Unique Terracotta Figurine from Singoor, District Chitral, Pakistan: Contextualizing Possible Hariti Figurine in the Buddhist Wilderness?

Muhammad Zahir

Abstract: The archaeology and history of District Chitral in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan, is not very well understood in terms of major historical events and the character of its relationships with surrounding regions in South Asia and beyond. In fact, systematic archaeological research has recently started in Chitral, which suggests close linkages between Chitral and north-western Pakistan, particularly within the context of protohistoric cemeteries. Though Buddhism was a major phenomenon during the 1st millennium CE in most of north-western Pakistan and adjoining areas of Central Asia, Trans-Pamir region and China, there are very scarce evidence of Buddhism in Chitral, leading to suggestion of Chitral as being a 'backwater' of Buddhism in South Asia. The finding of a unique terracotta female figurine from Singoor village, Chitral, throws light on this interesting period of Chitral history and its relationships with Gandharan Buddhism.

The present paper investigates the Singoor terracotta figurine and contextualizes it within the wider geographical, archaeological and historical contexts of Chitral and the surrounding region. The chaîne opératoire of the construction technology of the terracotta figurine revealed complex construction processes and choices made during the construction of the figurine and its linkage with possible religious ideologies. The paper suggests that the construction and style of the figurine is linked with the terracotta figurines from protohistoric cemeteries and early historic terracotta figurines from the Vale of Peshawar or Gandhara. Furthermore, the paper argues that the Singoor figurine is a representation of the Buddhist deity Hariti and that it is probably linked with the cult of Hariti in Gandhara during the first half of the 1st millennium CE.

Keywords: Pakistan Archaeology; Chitral; Singoor; Protohistoric Cemeteries; Terracotta Figurine; Buddhism; Hariti;

Introduction

Chitral is perhaps one of the most scenic and remote border districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan. District Chitral draws its geopolitical importance from its location between Pamir region, Central Asia and South Asia (Fig. 1). It was perhaps one of the main conduits of trade and ideologies between Trans-Pamir region, Central Asia, China and South Asia. However, the archaeological and historical contexts of the region and its relationships with the surrounding regions at the time of the development of major civilization, empire-building activities and the expansion of religious ideologies are not known. Chitral primarily feature as the backwater of all these major episodes of human history in the region and beyond. Archaeological investigation in the region and their understandings are still in infancy and their development in future may lead to better understandings of the past human activities in the region.

The present paper investigates the discovery of a unique terracotta figurine from Singoor village of District Chitral in 2012 by local villagers and contextualizes it within the wider geographical, archaeological and historical contexts of Chitral and the surrounding region. The chaîne opératoire of the construction technology of the terracotta figurine is investigated to reveal complex construction processes and choices made during

the construction of the figurine and its linkage with possible religious ideologies. The paper enquires into the construction and style of the figurine to know its linkage with terracotta figurines from protohistoric cemeteries and early historic terracotta figurines from Vale of Peshawar or Gandhara. Furthermore, the paper investigates the Singoor figurine as a representation of the Buddhist deity Hariti and its linkage with the cult of Hariti in Gandhara during the first half of the 1st millennium CE. The present figurine probably represents the only Hariti figurine found in Pakistan archaeology.

Geography of Chitral

Chitral is the most north-western district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (formerly known as the North Western Frontier Province), Pakistan. Chitral shares borders with Kunar, Nuristan and Badakhshan provinces of Afghanistan to the north and west, Gilgit-Baltistan province (formerly the Northern Areas of Pakistan) to the east and Districts Upper Dir and Swat to the south and southeast (Fig. 2). The Wakhan corridor, to the north of Chitral, separates it from Tajikistan. With an area of around 14850 square kilometres, Chitral is the largest district of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province. This district is more akin to Central Asia than to South Asia (Dichter 1967: 40).

Chitral is defined and encompassed by the Hindu Kush and Pamir ranges, which are pierced through by several passes connecting it with Central Asia, Afghanistan and adjoining regions of Pakistan (Israr-ud-Din 2008: 175). Baroghil pass (3810 m) connects Chitral with the Wakhan Corridor and the Pamir plateau; the Shandur Pass (3374 m) with Gilgit – Baltistan Province; Dorah Pass (4300 m) with Badakhshan (Dichter 1967: 28). The Lowari pass (3118 m), connecting Chitral with Upper Dir district, is the main route between Chitral and southern regions of Pakistan. The low altitude Arandu Pass (374 m) acts a main artery of communication, especially in winters, between Chitral and the Afghanistan provinces of Kunar and Nuristan. There are more than 40 peaks of 6000 meters above mean sea level, while some of the valleys are around 900 meters below the level of the main settlements in Chitral (Dichter 1967: 42; Haserdot 1996: 4; Israr-ud-Din 1996: 19). Thus, Chitral is an example of geological and geographical extremes (Samad et al, 2012).

Chitral is a conglomerate of different mountain valleys with corresponding rivers, though all these emptying into the River Chitral eventually. The Chitral River runs as an artery in the district. It starts as Yarkhun or Yarkhan River, becoming Mastuj River near the town of Mastuj and when it reaches Chitral town, it becomes the Chitral River, and as it leaves Chitral (and Pakistan) and enters Afghanistan, it is called the Kunar River, which is the main tributary river of the Kabul River (Samad et al, 2012). Kabul River is the most important source of irrigation in the Vale of Peshawar (Zahir, 2016 b).

The distribution of the natural vegetation within different enclaves of Chitral acts as an indicator of different climatic conditions, thus there are dry to semi-dry valley floors and moist coniferous forests and alpine meadows at high altitudes (Haserodt 1996: 16). Chitral District has been historically considered as an isolated and self-sustained geographical entity; however, it is very close to or on some of the major communication and trade routes between South Asia, China and Central Asia (Samad et al 2012; Stein 1921).

Archaeology and Archaeological Research in Chitral

The historical and archaeological knowledge of Chitral is extremely limited as compared to the surrounding regions of Swat, Dir, Tribal regions of Mohmand and Bajuar, Vale of Peshawar and even Gilgit-Baltistan province (Samad et al 2012:

25). Chitral did not figure in the discussions of the South Asian, Chinese (except for Ta'ng Dynasty), Central Asian and Persian civilizations and empires that developed around it. It remained successfully and successively on the fringes of the rise of the civilizations, such as the Indus Civilization, and empires, such as the Achaemenids, the Mauriyans, the Indo-Greeks, the Kushans, and the Mughals and was never integrated into these. Thus, Chitral could not become part of archaeological or historical narratives of the north-western South Asia and received little or no attentions from archaeologists until very recently.

British colonial officers, working in or traveling through Chitral, were the first to record the existence of archaeological sites in Chitral, such as Major John Biddulph, who suggested the existence of one ruined *Stūpa* in Chitral and postulated that there were likely to be others in the area (Biddulph [1880] 1971: 109). Sir Aural Stein travelled through Chitral on many occasions, and described historic forts, pre-Islamic houses, a Persian rock inscription, ancient pottery scatters or assemblages, possibly the remains of a Buddhist monastery, and bronze arrowheads (Stein 1921: 34-39, 45-46; 1933: 42). Stein also recorded three sites with rock carvings depicting *Stūpa*s and Brahmi inscriptions in Chitral (Stein 1921: 37-40).

