquests which generated a huge revenue of gold transfer in to Persia (Sykes 1951). The invasion is of great importance because the chronology of Gandhara commences with this occupation and this event is the contemporary of Buddha's life time.

Darius ordered the building of a fleet of boats in his eastern satrapy of Gandhara, at a town known as *Caspatyrus* (perhaps modern Peshawar), under the command of a Greek navigator, Scylax of *Caryanda* to explore a route linking the eastern Persian satrapies with central lands of the empire (Docherty 2007). For an ambitious king like Darius, there were several motives to annex the land of Gandhara to his dominions.

After Darius I, his successor, Xerexes continued to rule Gandhara and soldiers from Gandhara were present in his army in a campaign against Hellas (Greece) (Sagar 1992). They were mostly archers, charioteers and cavalry men carrying bows and short spears accurate for combating close target (Sen 1999). This was perhaps the earliest chance

that a force from an Indian region of Gandhara fought as mercenary on the European ground (Sen 1999). The Achaemenid artifacts were discovered from *Akra* (*Banu*) by the British Archaeological Mission and Pakistan Heritage Society and *Bala Hissar* (Charsadda) was also known to be under the Achaemenid control (Ali & Qazi 2008).

The Achaemenid authority destabilized after the death of Xerxes but, according to the Persepolis inscription, *Gandharians* remained their subject nation till the reign of Artaxerxes II (Dani 1986). The Achaemenid rule ended with the defeat of Darius III by Alexander on the battle field of Arbela (Sen 1999).

Alexander entered Gandhara in 327 B.C. and occupied all the provinces administered by the Achemenians (Ali & Qazi 2008). It is said that Alexander did not find a single Persian officer when he entered India (Sen 1999). He had come in to the sub-continent following the route via 'Bactria, Heart, Farah, Kandhar, Begram and Sogdiana' (Hallade, 1968: 18). He was received by many Indian kings garciously who submitted and accompanied him during his further march. (Rufus n.d.). There were also few tribes refused to submit among which Kambojas, Ashvayanas (Greek: Aspasioi) and Ashvakayanas (Greek: Assakenoi) are mentioned by Arrian (Arrian 1814). These tribes were successfully subdued by Alexander's forces after which he crossed Indus to reduce the region of Punjab.

Alexander splited his army into two divisions after croosing Bajaur valley, and directed one on the way to Dir and Swat, whereas the other marched towards Peshawar valley (Ali & Qazi 2008). Both the divisions crossed river Indus and met at Hund or Ohind (ancient Udabhandapur). The united army further moved towards Taxila (ancient Taksasila). Ambhi (Greek: Taxiles), the ruler of Taxila, not only submited before Alexadrian forces but also provided them an assistance of 5000 troops. Alexander then proceeded towards Jehlum (ancient Hydaspes) where he came across the army of Raja Porus or Puru or Paurava, who ruled a vast kingdom east of Hydaspes, offered firm resistance and refused to surrender. After a ferocious battle, which lasted for more than eight hours, Alexander's army defeated Porus (Shah 1938). Alexander had an ambition to march into Ganges which could not be fulfilled due to his exhausted soldiers who desired to return to their homes and refused to advance. It is believed that Alexander's soldiers were frightened by the spirit shown by Indian soldiers during the battle of Hydaspes and expected more tough combats if

advanced further (Romm 2005).

Alexander returned back and died at Babylon in 323 BCE. The Greek rule was established in the newly conquered regions shaped in to satrapies under the Greek administrtion. Alexander's conquest of Gandhara and his return actually cleared the path for Chandragupta Maurya to capture this region from where he recruited the vital part of his military force to invade Magadha and overthrow the power of Nandas.

The Alexanderian empire was divide between the Genarals of Alexander after his demise; Seleucus and Antigonas. The territory to the north of Hindukush was ruled by Seleucus Nicator while the southern regions were engaged by the Mauryan empire ruled by Chandragupta Maurya, ruling at Magadha , around 320 BCE. The conquest is refered in the Greek accounts which mention Chandragupta Maurya as Sandracottus or Sandrocottus (Mookerji 1988). A pact was signed between Chandragupta Maurya and Seleucus through which the later withdrew to the west and Chandragupta achieved all the north western regions including Gandhara, where he resided during the time of Alexander's invasion   (Bamzai 1994). Seleucus and Chandrgupta maintained diplomatic relations by exchanging their ambassadors. Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador, stayed at the court of Chandragupta Maurya and is credited for leaving a thorough account of India in classical literature, although much of it is lost and fragments of it can be found in the citations of later accounts (Mookerji 1988).

Chandragupta Maurya was succeded by his son Bindusara in 297 BCE. During his reign there was an uprising in Taxila and when Susima, his eldest son and viceroy, failed to suppress the disorder, the emperor assigned it to Asoka, his younger son who was then viceroy of Ujjain, who succeeded in restoring peace there   (Bamzai 1994). Bindusara was succeeded by his son Asoka Maurya in 272 BCE who embraced Buddhism after realising the furious fallout from the war of Kalinga. He became a great patron of Buddhist art and architecture following his conversion to Buddhism in 262 BCE. He with an objective to spread the Buddhist faith, sent missionaries to different parts of the world. According to Mahavamsa, a Singhalese chronicle, Asoka sent a Buddhist ascetic, Madhyantika, to Gandhara in 256 BCE   (Murthy 1977). It was Madhyantika who introduced Buddhism in Gandhara (Willemen, Dessein, & Cox 1998). On Asoka's direction, rock edicts were carved in the north west of his empire,

emphasizing *ahimsa* and *karma* (nonviolence and duty), the basics of Asoka's *dhamma* (Behrendt 2004).

Buddhist literary accounts and epigraphical records include Gandhara, Mansehra, Taxila, Shahbaz Garhi, Qandhar and Laghman in the Mauryan domain (Ali & Qazi 2008). Dharamarajika stupa at Taxila, Jamal Garhi in Mardan and Butkara I in Swat are the Buddhist sites associated with the Mauryan period (Ali & Qazi 2008). 'The ground prepared for the esatablishment of Buddhism by the missionary efforts of Asoka in the Western Himalyan region was largely responsible for its further extension, proliferation and effloresence in Central Asia, China and Japan in the following centuries.' (Handa 2001: 21).

Parthia and Bactria (modern Balkh), under Diodotus I, the governor of Bactria, acquired independence from Seleucid empire in the middle of third century BCE (Willemen, Dessein, & Cox 1998). The Kabul valley and Gandhara were conquered by Demetrius, the grandson of Diodotus, in c.190 BCE, who esatblished an Indus Greek kingdom with his capital at Bala Hisar, a city at Pushkalavati (modern Charsadda) (Wheeler 1962). The succesors of Demetrius who ruled Gandhara were Pantaleon, Agathocles and Appollodotus. After a period of twenty years, the successors of Demetrius were pushed out of their dominions of Bactria and Gandhara by another Greek, Eucratides, who held the court at Taxila (Marshal 1960). He was succeeded by Menander (ca.150-110 BCE) who extended the Indus Greek control as far as Swat and Hazara in the north and in the south to the Indus valley. (Pesala 1998). He made Sagala (modern Sialkot) his capital. Menander is prominent among the Indus Greek rulers due to his conversion to Buddhist faith by a Buddhist monk, Nagasena. He is recognized in Buddhist traditions by the name of Milinda, who built a stupa at Bajaur. The Milindapanha (the questions of Menander) give an account of Menander in the following words:

> King of the city of Sagala in India, Milinda by name, learned, eloquent, wise and able; and a faithful observer, and that at the right time, of all the various acts of devotion and ceremony enjoyed by his own sacred hymns concerning things past, present, and to come. Many were the arts and sciences he knew – holy traditions and secular law... systems of philosophy; arithmatic; music; medicine; the four Vedas, the Puranas… astronomy, majic,causation, and spells; the art of war; poetry; conveyancing in a word, the whole nineteen arts. As a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome; the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought. And as in wisdom so in strength of

body, swiftness and valour there was found none equal to Milinda in all India. He was rich too, mighty in wealth and prosperity, and the number of his armed hosts knew no end (Docherty, 2007, p.66).

The foundation of the cities of Shaikhan Dheri at Pushkalvati and Sirkap at Taxila were laid by Menander which is attested by the coins unearthed from both the cities (Ali & Qazi 2008). Excavations at Aziz Dheri (Swabi) by the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of NWFP have brought to light the coins of Menander. Aziz Dheri is considered as one of the richest and probably the largest archaeological sites in ancient Gandhara and is also a unique stupa settlement site in the region. Menander was succeeded by Strato I, Heliocles, Lysias, Antialcidas, and Archebius. The end of Indus Greeks rule was brought about by an invasion of Scythians who had come from the interior of Asia. Pushkalavati and Takshasila, the two kingdoms passed under the control of the Scythians under the leadership of Maues in first century BCE. The Scythian occupation of the towns initially established by Indus Greeks such as Bala Hisar, Shaikhan Dheri, Aziz Dheri and Sirkap is verified by the coins of Maues, Azes-I, Azilises and Azes II. In the early first century C.E., Gandhara was then conquered by the Parthians under the leadership of Gondophares (Hallade ,1968) who established the Indus Parthian kingdom, which extended from Northern India to Afghanistan. The ancient Christian tradition of Apostle Saint Thomas is associated with Gondophares. The legend refers to the visit of apostle Saint Thomas in the court of Gondophares and converted him and his family to Christianity (Majumdar 1994). After the death of Gondophares, the Indus Parthian rule began to collapse and it lasted only upto 60 CE when the region was annexed by the Kushans. The date of the establishment of Kushan authority over North West is accepted as 64 CE, the event coincides with the sack of Sirkap, the second fortified city of Taxila (Rowland 1953). The Kushans belonged to a nomadic tribe called the Yueh-chi, who by origin were the inhabitants of the Kan-su province of north western China. In 175 BCE they penetrated in to the Kabul valley and Gandhara via Bactria (Lyons & Ingholt 1957). Ali & Qazi (2008) classify the history of Kushans in to three phases: The Early Kushans, The Great Kushans and the Later Kushans.

The first phase (60 CE to 129 CE) commence with the first Kushan conqueror of the Gandhara region Kujula Kadphises who was followed by Vima Taktu and Vima Kadphises. Kujula Kadphises is said to have played

a decisive role in establishing the Kushan empire. He also built up strong political and trade relations with the Roman empire of Augustus (Rowland 1953). Rabatak Inscription, which was discovered from Baghlan Province of Afghanistan in 1993, mentions the name of Vima Taktu as the son and successor of Kujula Kadphises (Singh 2008). Vima Taktu is the Kushan ruler who had so far been unknown. He was followed by his son Vima Kadphises or Kadphises II.

The second phase of Kushan rule is known as the Great Kushan era (128/29 C.E. to 241 or 256/57 C.E.) (Ali & Qazi 2008). The most powerful Kushan ruler of this phase was Kanishka I, and his 'outstanding fame' was not only due to his military activities but also as a patron of Buddhism. It was under his patronage the fourth Buddhist council which was held in Kashmir (Marshal 1960). This phase also included the reigns of Huvishka and Vasudeva.

Kanishka, after embracing Buddhism, propagated the Buddhist faith all over his empire which stretched from Magadha to Central Asia. Despite his enthusiasm for the newly accepted faith, he was not at all
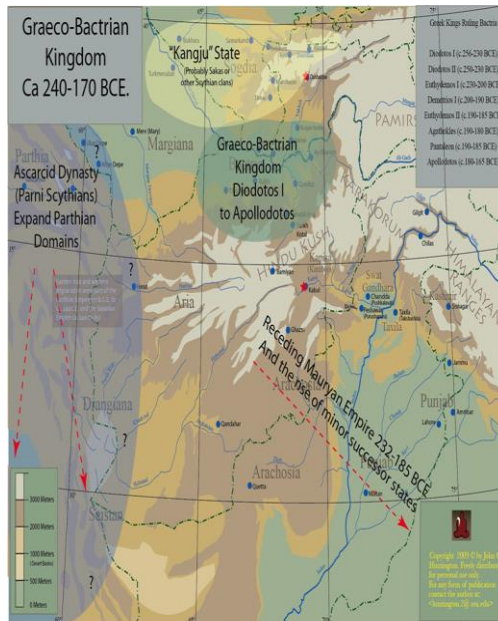
Map of Gandhara undr the Indo-Greek rule (240-170 BCE) by John C. Huntington (kaladarshan.arts Accessed March 24, 2012).

intolerant to other religions of his empire. His respect to all the religions is manifested by the depiction of Zoroastrian, Greek, Roman and Hindu deities on the reverse of his gold and copper coins. Monasteries and stupas of his period manifest the enthusiasm of the newly converted in championing his newly adopted faith (Lyons & Ingholt 1957). The great tower at *Shah-ji-ki-Dheri* in Peshawar is the remarkable monument of Kanshka I's period. Kanishka promoted artists to produce sculptures of Buddha and Bodhisattavas in order to publicize the Buddhist faith. Under the Kushans Buddhism experienced philosophical transformation with the development of Mahayana sect. It is believed that Mahayanism 'took root in northern India- it is associated especially with Gandhara-and truly laid the foundations for

Buddhism to spread beyond India and become a world faith' (Docherty, 2007: 87). Kanishka founded three capital cities: Kabul, Peshawar and Mathura (Ali & Qazi 2008).

Gandhara enjoyed great prosperity during the period of Kanishka and his descendant Huvishka and Vasudeva I. Rowland states about the significance of Gandhara during the Kushan rule in the following words:

> Although the Buddha never visited Gandhara, the text composed by the Buddhist sages under the Kushans made of the region a veritable holy land of Buddhism by the association of various sites with the events in the previous incarnations of Sakyamuni (Rowland, 1953: 77).

The Kushan supremacy lasted for a period of approximately a hundred years until the last days of the rule of Vasudeva in the early part of the third century. The Kushan rule weakened with the Decline of Han in China, the growth of Sassanians in Persia, and the emergence of local powers and Guptas in northern India. The artistic activities at Gandhara continued undisturbed in ancient Gandhara. The Kushan control over Gnadhara was brought to an end by the campaigns of Ardashir I and Shahpur I, the Sassanian rulers from Persia. Thus only the western part of Kushan empire came under the control of the Sassanians. In their newly acquired territories, the Sassanian emperors designated the vassal rulers who were called as Kushan Shahs or Kushano-Sassanians (Khan 2009).

The Third phase of Kushan rule (257 CE to 357 CE) known as Kushano Sassanian or Later Kushan phase encompass the reigns of Kanishka II, Vasishka, Kanishka III, Vasudeva II and Shaka. (Ali & Qazi

2008). Vasudeva II is said to have been able to recover the lost Kushan dominions from the Sassanians. Shaka was succeeded by Kipunada, Gadahara and Gadhakhra (Gadagra). Their rule was only confined up to Panjab and Gandhara.

The history of Kushano-Sassanins ruling ancient Gandhara was traced on the basis of numismatic evidence from Aziz Dheri in Swabi. The coins of Scythians, Parthians, Kushans , Kushano-Sassanians and later Kushans were recovered from this site (Khan 2009).

Gandhara was captured by the Kidara Kushanas or Kidarities, from the name of their king, Kidara, during the late fourth century (after 350 CE) who had come from Bactria (Zwalf 1996). They called themselves as 'Kidara Kushana Shahis', which is evident from their coins, probably because they conquered some part of the Kushana territories (Litvinsky, Guang-Da & Samghabdi 1999). The Kidarities were forced to flee towards Gilgit on the eve of Hepthalite invasion.

Hepthalites were a horde, Mongolian by origin, established themselves in Turkmenistan in the second half of fourth century CE. Hepthal, a chief, gave his name to the dynasty. Hepthal III (the *Ye-tai-I-Li-to* of the Chinese Chronicles) was the strongest among the early Hepthalites who had a vast empire centered at Caspian. Hepthalites invaded Gandhara towards ca.470 CE, under the leadership of Tormana, with their capital at Balkh. Mihirakula, son of Tormana, made Sagala (Sialkot) his capital. He reigned for more than a decade, ca. 518-529 CE. They devastated every thing in Gandhara, especially they attacked the Buddhist establishments in Gandhara who never restored from this tragic mass destruction caused by the Hepthalites. They demolished and ravaged the Buddhist establishments to plunder the wealth burried under the floors and hidden in the walls. Taxila university was completely ruined (Sagar 1992).

Hiuen Tsang who visted Gandhara in seventh century CE. states about the ruined condition of the region by the Huns who 'overthrew stupas and destroyed sangharamas altogether six thousand and six hundred foundations' (Handa, 2001: 37). Sung Yun, another Chinese pilgrim, mentioned the ruined condition of Gandhara. He states, "this land has been destroyed be 'Yetha' people who had put on the throne a man named Tikin. By now the generations have passed. The king was very cruel and vindictive. He inflicted worst tortures on the innocent people. He did not

worship the religion of the Buddha but worshipped the Devil." (Sagar, 1992: 218).

Hun rule was put to an end by the Sassanids from Central Asia, under the leadership of Khusro I. Gandhara was ruled by Kashmir and Hindu dynasties after the seventh century C.E. and lastly was took over by the Muslims in early eleventh century C.E.

Conclusion

Ancient Gandhara has always been a region of immense appeal to the foreigners since the early historic period of South Asia. It is blessed with a stunning environment loaded with lush green landscape. Besides its recognition as an artistic and cultural center, Gandhara's exclusivity is due to its unique location since it linked up all important towns of ancient India. Several roads from Gandhara provided access from Bactria in the west to Magadha (Bihar) in the east. This ideal geographic location transformed Gandhara in to the meeting place of several cultures through traders, invaders, religious leaders and devotees. The trade and commerce flourished due to its remarkable geographical location linking it with all the other important trade centers from east and west. Gandhara developed in to a commercial hub for the traders and businessmen visiting the region from far and wide.

Gandhara due to its commercial significance became a center where people from distinct regions gathered and shared their ideas and beliefs. The invaders from the west were always in search to get the control of this region as it was a gateway to India. Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, Kushans and Muslims had initially captured Gandhara and from there they planned to penetrate in to India. However, Achaemenid Persians and Alexander could not fulfill their desire due to various reasons but the later invaders whether in the ancient or medieval period mostly made their way to India by getting the hold of Gandhara region.

Despite of foreign control and political instability, Gandhara had maintained its reputation as an artistic province. The artistic activities, which were employed to serve the Buddhist faith, known to the world by the name of "Gandhara art" has fascinated the art admirers from all over the world. The art is known for the blend of foreign and indigenous techniques. The Greek, Roman and Persian influences were at work to

produce the finest specimens but the theme of the art was entirely Indian. The foreign influence on Gandhara art was due to its occupation by the invaders from other regions, who had brought with them the experts of different fields, destined to create the premium sculptures of time.

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-4-
Representation of Parinirvāṇa in Gandhāran Diptychs

Muhammad Hameed

Abstract
Buddha took his last breath at the age of eighty in Kuśinagara, the place he himself selected. Visual narration of the death of Buddha has reached to us in the form of sculptures, panels and narrative reliefs. These have been discovered throughout Gandhāran territory. Representation of death of the Buddha was among popular themes in Gandhāran artistic traditions. Gandhāran artists reproduced the theme by using another medium in the form of tiny stone pieces. These are referred to as "Diptych Type Portable Shrines" and show imagery on both sides. Diptychs are very small in size and can easily be carried and moved from one place to another. As compared to other objects, these are least known. In term of iconography, these illustrate different important life episode from the life of the Buddha including parinirvāṇa. This depiction is most often visible on interior section of diptychs. Exterior of diptychs illustrates different themes, Buddhist as well as non Buddhist. The present research paper lists five examples of the diptychs type shrines. Only fragments of these shrines have survived in which only one has been found in complete shape. This research paper makes comprehensive study of the depiction of parinirvāṇa in diptych type of shrines. Focal point of this investigation is to interpret iconographical treatment and characteristic of the episode. At the same time comparative analysis of this depiction between major Gandhāran reliefs and fragments of diptychs is also inevitable. This can help us in understanding iconographical development of parinirvāṇa tradition in these two variants.

Introduction
There is a huge corpus of Gandhāran sculptures and reliefs translating textual versions of the life of Śākyamuni into stone. The corpus forms major part of collections of different museums all over the world. These objects have been comprehensively studied and documented in some major catalogues (Ackermann 1975; Behrendt 2007; Czuma 1985; Foucher 1914; Christian 2009-2010; Hallade1968; Ingholt1957;

Jongeward 2003; Kurita 2003; Nadiem 2003; Rosenfield 1967 & Zwalf 1996). In these corpuses there are number of panles and reliefs illustrating death of the Buddha but we hardly find any example of diptych type objects. Diptychs from the collection of Metropolitan Museum of art have been listed and described on couple of times. (Behrandt 2007; Lerner & Kossak 1991). However on the whole these have been left far beyond the scope of any investigation. In the following pages part of collection of diptych type shrines are being discussed with special reference to the depiction of parinirvāṇa scene. There are many more fragments of Buddhist portable shrines which will be described at some later stage. Iconographical treatment of these shrines is worth seeing. It reflects remarkable workmanship of the artists and their religious understanding of the Buddhist doctrines.

Examples from Diptychs
Let us begin our study with one example of diptychs type shrines (Fig.1). Different authors listed this piece in their respective works ((Behrendt 2007:82 ; Behrendt 2012:320; Häartel & Yaldiz 1982:61; Lerner & Kossak 1991:110 ; Sen-Gupta 2002:49 & Kurita 2003:290). This stone object meausres 8.7 cm and belongs to the collection of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Unfortunatley we do not have any information about its provenance. Basically this obejct belongs to the category of diptychs type portable shrines with carving on both sides. Only one wing or section of the shrine has reached to us. Iconography of its exterior is very ambigious. It shows a Central Asian man carrying a baby on shoulders and basket at his back. He either has finished his journy or about to start the journy.

The interior of this object is divided into two registers, set up vertically one above the other. The upper register depicts birth of Śakyamuṇi while lower illustrates death of the Buddha. Both the scenes are very much Gandhāran in character and execution. In parinirvāṇa scene the Buddha is shown laying to right. Upper part of his body is raised considerably and rests on a cushion. His whole body is coverd by heavy drappery except face and right hand. Above head of the Buddha, a tree is depicted. Two figures stand behind the Budda while five are in front of the bed.

Second piece of the same category comes from the collection of Tokyo National Museum (Fig.2). It was published by Yoshihide

(Yoshihide 2000:132). This is also made up of stone and measures 7.2 cm. Like the former, only one wing of diptych has survived. It shows similar shape and carving on both sides as we have already seen in Figure 2. The only difference in the depiction of man on exterior who looks like Indian and depicted without carrying baby. Parinivāṇa scene is depicted in lower register in the interior, similar to figure 1.The Buddha, much larger than previous piece and surrounding figures, is depicted laying on right. His upper part of the body is less raised. Rest of the composition is similar to previous wing except addition of one more standing figure behind the Buddha.

These both types of diptychs are referred to as "Basketman Type Diptychs". The male figure depicted on exterior of these two pieces carries a besket on his back. It is difficult to identify content inside the basket, however, the man perhaps belongs to some tarder community. There are some more such examples of basketmay type but these do not represent death scene of the Buddha.

Now we move to another group of diptychs which illustrate parinirvāṇa. This group is called "Elephnat and rider type diptychs". These are also carved on both sides. Their exterior depicts the transportation of relics. A royal figure is frequently depicted riding on an elephnat and holding relics in both hands. The procession is well gaurded by soldiers and other companions. There are at least three examples of such shrines.

