

INTRODUCTION

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{i}

ENVIRONS OF CHAKDARA

Chakdara is a military outpost on the right bank of the river Swat, giving an access to Dir and Chitral — two of the hill districts spreading south of the Pamir Knot on Pakistan side. The present military post, which occupies a low ridge, was built by the British in 1896 to safeguard an iron bridge that spans the Swat river. It is actually on a site, traditionally known as Shah Dheri. Abul Fazl¹ notes that when Akbar's forces were carrying out operations against the Yusufzais, the fort at Chakdara was first built by Zain Khan Koka in 1586. The Mughal fort is not traceable today although Mughal coins have been found off and on in this area.

The name Chakdara appears to be of Mughal origin and can be explained as the "Revenue Circle" (*Chak*) of the "Pass" (*Dara*). Abul Fazl² includes Chakdara in his description of the revenue settlement of the time of Akbar but he does not say that the name was given by the Mughals. This silence has led some to conjecture that the original word may have been *Chakradhara*, "the Wielder of Wheel" — a name of the Hindu god Vishnu, but there is no association of this god with the site. Others opine that this was the pass where a local tribe, called the *Chakas*, dwelt. However, we have so far no historical evidence about this tribe.

Chakdara is located 72°1' E. longitude and 37°7' N. latitude, 82 miles north-east of Peshawar. From Chakdara the roads lead on either side of the river Swat to Saidu Sharif, the headquarter of Swat district (formerly State), 30 miles to the east. Northward the road goes to Timargarha (or Timar Qila), 25 miles away. There it bifurcates into two — one goes across the river Panchkora to Bajaur and the other follows the left bank of this river and proceeds to Dir, 51 miles away, and beyond to Chitral, 138 miles from Chakdara.

1. *Akbar nama*, Eng. Tr. by H. Beveridge, Vol. III., PP. 725-32.

2. *Ain-i-Akbari*,

The modern village of Chakdara is about a mile away from the British fort and is separated from it by a *Khwar* (hill torrent) that flows into the river Swat. The village occupies an ancient site, where pot-sherds of the early historic period are picked up. At one end of the village the remains of still older graves¹ are found. The British fort is dominated on its west by a range of hill that gradually rises across a metalled road and is washed by the river Swat on its south. This range drops down to a saddle on the west while joining the main hill to its north, that curves around a circle. The area within the circle, called *Shamalai* (i.e. "jointly owned by several people"), is now given to cultivation. An unmetalled road passes through its middle, cuts through the western saddle and follows down the Swat river on its right bank.

The dominating range on the west is crowned by a picket, popularly known as Churchill Point after the name of Capt. (later Sir) Winston Churchill who came here during the Malakand Campaign of 1897. The picket was properly called *Shisho Guard*, as it served as a guard-post for mirror-signalling to Malakand in the old British days. This guard room has incorporated the remains of an ancient wall (Pl. 67 b), that formed a part of a Pre-Muslim fort (See Section IV). The local people remember this site by the name of Damkot.

The neighbourhood of Chakdara presents a picturesque surrounding (See pl. I). The hills around and the sonorous Swat river, with its wide open valley, lush with the greenery of paddy fields, poplars and other ever-green trees, have unforgettable attractions. For how long the country has made an appeal to man is difficult to say but the very name Swat, deriving from the Vedic Sanskrit *Suvastu*, meaning "Fair-dwellings," speaks of its hoary antiquity. How many other old names still survive in this area is a subject of further research. But today the surrounding places are associated with names having apparent connection with the modern Pashto language.

Churchill Point gives a wonderful view of the river Swat. Far in the distant east, about 12 miles away, the ridge of Barikot, generally identified with Bazira of Alexander's time, shoots up from the heart of the river. Nearer in view the hamlets of Thana range along the slope of the hill. Still nearer the white shining water flows placidly in the middle of the plain with hills towering around. Chakdara fort abuts on to this enclosed plain just to the north of the river at the southern entrance of its

1. *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. III, 1967, P. 233.

northern half. The southern portion is known as Swat Ranizai while the northern plain is called Adinzai. This Adinzai plain slopes from east to west and a *Khwar* (hill torrent) skirts the foot of the western hill and later separates the British fort from the village (see above). A number of minor torrents coming from the east flow into this main *Khwar*. These torrents carry flood water generally during winter and roll down huge boulders from the high hills into the plain below with the result that the surface is strewn over with pebbles and stones. The hills have been much shaken in the past and the rocks tilted, twisted and turned. In the crevices and slopes wind-swept earth is deposited, which supports sparse forest. Occasionally water springs overflow from underneath the crevices and help in sustaining human habitation and nourishing food and fodder. The human settlements are near these natural springs, and wherever such springs exist or have existed in the past, occupational sites are invariably found. This water resource has tended to perpetuate settlements on the same spots from period to period. The paucity of rainfall has stood in the way of greater agricultural produce and as a result there are fewer great urban centres in the plain. Only two sites are worth noting. One is the old site of Chakdara, already recorded above. The other is Uchh (*Ushk* or correctly *Sushka*, meaning dry), about six miles away from Chakdara in the middle of the Adinzai plain.

This hill-girt plain of Adinzai has numerous outlets. The iron bridge at Chakdara connects it with Ranizai on the south of the river Swat. Up along the northern bank of this river an unmetalled road goes through the village of Chakdara, passes over many *Khwars*, comes into the important site of Ramora and crossing over a high hilly passage, descends into the plain of Shamoza in Swat district. Further ahead another bridge spans the river Swat and connects with Barikot. Bypassing this bridge the road goes straight on that side of the river towards Mingora, the market town adjacent to Saidu Sharif. Another outlet through a gap in the north-east leads into Aspan¹ valley; which is also drained by a hill torrent. Across this torrent a pathway goes to a small valley of Bambolai, occupied in the early historic period by a group of Buddhist settlements. A high hill separates this valley from Nimogram — another Buddhist site on the Swat side of the border.

The main passage out of this plain is to the north where the eastern hills leave a gap just before they come close to the western range. This gap is called Katkela pass, through which runs the main road to Dir

1. The name *Aspan* recalls the ancient people *Aspayanas* or *Asvayanas*, mentioned by Panini in his famous grammar. They lived here at the time of Alexander's invasion.

and Chitral. The pass opens out into Talash Valley, where the market town of Ziarat is a place of some significance. Today the shops line along the modern road but the main village spreads out at the foot of the hill, and still older remains, known as Gumbad, hang on to the side of the hill. Higher up on the top fortified walls enclose wide breathing space to give shelter and cooler climatic conditions to warriors of strength. Such forts are traceable right upto the northern most point of this valley, where a Guro *Kluvar* coming from the east falls into the river Panchkora and forces it to bend southward and cut through the hill and flow along its western side, thus leaving the Talash plain dry. At the bend of the river Panchkora stands the impregnable fort of Guro Doba. Here the valley comes to an end, and a difficult passage over the Kamrani Pass descends into the cup-shape vale of Timargarha.¹