Giorgio Stacul carried out limited archaeological research in Chitral in the late1960s under the auspices of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan. He conducted survey and excavation at the sites of Bakamak and Noghormuri (Stacul 1969: 93-95). The grave construction, positions of the skeletons, and the grave goods led Stacul to suggest that the Chitral graves represented a later phase of the protohistoric burial traditions of the north-west, known as Gandhara Grave Culture (Stacul 1969: 99; Dani 1968; Young 2009; Zahir 2012, 2016a, 2016b).

A team of French and Pakistani archaeologists carried out a brief archaeological survey in the Upper Yarkhun Valley in northern Chitral in the 1990s (Gaillard et al 2002). They recorded six sites with stone tools and some associated rock shelters, and they dated these sites between 8000 and 3000 B.P., i.e. Late Holocene period (Gaillard et al 2002: 25). It is interesting to note that the use of stone tools continued until the beginning of 1st millennium BCE in Chitral, possibly by fringe communities living in almost inaccessible regions. In 1999, British and Pakistani archaeologists conducted a small-scale survey of the central Chitral valley and Rumbur valley and a total of eighteen sites were identified and recorded (Ali et al 2002). Of these, fifteen were cist burials that were tentatively assigned to Gandhāra Grave Culture (Ali et al 2002; Dani 1968; Young 2009).

Ihsan Ali and his team from the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (formerly the North West Frontier Province) and Hazara University, Mansehra, conducted limited archaeological surveys and excavations in Chitral from 2003 – 2008 (Ali et al 2005; Ali and Zahir 2005a). The team carried out excavations at protohistoric cemeteries at Parwak and Singoor (Shah Mirandeh and Gankoreneotek). The construction of the graves, burial practices and artefacts' assemblages suggested strong links with the protohistoric cemeteries from Dir and Swat Valleys or Gandhara Grave Culture (Ali et al 2005a, 2005b, 2008; Ali and Zahir 2005a). Samples of bones (from inhumations and cremation burials) suggest the date range from mid-1st millennium BCE to end of 1st millennium CE [from 790–420 BCE (WK-22036; 2494 +/- 30 BP) to 770–990 CE (WK-22758; 1148 +/- 36 BP: WK-22759; 1157 +/- 37: WK-22760 +/- 37 BP)] (Ali et al 2008).

The Directorate of Archaeology, Khyber

Pakhtunkhwa Province, conducted brief excavations at the site of Parwak Lasht in 2006-7 and discovered some 'pre-Islamic' structures there (pers. comm. Fawad Khan). The University of Leicester, UK and Hazara University, Pakistan archaeologists, under the auspices of the INSPIRE Project of the British Council, conducted systematic transect survey (documenting 17 sites in 2009 season, while 88 sites in 2010 season) in the Ayun Valley of Chitral and excavations at the sites of Chakasht graves, Singoor and Chillum Lasht Cave, Ayun (Ali et al 2103, 2016; Samad et al 2012; Young et al 2012). Most of the discovered sites primarily belonged to the historic period while some of the sites were related with protohistoric grave sites (Samad et al 2012).

Archaeological investigations around village Singoor within Chitral valley has been relatively extensive and three major excavations have been conducted in and around this village (Shah Mirandeh (2005), Gankoreneotek (2007, 2008, 2009 and 2016) and Chakasht (2009)). The results have been partially published and full excavation reports are still awaited (e.g. Ali et al 2008, 2010). Beside these sites, a total of seven protohistoric cemetery sites have been discovered in and around Singoor village, including the sites of Kolambhi, Lashino-dhok, Chakasht-2, Noghur Dhok, Seen Lasht, Sinjaal and Hindu Kush Height Hotel (Zahir 2016b: 20 – 22).

Geographical Location of Singoor

The terracotta figurine was discovered in Singoor village in District Chitral. Singoor is located around 6 kilometres to the north of Chitral Museum (Polo Ground, Chitral) on Garam Chashma ~ Chitral Road (at Latitude 35°53'49.31"N and Longitude 71°47'51.06"E), on the right bank of Chitral River, just below the junction of Lut Kho River, coming from north, and Chitral River, coming from east. The village is a sub-valley within the larger Chitral valley and it is covered on almost all sides by piedmont hills of the Hindu Kush mountain series. The openings to the north, east and west are due to the gorges of the Chitral and Lut Kho Rivers (Fig. 3). Modern road network in Chitral, following ancient trade routes, extensively utilize riverbanks to connect the intricate web of sub-valleys within the larger Chitral valley and beyond.

The Singoor valley is around 2.5 kilometres long, from north to south, and about 1 kilometre wide, from east to west. Most of the Singoor's plains in the eastern and southern sides, now covered by agricultural fields and Chitral airport, seems to have been the product of depositional activities of Chitral and Lut Kho Rivers. The sediments on mountain slopes and fans on the northern and western side of the Singoor village were brought down through erosion and seasonal torrents from the mountains. Chitral River, coming out of its gorge, expands to its widest span (approximately 800 meters) at the southern tip of the Singoor Valley. Chitral River, Lut Kho River and Singoor Gol are the perennial sources of water for both irrigation and drinking. Besides these, there are other three major seasonal streams within the valley, which carry rain and glacial water during summers, primarily from the Chitral Gol National Park.

The piedmont slopes and fans on the northern and western sides form an arc around Singoor; this arc is dotted with many protohistoric cemeteries, three of which (Shah Mirandeh Graves, Gankoreneotek Graves and Chakasht graves) have been excavated by archaeologists from Pakistan and UK during 2006 to 2016(e.g. see Ali et al 2008; Ali et al 2010; Zahir 2016b). The radiocarbon dates from Chitral suggest the existence of protohistoric cemeteries from 1000 BCE to 1000 CE date range (Ali et al 2008). Radiocarbon date and datable Chinese coins from Gankoreneotek graves place the protohistoric

graves at Singoor from 6th century BCE and 8th century CE respectively. Local archaeologists report the findings of pottery and small finds, such as arrowheads, when villagers dig foundations for new constructions (Pers. Comm. Muhammad Qasim and Muhammad Hassan Shamer). Given the strategic location of the Singoor village at the mouth of the Garam Chashma valley and Upper Chitral and the routes passing through these areas to Badakhshan, Central Asia and China, it is possible that this village was a major settlement in the past, at least from 1st millennium BCE onward. However, in the absence of historic settlement data, and archaeological excavations, from Chitral, this would remain a speculative conjecture at best.

The Singoor Terracotta Figurine

The present terracotta figurine (in a private collection at Peshawar) was found during the excavations for construction of foundation for a house at Singoor; however, the exact location of the figurine is not known (Fig. 4). As the contextual information of the figurine is missing, following Clark (2003: 322), the interpretation of this figurine could be based upon the material, form and decoration, and construction of the figurine itself, while the decipherment of the sex and gender could be based upon the representation of the sociologically gendered sexual elements, such as jewellery, hairstyle and necklaces. The meaning of the figurine could possibly be accessed through analogies and comparison with the pre-Buddhist and Buddhist terracotta traditions within the north-western Pakistan.