First example of "Elephant and rider type diptych" belongs to the collection of Sir Alexander Cunningham (Fig.3). This stone fragment measures 5.5 cm and presently on display in the British Museum, London. Cunningham found this fragment from Sankisa during his survey of the Gangetic provinces (Cunningham 1968:28). In his report, he mentioned about large collection of objects that he made during his stay at Sankisa. The collection includes a fragment of a portable shrine carved on both sides. The remains show part of elephant's leg and a soldier dressed in typical Indian dress, holding a sword and shield. Imagery on interior represents Parinirvāṇa. On the base of iconographical treatment, Cunningham correlated it with the rest of Gandhāran sculptures that he had so far observed. About the scene he concluded that it illustrates the procession with elephant bearing a relic casket. Later on this fragment was published by Barrett and Yoshihide (Barrett 1967:12; Yoshihide 2000:134).

Another example of this category of Buddhist diptcychs with Pārainirvaṇa depiction comes from the collection of State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg (Fig.4). This piece is also made of stone and measures 3 cm in size. It was published in an exhibition catalogue (Deshpande 2008:92). Only lower part of the left wing of complete diptych has survived. Interior of this object illustrates two scenes from the life of Buddha. One of the scenes depicts parinirvāṇa in rectangular panel. Here the Buddha is portrayed in the same fashion as in the previous figures. Second scene in the interior is incomplete. It illustrates seated Buddha, the head is turned to the left and the right hand is raised to the chest level. This composition depicts behaviour of the Buddha after getting enlightenment when he contemplated the Bodhi tree, an episode very rarely depicted and studied. Present researcher has identified and explained this second scene comprehensively by recording some more examples from Gandhāran iconography (Hameed 2014: 249-53).

Fifth and final piece of diptych type shrines is the only one we have in its complete form (Fig.5). It's both wings are intact and we can easily understand utility of such type of objects. This diptych is made of ivory with total height of 15.2 cm and belongs to the collection of the Museum of Chinese History. There are quite a few references about this important piece (Barrett 1967:11-15; Soper 1965:211-25; Yoshihide 2000:89-156).

Likewise many other diptychs; we do not have any information of its provenance as well. The diptych is carved on both sides. Exterior depicts transportation of relics while interior represents life story of the Buddha. Interior is divided into square, rectangular and triangular panels having one round edge. Each section accommodates one episode from the life of Buddha. Rest of the space besides these panels is also carved and depicts free standing sculptures of the Buddha with or without lotus. Parinirvāṇa is depicted in the lower part of the right wing and flanked by other episodes. This time again the representation of the theme follows the same pattern. The Buddha is laying to right on his death bed. Upper part of his body is raised and the head rests on pillow. Other important elements of iconography include depiction of tree above head of the Buddha, two figure behind and four seated figures in front of the bed. The whole execution of the theme is quite identical to the traditional Gandhāran style.

So far we have seen representation of parinirvāṇa as depicted in

diptych type portable shrines. These tiny fragments give us another view of visual narration of this important episode. Considering very limited space of work, artists seem to have done justice by including most of the main characters of the story. In this regard depiction of MahāKāśyapa, Subhadra, Ananda, Anuruddha and vajrapāṇi is notable. Figures standing behind the Buddha are also depicted in their grieving posture. Their hand gestures and leaning position illustrate their level of anxiety, pain and sorrow. Depiction of tree above head of the Buddha is also included as important part of the composition. Considering all these factors, it seems obvious that the artists were very much familiar with the textual as well as the pictorial representation of the episode. Their understanding of the theme helped them in reproducing its perfect manifestation even in these small pieces. We can understand this aspect in a better way by making slight comparative analysis of this theme with example from the traditional Gandhāran style.

Examples from General Gandhāran Sculpture
Now we add some examples of parinirvāṇa from general Gandhāran sculptures and reliefs in order to make some comparative analysis. In general Gandhāran artists portrayed death of the Buddha in individual panels (Kurita 2003:241-248, Fig481-501; Zwalf 1996:205-7, Pl. 230-31).These panels show different type of setting. Largely these occupy one side of Hermikā and framed by different types of pilasters (Ackermann 1975:112-15, Pl.XLII-XLV). In some cases depiction of parinirvāṇa marks end of the whole composition but in other cases it follows scenes like wrapping of the body, preparation of coffin, cremation, distributions of relics, transportation of relics and enshrinement of the relics (Kurita 2003:250 Fig 507).

In Gandhāra reliefs of parinirvāṇa the Buddha always occupies centre of the composition. He is frequently depicted haloed and laying to his right side on death bed. The bed is properly covered by a mattress; either one or two pillows and large piece of decorated textile that sometimes hangs down to the floor level (Fig. 6-8). Body of the Buddha is thoroughly covered except his head and right hand, in some cases his feet. His head rest on right hand which in turn is placed on pillow, either one or pair. It is interesting to note that even in laying position the falls of his drapery do not follow natural priciple, on the contrary these form dense

terraces and ridges similar to standing Buddha figures (Zwalf 1996: 79-80, Pl.1-2).

In figural representation of death of the Buddha, there are some important characters, always present in the composition. These characters include Vajrapāṇi, Subhadra, Ananda, Anuruddha (Aniruddha), Mahākāśyapa, Mallas of Kuśinagara and tree spirits (Fig.7). Their depiction may vary in terms of their physical appearance, clothing, location and body posture except ascetic Subhadra. He is most often depicted with wrapped head, meditating either seated frontally or turned towards death bed of the Buddha. Among other attendants may include god Indra and Brahmā and other half length flying celestial beings who throw flowers on the Buddha (Fig.8).

When we make comparison between depiction of parinirvāṇa in major Gandhāra reliefs and in diptychs, we assert that there is hardly any difference in execution. Keeping in view in a very limited work space the artists did a remarkable job in producing core of the theme. They not only represented divine nature of the Buddha by depicting him larger than the other figures but also accommodated important characters like Mahākāśyapa, Ananda, Anuruddha, Vajrapāṇi and Mallas. The only difference which we can detect in both of these figural traditions is in laying position of the Buddha. Most often upper part of body of the Buddha is raised in diptychs while in other Gandhāran reliefs body of the Buddha gives a flat look.

Conclusion

Representation of parinirvāṇa in diptych type portable shrines in fact leads us to another visual development or variant of this theme. Depiction of death of the Buddha was one of the most popular subject of the Buddhist iconographical tradition in these tiny pieces. It was used in almost all major types of diptychs types. In Basket man type diptychs it would have been illustrated as fourth main event of the Buddha, similar to the depiction on Hermikā. This study has made us to believe that artistic and religious significance of these objects lies far beyond their size. Their shape, contents and utility has made them unique in their kind, particularly in Gandhāran perspective. So their religious, cultural and artistic significance needs to be comprehended through serious study.

These shrines would have played very significant role in spreading

Gandhāran artistic traditions across Central Asia and China. These would have been used as travelling shrines by Pilgrims; missionaries, travellers and traders. Perhaps due to this reason these have not been in proper context. Doctoral thesis by the present author about these types of portable shrines is in progress and intends to make comprehensive study of these remarkable pieces of art. It aims at understanding their origin, utility and socio religious importance. Another objective of the study is to determine chronological order of these shrines because their dating has yet not been fixed properly.

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Figures

Figure 1. Exterior and interior of diptych from Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 2. Complete view of diptych from Tokyo National Museum.

Figure 3. Exterior and interior of Diptych, after A. Cunningham.

Figure 4. Interior of diptych from State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

Figure 5. Interior of Ivory Diptych.

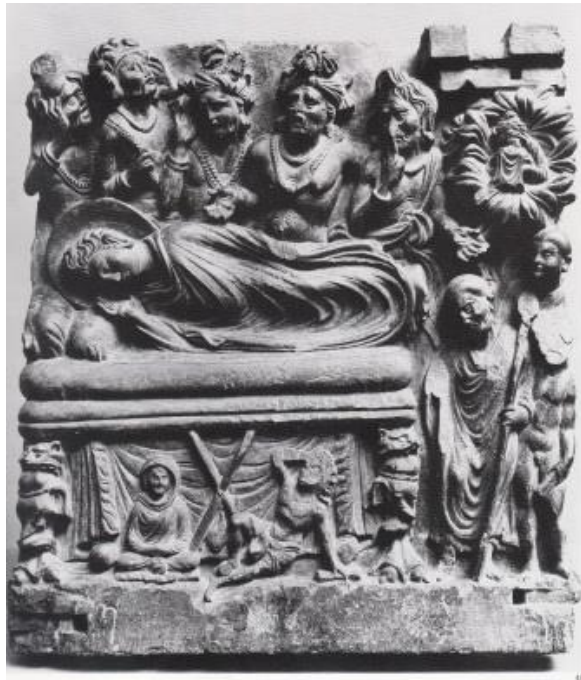Figure 6. Parinirvāṇa, from Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Figure 7. Panel depicting Parinirvāṇa from Victoria & Albert Museum.

Figure 8. Parinirvāṇa from Calcutta Museum.

-5-
Foreign Influences on the Sculptures of Nimogram, Swat Valley

Sadeed Arif

Abstract

The paper is focused on the potential Buddhist site of Nimogramin Swat valley.This site has yielded a considerable number of artifac which sculptures constitute the bulk of the finds, The artifacts of Nimogram particularly the sculptures have typical Swat style features. While studying the sculptures of Nimogram a variety of foreign cultural influence can be observed. Influences from the Greeks, Roman, Saka-Parthians and Kushan and Kushano-Sassanian can be noticed. It is worth mentioning that the socio-religious forces laid the root of the Buddhist art of the Swat Valley.

Nimogram, a very significant Buddhist site of Swat Valley has yielded considerable number of artifacts; the total number of artifacts recovered from this single Buddhist site is 466. The sculptures are intermingled with stones from the stupas. Not a single piece has been found in position. Side by side with the sculptures in schist there is stucco work, where a few were still in position.Many of the pieces found are fragmentary and in decay condition.

The art pieces of Nimogram inform us that, that the interest of artists, is by no means limited to their religious and aesthetic aspects, important though these are to students of Buddhism and art historians. Such sculptures no doubt were used for religious purposes, but eventually became purely decorative and architectural in purport rather than exclusively religious in character. Leaving aside some individual statues the major portion is decorative and forms architectural ornamentation of stupa.

The art pieces of Nimogram throw a flood of light on the life of people, the land of Uḍḍīyāna, the costumes of all classes from princes to poor, the furnishing of houses, weapons of war, sports, armour, ornaments, seat for riding elephant and horse, carts and carriages, horses and yoke, tools, agricultural implements, cult objects and musical instruments are all

skilfully depicted and provide evidence for the origin of folk tales of the present Swat valley. People are depicted at work, play and worship, engaged in acts of devotion, marriages, donations, sports and visits of ceremony. The appearance of musicians, ascetics and wrestlers display various occupations of the people of Uḍḍīyāna. The forms which fairies, nymphs, water spirits and demons assumed in popular imagination are all depicted, in some cases battlemented and guarded city walls and gateways are shown suggesting security measures for the citizens. These architectural features can be seen even today in the tribal belt of Dir and Bjaur Agency.

This art enjoyed an exceptionally long life. Initiated in the early Kushan times it witnessed its zenith and artistic development in the 2nd, 3rdcentuies AD. It was a long period of prosperity resulting in the production of countless sculptures, first in stone, stucco and bronze and later on the rock surface.

The artifacts of the Nimogram particularly the sculptures have typical Swat style features. These typical features are thick drapery and wooden architecture. While studying the artifacts of Nimogram foreign influence can be observed on a variety of sculptures. Influences from the Greeks, Saka-Parthians and Kushan and Kushano-Sassanian were noticed.It is worth mentioning that the socio-religious forces lay the root of the Buddhist art of the Swat Valley. These forces heavily relied on the great spiritual gift made by Buddhism to the cultural life of the regions. With the introduction of Buddhism many Indian elements penetrated into Buddhist art of Swat. The foreign influence can be observed on the Individual images of Buddha as well as the relief panels fixed in stupas.For the current research some selected sculptures were selected to trace the foreign influence. There are almost 236 different sculptures of Buddhist period in the collection of Nimogram upon which foreign influence was studied. Different foreign motifs such as caryatids, atlants, Persepolitan, Corinthian, Doric and Ionic pilasters, drinking scenes, dresses, Buddha dhuni (fire alters), wine scrolls, acanthus leaves, marines deities, the god of Olympus, the entourage of Dionysus and many others from Persian and Greek art were noted in the collection of Nimogram.

While studying the Buddhist art of Greater Gandhara, the entire Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, part of the northern Panjab and eastern Afghanistan, foreign cultural influence is observed due to its cosmopolitan

nature. This is why some scholars think that Gandhara art was the product of Greek or Roman artists. Alternatively it is believed that the concept of art was indigenous, but influences from all over the interacting places such as India, Central Asia, Persia, Greece and Rome were genuinely received as shown by the evidence of sculptures.

The Achaemenians of Persia ruled this area in the 6th to 4th centuries B.C.E, followed by the Bacterian Greeks and then the Indo-Greeks from 190 to 90 B.C.E all left behind influence on the art and crafts of this area. Subsequently, the Scythians in 90 B.C.E the Parthians until the mid-1st century C.E. set new trends in the local artistic traditions. However, the Kushans from the 1st century C.E. to fifth century C.E provided more innovations into the field of art and architecture. The era of Kanishka-I is considered the golden age of Gandhara art. It should be noted that all these foreign rulers not only established their governments in Gandhara but these rulers also patronized the cultural values of the region (Dani 1983: 68)

Alfred Foucher (1914:46) writing about the beginning of Gandhara art, supports the idea of influence from the Mediterranean, claiming that the earliest source that influenced local art within Gandhara was undoubtedly the Hellenistic approach that improved the local style. Expecting to find a Greek city, he excavated Balkh in ancient Bacteria in 1922 but did not succeed. However his hope was fulfilled after his death when D. Schlumberger (Schlumberger 1959: 82) found an inscription in Greek character at Surkh Kotal in 1951, the Greek city of Ai-Khanum in eastern Afghanistan on the Junction of the River Kokcha and Oxus in 1964, Chronologically, Ai-Khanum covers the period from the advent of the Greeks till their displacement from Bacteria by the Saka in the last quarter of the second century B.C.E (Bernard 1967:92). The Greek sculptures found there show that these were created by local artisans under the instruction of Greek masters. This art tradition was developed and incorporated by local artisans into their own style—a style that subsequently influenced art traditions during the Buddhist period.

Marshall tried to confirm Foucher's view in his excavation of Sirkap the second city of Taxila dated to the first century B.C.E, the joint Saka— Parthian period started from 90 B.C.E and lasted till 64 C.E. when the Parthians were ousted by the Kushan. The lattest level belongs to the early Kushan rulers KujulaKadphises and VimaKadphises. On the basis of

his excavations at Taxila Marshall (1907-08:39-40) thought that Gandhara art had its origin in the culture of the philhellenic Parthians and took a distinctive form with the support of foreign artisans from the Near East.

Some western scholars associate Gandhara art with Roman culture. This view was presented by V.A. Smith (Smith, V.A: 1953) , Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1950:54), Hugo Buchthal (1945:67), Benjamin Rowland (1953:78), and Harald Ingholt (Ingolt :1957). They do not find the development of Gandhara Art in the land of its birth but relate its mature form under the Kushans to the influence of Romans.

According to the supporters of this theory, the commercial and political power of the Roman Empire in a positive way impacted the life and cultures of the Indian people, especially of those regions which were more directly in contact with that of the North West through land route from Bacteria, and with the interior India through ports of the western coast. These ties with the Romans grew stronger with the passage of time and reached their full bloom in the time of Kanishka.

Wheeler (1950:54) commenting in this regard writes: "It is essentially by product of the Kushanacommerece which brought into and through the kingdom objects of art and craftsmanship of the Roman Empire". Buchthal (1945:67) also advocated that the Roman influence on the Gandhara art. He compares various elements such as decorative features, poses, dress, genre scenes, mythological and ordinary life and tried to prove that Roman culture was the derivative source for Gandhara Art. Benjamin Rowland (1953:78) was also a strong supporter of the Roman influence on Gandhara art rather than Greek influenceOn the basis of certain characteristics features of some figures, he establishes the affinity of Gandhara art with Roman art and justifies his claim by comparing the face, pose, and dress of the Buddha figures recovered from Hadda in Afghanistan to the relief figure of the Christ carved on marble sarcophagus found at Psamatia near Constantinople, both dated to the fourth century C.E. (Rowland: 1963:41).Their faces, he says, are derived from a common prototype, an earlier Apollo(Rowland 1963:42).

James Ferguson (Ferguson, James 1910) used the terms "Romano-Buddhist" and "Indo-Byzantine," in contrast to the already existed terms "Greco-Bacterian" or "Greco-Buddhist" Subsequently, Vincent Smith(Smith, Vincent A. 1911) declared the art of Gandharadeveloped by the artists of Peshawar, as being essentially Roman in style, Greco-Roman

in its models and not pure Greek.The well-known successive stages of Roman art styles were identified in Gandharan work and even the iconography was believed to have been copied (Zwalf 1996: 67-68).

The term influence is not only inadequate for the comprehension of the phenomenon under examination (the presence of numerous elements of Graeco-Roman art in the figurative world of Buddhist art in Gandhara) but also misleading. In fact, this is neither a dominant art influencing another 'peripheral' art nor 'reception' of one artistic tradition by another. Such ways of looking at the relationships between the artistic expression of one culture and another are unidirectional and univocal. The most effective term for describing this relationship is 'transformation'.Here 'transformation' indicates not only a continuous exchange between media and mentality, a dialogue with the religious and cultural identities of the ancient Mediterranean, but above all a dynamic process of recovery, selection,and adaptation of themes and figurative models to the needs of a new political system. (Gali 2011: 283).

Sehrai is of the opinion that the people who used the terms "Greco-Buddhist" and "Romano-Buddhist" for Gandhara art tends to focus solely on the Greek or Roman workmanship in it. But, he claims, that the art style already existed in Gandhara from the time of the Bactrian Greeks. It is from them that the Kushan inherited the tradition of this art. Sehrai further states that Gandhara art reflects the artistic trends and technology current in the region during their rule and the contemporary taste and life of the region (Sehrai 1991: 7).

The archaeo-environment of Gandhara suggests that it developed a hybrid (western and Asian) cultural assemblage (D. L. Snellgrove 1978:59). Craftsmen from this complex context were responsible for creating this unique art dedicated to Buddhism(Coomaraswamy 1927:23).The detailed subject of the art of the Buddhist religion, such as symbolic representations of basic concepts, the adoration of the stupa, depiction of Buddha or Bodhisattava figures etc. remained characteristically local (D. L. Snellgrove 1978:59).

On the basis of archaeological researches carried out so far in Gandhara and the surrounding regions, it becomes clear that the mature phase of Gandhara develops only during the Kushan occupation of the region. This view has been elaborated by Marshall at Taxila, Dani in Chakdarra and Charsadda, the Italian mission in Swat, and French in

Afghanistan and Bactria. Ingholt, in his Gandhara art in Pakistan, suggested a chronology based on four groups. The first group includes sculptures which have philhellenic Parthian influence and links with Mesopotamia. The second group of has Sassanian influence from the time when the Kushan were dethroned by the Sassanians from Gandhara in 241 A.D. The third shows influence from Mathura in the period of the Kidara Kushans. The fourth and last group exhibits once again Sassanian influence which survived until arrival of the White Huns.

On the basis excavation at Shaikhan-dheri (Charsadda) Dani suggested: "we have now to start afresh our approach to the study of Gandharan sculptures", for the presence or absences of any foreign model is not a proofof the particular art. It depended on the nature of relationship either through trade or otherwise of one region or another at any period (Dani 1968:7). He disagrees with the idea that Gandhara art originated exclusively due to the influence from the Greeks or Romans.

Dani (1998:154) further modified his view and commenting on Gandhara Art, said, that this art has borrowed ideas from East and West and amalgamated both into a new school of its own and then spread out in all the directions into India, Afghanistan, Central Asia, China, and the Far East. The art is neither western nor Indian but it derives from both and integrates the different elements with it own form and creates a new tradition that is known today Gandhara art.

The religious and iconographical notions such as the physical depiction of the Buddha, the associated auspicious signs, and the prescribed poses all grew out of the Indian traditions. The region of Bactria, Kapis′a, Uddiyana and Taxila were geo-politically distinct units and their art at some stages was more or less influenced by that of Gandhara. They represent different schools that are to be named after their respective regions (Huntington 1985:116).

Gandhara was situated on the crossroad of the east and west. The cosmopolitan nature of the region gave, therefore a special and characteristic impact to its culture. This is why Hellenistic, Roman, western Asiatic, Central Asian and Indian forms and concepts are observed in its art and architecture. (Huntington 1985: 113).

The school of Gandhara art reveals clear evidence of Hellenistic influence, and introduces dozen of new foreign motifs. Though the form of the art is strongly Hellenistic but the subject matter of this art is local

and many Indian motifs were incorporated unchanged into Hellenistic framework.

The Buddhist monks enjoyed liberty to move from place to place during the course of their missionary activities. Thus it is easy to understand how motifs and influences from the school of Mathura, Sanchi and Ajanta could reach Gandhara. It is this double trend-the choice of foreign nobility and local popular culture deeply influenced by Buddhist monks that resulted in the characterization of the Gandhara Art (Dani 1968:14)

As discussed above Gandhara art has been influenced by foreign culture, the Buddhist art of Swat was also influenced by foreigners i.e. the Greeks, Roman, Parthains and Central Asian. When we critically study the artifacts of the systematically excavated sites of the Swat Valley, we see varieties of foreign elements in the Buddhist art of Swat. It shows that Swat Valley was not an isolated place, it had contacts with the outside world and received deep foreign influence like other parts of the Gandhara region.

The Buddhist art of Swat is the result of the action and reaction of many civilizations produced by the Persians, Graeco-Roaman, Scytho-Parthians, Kushanas, Hindu and, above all, Buddhists. Thus it is blending of different ideas and one feels convinced that all these influences are been manifested in the architectural details, depicted as decorative elements in the sculptural pieces. So it is unwise to use narrow labels for this form of art and architecture developed in the region of Gandhara and its northern part that is Swat. After all the people and civilizations have borrowed from one another- and the architectural decoration in the monuments and the sculptures of these regions are the positive proof of the close cultural and historical relations between the east and west. The Buddhist of these areas did not in any way destroy their basic philosophy by making use of foreign motifs. They kept intact their spiritual and religious elements but, at the same time, enriched their artistic productions that can rightly take place among the greatest works of the art in the world.

Greek and Roman Influences
The actual Greek influence might have come with mass migration of the Bactrian Greeks to the Indus region at the time of their displacement from there by the Saka. We strongly presumed that after living for a few

decades in Swat, some of the later Indo-Greeks settlers moved further to the south-east to important junction point of Taxila, across the Indus, and founded their colony. Thus it is believed that the earliest cultural level of Taxila represents Greek culture mix with indigenous one (Marshall 1961: 17). So the indigenous and foreign influenc is visible from the very beginning in the Buddhist art of Swat. Both iconic andaniconic traditions were flourishing side by side. Corinthian pilasters were very frequently depicted in the sculptures of Nimogram.It is a Greek influence. Mostly the figural portions were separated by Corinthian pilaster (PI.1, 2). Mostly the shape of the Corinthian pilaster is square and its shaft isdecorated with flute.The other foreign element which was frequently used in the sculpture of Nimogram is the Persepolitan columns (PI.3, 4,). It is an ancient perisan legacy. This architectural element was used for the same purpose like the Corinthian pilaster. Both these architectural element make the Gandharan sculptures very beautiful and attractive. Another foreign element which was frequently depicted in the Buddhist art of Swat as well as at the site of Nimogram is the acanthus leaf (PI.5, 6). The acanthus leaves were mostly depicted in the background of the figures, which also make the panels very attractive for the worshipers of the Buddhist cult. Garland bearer is also foreign element which is depicted in the Buddhist art of Swat. At the site of Nimogram we have found one example. In the relief panel of Nimogram garland lifted by *amorini* on their shoulders. Similar type of garland bearers were also reported from Butkara III (Swati 1998:115).

