

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE BUDDHIST ART IN THE SWĀT VALLEY*

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The ancient Buddhist art of the Indus-Oxus region has been the focus of scholarly discussion for more than a century and a half. This is frequently referred to, although inappropriately, as Gandhāra or Gandhāran art from the end of nineteenth century AD onward because of two reasons: firstly, it was discovered in the territory called Gandhāra in ancient times; secondly, it is due to broad similarity in the style of art pieces coming from a wide area spreading from the Indus in the east (in Pakistan) to the Oxus in the north-west (northern Afghanistan and part of Central Asia).

Although a huge corpus of research is available concerning broader issues, it is a growing tendency among the scholars to concentrate now on local traditions which contributed to the emergence and development of the so called Gandhāra art. It is under this obligation that the author undertook study of sculptures from different localities in the Swāt Valley most recently excavated by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, (hereafter Peshawar University).

The author has examined here the sculpture from archaeological context and traced its changing perspective in the historical profile. This has also brought to light typical features of the Swāti sculpture and indicated the prevalence of “zonal workshops” in each sub-valley. The workshops of each sub-valley have common characteristic features and are distinguished in a “zonal style”. In the limited area of our research (see Map 3) there emerged three distinct such styles, however, there could be more “zonal styles” in the whole of the Valley. These and other issues that are pointed out at the end of this paper demand the attention of scholars and require a thorough research in the Swāt Valley, a region of prime importance for tracing the history of Buddhist art in the Indus-Oxus region.

We assume that the Swāt Valley has the potential of exhibiting the origin of Gandhāra art, for, it has the clue of antedating the Scytho-Parthian Phase of Buddhist art (which is normally regarded as the source of Gandhāra art) discovered at Sirkap in Taxila¹ and Ai-Khanum in Afghanistan².

1. Location of the Valley

The Swāt Valley lies in the north of Pakistan between Lat. 34°-31'-55" and 35°-53'-40" north and Long. 71°-47'-15" and 73° east. It is a region of rugged hills bounded in the north by lofty mountains of the Himalayan range where some of the peaks exceed the height of 5486 metres. In the south it is bounded by the Malakand range with average height of 1524 metres marking it out from ancient Gandhāra. In the west is the district of Dīr and in the east it is separated by the Kōhistān (mountains) area from the Indus (see Map 1). The total area of the Valley is about 3798 square kilometres and its total population (according to 1981 census) 0.72 million with density of 190 persons per square kilometre³.

Swāt itself is mentioned by the Chinese pilgrims Fa-hian and Hiuen Tsang as Su-ho-to⁴ and Su-po-fa-su-to⁵ or Subhavastu or Suvāstu⁶ respectively. In ancient Sanskrit literature Swāt was known as Subhavastu or Suvāstut⁷, also referred to as Suvastu (Soastus) by Arrian⁸. The geographical nature and the historical narration suggest that the Valley in ancient times was extended from Tīrath (south of the Swāt Kōhistān) in the north-east⁹ down to Malakand in the south and Kalūṅgai in the south-west, where the River Panjkōṛa meets with the Swāt¹⁰. In the east it extends to the Indus watershed

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zone and in the west to that of the Panjkōra. In the British time some of its territory in the west i.e. Adinzai sub-valley, was included in Dīr district, and its southern territory i.e. Rānizai and Thāna, were included in the Malakand Agency or the British protected area¹¹.

2. Historical Perspective of the Valley

The Rock-Shelter of Ghāligai has established an archaeological sequence of the Valley¹². It revealed twenty four cultural strata which are divided into seven periods. The first four periods (I-IV) are correlated to the Chalcolithic Period of Central Asia (Turkamānistān), the Indus Valley (Harappan Culture) and Neolithic Period of Burzahom in Kashmir. The C¹⁴ (radiocarbon) date for these periods is from 2400 to c 1400 B C. The remaining three periods (V-VII) belong to various phases of Gandhāra Grave Culture dated from the 13th to 4th century BC.¹³

The Achaemenians of Iran ruled Gandhāra from the sixth century BC till the invasion of Alexander of Macedonia in 327 BC. Whether Swāt also came under their rule is not known. However, cultural influence of the Persians was clearly marked on the life of the people as depicted by the sculpture. On dividing his army into two divisions at Nikaeia, an unidentified place in the Kabul Valley, Alexander sent one division of the army down to Puṣkalāvātī (modern Chārsadda) while the second was led by him personally. He captured Ora (modern Ūḍigrām) and Bāzīra (modern Barī-kōṭ) in the lower Swāt¹⁴ and defeated Assakēnoi, a mighty tribe in Swāt, at their last retreat the fort of Aornos (an unidentified mountain in Swāt). Soon after Alexander's conquest, a powerful Indian monarch Chandragupta Maurya (c. 321 to 297 B.C.) re-conquered the land up to the limits of Afghanistan and established a stable empire. Under his grandson Aśoka the Great (c. 273-232), if not earlier,¹⁵ the people of Gandhāra and Uḍḍiyāna were converted to Buddhism¹⁶.

The Mauryan Empire declined after the death of Aśoka and north-west India came under the Bactrian Greeks, the Greek settlers of the time of Alexander or earlier,¹⁷ who extended their power in the south to the Kābul Valley and in the south-east to Gandhāra, Uḍḍiyāna, and the west Punjāb. The Bactrian Greeks of India or Indo-Greeks were followed by the Śakas (Scythians¹⁸) from Central Asia and the Parthians from Iran. They in their turn were ousted by the Kuṣāṇas in the middle of the first century AD. Kaniṣka (c 100 AD) was the most famous of all the Kuṣāṇa rulers who, like Aśoka, was a great patron of Buddhism. It was during his time that at Gandhāra the blending of various elements of art took shape of a unique form of Buddhist art now called Gandhāra art. The period of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty was peaceful and prosperous as evidenced in the trade, culture and economic condition of the time.

The Kuṣāṇa dynasty was overpowered by Shapur I, the Sassanian ruler of Iran, in 241 AD. During this period Swāt became an important centre of special Buddhist doctrine mostly influenced by aboriginal cults. This is confirmed by the fact that Swāt was regarded as the birth place of Padmasambhava, the guru who introduced Tantric mysticism to Tibet where he is often regarded as a second Buddha.¹⁹ It was here that King Indrabhūti wrote his Tantric commentaries, the *Uḍḍiyāna-pīṭha*.²⁰ Since the advent of Buddhism in the third century BC until the resurgence of Brāhmanism at the end of the eighth century AD, Swāt remained one of the main centres of Buddhist culture.

The archaeological remains suggest that the Hindu Śāhīs of Hund in Gandhāra, who came to power after the fall of Turk Śāhī dynasty of Afghanistan in 821 or 822 AD,²¹ dominated the Swāt Valley as well for about two centuries. It is evident from a number of building remains of this period. A commander of Mahmūd of Ghazna, most probably Arslān al-Jādhīb, in the beginning of eleventh century AD, defeated a local Hindu ruler of Rājagīra (correctly Rājagrha meaning 'government-house'), a ruined fort on a mountain cliff at Ūḍigrām.²² In due course of time the Valley came under the Dilazāk and Swāti Pathans. In fifteenth or sixteenth century AD the Yūsufzai Pathans (the

present residents) pushed the aboriginal tribes of Swāt towards Hazāra in the east and occupied the land.

3. Indus-Oxus School of Buddhist Art

The huge land mass situated between the Indus and Oxus shall be referred to as the Indus-Oxus Region. Invasions and mass migrations from the Western and Central Asia evolved the cultural and social setup of this Region. It, thus, remained culturally distinct from inner India (Bhārat). The reason may be sought in its geographical setup. Except for short imperial spans (of the Mauryans and Kuṣāṇas), the whole Region was divided into a number of small kingdoms such as Uḍḍiyāna, Gandhāra, Kapiśa, Bactria and others. The history and culture of these ancient kingdoms overlapped to a greater extent because of various factors: social, political, religious, economic, etc. Owing to these reasons Buddhist art that flourished in these kingdoms shared some broad characteristic features, which became the hallmark of this school. We shall, therefore, refer to the synthesis of regional style as the “Indus-Oxus School of Buddhist Art”. But the art style of these kingdoms do not die out. They maintain their identity at least in detail and hence are referred to as “regional styles”. It is quite misleading, therefore, to use the term Gandhāra art for all the “regional styles” that prevailed in the corresponding ancient kingdoms.

The style of the Swāt Valley (in Uḍḍiyāna) appears to be the oldest of all. Lohuizen-de Leeuw, referring to D Faccenna, who excavated Butkaṛa I in Swāt, suggests that some sculptures from Butkaṛa I can be dated to the end of the first century BC on stylistic basis.²³ However, on the same basis and historical context the date can be pushed back to the last quarter of the second century BC. Thus, Buddhist art in the Swāt Valley was well established before the emergence of the so called Gandhāra art in the first century AD (see 7-a below).

4. Method of Presentation

Although the aim of the Buddhist art of India (inner and central) and the Indus-Oxus region remained the same, i.e., to tell the followers about the religion and its practices, the method of its presentation is different in the two regions. In India, narrative reliefs are carved on surrounding railings or gateways²⁴ of stūpas and, thus, are detached from the main core of the stūpa that remains normally plain as seen on those of Bhārhut and Sāñcī stūpas. In the Indus-Oxus region the narrations are wrought in small plates or dressed segments of stones, predominantly schist, which normally were fixed directly on the main core, i.e. the base, drum and dome of a stūpa.²⁵ In the Āndhra region the relief panels too were attached to the core of a stūpa.²⁶ Relief panels are sometimes divided into different vertical sections or compartments with the help of some decorative, architectural or other features in order to separate either different episodes of a single story or scenes from different stories in chronological order, which followed normally from right to left. Thus, it was easier for a pilgrim to read the relief panel in proper sequence as he moved along to circumambulate the stūpa clockwise. However, an exception to this rule is constituted by panels with a single compartment, for example Pl. 1 from Nimogrām,²⁷ wherein the story may begin from any end of a relief panel. Some relief panels have both vertical and horizontal divisions or registers. Scenes in the upper registers normally follow in order those in the lower. In contrast with those of the Indus region the Indian reliefs show a number of episodes of the same story in a single compartment or a medallion without the separation of chronological events from each other.²⁸

Apart from that the Buddhist stūpas of the Indus-Oxus region were normally decorated with relief panels in stone, stucco and clay models were also applied frequently. They illustrate previous birth stories (*jātakas*) and various events from the life of the Buddha. Besides individual figures of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas, other related beings and scenes are also frequently found. Religion was the main driving force behind all these activities. As new rituals were introduced into Buddhism

with the passage of time and space, the atelier associated to the pantheon behaved accordingly. However, the pace of such transformations was depended on how much or less the community was prone to the ritual changes.

5. Religious Elements

The Buddhist Iconology of the Swāt Valley broadly represents four traditions; (i) the Hīnayāna; (ii) Mahāyāna (the cults of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas); (iii) the Tantrayāna and (iv) the Vajrayāna.²⁹

Iconographic evidence shows that both schools of thought, Hīnayāna as well as Mahāyāna, were simultaneously practised from the time of the introduction of Buddhism in the Swāt Valley.³⁰ The former sect regarded the Buddha as a great Master, followed his teachings and never represented him in human form. However, his presence is shown by different symbols, associated with various episodes from his life; his birth by a lotus flower, enlightenment by a *bodhi* tree, death by a stūpa etc. The Mahāyāna sect, on the other hand, depicted the Buddha in human form that ultimately ended up in his deification and his figure, thus, became a cult object.

The cult of Bodhisattvas seems to be an early introduction in the Swāt region, as is suggested by the statement of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hian. He saw a wooden figure of Bodhisattva Maitreya about 80 or 100 feet in height in To-li (Ta-li-lo of Hiuen Tsang), identified with the Dārel Valley to the north of Swāt and which once remained the capital of Uḍḍiyāna,³¹ on the western bank of the Indus.³² This statue is said to have been carved about three hundred years after the death of the Buddha³³ which brings it roughly into the Śaka period. I personally think that the archaeological evidence of this wooden statue (perished long before) may be associated with the find of a huge gold neck-girdle weighing 16 kilograms which was recovered from Patan, some 50 kilometres to the north of Bishām, on the west bank of the Indus.³⁴ The numerous segments of the neck-girdle are decorated with hunting and wild life scenes, which, iconographically, do not match with the Kuṣāṇa art. It is regarded as the work of Scythians of the first century BC.³⁵ This huge and heavy neck-girdle could only have been used for decorating a colossal statue. Its find spot, most probably, mark the place where once stood the giant wooden Bodhisattva figure as mentioned just above. The Bodhisattva cult might have been used parallel to that of the Buddha and would have surpassed the latter in popularity. Because Bodhisattva figures are frequently found in the levels of later periods (approximately from the third century AD onward). Eventually, the cult of Bodhisattvas led the monks away from the original teachings of Buddhism in the third-fourth century AD³⁶ toward Tāntric practices. However, its form, Vajrayāna,³⁷ based on Tantrism,³⁸ is a much later introduction of sixth/seventh century AD.³⁹

The Buddhist art of the Swāt Valley portrays legends, stories and glimpses of contemporary Buddhist life, based on the religious traditions evolving over time. However, the carving tradition of the Swāt Valley remained distinct from that of Gandhāra in general. The development of the Swāt Style of sculpture takes a number of routes. The Buddhist sculptural art of the Indus region does, in my opinion, begin in Swāt and its distinctive style was eventually transmitted to neighbouring Gandhāra and Afghanistan.⁴⁰ With the growth and development of the Gandhāran style, what is possibly the mature form of the Swāt Style under the Kuṣāṇas, an influence in reverse order that is from Gandhāra to Swāt is detectable along with its diffusion into other regions such as Afghanistan⁴¹ and India⁴².