The Singoor figurine is about 10.9 cm in length and is 5.8 cm wide at the broadest place (see appendix 1 for detailed measurements and recordings of the figurine, and appliquéd decorations and figures). It weighs around 222 grams. The figurine is hand-made and schematic in nature, with all of the body parts, except the face, have been rendered carelessly with no emphasis to details (Fig. 5). It is made of fine and well-levigated clay, possibly tempered with chaff and husks. There is evidence of differential firing or at least some kind of reducing environment; however, in general, the figurine is very well fired and it is in solid state. It seems that thin slip was provided to the surface of the figurine. Smouldering by hand and fingers have left some marks on the figurine and appliquéd ornaments. There is some wear and tear on the body of the figurine and appliquéd figures, possibly indicating that the figurine has been utilized in the past. The greyish colour on the lower part of the figurine front and backsides, and appliquéd figures (1, 3 and 4) probably also indicate post-construction utilisation and this colour could be due to minerals or soot or incense burning or combination of all these or entirely different from all these. We do not know the chemical composition of this black colour.

The main body of the figurine is of uniform thickness; however, the thickness of the head area is irregular and it seems that there had been some ancient chipping. The backside is simple and it does not seem to have been worked. There is no evidence of application slip or polishing to the figures on the surface these appliquéd figures and these are finished with some degree of carelessness. It seems that the backside of the figurine was never meant or intended to be seen or it is possible that it was placed against or framed within something, which ensured that its backside was not viewed. The arms of the figurine are in the form of stubs (the right arm is broken at shoulder). It is difficult to infer if the arms were either carved out of the main body or applied to the body. If these stubs were indeed applied to the figurine, the joints have been smouldered well to make it invisible to the naked eye. The interior section of the broken stub is red and grey colours, possibly indicating reductive

firing.

The figurine has a round face with mouth projected or pinched outside off the face. This projected/pinched mouth gives the impression of an animal snout, when viewed from its sides. The appliqué eyes are perforated with the help of a straw or twig or stylus. The forehead of the figurine has a sunken or carved out perforated round structure. The lower part of the figurine is round in shape and it hollowed out (with thick walls) in the middle to either fit on other part(s) or to be part of other scene or an object.

The figurine has four surviving applied small-sized figural attachment to the front of the body along with applied hair dress, earlobes/ear pendants and necklace. There is evidence of additional two applied figural attachments on both the arms/stubs, which have broken away in the past.

The hair dress and necklace has patterned straw/twig/stylus perforations. Although, the middle portion (on top of the head) is broken, the hair dress seems to have been wrapped around the head in a single foil. The hair dress ended just above the shoulders, under the appliquéd earlobes/ear pendants of the figurine.

The perforations make a double row/parallel line decorative element on the necklace and a single line/dotted line decoration on the hair dress. The necklace seems to have been adjusted to the appliquéd figure of figure 3 (upper body) to the left side of the figurine, where pressing marks visible on the right end. Both the earlobes/ear pendants have horizontal grooved lines of variable depths, while the lower end of the right-side earlobe/ear pendants has two perforations.

The perforations and horizontal grooving were confined to the structures on the face (eyes, mouth and forehead), hair dress, earlobes/ear pendants and necklace. None of the appliquéd figures and other parts of the body was pierced with perforations and grooving. In fact, the perforations were only used to identify decorations on the earlobes/ear pendants, necklace and hair dress and to mark retina in the eye, forehead feature and mouth.

The appliquéd figures, or children, are schematic, with stubs representing head, arms and legs; arms and legs of all these appliquéd figures are wide open and clung to the main body of the figurine. No information about the sex or gender could be gleaned from these appliquéd figures. Furthermore, no decorative element was applied to these appliquéd figures.

The lower body of the figurine was relatively treated with care. The base of the figurine was hollowed out from the middle, with solid walls forming a circle around it. These walls were flattened, possibly, to fit onto another object and/or onto a seated or standing posturing lower body. However, the base was designed and constructed in such a way to allow the figurine to stand on its own.

Defining the agency of the artist or the identification of the 'gendering, sexuality and reproduction' of figurines in the past is very difficult in the present (Pizzeghello et al 2015: 1). However, it is clear from the above discussion of the construction of the Singoor figurine (and accompanying photographs/drawings; see FIGURE xxx) that the emphasis of construction of this figurine seems to have been directed at the face (eyes, lips, third eye?), hair dress, necklaces and appliquéd figures. Although the main body of the figurine was well structured, no attention was paid to the different body parts and their proportionality.

There is no physical feature that could lead us to identify the biological sex of the figurine and it is not clear that whether this ambiguity about physical representation of the femaleness was deliberate or not. However, if we consider the

detailed attention that was given to the representation of the jewellery, body decoration (i.e. hair dress) and appliquéd small figures (possibly of children) as representation of women or her role in society, we may socially gender the figurine as female. If we consider the appliquéd figures as children, then there were at least six children climbing onto and clinging to the upper body of the female figurine, which may indicate her role as a mother or caretaker. Thus, it may be argued, that with the Singoor figurine, we are possibly dealing with heavily jewelled and decorated mother and her children.

Chaîne Opératoire of Singoor Figurine Construction

The present paper investigates the *within the figurine* to get new insights into the materiality of the figurine itself and its 'life cycle', i.e. its manufacturing technology (Pizzeghello et al 2015: 2; original emphasis). This process reveals the different layers of construction, decision-making, choices and preferences of the artist and agency. It is the materiality or the physicality of the matter that bestow things with agency, enabling things independently act as agents, relieving them of human agency (Boivin 2008: 129). The figurine is being viewed as 'composite and stratified archaeological context' in itself, whose interpretations may be carried out independently of the site (Pizzeghello et al 2015: 2).

Future CT scanning and analyses of the Singoor figurine may reveal the precise nature of the manufacturing technology of the core of the Singoor figurine and appliquéd figures (and the nature of the appliquéd figures' construction) and decorations; however, from 3D scanning and naked eye analysis, it may be argued that the present figurine seems to have been constructed around a 'core forming' technique and not as a result of the dual core forming technique that was so widely practiced during the Mature Harappan period (Clark 2009: 247). The core forming technique starts with an inner core and other plastic elements are gradually added to this inner core (Pizzeghello at al 2015: 3).

The manufacturing process of the Singoor figurine started with the palm squeezing of a clay lump, shaping it into an elongated core or main body of the figurine (Fig. 6 and 7). The core is given the form of double concave body on the exterior, with inward curving, and relatively wider upper and lower body structures. The middle part of the body is of relatively small diameter. The lower part of the core, i.e. the base of the figurine, is then rounded, hollowed, walled and then flattened to enable the core of the figurine to stand on its own. Although, it is difficult to infer whether the arms were applied or carved out of the core; however, given the nature of almost all additions to the core being appliquéd, it may be argued that the arms were applied to the core, rounded and stubbed. The facial features of the figurine are carved out through rounding and smoothing of the head and face surface, and pinching or squeezing out the mouth structure. This is followed by the addition of round, protuberant, eyes to the face. Necklace and hair dress are then added to the neck and around the head respectively.