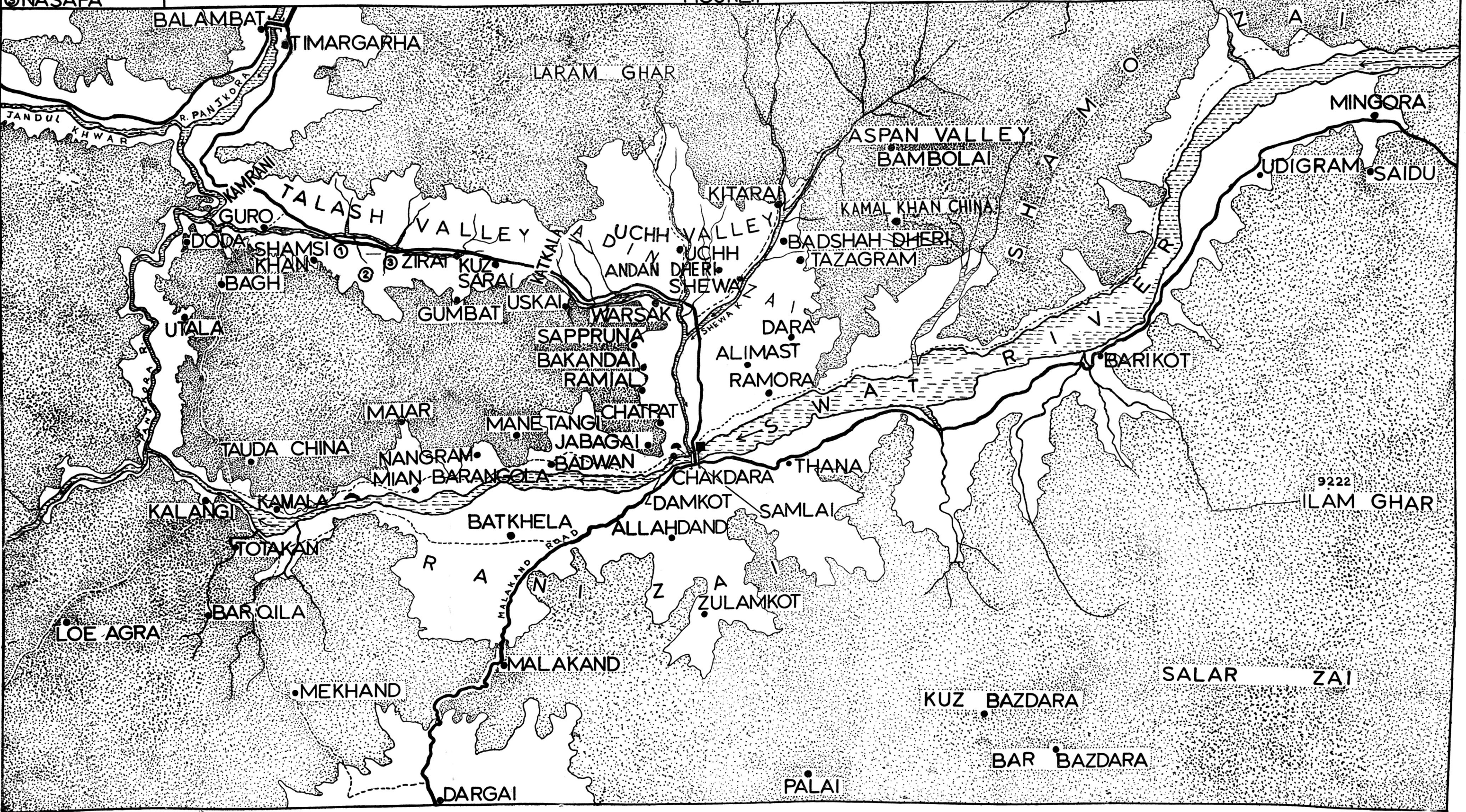
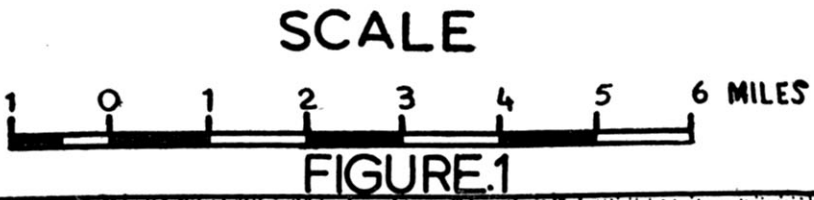
Down the river Swat a western passage, as we have noted before, cuts through the saddle and an unmetalled road goes between the hill on the north and the river on the south. The road passes through Abazai and beyond Mian Barangola into Khadakzai area. The last point is Kamala, 16 miles from Chakdara, where the river bends to the north until it is joined by Panchkora in the hilly zone of Pingal. This combined water further breaks through the hill and pushes southward to proceed to the Peshawar plain. Beyond Kamala there is no road but pathway leads over the hills of Arang and Barang to Utmankhel and over to Bajaur.

The environs of Chakdara (See fig. 1) in Dir district, described above, include the northern drainage zone of the middle Swat river when it leaves Barikot on the east and disappears in the hills beyond Kamala — a total distance of about 30 miles. We have also noted an unmetalled road running along the whole length of the northern bank. The road goes between the hill and the river, now low and now high, as the hill impinges on to the river or moves farther away in twisted bends or circuitous directions. It is when the hill is away from the river that plains and valleys open out in the north and they provide the needed land for agricultural settlement. At the same time the hills have sent down torrents of flood water with their stony pebbles rolled along with them and strewn all over like a mantle. Where the rain water has found a level for deposition, they begin to overflow in small springs. Such water springs abound in glens and narrow valleys that penetrate deep and high into the twisted bends of the hills. The higher we go, the better we find the climatic condition for living and

1. For detailed description see *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. III, 1967, P. 14-15.

CHAKDARA AND ITS ENVIRONS

- ① AMLUK DARA
- ② MACHO
- ③ NASAPA



from over the top the beautiful view of the river Swat is never missed. It is in these sequestered corners, far away from the common rut of the worldly life, but giving full gaze of the dramatic panorama of human living, that the Buddhists of the early historic period founded their monastic settlements. It is again on their historic sites that later human occupation has continued the story of man till our own time.

South of the river Swat we have noted the plain of Ranizai. This plain is separated from the Peshawar valley by the towering range of the Malakand hill but the separation is not final. Various routes cross over the Malakand Range and link the two plains for the common pursuit of human living. It is therefore not insignificant that the plain sloping from the southern side of Malakand bears the name of Sama Ranizai, indicating that the people north and south of this hill belong to the same Pash-tun grouping. This link has also continued through history in the past. The greatest symbol of the bond is the common creation of the Gandhara art. How far the artistic products of the two valleys are identical, is a subject of future research. One step to the understanding of this aspect of the art is to get a closer view of the materials obtaining in the localised areas. This detailed study is possible as each locality has its own quarry of raw materials and if different schools flourished in the different zones, the result must come out in such regional studies. At one time during the ninth and tenth centuries the Hindu Shahi rulers tried to build up a defensive system — a chain of forts in two rows, one along the Malakand hill south of the river Swat and the other along the northern hill north of the river, thus keeping the Swat valley a special preserve of their own when Peshawar valley was being assailed by the Muslims. It is at this time that Shahkot pass linking Thana, Palai and over to Katlang was much in use. The name Shahkot is probably derived from the Hindu Shahis. Not far from this pass is a fort on the top of the hill locally known as Kafirkot. The Palai plain produces a deadening effect on the mind — once a sweet home of Buddhism bubbling with numerous monasteries and stupas studded with tall figures of the Buddha but now a valley of dethroned gods, mutilated sculptures, broken walls and dilapidated monasteries. Down below, not far from the Swat river, is the market town of Batkhela, to the east of which extends an enormous graveyard right up on the hill slope. How long this place of the dead has been in use, is difficult to say. Tradition traces its beginning to the *Ghazis* (martyrs), who laid down their lives while besieging the Pre-Muslim Chakdara fort probably in the time of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni. The name Batkhela is associated with Bata, the hill peak near this town, where pine trees still bear witness to the once human settlement on its top for defensive purposes. At the foot of this hill

the old Hindu Shahi fort of Bata still stands in dilapidated condition. Further west can be seen the gap of Malakand, through which passes the modern road that goes from Peshawar to Swat. This gap is again protected by a fort — the modern sitting over the ruins of old. The Malakand fort gives a view of both the sides — the Peshawar plain on the south and the Swat valley on the north. On the southern side of the Swat river a rough road goes up and down towards Totakan. On the hill side several ruined structures stand along the slope. Beyond Totakan is the *Ziarat* of Hisar Baba of the Mughal period. Further ahead is the village of Kolangi, where Buddhist ruins are noted. Far above on the hill slope Hindu Shahi fortification walls and towering structures still speak of the old occupation. The road advances further west and takes a turn to go around the Malakand Range and join at Kot Agra with another road that comes from Dargai on the south of this Range. Near Kolangi the hills come closer and the river Swat narrows. There was a proposal to build a dam across this point but the dam would have submerged the low-lying agricultural fields far beyond Batkhela. However, a bridge across the river would link up the two sides and provide a romantic circuit road for the tourists who may venture to see the living of these secluded people.

This geographic picture provides the background in which Chakdara and its neighbourhood have grown in history. The region is cut off from the usual march of the armies and the travellers. Only those who come through the Bajaur route, like Alexander the Great, might proceed on to the Adinzai plain, but it was possible for others, like Babar, to bypass this zone completely and push down the Kharappa valley over Mohmand territory west of the river Swat. Those travellers who came from China would pass through Sinkiang, Gilgit and upper Swat over to Peshawar plain. Only those who are interested in going to Dir and Chitral would cross the river Swat at Chakdara and have the pleasure of seeing a world entirely different from the surrounding valleys. It is because of this seclusion that far deep in Chitral the traditional Kafiristan (now called Kalash) still retains the age-old practices.