Garlands were the essential element for decorating stupas and honouring relics in the context of Buddhism and thus become cult object. A large number of carved relief panels representing this subject in a variety of form are a proof of this ritual.

The figure of Atlas could be found in sculptures of Nimogram (PI.7, 8). This figure is represented uniformly in the frieze separated by Gandharan Corinthian pilaster. The hair style of Atlas is typical Greek style.

The figure of *amorinis* is also a significant feature of the Buddhist art of Swat. In Nimogram we have a number of such examples (PI.9). The *amorinis* are mostly represented in naked form. Sometime it is standing, while sometime flying in the air (ibid). In some cases the figure is holding garland. In the sculptures of Nimogram some loving scenes like kissing of female and female can be observed. Both the male and female figures in

this Pl. are in standing position. At Nimogram some nude male figures can be observed (PI.10). This is a foreign element which was most probably borrowed from the Roman art and is frequently found in the Buddhist art of Gandhara. The figure of satyrs could be observed in a standing position and holding something in his right hand. This is a typical roman influence on the Buddhist art of Swat. The music scene could be observed which also show foreign influence. In this scene a male figure wearing a wreath around his head and holding a drinking bowl and flower, a female figure, also wreathed, holding a drinking bowl that her left hand raises to her mouth, a wreathed female figure playing a lute with pear shaped sound-box, a male figure playing a wind instrument, a male figure perhaps clapping his hands (PI.11). Another panel, on the left contains two musicians, the first playing an oboe with flared bell, the next a horizontal arched harp. The figure of Vajrapāni, who turns backwards toward city gate behind which stands the City goddess, with turrets rising from her shoulder, bemoaning the loss of her most eminent inhabitant (PI.12). In this figural representation the City goddess shows Greek influence on the Buddhist art of Swat. The balcony with a façade of chequered grid with alternating relief squares. The side of the balcony is decorated in a row of square panels bisected into triangles each containing an indented triangle. Above the balcony is the torso of one female figure, also looking to her right as well as a broken figure. The pose of the main figure holding a water jug with the balcony and figures above is reminiscent of scenes of the Dīpaṇkara Jataka though typically, the female figure appears on the left of a panel facing the action to her left. The presence of balcony is usually found in the Roman art. The naked children with Harithi (pl.17) must be derived from the widely used sarcophagus theme of playing Erootes (Alexander 1951: 317). Buddha Seated in cave (pl.18) has close resemblance to the second century Roman presentation of the tauroctony,' the ritual slaughter of a bull by Mithra within a cave.

Saka Parthian Influence
The Saka Parthian influence could be observed on different sculptures of Nimogram. Different tribes of the Sakas, pushed by Kushan from Bactria, entered the Indus region by various routes and subsequently settled in the Indus region and further east in the Ganges-Jamuna plains (Smith 1958:240). While they inhabited Bactria they had accustomed themselves

to the Greek culture there and under the long influence of Parthian they were influenced by their culture as well. After coming of the Parthian to the Indus regionat about the end of the first century B.C the sculptures became more refined and, within the indignous style, exhibited comparatively more Greek and Parthian elements (PI.13). However, in some cases features of either one style or the other dominate. This could be due to a sculptor adept in a particular style or wish of the sponsor. Workshops established during the Saka-Parthian rule in the Valley continued until the advent of the Kushan dynasty. This was the transitional phase of the Buddhist art in the Indus region which developed from the zonal styles to that of an international one under the Kushan (Boardman 1992: 36).

Kushana Influence
The regions of the Indus, Oxus and Ganges were united under the rule of early Kushan, c 60-240 A.D. This provided an opportunity of cultural admixture in these regions. This cultural admixture has strong influence in Gandhara, Kapisa, and Bactria. Swat was affected to a great extent. The Mathura and Andhara regions in India too received the impression of this culture (Comaraswamy: 1927: PI. XXXIII). In some cases in this period still embedited not only the Saka tradition but also in that of Parthians (PI.49). During the early stage of this period a fresh style and a new mode for the Buddha were introduced (PI.14). He is shown sitting in *abaya mudra* dressed in Indian traditional style with nude bosom. This distinction might have been introduced in the beginning to differentiate him as a Bodhisattva, enlightment seeker, then to be a Buddha, an enlightened one. In the first phase, he is invariably shown fully covered in a monastic robe and sitting in abhaya mudra on a seat. Thus this type goes back to the Saka period. The panel depicting the birth of the Buddha combines two features that shows the faces and hair style of the Sakas and the female' dress, sleeved shirt and baggy trousers with heavy folds, of Kushan period. The Indus style, flourished during the Kushan rule is seen in the specimens while a typical Gandharan style that reached the Valley during Kanishka's rule is depicted in PI.15

The mature Kushan style features can be observed insculptures of Nimogram. This type of dress is typical Central Asian impact on the Buddhist art of Gandhara.

The Kushano-Sassanian Influence

During this phase the relief became realistic, individual detail are worked out and over-crowding of figures in scenes is abandoned. Different physiognmical features and influences are distinctly visible on the sculptures of Nimogram (PI.15).The Kushano Sasanian coin (NG-483) from Nimogram suggest that the site flousihed in this period. During this time the workshop of Nimogram developed well to reproduce almost any style current or past practiced in Gandhara. Background detail at this stage is almost finished and much attention is paid to the realistic depiction of the figures, their magnificent and action (PI.16).The Buddha seated in *dayana mudra* and flank by Brahma and Indra in *anjali mudra.* The physical form of figures and their attitude are stylized and clumsy. However, they represent Sassanian influence in their dress which is decorated with numerous folds. In short the Buddhist art of Swat was highly influenced by foreign culture which was brought by the invaders to this region. But the local customs and traditions were not ignored by the artisans of local zonal workshops. In this way a new form of Buddhist art developed in the Swat Valley which is a little bit different from rest of the Gandhara.

Conclusion

The cultural materials reported from this potential site were not systematically studied by any scholar. The excavator merely published a preliminary report of the excavation carried out at the site. For a long time the materials reported from the site were out of reach form the scholarly circles. The present scholar obtained permission for the study of this material from the concerned authority. All the cultural materials of Nimogram have their own importance but the scholars selected those cultural materials which have archaeological importance conveying something new. The sculptures reported from this potential Buddhist site of swat Valley have influences from Roman, Greek, Saka-Parthian, Kushan and Kushano-Sassanian. These influences come into greater Gandhara during different time period. Since Swat Valley was also part of Greater Gandhara thefore it was natural to have these influences on the Buddhist of Swat.

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PLATES

Pⅼ.1: Base of Model Stupa

Pl.2: Standing Human Figures

Pl.3: Standing Buddha Under Arch

Pl. 4: Interpretation of Siddharthas Horoscope

Pl.5: Ascetic Sitting in Hut

Pl.6: Human Figure between Acanthus

Pl.7: Atlas figure

Pl.8: Figure of Atlas

Pl.9: Flying Amorinis

Pl.10: Naked Standing Figure with Fish

Pl.11: Musicians and Drinking Scene

Pl.12: Great Departure

Pl.13: Circular Pedestal depicting Buddha in dhyanamudra

Pl.14: Buddha in Abayamudra

Pl.15: First Meditation

Pl.16: Wheel and Triratna

Pl.17: Visit of Indra and Panchasikha

Pl. 18: Harithi with Children

-6-

On the Correct Identification of the Battlefield of Shaikh Tapūr at Pirpai, Noshehra, KPK, Pakistan

Fazal Sher Khan

Abstract

The enemity between Yūsufzais and Ghoriakhel resulted many clashes. In which one of the severe clash of arms known in the history as the battle of Shaikh Tapūr. The identification of the battle site 'Shaikh Tapūr' is a much complicated issue. To resolve this complicatd issue the paper focusses on literary evidences for the correct identification of the site of Shaikh Tapūr.

With the forced eviction of the Dilazāks from the lands around Peshāwar around AD 1535 (Caroe 1958: 189), the Ghoriakhels (i.e. Khalīl, Mohmand, Dāūdzai and Chamkani tribes) quickly moved in and soon became "too rich and arrogant for Yūsufzai stomachs (Caroe 1958: 189). Their colony in the Mohmand hills gave them the advantage of being in a position to levy tolls on all users of Gandāb and on raft traffic down the river from Lālpura. They plundered Yūsufzai caravans in Gandāb and raided freely into the Samah – the homeland of the Yūsufzais. For a while Khān Kajū, the then chief of the Yūsufzai – Mandaṛ sept, remained undecided and hesiated from taking a drastic action against the powerful and rich Ghoriakhels and preferred to patiently bide his time. As he expected, he did not have to wait for long. The cruel and cold – blooded murder of Muhammad Khān, a Gagiāni Malik, who in his tribe was looked upon as a saint, in a Khalil mosque where he went to offer prayer while on his way to Peshāwar and was stabbed to death in the act of performing prayer, precipitated the already growing enmity. The result was a severe clash of arms between the Yūsufzais and their allies on one side and the Ghoriakhel on the other, known in history as the battle of Shaikh Tapūr.

The battle is explicity mentioned by the Akhūnd Darweza (1960: 96) and described in more detail by a certain Khwāju whose actual work has perished but it was abridged and edited in Pashto by the Pīr Mu´azzam Shāh in 1181 H. (AD 1767) under the title *Tawārīkh Hāfiz Rahmat Khānī*. The most interesting aspect of Khwāju's work is that a number of his

informers were eye-witnesses of the battle. This leaves us in no doubt regarding the size of the armies on both sides and the magnitude of this event, although it is considerably played down by both Bellew and Caroe. The former (Bellew 2001: 66) terms it a "clan fight", while the latter (Caroe 1958: 189) considering it "curiously unconvincing" remarks "that what were in reality periods of tribal adjustment are misrepresented by the chronicles as years of desultory warfare punctuated by sharp and chivalrous engagements". Surprisingly, on the preceding page he informs us on the authority of Elphinstone that Khān Kajū mustered an army 100,000 to put in the field. Whatever may be the truth the question which still remains unanswered is where was the battle fought? The exact position of Shaikh Tapūr, the camping ground of the Ghoriakhel, holds the key.

H. W. Bellew's (2001: 66) line of approach, although he could not pinpoint the exact site of Shaikh Tapūr, it seems, was in the right direction. This is how he describes this event: when Khān Kajū succeeded to the chieftainship, a feud broke out between the Yūsufzais and their neighbours, the Ghoriakhels … It lasted many years, and entailed serious loss and injury to both parties, till finally settled by the great *clan fight* at Shaikh Patūr, or, as it is as often called, Tapūr, which is the ruined old fort that overlooks the village of old Nowshera, and the scene of the battle is now occupied by the site of the *dāk* bungalow hard by the grand trunk road". Bellew brings Khān Kajū to the river Landae by the present Mardān – Nowshera route (our Route 1).

H. G. Raverty (1878: 227), however does not agree with this view and prefers the Mardān – Charsada route (our Route 2). "In the great battle", he observes "which ensued on the *south bank of the southern branch of the river Kabul* near Shaikh Tapūr which is said to be the name of the shrine of some holy man, near the Dab or Marsh … the Ghwariahkhel were completely over thrown". In a footnote on the same page he expands on the subject: "There is no detail whatever given in the *Tārīkh-i Muraṣṣa'* respecting the battle, nor any other work that I am acquainted with, except the rare *Yūsufzai history* I have been quoting, which I do not think Mr. Bellew can have seen, and, as Noh shahra'h-I Khālisa'h was a well-known and important place when its auther wrote it, had the scene of the battle been near it, he would certainly have mentioned it. The Dab, however, is not near "old Naoshera" and the historian says

distinctly that the two armies took up positions on the edge of the Dab". Trying to find a holy place to be identified with Shaikh Tapūr, he says: "Moorcraft, who was at Peshāwar some fifty years ago, says, in his "Travels", (Vol.II., p.338), that within five *kos* of the city there is a place called Sahiba Patar, where Afghāns going on a pilgrimage to Mecca usually embark. This may possibly refer to the site in question for, the reason why the Afghāns usually embark there was, evidently, because it was a place, or near a place, of pilgrimage and sanctity, the tomb of some holy man, which the name Sheikh Patūr, plainly refers to". In another place (p.243n) he remarks: the river of Kābul has but "two branches", the northern branch being the river of Kābul proper, and the other the Murwāra'h, the same probably as is referred to in the battle at Shaikh Tapūr as the Khazan, which is said to emanate from it to join the Jindah.

This lengthy quotation from Raverty is included here just to show how the details given by him to support merely a surmise convinced Sir Olaf Caroe to follow the same line of approach without perhaps giving much thought. "According to the chronicles", Caroe points out, "the battle took place on the south side of *the most southerly branch of the Kābul River*, now known as the Shāh Ālam, somewhere near the present bridge and is said to have resulted in the complete and final overthrow of the Ghoriakhel. It is known as the battle of Shaikh Tapūr "Caroe 1958: 188). What precisely are the chronicles which mention "the most southerly branch of the Kābul River" is not clear from his statement. Our earliest sources have 'south bank' of the Landae River, not the *most southerly branch of the Kabūl River*.

Raverty's reference to a certain *Yūsufzai history* of which he does not name the author and says that it was not available to Bellew and that it contained information not found in any other source he was acquainted with, may be taken with some caution, unless he is referring to the *Tawārīkh Hāfiz Rahmat Khāni* which he frequently quotes in his Notes on *Afghanistan and Baluchistan* and which was originally written in Pashto by Khwāju Matizai about 1624 under the title *Tawārīkh-i Afāghna*. It was a voluminous work but marred by repetitions and misplaced couplets and was therefore revised and shortened without losing the sense, under command of the Nawāb Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, the ruler of Rohīlkhand. A copy of this revised edition was prepared by Mirzā Muhammad Ismāīl Qandahāri in 1864 which is now in the British Museum. It has recently

been translated into Urdu by Maulvi Muhammad Israīl of the Pashto Academy, Peshawar University, and is edited with notes by Roshan Khān. This work is presently before us at the table; all the details given by Raverty are there in this work.

The place 'Sahiba Patar' referred to by Moorcroft and considered by Raverty (1875: 227) as being "certainly within a couple of miles or so of the scene of the battle" is apparently the well known shrine of Aşhāb Bābā adjacent to the village named Chagharmatti. This place was used as a river port as late as the nineteenth century when a vast network of roads laid out by the British Government brought river traffic to an end. In 1836-38 this port was used by Alexander Burnes and his companions Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood who on the way back from Kābul sailed down the river and alighted at "Muttee" (i.e. Chagharmatti) (see Burnes 1961: 210-12). The word 'Patar' in 'Sahiba Patar' seems to be a misprint for Patan meaning 'crossing point' or 'river port'. Even if this shrine is identified with Shaikh Tapūr, which is undoubtedly incorrect, this place, as we shall see below, is too far away from the Landae and could not have been the battlefield. Nor does the mound of earth near Dab termed by Roshān Khan as 'Kafur dheri', offer any prospects of ever having been the burial ground of a saint. It is a settlement site and till my visit on … was devoid of any graves.

Although just the correct identification of the site of Shaikh Tapūr is by itself enough for a satisfactory resolution of the problem, the following details given by the *Tawārīkh- Rahmat Khānī* of the march of Khān Kajū and of the Ghoriakhel to the battle ground may put the final stamp:

1. From his base camp at Kalpāni (near the present Mardān) to the north bank of the river Landae, Khān Kajū crossed no river. Had he taken the Mardān – Chārsada – Shāh Ālam route, he had to cross the Jindae, Sardaryāb and Nāgumān.

2. The name of the river upon the north bank of which Khān Kajū camped, making prepations to cross to the south side, is explicity mentioned as Landa or Landae, not Shāh 'Ālam. Landae (literally Little or Short) is in fact the name used for the lowermost portion of the Kābul river which, having entered the plains of Peshāwar at Michni, divides itself into several branches – each bearing a separate name such as Nāgumān, Sardaryāb, Shāh Ālam and Budni. After flowing in their

separate beds for a while, these branches once again meet each other near the village Nasatta and, having received the waters of Jindae near Hasan Gaṛhi, form a single stream which flows to the east and joins the Indus at Attock. From Nasatta to the Attock the river is known as Landae. The word Dab in Pashto means marshy land. There is a village named Dab near Nāgumān branch of the river. The presence of this village however does not suggest that there existed in the past no marshy lands any where else along the river banks except this. One such example was at a point now called Aza Khel on the south bank of the river between Pir Piāi and old Nowshera. It has dried up just like the land upon which the village Dab stands at present. Part of this ancient marsh is now covered by a park.

3. The most important point of all is the actual tomb of Shaikh Tapūr – a vitiated form of the name, Sheikh Abdul Ghafūr – which still stands intact in a graveyard near Pir Piāi. Through this graveyards now runs the railway line and the Grand Trunk Road. It is situated to the west of the ancient marshy land or Dab. The plain country near it was used by the Ghoria Khel as their camping ground. When Khan Kaju crossed over to the south bank of the Landae, he naturally pitched his camp on the opposite (east) side of the Dab.

4. In between these two camps, apparently on the south edge of the Dab was the village Khazam belonging to Ma'dūd Khel – a section of the Ghoriakhels. It was the place first targeted by Khān Kajū though it had already been vacated. The areas around Khazam thus became the battlefield.

5. The Dab was fairly wide, for, the two armies camped on its opposite edges could not see each other. Only when smoke arose from the burning wooden structures of Khazam, the Ghoriakhel came to know that Yūsufzais were advancing.

This clearly shows that the battle took place not near the Śhāh Álam bridge', as pointed out by Laroe, nor anywhere near the Shāh 'Álam branch of the Kābul river, as guessed by Raverty, but farther away in the neighbourhood of Aza Khel. The tomb of Shaikh Tapūr (Patūr) still stands there marking the place where the Ghorīakhel fixed their camp.

It is a rare example in which field work taking guidance from literary evidence has succeeded in resolving a much complicated issue.

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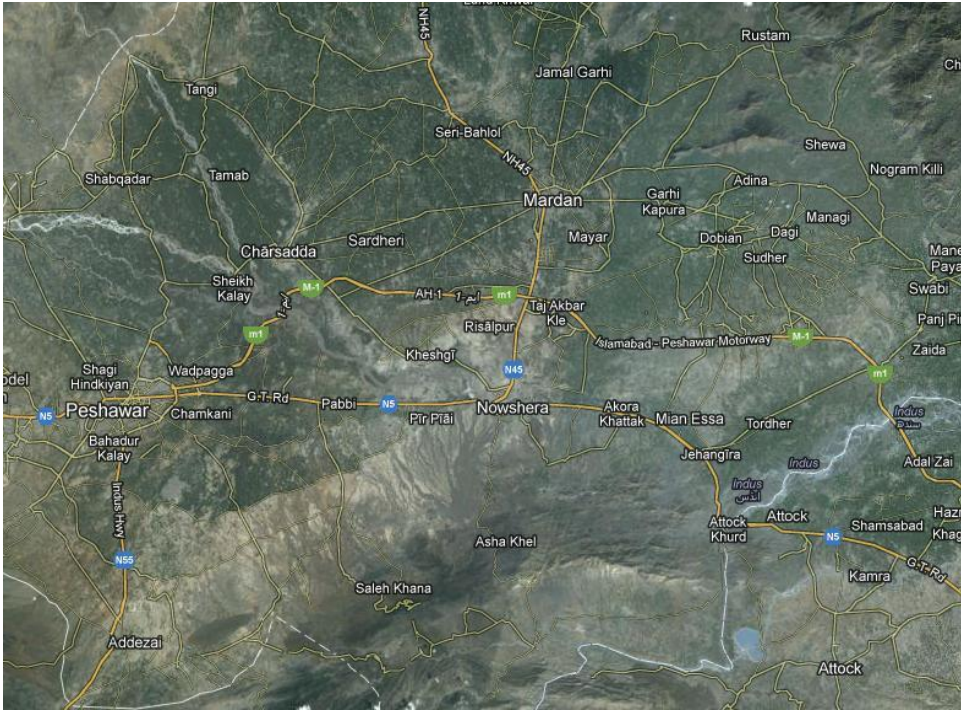Raverty, H. G. 1878. Notes on Afghanistan and Baluchistan, First Pakistani edn. Lahore 1976.

Plates

Pl.-1 Shaikh Mahallah: Tomb of Shaikh abd al-Ghafoor Baba commonly known as Shaikh Patūr

Pl.-II Shaikh Mahallah: Close up view of Pl.-I

Map: Nowshera (google map)

-7-

Natural Disaster Prevention Measures at World Heritage Monuments in Lahore, Pakistan

Muhammad Arif
Maqsood Ahmed
Abdul Azeem

Abstract

Lahore the cultural capital of Pakistan, is a large city in Bari Doab. It lies in longitude 74° 39', and latitude 31° 45 in the fertile plains of the Punjab'. The origin of the city is lost in the mysteries of the past. The earliest period of the city virtually nothing survives above the ground. Nevertheless, some Muslim period architectural jewels are found. The monuments of Mughal period by far are the most significant land marks in the glorious cultural heritage of Pakistan. As it was for some time the seat of Government, lofty edifices were erected and delightful gardens added to its beauty".

The evolution of the city dates back to the 2nd century AD. Muslim rule influence began with the advent of Mahmud of Ghazni in 990 AD culminating with the Mughals up to 1749.

Arial view of Lahore Fort

Arial view of Shalamar Garden

The Sikhs ruled the Punjab for 50 years who were succeeded by the British in 1849.

Lahore Fort
Historical Background
Situated at the north-western corner of the Walled city, the Lahore Fort has its roots in the legendary period of pre-Islamic days. The fort was ruined by the Mangols in 1241 A.D. but was re-built by Sultan Balban in 1267 A.D. It was again destroyed and plundered by Amir Timur's Army in 1398 A.D. and again built by Sultan Mubark Shah in 1421 A.D. Mughal Emperor Jalaludin-Akbar demolished the earlier mud structures and built it in burnt brick masonry some time before 1566 A.D. and the same is thus referred to by Abu l Fazal in Ain-e-Akbari:-

A view of the Lahore Fort and Hazuri Bagh

Plan of Lahore Fort Monuments

The present configuration of Lahore Fort can justifiably be attributed to the master of fortification planning, Jalal-ud-din Muhammad Akbar. All the three Mughal emperors, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, concentrated on building exquisite palace structures after the first fortification walls had been constructed to secure the perimeter of the citadel. Later on Akbar's successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb added several precious architectural buildings to the Fort. The Lahore Fort contains 21 different monuments of architectural and historical significance, of which the Shish Mahal, Dewan-e-Khas, Dewn-e Am, Jahangir, s Quadrangle and Alamgiri Gate among the most outstanding edifices. It is indeed that the Mughal who endowed the city its magnificient buildings and gardens, forever giving Lahore its status as the city of gardens.

Shalamar Garden
Historical Background
The World Heritage site of Shalamar Bagh is located on the left bank of the former bed of the River Ravi, upstream and east of the Walled City of Lahore which also has the Lahore Fort, the other component of the World Heritage Site in Lahore, on its north western edge. When the great canal of Shah Jahan, the Shah Nahr, begun in 1639, was brought to Lahore, a site was sought to build a garden, naturally-terraced to allow for the complex flowing-water system, with fountains, falls and pools, which was fundamental to a Mughal garden.