These are followed by the additions of figure 1 (i.e. Child 1) to the right of figurine, figure 2 (i.e. child 2) to the left side of the figurine and figure 3 (i.e. child 3) to the upper part of the body. The necklace is then adjusted to accommodate the relatively large body size of figure 3. Figure 4 (i.e. child 4) is then applied to the lower part of the main figurine body and lower part of the figure 3. This was followed by the addition of Figure 5 (i.e. Child 5) and Figure 6 (i.e. Child 5) on the left and right shoulders of the figurine respectively. The earlobes/ear pendants are then added to the figurine. The grooving of the structure of the mouth at the front with a

straw/twig/stylus, in order to construct the lips of the figurine, followed this. Then, a cavity is carved out on the forehead of the figurine, giving the impression of a third eye. Urna or third eye motif was a common and auspicious feature in Buddhist sculptures from Gandhara. This is followed by the grooving on the elongated earlobes/ear pendants on both sides of the figurine face. Piercing holes or perforations in the eyes' sockets, forehead cavity, mouth, necklace and earlobes/ear pendants followed the grooving of the earlobes/ear pendants, possibly in the same sequence.

The figurine, as whole, is smoothened, provided a thin slip (as indicated by the evidence of slip in the hollowed cavity at the base) and then fired, transforming the appliquéd figures and body elements, decorations and core of the figurine into a single entity. The black colour on parts of the lower body to the front and backsides of the figurine, and applied figures 1, 3 and 4, indicate post-firing activity and may be due to application of soot, incense burning or colour. This colour may have been intentional or un-intentional consequence of the utilization of the figurine in ceremonies, possibly involving incense burning. This is followed by the wear and tear on the body of the figurine and appliquéd figures. Wear and tear on the figurine may indicate extensive handling (Pizzeghello et al 2015: 2). The extensive handling of the figurine in the past can be gleaned from the fact that the slip on almost all the visible surfaces, except for cavities, has vanished or got removed. The figures 5 and 6 on both shoulders of the figurine probably broke in post-firing utilization in ceremonies. The breaking of the right arm/stub was the last act of structural change and it does not seem to be contemporaneous with the breaking of the figures 5 and 6. It may have been caused by post depositional activities.

Figurine Traditions in Pakistan Archaeology

The earliest human figurines in South Asia were discovered from the aceramic Neolithic Period I of Mehrgarh in Baluchistan, dated from 8th millennium to mid-6th millennium BCE (Jarriage 2006: 155, 162). However, the oldest human figurine from Mehrgarh was constructed of mother of pearl and was discovered within a ritual context of a grave (Jarriage 2006: 157). The earliest clay human figurines, both seated and standing were unbaked, schematic, biconical in shape and had applied ornaments (necklace or belt) (Jarriage 2006: 157). A female, buried in grave 258 in Period 1, held one figurine in her hands right in front of her face; the figurine itself was perforated with twigs and was linked with 'religious rituals and sympathetic magic' (Jarriage 2006: 159-161). Terracotta figurines as 'vehicles of sympathetic magic' have a long history in archaeological interpretations (e.g. Ucko 1962: 47). Terracotta human figurines started in Period III (dated to early 5th to mid-4th millennium BCE) at Mehrgarh (Jarriage 2006: 161).

The Pre-Harappan terracotta female figurines, from the Indus sites (e.g. Harappa), Baluchistan (e.g. Mehrgarh) and Gomal plains (e.g. Rehman Dheri, Sheri Khan Tarakai), are primarily depicted in seated position with conjoined legs and with pinched heads (Dani 1972; Jarriage 2006: 161; Clark 2009: 241). In Period II (Kot Dijian Phase) at Harappa, females were often depicted holding objects or infants against their bodies (Clark 2009: 241). Male figurines carrying children have also been recovered from the site of Naushoro Period ID (Jarriage 2006: 163). During Period III (Harappan Phase – 2600 BCE to 1900 BCE) at Harappa, female figurines were primarily constructed as standing with arms pressed against their bodies, pinched heads and appliquéd decorations (Clark 2009: 241). Female

figurines mainly supported triangular/fan-shaped hair dress, chokers and longer pendant necklaces, conical breasts, belt and in some instances nursing a schematic infant on left breasts (Clark 2009: 242). None of the male figurines from Harappa were depicted with infants (Clark 2003: 317). The Harappan figurines were front-focused with no furnishing on the back of the figurine, which may suggest both functional and societal focus on the front of the human body (Clark 2009: 245). Clark (2009: 255) argues that the creation and use of Harappan figurines was process-oriented which involved not just functional or practical choices but ideological choices throughout the production process.

The human figurines from the protohistoric cemeteries in north-western Pakistan, dated from end of 3rd millennium BCE to end of 1st millennium CE, present a symbolic depiction of humans with flat or two-dimensional body, stubs for arms and legs (Ali et al 2008; Zahir 2012; 2016a). Most of these figurines have rounded or flat bases for legs. The representation of the head, pubes, hips and the breasts received special attention, with the head-part of the figurine squeezed to produce a protruding face. The most important feature of the face is perhaps the representation of the nose, interpreted generally as "pinched" or "beak-like" nose (der Meulen 2000:740; Satcul 2005: 304). Breasts of female figurines are usually applied or sunken, while eyes, ears or pubic areas are marked by incisions or circle of dots or lines (der Meulen 2000:739). Thus, the symbolism within human figurines was primarily focused on the representation of the nose and sexuality. Müller-Karpe (1983:96-113; der Meulen 2000: 743) associated these human figurines with the Vedic religion. These human figurines have been considered as "objects of a cult", which had lost their "symbolic religious meaning" (der Meulen 2000:743-4). Khan (1979:60) suggested that the female figurines could be "Mother Goddess". The face of these figurines "bears close resemblance with goat face" (Banerji 2006: 83; Khan 1979: 60). Tucci (1977:29-30, 1997: 623-4) associated these terracotta figurines with "fertility goddesses".

The Early historic figurine tradition is best exemplified by the so called 'Baroque Lady" figurines or the Sar Dheri type figurines, the Sahri Bahlol type figurines and the Hellenistic figurines from the Vale of Peshawar. The Baroque Lady or Sar Dheri figurines could be dated to mid-1st millennium BCE and the Sahri Bahlol type figurines could be dated to the mid-1st millennium CE (Petrie 2013: 518; Weicek 2013: 15; Wheeler 1962: 35-41). Most of the female terracotta figurines from Sar Dheri have pinched heads (and noses), perpendicular arms or stubs, prominent breasts, slit or grooved eyes, slit or grooved mouths, elaborate appliquéd headdresses, earlobes/ear pendants and necklaces, grooved and punctured with holes (Courbiau 1937; Gordon 1932, 1935, 1938; Weicek 2013). Majority of the figurines from Sahri Bahlol site are female and seems to have been inspired from the Buddhist stone sculpturing tradition in Gandhara (e.g. see Gordon 1938: Fig. 12; Weicek 2013: 17). Similar figurines have been discovered from the sites of Rajghat and Ahicchatra in India, where these were identified as ancient folk deities (Weicek 2013: 14). The Hellenistic figurines have elements from the Greek sculpture (Weicek 2013: 16) and constructed on moulds. Terracotta moulds and figurines have been discovered from Taxila, dated to the start of first millennium CE, and are on display at Taxila Museum, Pakistan. Most of the later historic human figurines from the site of Gor Khuttree in the city of Peshawar were constructed on moulds; while some animal figurines (e.g. horse) were hollowed from inside (Ali and Zahir 2005b: 275-6).