The archaeological study, discussed in this volume is limited to the Adinzai plain though help has been taken to add more evidence from Ramora and Bambolai on the east and Abazai and Khadakzai on the west. The old Chakdara fort at Damkot has provided the main time-scale. The stratigraphic material obtained here has helped in reconstructing a cultural sequence. The sequence is also tested by digging a trench in the similar fort area near Ziarat. Within this time perspective the evolution

of the Gandhara art is seen in the materials excavated mainly from two sites — the stupa complex at Chatpat, not far from Damkot, and Andandheri about four miles north of Chakdara. Materials from Ramora and Bambolai have been added to understand the development of the art further. But of greater significance is the study of the rock engravings made for the first time in this region. One series is seen at the foot of the Damkot site and the other at Mane Tangai in the Khadakzai plain. On the whole the materials are entirely localised and they have been worked out of the local stones. It is, however, not possible to say whether they were made entirely by local craftsmen. After all the Bactrian Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and Kushanas had full control over this area. In the historical activities of these kings Chakdara alone offers the limited environs for a detailed study of the Gandhara art, about which so much confusion prevails even after more than hundred year's examination of the art objects by the scholars of the world.



(ii)

EXCAVATION AND EXPLORATION

In the excavation and exploration carried out in the valley of Panchkora river, round about Timargarha, during 1962-65, the Buddhist remains were found to be few and far between. Specimens of Gandhara art and standing stupas were very rare, although they were plentiful in Bajaur. However, south of the Kamrani pass in Talash valley and in the Adinzai plain, where Chakdara is situated the Buddhist monuments are found in large number. There are also several settlement sites and forts on the hill ranges. It was therefore possible to trace the cultural developments during the historical period by making a systematic survey of these sites. With this object in view the following were carefully examined.

1. *Andandheri*:- This was the first to attract attention as its tall stupa mound caught the traveller's eye from the main Chakdara-Dir road. The site had been given to spoliation for more than a century but the standing high mound with a low flat area in front promised to yield some good materials and therefore its excavation was planned. Its report is published below in this volume (Section II).

About a mile south of Andandheri there is another small stupa mound just on the road side. The stone walls are visible right on the sur-

face but it has been completely robbed of its materials.

About a mile and half north of Andandheri stands the village of Uchh. The whole village occupies an ancient site. A few hundred yards east of the village there are the ruins of a settlement site, known as Badshahdheri. The entire area is today under cultivation. The stone walls have mostly been removed. But off and on coins of the Hindu Shahis are found at the site. A broken inscription on a stone of this period in Sarada character was found by us.

2. *Chatpat*:- When information was received about the robbing away of Buddhist sculptures from Chatpat, we moved on to examine the remains. On way to the above-named village, which is about one mile from the main road, we have to cross a *Khwar* and soon we notice in the field big slabs scattered here and there and some deliberately kept along the hedges. These big slabs of stones were found to belong to the graves of the bronze and iron ages. Further ahead the village huts occupy the slope of a ridge. And below on the edge of a *Khwar* stand the ruined mounds of two stupas, which have been almost completely robbed by the local people. About two furlongs further ahead there is a glen, where a water spring sends down water almost the whole year for the villagers to drink. Right in the corner stand the ruins of a Buddhist settlement, which had also been partly robbed by the people. This site was fully excavated and its report is published in this volume (Section III).

3. *Damkot*:- In Chakdara we heard about the rock engravings in the stones lying on the edge of the Swat river. While on our way to seeing these engravings, we noted pot-sherds strewn on the hill side and on the footpath, over which we were walking. These sherds gave us an indication of the early historic period materials lying over this hill. On climbing up the hill, we noted the ruined walls of a fort at several places, the walls being built of stone diaper masonry. At intervals there were also square bastions. The walls had been broken at many points but sufficient remained on the surface to show that it was a circuit defensive wall going all round the top of the ridge. At the nearby signal tower, called Churchill point, we further noted the old wall having been re-used with a modern wall. But our enquiry has not yielded any information about the knowledge of this fort earlier. As the pottery was very instructive, we hoped to build a good sequence of historical periods at this place. With this purpose the site was excavated, and its report is included in this volume (Section IV).

4. *Jabagai Stupa Site*:- The site is situated at a distance of about four miles from Chakdara on the Chakdara-Badwan road, which runs along the right bank of the river Swat. The ruins lie on the top of the hillock. Here a natural spring still supplies water. The Buddhist ruins occupy an extensive area on the side over-looking the river Swat as well as the flat top that inclines towards the north. On the river side several stupa mounds are noted and on the flat top the ruins of the monastic area are clearly visible. Two stupas excavated yielded some broken sculptures. The stupas, which had rectangular basements, were built of rough stone diaper masonry. Most of the sculptures had been removed earlier by the treasure hunters. In the monastic area a few rooms are seen right on the surface. These rooms, which are square in plan, were originally covered by domes but now the domes have fallen. The system of filling the corners was the same as is noted at Takht-i-Bahi and also at Sanghao in Mardan district.

5. *Machowa*:- Machowa is a small village 13 miles from Chakdara on the Dir road. The village, which stands on the old ruins, is about one mile away from the main road and beyond the village at the foot of the hill, stand the Buddhist ruins. A small *Khwar* flows down the hill. On the west of this *Khwar* is the stupa site and on its east are the ruins of the monastery. The site has also been robbed of its sculptural treasures.

6. *Amlokdara*:- Amlok-dara i.e. the valley of the Amaloka fruit, is so named because of the presence of the Amaloka trees in large number. This valley is reached from the village of Ziarat. One has to walk about a mile and half from the village towards the hill on the south and the site lies east of the *Khwar*. The villagers have turned the site into agricultural fields but through the fields one can observe the votive stupas sticking up their heads. Up on the hill top are the ruins of the Hindu Shahi period.

7. *Shamsi Khan*:- This is a village about a mile away from Ziarat towards Timargarha. From the main road one has to walk about two and half miles through the village of Shamsi Khan in order to reach the site. It occupies the top of a hillock in the centre of a valley, girdled all round by small ranges. Down below runs the *Khwar* through the valley. The robbers have taken away the sculptures but the walls of the stupas are still standing.

8. *Ramora*:- The site is situated at a distance of about two miles on Chakadra-Shamozai road. From the river Swat the site is removed about two furlongs to the north. It is a very big settlement site surround-

ed on three sides by a girdle of hills. A village well takes down the depth of deposit to about ten feet from the present ground level. On the surface the pot-sherds indicate early historic period association. On the slope of the hill the stupa ruins and monastic area are located. One of the stupa was robbed by the local people. Another stupa was partly excavated and a few sculptures found here have been described below in Section II as an appendix to the excavation of Andandheri.

9. *Bambolai*:- The site lies at a distance of ten miles from Chakdara on Aspan road. It occupies one end of a beautiful open valley which is reached after crossing a deep *Khwar*. The main stupa complex is at one end of the hill and the monastery lies ahead on a flat area. Down below on either side of the site water springs are found. The debris of the stupa complex was removed this year. The clearance showed one main stupa in the middle and on its two sides were niches in the same fashion as is found at Chatpat. These niches contained stucco figures but unfortunately all of them had decayed owing to water action. Only a few heads were recovered. They are illustrated and described below in Section II under Andandheri. One beautiful piece of stone sculpture (Pl. 29 b. No. 50) depicting *Dipankara Jataka* was also found here. It seems that this piece was brought from somewhere else and re-fixed here.

Beyond this site there is a tall range that separates this Buddhist site from that of Nimogram, now in Swat district.

10. *Kamal Khan China*:- The line of mountains running along the east side of Chakdara-Uchh valley has thrown several spurs, along with their attendant seasonal streams into the valley itself. One of these spurs running almost north-south separates Shamozaï from Adinzaï territory and forms border line between Swat and Dir districts. It is upon the western slope of this spur that the remains of an ancient fort of considerable dimension were found at a point near which the ridge ascends to a height of five thousand feet, some eight miles north-east of Chakdara. The place is locally known as Kamal Khan China. Due to the vertical height of the ridge along with several bluffs and crags at this point, the fort is not accessible from the east and the north east. However it can be easily approached from Shiva — the nearest village about three miles away to the west. There is no road and one has to take the route of a seasonal stream which has its source in the same place.

The fortification wall of massive construction, measuring about one thousand feet on the east side is still standing to a height of 10 to 12

feet at some places. A mule path linking Chakdara with Shamozaï is a much frequented route passing almost through the middle of this fort.