A View of Throne at Middle Terrace

Plan of Shalamar Garden

The garden comprises three terraces descending from south to north, covering an area of 16 hectares. The terraces are divided by walkways and water channels into classical "*chahar bagh*" gardens with fountains, tanks and cascades. The symmetrical parterres were planted with flowers, aromatic shrubs, fruit and shade trees. Entrance to the gardens was via the lowest terrace, with a vista upwards to the private imperial terrace at the middle level and the upper terrace designed for use by the court ladies. In concept, the gardens follow a geometry and pattern imbued with symbolism, creating a vision of Quranic paradise on earth.

The Emperor Shah Jahan visited the newly completed garden on October 31, 1642 with guests from Persia and Turkey "who were

astonished to see the garden and were of the opinion that there is no garden on the face of earth as beautiful as this garden." (Lahori) Court chroniclers Inayat Khan and Kamboh enthusiastically reported the pleasure of the Emperor on examining the "paradise-like terraces", gardens and the agreeable pavilions which "vied with the heavens in grandeur". Shalamar Bagh became a favourite halting place and a royal camping ground on the route to Kashmir.

Protection of the Lahore Fort and Shalamar Garden
Lahore Fort and Shalamar Garden were protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904 vide Notification numbers of their protection are 2524 dated: 27-01-1920 & 11078 dated: 09-04-1920.

Legal and Regulatory Framework-Pakistan
- Lahore Fort and Shalamar Garden are protected monument under the Federal Antiquities Act (1975) (Act VII of 1976). The act stipulates the following points, relevant to the World Heritage site:
- It states that the Federal Government will constitute an Advisory Committee (Clause 3).
- According to the Act, the Federal Government may, by notification in the Official Gazette, declare any antiquity to be a protected antiquity for the purposes of the Act (Clause 10 (1)). There is also a requirement to fix a notification in a "conspicuous place of or near the antiquity."
- The Act is clear regarding the use that the protected monument or site may be put To Clause 18 states that "A protected immovable antiquity shall not be used for any purpose inconsistent with its character or for a purpose other than that directly related to its administration and preservation."
- Clause 19 clearly stipulates the fine and punishment in case the 'antiquity' is damaged or destroyed: " No person shall, except for carrying out the purposes of this Act, destroy, break, damage, alter, injure, deface or mutilate or scribble, write or engage in any inscription or sign on, any antiquity or take manure from any protected antiquity". Infringement is punishable (19(2)) "with rigorous imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine or with both".

- Clause 22 requires that "no development plan or scheme or new construction on, or within a distance of two hundred feet of a protected immovable antiquity shall be undertaken or executed except with the approval of the Director General."
- Clause 23 (i) prohibits placing of "any neon signs or other kinds of advertisement, Including bill posting, commercial signs, poles or pylons, electricity or telephone cables and television aerials, on or near any protected immovable antiquity."

World Heritage Inscription

Lahore Fort and Shalamar Gardens are the foremost Mughal monuments in Lahore, Pakistan, reflecting the full span of the period and comprising architectural and garden elements which represent the pinnacle of Mughal aesthetics, design and artistry.

The importance and significance of these monuments have been acknowledged and Lahore Fort was inscribed on the World Heritage List, jointly with Shalamar Gardens, in 1981, represents the epitome of the Mughal architecture of the 17th century. Both sites were inscribed on the basis of Criteria (i) (ii) and (iii), specifically, that "they represent a masterpiece of human creative genius, exhibit an important interchange of human values over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, or developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town planning or landscape design, and because they bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or has disappeared."

Statement of Cultural Significance

By the term, "cultural significance" is meant the "aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations…. embodied in the place itself, its setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects" (Burra Charter, 1999).

At the 23rd Session of the World Heritage Committee (1999) it was noted that there had been serious damage to the mirrored ceiling of the Shish Mahal, aggravated by water leakage during the 1998 monsoon season; temporary roofing was recommended by ICCROM. An ICOMOS-UNESCO reactive mission was sent to Pakistan who submitted

recommendations and consequently, the Lahore World Heritage site was put on the list of 'World Heritage Sites in Danger' on 2/12/2000.

Natural Disasters, Affects and Prevention to Lahore Fort and Shalamar Gardens

It is evident that there has been growing incidents of natural hazards all over the world. Although it is not possible to control or decrease the frequency and intensity of natural hazard, the impact of the natural hazard on built heritage can be decreased by using pre-disaster management tools.

The tangible cultural heritage are vulnerable and at direct risk and need careful and sensitive protection. The natural hazards such as earthquakes, floods, windstorms, lightening, wildfires,   tragically resulting in a significant loss of lives and Cultural heritage. The natural disaster awareness and risk management plans of most under developing countries are either not prepared or normally weak. If they prepared, they are not addressing the built heritage which is pride of the nation. The Pakistan is also among those countries of the World where serious attention to cultural heritage has not been given in disaster vigilance policies. In such circumstances, through the period of the initial relief/rescue and the reconstruction and rehabilitation stage, much of the cultural assets are lost.
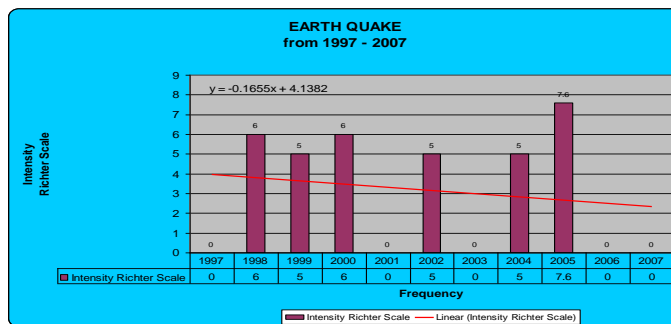
Different researches proved that incidents are increasing and disaster causing lot to human lives and structures every year and leaving them with miseries. Then question arise that when we can not do anything against disasters, then what is it needed to work for it. Though, it is true that we can not decrease intensity but we can prepare ourselves for disaster and taking mitigations measure to save built heritage and to reduce the effects of disaster.

Keeping in view the hazards due to natural disasters, all agencies at state, province and district level are preparing pre-disaster management. Thus, to preserve the cultural heritage of National as well as of International significance and land marks of past, it is also necessary to take some steps to cope with the hazards of natural disasters. The most common natural disasters affecting the World Heritage in Lahore are:

1.   Earthquakes:

Due to the continental collision of Indian tectonic plate with the Euro-Asian Tectonic plate about 65 million years ago, and due to the constant drift of the Indian plate at the rate of 2 cm per annum sub ducting under the Euro-Asian plate whole of this area, from high plateau of Potohar to the higher Himalayas is thrust faulted. The closest thrust fault is Main Frontal Thrust at Salt Range at Khewra, thereafter is the Main Mantle Thrust at Sangjani, and thereafter is the Pir Punjal Thrust at Ladhi-abad and thereafter is the Main Central Thrust at Hunza, crossing them are the Main Kashmir Thrust and the Jehlum Thrust, consequently all this area is fractured and faulted, hence highly prone to the seismic activity. The recent major earthquake of 8th October 2005 at Balakot & Muzzafarabad was an energy release of the magnitude of 7.6 at the Richter scale due to the upward throw of Abbotabad Geological Formation through and bisecting the Murreee Geological Formation of the mountains.

The frequency of the Seismic Tremors in this area is very often up to the magnitude of 5 on the Richter scale, whereas the frequency of the tremors of more than 6 on the Richter scale is less frequent. The effect of these tremors on the historical building of the Lahore Fort and Shalamar Garden has never been studied. However each and every tremor must have caused effects on fabric of these Monuments thereby weakening of the bonds of the materials and reducing the stability of the building.

EARTH QUAKE
from 1997 - 2007

$y = -0.1655x + 4.1382$

Intensity Richter Scale	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007
	0	6	5	6	0	5	0	5	7.6	0	0

Frequency

Intensity Richter Scale — Linear (Intensity Richter Scale)

The data about the frequency of the earthquakes the magnitude of 5 on the Richter scale has been collected from the Meteorological Department.

➢   The Earthquake record of Lahore for the last 10 years show the frequency of Tremors as under:-

Richter Scale	Frequency Per Decade
5	3
6	2
7	1

➤ Impact / Damage Estimation on Modified Mercalli Scale at Epicenter

Richter Scale	Earthquake
5	6.70
6	8.00
7	9.32

➤ Impact / Damage Estimation after attenuation of Seismic wave at 250 km, i.e. Lahore from Jehlum Seismic fault.

Richter Scale	Attenuation Calculation	Attenuated Magnitude
5	6.70 / 250 x 100	= 2.68
6	8.00 / 250 x 100	= 3.20
7	9.32 / 250 x 100	= 3.73

Risk	= Probability	X	Impact
For EQ 5	8.04	= 3	X	2.68
For EQ 6	6.40	= 2	X	3.20
For EQ 7	3.73	= 1	X	3.73
Total Risk	18.17			

Average of Risks = $\dfrac{18.17}{3}$ = 6.06 (Therefore Earthquake risk factor = 6.06)

Earthquake is an equivalent hazard affecting the Lahore fort, as the frequency of seismic tremors of scale of more than 5 on the Richter scale is about 6 tremors in a decade. Each & very Seism causes visible or invisible damage to the built environment. The visible part of seismic damage is a collapse of any part of the building, whereas the invisible damage varies from hair line cracks to the shattering of the built elements.

Pakistan suffered badly in October 2005 with natural disaster i.e. earth quake that resulted in death of thousands of people and massive structural collapse. Fortunately the Lahore city along with its suburbs remained safe visibly and no major damaged took place except a small elements of a structure, within immediate vicinity i.e., on southern side of Lahore Fort, collapsed. Furthermore soon after the earthquake a team of Experts comprising of Architects, Engineers, and Archaeologists examined in detail the World Heritage monuments of Lahore. After the thorough inspection of Shalamar Garden and Lahore fort, the experts submitted their report that all the structures of both world heritage monuments remained safe and sound after the earthquake and its after shocks. They further reported that no sign of damage was visible and even some fragile areas, declared endangered in Lahore Fort and Shalamar garden also found in satisfactory state of stability. A UNESCO project funded by the Norway government for conservation of ceiling of Shish Mahal in Lahore Fort was completed by the national and international experts just one day before the serious earthquake of 7.6 magnitudes on 8th October, 2005. The conserved ceiling was found no damage to it.

Since, that time disaster preparedness against natural disasters attained the importance in all sectors including the managers of built heritage in the country. The Archaeology Department has also been carrying out exercises to ensure to prevent or minimize damages to historical monuments, especially the world heritage sites including Lahore Fort and Shalamar Garden. The data was collected for the fault lines and plan was prepared to manage any type of disaster in future.

Regarding mitigation measures for earthquake, survey of buildings in Lahore Fort and Shalamar Garden was carried out and identified those parts that need immediate stabilization and conservation to sustain against the small shocks of earth quake. The Federal Antiquities Act also very clearly state that no encroachment or illegal construction around the built heritage can be erected within 200 feet. Further any type of high rise

billboards and other signs are also not permitted. The short trainings were also conducted for site managers and staff to cope with the natural and manmade disasters. In addition to that, security is also an important factor to avoid valuable things stolen from site in case of any hazard.

2. Fires and Lightening:

In the world there are many cities and monuments that have been damaged due to fires and Lightening. Although in Pakistan this hazard was not given due consideration as the Department of archaeology has not faced any incident causing fire damage to the Protected monuments. Hence the site managers were not aware how to prepare themselves against such Hazards. Another good thing against such disasters is that the most of the materials used in the built heritage of Pakistan are safe against fires.

Since the construction of Lahore Fort and Shalamar Garden there is no evidence of major damage due to fire or lightening hazard except in 1904 when some portion of Shish Mahal ceiling was damaged due to lightening.

Shish Mahal Lahore Fort

But recently on the recommendations of experts in the recently developed Master Plans for both the World Heritage Sites in Lahore, special attention has been given by the Archaeology department to manage this issue. Fire fighting instruments have been procured to extinguish fire in case of any fire incidents. There is no need to advocate that how much important is quick response in such conditions. The staff has also been given training to fight any fire preliminary before the fire brigade department reached there.

The numbers for security agency and bomb disposal squad and fire fighting departments contact numbers have already been provided to the whole staff and instruction have been given to them how to deal in such situation.

3.   Floods & Heavy Rain Fall

Another important natural hazard is flooding or heavy rain fall in monsoon season. The City of Lahore has faced three major floods in 1955, 1973, and 1988 when major northern part of city suburbs had suffered resulting in severe damage to human lives, agriculture, livestock and even the Shahdara Complex of monuments.

Lahore Fort and Shalamar Garden are already on upside from River. Since decades no flood affected to these two sites.

Rain is most destructive if proper drainage is not in place particularly in case of exceptionally heavy downpour, which is a frequent phenomenon in Lahore during the monsoon season. Over the years the rainwater disposal from the roofs of all structures had been the most neglected aspect in the Shalamar Gardens and Lahore fort.

The issue of rainwater disposal from the roofs of various structures is a unique one. The roofs must have had an elaborate system of rainwater disposal during the Mughal period. This system remained functional and operational until lately when due to acute shortage of staff and lack of routine monitoring, the rain water remains standing on the roof and eventually finds its way into the structures causing extensive damage. If it rains heavily, which it does in the monsoon season, the surplus water trickles down all over the walls causing not only ugly staining but also damage to the walls. This phenomenon was observed in the roof of royal baths, eastern and western gateways, *Main Central chambers* in the northern wall as well as on Queen's sleeping Chamber, of Shalamar Garden and Royal kitchens and roof top of area between Kala Burj and Lal Burj and an extensive damage has been caused to these structures.

The leaking of surface drainage system also leads to ground subsidence damaging the structure as well as causing cracks and deterioration in the building fabric.
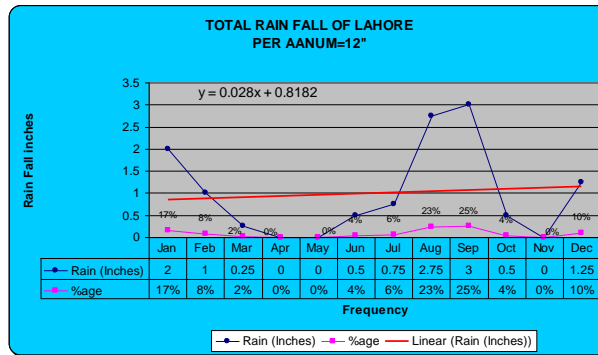
TOTAL RAIN FALL OF LAHORE PER AANUM=12"

$y = 0.028x + 0.8182$

	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Rain (Inches)	2	1	0.25	0	0	0.5	0.75	2.75	3	0.5	0	1.25
%age	17%	8%	2%	0%	0%	4%	6%	23%	25%	4%	0%	10%

Chart Showing Rain Fall Per Annum in Lahore

Due to heavy Rains, the rising Dampness is also a permanent nuisance for the Lahore World Heritage Monuments due to the non-existence of Damp Proof Course of ancient buildings. The outer wall on the north side of the Fort and Shalamar Garden is evidence to the fact that the inner elements of the building are highly and permanently wet and are badly affected by the rising dampness.

This issues was discussed in detail during the course of preparation of Master Plan and It was recommended in the Management Plans of both World Heritage sites that the all the approaches to Roof tops of all structures be immediately opened, and should be made accessible for routine monitoring during Heavy rainfall and maintenance purposes. It was further recommended that essential repairs should be carried out on the rooftop and the rainwater disposal system set right to avoid further damage. Recently the implementations on the recommendations of Master Plans have been undertaken by the Department of Archaeology and we have been able to reduce the risk factor caused by the torrential rain.

In Lahore fort and Shalamar most of the buildings have openings for light and ventilation purposes that were provided by their Builders in the walls and roofs e.g., the Shish Mahal walls, roof of the royal Hammams of Lahore Fort and shalamar Garden are open directly to the sky and invite rainwater. This rainwater also ultimately seeps and finds its way into the structure resulting in seepage of water causing damage to structure and decoration. These openings have been somehow protected from the top so that the rainwater is not allowed in.

Royal Kitchens Fort

Royal Hammam Shalamar

Dividing wall of Shalamar

Heavy rain and storms are definitely important factors to consider. Hence, surveys have already been conducted to find out the bearing capacity of roofs. Further steps have been taken in this regard and implementation of effective drainage system has been carried out as per recommendations of the Management plans.

Again, I would like to emphasize that we are fighting with Disasters, though we can not stop them but we can decrease the intensity of hazards with preparedness for disasters. Thus, preparedness for safety, security and preservation is our motto.

Disaster Mitigation Plan For Lahore World Heritage Monuments

- Preparedness should focus on the protected monuments especially those of International significance which need to be incorporated in the Disaster Preparedness Plans at the State, Provincial and district levels.
- Dedicated staff to be included in the management team to monitor risk. This staff needs to be trained for quick response to prevent/reduce damage from any natural hazards. There is a dire need for special training to the Lahore Fort and Shalamar site Management teams at all levels for pre-disaster and post disaster situation.
- There is a dire need for special training to the Lahore Fort and Shalamar site Management teams at all levels for pre-disaster and post disaster situation.
- Local communities situated around the monuments should be included in the preparedness strategy. Awareness building and training of local communities to ensure safeguarding of cultural assets including those in the environs of WHS should be an ongoing process.
- Detailed and Comprehensive documentation of the Lahore World heritage Monuments beginning with the areas that is most vulnerable and damaged; Studies of the original Drainage Systems, Structural Stability of all buildings and structures and a periodic update of condition to be carried out.
- The vulnerable and fragile areas should be assessed on top priority basis and solutions for disaster preparedness including monitoring, protection/retrofit strategy and such others arranged immediately. Monitoring of all vulnerable areas and elements through standard operating procedures. Further the Monitoring systems in place-Equipment to monitor increase in cracks & movement of structures is required for continuous assessment.
- Structural consolidation of structures most at risk needs to be carried out on a priority basis. All vegetation and shrubbery should be removed from the structures.
- SOP in place with increased vigilance during monsoon and flood season
- The legislation needs to be revised to ensure safeguarding of

monuments.
- Multi-disciplinary Disaster Response Teams including cultural heritage experts should be networked at international, national and local levels for rapid and early response in disaster affected areas. Continuing Specialist advice also needs to be built into the policy framework.
- Non-government National and International heritage organizations need to partner with government agencies responsible for disaster affected areas and mechanisms for their inclusion need to be incorporated in the policy framework of Disaster Management Plans.
- Local level research institutes need to be strengthened and facilitated through networking with national and international initiatives for support & encouragement.

Post Disaster Recovery
- Ensure visitors move out of site immediately
- Management team to immediately record the extent of damage
- Community assistance mobilized
- Assessment of damage to be prioritized
    - Completely damaged
    - Partially damaged
- Saving of historic artifacts from museum and art works on structures
- Restoration of damaged cultural heritage
- Restoring values of culture preservation to the people
- Learning lessons from the disaster constraints and opportunities

Conclusion
Lahore's World Heritage Site i.e. the Lahore Fort and the Shalamar Gardens are vulnerable to natural as well as man made disasters, the latter being far more of a threat to the WHS. These risks can be reduced through preparedness, presence of trained disaster response teams, and aware and trained local community. Monitoring is the key to disaster reduction and management of sites and thus the systems in place need to be taken seriously as well as constantly updated and reviewed. An Ideal system of Monitoring has been recommended for Lahore Fort and

Shalamar for Preparedness against Natural Hazards (generally) and Man-made Disasters (In detail) as recommended in management plans of both site. These need to be interpreted into SOPs for monitoring and reviewing the site conditions on a regular basis and mechanisms put into place which allows rapid response. In the ultimate analysis a well trained management team and an aware sensitized community to the value of cultural and world heritage is the key to its safeguarding.

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-8-

Ethnographic Study of Muharram Rituals in a Punjabi Village in Pakistan

Sarfraz Khan
Waheed Iqbal Chaudhry
Ikram Badshah

Abstract

The present study aimed at understanding the practices of Shi'a Muharram rituals in a Punjabi village. Shi'a Muharram rituals have a greater significance on the lives of villagers in Jhang. Present paper is divided into three major sections. First section addresses the historical background of the village and main ethnic groups while second section highlights the convergence of inhabitants from Sunni Islam to Shi'a Islam. The last section focuses on the emergence, evolution and performance of Muharram rituals. The month of Muharram is awaited by Shi'a devotees to commemorate it with full devotion and reverence. In the locale, Muharram rituals were considered as moral obligation; since most of the villagers, men and women devotedly mourn to demonstrate their affections and commitments towards Imam Hussain, his family, and fellow companions who sacrificed their life for the sake of Islam at Karbala.

(I)
Background of the Village and Main Ethnic Groups

The village, Chak No. 253/JB (Nangay Sundray) is situated approximately 35 kilometers on the Jhang-Faisalabad road in the East of the Jhang city. This village was established during 19th century under Sawan Mal's property right initiative. Under Sawan Mal initiative any person who broke up land in any portion of the district, or who set to work a well that had been deserted, become a proprietor of that land or well. According to Gazetteer of the Jhang District (1883-84) records shortly after annexation, the regular settlement commenced, and it became necessary to fix village boundaries and to create private proprietary rights in land where they had never been before. Before the establishment of formal villages, the masses were living in a state of disarray in houses with their cattle since most of

them were predominantly depending on these flocks for their food and livelihood. The village *Nangay Sundray* was named after the inhabiting *Nanga-* a sub-clan who relate themselves to Sial tribe.

The Sial probably was a pastoral tribe, but little given to animal husbandry, dwelling on the banks of the rivers, grazing their cattle during the end of the cold and the first month of the hot weather in the lowlands of Chenab, and during the rainy season in the uplands of the Bar (Gazetteer of the Jhang District, 1883-84). The inhabitants of this village were predominantly living in the region alongside some other ethnic groups. They still recall the Hindus cohabiting with them. Most of them at that time were economically depending on Hindu Baniya-the merchant group. The population of the locale was majorly constituted by the *Nanga* families. In addition to the *Nanga* families there were some other castes who inhabit in the village like, *Bharwana*, *Chiryana*, *Bajwa*. There were some working castes in the locale that provide support to the landed classes in agriculture related activities. There were about 2500 acres of agriculture land in the village. About 95 percent of village land was irrigated through canal irrigation. Although, the ground water was sweet and easy to approach but most of the people were relying on canal irrigation as it was also inexpensive.

There were two major cropping seasons in the area while wheat, sugarcane, rice, cotton, maze, barley, and some other fodder crops were yielded. Most of the working classes work on lands on share cropping, fixed rent, or monthly and annual remuneration while fewer of them still work for the landowners under the practice of *sepi* system (in this practice these workers provide services to the landowners with their specializations and get in-kind remuneration during harvesting seasons). In addition to the agricultural activities local communities were also practicing dairy farming. Recently, a change in the food habits was witnessed in the village. Predominantly, the villagers were using dairy products for diet patterns but recently a trend of selling milk emerged in the village-where four commercial milk collection centers of nationally renowned companies established to collect milk twice a day which consequently reduced the consumption of dairy products.

(II)

Convergence to *Shi'ism*

Nanga families were converted to the *Shi'ism* Islam by Syed Shahbal Shah Bukhari-a descendant of Shah Surkh Bukhari and Sufi Saint Mehboob Alam, popularly known as Hazrat Shah Jewana (or *Pir Karorya*) about a century back. A family of descendants of Shahabal Shah's was settled in the village. The villagers regularly pay visits for spiritual blessings like for breath (*dam*), to take amulets (*taweez*), and making of vows (*mannat*). They also consult the *pir* for conflict resolution and political participation.

Imambargah Hussainyia was established by *Kuryana* families-another sub-clan of Sial tribe, at crossroad of two villages (Chak No. 253/JB and 254/JB) about a century ago. One of their grandfathers went on to pilgrimage to the holy shrines in Iran, Iraq, and Syria. On his return he intuited about the need to establish an Imambargah to commemorate rituals related to the great sacrifice of Imam Hussain and his family. *Nanga* families also helped in purchasing land for Imambargah and making arrangements to commemorate Muharram rituals (Khan and Chaudhry, 2011).