Kushan period (c. 2nd century CE), terracotta figurines of Hariti have been discovered at the

sites of Kopia and Jhansi – Uttar Pradesh, India (Maheshwari 2009: 182-3). The Hariti figurines have been rendered in naturalistic style, with 'bulging eyes, thick nose and lips', which have been linked to influence from the regional tribal art (Maheshwari 2009: 182-3). A fierce looking with appliqué hair dress and necklace of Hariti was discovered from kitchen area of the Chirand, Bihar – India (Verma 2007: plate XIX; http://www.brandbharat.com/english/bihar/districts/saran/chirand_saran.html). The presence of a child, reaching to the 'left breast' of the female figurines, the adornment with jewellery and their context with other figures, have been cited as the evidence of representation of Hariti. No such terracotta figurines have been discovered in Pakistan till date.

The Cult of Hariti in Gandharan Buddhism

Hariti was the most popular of all Buddhist deities in South Asia, China, Bali, Indonesia and Japan and she, after the depiction of the figures of Buddha, was perhaps the second most commonly represented figure within Gandhara Art (Bivar 1970: 19; Hargreaves 1930: 43; Maheshwari 2009: 17). Hariti's first representation probably come from Scytho-Parthians levels from Sirkap city in Taxila Valley on a gold pendant, dated to 1st century BCE to 1st century CE (Ward 1954: 54, 192-5). Thus, it seems that the mainstream depiction of Hariti in the Buddhist Art started from 1st century BCE (Elgood 2004: 337). The cult of Hariti in Buddhism was primarily centred in Gandhara during the Kushans (1st – 3rd century CE), as supported by findings of Hariti sculptures from many of the Buddhist sites in the region (Rowan 2002: 51). In the Peshawar Museum Gandharan Buddhist collections, Hargreaves (1930: 44) identified the presence of 21 Hariti sculptures, while Ali and Jan (2011: 245) have recently documented the presence of only 13 Hariti figures in the same collection.

The region Gandhara, as a distinct geographical entity, and Gandharas, the people of Gandhara, were first mentioned in *Rig Veda* (RV 1.120.1 and 1.126.7) (Swati 1997: 77; Swati 2008: 131; Rehman 2009: 143; Rahman and Khan 2006: 75; Young 2009: 58). Gandhara was one of the provinces of the Achaemenid Empire of Persia prior to 539 BCE (Brosius 2006: 11, 49). Herodotus (*Histories* 3: 91) recorded it as part of the 7th province of the Achaemenid Empire and not as a separate satrapy in itself. The Behistun inscription (column 1 line 16) of the Achaemenid King Darius, dated to c. 518 BCE, also mentioned the name of Gandhara, or rather Gadara, as part of the twenty-three provinces of the Achaemenid Empire (Swati 1997: 77; Rahman and Khan 2006: 77; Wheeler 1962: 3). The geographical and political boundaries of Gandhara have remained fluid within different chronological periods (Law 1943: 10 cf. Swati 1997: 77; Swati 2008: 131); however, it has commonly been identified with the Vale of Peshawar (Beal 1968: 97-9, 119-121; Behrendt 2003: 24; Cunningham 2007 [1871]: 40-41, 68-69; Dani 1968b: 2; Foucher 1915: 5; Hargreaves 1930: 1; Rehman 2009: 143; Zwalf 1979: 2).

Hariti and the cult of Hariti, as a popular or folk religious ideology, predated the arrival of Buddhism in Gandhara and her submission into Buddhism represent the assimilation of this 'earlier popular cult' in Buddhism and a ploy of Buddhism to reach out to the practitioners of the old cult (Maheswhari 2009: 23; Murray 1981-2: 254; Rowen 2002: 51). Hariti was considered as one of the most dangerous goddesses in the *Mahabaratha* (Elgood 2004: 337). It is suggested that Hariti real name was Abhirati (meaning the sensuous one) and her name was changed to Hariti (meaning the abductor of children) after her involvement in the kidnapping and devouring of children of Rajgriha in the Kingdom of Magadha, and neighbouring towns (Maheshwari 2009: 20-1; Rowen 2002: 51, 72). Furthermore,

Hariti was also known by the name of Mahamari, meaning epidemic (Maheshwari 2009: 32).

Hariti's conversion received a lot of attention within Buddhist texts; Hariti's story was one of the most favourite representations in early Buddhist paintings in China, especially the story of "Raising the Alms Bowl" and "Attacking the Alms Bowl" (Murray 1981-2: 256). In Buddhism, Hariti was the goddess of fertility and protector of the children, women and Buddhist monasteries (Hargreaves 1930: 42; Maheshwari 2009: 17, 204, 206; Rowen 2002: 51). *Vinayapitaka* mentions Hariti as the harbinger of joy (Maheshwari 2009: 16).

The story of the conversion of Hariti has many versions within Buddhist texts. For example, *Mahavastu* (dated to c. 2nd century BCE to 4th century CE) suggests Hariti as giving birth to 500 sons a year and that she had a total of 1000 sons (Maheshwari 2009: 17). The *Hariti Sutra* of Hinayana Buddhism, translated into Chinese in 3rd century CE, also records her as the mother of 1000 demon children, who was converted by Buddha and was assigned the task of giving children to deserving child-less couples (Murray 1981-2: 253). Lesbre (2000: 98) suggested the number of Hariti's sons to be 10,000. However, most versions of the story mention the number of Hariti's sons to be 500 (Rowan 2002: 134). The different versions also differ on whether to blame Hariti herself for bringing suffering on people or it was her sons who were responsible for it. Thus, Hariti children are blamed for bringing circular leprosy on the people of Rajgriha (Maheshwari 2009: 17). The 11th century Kashmiri poet, Ksmenda notes a version of the Hariti story, where she is blamed for miscarriages of 500 women and for snatching the unborn sons (Maheshwari 2009: 24). However, majority of the versions suggest that she was a demon before her conversion and she was responsible for devouring the children of Rajgriha and Buddha hid her beloved son (Pingala or Priyamkara) under his bowl, which led to her conversion and realization of the pain of her actions (Maheshwari 2009; Murray 1981-2: 256; Rowan 2002). It is also suggested that she offered all her 500 sons to the Buddhist community and that other women of the city of Rajgriha followed her example.

Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing/Yijing recorded that Hariti represented the demon of the sickness of smallpox and she was appropriated with offering in every Buddhist monastery and this appropriation of Hariti was a routine matter in the 7-8th century CE (Bivar 1970: 19; Foucher 1918: 130). Bivar (1970: 20) argues for a smallpox epidemic in the Kushan period and suggests that Kushans were probably responsible for bringing this disease to north-western India in the 2nd century CE and that smallpox virus was launched through the Silk Roads. This shows that in the time of Kanishka (i.e. Kanishka-I), this epidemic disease was growing and the desperation of the devotees is visible in the construction and devotion of numerous Hariti figures in Gandhara (Bivar 1970: 20). He thinks that smallpox may have ultimately contributed to the fall of the Kushan Empire in South Asia (Bivar 1970: 20).