11. *Gumbat*:- Gumbat is situated in a picturesque side valley bisected by a deep seasonal stream (Khwar) descending from Deolai Peak, about one and a half mile to the south of Ziarat in Talash. As the local tradition goes, the site is called Gumbat (Gumbad: dome) because of a huge dome, probably part of some Hindu Temple which once stood majestically in the mouth of the valley from where it is approached from the side of Ziarat. Architectural parts of this temple in the form of carved amalaka and lotus patterns can still be seen in the walls of the modern houses.

The Gumbat valley is provided with strong natural fortification by steep hills, the effectiveness of which is augmented by human efforts. Thus Tatogai hill culminating in the high Deolai Peak forms an effective barrier to the south whereas the Sapruna and Dhob hills cover the two flanks towards east and west. On the north they come closer to each other leaving a narrow passage through which passes a seasonal stream and drains the whole valley. It is through this opening that the Gumbat valley is accessible.

Massive fortification walls with rectangular bastions and circular towers thrown across the whole width of this small opening still rise high up to 19 feet at places. Several of the walls have been pulled down by the farmers to turn the place into terraced fields. The extreme ends of Sapruna and Dhob hills also accommodate fortresses but smaller in size as compared to the Gumbat fort stretching throughout the length and breadth of the valley.

12. *Bash Qala*:- This fortress is nestled in the thick forest just near Dhola Peak only a few hundred yards to its north. Situated on a rocky ridge almost in the middle of the forest, it can be reached by a steep ascent over boulders and through thorny thickets in an eastward direction from Gumbat. It can easily be approached, however, from Dhob along a footpath which winds along the crest line of the ridges and is usually taken by wood-cutters or shepherds. It is noteworthy that Dhob Fort and Bash Qala are situated on the same spur — Dhob Fort being on the northern extremity and Bash Qala at the south wherefrom it shoots off from Deolai. This fortress — probably the best resort in case of emergency — can also be approached through Amlokdara.

The fortification wall to the side of Amlokdara still stands as high

as 10 feet at some points. However the amount of debris and fallen blocks of stones suggest a still greater height. Pottery collected on the surface is similar to that of Gumbat (Hindu Shahi period).

13. *Doda*:- Some eight miles to the south-west of Ziarat, the peak of Doda hill can be seen rising high over another top known as Gorodob to the south of Kamrani pass. There are the remnants of a fort stretching over a vast area on the western slopes of a ridge situated in a great loop formed by Panchkora which washes its foot. Approach is difficult from every direction. From Goro Kile a small mule path ascends gradually towards small pleasant looking plateau known as Bagh valley. It is a wide stretch of fairly level ground accommodating a small village and plenty of fields. After a march of less than three miles from Bagh in a south western direction along the bed of a seasonal stream which, after winding through several hills, drains into Panchkora, one reaches Doba situated at their meeting place. The fortification wall of considerable size made of undressed blocks of stone follows largely the contour of the ridge. From the top of this fort the whole of Talash valley, Kamrani and part of Bajaur is clearly open to view.

14. *Kat Kela*:- At the eastern extremity of the Talash valley the two lines of hills flanking it on the north and south come closer to each other leaving only a low-lying passage known as Katkela (corrected as Kat-Qala i.e. Fort of the pass). It demarcates the valley of Uchh from that of Talash. It is here that remains of an ancient fortress stand upon a rocky ridge to the south of the metalled road. The walls are of massive construction and have rectangular bastions coupled with circular towers. Much of it has fallen to the ground. The steep ridge which accommodates the fortress and other dwellings is flanked, to the north, by a deep torrent bed and upto a height of approximately 300 feet from the stream bed is covered with decayed debris fallen from the top.



(iii)

MATERIALS OF GANDHARA ART

We have seen, in the last chapter, the great wealth of the Buddhist art materials that are widely spread in the vicinity of Chakdara. It was impossible, or even not necessary to recover all the materials. What was

desirable was to probe into a limited number of stupas and monastic settlements and get at the unimpeachable evidence for placing the Gandhara art in its true chronological perspective. So far the chronology has been built on three different readings of history of this region:-

I. Foucher, Marshall and others worked on the basis of the early notion of the history of the foreign invaders and traced the origin and the development of the Gandhara art as a by-product of the Graeco-Roman influence. Starting from the legacy of the artistic spirit implanted by the Bactrian Greeks, the art reached its maturity during the hey-day of the Kushanas, declined when their imperial sway suffered at the hands of the Sassanians and finally ended with the havoc and destruction caused by the invasion of the Huns.

II. Wheeler, Rowland and others have modified the chronology built up by the first group of scholars and on the basis of the actual finds they have proposed to trace the origin of the Gandhara art as a result of the influence from the Roman world. Rowland alone has tried to build up a chronology of the development of the art on the basis of the different evolving trends in the contemporary Roman art.

III. Harald Ingholt (in *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, Introduction) has made four chronological groups of the sculptures starting from A.D. 144 ("from the accession of Kanishka") to A.D. 460. He concludes "During Group I Gandharan art is marked by Hellenistic influence from Parthian Mesopotamia. In Group II Sassanian influences come to fore, and in Group III a new wave of influences enters the country from Mathura. The fourth group, finally sees Sassanian influences reappear". This four-fold scheme of chronology is based on the idea of Ingholt that in the first period the Great Kushanas established over-seas link with Mesopotamia; in the second period the Sassanian overthrow of the Kushanas brought Iranian influence; in the third period the Kidar Kushanas were inclined towards India; and in the fourth period the Sassanian pressure again left its mark until the Huns spelt ruin and destruction.

It is not necessary for us to level criticism against or in favour of one or the other scheme of chronology. In the next chapter we have built up our own chronology on the basis of the excavation results and there it will be clear that some of the points of the scholars are re-enforced while others are contradicted. While the influences from the Western Classical art definitely reached Gandhara and they in fact led to the visualisation of a different standard from that of India, yet it will be wrong to say that

the art had no real foundation in the local socio-cultural life. Prof. Rowland and others like him may be right in tracing the different related motifs to the Roman school of art but they are just a few borrowed materials from outside. Similarly Ingholt's reconstruction has not been able to meet all the answers faced by the students of Gandhara art. Ingholt no doubt advanced a step further than other scholars in tracing the influencing factors to four different sources but the materials at his disposal were unrelated. They were spread out in the different museums and he had to make the best use of them on analytical principle.

Now the time has come when it is possible to fix the materials to a definite region and see how these localised art objects work out in a pattern of their own. The purpose of the present excavations is to present such materials in order to help build a true story of the development of the art. Before these materials are presented two factors need to be kept in mind.

1. From sixth century B.C. onwards the North West Frontier regions had been constantly under the pressure of foreign invaders. The common fashion in life and the general trends of culture were very much conditioned by the preference and choice of these people. It is they who set the standards in the current life.

2. Having recognised the contributing influences from the Persians, Greeks, Scythians, Parthians, and Kushanas, it is at the same time necessary to remember the socio-religious forces that lay at the root of the development of the Gandhara art. These forces heavily relied on the great spiritual gift made by Buddhism to the cultural life of the regions. With the introduction of Buddhism many Indian elements penetrated into Gandhara. When it is remembered that the Buddhist monks were enjoined to move from place to place during the course of their missionary activities, it is easy to understand how motifs and influences from the schools of Mathura, Sanchi and Ajanta could reach Gandhara. It is this double trend — the choice of the foreign nobility and a local popular culture deeply influenced by the Buddhist monks — that resulted in the characterisation of the Gandhara art. In the production of the art we see a commingling of the two tendencies and the consequent creation of a new blend that is typically Gandharan. The foreigner's taste was attuned to the local environment and the Buddhist religion of morality had to widen its scope and vision in order to make itself acceptable to these people and in this transition it expressed itself in a new symbolism of the Gandhara art.

What were the main features of the art in Gandhara before the introduction of the Buddhist art, is difficult to say. We have a number of terracotta figurines (see Wheeler, *Charsada* pls. XX-XXV; Dani, Shaikhan Dheri Excavation in *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, pls XXIV-XXV) and specimens of other minor arts and crafts of everyday use. We may also point to the coin minting of the Bactrian Greek rulers. But of stone-cutter's art we have no example available from Gandhara. Marshall (*The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pl. 23) has illustrated two sandstone figures from Taxila. They belong to a school entirely different from the main trends of Gandhara. Shall we take them to be the pre-Buddhist art of this region? He has also found a large number of toilet trays in Taxila (see Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. III, pls, 144-45). He relegates them to the Scytho-Parthian period. We have had no materials of this type in our excavations. In fact the first phase of even the Buddhist art is not represented in the present excavations. In our dig at Shaikhan Dheri we could definitely present materials of the time of Kanishka (see *Ancient Pakistan* Vol. II, Pls. XVI-XVIII). In the present excavations we can at best speak of our first period as belonging to the entire range of the hundred years of the rule of the Kanishka group of rulers.