6. Some Distinctive Features of Sculpture in the Swāt Valley

The earliest relief carving of Butkaṛa III is very rough (see Pls. 2, 3). Its architectural as well as figural representation portrays three basic traditions, ie, local, Bactrian and Indian, from the admixture of which evolved the Swāt Style. Later reliefs from the Swāt Valley are shallow as if the

workshops have followed the Indian tradition of carving as seen on the railings of the Bhārhut Stūpa,⁴³ dated to c 150 BC. Lines and curves marking the features of figures are very soft and gently merge into each other⁴⁴ in contrast to those of Gandhāran figures which are firmly expressed.⁴⁵ This quality of soft-looking appearance of the figures links the Swāt Style to that of Bhārhut and Sāñcī in India. But, contrary to the figures from the latter sites, the anatomy of early Swāti figures is neither schematically worked out nor sensually exaggerated such as females with ample breasts and buttocks, and a thin waist.⁴⁶

The bodies of the Swāti figures are somewhat shorter and normally have broad, round or square, flatter faces than the standard “Gandhāran”. They have broader chins and straight high-bridged noses while those of Gandhāra have oval or triangular faces with smaller chins and having a slightly curved, beaked noses with sharp-ends besides other distinctive features as mentioned above.⁴⁷ The eyes of figures in the Swāt style are shallow and prominent. The eye-ridges of figures are boldly defined which differ from sharply marked Gandhāran ones. Eyes are wide and prominent, eye-sockets shallow, and the eye-balls not deeply embedded as is apparently the norm in Gandhāran figures. In some cases the irises are marked by incised circles and the pupils by a dint. Broadly speaking, human figures in typical Swāt Style are not idealised, but naturalised, for, the sculptor conceived them as vehicles of ideas or messages rather than pieces of art themselves, like those of other regions.

Schematic and rigid arrangement of clothes frequently seen in Gandhāran style,⁴⁸ is not usually used in Swāt reliefs,⁴⁹ where folds are wrought out with incisions or deep cuts. The full and normally heavy drapery of Swāti female figures is quite dissimilar to the Indian, which have few clothes or are nude.⁵⁰ However, certain individual standing female figures⁵¹ and reliefs of later periods, under the influence of Tantric Buddhism,⁵² do show such an Indian influence. Leaving aside a small number of individual figures, the distinctive feature of Swāt reliefs is objective rather than idealistic as is the case for Gandhāran and Indian styles. The latter lose the observer in the physical beauty or decorative intricacies of carving.

The Swāt Style has salient schematic features of its own. Figures are no doubt active, performing certain actions, however, such movements are not vigorous like those seen on the railings and gateways (*torāṇas*) around stūpas at Sāñcī, Bhārhut and on the stūpa of Amarāvātī. Normally the figures are posed frontally, with three quarters profile from the front and occasionally back, but true profile (see Pl. 4, right figure) is extremely rare. In some cases frontality is stressed, the lower half of figures is depicted in profile while the upper body is twisted to the front or vice-versa (see Pl. 3). Perspective is not properly tackled and objects in the background appear to be of the same size as the foreground objects (see Pl. 5). Symbolism in the representation of the Buddha, Bodhisattva and other important figures does exist. They are depicted larger in size in contrast to the surrounding figures (see Pls. 6, 7). Although rigidity, ie, stillness, schematism in the decoration of garments and its folds may be noticed, reality is emphasised in the physical appearance of the figures. By reality we do not mean realism or perfectionism in human form as we do not find the sculptor striving for any model of human beauty.

Sites along or close to the ancient trade routes of the Valley exhibit foreign cultural influence more than those situated away from them. As we come down the Valley, close to the border of Gandhāra, the features and style of figures as well as the technique of their execution come closer to those of Gandhāra.⁵³ However, features of the Swāt figures are quite distinct from those of Gandhāran origin. Compare Pls. 42-a, b and 43-a, b from Chaṭpaṭ Period II of Dani with Pls. 199 to 223 of Ingholt.⁵⁴ The influence of the typical Gandhāran on the Swāt Style was actually a repercussion of the latter style that had gone originally from Swāt to Gandhāra as well as Afghanistan.

The work of several generations and multi-cultural assemblages flourishing in various regions of Swāt for centuries resulted in the formation of the Swāt Style. This fact is also responsible for the development of a variety of sculptural traditions in different areas of the Valley. In this paper, a systematic typology over time of Buddhist sculpture has been associated directly with the well known local sequence of historical events. It is virtually impossible to seek to define accurately any sculptural or stylistic sequence based upon the simple archaeological context of these pieces. The quality of the contextual data available and, also, the reuse of older sculpture on stūpas of later period or vice-versa usually will not permit this. For that reason the large corpus of sculpture used here has been organised in relation to a broad series of historical periods or “events” (i.e. reigns of rulers defined numismatically, as at Butkaṛa I).

7. Changing Perspective of the Swāt Style

The chronology established, although not without some reservation, for individual sites in the Swāt Valley by their respective excavators enables us to compare sculptures of synchronic periods of these sites. This comparison not only gives us evolutionary stages over the passage of time but, also, the development of Swāti sculpture in historical perspective of the Buddhist art in the Swāt Valley (see Chronological Table). The advancing study of numismatics and increasing knowledge of history and archaeology of the Indus-Oxus region have taken us forward in our assumptions than we were at few decades earlier.

7-a. Formative Stage

The foundation of Buddhist iconography of the Indus region was probably laid at Butkaṛa III in Swāt. The site of Butkaṛa III lies about one kilometre east from Swāt Museum, Saidū Sharīf, on the right side of the road leading to Gul-kada (formerly Butkaṛa). It was explored by Prof Abdur Rahman of the Department of Archaeology, Peshawar University, and excavated by him in two seasons of 1982 and 1985.⁵⁵ It is situated near another site Butkaṛa II (a Gandhāra Grave Culture/Complex site explored and excavated by the Italian Mission) in a glen beside a hill torrent called Narey Khwar. The torrent collects water of Kaṭo Khpa hill and drains into the Jāmbīl Khwar to the north.

Butkaṛa III (see Map 2; Butkaṛa III Ground Plan; Pl. 8) is a stūpa and monastery site and is unique in the whole of the Indus region.⁵⁶ Its six shrines and a few cells are hewn into a clayey-rock. The excavator has distinguished four phases in the cultural depositions of the site.⁵⁷ The second and third of these phases are dated by numismatic finds⁵⁸ and establish ‘terminus ante quem’ and ‘terminus post quem’ for Phases I and IV respectively. Phase I is represented by Shrines B, C and D, and the inner chamber of that of A. Structures of this phase are in early diaper masonry, dated to the era before Soter Megas. Phase II, associated with the coin of Soter Megas (AD 80-90⁵⁹), is represented by Stūpas No. 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 10 (all situated in an open court) and, *Vihāras* 1 and 2, the kitchen and workshop areas. The masonry of all of them is semi-diaper. Phase III is characterised by Stūpas No. 2, 5 and 6 (also in the open court) and the Shrine E. The masonry of this phase, which yielded a coin of Vāsudeva, is partly diaper and partly ashlar. Phase IV, dated to Post-Vāsudeva era, is represented by Shrine F and its four stūpas.

Stūpas in the open court as well as stūpa-shrines of Butkaṛa III remained well preserved, burned under a four metre thick colluvial deposit. The construction of these shrines (see Pl. 9) suggests that it was one of the earliest sites in the Swāt Valley prepared for Buddhist monks who came here from India as missionaries. Hewn into the clayey rock of the mountain cliff in imitation of the rock-cut *caitya*-halls of western India, these shrines fulfilled religious needs of the monks and satisfied their taste. This assumption is further confirmed by carving of the *caitya* entrances in reliefs after the Indian fashion (see Pls. 2, 3). We also presume that the monks staying in the monastery of the site

might have supervised the construction work of a huge site of Butkara I, closely situated in its north at the opening of the Jāmbīl valley, for ordinary Buddhists and pilgrims.

The stūpas in the open court together with those in the shrines yielded rich sculpture, which appears to have been developed by combining local culture with Indian models under the influence of the skill, mythology and art-form of the west. Throughout the life span of the site no figure of a Bodhisattva, in reliefs or individual, has been found. This, perhaps, indicates either early establishment of the site before the introduction of the Bodhisattva cult or the absence of the followers of the same cult. However, the cults of *caitya*, *triratna*, stūpa (see Pls. 10, 11, 6) and of the Buddha were in vogue right from the very beginning and later on, were augmented by two *jātakas*, *Dīpaṅkara* and *Śyāma* (see Pls. 12, 13). The earliest relief panels of Phase I of Butkara III show a Vedic-Persian architectural tradition⁶⁰ (see Pls. 2, 3, 14-16). They seem to have been carved in the time of the Indo-Greeks, especially those who were displaced from Bactria by the Śakas in c 130 BC. The early Greek settlers, who were soldiers, came from Bactria in c 190 BC in order to conquer and annex the Indus region. While they were engaged in the military expedition here, they were severed from their parent land, Bactria, by an internal revolt. The enmity between the two groups, Bactrian-Greeks in Bactria and Indo-Greeks in the Indus region, might have stopped them from establishing bilateral relationship for at least a generation or so. On the other hand, it seems improbable that any artist could have followed the corps in their purely military operations to the Indus region and influenced significantly the sculptural tradition at this stage. However, the actual 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 Śakas. We strongly presume that after living for a few decades in Swāt, some of the later Indo-Greek settlers moved further to the south-east to an important junction point of Taxila, across the Indus, and founded their colony. Thus, it is more logical to believe that the earliest cultural levels at Taxila representing Greek culture,⁶¹ mixed with an indigenous one,⁶² is because of this. They, thus, planted the Swāti Style there, that is why we see resemblance between the sculpture of both the places as observed by Lhuilien-de Leeuw.⁶³

The beginning of fusion of various traits, indigenous and foreign, is visible at this early stage.⁶⁴ The campaniform and Ionic capitals of columns are the ancient Persian legacy. The *caitya*⁶⁵ entrances resemble that of the Lomas Rṣi cave, in the Barābar Hills of Bihār, of the third century BC along with those carved on the railing of the Bhārhut stūpa of the second century BC⁶⁶ and that of Bhājā⁶⁷ of the first century BC. Pot-like, *kaśāśa*, column bases are an indigenous feature (imitation of wooden architecture) preserved in the Kārī *caitya* hall and others.⁶⁸ The figure of the Buddha, standing in *abhaya mudrā* in stone was, probably, introduced in this period (see Pl. 14). Coming from an early cultural level and associated with early architectural models in reliefs the figure of the Buddha, crude in form and execution, was most probably created by the workshops of Butkara III. Model for this representation might have been the imitation of pre-existing standing figures, non-Buddhist, in India.⁶⁹ Human figures under flanking arches in the Pl. 2 show gods Brahmā and Indra standing in *añjali mudra*. The Buddha is dressed in local drapery,⁷⁰ while Brahmā and Indra in the Indian costumes, shawl and *dhotī*.⁷¹ *Brāhmaṇa* (the priestly class in Vedic and Hindu religion.) and the Kāśyapa (a Hindu ascetic), under the right and central arches respectively of the relief panel Pl. 15, are also clad in the Indian dress. An important point here is that cultural relationships between the present day Indian and Pakistan (the Indus region) were established from the time immemorial⁷² continuing during the Mauryan, Indo-Greeks⁷³, Śakas, Kuṣāṇas and even in later periods.

Both iconic and an aniconic traditions were flourishing side by side⁷⁴ as is suggested by Pl. 14. Also, from the very start the Indo-Greeks introduced their own divinities as well as culture, as seen in some of the relief panels Pls. 3, 16, 15. In the former two, Pls. 3 and 16, goddess Athena⁷⁵, wearing a helmet and carrying a spear, placed on her right shoulder, in her right hand while holding a shield in the other. In the Greek mythology she personified wisdom and skilled-crafts.⁷⁶ For this reason she

was probably associated with the pantheon at this primary stage of the development of the Buddhist iconography. The figure under the central arch of both the panels, just referred to, gives a look of a European and could probably be Dionysus, the Graeco-Roman god of fertility.⁷⁷ This would supplement evidence of another Greek influence at this early stage. In the former panel he is facing right and holding something in his right hand that could be one of his attributes: spring, vine, ivy or a bowl of wine⁷⁸, while in the latter panel he is walking to left carrying a vessel, probably of wine, in his hands. He is flanked on either side by a female figure under an arch who might represent Bacchantes, his female followers⁷⁹. Pl. 17 shows local influence, where the Indian and Central Asian features are mixed together.⁸⁰ As a whole the workmanship is very crude, the relief on all the panels is very shallow and features of the figures are not clear. With such humble beginnings, the Swāt Style became the model for all regions in the Indus-Oxus territory and created the first ever human representation, in our opinion, of the Buddha. Recent exploration along the Karakoram highway has brought new ideas to the forefront regarding the origin of the Buddha's image. AK Narain rightly points out that in the light of new discoveries Uḍḍiyāna or Kashmir could possibly be the areas that took the lead in creating the first image of the Buddha or Bodhisattva.⁸¹

From the above discussion it becomes clear that Butkaṛa III in Swāt, probably, headed the way in producing the image of the Buddha and in due course was followed by other contemporary and later Buddhist schools in other regions. "But the artist[s] [of other regions who were recipient of this innovation] never followed a definite model. Every school of sculptors impressed its own racial type upon the Buddhas it created."⁸² Likewise the architectural setting, costumes and decorative elements depicted in reliefs were also drawn from the immediate living environment. Not only did religious concepts come from the land of its origin, also the style of the deified Buddha is Indian.⁸³ But, nowhere else other than Uḍḍiyāna was there an incentive to create the Buddha's first image in human form. This idea might have been emerged by close contact with the Greek culture, as we have traced it in the early relief carvings of Butkaṛa III just above.