Within Gandhara, the story of Hariti was localized to an archaeological site (now known as Bibi Saida Ziarat (or the tomb of the respectable lady) near village Umarzai), Charsadda (ancient Pushkalavati) (Rowan 2002: 51). The Ta'ng Dynasty pilgrim, Xuan Zang, records his visit to a Stupa at Sare-Makhe-Dheri that was erected to commemorate the conversion of Hariti (Rowan 2002: 51). Sare-Makha, literally means red face in Pashto language, alluded to smallpox or chickenpox or measles. The cult of Hariti survived into the Muslims (Foucher 1901: 194-7 cf. Commarraswamy 1931: 5). The author's mother regularly took the author and his siblings, living in a nearby village Abazai, to this archaeological site for curing and/or seeking

protection against the disease. Child-less women also visit the site on a particular day of a week. Thus, the cult of Bibi Saida or rather the Cult of Hariti, still survives in the area, as a women centric ideology.

The depiction of Hariti, as the protector of children and the goddess of fertility, was stylized within the Buddhist art. The presence of one or more children represented with the image of their deified mother provides the only unambiguous identification of Hariti (Rowan 2002: 52-3). In Gandhara Art, majority of the Hariti figures have only one child; however, Hariti with three, four, five and eight children are also present in large numbers (e.g. Bivar 1970: 16, plates IV and V). She was mostly represented as wearing, among many jewellery items, head ornaments, long earrings and necklaces (Maheshwari 2009: 204, 206). The Skarah Dheri figure at Lahore Museum had a design on forehead carved within her hair dress, similar to a third eye motif of Buddha figures (Bivar 1970: plate IV). Child reaching to the left breast of mother is one of the key parts of the iconography of Hariti figures (Maheshwari 2009: 180).

Contextualizing the Singoor Terracotta Figurine

The Singoor figurine was crafted within the broader tradition of construction and style of the terracotta figurines from protohistoric cemeteries and from early historic, Sar Dheri style, figurines in north-western Pakistan. It was also constructed in front-focused style, a tradition that has a long history in archaeology in Pakistan, from Pre-Harappan periods to the Historic periods. Although explicit identifiers or markers of biological sex of figurine are absent, the attribute of nursing the children and decorative elements suggest to the sociological gendered role of a female. Thus, it may be argued that Singoor figurine is representation of a female in her role as the protector or mother of children. The nursing of children, within the contexts of Buddhist iconography of the region, was the hallmark of the Buddhist deity Hariti.

The Singoor figurine is different in some aspects from other figurine construction traditions in Pakistan; it is hollowed at the base, designed to stand on its own, and possibly to fit onto another object or vessel or to be part of a larger scene. The creation or carving of separate body parts (e.g. arms, hands or even heads) was widely practiced within the Buddhist Art of Gandhara and surrounding regions. However, we do not have any evidence of separate preparations of body parts of terracotta figurines within the archaeology of Pakistan.

Thus, based upon an analogy with the representation and decorations of the Hariti figures in the Gandhara Art and the construction technique of the early historic figurines, particularly Sar Dheri figurines, it may be suggested that the Singoor figurine represents the figure of Buddhist deity, Hariti. The representation of female deities in clay figurines – unfired or fired – has been in practice from at least the end of the first millennium BC to the present in South Asia (Clark 2009: 240). It may be suggested that the ideology of the construction of Singoor's Hariti figurine was heavily borrowed from Gandhara Buddhism and its adaptation of the local beliefs. It may also be argued that the chaîne opératoire of the Singoor figurine is unique in the region, the general construction technique and theme of the Singoor figurine shows continuity from figurines from protohistoric cemeteries. Based upon comparison and analogy with the Gandhara Buddhist art and terracotta traditions in the region, it may be suggested that Singoor figurine could be dated from 1st to 4th century CE, corresponding to the time period when the cult of Hariti was in full swing at Gandhara. The piercing of perforations for marking holes in body parts or decorative

elements, may suggest to the use of figurine for ritualistic or sympathetic magical purposes as well as for incense burning. In fact, incense burning and incense burners were part of Gandharan Buddhism and art (e.g. see Stone 2004).

It has been argued that the archaeological evidence of Buddhism in Chitral remains very few and that the character and development of Buddhism in Chitral is not known (Samad et al 2012: 41-2). Furthermore, the knowledge of Buddhism is very low of the region and it is not known if the Buddhist activities in the region took a different form the surrounding regions or that Chitral was the Buddhist backwater in the region (Samad et al 2012: 42). As discussed above, Major Biddulph (1971[1880: 109]) was the first to record the existence of a Buddhist Chogten or Stupa in Koosht Valley of Chitral (Stein 1921: 40). Three stupa rock carvings, with accompanying inscriptions in Gupta Brahmi script were recorded from Pakhtoridini (near village Moroi), Rayin village in Mulkho valley and Charrun village (Stein 1921: 37-40).

The Brahmi inscription named a person, Raja Jivarmah, and based upon the style of particular Brahmi script, it was dated to 5th century CE (Stein 1921: 39). Khan (2002: 180) dated the Charrun inscription to 4/5th century CE. Although the name suggested southern or Indian connection, the style of the construction of the Stupa as carved on the stones suggested to the Stupa construction tradition practiced in Kashgar and Khotan (Stein 1921: 37-9). Stein (1921: 38) suggested that the Buddhism in Chitral was linked with the Buddhism and Buddhist construction methods that developed in the Bactria, rather than in Gandhara (Stein 1921: 38). Xuanzang recorded that in the 7th century CE, the king of Chitral (probably the king of Mastuj region of Chitral) and his people venerated the Law of Buddha sincerely and that there were two monasteries in Chitral, containing a small number of monks (Stein 1921: 44). In mid-8th century CE, Chinese chronicles have recorded the existence of a building on the border of Chitral and Wakhan as the 'hall of red Buddha' (Stein 1921: 54). A Sharada inscription of 8-10 century CE was also discovered near Arandu Pass, connecting Chitral with Afghanistan (Khan 2002: 180).

Recent research suggested the existence of a mound in Stupa shape near the protohistoric cemetery at Nogormuri, Sanoghar (Samad et al 2012: 40). The author has also recorded a Stupa-shaped mound near Mastuj. Though both the mounds are cultural mounds, in the absence of excavations, it is difficult to assign these as Stupas. Gandharan Buddhist motifs continued within the architecture and wooden decorative art of Chitral untill 20th century (Stein 1921: 48). It may be argued that the archaeology and understandings of the Buddhism in Chitral or the connections of Chitral with the Buddhist world around it in the 1st millennium CE, are still in its infancy, the evidence for the presence of Buddhism or its connections with the Buddhist neighbouring regions are mounting.