Since the establishment of Imambargah, these two castes have set the trends to organize *majalis* on different occasions associated to their religious pious leaders. They usually invite renowned religious scholars who give lecturer on the different aspects of the lives of twelve Imams and other major religious authorities.

(III)

Evolution of *Shi'a* Muharram Ritual: A Historical Perspective

Scholars like, Turner (1969) and Koller (1989) defined rituals and identified importance of rituals in the lives of people. In their perspectives rituals are like cultural devices that facilitate the preservation of a social order and provide means to comprehend the complex and paradoxical aspects of human existence, within a given societal context. Rituals pattern our life and our life cycle providing order and stability to the group while marking change.

Different scholars like (Keddie, 1983; Keddie, 1993; Schubel, 1991; Schubel, 1993; Hegland, 1998; Pinault, 1997; and Pinault, 2003; Ahmad, 1987; Sagaster, 1993; and Haque, 2005) have addressed the issue of *Shi'a* rituals. The term *Shi'a* conveys the meaning of followers, party,

group, associates, partisans, or in a rather loose sense, supporters (Khan, 2006). Khan and Chaudhry (2011) stated that "The literal meaning of the *Shi'a* is follower and supporter; during the days when the word was used only in its common literal sense it was usually used along with the names of 'Ali', 'Usman' and 'Muawiyah'. Hence, there would be the *Shi'ah* of 'Ali' the *Shi'ah* of 'Usman' and the *Shi'ah* of 'Muawiyah'. After some time the word *Shi'a* was used specifically for the followers of Hazrat Ali and during this period the article 'al' in the word "*al-shi'ah*" clearly denoted the followers of *ahl-al-bayat* (the family of Prophet)."

Hegland (1998) asserted that "the flourishing Muharram rituals were connected to a growing sense of *Shi'a* identity internationally and the desire of *Shi'a*-a minority in Pakistan-for a cohesive network to defend *Shi'a* interests. Men and women attended *Shi'a* rituals outside their own neighborhoods, and even traveled to other villages or towns for *majales*. Particularly noteworthy was the crossing of ethnic lines among those who attended *majales*. At a home *majles*, the gathered women and girls sang *marsia* (elegy/lamentation songs), listened to a female preacher outline their obligations as pious Muslim women and recite the Karbala tragedy, beat their chests in grief while chanting *noha* (mourning couplets), and prayed."

The estimates about the proportion of *Shi'a* population in Pakistan are variant. A reasonable estimate is that *Shi'a* constitute 15-20 percent of the total population in Pakistan (Sagaster, 1993). In district Jhang, there are about 25 to 30 percent *Shi'a* Muslims. Although, the majority of the population is *Sunni*, Jhang district has a sizeable *Shi'a* population, probably around 25 per cent (10 per cent in the city itself) although it is very difficult to make an accurate assessment (Abou Zahab, 2004).

The Performance of Lamenting Rituals in the Village

The followers of *Shi'a* doctrine commemorate Muharram rituals with full devotion. They participate in mourning rituals associated to the incident of Karbala. The sacrifice of Imam Hussain was remembered by *Shi'as* in the village. The succeeding section highlights different rituals like, *matam*, *majalis*, *taz'iya*, *jalus*, *a'lam*, *zuljinah*, and *langar*- which were performed in the village during the month of Muharram.

Self-flagellation (*Matam*)

The inhabitants of the village were religiously active and consider it their moral obligation to take part in Muharram rituals. The rituals normally start with the sighting of Muharram's moon. On first day of Muharram, at evening time, villagers gather in center of village for *matam*. *Matam* is a term that in its most generalized sense denotes gestures of mourning on behalf of the deceased. In the *Shi'ite* context, it indicates lamentation for Hussain and the other Karbala' martyrs, most typically in the form of repetitive breast-beating, more rarely in the form of self-flagellation through the use of flails, razors or chains (Pinault, 1997).

There were about three different types of this ritual, i) chest/breast-beating (*hath/senay ka matam*), ii) self-flagellation by using razors and flails (*zanjeer zani*), and iii) head beating (*sar ka matam*). The chest-beating was a most common practice of *matam*-which was performed in combination with chants (*noha-khawni*) while self-flagellation was performed in three different forms (a. *zanjeer zani*/use of sharped edge tools like razors and flails to cut back, b. *sar ka matam*/cutting of upper and back parts of head, and c. *seenay ka matam*/cutting of chest by using sharp edged blades) on 10th of Muharram. The third major practice was of head beating and it was only practiced during *majalis* or at time of the juxtaposition of processions (*jalus*) on 10th of Muharram. The *matam* ritual was associated to the sorrows faced by Imam Hussain and his family at Karbala.

Matam rituals were practiced in combination with the *nohas* (mourning chants) who sing in a group forms (*matami sangat*). The practice of *noha-khawni* (the performance of chorus mourning chants) was normally comprised of two parties with four to six members on each side. One group initiates the *noha* while others only reply the refrain. There were different phases within the *noha* as some lines were articulated with high-pithed tone by *noha-khawn* (those who sing the mourning chants) whereas in response *matami sangat* (the group of *matam* performers) exhibit the intensity of chest-beating with full reverence. Children and youngsters were also among the attendees of these rituals. They get inspirations by observing their elders. They were publically taught by their elders about the different techniques of *matam* and *noha-khawani*. Female also perform *matam* rituals but not in an open space until the 10th of Muharram. They normally gather in a house of Syed family to perform

this ritual.

Matam rituals give an idea that how *Shi'a* communities were concerned about sacrifices made by Imam Hussain and his companions for the restoration of religion at Karbala. The lamenting chants (*noha*) were not only part of the *matam* but were also played during Muharram through tape recorders in almost every house of the *Shi'a* communities in Pakistan. In the village *Saraiki-nohas* were more popular as compared to the Urdu ones. In the recent past a shift in the *noha*-lyrics' formats was also observed in the village as *noha*-writers were using format of Indian songs' beats to articulate *noha* lines. There were multiple *nohas* for the each incident of grief and each day of Muharram. In case of the new addition to the stock of *nohas*, people practice it many times before performing in public.

Assemblies (*Majalis* or *Azadari*)

The second major ritual of Muharram was *majlis*. Each one of the devotees compulsorily attends it even some *Sunni* families also participate in this ritual during Muharram. Through *majalis Shi'a* lament the sufferings faced by their Imams and particularly deaths occurred during the battle of Karbala. Most of the villagers visit Imambargah on specific timings to participate in *majlis*. To participate in the *majlis* people not only complete their agriculture and household related activities during free timings but sometimes they also skip their routine activities to ensure participation. Villagers annually constituted a committee for the arrangement of Muharram rituals. On behalf of villagers, the committee normally collects money from each household keeping in view their landholdings and professions. They contract two to three religious scholars or orators (including *alim-e-din* and *zakir*) for the *Ashura* (ten days of Muharram) keeping in view the funds. The *majalis* rituals were normally continued to 2 to 3 hours daily. The villagers reach Imambargah in time by using their personal conveyance. They use tractor-trolley, bicycles, motorcycles, cars, horse carts, donkey carts, and even some passionately walk-as the distance between village and Imambargah was about one kilometer so it was feasible for some devotees to walk. At the time of *majlis*, both roads which lead towards Imambargah present the intense enthusiastic spectacle of the participants- as they rush to reach and reserve a seat close to the podium.

The villagers were fond of *Saraiki*, and Punjabi speaking orators (*zakirs*) as most of them were illiterate and unable to grasp Urdu language orators' sermons properly. The *zakir* normally divide their sermons into two major phases. In the first phase *zakir* starts with *fazail* (recitation of the miracles associated to the Imams) and in second phase they shed light on the *masayeb* (death incidents and other problems faced by the Imams). In both phases *zakirs* mostly accompany by *sozies* (assistants/supporting speakers). Vocal cards, lyrics, and tones, were fundamental for *zakirs* and their assistants to present *mersia* or *qaseda*. But such characteristics were not compulsory for the *alim-e-din* who mainly stresses on the practical aspects of Islam in the light of *Shi'a* discourses. Present day *Shi'a* discourse is mainly influenced by the teachings of Imam Jaffer Sadiq (sixth Imam in the line of Twelve *Shi'a* Imams).

For the current Ashura (year 2010) nationally reputed *zakir* and an *alim-e-din* were contracted for *majlis*. The *majlis* daily commence at 12:30 pm and end at 3:30 pm. In addition to the national orators native speakers, including a *zakir* and an Imam-*Masjid* (who leads prayers) also give the opening sermons during *majlis*. Normally the *majlis* ritual starts with the sermon of *alim-e-din* and ends with the speech of *zakir*. There were two major reasons behind such sequence. Firstly, *zakirs* were more prominent and should be kept at fag end, to keep people expectant. Secondly, they end *majlis* with great satisfaction of the masses as they passionately charge them with woeful emotions only to burst into tears moaning and wailing and thus affect their catharsis.

The timing of majlis and turn to speak was decided in consultation with *zakir* and *alim-e-din* well before the start of Muharram. The convenience of orators were kept in mind to set the time and sequences because they have to approach to other *majalis*. Lectures delivered by the *zakir* or *alim-e-din* lasting ten to eleven days in a sequel. They narrate the incident in episodes and end it on the 10th of Muharram. The topics were not only based on convenience of the narrators sometimes they were assigned by the villagers. But during Muharram *zakir* and *alim-e-din* mainly discuss the journey of Imam Hussain started from home to Karbala.

Replica of Tomb (*Taz'iya*)

The public display of *taz'iya* was a very common practice in locale as it was in the other settings. On 10th day of Muharram a wooden *taz'iya*, with golden color on it, was displayed in the center of the courtyard of the Imambargah on a specified place. The *taz'iya* replicate the shrine of Imam Hussain at Karbala. Devotees from different villages pay their visits in front of *taz'iya*. The display of *taz'iya* was considerably very old among the *Shi'a* devotees even at public places, according to Nakash (1993) "the straightforward form of the *shabih* gave way to a more theatrical form, the *taz'iya* play, which was enacted on stage… The *taz'iya* play reached its zenith during the Qajar period (1794-1925), stopping short of becoming an Iranian national theater early in the twentieth century."

In the locale, *taz'iya* was used as a sign of veneration among *Shi'a* as almost everyone visit it and make some common vows like, for the prosperity of family, for the birth of a male child, to ward off evils, and preventions from the ailments, in front of it and then seven time circle around it. Three or four *mutwalis* (caretakers) sit alongside *taz'iya* and pray for those who visit them. The caretakers hold flails (*zanjir*) in their hands to hand-cuff the visitors as part of prayers associated to the imprisonment of Imams. At the end of prayer session caretakers paste *khak* (ashes) in the foreheads of visitors. Many of the visitors contribute with money while some donate in-kind items like, silver, gold, and cattle. This practice of donation was locally known as '*charhawa*.' Besides people's visits and contributions, there were practices of animals' *salami* (visitation) to the *taz'iya*. People bring cattle to prevent them from diseases and evils. By the end of day all donations were counted and announced to the public by the management committee. These donations were mainly used for the maintenance and construction work of Imambargah building.

Procession (*Jalus*)

Procession was and is a common practice of *Shi'as* all over the world. One major and most attended procession is annually organized at Karbala in Iraq on 10th of Muharram. On the origin and early development of processions among *Shi'a* communities, Nakash (1993) asserted that "The patronage which *Shi'a* rulers bestowed on the rites of Ashura helps explain the appearance of yet another ritual, the public mourning processions. It

seems that these processions were initiated under the *Shi'a* Buyid dynasty in Baghdad (945- 1055). In the locale, although there was no big procession in first 5 days of *Ashura* but from 6th Muharram onwards devotees participate in different processions like, a) the *jalus* to *Hissoana* village, b) the *jalus* of Jhang city, and c) intra-village *jalus*. The procession of Jhang city was a major in its nature and significance as it provide a space to the *Shi'a* community from all over the district to participate in it and perform some rituals. *Majalis*, *matam*, and *noha-khawani* were most common rituals which were performed during this procession. Different *matmi sangat* (who perform *matam* in a group form) gather and perform in front of a large gatherings of *Shi'a*. One of the respondents, who have been participating in this procession for years, explained the reasons to participate in it in following word, "during 1980s a dispute among *Shi'a* and Deobandi sects emerged, which resulted in sectarian clashes leading to the proliferation of the sectarian identities. For the first time these two factions, involved brutal strategies to stop each other in participation of the religious rituals to show their power."

Besides this procession, there were some local level processions. On 6th Muharram, a reasonable number of devotees from the village take part in a procession which leads towards *Hissoana* village- which was about 10 kilometers in the North of the village. Inhabitants of *Hissoana* village converted to *Shi'ism* about 15 years back and they regularly commemorate Muharram rituals in association with *Shi'as* from the nearby villages. On 8th Muharram every year a small scale procession (also known as *mukan* or *pursa*) was arranged by the villagers. This procession starts form the center of the village (where devotees daily perform *matam*) and leads towards the residence of Waris Ali Shah (*a pir*)- which was only half kilometer away in the South of the village. This procession was mainly organized by the villagers but with close coordination of wanderers or nomads (*pakhiwas*) who visit village during Muharram to take part in rituals. On their way participants perform *matam* ritual and mourning chants (*nohas*). At the end of the procession all of the participants were served by the *pir* with tea and rusk-cakes.

Signpost or Flag (*'Alam*)
'Alam (pl. *'a'lam*) has a symbolic significance in *Shi'a* piety and it is one of the major icons of *Shi'as'* rituals. The term "*'alam*" literally means a

"signpost" or a "flag." J. David Weill (1960) points out that the importance of *'alam* in Arab culture in following way, "in Arabia before the time of the Prophet (PBUH), a white cloth attached to a lance would function as a symbol of the *Quraysh* tribe while on the battle field. During the Prophet Muhammad's time, such flags representing tribes or groups were known by several names including *'alam*."

Peter Chelkowski (1986) found that "the *'alam* is universally revered, being the most important object carried in Muharram ritual processions world-wide." In tracing the origins of the word *'alam* D'Souza (1998) explained the use of *'alam* and asserted that, "Their chief purpose seems to have been martial, providing both identification of a given group during times of war, and perhaps, a psychological rallying point for the warriors. Generally also the fall of a flag was the signal of defeat. Tradition suggests that Ali carried the flag of the Prophet (PBUH) during battle; a generation later, Abbas, the half- brother of Hussain, carried the battle standard during the fight against Yazid."

In the locale, *'alam* not only symbolizes the *Shi'a* devotion but also provide a space to perform certain rituals and help believers for the healing of the daily life problems. Most common display of *'alam* can be seen during Muharram but beyond Muharram there were some other places where one can easily trace *'alam*. In the village, almost every household had their own *'alam* as this was perceived as a part of their belief to display it in their courtyard. *'A'lam* in *Shi'a* religion always black color- which symbolizes the mourning. In addition to the color, it was mostly made of triangle shaped cloth with *panja* of *Panjatan* (a paw encrypted with the names of *ahl-e-bayat* including, Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH), Hazrat Ali, Hazrat Fatima, Imam Hassan, and Imam Hussain) fixed at the top. *Shi'as* were used to torch oil-lamp (*dia*) beneath the *'alam* at every evening but more specifically on Thursdays. They also distribute *niaz* (food offerings) standing under *'alam* on Thursdays and Fridays. *'Alam* personify the bravery and skills of Hazrat Abbas- who was carrier of it during the battle of Karbala. Most of the times *'alam* was described as a symbol of fighting for the uncompromising cause of right and justice (D'Souza, 1998).

During *majalis*, *'alam* was annexed to the four corners of podium where orators sit for their speeches. Most of the orators swear of *'alam* and symbolize it to the martyrdom of Hazrat Abbas during battle at

Karbala. Sometime orators swear the *'alam* to authenticate their arguments or to intensify the lamentation process of devotees. On the other hand, *'a'lam* were also used to lead the processions during Muharram. In Imambargah a special care was taken of the *'a'lam* as these were kept in the *noor-mahal* (a room in Imambargah, where *'a'lam, taz'iya* were stored) after being displayed in *jalus* or *majalis*. One of the *'a'lam* was permanently borne on to a poll with a length of hundred feet in the center of the courtyard of the Imambargah. Beneath this, *ta'ziya* was displayed on 10th of Muharram.

Horse of Karbala (*Zuljinah*)

Zuljinah (horse of Karbala) was and is a common icon for mourning practices during Muharram worldwide. The *zuljinah* is used as a replica of the horse of Imam Hussain. *Shi'a* use different items for the décor of *zuljinah*, they normally use, broken arrows, sword, sharped edged knives and dark red color- which replicates blood. Different scholars have focused the functionality and symbolic representation of the *zuljinah* in *Shi'a* piety. In most of the cases, the practices of *zuljinah* were much common at different locations in Indian Sub-continent- where Hindus and Sikhs alongside Muslims were actively participating in Muharram rituals.

Abou Zahab (2008) discussed the practices of zuljinah in following way, "*Zuljinah* was and still is particularly venerated as a powerful intercessor. Women watch from the rooftops and bring their children to *zuljinah* to press them against its flank and offer money to horse attendants. In Bengal, Hindu and Muslim women placed their newborn babies at *zuljinah's* feet to gain protection; they give milk to the horse, collecting what fell on the ground in a veil; it was said not to curdle and was used as medicine."

In local context, more than one *zuljinah* were prepared for the 10th day of Muharram. One of the attendants and owner of the horse informed, that it takes us five hours to prepare the replica of Imam Hussain's horse. Further, he added that the Management Committee of the village provided us with three kilograms of silver to make required ornaments for the décor of the *zuljinah*. Besides these silver ornaments, they bring many artificial items for the décor from city. He also informed that many devotees make vows (*mannat*) for male child, family prosperity, and success in business. They also donate money, silver, and gold made ornaments for the décor of

zuljinah.

There were many rituals associated to the *zuljinah*. One of the most common rituals was that fathers bring their newborns and pass them under the body of *zuljinah*. They perceive that this ritual ward off evils from the children and bring prosperity in their lives. It was an obligation for the *Shi'a* devotees to touch and kiss the body of the hose, some pick dust (*mati*) from the footprints of *zuljinah* and past on the foreheads. On 10th of Muharram, the processions leading to the *meydan* (ground where *matam* was performed) accompany *zuljinah*, once the *zuljenah* reaches in the ground devotees start *khooni-matam* (self-flagellation by using flails and razors).

Food Offerings (*Niaz/Langar*)

Niaz or *Langar* was one of the major rituals performed during Muharram in the locale. As shown in the below given Table No. 01, all villagers contribute to the funds for *niaz*. In Pakistani society, shrines and other religious places are famous for food offerings (*niaz*). Abou Zahab (2008) mentioned about the food offerings prepared by *Sunni* Muslims during the month of Muharram throughout Punjab. She added, "Traditionally *Sunni* shared all festivities during Muharram, although they made special food offerings (*niaz*), facilitated procession and arranged *sabeel* (refreshment stands)."

It was evident even in the current locale that *Sunni* Muslims were actively participating in the *langar* during Muharram. The *Shi'as* were making most of the food and drinks for devotees during Muharram. The *langer* was prepared keeping in view the season and the requirements. The head of the Management Committee informed that they are providing quality food to the devotees. We prepare different items like, tea, cake, rice, pudding, juice, and milk. So, the main emphasis always resides in providing food to every participant. The committee also distributes these items in the female sections with the help of some female organizers. Besides the Management Committee arrangements of *langar*, some families also prepare and distribute *langar* during Muharram.

Table No. 1 Details about the Funds Collection and Expenses of Muharram Rituals
[2006-2010]

Funds Collection (in Pak Rupees)				
Years	*From Taz'iya*	*For Sabeel*	*For Majalis*	Total
2006	48936 (3.1%)	24905 (1.6%)	155010 (9.7%)	228851 (14.3%)
2007	56647 (3.5%)	25525 (1.6%)	167550 (10.5%)	249722 (15.6%)
2008	58375 (3.7%)	25770 (1.6%)	153490 (9.6%)	237635 (14.9%)
2009	69134 (4.3%)	37305 (2.3%)	304230 (19.1%)	410669 (25.7%)
2010	84265 (5.3%)	37895 (2.4%)	347900 (21.8%)	470060 (29.4%)
Total	317357 (19.9%)	151400(9.5%)	1128180 (70.6%)	1596937 (100%)
Expenses (in Pak Rupees)				
Years	*Zakir/Alim-e-Din*	*Langar/Niaz*	**Expansion of the** *Imambargah*	Total
2006	148090 (6.0%)	24910 (1.0%)	226952 (9.1%)	399952 (16.1%)
2007	139500 (5.6%)	27305 (1.1%)	157782 (6.3%)	324587 (13.1%)
2008	120000 (4.8%)	25060 (1.0%)	91996 (3.7%)	237056 (9.5%)
2009	242000 (9.7%)	24735 (1.0%)	210000 (8.4%)	476735 (19.2%)
2010	263000 (10.6%)	35680 (1.4%)	750000 (30.2%)	1048680 (42.2%)
Total	912590 (36.7%)	137690(5.5%)	1436730 (57.8%)	2487010 (100.0%)

Source: The Management Committee Imambargah Hussainyia, 2010

Conclusion

Shi'a rituals surfaced soon after the battle of Karbala (680 AD). Muharram, the first month of Islamic year, is a month of mourning *Shi'as* all over the world. They perform rituals related to Muharram to make the cause more authentic. It was so common among *Shi'a* communities to commemorate Ashura rituals. They see a path which leads their lives in such rituals. Muharram rituals have been imparted to every *Shi'a* despite their ethnic, spatial, geographic, and regional identities. In the locale, the practices of the *Shi'a* Muharram rituals were considered as a moral obligation and each one of them take part in those practices with devotion and reverence. The performance of rituals was considered as a way to remember the sacrifices made by their Imam and his family at Karbala. It was not an easy task to organize rituals in the village but people not only contribute money but also cohesively patriciate in each one of the rituals.

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Oracle Bone (Scapula/ *Bardust*) Deciphering in Baloch Tribes of Balochistan, Pakistan

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Abstract

Current research was conducted in a village Nahar Kot in District Barkhan, Balochistan (Pakistan). Majority of the population of the village was of Khetrans (a sub-clan of Baloch ethnic group). This paper is mainly emphasized on the use of oracle bone (called Bardust in Balochi language) for deciphering about the future life aspects. The Bardust experts' predictions are considered very essential for the Khetrans. The Bardust is commonly termed as the "Balochi newspaper" which gives information about the future. For the tribal people, it is perceived as one of the major and most authentic source of the future forecasting. It helps the native people to make arrangements and devise certain policies to mitigate with natural hazards and future life events well before the time. Bardust is considered as a true indigenous source of information and communication. There are varieties of events like; death, marriage, birth of a child, politics, economy, crop yield, environment forecasting, about which scapula deciphers pass on the information to others. In most of the cases these predictions become reality for the people of the village which in return enhances the reliability of the deciphering in the locale.

Introduction

In the age of globalization there are many societies in the world which enjoy their tribal and cultural identities. Baloch tribes too rely on their unique cultural and traditional style of living. The life of Baloch tribes is ruled by distinct norms, customs and values. These customs are embedded as a part of cultural norms which they practiced for centuries. These customs have been repeatedly practiced over generations and consequently become part of Indigenous Knowledge.