At Shaikhan Dheri, even in the first period, we found a seated figure of the Buddha (*Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II, Pl. XVII) — a type which remained in force through all the succeeding periods. Similarly the figure of Hariti (*ibid*, pl. XVI) is sitting on a high-backed chair which is made even today in this region. The facial type, the coiffeur, the ornaments and particularly the pose and the depiction of the children are all instructive to the modern observer. The curled-up hair over the head of the children recall the type of *Ushni sha* seen on the head of the Buddha, although the way some hair is falling on the shoulders, suggests western classical influence. But this hair style is preserved right up to the end. One can observe it in pl.11b from Andandheri and pl. 60b from Chatpat. In both these plates the unbearded disciple has a similar hair-do. The most instructive example from Shaikhan Dheri is the figure of Maitreya (*Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II, pl. XIX No. 2), in which the fall of the *dhوتي* at the lower ends again shows a touch of the western classical art. Similarly the narrative style remained in the same fashion through all the periods. The Shaikhan Dheri examples may be seen on plate XVIII in *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II.

It is, however, necessary to realise that in Gandhara art certain types became fixed for certain persons and these types continued to be

followed through all the periods. Take for example, the figure of the Buddha. In our excavations we have not been able to get the standing or sitting Buddha, freely represented, from the first period in Chatpat or in Andandheri. However, we have got Buddha carved on pillars or inside a cave. Pl. 38a shows the seated Buddha in *Dhyani mudra* carved in high relief on a pillar. Pl. 38b has standing Buddha in *Abhaya mudra*, again engraved on a pillar. Another Dhyani Buddha is seated inside a cave (pl. 39 a). In all these figures the type is very well defined as far as the Gandhara style of robes, the hair-do, the half-closed eyes and other details are concerned. This type does not change in the succeeding periods. But there is a gradual modification in the details of the type. One can observe it in the facial features, in the hair-do, in the representation of the folds of the garment particularly the folds around the neck, and in the case of the seated figures the fall of the lower end of the upper garment over the folded legs, in the decoration of the seat, in the decoration of the halo and sometimes in varying the form of the eyes — long, round, almond-shaped, or askant, half-closed, three-fourth closed or fully open. These are the changing variations in the main type of the Gandharan Buddha. When and where these variations appear, have been shown in the detailed description. Within this broad type of the Gandharan Buddha it is the varying features that may be considered for the purpose of dating. On the other hand we have also got the Indian type of the Buddha in the first period at Shaikhan Dheri (*Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II. Pl. XVIII, No. 4). The Indian type in which the upper garment leaves the right shoulder bare, is seen in the first period at Chatpat (Reg. No. 43 not illustrated here as the stone is decayed). This type was favoured particularly when the Buddha was depicted in preaching pose (see Pl. 34 c) but it will be too much to say that this type appeared in Gandhara later. There is no reason for such assumption as the Indian influences are noted even in the first phase of the Buddhist art in Gandhara. However, within this broad Indian type seen in Gandhara, it is possible to study the developments of the new features.

Now coming to the Bodhisattvas we find the study still more interesting. Here we have four main persons — Maitreya, Siddhartha, Vajrapani and Padmapani. Out of them Vajrapani, with only rare exception, puts on the western dress of short tunic. Both Maitreya (pl. 54 b) and Siddhartha (pl. 54 a) put on the Indian dhoti, the lower end of which ends in western classical pleats. The upper garment falls loosely in a curved sweep in front but they wear different ornaments. The chief distinguishing feature is the hair style and the object held in the left hand.

Maitreya generally has a water flask. In the first period, as noted at Shai-khan Dheri (pl. XIX, No. 2 and pl. XXI, No. 3 in *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. II), the lower end of the garment makes a different kind of folds and the upper garment also shows a slight variation. The second example of Shai-khan Dheri has *Ushnisha* overhead. This is generally not found in the case of Maitreya but it is invariably seen in the case of Siddhartha. A new type of Padmapani (pl. 56 a) is seen in the third period at Chatpat. This type is met in the rock engravings hereafter. There is a unique scene (pl. 48 b) in which Maitreya occupies a central position. Around him are several noble persons in the act of listening. The carving is quite deep but this type of representation is not found elsewhere. We have not been able to discover an independent figure of Vajrapani. He is seen as a companion of the Buddha. But why he is shown in the western dress is difficult to say. His hair style is also different. In fact each one of the Bodhisattvas has his own typical hair style. A large number of noble persons (see pl. 11a) have turbaned heads. This is so in the case of Indra also. The turban has sometimes a hood behind and right in front a conical object is tied as a crest. (see Ingholt Op. Cit, figs. 313-319). We have found several representations of this type in the panel scenes. There they are noblemen. But in the Peshawar and Lahore museums such figures are holding wreath in their left hand and these have been generally taken as a Bodhisattva. In one example (see Ingholt, No. 326) from Peshawar this type of figure has a preaching Buddha at the crest of the turban. It is generally described as Avalokitesvara but this is against the known principle of the Buddhist canon.

The independent tall figures of the Buddha or Bodhisattva have not been found by us in the first period. They are known from the second period onwards. In the third period they were invariably required for installation in the niches. Leaving aside these figures, the sculptural art of Gandhara is primarily meant for decorative purposes. They were all made with the object of fixing at the stupas. It is for this reason that the panel representation is found largest in these places. In our excavations such panels number the greatest. These scenes relate to the life story of the Buddha from his conception to death. We found only one *Jataka*, viz Dipankara Jataka, in our excavations. Each scene is separated from the other by a pillar. The panel representation follows the same pattern from the beginning to the end. The difference has been noticed in the use of stones. In the early periods blue schist is invariably chosen while in the last period we get green phyllite. As regards depiction a few points are clearly noted. In the early period the engraving is very

deep and the figures in profile are common. The stones generally have single-tier representation. In course of time the engraving became shallower and shallower. In the third period two-tier representation became common. Frontality is deeply impressed on the manner of depiction.

The pillars that divide the scenes are mainly of two types — Persepolitan pillars and Corinthian pillars. The first type is round and tapering and sometimes has bulls back to back on the capital. There is one example from Chatpat having winged horses back to back (pl. 46a). The Corinthian pillars are either square or round. The capitals sometimes have a figure seated within leaves. The square pillars show three varieties. Those belonging to the first period have Dhyani-Buddha carved in high relief. He is seated on a half-blown lotus, the petals of which are distinctly shown. In the second period the Dhyani Buddha appears on the pillars but the lotus seat is not very distinct. In this period a new tendency appears when Dhyani Buddha completely disappears and a vertical cavity is marked on the pillar. This feature is the only practice in the third period.

In the panels secular scenes are invariably found (see pl. X a and b). In these scenes we have either musicians, dancers, lovers in a row, or drinking men and women. As these topics were most probably derived from the upper class of the society, they represent them in their familiar dress, mood and fashion. They are found in the different periods. Marshall places this type of panel scenes in the early period. The two examples that we found at Andandheri belong to its first period. But there is no reason that they should be so limited. Their position in the chronology must be determined in the same way as other panels.

In the stupas several brackets have been found. The front part of these brackets show different figures—lions, elephants, soldiers, Buddha seated in a cave, musicians or men in different poses. Chatpat has yielded the largest number. The early specimens show a remarkable study of the individual human action. Their primary motive is not to portray the individual in his naturalistic appearance but rather to depict the particular action of the man.

Several foreign motifs continued through all the periods. They include Atlants, Herakles, Cupids, garland-bearers, winged creatures with serpentine tails. Attempt has been made to distinguish the different periods of Atlants. The motif of garland-bearer gets variegated in course of

time. The one example illustrated from Chatpat is a fanciful development of the idea. From Andandheri triangular brackets have been found in great number. All of them show winged creatures.

From Andandheri several schist heads (see pl. 24) were recovered in the debris of the last period of the great stupa. These heads have fallen off from the body. As they are, they represent different facial types and they show the gradual adoption of the local features in the art.

The stucco figures are few and far between at Andandheri and Chatpat but at Bambolai they are found in great number. They are all products of moulds and appear to have been made to meet the growing need of the people.

Large terracotta heads have also been recovered at Bambolai. Such examples are not known in the earlier periods. It seems that in the later stage it was easier and cheaper to make stucco and terracotta figures to meet the greater demand of the common people. Although stucco figures are known even in the first period from Shaikhani Dheri, yet their use became wider in the later stages. It seems Marshall was right when he relegated the large stucco figures to a late school. The construction of the niches needed large sized figures.