7-b. Śaka-Parthian Influence

The next move of the workshops is seen in the Śaka-Parthian period. Different tribes of the Śakas, pushed by the Kuṣāṇas from Bactria, entered the Indus region by various routes and subsequently settled in the Indus region and further east in the Ganges-Jamunā plains⁸⁴. Socio-culturally, all these tribes were in contact with each other. While they inhabited Bactria they had accustomed themselves to the Greek culture there,⁸⁵ and under the long influence of Parthian or Pahlavas⁸⁶ they were influenced by their culture as well. Thus, they brought a mixed culture into the Indus region (see Pls. 18, 19 from the same *harmikā*) and no doubt enriched the 'zonal workshops'. That is why an eclectic art, mixing all the five styles Bactrian, Pahlavas, Śaka, Indus region and Indian emerged during this time (see Pl. 17). After the coming of the Parthians to the Indus region at about the end of the first century BC, the workshops became more refined and, within the indigenous style⁸⁷, exhibited comparatively more Greek and Parthian elements (see Pl. 20). Not less evident is the Indian influence, especially in sensuality, fleshy bodies and dress of some of the garland bearers (see Pl. 21). However, in some cases features of either one style or the other dominate (see the plates). This could be due to a sculptor adept in a particular style or 'wish of the sponsor'.⁸⁸

The stūpa site of Charg-ṣaṭṭ was explored and excavated by Peshawar University in 1981. It lies about 2 kilometres to the north of Khānpūr Village, situated 15 kilometres to the north-west of Chak-dara in District Dir on the right bank of the Swāt River. According to the excavator, Mr Farid Khan, the site had an upper and a lower terraces which he classified into period I and II respectively.⁸⁹ The lower terrace had two square-based while the upper a round-based stūpas. These terraces yielded two different kinds of sculpture in material and style. Sculpture from the upper terrace, executed in grey schist, is rough in style and some of the examples depict figures that are

very close to the Scythians on the basis of their dress. Mr Khan has placed them, stylistically, earlier than those from the lower terrace. The reliefs from the latter terrace are in green phyllite. They exhibit deep carving, excellent workmanship and strong Western influence in style. The present author does not agree to this periodisation and thinks this sequence should be reversed for reasons discussed in the sec. 7-c below for Chārg-paṭē Period II. On the basis of style, the site can be dated roughly from the beginning of the first century AD to second/third century AD.

The workshop of Period I (Period II of the excavator) of Chārg-paṭē, situated in the Adinzai sub-valley in the south-west of the Swāt Valley, represents entirely a series of features unique in the whole Swāt corpus. Sculptures of this period are executed in green schist and are more refined, deeply cut and highly decorative. Greek, Roman and Pahlava features are dominant (see Pl. 22). The degree of carving shows high skill of the workshop, which flourished probably in the second quarter of the first century AD.

Workshops established during the Scytho-Parthians' rule in the Valley continued until the advent of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty. This was a transitional phase of the Buddhist art in the Indus region which developed from zonal styles⁹⁰ to that of an international one under the Kuṣāṇas, a politically unifying force.

7-c. The Kuṣāṇa Predominance

For the first time in history all regions of the three big rivers, Indus, Oxus and Ganges, were united under the rule of the Early Kuṣāṇa dynasty, c 60-240 AD. This provided an opportunity of cultural admixture in these regions. This cultural admixture has strong influence on Gandhāra, Kapiśa and Bactria. Swāt was also affected to a great extent. The Mathurā⁹¹ and Āndhra⁹² regions in India, too, received the impression of this culture. The archaic style in Swāt continued until the end of the first century AD. Compare Pl. 23 from Phase II with Pl. 21 from Phase I of Butkaṛa III. However, in some cases the workshop of this period is still embedded, not only in the Śāka tradition (see Pl. 24), but also in that of the Parthians (see Pl. 25). During the early stage of this period a fresh style and a new mode for the Buddha were introduced (see Pl. 26⁹³ and 27 from Butkaṛa III). He is shown sitting in *dhyāna mudrā* dressed in Indian traditional style, with nude bosom. This distinction might have been introduced in the beginning to differentiate him as a Bodhisattva, enlightenment seeker, than to be a Buddha, an enlightened one. In the first phase, however, he is invariably shown fully covered in a monastic robe and sitting in *abhaya mudrā* on a seat under the *bodhi* tree. Or it might be representing him in his Buddhahood as can be guessed from later period illustrations from elsewhere in which his left shoulder is shown bare.⁹⁴ Although these reliefs (from Butkaṛa III just mentioned) were fixed on the stūpa of the second phase, stylistically they fall in the workshops of the first period.⁹⁵ Thus, this type goes back to the Śāka period which is also clear from Pl. 37. Apart from Brahmā and Indra, the Buddha is surrounded by four other figures, whose features and hair style are Śākan⁹⁶. Such representation of the Buddha, with right shoulder bare, is called *kapardin-type* of Mathūrā from Swāt by Lohuizen-de Leeuw.⁹⁷ However, our figures from Butkaṛa III, just mentioned, not only antedate the Kaṭṛā as well as the *kapardin-type*⁹⁸ of Mathūrā Buddha/Bodhisattva, but, also provide a model for the Mathūrā-type and not the other way round, for which she has advocated.⁹⁹ The radiated halo, behind the head of the Bodhisattva (see Pl. 27) could not be a reason of its later production, because, such type of decoration can be seen on the head-bands of some of the figures of the preceding workshop (see Pl. 20).

The workshop of the Kuṣāṇa period may be marked with the panels from Butkaṛa III (see Pls. 28, 7). In the first one, showing the Buddha seated in *abhaya mudrā* and flanked by Brahmā and Indra in *añjali mudrā*, clothes are billowing and the face of the Buddha is squarish with broad forehead and arched eyebrows. In the second one, a fragment showing the Buddha and a *vajrapāṇi* standing under

a door, coat of the *Vajrapāṇi* is in a typical style of the Kuṣāṇas. The last panel, depicting the birth of the Buddha, combines two features that show the faces and hair style of the Śakas and the female dress, sleeved shirt and baggy trousers with heavy folds, of the Kuṣāṇa period.

The Indus style, evolved under the Kuṣāṇas, is seen in the specimens illustrated by Pl. 29, while a typical Gandhāran style that reached the valley during Kaniṣka's rule is depicted by Pls. 30, 30-a. Western and eastern influences at this period are better represented by Pls. 31¹⁰⁰ for the Grecian, and 32 for the Indian features.

Apart from the curvi-linear relief panels, there are a few arched (trefoil) panels from Butkara III, depicting various subjects: like the Buddha standing in *abhaya mudrā* Māra's attack, the Buddha seated in *abhaya mudrā*, Maitreya seated in *abhaya mudrā* and the worship of the begging bowl and turban of the Buddha.

The contemporary workshop of Lōe-baṅṅ belonging to the mature Kuṣāṇa period is represented by Pl. 33, while the one belonging to the Late Kuṣāṇa period is portrayed by Pl. 34 from Lōe-baṅṅ. The stūpa of Lōe-baṅṅ situated about a kilometre and a half south-east in a gully above the village of the same name. Stein described it a "badly destroyed" one and compared it to 'stūpa no. v' of Sharārai, which was of moderate size, situated at a small distance. It was excavated by Peshawar University in 1985. It is square in plan and has a flight of stairs on the eastern side and is preserved up to the level of the dome, which is destroyed by treasure hunters. The nearby probable monastery in the west is not yet excavated. The excavation report of the Lōe-baṅṅ site is still awaited, therefore the chronological division of the sculptures is not possible at this stage. However, on stylistic basis, it can be bracketed between the second quarter of the first century BC to the mid second century AD.

The sculptural workshop of Period II of the Chag-patē flourished in the Early Kuṣāṇa period. It is executed in grey schist and its work is much inferior technically as compared to the preceding Period. The beginning of this period is marked by the long frieze, Pl. 35, and all the four scenes on a *harmikā* Pls. 36, 37¹⁰¹, that belongs to the first half of the second century AD. Kārttikeya (originally a Hindu god of war adopted by the Buddhist Pantheon), sitting on a peacock-throne holding a spear in his right hand and wearing a bow across, is depicted by Pl. 38.¹⁰² He is dressed in tight-fitting trousers and an armoured coat. The style of the armoured coat can be compared to that of figures from period I of Chaṭpaṭ and Pl. XXX-b of Ackermann, both dated to the second century AD.¹⁰³ Placing this workshop in the second century AD is also confirmed by a piece (see Pl. 39) found in the same context, imported¹⁰⁴ from the Āndhra region. Its style and execution, related to those of the Āndhra, can be compared to the figures in the top compartment of one of the small pillars, dated to the second century¹⁰⁵ AD, from Amarāvati.

7-d. The Kuṣāṇo-Sassanian Influence

The Shnai-sha stūpa is situated about a kilometre to the south of the village Baṭora, lying adjacent to the village of Guligrām in the north, some six kilometres to the south of Saidū Sharīf a little off the road that leads to Marghuzār in a glen that descends from the mountain peak called Tarkhanṛa. MA Stein and G Tucci mentioned it as 'Shinasi-gumbat' and 'Shanesha' in their accounts respectively.¹⁰⁶ This was excavated in 1989 by Mr Nazir Khan (then the Curator of the Swāt Museum) of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, and subsequently by Dr Abdur Rahman (then the Professor of Archaeology, University of Peshawar) in 1990 and 1991.¹⁰⁷

The foundation of the Shnai-sha stūpa seems to have been laid down during the time of the early Kuṣāṇas and the activity continued there until the rise of the Hindu Śahis.¹⁰⁸ The whole life of the site is thus, divided into three periods, of which the first two are Buddhist. The first period of the site

comprises two phases, the early and the later Kuṣāṇas, with a break between them, however, cultural break could not be determined because of the reuse of sculpture in the second phase.¹⁰⁹ Apart from a few relief panels like Pl. 40, that survived from the early Kuṣāṇa period, the majority of them are executed during Kusāno-Sassanians and Later Kuṣāṇas' period. Reliefs became realistic, individual details are worked out and over-crowding of figures in scenes is abandoned. Different physiognomical features and influences are distinctly visible on the workshop of the first period of Shnai-sha (see Pls. 41¹¹⁰-44).

The second and third phases of Butkaṛa III are contemporary with this period, yet there is no major mutual influence on each other's "workshops". Both the sites, situated in different valleys, are about ten miles away from each other. This leads us to the conclusion that each locality probably had its own group of sculptors or a "workshop". Nevertheless, "workshops" of some sites in the Swāt Valley are contemporary with the typical Gandharan phase. Apart from certain broad characteristic features, as a whole the iconography of the Swāt Style is quite distinct from that of Gandhāra.¹¹¹

The site of Marjānai¹¹² was explored and excavated by Peshawar University in 1982. This stūpa site lies about 21 kilometres to the west of Migaora on the right bank of the Swāt River in the Kabal Tehsil in the Shamozaī sub-valley, situated adjacent to the north of that of Adinzai. The excavator, Shahnazar Khan, has reported two phases on the basis of numismatic finds. Phase I is assigned to the period of the Kuṣāṇas and Late Kuṣāṇas, while Phase II to the Kusano-Sassanians.¹¹³

This site exhibits products of different "workshops" which on the basis of style may be bracketed from mid second century AD (the time of Kaniṣka) down to third or fourth century AD. The "workshop" of the Early Kuṣāṇas is represented here by Pl. 45. In these examples the Scythian, Parthian and Indian features are still prominent. Sculptural evidence in this context is the figure of the Buddha, standing in *abhaya mudrā* under an arch in Pl. 46, whose features can be compared to the Kaniṣka's coin¹¹⁴ that bears an almost similar figure. This proves that this figure was already in vogue, therefore, it was possible for the mint master to cast it on the coin.

The next workshop from this site shows baroque, decorative, features of figures, dressed in the Pahlava costumes as seen in Pl. 47. The Late Kuṣāṇa "workshop" attained more realistic features and the figures became more Indianised in appearance, Pls. 48, 58. The first is the Buddha seated on a throne in *abhaya mudrā* while the second one is a heavily bejewelled Bodhisattva (mutilated).

During this time sculptural workshops of the Swāt Valley advanced well enough to reproduce almost any style current or past in the Indus region. Various examples illustrate this. However, a typical style of this phase is depicted by Pl. 13 (from Butkaṛa III), showing the *Śāma Jātaka*. Background detail at this stage is almost finished and much attention is paid to realistic depiction of the figures, their magnification and actions. Pl. 49 (from Butkaṛa III), one of the panels of a *harmikā*, carved out of sixteen individual pieces (Pl. 50), exhibiting the Buddha seated in *abhaya mudrā* and flanked by Brahmā and Indra in *añjali mudra*. The physical form of figures and their attitude are stylised and clumsy. However, they depict the Sassanian influence in their dress, which is more elaborately decorated with numerous thin folds. The survival of the Greek and Parthian traditions is observed in two more panels, Pls. 51, 52 representing *amorini* (singular *amorino*; a stout naked or almost naked Cupid like figure/s—not winged, in most cases, in the Indus-Oxus Buddhist reliefs—usually carrying a garland.) under arches, and multiple scenes in two-tiered panel respectively.