Summary

The discovery of possible Hariti figurine from Singoor is very important in the archaeology of Chitral as it is highly symbolic of a strong ideological and functional relationship between Chitral and Gandhara in the first half of the 1st millennium CE. The discovery of Hariti figurine from Singoor is probably not indicative of the spread of Buddhism or spread of Hariti's Cult in Chitral. It is also not possible to suggest that this figurine was linked with earlier indigenous cults or as evidence of the spread of smallpox disease in Chitral during the time of Kushan. However, what is clear from the discovery of this figurine that we know very little about the archaeology of the cult of Hariti and its geographical and historical contexts, and about the archaeology of

Buddhism in Chitral and how the people of Chitral negotiated with the predominant Buddhist regions in their neighbourhood. We also need to investigate the relationships between the protohistoric cemeteries in Buddhist sites and Buddhism within north-western Pakistan, as recent radiocarbon dates from Chitral suggest the existence of protohistoric cemeteries till the end of 1st millennium BCE (Fig. 8 and 9). Systematic research with robust research questions and scientific methodologies, focusing on investigation of settlements, religious and military sites and protohistoric cemeteries in Chitral in future may possibly answer the question of whether or not Chitral was the wilderness of Buddhism in north-western South Asia.

Acknowledgements

I am very much thankful to Mr. Atsushi Noguchi for creating and measuring the 3D model of the Singoor terracotta figurine. I am also very much thankful to the help, support and valuable advice of Mr. Fawad Khan, Prof. M. Nasim Khan, Dr. Astha Dibyopama, Muhammad Qasim Chitrali, Muhammad Hassan Shamir, Mr. Naeemullah Chitrali, I am indebted to Dr. Nicole Boivin, Director, Department of Archaeology, Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History, Jena – Germany and Prof. Michael Petraglia for giving me the opportunity to be their first guest research scholar from Pakistan, which enabled me to work on my unfinished research works, including this paper.

References

Ali, I., Shah, I., Samad, A, Zahir, M. and Young, R. (2013). Heritage and Archaeology in Chitral, Pakistan: Exploring Some Local Views and Issues. *International Journal of Heritage Studies*:78-97.

Ali, I. and Jan, I. (2011). Life Story of Buddha: The Legendry Scenes. In Ali., I and Qazi, M. N. (eds.). *Gandharan Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum (Life Story of Buddha)*. Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Peshawar: 225 – 252

Ali, I. and Zahir, M. (2005a). Excavations of Gandharan Graves at Parwak, Chitral 2003-04, *Frontier Archaeology* 3: 135-182

Ali, I. and Zahir, M. (2005b). Report on the Excavations at Gor Khuttree, Peshawar, 2003-04. *Frontier Archaeology 3*: 269-321

Ali, I., Batt, C., Coningham, R., and Young, R. (2002). New Explorations in the Chitral Valley, Pakistan: an extension of the Gandharan Grave Culture. *Antiquity* 76: 647-53

Ali, I., Hamilton, D., Newson, P., Qasim, M., Young, R., and Zahir, M. (2008). New radiocarbon dates from Chitral, NWFP, Pakistan, and their implications for the Gandharan Grave Culture of Northern Pakistan, *Antiquity* 82 (318) (http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/ProjGall/youngr/index.html).

Ali, I., Hemphill, B., and Zahir, M. (2005b). Skeletal Analysis of Gandharan Graves at Parwak, Chitral (2003-04). *Frontier Archaeology* 3: 183-226

Ali, I., Shah, I., Hameed, A. and Ahmad, A. (2010). Gankorineotek (Chitral) Excavations, Second Field Season (2008). *Pakistan Heritage 2*: 209 - 237

Ali, I., Shah, I., Samad, A., Zahir, M. and Young, R., (2016) Preliminary Results of Archaeological Survey in Chitral, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. In Widron, V.

Franke, U. and Latschenberger, P., (edt) *South Asian Archaeology and Art: Contextualizing Material Culture in South and Central Asia in Pre-Modern Times*: 177 – 186.

Ali, I., Zahir, M., and Qasim, M. (2005a). Archaeological Survey of District Chitral 2004, *Frontier Archaeology* 3: 91-106

Banerji, A. (2006). Terracotta Female Figurines from Protohistoric Swat. *Ancient Pakistan*17: 83 – 89

Beal, S. (1968). *Buddhist Records of the Western World (Translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.: London

Behrendt, K. A. (2003). *The Buddhist architecture of Gandhāra (Handbook of Oriental Studies)*. Koninklijke Brill NV: Leiden

Biddulph, J. (1971) [1880]. *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh (Quellen zur Entdeckungsgeschichte und Geographie Asiens; 2)*. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt

Bivar, A. D. H. (1970). Hāritī and the Chronology of the Kuṣāṇas. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 33 (1 - In Honour of Sir Harold Bailey): 10 – 21

Boivin, N. (2008). *Material Cultures, Material Minds: The Impact of Things on Human Thought, Society, and Evolution*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Brosius, M. (2006). *The Persians: An Introduction*. Routledge. New York

Clark, S. (2009). Material Matters: Representation and Materiality of the Harappan Body. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 16 (3 – The Materiality of Representation): 231-261

Clark, S. R. (2003). Representing the Indus Body: Sex, Gender, Sexuality, and the Anthropomorphic Terracotta Figurines from Harappa. *Asian Perspectives* 42: 304 - 328

Corbiau, S. (1937). New Finds in the Indus Valley. *Iraq* 4(1): 1 – 10

Cunningham, A. (2007) [1871]. *Ancient Geography of India.* Cosmo Publications: New Delhi (reprint).

Dani, A. H. (1968) (ed.). Timargarha and Gandhara Grave Culture. *Ancient Pakistan* 3 - 1967.

Dani, A. H. (1968b). *Gandhara Art of Pakistan*. University of Peshawar, Pakistan. Peshawar.

Dani, A. H. (1972). Excavations in the Gomal Valley. *Ancient Pakistan* 5 (1970-71)

der Meulen, W. D. (2000). The Terracotta Human Figurines from Protohistoric Swat. *South Asian Archaeology* 1997: 739-745

Dichter, D. (1967). *The North-West Frontier of West Pakistan: A study in Regional Geography*. Claredon Press: Oxford

Elgood, H. (2004). Exploring the Roots of Village Hinduism in South Asia. *World Archaeology* 36, (3 - The Archaeology of Hinduism): 326 – 342

Foucher, A. (1915). *Notes on the Ancient Geography of Gandhara: A Commentary on a chapter of Hiuan Tsang*. Archaeological Survey of India: Varnasi (H. Hargreaves translation)

Foucher, A. (1918). L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra, Paris, 1918

Gaillard, C, Dambricourt-Malasse, Magraner, J., Maitrerobert, A., Ali, T., Voisin, J-L, Nasir, A. (2002). Discovery of Recent Lithic Industries with Archaic Features in the Hindu Kush Range (Chitral District, North Pakistan). *Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association Bulletin* 22: 25 – 33

Gordon, D. H. (1932). Some Terra-Cottas from Sari Dheri, North-West Frontier Province. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britian and Ireland* 62: 163 – 171

Gordon, D. H. (1935). The Problem of Early Indian Terracottas. *Man* 35: 117 – 118

Gordon, D. H. (1938). The Age of Frontier Terra-Cottas. *Iraq* 5: 85 – 88

Hargreaves, H. (1930). *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum.* Government of India Central Publication Branch. Calcutta.