The baloch tribe has a long history. Many historians have presented accounts about the origin of the tribe. Some trace their origin from the Syria while others trace it from the Iran (ancient Persia) Foreign

Policy Center (2006:9) also mentioned about the historical background of the tribe while stating that "they have been roaming in different regions between 4th and 7th century AD starting from Syria, moving towards Iraq, Turkey, and Northern Persia. Later on they moved from Iran (ancient Persia) to the present day Balochistan province in Pakistan."
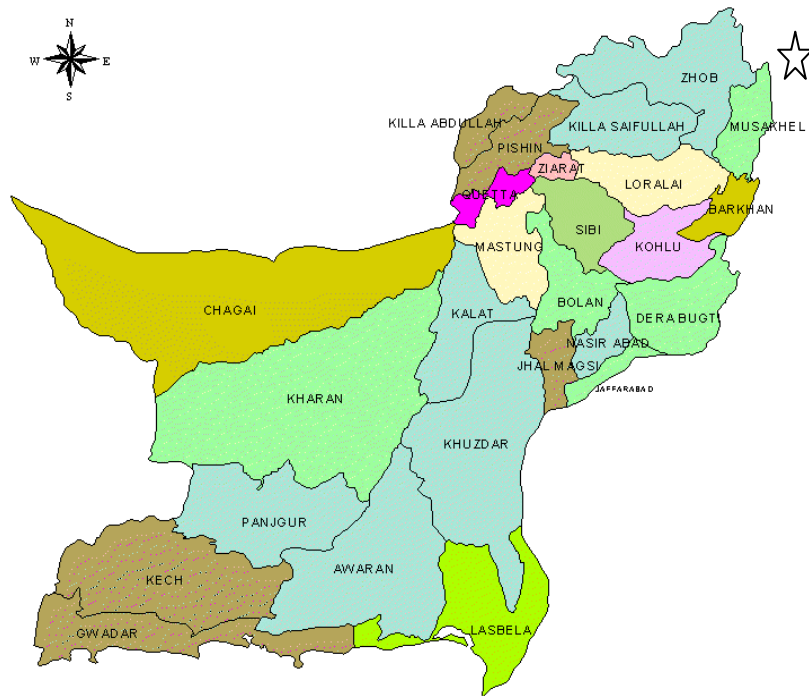

Fig. I. Balochistan Province (Google Earth)

Fig. II Map of Balochistan Province (Google Maps)

The use of indigenous knowledge in deciphering the future life events is not a new topic. People have been doing these activities since long a time ago in various remote and tribal societies. There are different strategies to decipher the future life aspects including wind based predictions, animal activities and scapula marks based predictions. The current paper specifically addresses the scapula marks based deciphering mechanism among bloch tribes in Barkhan district. The scapula deciphering is part of indigenous knowledge which has been defined by many researchers. The International Council for Science (ICSU 2002:3) defines traditional knowledge as:

> A cumulative body of knowledge, know-how, practices and representations maintained and developed by peoples with extended histories of interaction with the natural environment. These sophisticated sets of understandings, interpretations and means are part and parcel of a cultural complex that

encompasses language, naming and classification systems, resource use practices, ritual, spirituality and worldview (ICSU 2002:3).

The scope of indigenous knowledge is not limited to any specific region or culture. It has been found everywhere and in almost every human civilization. In ancient China, scapula or oracle bones was considered as an important tool to predict the future life aspects of the tribes. According to Mair (2001) "Shang dynasty greatly relied on oracle bones normally from ox scapula or turtle plastrons, which diviners exposed these scapula to heat which caused cracks in the bone and then these cracks were deciphered predicting future weather, crops and yields, fortunes of the royal family, military expeditions and so on." According to Hunt and Lipo (2011:137) "predicting the future by reading the cracks on heated scapula is known as scapulimancy and it is known also in Asia and other parts of the world."

Freeman (2015:1) mentioned about the use of oracle bones for religious divination practices in North Central China by Shang elites (De Bary and Bloom, 1999:4). "Shang oracle inscriptions offer a Neolithic glimpse into the mind of Shang diviners illuminating their view of cosmology and metaphysics which not only served as a vehicle to legitimize the rule of the last nine Shang kings' rule (De Bary and Bloom, 1999:5), but also set into motion a theocratic stage for later Chinese traditions and dynasties (Freeman, 2015:1)."

Research Objectives
The main objectives of the present research were to:
1. Study the use of oracle bone in deciphering the future events; and
2. Understand people's belief on the predictions made by the experts of *Bardust* about the future.

The Locale and Methodology
Current research was conducted in the village Nahar Kot, District Barkhan, Balochistan during 2013-14. The village is situated approximately at a distance of 18 kilometers from Barkhan city center. There are about 96 families cohabiting in this village. The major occupation of the community members is land cultivation. Most of the community members work as tenant farmers and few have their own lands

to work on. Some people also rent their land, most commonly, on sharecropping and fixed rent (Khetran et al. 2012:17).

The inhabitants are pastoral in nature and fond of grazing their herd in the nearby hills and in the plain verdant areas. The popular domesticated animals in the village are cows, goats and sheep. The village is almost deprived of basic amenities of life like pure drinking water, gas, proper health facilities, and sanitation (Khetran et al. 2012:17). The Khetran inhabitants of the village belong to the Baloch tribe. Few historians have mentioned about Khetrans.
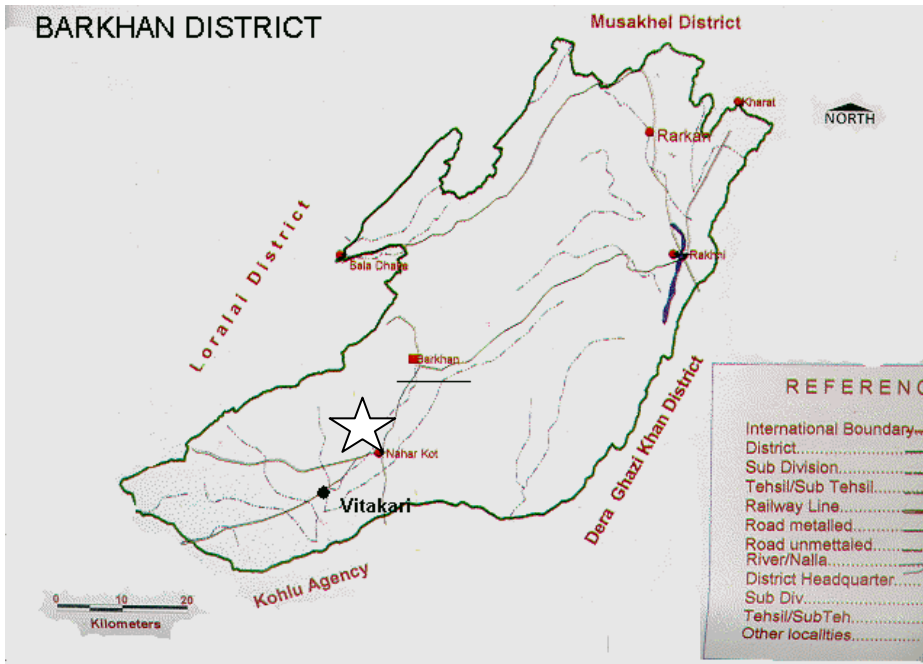
Fig. III Map of District Barkhan showing the locale, Nahar Kot (District Census Survey of Barkhan 1998)

Bakhsh (1974) mentioned that, "Khetran tribe is a mixture and combination of Baloch, Pathan and Jat. They were driven in the area of Marri tribe by Bijranis in 1717." While on other side, the excerpts presented in the Gazetteer of Balochistan (1906) report detect that, "Khetrans are an offshoot of Kansi tribe of Afghan and descended from Kahir-ud-din-Kharshabun son of Saraban who was one of the three sons of Qais Abdur Rashid-the common ancestor of Afghan." But, the local

narratives about the Khetran tribe differ from the above mentioned accounts of Bakhsh (1974) and Gazetteer of Balochistan (1906).

Current research is based on an ethnographic fieldwork with the methods approach. Three main qualitative methods; i) Key informants, ii) Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), and iii) In-depth interviews were used for data collection. In the first stage of research, 2 key informants (Wahab 88 years old and Usman 55 years old) were approached keeping in view their knowledge and expertise in scapula deciphering. In addition to this, 3 FGDs were conducted amongst the community members to understand the nature and extent of scapula deciphering. The information collected from the key informants and from the participants of FGDs helped greatly in devising interview schedule for in-depth interviews.

At second stage of the research, 20 in-depth interviews were conducted in the community. The selection of sample was made through snowball sampling methods. The participants of the in-depth interviews were asked about the practice of scapula deciphering, accuracy of the predictions, belief in the scapula deciphering, and different life aspects for which scapula deciphering was used in the village.

Scapula Deciphering in the Village

Scapula or oracle bone (locally known as *bardust*) has a vital role in the life of Baloch community living in the South-Western parts of Pakistan. Keeping in view the importance and utility of predictions among the agriculturist and livestock owners, the scapula is mostly termed as the '*Balochi newspaper*.' It helps them to know about the events which are likely to occur in the future. It is perceived as one of the major and authentic sources of future forecasting and predictions. It helps them to prepare and devise mitigating policies for the upcoming events well ahead of time. *Bardust* is considered the true indigenous source of information and communication.

Fig. IV Expert showing scapula (Picture Source: Authors)

A set of formal procedures was followed by the scapula experts to get it ready for deciphering. In the Baloch tribes scapula of only goat or lamb is used for deciphering purposes. While discussing the preparation of scapula for deciphering, the community experts told that scapula alongside flesh is completely cooked or boiled in water and it is ensured that a knife does not touch the scapula directly while scratching off the meat. When cooked or boiled, the flesh is removed from the bone with naked hands. After that different experts observe the scapula very closely and try to read signs and symbols carved on it. An expert would never hand over the scapula to another directly but he would throw it in front of him and then the other expert would pick it from the ground. According to them the scapula loses its utility in terms of predictions if directly handed over to another person. But they failed to explain that how and why it is so.

The Baloch community of Nahar Kot uses both parts the scapula for predicting different things. Left scapula is used to predict things about one's own family while the right scapula is used to predict things about others in the community.

Fig. V Expert examining scapula (Picture Source: Authors)

The experts divide the scapula into different parts for prediction purposes, each part giving information about different things. These parts of scapula are used for prediction about one's family, neighborhood, tribe and other tribes or regions (see Fig. V). These predictions enable people to know about sorrows and happiness, accidents like death, good news like marriage or child birth, politics, economy and weather forecast like rains, winds, cold or heat waves and so on. According to a United Nations report (2008), in Tanzania,

> Animals play a prominent role in prognosis. For instance, by reading signs on goat intestines specialized Maasai elders could predict drought and famine, social conflicts, diseases, childbirth, peace or war in the chiefdom, and so forth. If the small intestine was found to be empty, drought or famine or hostility and war were to be expected in the chiefdom but if it had a lot of dung this foretold plenty of rain, no famine and peace.

In ancient China, the use of scapula was very common among the Shang elites. They usually use the scapula inscriptions to legitimize the dynasty by predicting the results of the future wars.
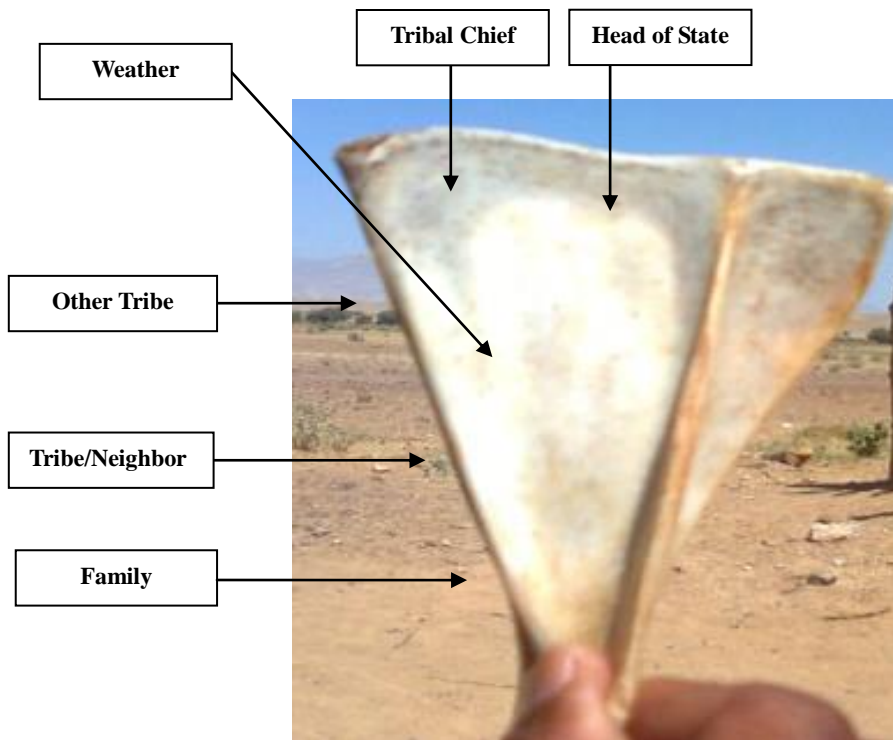
Fig. VI Parts of scapula (Picture Source: Authors)

The Khetrans of Nahar Kot use different signs and symbols on scapula to make their predictions about different life aspects. These signs may be round, horizontal, vertical and having different colors and shades. They considered that the signs and symbols on both scapulae must be opposite to each other in order to show authenticity in prediction. If both the scapulae have same signs and symbols then these are not deciphered by the experts as there is no reliability in the prediction of such scapulae.

Conclusion

From the ancient China to the recent past scapula inscriptions have been used by different communities for the future predictions. The Khetrans inhabiting in Nahar Kot were also enquiringly depending on the scapula of future happening. They devise mitigating strategies to the life aspects predicted by the scapula experts. The most common aspects for which predictions were sorted through the use of inscription of scapula were; i) sorrows and miseries, ii) happiness, like marriage or male child birth, ii) incidents, such as deaths, iii) politics, iv) economy, and v) weather forecast like rains, winds, cold or heat waves and so on.

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-10-

Structural Design of the Buildings in Gandhara as Gleaned on Sculptures

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Anwaar Mohyuddin

Abstract

This study describes the cultural life of Gandharanes as depicted in Gandhara sculptures and brings out the facets or contemporary rich material culture. An attempt has been made to locate the contemporary plastic parallels, to corroborate the material culture with the literary descriptions and finally to confirm the rich material culture from the archaeological evidence. The sculptures recovered during the exploration and excavations[1] and housed in the museum of Taxila have been taken into consideration for the cultural survey of the people portrayed in Gandhara reliefs. The importance of the existence and scope of the Buddhist edifices such as Stupas, Viharas, monasteries, etc. in the Gandhara region, laid bare by the archaeologist's spade stand testimony to the flourishing stage of Buddhism during the period under review. The rich assemblage of sculptures of Gandhara came from these excavated monuments. Several pillars, railings, casings and sculptures portraying Buddhist themes were the part and parcel of this establishment. Many of these carved slabs reveal symbols such as triratna, wheel of the Law, Bodhi tree and the life scenes of Buddha. It is these sculptures that form the data of our study. Expression of people's way of life has shown in Gandharan narrative sculptures, it also shows the thought familiar with the environmental background and its socio-religious habits. Its general tone, technique, style and mode of expression has nothing to do with a specific religion, but Indian traditions, designs and symbols were used to elaborate the socio-

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[1] John Marshall and Dr. Vogel *"Excavations at Charsada* (Puskaravati), the ancient capital of Gandhara", *ASIAR,* 1902-03; Spooner, D.B, "Excavations at Sahri Bahlol near Mardan," *ASIAR.* 1906.-10; *Excavations at Takti-Bhahi and Shah ji-kj-dheri, ASIAR.* 1908-11; Hargreaves, H., *Excavations at Takti-i-Bhahi. ASIAR.* 1910-11; *Excavations at Shah-ji-ki dheri. ASIAR,* 1910-11; Ex*cavatlons at Jamalgarhi. ASIAR.,* 1920-21 and other Excavations conducted at various times.

cultural life of the peoples. Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu art is dominant on the architectural monuments, paintings and stone relief. The main purpose of this material culture is to teach and popularize the Buddhist religion in the particular area of the Kushan Empire. In Gandhara art one can visualize the trend of Buddhist art through the ages within Pakistan, India and Afghanistan.

Introduction

The study of the material culture defined in the Gandhara sculptures is based on the hypothesis that the sculptors of Gandhara, as they depicted the Buddhist themes, had in their mind the contemporary persons and things around them. By using skill and imagination in the creation of aesthetic objects, the sculptors supplied the personnel and the background in accordance with the requirements of the texts. In carving the Buddhist themes, on stone, the artists were fully aware of their limitations. However, they took that much liberty as would not come into conflict with the general trend of the text. It is quite possible that they have supplied the exact parallels with those occurring in the Jatakas and life scenes from amongst their society and environment. Thus, many of the items found in the sculptures, may have been indigenous to the country of which Gandhara region and its surrounding formed part.

Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu art is dominant on the architectural monuments, paintings and stone relief. The main purpose of this material culture is to teach and popularize the Buddhist religion in the particular area of the Kushan Empire. In Gandhara art one can visualize the trend of Buddhist art through the ages within Pakistan, India and Afghanistan. In Buddhist Mythology and legends, the Buddha has been represented as superior than popular cult divinities of the area, such as Yaksas, nagas, Indra, Brahma and others of the earlier Brahmanical pantheon. Buddhist religion has been reflected faithfully in Gandhara art. In early Buddhism, no anthropomorphic image has been found, but the Buddha was regarded as idea human being. In primitive Buddhism there is only symbolic representation of Buddha, such as empty throne, Budhi tree, a pair of footprints, wheel of Law (Dharma-chakra), lotus flower or the other aspect of his life.

Emperor Kanishka is the one who is known as the founder of Gandhara art due to his personal interest in Buddhism and artistic wisdom.

Kushan Empire had a commercial relationship with the Roman Empire that is why the artist from Rome came to his empire and contributed to the art of Gandhara. The archaeological evidences show that the Graeco-Roman features from Taxila and other area of the Kushan Empire. Many artifacts have been exhibited in various museums, particularly in Taxila.

The Yüeh chi tribe were nomadic and do not know the tradition of monumental art and architecture, they invited skilled artisans from different areas to fulfil the requirement of artistic taste of the Emperor and to construct Buddhist monuments and sculptures. Most of the Gandharan sculptures are produced by the local craftsmen with amalgamation of foreign influences.

The craftsmen used local material, such as soft local schist stone in varied colour from light to dark gray with shining mica particles. Some of these sculptures were coated with gold leaf to give them shine in gloomy interiors. They had used the popular media for making a sculpture and other artifacts, such as stucco and terracotta. These sculptures were fragile and mostly attached to the stupa walls to give them three dimensional appearance. The images of Buddha were represented in various ethnic types and expression. Bodhisattvas were also shown on the walls of stupa with rich jewelry and ornaments.

Methodology

The narrative stone sculptures, decorative reliefs, or images of Gandhara are an important tool with the help of which an attempt has been made to understand the various aspects of the Kushan's multi-ethnic blend of many cultures, history, architecture, and religion. Gandharan studies in general and studies of Gandhara art in particular have traditionally been, and continue to be, dominated by archaeologists and art historians. In fact, until very recently materials falling within the purview of these fields - mainly artistic and archaeological remains, including stone sculpture, inscriptions and coins - were nearly all that we had at our disposal for the study of Gandhara art. Images carved in the sculpture workshops of this ancient realm are among the most expressive and influential in the history of Buddhist art of Gandhara. Scholars have often tried to force the evidence into orderly configurations that fit their own presumption.

Locale

Taxila is located 30 Km north-west of Islamabad and its exact bearings are: longitude 72° 49' 51" E and latitude 33° 44' 47" N (Cunningham 2002: 104.).[2] It is situated in the open west-end of a valley which is some 20 km east-west and 8 km north-south. The valley itself occupies a picturesque position at the head of Sindh-Sagar Doab between Indus and Jhelum rivers. The average height of the valley is about 549 meters (1,800 ft.) above sea level. The whole area is well watered by the main River Haro as well as numerous small rivulets such as Tamra, Lundi etc., all fed by a number of permanent springs (Penzer 1925: 2).[3] Here the rainfall is abundant and the climate pleasant and refreshing as was in ancient times (Beal 1906).[4] Inhabitants of the valley are of mixed races and speak a dialect of Punjabi language. Administratively, the valley, partly belongs to the Punjab and partly to the Khyber Paktunkhwa.

Results and Discussion

The sculptors of the Gandhara Sculptures have depicted a variety of architecture details which includes almost everything from a modest hut to a magnificent palace. They give fair idea of the material structures of those times. The diversity of sub-continent culture is represented in its architecture. The available material form Taxila is sufficient to understand them in greater detail. The foreign impact in the architecture, depicted in the Gandhara sculptures, is prominent and is exposed clearly in the Corinthian pillars, pilasters and Persepolitan columns which are seen in the sculptures supporting flat, trapezoidal roofs of the palaces and palace-interiors. In many places, we see Corinthian columns supporting the Indian arched roofs. The simplified Persepolitan columns are often seen taking the load of the Indian arches. Evidently, the architecture of the buildings, depicted in the reliefs, in majority of the cases, betrays mixture of the techniques of the local Indian schools, influenced by Hellenistic artists. Thus, in respect of the architecture shown in the sculptures, we get pleasing variety of the buildings, standing testimony to the architectural skill of the Gandhara art.

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[2] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India,* p. 104.
[3] N.M. Penzer, *The Ocean of Story,* Vol. III, London, 1925, p. 2.
[4] Samuel Beal, *Travels of Hsüan-tsang,* London, 1906.

Gateways and Walls of Metropolis

Each city in which the royal residence was situated was surrounded by an outer wall having gates on four sides. The cities of Sirkap and Sirsukh, the Kushan city, had walls and gateways. (Fig. 1 Sirsukh) There is a graphic description of the gateway in the *Arthasastra* which is also met with in the Pali texts and the Ramayana. Some of Gandhara Sculptures expose city walls and gateways. Thus, the sculpture depicting panel, (Fig. 2) the city with its high towers and a balconied-gate is shown, being guarded by two men with spears. A full view of the city wall and the city gate of the Kusinagara can be had in the sculpture, (Fig. 3) illustrating, Distribution of the Relics. The city wall, with its projected towers and closed gate can be seen clearly.

Further, in the panel, (Fig. 4) depicting 'Ananda asks the casteless girl for water', reveals the city wall of Sravasti with its high tower and gateway. Nearby can be seen a well such type of well can be seen outside the fortification wall of Sirkap city, Taxila. An elaborate city wall (Fig. 5) with its two high towers and arched gates depicted in the sculpture in the panel is very imposing. We find a realistic representation of the city gate in the panel depicting, the Great departure. (Fig. 6) The Prince Siddhartha is shown on the horse-back passing through the city-gate. Another gateway with a projected balcony gets depicted in the sculpture illustrating, Chandaka and Kanthaka. Another city gate is depicted in the panel, (Fig. 7) illustrating, Buddha enters Rajagrha. According to the context of the story, the structure represents the city gate of Rajagrha through which Buddha was to pass. The gate is closed. The doors of the gate are clearly visible.

Pillars and Pilasters shown in Palaces

In Greek architecture, there were three orders of columns: the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian. Those that figure in our reliefs are Corinthian columns. The base and the shaft are identical with Ionic, but the capital has taken the form of an open *Calix,* formed of acanthus leaves. Above this, is another set of leaves through which grow stalks with small leaves rounded into the form of volutes. On this rests a small abacus, widening towards the top and on this again the entablature, which is borrowed from the Ionic

order (Seyffert 1891: 58).[5] The human figures like Atlas, Caryatides are seen generally employed instead of the columns to support the entablature (Seyffert 1891:58, 83 and 116).[6]

In the art of the building, the conception of Pillar seems to be older than the dwelling itself. In a palace, the ground-floor appears to have had a number of pillars whose number varied with the magnificence of the structures and the number of storeys to be supported. In Gandharan stone reliefs, we find double-storey buildings. The panels, (Fig. 8, 9) revealing, Buddha-to-be throws flowers at Diparikara-Buddha and Chandaka and Kanthaka Return, depict double-storey buildings.