7-e. Kidara Kuṣāṇa and Early Brahmanical Dominance

At Shnai-sha, fresh workshops are seen active from the time of the Kidara Kuṣāṇas until the advent of the Hindu Śahi period.¹¹⁵ In the beginning of this period were added some Bodhisattva figures (see Pl. 53) and a few seats (see Pl. 54) while in the end is a standing statue of Śiva Mahādeva (see Pl. 55).

The Bodhisattva figures are of Maitreya, Padmapāṇi, Avalokiteśvara and those unidentified due to mutilation. The figure of Bodhisattva Maitreya (see Pl. 56) seems to be earlier in the whole group. We see Parthian influence much in its execution as well as other figures, *vidyādhara*s (Bearers of wisdom; Figures flying overhead of deities while bearing garlands.) and a young Brāhmaṇa, that surround it. The figures of the *vidyādhara*s and the Brāhmaṇa were recovered separately and are put together with the main figure here).¹¹⁶ Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (see Pl. 57) is so similar to the one recovered in excavation from Pāṇṛ (Invoice No. P. 626; see Pl. 58) now in the Swāt Museum, as if they are the work of the same workshop or perhaps the same artist (their find spots are situated about 15 kilometres apart). Another Bodhisattva Maitreya, Pl. 53, is somewhat similar in its execution to the one from an unknown place in Swāt (Invoice No. V. 47; see Pl. 59) in the Swāt Museum. The Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara (see Pl. 60) sitting on a chair in *rajālalit āsana* (One leg pendant on the floor while the other rests on it across.), can be compared to the one excavated from Lōe-baṇṛ (see Pl. 61), but that from Shnai-sha is much bigger in size and is contemporary to its smaller version from the Chaṭpaṭ¹¹⁷ site (Chatpat No. 109¹¹⁸, Dīr Museum), which is some forty-five kilometres to the south-west of Shnai-sha in the Adinzai sub-valley. On the basis of somewhat similarity in their pose and execution, we presume therefore that all the three figures, just mentioned above, of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara are almost contemporary. In their workmanship they are different however.

Three seats/pedestals of the figures of the Buddha or Bodhisattva were found in situ on the west side of the main stūpa. They depict the Indus region style (see Pl. 54). The *amorini* shown on the seat's front, are feeding lions that support the seat. They are sitting in various poses and have Indian and Western Asiatic features, short stout pot-bellied young beings, with snail-shell curly hair and wearing different kinds of clothes.

The last figure executed at the closing of this period is that of Śiva Mahādeva [probably Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi] (see Pl. 55). The style of carving and features of the figure brings it under the Brahmanical influence that became stronger from the sixth century AD onward. Beyond this time strong Indian influence in the iconography of Swāt is observed that probably continued to the ninth/tenth century AD.¹¹⁹ (See plate 62, representing figures that are dated to the eighth century AD).

8. Chronological Analysis

Barger and Wright, who first systematically excavated a few sites in Swāt and well-documented the retrieved archaeological material¹²⁰, could not establish chronology of the Buddhist art for the Valley satisfactorily and linked the sculpture from the sites to the general stream of Gandhāra art.¹²¹ The Italian Mission has been working since 1956 in Swat with detailed recording. Although they have established individual chronological sequences for excavated sites, a single chronological reference-sequence which can fix all Buddhist sites in Swāt is still awaited. AH Dani, former professor of the Department of Archaeology, Peshawar University, after excavating a number of sites in south-western Swāt, Adinzai sub-valley, proximated the chronology of that area on the variety of material—blue schist stone, green phyllite stone, stucco and plaster, and terracotta—used for sculpture supported with stratigraphic and numismatic evidence. These sites are bracketed between later half of the first century AD and the end of seventh century AD¹²²

HC Ackermann established chronology of ‘Gandhāra art’ (better to be called ‘Buddhist art of the Indus region’, because it includes sculptures from both Gandhāra as well as Uḍḍiyāna regions) on stylistic analysis, which, without consideration of historical¹²³ or archaeological context of the material concerned, is a dangerous¹²⁴ strategy. In the absence of historical or archaeological data one has to find some way out, as he did. But, the possibility of recurrency of styles at different time and space can never be excluded and, thus, this formula of pure ‘stylistic analysis’ may fare well at one site but fail at another. Therefore, neither can we base chronology of each region wholly on various kinds of material (for, this hypothesis is not fully tested in the whole of the Swāt Valley yet), as Dani argued,¹²⁵ nor solely rely on styles as Ackermann did¹²⁶.

We have processed, here, the archaeological data in historical perspective, based on numismatic evidence, and stylistic features. Latest researches of Peshawar University, at other sites—Butkara III, Shnai-sha, Chārg-paṭē, Marjānai—has pushed the chronology of the Buddhist iconography on both sides. It starts from the second century BC (the history of Buddhism, however, starts from the fourth/third century BC) and continues to the ninth century AD.¹²⁷ Sculpture from Lōe-baṅṅ and Nimogrām sites are included here for research purposes. As no detailed or preliminary excavation reports of these two sites are yet published, their sculpture is classified on resemblance to that of another site, already dated archaeologically.

We have made an attempt at developing a chronological sequence of the Buddhist era in Swāt that is based partially on numismatic evidence from Butkara I, excavated by the Italian Mission, and partly archaeological data from other sites. We do not fully agree to the succession of dates, especially of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, proposed by the Italian Mission¹²⁸, where they are pushed much back.¹²⁹ However, dates worked out by J Cribb¹³⁰ of the British Museum are more convincing and we have partially incorporated them in building up the chronology for Buddhist art in the Valley. The chronological sequence is divided into ten major periods, Mauryan (321-189 BC), Indo-Greeks (190-75 BC), Śaka-Parthian (75 BC to AD 55), Early Kuṣāṇas (AD 55-176), Late Kuṣāṇas (AD 176-240), Kusano-Sassanians (AD 240-340), Kidara Kuṣāṇas (AD 340-460), Hūṇas (AD 460-530), local *rājās* (AD 530-822) and Hindu Śāhī (AD 822-1000). All phases or periods of the sites under consideration here are listed in the proposed chronological sequence (see Chronological Table at the end).

Thus, the first of the four phases of Butkara III is contemporary to Period II, the second to III and IV, the third to V and VI, and the last or fourth phase to Period VII of the main chronological sequence. Likewise, for correlation of the remaining sites to the main sequence or for their cross dating see Chronological Table. Two sites of Chātpaṭ and Anḍan-ḍhērai, situated in Adinzai sub-valley and fully published by Dani,¹³¹ are incorporated in the Table to effect correlation of sculptural stylistic features of “zonal workshops”.

9. Zonal Workshops

The extensive Buddhist remains and extended history, from the fourth/third century BC to the ninth century AD, of Butkara leaves no doubt that this site and its vicinity, formed the largest social, cultural and political centre in Swāt. That this region is the most influential artistic zone is proved by numerous archaeological remains. Nevertheless, there were many minor art zones at least one in each sub-valley that was constituted by a number of “zonal workshops” each one distinct in its traits¹³². That sculptors of a “workshop” actually worked on the site concerned is proved by the recovery of unfinished architectural pieces for stūpas and panels meant for reliefs at Butkara III¹³³ (see Pls. 63, 64). However, there is no evidence, so far, from the above chronological correlation of sites that there had been a single industrial site that supplied sculpture for all sites in the whole of Swāt. “Zonal workshops” of the Swāt Valley, although some of them were contemporary (see

Chronological Table), had divergent features in their sculpture. However, similarities in the work of sites in different sub-valleys, somehow, do suggest interaction and mutual contact among them. And we should not consider them as isolated precincts.

The analysis of data leads us to the conclusion that in the Swāt Valley there existed a number of “zonal styles”, each of which was based in a particular geographical unit or sub-valley. Every style seems to have been the outcome of a few “workshops”, having a common origin. Although fashioned by different hands, they share some joint technical and physical features. In our present work we have identified three such art zones in the sub-valleys of the Jāmbīl, Adinzai and Shamozaī, and that of the Īlam Khwaṛ (see Map 3).

9-a. The Jāmbīl Sub-valley Style-Zone

Jāmbīl¹³⁴ is a perennial stream, a tributary of the Swāt, which originates in the mountains to the south-east of Mingaora that separates the watershed zone of Swāt from that of Bunēr. The sub-valley, thus, derives its name from the stream.

The sub-valley of the Jāmbīl¹³⁵ is crowded with archaeological remains. A large number of stūpas, monastic establishments, rock-carvings and settlement sites are scattered all over its floor and high up in the mountain glens and gullies.

Sites in the Jāmbīl sub-valley formed a single style zone. Here, the most promising sites are Butkaṛa I and Pānṛ, excavated by the Italian Mission, and that of Butkaṛa III, excavated by Peshawar University. All yielded a treasure of archaeological material. The remains of all these sites are scattered within an area of four square kilometres and the life and history of these sites overlap. Therefore, they share some technical and physical features in the sculpture recovered from them which indicate that their “workshops” developed from a common ancestral tradition. Compare sculptures from Butkaṛa I, Inv. no 6501 (Pl. 65) and Pānṛ P. 3, 630 (Pl. 66) in the Swāt Museum with those from Butkaṛa III, Pl. 67.

The special features of the figures of this region are their short stature, broad round faces and bold physical make-up. The dress of the figures in this zone is predominantly Indian (shawl and *dhoti*) with the exception of that of the Kuṣāṇa and the West (see Butkara I plates).

9-b. Adinzai and Shamozaī Sub-valleys Style-Zone

Adinzai and Shamozaī sub-valleys are situated back to back in the south-western part of the Swāt Valley on the right bank of the Swāt and form a separate zone style. Among the sites in this zone, Nimogrām and Marjānai in Shamozaī, and Anḍan-ḍhērai and Chaṭpaṭ in Adinzai illustrate somewhat common physical features in addition to matching execution, decorative as well as architectural, of the relief panels. Compare Pls. 68-70 from Nimogrām with Dani’s Pls. 35, 36, 44 to 48-b, 61-b, and 43-b from Chaṭpaṭ.¹³⁶

This zone exhibits distinct characteristic features. The figures are usually attenuated; however, short stature people are also present. Faces are, most commonly, flat and tend towards length. The costumes on figures are both Central Asian (tunic and trousers) and Indian (shawl and *dhoti*). Likewise the architectural decoration in the relief panels is also marked from those of the other zones (compare Pls. 68, 71 to Dani’s, 1968-69, Pls. 10, 11, 44-48). The Roman, Kuṣāṇa and Sassanian influences are clearly indicated in the drapery and poses of the figures (see Pls. 72, 38, 47).

9-c. The Īlam khwaṛ Sub-valley Style-Zone

The mount Īlam is situated to the south of Saidū Sharīf. A metalled road runs from the latter to the former's foot, where the ruler of the old Swāt State had built his hill station residence. This locality was named Murghazār meaning 'pasture' or 'meadow', where the ruler kept a variety of fowls. The residence is now converted into a hotel. The perennial stream, originating in Īlam, is called by different names: the 'Īlam *khwaṛ*, 'Murghazār *khwaṛ* or even 'Saidū *khwaṛ*' because it passes through all these places respectively and terminates in the Swāt River at Miṅgaora. The main tributary streams of the Īlam *khwaṛ* that join it on the right bank are those of Jaosō, Jowārai and Jāmbīl respectively.

There are numerous Buddhist sites in the Īlam *khwaṛ* sub-valley to the right and left of the *khwaṛ*, either along its banks or off in the side sub-valleys or glens of the mountains.¹³⁷ Sculpture from sites of this sub-valley has different features. The only site that yielded sculpture of some importance and magnitude is that of Shnai-sha. The sculpture of the Shnai-sha site is quite distinct from that of sites in the above two zones, although it is contemporary at a certain stage of its life to them.

In this zone the figures are of normal stature, robust and with long fleshy faces. Indian, Central Asian and Western styles and dresses are seen. Majority of the reliefs are executed in single compartments in which the architectural detail is minimised rather omitted. Figures are enlarged, the subject matter is stressed rather than filling-in the surrounding detail (see Pls. 44, 42, 73).

Concluding Observations

Throughout the historical context (3rd century BC to the eighth century AD) the Swāt Valley remained strictly Buddhist which means that all the invaders and emigrants that settled in there during this period were also absorbed into Buddhism in the course of time. Nonetheless, the new settlers always contributed some of their traditions to the Buddhist pantheon and are observed in sculpture of various zones (see sec. 7-a-e). This normally happens after mixing up of two or more different cultures. From the analysis of these sculptures we have inferred that there existed distinct cultural traditions in the sub-valleys of Swāt which we refer to as "zonal workshops".

The origin of such workshops, possibly, seems to have taken place at Butkara III, where the earliest sculptural examples suggest a very humble beginning, purely based on local life style—architectural, physical and cultural (see sec. 7-a). Features of some figures resembling the descendants of a few aboriginal tribes in Swāt suggest that at this primitive stage the artist had even no idea of how to represent a figure of the Buddha in strict accordance with the Buddhist canonical tradition. On the contrary, it is also possible that the tradition of presenting him with identification marks or auspicious signs, *lakṣaṇas*, might have been developed later on when the Buddhist pantheon was enriched with other figures and, probably, it became difficult for a member of the laity to recognise him. However, once the foundation of the Buddhist iconography was laid on the local soil of Swāt, its development was advanced on the base of native traditions under the canopy of religion.

Zonal workshops, flourishing in the sub-valleys of Swāt, were prone to stylistic influences between themselves and from outside the Valley as well to trade or mass migration of peoples. We have made an attempt here to examine these stylistic features in a group of the recently excavated, mostly unpublished, material from Swāt, in terms of time and space and in the light of historical successions in the Valley (see sec. 7-a-e).