One unique example (see Frontispiece) of a terracotta plaque showing seated Buddha has been recovered from Damkot. This type of plaque is not known from Gandhara. The whole manner of depicting the Buddha appears to be a work of the Gangetic valley although the Buddha is putting on the Gandhara style of the robe. And particularly important is the addition of the leogryphs on either side of the Buddha — a style of decoration seen in the mediaeval sculptures of the Ganges valley.

To sum up, the materials recovered from the present excavations, give us a wide variety for the purpose of study. They tell us of the motifs and types borrowed from outside and also of the taste and technical ability of the local artists. A detailed study carries us from one period to the other and shows the trend of the evolution. If a similar excavation is carried out of a stupa site in the main valley of Peshawar, it is believed that a complete sequence of Gandhara art can be easily built.

(iv)

CHRONOLOGY OF ART

In this section attempt is made to summarise the internal evidence for building up the chronology in the evolution of the Gandhara Art. As the purpose has been to study only the materials available in our excavations, no external evidence will be brought in to support the new scheme. The idea is to fix the art materials of a region to that locality and to study how the process of evolution works out. The detailed description of the sculptures is given in the relevant sections. They relate to (i) Sculptures from Andandheri, (ii) Sculptures from Ramora (iii) Sculptures from Bambolai, (iv) Sculptures from Chatpat, and (v) Sculptures from Damkot.

We have the following types of materials used for the sculptures.

- a) Blue schist stone.
- b) Green phyllite stone
- c) Stucco and plaster
- d) Terracotta.

At Andandheri the sculptures have been separated into three periods and similarly at Chatpat three periods have been noted. But the periods of one place do not coincide with those of the other. In the last period at Andandheri a large number of sculptures in the greenish phyllite stone were recovered but at Chatpat only one piece was found in the last period. It seems very likely therefore that the last period at Chatpat began earlier than the last period at Andandheri. This conclusion is further re-enforced when a detailed comparison of sculptures is made. The most important is the decoration of the halo behind the head of the Buddha (Pl. 12 No. 5) from Andandheri. It is of the same type as the halo of the Buddha from Chatpat in Pl. 53 a No. 103. The Andandheri figure belongs to period II but the Chatpat one to period III at that site. In these examples the eyes are variant. But the wide open eyes of the Andandheri Buddha are seen in the figure of Maitreya (Pl. 55 b, No. 108) from the third period of Chatpat. Similarly the broad Ushnisha of the Andandheri Buddha is seen in the figure of the Bodhisattva Siddhartha (Pl. 54 a, No. 105) from the third period of Chatpat.

At Andandheri the round Persepolitan pillars predominate. But we also find Corinthian square and round pillars. The square pillars have a deep vertical cavity in the second period at Andandheri (see Pl. 18, No. 19) and in the third period at Chatpat (see Pl. 57 b No. 112). Similarly the round pillars are tapering and follow the same style (see Pl. 14 a No. 8 for the second period of Andandheri and Pl. 58 a and b, Nos. 113 and 114 for the third period of Chatpat). In the third period at Andandheri (see Pl. 25 b No. 40) the pillar became stumpy and broad.

The representation of the tree is also very significant. Both at Andandheri (pl. 14 b No. 9) and Chatpat pl. 46 b. No. 89 a peculiar bend at the stem of the tree is seen. This type of representation started in Chatpat from the second period while at Andandheri also from the second period.

On the other hand the architectural composition of the Ajanta type arch enclosing a standing human within is not very common at Chatpat. Only one example from the third period (pl. 56 b, No. 110) is known from that site. This type of arch is very popular at Ramora and at Andandheri it is known from the second period (see pl. 19 a, No. 18).

These comparisons leave no doubt that the third period of Chatpat corresponds with the second period of Andandheri. This correspondence also agrees with the architectural evolution. At Andandheri we find in the second period the construction of several votive stupas with off-set projections for the steps. This feature is seen in the third period at Chatpat.

However, it may be pointed out that while this correspondence is true regarding the commencement of the periods, the actual duration of the period may vary. It seems at Chatpat the duration of the third period was much longer than the second period of Andandheri. Partly it must have over-lapped with the third period of Andandheri. Only on this assumption we can explain the presence of a greenish phyllite Buddha at Chatpat. It is also pertinent to point out that at Chatpat we find the construction of niches in the last period obviously for the installation of the tall Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. Such niches are not seen at Andandheri. But at Bambolai these niches are the main features. At Chatpat we found statues in blue schist stone while at Bambolai almost all the statues were made of stucco and terracotta. At Chatpat we obtained only one seated stucco Buddha (Pl. 34 a, No. 59) in a niche. This figure of the Buddha is of the same type as we get from Bambolai. Therefore it seems that at least some of the niches at Chatpat were built as late as those of Bambolai.

However, it must be remarked that at Bambolai alongwith the stucco heads we also obtained large-size heads in terracotta. At Chatpat we did not get any terracotta head. On the other hand our excavation at Bambolai yielded only one sculpture in blue schist stone (pl. 29 b, No. 50). That seems to be a survival from an earlier period. On the face of it the Bambolai period sculptures must be a later contemporary of Chatpat Period III.

At Ramora the stupa which we excavated produced sculptures only in greenish phyllite stone. This material was also used in some quantity in the last period at Andandheri but at Butkara in Swat the Italians have found all the sculptures of the last period in this stone. Those which are still in situ are all of green phyllite.

At Damkot, where an older monastery was found under-neath the Hindu Shahi fort, a beautiful terracotta plaque with seated Buddha (see Frontispiece) was found. This was the only terracotta plaque found in our excavations here. It is possible that the use of terracotta here was coterminous with its prevalence at Bambolai. On the basis of the above discussion the correlation comes out to be as under:—

Chatpat	Andandheri	Ramora	Bambolai	Damkot
—	—	—	—	IV b period of monas- tery and stupa
	Period III	Ramora last period	Bambolai last period	IV a
↑ Period III	Period II	?	?	—
Period II	Period I	—	—	—
Period I	—	—		

In our excavations the earliest material, as far as Gandhara art is concerned, comes from Chatpat I and the latest material comes from Damkot. The dating of these two periods would provide the duration of the Buddhist sculptural activities in this region.

As Chatpat I was founded after making up a floor, in which some pottery was found, it is possible to give a probable date to the beginning of the monastic activity here. Later in the Section under Chatpat it will be shown that the potsherds belong to the Scytho-Parthian and early Kushana periods. As such the monastic construction here started slightly later than the foundation of the rule of the Great Kushanas. If it did not start in the time of Kanishka, it must have commenced by the time Huvishka came to power. In other words the earliest phase of the Buddhist sculptural activity in this zone cannot be dated earlier than the latter half of the first century A.D. This means that so far we have not been able to find here the Gandhara art materials of the earlier periods, as has been noted by the other scholars in the main Peshawar valley and at Taxila.

Now, coming to the last period of the sculptural activity in this zone we have the evidence from Andandheri. There the third period did not commence (see under Section Andandheri) before the *Shaka* dynasty came into power, i.e. before the end of the fourth century A.D. But the evidence is not conclusive about the date when the site was finally given up. However, some circumstantial evidence needs to be emphasized.

At Andandheri the original monastery was reduced in the second period and more than half of the space was given to the erection of the votive stupas. The old monastic cells were closed and only a small number was reserved to the western side of the area of occupation. In the last period even this was reduced and we find only a single big living complex was left in the northern side of the old monastic area. This comparative reduction of the monastic cells in the succeeding periods seems to suggest that there was a definite decline in the economic resources of the monasteries and as a result the number of monks must have been lessened. Consequently the artistic activity declined. This must have been the time when, because of the reduced chances of foreign contacts, the local characters gained upperhand in the available examples of the Gandhara art. Quite naturally in the last period the facial features show more of the local types.

This same conclusion is reached when we pay a visit to the monastery at Butkara in Swat. There the original construction seems to consist of a tall stupa in the middle and monastic cells all round it in a rectangular plan. But as we find it today after the excavation the whole courtyard is full of votive stupas with hardly any space to move about. The monastic cells have also been reduced and only on one side we could vaguely see the remains of a few of them.

The same story is seen at Chatpat. There, of course, the monastery has not been excavated by us because most of that area has been destroyed by the stone slides from the top. But down below where the stupas were built, the area has been over-utilized by the later construction of the votive monuments.