However, in the reliefs, we see, invariably Corinthian Pillars, Pilasters, Indo- Persepolitan columns, supporting the buildings. In one panel, (Fig. 10) illustrating, the preaching Buddha on inverted throne, an arched opening of a domed-shrine is supported by two Indo-Corinthian columns, the shafts decorated with incised lines. The high entablature with rosettes on the frieze is interrupted[7] by the opening of the shrine. Sometimes (Fig. 11), the pillars are shown supporting the trapezoid and arched roofs alternately in a palace. Sometimes, they are seen supporting the simple Indian-arches.

In one unidentified panel (Fig. 12), a simple Indo-Corinthian pilaster is shown supporting an interrupted architrave and modillion cornice. The Pilaster is further decorated by a standing Amorini. Precisely, similar example occurs in the panel (Fig. 13) illustrating, the Buddha in meditation flanked by Indra and Brahma. Similarly, the depiction of the building supported by Indo-Persepolitan Bull Capitals are many. Again, in one panel (Fig. 14) illustrating, Miracle of Sravasti, an Indo-Persepolitan column having an Atlas as bases are shown supporting a trepezoidal and arche roofs alternately. Invariably, in the reliefs, the buildings are seen supported by Indo-Corinthian pillars (Fig. 10, 15-22) or pilasters (Fig. 23) or Indo-Persepolitan columns. (Fig. 24-28)

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[5] Oskar Seyffert, A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities; Mythology-Religious literature and Art- (London, 1891), p. 58
[6] *Ibid.,* pp. 58, 83 and 116
[7] Hereafter, this architectural detail is explained under the term *interrupted architrave.*

Interior of Palace

There are many Gandharan Sculptures which reflect representations of the palace interior, which provide information regarding the dwelling places of the kings and the other royal personages. These royal buildings present the richest form of the civil architecture of the period of which they are the creation. The sculptures, however, do not expose the exterior view of the whole palace. It is possible that the royal palace had several sizeable halls or rooms supported by various pillars as it would appear from the illustration of numerous palace interiors in the sculptures.

The Gandhara sculptures portray many palace interiors of which some are the court halls of king Suddhodana, the father of Lord Buddha. The panel (Fig. 24), demonstrating, Dream of Maya, reveals the court hall of King Suddhodana. It is a spacious hall with flat roof, supported by Corinthian Pillars. Again, the court of King Suddhodana depicted in the panel (Fig. 29), illustrating, Interpretation of Maya's dream, is of a different type. Here, the room has a trapezoidal roof, supported by Corinthian pillars. The exterior of the trapezoidal roofs is decorated with wavy line.

Majestic Bedroom and other Pavilion

The illustrations of the royal bedroom repeatedly occur in the reliefs. Thus, the bedroom of Queen Maya is depicted several times in the sculptures. The panel, (Fig. 30) illustrating 'Dream of Queen Maya', reveals the bedroom *(Sayanagara)* of the Queen Maya. The room has a trapezoidal roof, supported by Indo-Corinthian pillars. Again, the bedroom of Queen Maya, depicted in the panel (Fig. 31) "Maya's dream," reveals a different architectural detail. The room is very cozy with a balcony, supported by Persepolitan Bull Capital.

`The best example of the regal bedroom of Princess Yosodhara, the wife of the Lord Buddha, occurs in the panel, (Fig. 25a) illustrating Life at the Palace. In the upper scene, the room is having an interrupted architrave supported by Persepolitan columns. The balcony with latticed decoration is also visible. In the lower panel, the room is spacious with flat roof, supported by the Persepolitan column and with arched entrances which are having Persepolitan Bull Capitals as their support. The arch is having coffered ceiling. The balustrade balcony in between the arches is clearly seen. The architectural framework of the bedroom is carved with great

care, the simplified Indo-Persepolitan columns in the upper section and below them in their orthodox counterparts with Bull-Capitals, also coffered ceilings in the niches.

The panel (Fig. 32), depicting the bath of Siddhartha, gives the idea of a bath-room in the palace. It is a spacious room with a flat roof, supported by *Indo*-Corinthian Columns. It is said that the bathroom of Harsa[8] was located on the ground floor of the palace at the back in the right corner and was provided with a water-basin. The panel, (Fig. 33) depicting "Marriage of Siddhartha and Yasodhara," reveals a huge royal pavilion with flat roof, supported by Corinthian columns.

The panel, (Fig. 34) depicting the Birth of Siddhartha's groom, Chandaka and of his horse, Kanthaka, reveals a royal horse-stable. In the sculpture, a number of horses are peering over a wall in a royal stable. In literature, references to the royal horse-stables are in plenty. Kautilya in his *Arthasastra (*Arthasastra n.d: 54)*,[9]* specify the duties of the superintendents-in-charge of the royal horse stable. Strabo[10](Majumder 1960: 269) testifies to the existence of the excellent stalls for royal horses and other beasts in the palaces. In Harsa's palace, his royal horse-stable was located to the right of the entrance inside the palace.

Abode of the General Public

Huts are depicted more than once (Fig. 35-39) in the panels, (Fig. 39) depicting son of a blind ascetic is killed by the king, First meeting with the brahmanas, and Hermit inside his hut without a door. The roofs appear to have been made of palm leaves. The walls, probably, were of split bamboos, pleated horizontally and vertically. The dome is having a finial at the apex. The other panel, (Fig. 38) depicting Brahmana novice and three brahmanas, reveal two huts with a domical roof with finial at the top. These huts do not have any doors. As can be seen, these huts are of a single cell. The Jatakas mention such single cells, made of leaves and *Kusa* grass. Evidently, the common residence of the poor section of people consisted of a simple wattle and daub hut with roof, made of thatch and the walls of the branches of trees and grass.

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[8] Harsha or Harshavardhana, the sovereign of India who ruled northern India for 41 years.
[9] Arthasastra, P. 54
[10] R. C. Majumder, *Classical Accounts of India,* P. 269.

Roofs of the buildings

The roofs of the buildings, both secular and religious, illustrated in the reliefs, are varied and appealing. The Gandhara Sculptures offer four types of roofs namely, trapezoidal, (Fig. 29, 30, 40) arched or vaulted, (Fig. 26, 41) flat (Fig. 24, 33, 42-48) and domical. (Fig. 35, 36, 38, 39, 49) Apart from these, the sculptures also reveal interrupted architrave (Fig. 50, 53) and roofs in combination of arched and trapezoidal ones. (Fig. 10, 11) As for the trapezoidal roofs, they are seen in the sculptures, invariably, supported by Indo-Corinthian Pillars. (Fig. 29, 30, 40) The arched or vaulted roofs are generally seen with the supports of Indo-Corinthian pilasters (Fig. 41) or Persepolitan Bull Capitals. (Fig. 26) In some instances, the sculptures reveal Indian arches with simplified Persepolitan columns. (Fig. 6, 24, 51, 52) Regarding the flat roofs, they are mostly supported by Indo-Corinthian pillars (Fig. 24, 42-44) or pilasters. (Fig. 33, 45-48) As for the domical roofs, they are usually of the huts and shrines. (Fig. 10, 11) The sculptures depict arched entrances supported either by Corinthian pillars (Fig. 10, 35, 36, 38, 39 and 49) or Persepolitan columns. (Fig. 25)

Balconies

The panel (Fig. 8) illustrating, Buddha to-be throws flowers at Dipankara Buddha, exposes a balcony, balustraded with a flat roof supported by the Persepolitan columns. A person is watching the proceedings on the road from the balconied window. In another panel, (Fig. 25) illustrating Life in the Palace, a balustraded balcony in between the arches of the entrances, supported by the Persepolitan Bull Capitals, is revealed.

Doors and Door Jambs

In the panel, (Fig. 3) illustrating Distribution of Relics, the closed doors of the city-gate can be seen. The door consists of two rectangular door leaves, fixed vertically to the door-frame with a facility to open secretly.

In two instances, door jambs can be made out from the sculptural representations. The one depicting (Fig. 54) Yaksa with grape vine-scroll appears to be the lowest block of a jamb, belonging to a false niche. The Greek-vine-scrolls and the bead-and-reel and imbricated leaf-moulding seen on the exterior of the jamb is purely Greek patterns, but palmette-like

lotus plant at the base of the outer vine-scroll on the left and the male figure Yaksa at the base of the larger vine-scroll, betray indigenous traits.

Conclusion

The Kushans established most fascinating political empire in the region of Gandhara and lasted more than three hundred years, starting from the first century before the Christian era to its submission to the Sassanian Empire in the third century of Common Era. The Kushans reached at its peak and included the large region from Central Asia down to Sub-continent. The Inscriptions found from various archaeological sites experienced the donations and patronage of religious institutions, i.e. Buddhism and Jainism by the Kushan kings and aristocrats. The Kushan rulers promoted and flourished commerce, trades and urban life in the region where ever they went. The figures sculpted on Gandhara narrative reliefs and sculptures during the Kushan regime depicted the beginning of the sari and garment to cover the breasts. The mixer of local and foreign elements can be seen in the Gandhara sculptures.

The aforesaid account of the wealthy material culture, marked out on the Gandhara reliefs, endeavours to present graphically, some aspects of the pattern of life lived by the Gandharanese during the 2nd Century BCE to 4th -5th Century CE. Religion, indigenous traits and a large measure of foreign elements have played a significant role in shaping the society and civilization that thrived during the period of the Kushan dynasty. It was a determining period in the history of Indo-Pak. The people of Gandhara enjoyed peace and serenity. This flourishing society, which was the resultant of the economic prosperity, coupled with political peace and religious fervour, was readily fit to assimilate the new trends as also to transform the older ones. However, that the inclination is more towards the Hellenistic influence in some aspects of the material culture is unmistakable. Hence, we notice in Gandhara the emergence of many innovations, besides the retrieval of older traditions.

The most significant feature of the Kushan religion is the construction of royal temples. The various epigraphic references and different archaeological excavations attest that the Kushan kings particularly the early Kings erected temple or sanctuary or shrine for the images of Kushan gods who granted them kingship and images of the Kushan kings. From different sources it is know that various religious

structures in different regions were built by the Kushan kings like the Mat (Mathura) Temple of Vima-I Takto, Oesho sanctuary of Vima Takto, Surkh Kotal temple of Kanishka I and Kanishka I sanctuary of Rabatak inscription.

The religious structures that get portraiture in the Gandhara reliefs include stupas with all their components, domed-shrines and fire-temples. Thus, one notices the fusion of foreign and native traits obvious in the portraiture of architecture in the Gandhara Sculptures. The sculptors of the Gandhara narrative reliefs perfectly portrayed the architectural details which include everything from a modest but to a magnificent palace. The architecture revealed here betrays indigenous traits and distinctive foreign impact. Obviously, therefore, the buildings reveal the happy blending of the two techniques of the native and Hellenistic artists. The palace interiors, city walls and city-gates illustrated in the reliefs, were of the highest form of civil architecture all of urban types. The palace interiors had private chambers, bedrooms, baths, dressing rooms, royal horse-stables, etc. These buildings were, invariably, supported by Indo-Corinthian Pilasters or Persepolitan columns. The city-roads were broad and could accomodate huge processions.

Nonetheless, little is known of the lodging of the common people in the sculptures. The homes of the poor and the ascetics consisted of hut with the roof made of thatch. They had no doors. Perhaps the doors were detachable and used only when necessary. The roofs of the building generally were trapezoidal, vaulted, flat or domical, invariably, supported by Indo-Corinthian pillars or Pilasters or Persepolitan columns. Sometimes the Persepolitan columns were simplified and supported the Indian arched roofs. The buildings had balconies from which the people watched the proceedings on the road. Such kind of balconies can be seen in various cities of Pakistan, particularly in Peshawar region, which was once the capital of the Kushan Empire. The door jambs were usually embellished and the designs included Greek vine-scrolls, bead and reel, and imbricated leaf mouldings, besides indigenous palmete like lotus plant.

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Figures

Fig. 1   View of Mohra Moradu Stupa, Taxila.

Fig. 2   The Urn Carried into Kusinagara, Lahore Museum, height is 20.64 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 151)
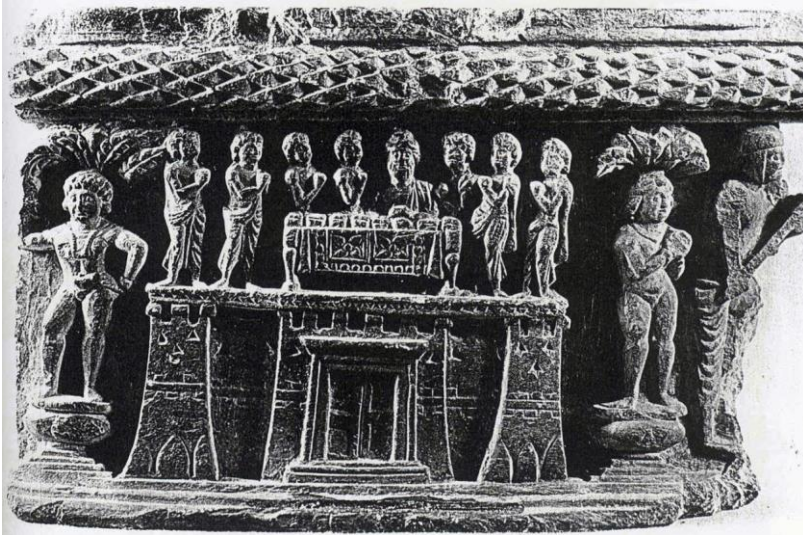
Fig. 3   Distribution of the Relics, Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm, width is 23.18 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 152)

Fig. 4   Ananda Asks a Casteless Girl for Water from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 14 cm and width is 17.78 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 103)
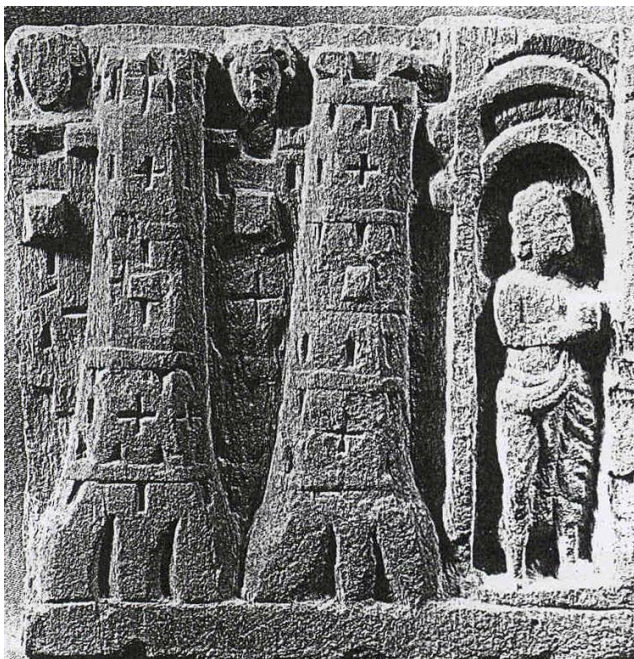
Fig. 5   City Wall. On the left can be seen a city wall with two projecting towers, and human heads peering out between them from Peshawar valley, Lahore Museum, height is 17.78 cm and width is 15.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 464)

Fig. 6   The Great Departure (right). Exchange of Clothes, Lahore Museum, height is 26.67 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 48)
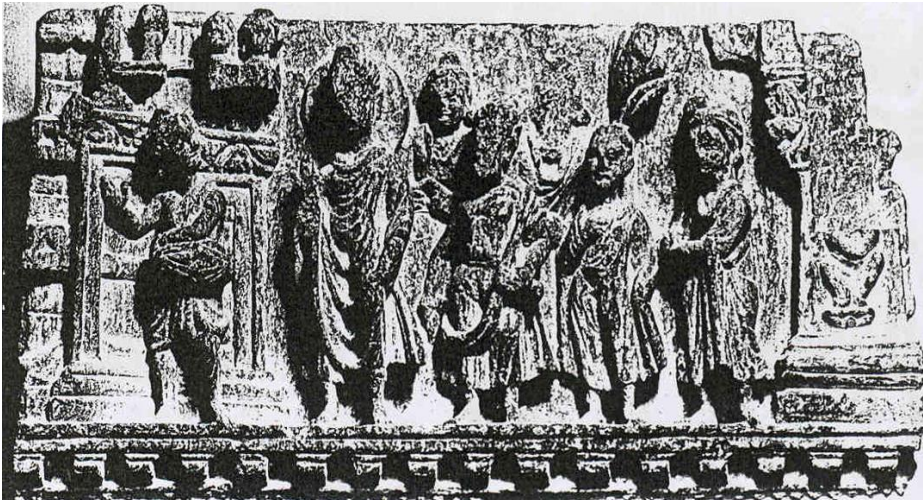
Fig. 7 The Buddha Enters Rajagriha, Lahore Museum, height is 15.24 cm and width is 31.75 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.91)
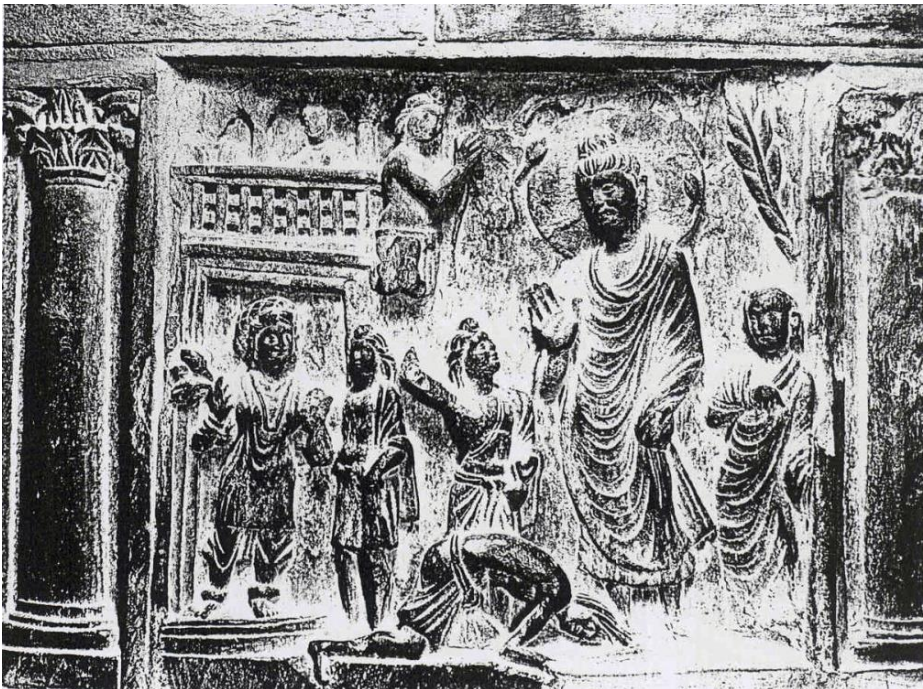
Fig. 8 Buddha-to-be Throws Flowers at Dipankara Buddha from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, height is 33 cm and width is 33.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 7)

Fig. 9 Chandaka and Kanthaka Return, Lahore Museum, height is 36.20 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 51)

Fig. 10 The Preaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne, Gai Collection, Peshawer, height is 23.18 cm and width is 15.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 259)

Fig. 11   Life in the Palace. The Renunciation, the Great Departure, Lahore Museum, height is 62.23 cm and width is 43.18 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 40)

Fig. 12 Unidentified, Lahore Museum, 16.51 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 177)

Fig. 13   The Buddha in Meditation Flanked by Indra and Brahma from Takhat-i-Bahi, Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm and width is 20.96 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 243)
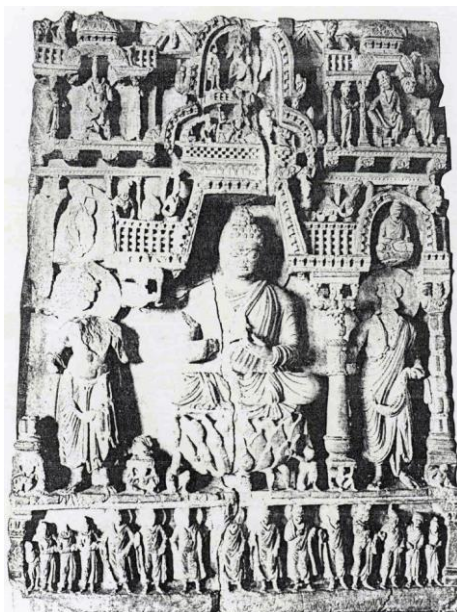
Fig. 14   Miracle of Sravasti from Muhammad Nari, Lahore Museum, height is 104.14 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 88, fig.123)

Fig. 15   Bath of the Newborn Child from Mardan, Peshawer Museum, height is
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Fig. 16   The Buddha among His Monks from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, heigt is 33
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Fig. 17 The Buddha, Vajrapani, and Worshippers from Jamal Garhi, Lahore Museum, height is 30.80 cm and width is 47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 99)
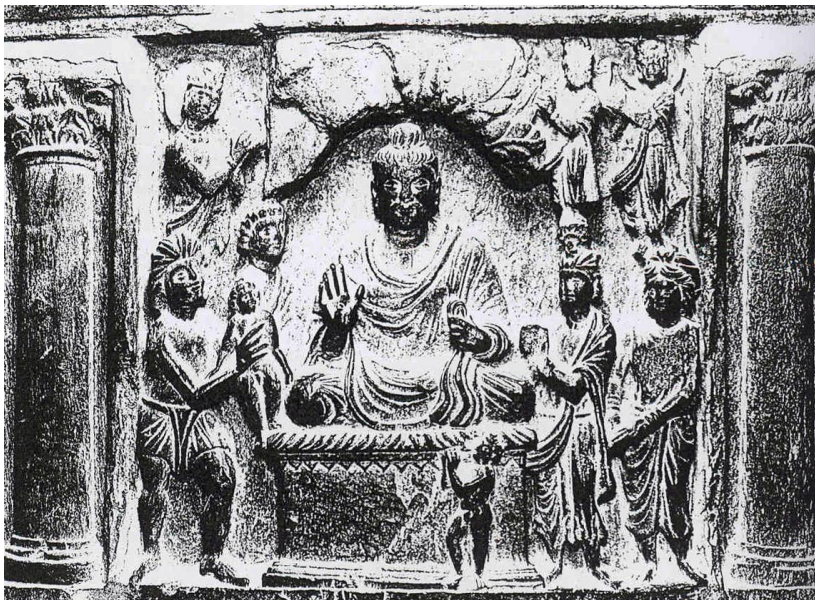
Fig. 18 Conversion of the Yaksha Atavika from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, height is 33 cm and width is 33.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 126)

Fig. 19 Two Amorini from Nuttu, Lahore Museum, height is 16.19 cm and width is 7.94 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 372)

Fig. 20   Two Amorini from Nuttu, Lahore Museum, height is 16.51 cm and width is 7.62 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 373)

Fig. 21   Donors. Stair-Riser Relief, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.15 cm and width is
41.91 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 413)