The earliest reliefs here seem to have been carved during the time of the Indo-Greeks especially those who were displaced from Bactria in 130 BC by the Śakas and who found their way to the

Indus region (see sec. 7-a).¹³⁸ The Swāt Valley was the nearest most attractive place in the whole of the Indus region offering them a suitable environment for their settlement.¹³⁹ This was the time when Swāt surpassed all other places in the Indus-Oxus Region in founding the Buddhist sculptural workshops. These emigrants had imbibed Greek mythology and with their memory fresh with this iconic tradition, were never satisfied with the imaginative ideals of Buddhism though they themselves had become Buddhists. This crisis ultimately led them to transfer the Buddha from symbolic form to anthropomorphic one, the idea of which was already present in the faith from the very beginning.¹⁴⁰ Strongly infected by an alien idea, the people of the Indus region were absorbed into the cult of the Buddha. Such was the motive, in our opinion, behind the first creation of the Buddha figure in Uḍḍiyāna (end para of sec. 7-a) that later on spread to Gandhāra and gradually to other parts of the Indus-Oxus Region, India and afterwards on to Tibet. This phase constitutes the formative stage that continued until the entry to the region of a nomadic tribe, the Śakas.

Different tribes of the Śakas had lived under the supremacy of the Parthians and later on themselves became overlords of the territories previously held by the Bactrian Greeks and, thus, developed into a multi-cultural society (see sec. 7-b). When they were forced by the Kuṣāṇas into the Indus region, they brought this mixed culture with them into the new land. Numerous reliefs, that we have pointed out (see sec. 7-b), depict the absorption of the Śakas and their traditions into the local Buddhist society. Within the next generation they were ousted by another invading group, the Parthians, whose culture and tradition dominated those of the Śakas (see sec. 7-b).

From the above discourse and historical sequence it is likely that Swāt in ancient times was the home of a series of multi-national or tribal units. Thus, all Buddhist sites here were not built at the same time and by the same unit, but they are the work of many such units over hundreds of years. However, the possibility of a few sites being contemporary in construction, cannot be ruled out. Because of the independent tribal units, comparable to city states, we do not observe the presence of art guilds that took charge of the making of sculpture for all the stūpas and other religious buildings in the whole of Swāt in the early days of Buddhism. However, in the time of Early Kuṣāṇas who united all the city states into one political unit (see sec. 7-c), standardisation of the form of the Buddha and other religious figures as well as legends was introduced within the frame of local styles. The Buddhist art of this period, from the Early Kuṣāṇas onward, is commonly called Gandhāran art. The later Kuṣāṇas and subsequently Kidara Kuṣāṇas followed more or less this art style until the advent of a new one, Brahmānical (see secs. 7-d, e).

In this paper, I have reviewed a long sequence of Buddhist workshops from the second century BC to AD 800 in Swāt. It is likely that each sub-valley¹⁴¹ had its own sub-style which we have named as “zonal style”.¹⁴² Traditions of “zonal workshops” either continued from one period to another or were completely absorbed into those of the next period when the site needed any sculptural replenishment or when new construction necessitated it at any later date. However, a complete change in the workshops’ traditions was caused by the coming of a new group with different cultural background into the sub-valley either subduing or displacing the old one.

Nonetheless, I do not intend to minimise here the constant cultural flow from India that not only was responsible for the foundation of Buddhism in the Valley but also continually maintained and strengthened it through religious and political ties. This reality is confirmed by the physical features of some figures, mythological representation and presence of carved pieces from Mathurā¹⁴³ and Āndhradeśa¹⁴⁴ in the Indus region. Neither the Greek nor the Roman culture is solely responsible for the origin and development of the so called Gandhāran art nor was the Indian the exclusive driving force. It was the marriage of Buddhism with the multi-cultural environment of the Swāt Valley that led to the origin of the Buddhist art of the Indus region that gradually emerged as the Indus-Oxus

School, fed by “regional styles” (such as Swāt or Uḍḍiyāna, Gandhāra, Kapiśa, Bactria etc.) and “zonal styles” of the “sub-styles”.

The phases or periods of the sites under consideration are fixed into a chronological table (see Chronological Table), which I have developed by taking into account those sites previously excavated and already fully published.¹⁴⁵ The Buddhist chronology of the Swāt Valley is based on a long sequence established by numismatic evidence by the Italian Mission at the site of Butkara I. However, in the present work, I have not used the date for the Kaniška Era suggested by the Italians (who pushes it too late, between AD 232-273, see *RM* Vol. 4, p. 63), rather I have taken into account the one suggested by J Cribb, ie, AD 90-100¹⁴⁶. The various Phases or Periods of sites set into this table give us a picture of relative chronology from which we can work out the contemporaneity of sites. Furthermore, I have noted the historical eras on the table making it easier to see why certain elements are enhanced at a particular period in the ‘zonal workshops’, and to distinguish them into ‘zonal styles’, with divergent technical treatment. (I have sought to classify the sum-total of workshops in a sub-valley/s as “zonal style”, see sec. 9 a-c).

Finally, the historical, stylistic, and chronological analysis (see secs. 7 and 8) of the material excavated by Peshawar University¹⁴⁷ recently from a number of sites in the Valley leads to the formation of the following hypotheses: the Swāt Valley is the birth place of Western Buddhist Art;¹⁴⁸ almost each sub-valley had its own groups of sculptors, called here “zonal workshops” or “workshops”; the assemblage of workshops of a particular sub-valley (sometimes including those of the adjacent ones) gives us a collective zone of production which I have termed “zonal style”, of which three are located at the present (see sec. 9). Also, for the first time an attempt is made to describe the broad characteristic features of the Swāti sculpture.

In the end we may consider a few additional points which may be helpful for a future research. First, the exploration and excavation of Buddhist sites situated on the periphery are necessary to discover more “zonal styles” and to determine the characteristic features of all known “zonal styles”. Secondly, it is important to undertake excavations of Buddhist settlement sites in each zone in order to develop the historical context to correlate with that of the surrounding religious establishments. Thirdly, it is also important to study and document the hydrology that played an important role in the planning and settlement pattern of the Buddhist religious sites.

We may also note that the north-western part of the Valley is still not properly surveyed. In addition to the discovery of fresh Buddhist sites (the author has discovered twenty-eight new Buddhist sites in the Valley in 1995 of which a report is published under the title “Recent Discovery of Buddhist Sites in the Swāt Valley”), this area may prove a rich source for tracing the early history of the Valley. I presume this about the mountains between Shāh-ḍhērai (old Chacho-ḍhērai) and Shawar, a significant area of strategic importance, situated to the north of the territory under the Assakenoi. Their last stronghold of Aornos before the Assakenoi fell to Alexander of Macedonia should be located here and not at Ūṇa-sar and Pīr-sar as suggested by Stein. This location of the site (which is suggested by Stein) has been constantly questioned by some scholars¹⁴⁹.

References and Notes

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- ² L. Nehru, *Origins of the Gandhāran Style—A Study of Contributory Influences*, Delhi, 1989, pp. 105-06.
- ³ U. Ali, and M.A. Khan, “Origin and Diffusion of Settlements in Swāt Valley”, *Pakistan Journal of Geography*, Vol. 1, No. 1 & 2, Peshawar, 1991, p. 97.
- ⁴ S. Beal, (trans.), *Si- yu- ki or Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, London, 1906, p. xxxi.
- ⁵ Beal, p. 120.

- ⁶ S.M. Sastri, *Cunningham's Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, pp. 93-94.
- ⁷ M.A. Stein, *Serindia*, Vol.1, Oxford, 1921, p. 2.
- ⁸ B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Paris, 1954, p. 132.
- ⁹ Beal, pp. xxx-xxxi.
- ¹⁰ E. Barger, and P. Wright, "Excavations in the Swāt and Explorations in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan," *MASI*, No. 64, Delhi, 1941, p. 14.
- ¹¹ F. Barth, *The Last Wali of Swat*, New York, 1985, pp. 21, 48-49, 156-157; M.A. Stein, *On Alexander's Track to the Indus*, London, 1929, p. 11.
- ¹² G. Stacul, "Excavations in a Rock Shelter near Ghaligai (Swat W. Pakistan). Preliminary Report", *East and West*, Vol. 17, Nos. 3-4, IsMEO, Rome, 1967, pp. 185-219; G. Stacul, "Excavation near Ghaligai (1968) and Chronological Sequence of Protohistorical Cultures in the Swat Valley", *East and West*, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2, IsMEO, Rome, 1969, pp. 82-85.
- ¹³ Stacul, 1969, pp. 82-85.
- ¹⁴ V.A. Smith, *The Early History of India*. From 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest, Oxford, 1967 (4th ed., revised by S.M. Edwardes; first published, 1924), pp. 53-55.
- ¹⁵ Some scholars think the introduction of Buddhism to the Valley much before Aśoka, that is at the end of fourth century B.C. See F.R. Allchin, "The Spread of Buddhism and Indian Culture", *The Crossroads of Asia, Transformation in the Image and Symbol*, Cambridge, 1992 'p.11.
- ¹⁶ G. Tucci, "Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swāt", *East and West*, Vol. IX, 1958, p. 281.
- ¹⁷ R. Ghirshman, *Iran from the Earliest Time to the Islamic Conquest*, London, 1954.
- ¹⁸ Original home of this nomadic tribe was the steppes to the north of the Black Sea. See B. Piotrovsky, *Scythian Art---the Legacy of the Scythian World: Mid-7th to 3rd Century B.C.* "(tr. by V. Sobolev) Leningrand, 1986, pp.5, 12-15.
- ¹⁹ Tucci, 1958, p. 280.
- ²⁰ Tucci, 1958, p. 280.
- ²¹ Abdur Rahman, "Date of the Overthrow of Lagturmanae the Last Turk Śahi Ruler of Kabul", *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, Vol VI, No. 1 & 2, January-December, 1993-a, pp. 29-31; In his recent article he says, "The question of the unknown era starting in A.D. 822 however still remains unresolved. One may naturally ask who started it? Viewed in the historical perspective of the area in general it seems to belong to about the time when the last Turk Shahi ruler Lagatūrmān was overthrown by Kallar, the founder of the Hindu Shahi dynasty." "The Zalamkot Bilingual Inscription", to be published soon in the *East and West*, Rome.
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image", *South Asian Archaeology*, 1979, (ed. H. Härtel), 1981, p.388.
- ²⁴ D.L. Snellgrove et al. (eds.), *The Image of the Buddha*, UNESCO, United Kingdom, 1978, Pl. 1; J. Marshall, 1960, Figs. 1-12; S.L. and J.C. Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*, New York, 1985, Illus. 6.1-6.12; H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia, its Mythology and Transformation*, J. Campbell (ed.), Vol. 2, Plates, New York, 1955, Pls. 6-36.
- ²⁵ Marshall, 1960, Fig. 97; S.L. and J.C. Huntington, 1985, Illus. 8.8. In Butkara III, Shnai-sha and Marjānai some of the sculpture were found fixed on the original masonry of the stūpas. See Pls. 378-86.
- ²⁶ R. Knox, *Amarāvati Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stupa*, British Museum, 1992, pp. 109-191, Pls. 47-108; H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia, its Mythology and Transformation*, J. Campbell (ed.), Vol. 1, Text, New York, 1954, p. 349.
- ²⁷ The site of Nimogrām is situated in the Shamoza sub-valley. It is approached from the main Chakdara-Kabal road on the right bank of the River Swāt. The site was explored by Mr. Inayt-ur-Rahman (then the curator of Swāt Museum) in 1966 and excavated by Mr. Rafique Mughal (then the Assistant Superintendent) and Mr. Nazir Khan (then the Gallery Assistant in the Swāt Museum) of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, in 1967 and 1968 respectively. See *Pakistan Archaeology*, No.5, 1968, pp. 123-26, 129-32.
- ²⁸ S.L. and J.C. Huntington, 1985, Illus. 5.15, 16.
- ²⁹ F. Sehrai, "Buddha's relics in Swat", *The Frontier Post*, Daily from Peshawar and Lahore, Friday, August 26, 1994. (Mr. Sehrai is the Ex-Director of the Peshawar Museum and retired Associate Professor of Archaeology in Peshawar University.)