At Danikot the monastery and the stupa were constructed in the fourth period and the excavator has dated it to the fourth century A.D. It means that the Buddhist religious constructions here started in the third period of Andandheri. The construction of the off-set projections for steps at the stupa agrees with the style of this period. The excavator has noted two sub-periods in the construction of these buildings. In the first sub-period we find the ashlar stone masonry of the stupa and in the second sub-period, after the stones decayed, plaster was applied to the surface of the walls. It is in this second sub-period that a big water reservoir was built in the monastic area. What was the duration of these two sub-periods is not definitely known. The excavator has brought forth two main evidences to date this period. The find of a terracotta plaque (see Frontispiece) containing seated Buddha in preaching pose. It is of an unusual style in Gandhara. The whole composition with a seated Buddha in the middle and leogryphs on his either side speak of the late Gupta Ganges Valley style. It is no doubt a product in a mould and if it was not an import from the Ganges valley, the mould appears to have come from that region. The second evidence is of a terracotta seal containing the Buddhist creed in the late Gupta Brahmi character (pl. 90 b, No. 178). Both of them clearly speak of the new tendencies that were affecting this region in the fifth century A.D. and also later. Both these objects were found inside the water reservoir. They must have fallen there or were thrown into it when the monastery was finally given up. How and when the occupation of the monastery came to an end, the evidence is not conclusive. The beginning of the fifth period is dated by a coin of Sri Vakka-deva, a king of the eighth century A.D. The excavator speaks of a gap between the end of the fourth period and the beginning of the fifth period, when debris accumulated on the top of the stupa as a result of wash-down from the top. How long was the gap, is difficult to say. The excavator talks vaguely of the destruction of the monastery by the White Huns without adducing the proper evidence for the actual devastation. It seems that the excavator was much influenced by the view of Sir John Marshall who spoke of the destruction of the monasteries in Taxila by the White Huns in the fifth century A.D. But he has himself not brought forward sufficient evidence to show that the White Huns spelt ruin and disaster at this monastery. On the other hand the location of the monastery and

the stupa at such a height where water was not available in this late period suggests that the monks probably fled from the lower plains for safety to this secluded place. It is only on such a supposition that we note here the late tendencies in the art style. In other words the evidence is not conclusive to say that the Buddhist monastery here was destroyed by the White Huns in the fifth century A.D. However it is clear that before the turn of the eighth century A.D. the Buddhist occupation must have ceased and as a result we find the accumulation of the debris over the stupa. The cause of the decline and the end of the Buddhist life here must be due to the successive dwindling of the Buddhist sources of revenue to maintain such a monastery in an unfertile and difficult place.

As a result of the above discussion the chronology of the Gandhara art in this region may be stated as follows:-

- Period I 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.
- Period II 3rd and 4th centuries A.D.
- Period III From the end of the 4th to 7th century A.D.

For this periodisation Chatpat III partly comes up to period III and Damkot IV to the latter phase of period III.

It is in this last period that the Indian influences reached here from the Gangetic valley. Consequently the Kharoshthi script was gradually replaced by the Gupta Brahmi alphabet. We have already noted a Buddhist seal in this script. The terracotta plaque depicting the Buddha from Damkot is also in the late style of the Gangetic valley.

Another important evidence is provided by the figure of Padmapani (Pl. 56 a, No. 109) from Chatpat. Although it is a product of the Gandhara school, the whole manner of its depiction and the details of the physical features and even the pose of sitting suggest influences from India. This type of seated Padmapani is not known from the first two periods in this region. But after this period the type became extremely common. For example it is seen engraved at the foot of Damkot on rocks. Similarly in Swat several specimens have been obtained and they are now preserved in the reserve collection of the Swat museum. As these materials from Swat have been cursorily published, they are briefly referred to below. I hope the Department of Archaeology of the Government of Pakistan would publish them soon as they are very important from the point of view of dating the last phase of the Gandhara art.

1. A figure of Padmapani¹ seated in *lalitasana* pose on a high seat with the left foot hanging down and the right folded on the seat. The right hand is raised to the shoulder while the left is resting on the thigh holding the long stalk of the lotus. A stupa is carved by the side of the seat. Below the seat are two worshippers. The upper part of the body of Padmapani tapers downward. He is putting on the bejewelled crown, necklace and ear-ornaments, and the tufts of hair fall on the shoulders. The carving is on high relief. The stone was brought from Kukarai in Swat. (See Tucci in *East and West*, Vol. 9, p. 311).
2. Another figure of Padmapani seated in the same style as above. The right hand in the present example is extended down to the knee with the palm to the front. The left hand is on the thigh holding the lotus stalk. He is putting on the usual ornaments. This also comes from Kukarai.
3. A damaged figure of Padmapani seated in the same pose, but the body is slightly tilted to the left. Below the seat on the right side is a standing figure. Other details are the same as above. It also comes from Kukarai.
4. A very beautiful figure of Padmapani seated in the same pose as above. The lotus seat is very well carved. The right hand is doubled with the fingers pointing upwards and the elbow resting on the thigh. The left hand on the thigh holds the usual lotus stalk. The elbow of this hand makes a sharp angle. He wears the usual ornaments. This comes from Dangram in Swat. (Tucci, p. 312).
5. A standing figure of Padmapani in *tribhanga* pose holding lotus stalk in the left hand which is extended down. The right hand is also extended down. Face is damaged. He is putting on the Indian dhoti and the usual ornaments. It comes from Salampur in Swat. (See Tucci, p. 313).
6. A standing figure of Padmapani, balanced equally on both the legs, with both the hands stretched down. The left hand holds the lotus stalk. It comes from Kukarai. (See Tucci, p. 310).
7. A standing figure of Padmapani with damaged face. The hip is bent to the left and therefore the body is mainly poised on the right leg. Both the hands are stretched down with the lotus stalk in the left hand. Behind the head is a halo. It comes from Salampur.

1. For detailed discussion see Section V.

8. A standing figure of Padmapani, the face being damaged. The body is poised on the right leg and the left is slightly bent. Both the hands are stretched down. The right one is in the *varadamudra* and the left holds the lotus stalk. It comes from Salampur.

9. A badly damaged figure of standing Padmapani. Its left half is completely broken. In the left hand he holds the lotus stalk. It comes from Salampur.

10. A small figure of standing Padmapani in *tribhanga* pose. The right hand is damaged and the left holds the lotus stalk. It comes from Mangalor in Swat.

11. A broken figure of seated Padmapani in the *lalitasana* pose. The right hand is damaged and the left holds the lotus stalk. It was found in a field at Guligram.

There are a few other sculptures of this period in the collection. These examples have been referred to here to show that the Gandhara art did not come to an end with the appearance of the White Huns. It continued and evolved new tendencies in the succeeding period just before the Hindu Shahis.



(v)

ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE HINDU SHAHI PERIOD

The Hindu Shahis, the Turki Shahis, or the Brahman Shahis are the various designations by which the last of the Hindu dynasty in this region is known and which was overthrown by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in about A.D. 1000. The contemporary historians, like Utbi and Baihaqi, give a detailed description of the invasions and conquests of Sultan Mahmud. We learn from them a great deal about the wars and conquests and also about the military tactics. But of the immediate opponents of Sultan Mahmud we have only scrappy information. Alberuni alone speaks, in some length, of the Hindu Shahi kings but his information also appears to be indirect. The names that have come down to us from his account are not corroborated in the large number of the coins recovered in this region. It is possible that the names that appear on the coins are

only regal titles while Alberuni has given to us the proper names of the kings in an abbreviated form. In that case the identification of the two is a serious problem that has to be faced by the historians.

Leaving aside the question of the individual kings, we have had a few articles on the coins of these rulers. Barrett, Fischer and Van Lohuizen de Leeuw have also discussed a few sculptures of the Hindu deities, mainly Siva, Vishnu and Durga, preserved in the different museums. All of them have looked to the remains at Hund, about 15 miles north of Attock, on the Indus, which is generally identified with Udbhandapur, the capital city of the Hindu Shahi kings. Off and on coins and inscriptions have been found from this place. To the same period belong the fortified remains and the surviving temples at Balot and Malot in Dera Ismail Khan district. These have been described by Sir Aurel Stein in one of his *Memoirs*. Recently the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan explored and photographed a fort of this period, perched on a high hill near Udigram in Swat.