Fig. 22   Donors. Stair-Riser Relief, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.46 cm and width is
48.26 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 414)
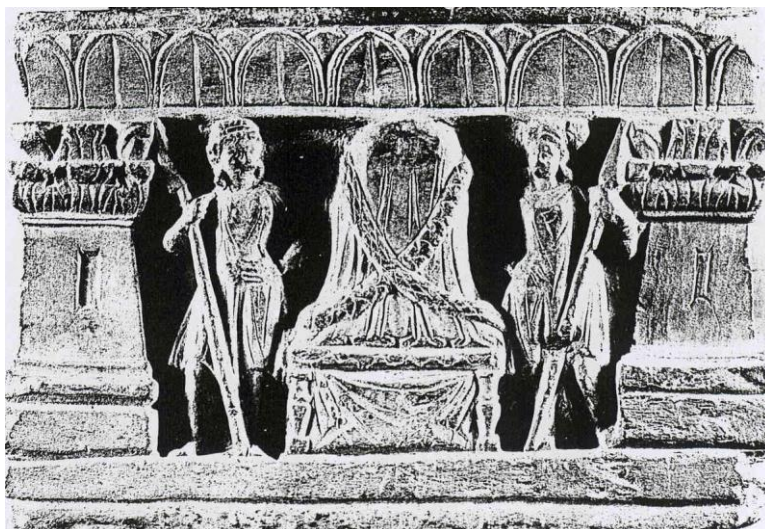
Fig. 23   Guarding the Urn from Takhat-i-Bahai, Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm
(Ingholt, 1957, fig. 158)
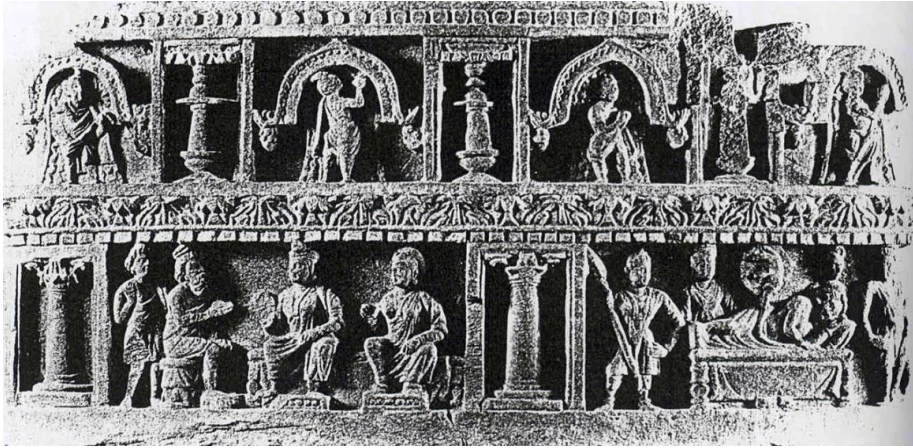
Fig. 24   Dream of Maya (right). Interpretation of Dream, Peshawar Museum, height is
17.78 cm and width is 35.56 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 10)
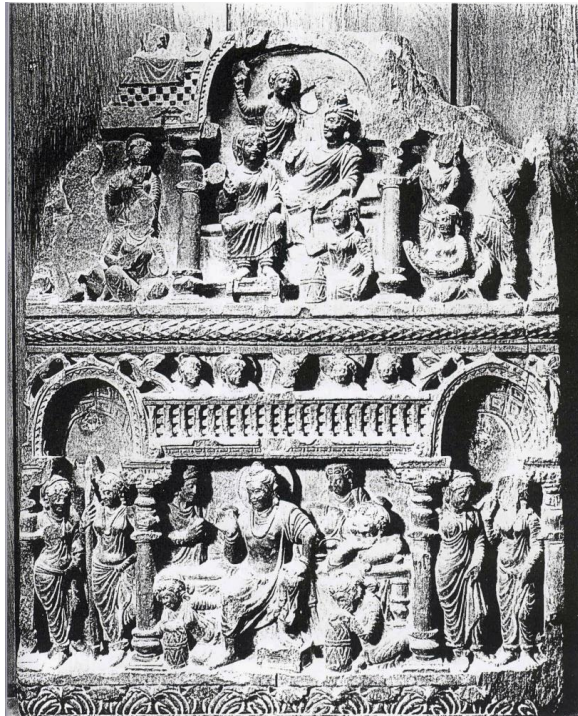
Fig. 25   Life in the Palace (A), The Renunciation (B) from Jamrud, National Museum of
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height is 34.61 cm and width is 15.24 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 362)
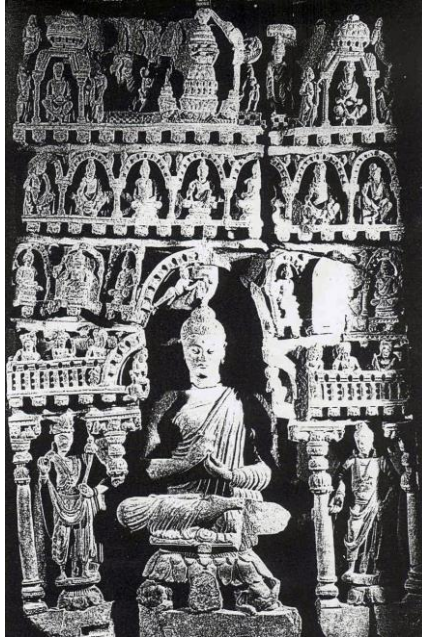
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1957, fig. 257)
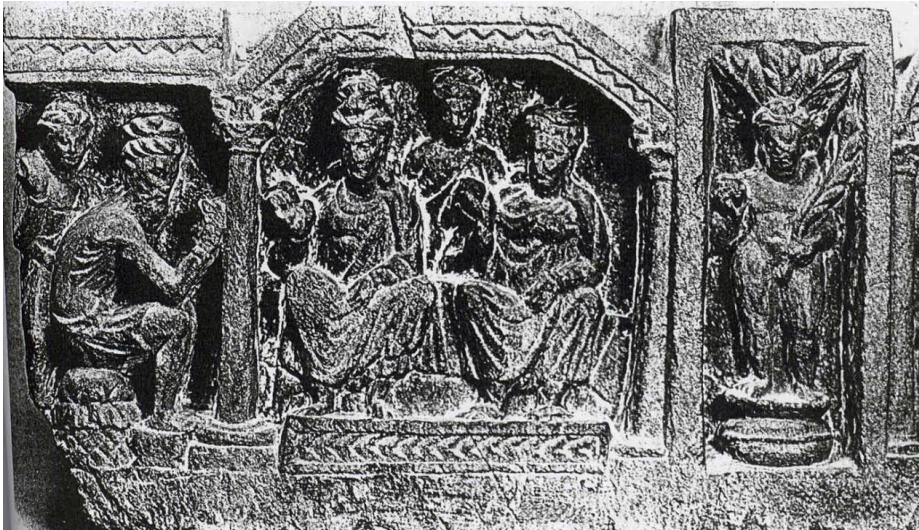
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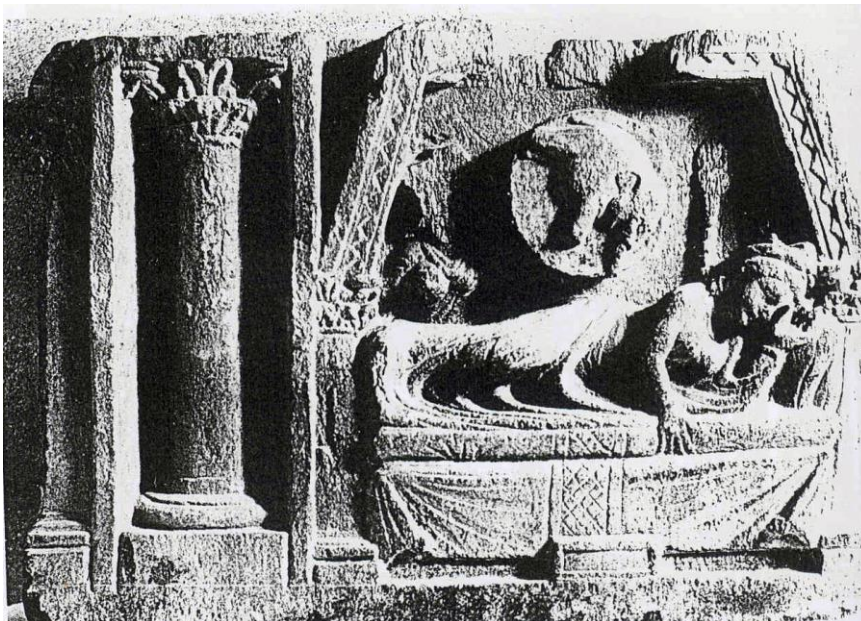
Fig. 30   Dream of Queen Maya from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 18.73 cm and width is 25.72 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 9)

Fig. 31 Maya's dream from Kalawan monastry, Taxila, National Museum, New Delhi, width is 39.63 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 65, fig. 94)

Fig. 32   Bath of Siddhartha (right). Return to Kapilavastu. Procession of Citizens from Jamal Garhi, Lahore Museum height is 15.24 cm and width is 44.45 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 18)
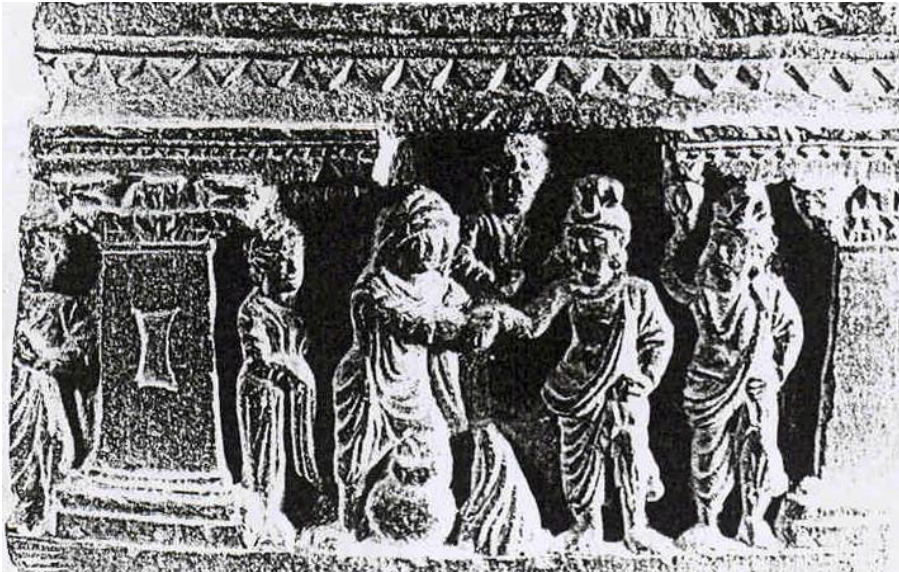
Fig. 33 Marriage of Siddhartha and Yashodhara from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 13.97 cm and width is 18.10 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 33)
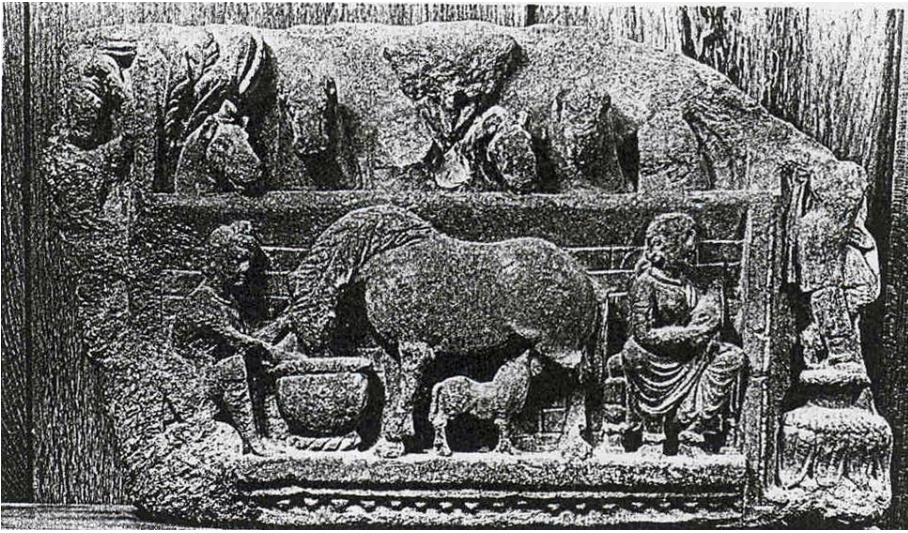
Fig. 34   Birth of Siddhartha's Groom Chandaka and of His Horse Kanthaka, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, height is 21.91 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 19)

Fig. 35   Son of Blind Ascetics is Killed by the King from Kot, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.78 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 5)

Fig. 36 First Meeting with the Brahmans, Peshawar Museum, height is 39.37 cm and width is 49.53 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 54)

Fig. 37 The Buddha and the Nursling of the Dead Woman. Bodhisattva and Worshippers from Jamal Garhi, height is 40 cm and width is 53.34 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 121)

Fig. 38   Brahman Novice and Three Brahmans, Peshawar Museum, height is 25.4 cm
and width is 42.25 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 431)
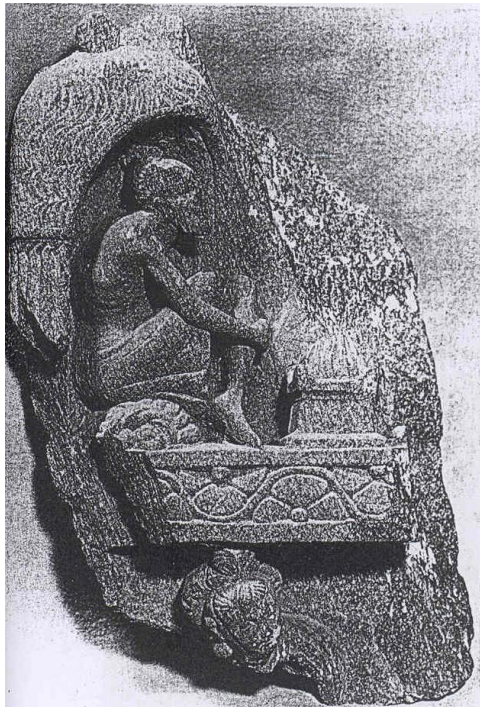
Fig. 39   Hermit inside His Hut from Kalawan, Archaeological Museum, Taxila, height is
22.54 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 432)
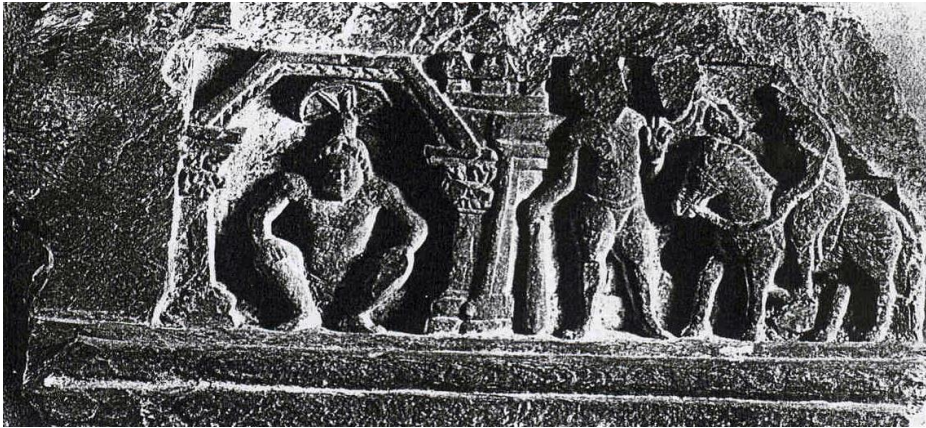
Fig. 40 Adventure and Punishment of Maitrakanyaka from Karamar, Lahore Museum, height is 19.69 cm and width is 37.47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 2)

Fig. 41 Conversion of the Yaksha Atavika from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.78 cm and width is 24.13 cm, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.78 cm and width is 24.13 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 127)

Fig. 42   The Renunciation from Sahrai Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 20.32 cm
(Ingholt, 1957, fig. 44)

Fig. 43 The Temptation by Mara and His Daughters from Bau Darra Kharki, Peshawar
Museum, height is 19 cm and width is 36.83 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 61)

Fig. 44 Conversion of Ugrasena from Sahrai Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 12.7 cm and width is 24.13 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 117)
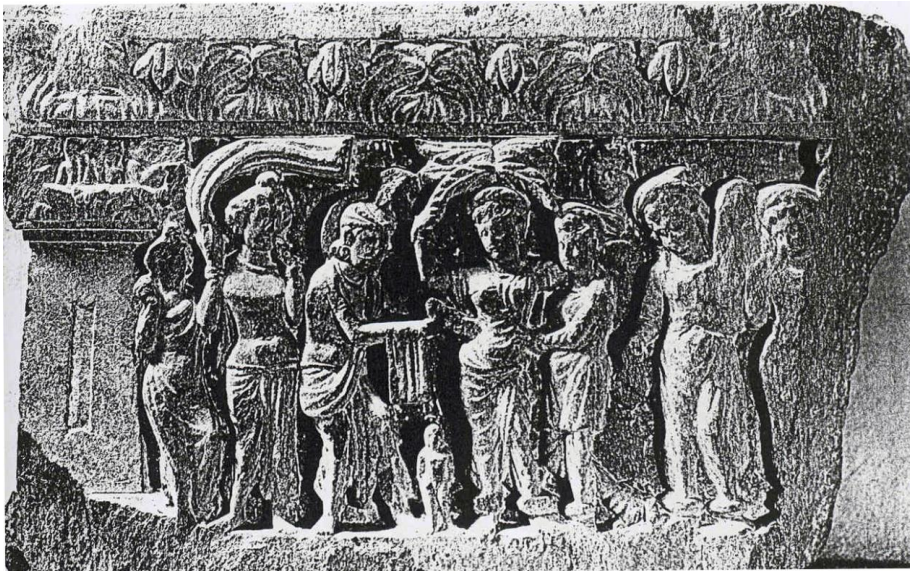

Fig. 45 Birth of Siddhartha and the Seven Steps, Lahore Museum, height is 19 cm and width is 31.12 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 15)

Fig. 46 The First Sermon, The Buddha is seating in the reassuring pose together with his disciples, Lahore Museum, height is 16.51 cm and width is 26 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.76)
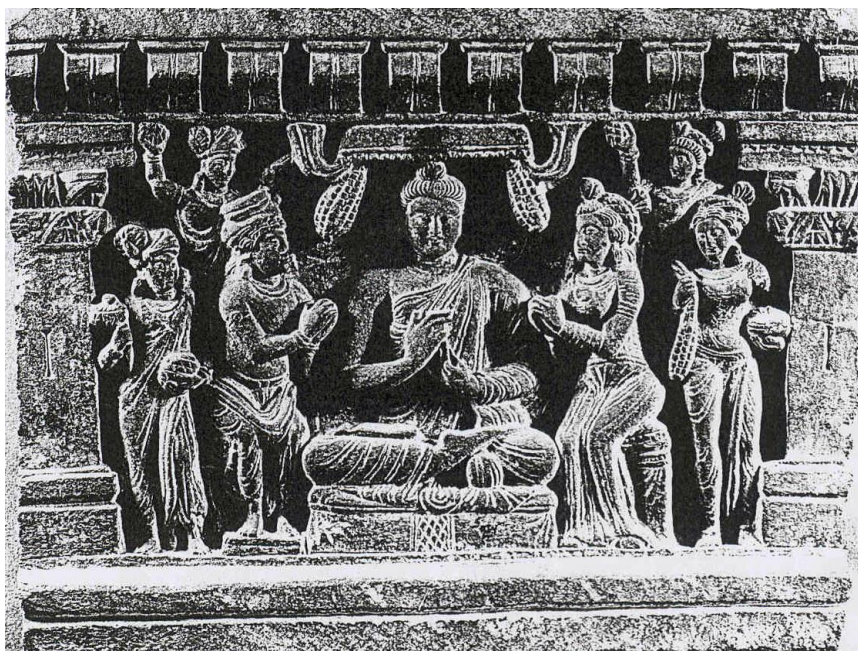

Fig. 47 The Buddha and Worshippers from Sherai Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 37.54 cm and width is 48.26 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.76)
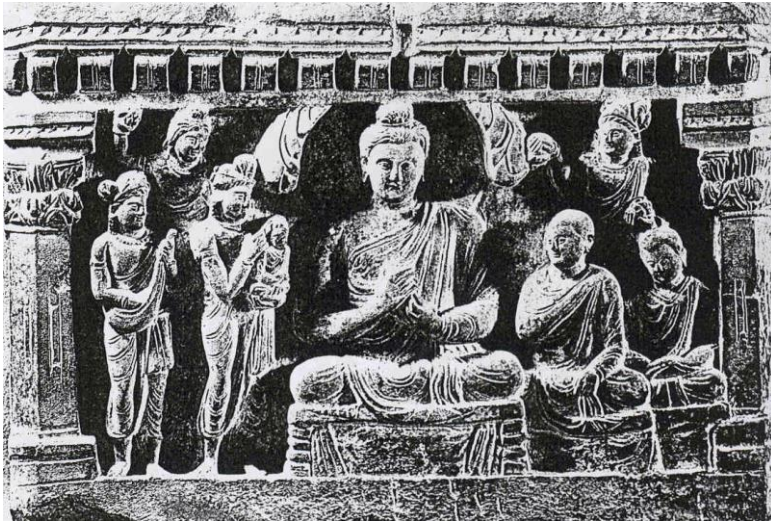
Fig. 48 King Udayana Presents the Buddha Image to the Buddha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 30.48 cm and width is 42.55 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.125)
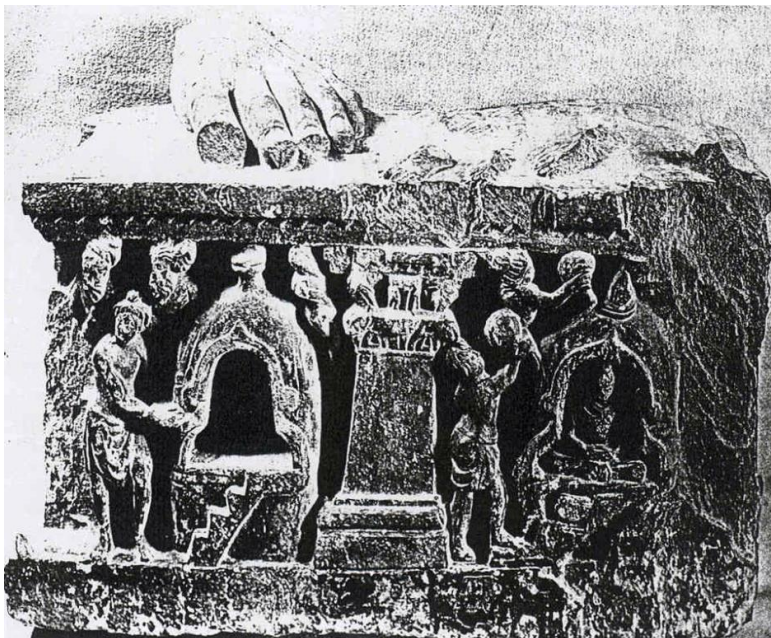

Fig. 49   The Buddha in the Fire Temple at Uruvilva from Takhat-i-Bahai, Peshawar Museum, height is 25.4 cm and width is 31.12 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.84)

Fig. 50   Conversion of Nanda, The enticement scene from Hadda, South Afghanistan,
British Musuem, height is 29.85 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 86, fig.121)

Fig. 51   Symbolic Representation of the First Sermon, Peshawar Museum, height is
12.38 cm and width is 30.48 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.78)

Fig. 52   Cult of a Reliquary from the Peshawar valley, Lahore Museum, height is 9.84
cm and width is 49.21 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.156)

Fig. 53   Miracle of Sravasti from Loriyan Tangai, Calcutta Museum, height is 139.33 cm
(Marshall, 1960 plate 87, fig.122)

Fig. 54   Yaksha with grape-vine scroll, Peshawar Museum, (Marshall, 1960, plate 54,
fig.78)

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