- ³⁰ See Pls. 27, 28, 87. Various schools in Buddhism started developing from 200 B.C. onward. See Harvey, P. *An introduction to Buddhism---Teachings, history and practices*, Cambridge, (rpt.) 1991, p. 15.
- ³¹ Beal, p. 134.
- ³² Beal, pp. xxix, xxx Sections VI, VII; Also p. 134 and n. 38.
- ³³ Beal, p. xxx.
- ³⁴ Saeedur Rahman, "Unique Find of Gold Ornaments from Patan (Kohistan)", *Journal of Central Asia* Vol. XIII, No. 1, July, 1990, pp. 5-17, Pls. I-XV.
- ³⁵ Seedur Rahman, 1990. See especially the 'Chief Editor's Note', pp. 16-17.
- ³⁶ P.V. Bapat (ed.), *2500 Years of Buddhism*, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, Delhi, 1956, p. 362.
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- ³⁸ Bapat, p. 358; Tucci, 1949, pp. 212-13.
- ³⁹ Tucci, 1949, p. 212.
- ⁴⁰ L. Nehru, says, "the group of sculpture from Swāt which have been considered here also reveal stylistic connection with Khalchayan, which seem to be less apparent elsewhere in Gandhāra". See her 1989, pp. 105-06.
- ⁴¹ Nehru, p. 29.
- ⁴² S.R. Dar, "Kushana Art of Mathura: A Bridge between Gandhāra and Amaravati", *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, January-June, 1991, pp. 21-38, especially pp. 29ff.
- ⁴³ V.A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India & Ceylon*, 3rd. ed., Bombay, 1962, Pls. 13-15.
- ⁴⁴ Swāt Museum, Inv. Nos. 194, 6486, 6501; NG. 331; P. 630 (our Pls. 372-374, 359 and 375 respectively).
- ⁴⁵ Ingholt, H., *Gandhāra Art in Pakistan*, New York, 1957, Pls. 198, 206, 245, 311.
- ⁴⁶ Zimmer, 1955, Pls. 6-36.
- ⁴⁷ Compare figures from Swāt (A.H. Dani, *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol.4, 1968-69, Pls. 51, 52, 54; Faccenna, 1962, Pls. CXXXI, CXXXII, CXXXV, CLXVII, CXCVII) with those from Gandhāra (Snellgrove, ed., 1978, Pls. 41-44, 53; Ingholt, Pls. 233, 294, 296, 341).
- ⁴⁸ Ingholt, Pls. 199-223, 288-98.
- ⁴⁹ Dani, 1968-69, Pls. 42a, b; 43a, b; 51a, b; 52a, b; 54a, b.; Swāt Museum, Inv. Nos. 6501, 6600; NG. 398; P. 3, 630 (our Pls. , , , and respectively).
- ⁵⁰ Zimmer, 1955, Pls. 6, 15, 22, 33 and 34.
- ⁵¹ D. Faccenna, *RM* II.3, 1964, Pls. CDXXVI, Inv. Nos. 3277, 1133; CDXXVII, Inv. Nos. 1710, 1711; CDXXVIII, Inv. Nos. 1700, 2010; CDXXIX, Inv. Nos. 1765, 743.
- ⁵² D. Faccenna, *RM* II.2, 1962, Pls. CLXVI, Inv. No. 283; CCLXXXIX, Inv. No. 3215 CCXCI, Inv. No. 3217; CCXCIII, Inv. No. 79; Faccenna, II.3, 1964, Pls. CCCXLIII, Inv. No. 2176; CCCXLIV, Inv. No. 4564.
- ⁵³ Marshall, 1960, Fig. 122, showing one of the Miracles of Śrāvastī, from Loriyān Taṅgē, Swāt.
- ⁵⁴ Dani, 1968-69, Pls. 42, 43; Ingholt, Pls. 199-223.
- ⁵⁵ Abdur Rahman, "Butkara III: A Preliminary Report", *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, Part 2, 1990, pp. 693-705.
- ⁵⁶ Kashmir-tsmats in Mardan District is a big cave with Buddhist remains, but it is a natural one. Other artificial caves cut into soft rocks for living in the Potwar Plateau of the Indus region are a recent phenomenon.
- ⁵⁷ Abdur Rahman, 1990, p.701.
- ⁵⁸ Abdur Rahman, "Butkara III: A Preliminary Report", *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. VII, 1991, p. 155; Abdur Rahman, 1990, p.706.
- ⁵⁹ J. E. Cribb, "The Rabatak Inscription, its historical implications and numismatic context", Part II, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 4, 1995-96, pp 97-123, (see table on p. 106).
- ⁶⁰ This old tradition was even carried out till the early half of the current century. The decorative and architectural members, such as capitals, entablatures and bases of columns and, arches, doors and door-jamb etc. exactly betray those seen in stone relief panels from Buddhist sites, in Uḍḍiyāna. (See Pls. 12-17). The pre-Buddhist wooden architecture that was started by Indo-Aryans is called Vedic. It evolved during the rule of the Achaemenids of Persia in the northern regions of Pakistan which we referred to here as Vedic-Persian architecture. Gradually, with the eastward expansion of the Indo-Aryans, it was carried to India where it reached its climax at the Mauryan capital of Pāṭaliputra. Glimpses of this wooden

architecture are very ably pre served by stone carvers of the time in railings and *torāṇas* at Bhārhut and Sāñcī and, rock-cut *caitya* halls and *vihāras* at Bhājā, Bedsā, Ajañṭā and Kārī and elsewhere in India.

⁶¹ Marshall, 1960, p. 17ff.

⁶² J. Boardman, in *The Crossroads of Asia*, ed. by J. Cribb and E. Errington, 1922, pp. 36, 37.

⁶³ J.E. van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, *The Scythians*, Leiden, 1949.

⁶⁴ Sculptural traditions of subsequent periods might show such influence but, being later in date, they did not constitute the precedent for that kind of a beginning.

⁶⁵ J.L. Davidson, "Begram Ivories, and Early Indian Sculptures", *Aspect of Indian Art*, 1972, p.4.

⁶⁶ Harle, 1986, figs. 9 and 11, pp. 25, 27; V.A. Smith, 1962, Pl. 8-B.

⁶⁷ Zimmer, 1955, Pl. 39.

⁶⁸ For *Kalaśa* base columns see Coomaraswamy, 1927, Pl. X. fig. 34, depicting Kārī *caitya*-hall, dated to the first century B.C.; Smith, 1962, Pl. 26-A, 'Chaitya Cave. Nasik. (1st. Cent. B.C. Satavahana period)'; Zimmer, 1955, Vol. 2, Plates, façades of caves XVIII and X at Nāsik Pls. 45a, 45b; and veranda at Khañḍagiri-Udayagiri, Pl. 46.

⁶⁹ Dar, 1991, p.30.

⁷⁰ A large rectangular piece of cloth or a cloak which locally is known as *tsādar*, worn over all. His drapery, unlike the Hindu gods Brahmā and Indra, was unprecedented and therefore the sculptor had to rely on the local style and culture.

⁷¹ "The dress of other divine figures, such as Hindu gods occasionally represented in certain scenes, depends on the iconographical origin of the particular deity." J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "Gandhāra and Mathura: Their Cultural Relationship", in P. Pal's (ed.) *Aspects of Indian Art, Papers Presented in a Symposium at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, October, 1970*, Leiden, 1972, p. 32.

⁷² Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1972, pp. 27, 28.

⁷³ Hallade, 1968, see Chronological Table, p. 254. Menandar an Indo-Greek ruler, who is said to have been converted to Buddhism, extended his power to Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra in c. mid second century B.C. See. Coomaraswamy, 1927, pp. 23, 24.; Smith, 1967, pp. 227, 239.

⁷⁴ M.C. Joshi, "Aspects of the Iconic Representation of Buddha", *Ancient Ceylon, Journal of the Archaeological Survey Department of Sri Lanka*, No. 12, Vol. 6, Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka, 1990, pp. 1-8; Ju-Hyung Rhi, pp. 207-225, especially 219 ff; S. Huntington, 1985, pp. 122-24; See also, J.C. Huntington, "The Origin of the Buddha Image: Early Image Traditions and the Concept of the Buddhadar-Śanapunya", in A.K. Narain's (ed.) *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*, New Delhi: 1985.

⁷⁵ The individual figure of its counterpart Athena (Lahore Museum No. 7/G- 162) is much latter in date. Errington, 1990, p. 19.

⁷⁶ J. Hall, *Hall's illustrated Dictionary of Symbols in Eastern and Western Art*, London, 1995 (rpt.), first published 1994, p. 168.

⁷⁷ Hall, p. 177.

⁷⁸ Hall, p. 178.

⁷⁹ Hall, p. 178.

⁸⁰ No doubt the earliest workshops in Uḍḍiyāna were based on local living cultural tradition, which was the outcome of the influences from ancient Persia, Bactria and India. These influences were brought here through trade, religious missionaries, military expeditions and mass migrations.

⁸¹ Abdur Rahman, "Recent Developments in Buddhist Archaeology in Pakistan", *South Asian Studies*, Vol. 9, 1993-b, p.106.

⁸² S. Swarup, *The Arts and Crafts of India and Pakistan*, Bombay, 1957, p. 35.

⁸³ Snellgrove, 1978, p.48.

⁸⁴ Smith, 1967, pp. 240-41. (First published, 1924). Entrance of the Scythians, however into the Swāt Valley can not be strictly confined to this event, some of their tribes might have done so long before, most probably did because of their pastoral movement patterns.

⁸⁵ The powerful nomadic tribes of the Scythians were living on the steppes in the fifth-sixth century B.C. and quite before their settlement in Bactria they had mastered metal art in which Greek influence is visible. See J. Boardman, *The Diffusion of Classical Art in Antiquity*, Washington D.C., 1994, pp.192-217.

⁸⁶ Smith, 1967, pp. 241-44.

⁸⁷ By indigenous style we mean the Indus Style, which we use as a collective term for all Regional Styles--Gandhāran, Uḍḍiyāna and others (if any) that developed in the Indus Valley under the Buddhists.

- ⁸⁸ This idea was gained in general discussion with Mr. J. Cribb of the Department of Coins and Medals of the British Museum, London, in September 1993.
- ⁸⁹ F. Khan, 1990, p. 171.
- ⁹⁰ I agree to the remark, "The arts of the Crossroads of Asia may have become cosmopolitan in their source, but they were also eclectic, and not all the new-comers had much of the substance to contribute to a style which was set to acquire an idiom of its own." made by Boardman, 1992, p. 36.
- ⁹¹ Zimmer, 1955, Vol. 2, Pls. 59-61.
- ⁹² Coomaraswamy, 1927, Pl. XXXIII, Figs. 137-141.
- ⁹³ Our this piece closely resembles in workmanship and form to two figures, nos. 11 and 12, published by Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J.E. Van. in her article, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image", *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, 1981, p. 385. She recorded her fig. no. 11 in Peshawar now listed in a private collection in Japan. See Gandhāra Art -- *The Buddha's life story*, by I. Kurita (ed.), Tokyo, 1988, Plate P2-IX, p. 79. Under this group a few others are published also by Kurita, 1988, Plate P2-VIII, p. 78; 246, 247, p. 126; 248, p. 127; and 251, p. 128.
- ⁹⁴ See Ackermann, Pls. XLIII-a, p. 113; LIV, p. 125; LIX, pp. 133-5 and LX, pp. 135-6. They all are dated within the third century AD.; Kurita, 1988, fig. 177, p. 95. And another one of a later period, c. 3rd century AD., from Butkara III, Pl. 22.
- ⁹⁵ Abdur Rahman, 1990, p.701.
- ⁹⁶ Compare these figures with the Marshall's 1960 Fig. 26, Plate 22; pp. 23, 24.
- ⁹⁷ J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image", *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, 1981, pp. 384 ff. 98.
- ⁹⁸ The so called *kapardin-type* of Buddhas are dated to the time of Kaniṣka and after. See H. Härtel, "The Concept of the Kapardin Buddha Type of Mathura", *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, Vol. 2, 1985, pp. 653-678.
- ⁹⁹ Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1981, p. 394.
- ¹⁰⁰ This shows a winged cupid which can be compared to the one recovered from Butkara I. See Faccenna, 1964-a, *RM II.3*, Pl. DLXXVII, Inv. No. 3331.
- ¹⁰¹ The style of the dress of the three figures of Pl. 156 can be compared to that of the central figures of Pl. XX-a of Ackermann, pp. 79-80.
- ¹⁰² This is unique in its execution and none of the contemporary or subsequent periods from India matches this. See S. Huntington, 1985, Illustrations 8.40, p. 160; 11.7, p. 227; 17.4, p. 356; and 19.12, p. 425; C. Bautze-Picron, "An unpublished Skanda from Dungapur Area, Southwest Rajasthan", *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, Part 2, Rome, 1990, pp. 1067-76, Fig. 1, p. 1069; R.C. Kar, "An Early Image of Kārttikeya from Taxila", *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXX, 1954, pp. 81-85, in connection with the correction of the *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1934-35*, p. 31 and Pl. VIII f. (where it is denoted as 'Kubera').
- ¹⁰³ Dani, 1968-69, Pl. 41-a, b., p. 80; Ackermann, Pl. XXX-b, p. 95.
- ¹⁰⁴ F. Khan, 1992, pp. 72, 75.
- ¹⁰⁵ Knox, Pl. 111 (left), p. 197.
- ¹⁰⁶ M.A. Stein, "An Archaeological Tour in the Upper Swāt and Adjacent Hill Tract", *MASI*, No. 42, Calcutta, 1930, p. 43; G. Tucci "Preliminary report on an archaeological survey in Swāt", *East and West*, Vol. IX, 1958, p. 313.
- ¹⁰⁷ Abdur Rahman, "Shnai-sha Gumbat: First Preliminary Excavation Report", *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. VIII, 1993-c, p. 7.
- ¹⁰⁸ The excavator dates its foundation to the time of Huvishka (A.D. 126-164). Abdur Rahman, 1993-c, pp.43-44.
- ¹⁰⁹ Abdur Rahman, 1993-c, pp.43-44, 46.
- ¹¹⁰ Depicting Scythian features and dress.
- ¹¹¹ The Buddhists, so committed to their religion, generously contributed to their religious establishments for the maintenance of monuments as well as monks and students. This fact is better preserved in the tradition of the Shnai-sha workshops than anywhere else. Realising the importance of their Buddhist subjects, the Kuṣāṇa monarchs, probably, appointed religious ministers or care-takers to receive gifts and donations from the people and look-after the monuments. That is why in some of the relief panels we find state

functionaries receiving such donations from devotees (Pl. 44). Donations, thus received, were properly recorded and finally reported to the local or state minister (Pl. 42). At this time a common religious treasury might have been established for maintaining religious monuments on the one hand and standardising certain features of the religious art on the other. This would have arisen the need for the fourth Buddhist Council in the time of Kaniṣka to dissolve certain related religious issues. Its result was the emergence of common features which affected the art of all regions, Uddiyāna, Gandhāra, Kapiśa and Bactria—between the Indus and Oxus. This pseudo-Gandhāran features, that continued from the Kaniṣka period onward, mislead the discoverers of this art in the nineteenth century. They thought the origin and development of the Buddhist art in all these regions the same and, thus, named it as Gandhāra Art.