All these discoveries are few and far between and they have not yet been related to the archaeological history of the region. In fact the local archaeology has stopped at the arrival of the White Huns in the fifth century A.D., when Sir John Marshall thought the destruction of the main cities spelt disaster in the country. Thereafter no attempt has been made to build up the life history of the region that must have continued in the succeeding centuries. One has only to read the account of the Chinese pilgrim, Hiuen Tsang, who came here in early seventh century A.D., in order to learn the continuity of the political and socio-religious life at least to his time. His account bears a clear testimony to the fact that the Huns did not wipe out entirely Buddhism from this region. If it was so, what was the character of Buddhism in the seventh century A.D.? What was the form of the art at this time? Should we not think that the Gandhara art continued to be practised here at least to the time of Hiuen Tsang? The huge size of the statues, spoken of by him, corroborate the little evidence now forth-coming to show that the religious art of the Buddhists did not meet its death at this time. The chronology of art, built up by us in Chapter IV, brings down the date to seventh century A.D. During the early centuries of the Christian era we can now speak in clear terms of (a) the period of 1st-2nd centuries A.D., which covers roughly the duration of the Great Kushanas; (b) the period of the 3rd-4th centuries A.D., which includes the reign periods of the Little Kushanas and the Later Kushanas and (c) the period of 5th-7th centuries A.D., which goes beyond the rule of the Huns at either end. What happened at the close of the period?

History has not properly recorded the arrival of the new Turkish tribes into this area. Alberuni vaguely talks of the Turki Shahis but his description is confused and his sequence of succession sounds fanciful. He has not been able to distinguish between the Turki Shahis and the Kushana Shahis. In the later account of the Arab historians and geographers we get a clear distinction between the Turks and the Yetha (Hun) tribes in the Oxus valley but from Kabul eastward their account gives the name of only one or more "Ratbils".

Geographic place names are very suggestive. Sir Alexander Cunningham, before he identified the ruins with Taxila, recorded the name of the nearby settlement on a hillock as Shah Ji ki Dheri. The same name was applied to the Buddhist ruins near Peshawar, excavated by Dr. D.B. Spooner. At Chakdara the site, on which the modern British fort stands, is also known as Shah Dheri. Further up in the Dir hills we have place names like Shahi and Bin Shahi. This preservation of the old name is very significant and they all at once remind us of the designation Hindu Shahi or Turki Shahi.

It is strange that the settlement of this period is located on the hill tops. A study of the geographical locale brings up a different pattern of life at this time. In Peshawar city, except the name Shah Ji ki Dheri, we have not been able to trace any remains here. At Taxila the occupation of this period is far removed from the older city remains. On the west bank of the Indus two great fortified remains have been traced. One is at Hund and the other at Gala, right opposite Tarbela. If one stands on the top of the hill at Panchpir in between these two fortified places, it will be easier to understand why these two sites were selected for fortification. The main Peshawar valley, which consists of the lower reaches of the Kabul river, is surrounded by hills on all the sides except on the east, where they close round the opening made by the river Indus. The Gala fort lies at the northern tongue of the opening and the Hund fort at the southern one. Again the Gala fort stands on a ridge. Similarly there is a fort called Kafirkot right at the mouth of the Khyber Pass near Landikotal. The location of these forts clearly shows that the ruling class was trying to defend the country from outside invaders.

When we study the location of the forts at Balot and Malot in Dera Ismail Khan district, the same conclusion is reached. There the main passes from the west follow the lines of the Kurrum and the Gomul rivers. The Kurrum river falls into the Indus after skirting the northern part of the Shaikh Buddin hill. Right at the northern extremity of the hill the Malot fort was built. At the southern extremity of the hill the old

Gomal river went round and joined the Indus. On this side the Balot fort was constructed to stop the invaders coming from the west.

In the northern hills the defences are much more stronger and plentiful. The way in which these forts are now spread out suggests that the defenders were planning to stop raids from the main Peshawar valley. This was possible only when the Peshawar plains were already occupied by the forces of Sultan Mahmud but the northern hilly part still continued under the possession of the Hindu Shahis. It is for this reason that the entire Range of Malakand has been fortified at several places on its either side. Wherever there is a little saddle in the hill, which opened the possibility of crossing, a fort has been built. Some of the old walls have been incorporated into the modern walls of the fort such as at Malakand and Damkot while others stand isolated and desolate. When we pass by these ruined fortified places, we wonder at the remarkable solidity of the walls that still stand to great heights and present an appearance of habitation, in which numerous houses stand sombre and lonesome, where today no human being is seen. At a place called Debgarh, about seven miles west of Dargai, not far from Hariyankot, which is on way to the distant fort at Kot Agra right at the western edge of the Malakand hill, it was a dismal sight of a mile long houses ranging on the hill slopes, which greeted us with the blooming *Kachnal* flowers that must have blossomed year after year for centuries. But of human beings there was no trace. Where have they fled away and what for have they deserted their houses? On the northern side of the Malakand hill, the Swat river flows placidly. The same story of fortified habitation is repeated here on the ranges north and south of the river. Right at the extreme west stand the forts at Kamala on the north and right opposite at Hisar Baba on the south. At the extreme east the fort at Udigram dominates the whole Swat valley and gives a long view of the human life down below. The fort at Barikot bars the passage into the Karakar pass leading towards Buner. The Shahkot pass that allows a passage from Thana towards Sanghao and Katlang is protected by Kafirkot that overlooks it. But the most important is the crossing of the Swat river near Chakdara. About a mile south of the modern market town of Batkhela, there is a strongly built fort at Bata that guards the passage coming from over the Malakand pass. But still more important was the opening at Chakdara that led towards Dir, Bajaur, and northern areas. A defence of this passage was of utmost significance. It is for this purpose that the fort at Damkot was built. Further beyond a large number of forts have been traced and they have been described by Mr. Abdur Rahman in his section.

This pattern of hill fortification and hill settlement is absolutely new in this age. Earlier the Buddhist monasteries and stupas were seen occupying such hill tops or hill bends. But the actual human settlement was down below in the plains. We have not been able, for example, to locate a Kushana period fort on a hill top. A large number of Kushana city and village remains have been found all lying in the plains. In this period of the Hindu Shahis the retreat of at least the ruling class from the plains to the defended hill tops is absolutely a new feature that has now been brought up by the archaeological discoveries. It seems that either the whole method of warfare changed or the ruling junta chose to live in secluded forts away from the commonalty of the populace. The first alternative appears to be more likely as the period saw a series of raids, plunders and continued invasions until the old order came to an end and in the new set-up there was no necessity to maintain these hill forts. As a result all these fortified places now present a deserted look. However, these remains have opened for us a new chapter on the archaeology of the Hindu Shahis and their future study is bound to throw light on the hitherto-dark pages of the history of this country.

The first great contribution is seen in the military architecture of the time. The detailed description of the Damkot fort, given later by Mr. Abdur Rahman, will show how the contour of the hill has been taken advantage of in erecting the fortification wall, bastions and towers. In all these sites the builders have given due consideration to this feature. The second important point is the construction of a *damdama*, a central citadel-like structure of small size, wherefrom a concentrated fire could be launched at the enemies down below the fort. At Kamala it consists of a rectangular enclosure with round bastions at the corners. The entrance is sub-divided into smaller rooms. The special feature is the provision of the arrow-slits. Such holes are found in almost all the forts of this period. At Deogarh this structure consists of a rectangular building fronted by a solid square construction on the south. At all the angles there are round towers. Arrow-slits in the walls are provided. It seems that the solid square construction was to provide a platform for a group of soldiers. In fact most of the houses that stand at Deogarh give the appearance of similar fortified building. As has been pointed out by Mr. Abdur Rahman, the stone masonry is rather poor but all the same we are here face to face with a new type of military architecture.

As the impending danger for the ruling class was from the west, it is easy to understand why this class looked towards India for support. As a result we meet with more and more cultural influence reaching

from the Indian side. In the details of the minor arts and crafts, in the making up of the Hindu temples and the creation of the Hindu deities, the Indian features are writ large. Nevertheless the art, architecture and minor arts and crafts show a definite stamp of the Hindu Shahi rulers. A glimpse into this aspect is provided in the report on Damkot. Future excavations will throw more and more light on this subject.

Pl. 1. Panoramic View of Chakdara.



In the background of the hills the meandering river Swat presents a bewitching spectacle. The tower of Churchill Point dominates the excavated remains in the foreground and the British fort on the right linked by an iron bridge over the river with the main Swat road on the right. The old ruins lie in the neighbourhood. No. 1 is Shamale with bronze-age graves. No. 2 is the village of Chakdara sitting on an old historic site. No. 3 is Kamal Khan China with a Hindu Shahi fort. No. 4 is Ramora with a Buddhist monastery. No. 5 is Barikot with the old fort of Bazira besieged by Alexander the Great. No. 6 is Thana and No. 7 is the Shakhkot Pass that leads from Thana to Peshawar plain.