¹¹² S.N. Khan, "Marjānai", *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. XI, 1995, pp. 1-74.

¹¹³ S.N. Khan, 1995, p. 25.

¹¹⁴ Snellgrove, 1978, p. 60, fig. 33c., J.M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushanas*, California, 1967, Plate V, no. 88.

¹¹⁵ Abdur Rahman, 1993-c, pp. 43-44, 46.

¹¹⁶ They are printed separately from the figure of Maitreya. See Abdur Rahman, 1993-c, Pls. XXIV-a and XXIV-b, p. 78.

¹¹⁷ Marshall records this as "Chakpat" on the reference of A. Foucher. See Marshall, 1960, p. 21.

¹¹⁸ Published by Dani, 1968-69, Pl. 56-a.

¹¹⁹ For description of rock carvings see Tucci, 1958, pp. 322-24; Dani, 1969-69, pp. 251-257. M.A. Khan, "Historic Rock Carvings in Dir District", *East and West*, Vol. 44, Nos. 2-4, 1994, pp.455-466.

¹²⁰ Barger and Wright, p. 37.

¹²¹ Barger and Wright, p. 36.

¹²² Dani, 1968-69, pp. 23-25.

¹²³ Ackermann, p. 5.

¹²⁴ Barger and Wright, p. 36; "...Stylistic changes are not always a very safe ground on which to make a chronological division." See A. Roy, *Amarāvati Stūpa—A Critical Comparison of Epigraphic, Architectural and Sculptural Evidence*; Ph. D. dissertation of Cambridge University, 1991, p.143.

¹²⁵ Dani, 1968-69, pp. 20 ff.

¹²⁶ Ackermann.

¹²⁷ See 'Table I'.

¹²⁸ R.A. Göbl, "Catalogue of Coins from Butkara I, (Swāt, Pakistan)", *Reports and Memoirs*, IsMEO, Rome, 1976, pp. 60 ff.

¹²⁹ The Chinese pilgrims date the Kaniṣka era either 300 or 400 years after the death of the Buddha. These dates also, however, are too early to be accepted. See, Beal, pp. ciii, 99.

¹³⁰ J. Cribb, *The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence from Chronology: Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I*, unpublished article. See the chronological table. Cribb, 1995-96, p. 106.

¹³¹ Dani, 1968-69, pp. 33-102, Pls. 2-26, 31-65.

¹³² Abdur Rahman, 1993-c, p. 43.

¹³³ Abdur Rahman, 1990, p.705.

¹³⁴ Stein, 1930, p. 42 ff., Jambhil of Tucci, 1958, pp. 293, 309 ff., Jambhil of Faccenna, 1962, p. 4, Fig. 1 and ff.

¹³⁵ Stein, 1930, pp. 42, 43, 45-46., Tucci, 1958, pp. 286, 288, 309-12.

¹³⁶ Dani, 1968-69.

¹³⁷ Tucci, 1958, pp. 312-315; Stein, 1930, pp. 43-45.

¹³⁸ It does not mean that the form and style of the art was derived from the Bactrian Greeks. Its origin is strictly indigenous.

¹³⁹ The basis of this theory is that while the author was conducting field work for the current research he was informed by resourceful and highly educated people of the region that some terracotta coffins of human size with Greek paintings were being turned out from the soil in Swāt. However, it needs further research in this direction. The Italian Archaeological Mission has recovered Greek levels from a number of sites in Swāt. Also see Callieri, 1984.

¹⁴⁰ Joshi, pp. 1-8; Ju-Hyung Rhi, "From Bodhisattva to Buddha: The Beginning of Iconic Representation in Buddhist Art", *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. LIV, 3/4, 1994, pp. 207-225, especially 219 ff.

¹⁴¹ Each sub-valley is normally occupied by people of a single tribe. This custom might have been in practice in the hilly regions like Swāt since remote time in the past.

¹⁴² A thorough research is needed to classify the zonal styles of the sub-valleys. We, thus, would be able not only to recognise the provenance of a sculpture just by seeing it, but, also the site where it came from.

¹⁴³ Taddei, 1977, p. 84, p1. 41.

¹⁴⁴ F. Khan, 1992, pp. 72-75.

¹⁴⁵ These sites are Anḍan-dherai and Chatpat

¹⁴⁶ Cribb, unpublished

¹⁴⁷ M.F. Swāti, *Gandhāra Art hi the Swāt Valley, Pakistan: A Study Based on the Peshawar University Collection*, (Vol. 1, Text; Vol. 2, Plates.), Ph.D. thesis of Cambridge University, 1996.

¹⁴⁸ The Buddhist Art that flourished in the regions between the Indus and Oxus Valleys

¹⁴⁹ P.H.L. Eggermont, "Ptolemy, the Geographer, and the People of the Dards: Alexander in Buner, the Aornos Problem and the Dards", *JCA*, Vol. VII, No. 1, July 1984, pp. 73-123.

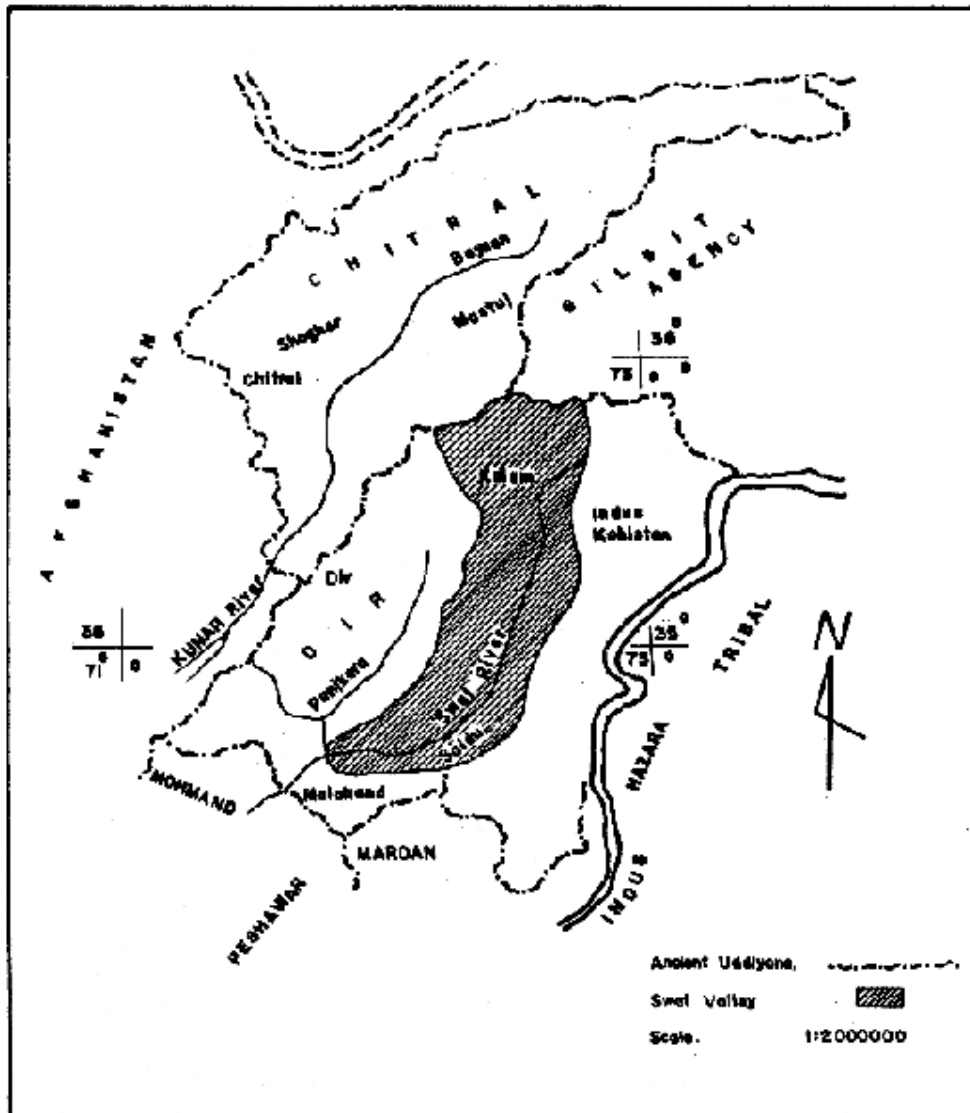
Chronological Table
Chronological Correlation of Buddhist Sites in the Swat Valley

Period	Era	Chronology	BK-III	LBN	CGP	SSA	MJN	NG	CPT	AND
I: Mauryan & Local	Mauryans	321 B.C.								
	Local	206								
II: Indo-Greeks	Demicrius	190	I							
	Menander	115								
III: Śaka-Parthian	Śaka	75								
	Parthian	15		?	I					
	Kajula	64 A.D.	II							
IV: Early Kuṣāṇas	Stores Megas	70			II				I	
	Kaniska	100		?		I				
	Huvisika	126		↓						I
	Vasuseva I	145					I			
V: Late Kuṣāṇas	176	III								
VI: Kuṣāṇo-Sassanians	240					II				II
	340	IV							III	
VIII: Hunas	460				II					III
IX: Local Rājās	530									
X: Hindu Śāhīs	872-1000				III					

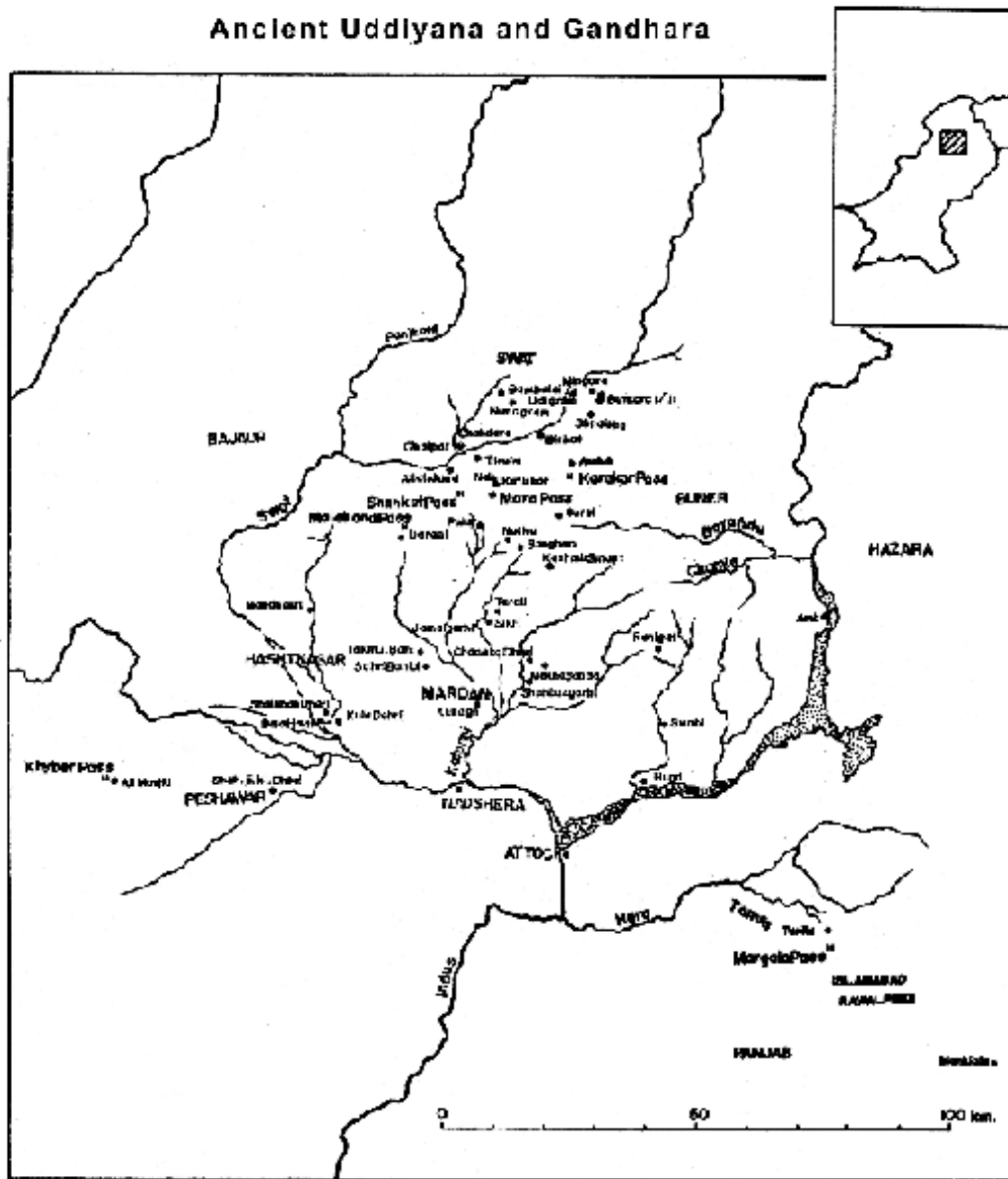
Legends: BK=Butkara, LBN= Lōc-baur, CGP=Charg-patc, SSA=Shuat-sha, MJN=Marjānāi, NG=Najigrāt, CPT=Chaipai, AND=Andam-dhērai.

Map 1

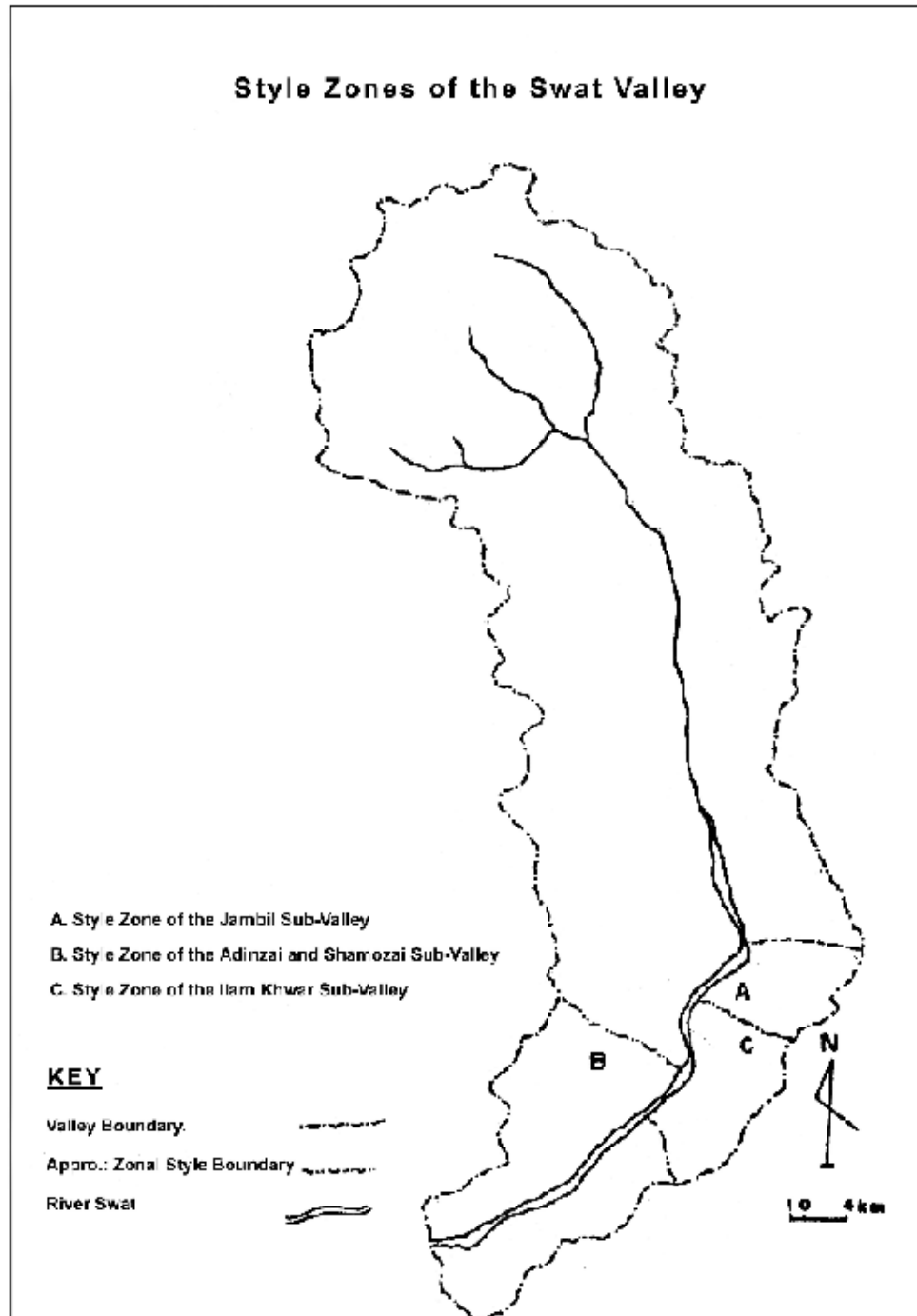
Ancient Uddiyana and the Swat Valley



Map 2

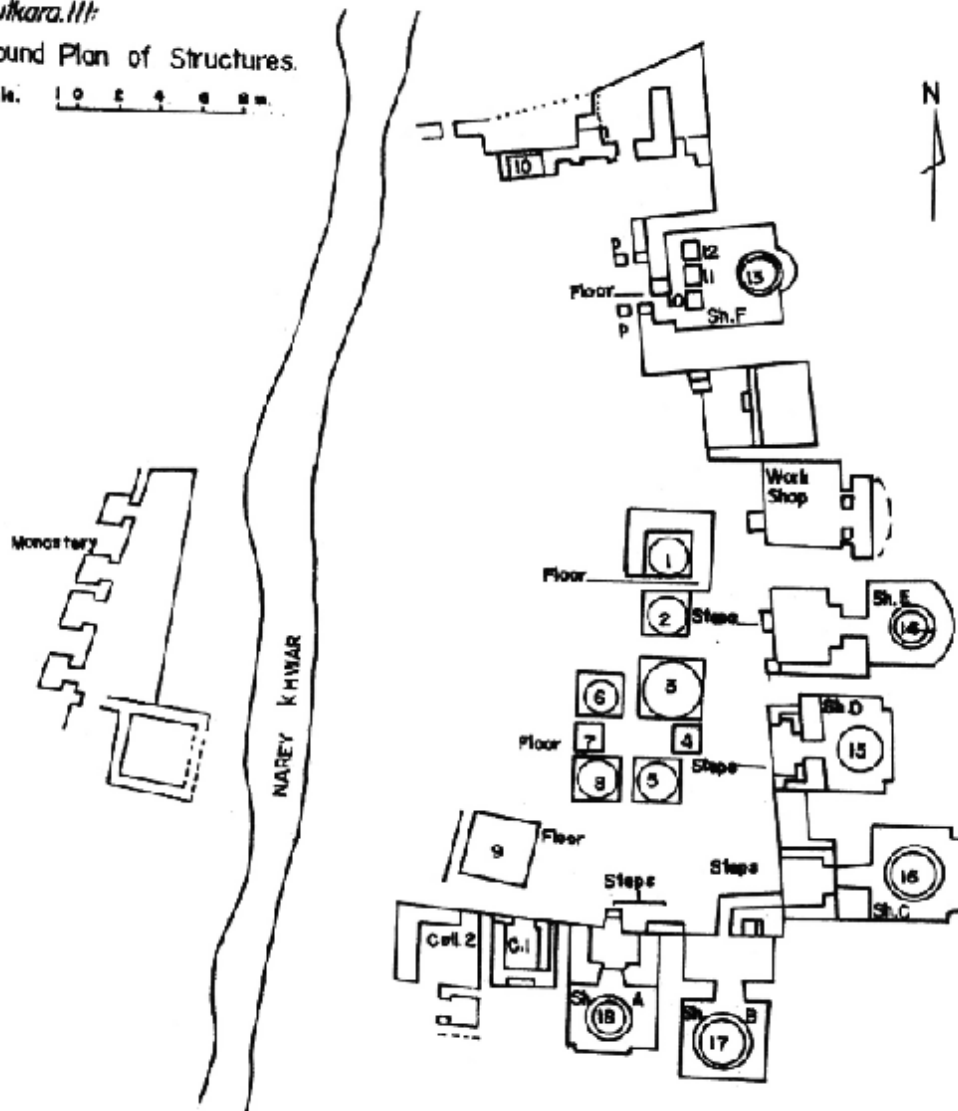


Map 3



Bulhara. III:
Ground Plan of Structures.

Scale. 1 0 2 4 6 8 m.



Pl. 1. NG 270. The conversion of
yakṣa Ātavika.



Pl. 2. BK-III 125. Devotees and the Buddha
under *caitya* arches.

Pl. 3. BK-III 89. (l-r) a donor,
Dionysos and Athena under
caitya arches.



Pl. 4. BK-III 20. Garland bearers.



Pl.5. BK-III4. Adoration of the *stūpa*.

Pl. 6. BK-III 72. A donor.





Pl. 7. BK-III 27. The Buddha and the Vajrapāṇi.



Pl. 8. BK-III. View of the site from south-west after excavation.

Pl. 9. BK-III. Shrines before excavation



Pl. 10. BK-III 79-ii. Adoration of a caitya.

Pl. 11. BK-III 117. Adoration of the triratna.



Pl. 12. BK-III 59/62. *Dīpaṅkara Jātaka*.



Pl. 13. BK-III. *Śyāma Jātaka*.

Pl. 14. BK-III 14. (1-r) The Buddha, Wheel of Law and (?) under caitya arches.



Pl. 15. BK-III 118. (1-R) Athena, The Kāśyapa and an ascetic under caitya arches.



Pl. 16. BK-III. Bacchantes and Dionysos (in The the middle) under caitya arches.

Pl. 17. BK-III 120. A dancer, musicians and the Buddha (?) under caitya arches



Pl. 18. BK-III 79-i. The Buddha seated under the bodhitree in abhaya mudrā and flanked by Brahmā and Indra in añjali mudrā.



Pl. 19. BK-III. The birth of Siddhārtha.

Pl. 20. BK-III 96. (1-r) The birth of Siddhārtha and the interpretation of the dream by sage Asita.



Pl. 21. BK-III 104. Garland Bearers.



Pl. 22. CGP 4. Figures under caitya arches.

Pl. 23. BK-III 144. Ascetics and the Kāśyapa (in the middle) under caitya arches.



Pl. 24. BK-III 19. Five ascetics.



Pl. 25. BK-III 41. Princes Siddhārtha at school.

Pl. 26. BK-III 8. The Buddha seated under the *bodhi* tree in *dhyāna mudrā* and flanked by Brahmā and Indra in *aṅjali mudrā*.



Pl. 27. BK-III 16. The Buddha seated on a throne under the *bodhi tree* in *dhyāna mudrā* and flanked by Brahmā and Indra in *añjali mudrā* and other standing figures.



Pl. 28. BK-III 17. Buddha seated on a throne under the *bodhi tree* in *abhaya mudrā* and flanked by Brahmā and Indra in *añjali mudrā*.

Pl. 29. BK-III 34. The Buddha seated on a throne under the *bodhi tree* in *abhaya mudrā* and flanked by kneeling devotees in *añjali mudrā*.



Pl. 30. BK-III 150. A donor.



Pl. 30-a. BK-III 2. The nāgarājas
paying homage.

Pl.31. BK-III 32. Winged Cupid with a bunch of flowers.



Pl. 32. BK-III 181. A devotee in añjali mudrā.



Pl. 33. LBN 5. The seven Buddhas.

Pl. 34. LBN 3. A Bodhisttva sitting in lalitāsana.



Pl. 35. CGP 31. Scythian figures in different attitudes.



Pl. 36. CGP-c. The Buddha enthroned under the bodhi tree in abhaya mudrā and flanked by Brahmā and Indra in añjali mudrā.

Pl. 37. CGP-d. The Buddha standing in abhaya mudrā followed by a monk and the Vajrapāni.



Pl. 38. CGP. 32. War god Kārtikeya.



Pl. 39. CGP 7. A king sitting on his throne with his queens.

Pl. 40. SSA 190. The Buddha enthroned under the *bodhi tree* in *abhaya mudrā* and flanked by devotees in *anjali mudrā*.



Pl. 41. SSA 202. Scythian soldiers.



Pl. SSA 9. A young soldier (Standing)
and a magistrate (?)

Pl. 43. SSA 32. Corinthian capital showing
the Buddha seated amongst the acanthus
leaves.



Pl. 44. SSA 4. The Vajrapāṇi or a religious magistrate.



Pl. 45. The hymn of nāga Kālīka and two suppliant.

Pl. 46. MJN 21. A tree and the Buddha under caitya arches.



Pl. 47. MJN 37. Transportation of the newly born Siddhārtha to Kapilavastu.



Pl. 48. MJN 1. The Buddha enthroned in abhaya mudrā

Pl. 49. BK-III 129. The Buddha enthroned under the bodhi tree in abhaya mudrā and flanked by Brahmā and Indra



Pl. 50. BK-III. Sixteen pieces of a square-box harmikā.



Pl. 51. BK-III 135. Amorini under caitya arches.

Pl. 52. BK-III 140. Lower register 1-r. Interpretation of the dream and dream of queen Māyā.



Pl. 53. SSA 84. Bodhisattva Maitreya



Pl. 54. SSA 65. Seat or pedestal for the Buddha or a bodhisattva figure.

Pl. 55. SSA 96. Śiva Mahādeva.



Pl. 56. SSA 67. Bodhisattava Maitreya



Pl. 57. SSA 75. Bodhisattava Vajrapāṇiwazzu

Pl. 58. P. 626. A bodhisattva



Pl. 59. V. 47. Bodhisattva Maitreya.

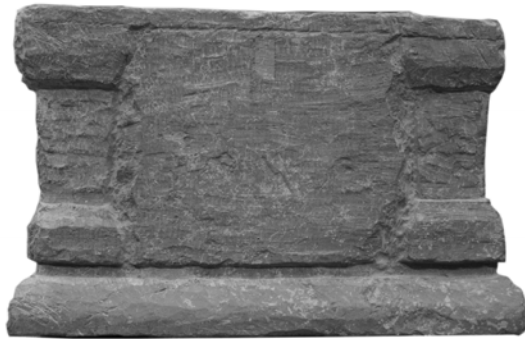


Pl. 60. SSA. 78. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara

Pl. 61. See pl. 34.



Pl. 62. Swāt Museum. Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Padmapāni.



Pl. 63. BK-III. Unfinished panel.

Pl. 64. Bk-III. Unfinished model of a hut.



Pl. 65. BK-I 6501. A princely donor.



Pl. 66. P. 630. A princely donor.

Pl. 67. BK-III 152. A devotee in añjali mudrā.



Pl. 68. NG. 414. The invitation of the Buddha by Śrigupta.



Pl. 69. NG 337. Bodhisattva Maitreya enthroned in abhaya mudrā.

Pl. 70. NG 438. The Buddha seated in dhyāna mudrā



Pl. 71. NG 350. The Birth of Siddhārtha and the promenade of the newly born baby



Pl. 72. CGP 3. Figures *under caitya* arches.

Pl. 73. SSA 31. Hārītī enthroned with all her riches and flanked by donors.