Haserdot, K. (1996). The Geographical Features and Problems of Chitral: A Short Introduction. In E. Bashir and Israr-ud-Din (eds.) *Proceedings of the Second International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference*. Oxford University Press. Oxford: 3 -18.

Israr-ud-Din. (2008). Chitral District: A Brief Survey of Resources, Problems, Constraints, and Future Development. In Israr-ud-Din (ed) *Proceedings of the Third International Hindu Kush Cultural Conference.* Oxford University Press: Oxford: 175-185

Jarriage, C. (2006). The Figurines of the First Farmers at Mehrgarh and their Offshoots. *Paper Presented in the International Seminar on the 'First Farmers in Global Perspective'*. Luknow: 155 – 166. Available at http://archaeology.up.nic.in/doc/tffm_cj.pdf and accessed on March 14, 2017 at 2333 PST.

Khan, G. M. (1979). Excavations at Zarif Karuna. *Pakistan Archaeology* 9 (1973): 1-94

Lesbre, E. (2000). La conversion de Hārītī au Buddha: origine du thème iconographique et interprétations picturales chinoise. *Arts Asiatiques* 55: 98 – 119

Maheshwari, M. K. (2009). *From Ogress to Goddess: Hariti, A Buddhist Deity*. Nasik. India

Müller-Karpe, H. (1983). *Jungbronzezeitlich-früheisenzeitliche Gräberfelder der Swat-Kultur in Nord-Pakistan (Unter Zugrundelegung der Fundvorlagen von A. H. Dani, G. M. Khan, C. Silvi Antonini and G. Stacul*). Verlag C. H. Beck. München

Petrie C.A. (2013). Chārsadda. In D.K. Chakrabarti and M. Lal (eds.), *History of Ancient India III: The Texts, and Political History and Administration till c.200 BC*. Vivekananda International Foundation and Aryan Books International. Delhi: 512-522.

Pizzeghello, A., Vidale, M., Salemi, G., Tine, V. and Di Plato, S. (2015). De-Constructing Terracotta Female Figurines: A Chalcolithic Case-Study. *Interdisciplinaria Archaeologica: Natural Sciences in Archaeology* 6 (1): 1 – 11 (Online First).

Rahman, A. and Khan, S. N. (2006). Ethnic Profile of Gandhara. *Ancient Pakistan* 17: 75 – 81

Rehman, A. (2009). A Note on the Etymology of Gandhara. *Bulletin of the Asia Institute*, New Series 23 (2009): 143 -146

Rowan, J. G. (2002). Danger and Devotion: Hariti, Mother of Demons in the Stories and Stones of Gandhara: A Histography and Catalogue of Images. M. A. Thesis. Accessed on https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/36687517.pdf at 1600 PST on Thursday 9 March 2017.

Samad, A., Zahir, M., Newson, P., Hamilton, D., Ali, I., Shah, I. and Young, R. (2012). Archaeology in Chitral, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan: Placing New Results in Context. *Pakistan Heritage* 4: 21 – 46

Stacul, G. (1969). Discovery of Protohistoric Cemeteries in the Chitral Valley (West Pakistan). *East and West* 19(1-2): 92 - 99

Stacul, G. (2005). Human Figurines from Early Swat (2nd-1st Millennia BC). *South Asian Archaeology 2001* 1(Prehistory). Edition Recherche sur les Civilization. Paris: 303-309

Stein, S. (1921). *Serindia: Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia and Westernmost China* 2. The Calrendon Press. Oxford.

Stone, E. R. (2004). A Buddhist Incense Burner from Gandhara. *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 39: 69 – 99

Swati, M. F. (1997). Gandhara and the Exploration of Gandhara Art of Pakistan. *Athariyyat (Archaeology)* 1: 77-95

Swati, M. F. (2008). Gandhara and the Exploration of Gandhara Art of Pakistan. *Ancient Pakistan* 19: 131 – 144

Tucci, G. (1977). On Swat: The Dards and Connected Problems. *East and West* 27 (1-4): 9-103

Tucci, G. (1997). In the Path of Alexander the Great: Italian Excavations in Swat, Northern Pakistan. *On Swat: Historical and Archaeological Notes* (A commemorative volume published in honour of Giuseppe Tucci with his articles and obituaries). IsIAO and Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan. Rome: 323-4 (The paper was first published in *The Illustrated London News* on 12 April 1958, pp. 603-5)

Ucko, P. (1962). The Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 92 (1): 38 – 54

Verma, B. S. (2007). *Chirand Excavations Report: 1961-1964 and 1967-1970*. Directorate of Archaeology, Department of Youth, Art and Culture, Government of Bihar. Patna.

Ward, W. E. (1954). Gold Pendant from Sirkap. *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 41 (8): 192- 193, 195

Weicek, M. G. (2013). South Asian Figurines in the British Museum: Literature Review and Analysis. Accessed at http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/9413/ on Saturday 11 March 17 at 1413 PST.

Wheeler, R. E. M. (1962). *Charsada: A Metropolis of the North-West Frontier: Being a Report on the Excavations of 1958*. Oxford University Press. London

www.brandbharat.com/english/bihar/districts/saran/chirand_saran.html. Accessed on May 3, 2017 at 1350 PST.

Young, R. (2009). Representation within the Landscape of Northern Pakistan: The Meaning of Gandhara. *South Asian Studies 25*: 29 - 40

Young, R., Zahir, M., Samad, A., Ali, I. and Shah, I. (2012). Archaeology and Heritage in Chitral, Pakistan. *British Archaeology* 124 (May-June 2012): 42-47

Zahir, M. (2012). The Protohistoric Cemeteries of Northwestern Pakistan: The Deconstruction and Reanalysis of Archaeological and Burial Traditions (Online publication. Available at stable web link @ https://lra.le.ac.uk/handle/2381/11059)

Zahir, M. (2016a). Gandhara Grave Culture: New Perspectives on Protohistoric Cemeteries in Northern and North-Western Pakistan in Gwen Robbins Schug and Subash R. Walimbe edited *A Companion to South Asia in the Past*. Jhon Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Zahir, M**.** (2016b). The Geographical Distribution of Gandhara Grave Culture or Protohistoric Cemeteries in Northern and North-Western South Asia, *Gandharan Studies* 10: 1–37.

Zwalf, W. (1979). *The Shrines of Gandhara*. British Museum Publications Limited: London

Appendix 1:

Detailed measurements of the Terracotta Figurine from Singoor, District Chitral

A. Main Figurine

Total length: 109.01 mm

Broadest width under the arms: 57.79 mm

Broadest width at head: 42.91 mm

Broadest width at bottom: 45.48 mm

Width of the shallow/hollow bottom: 20.85 mm

Depth of the shallow/hollow bottom: 14.41 mm

Middle body Thickness (at thickest point): 40.73 mm

Thickness at head including the snout: 34.82 mm

Thickness at bottom: 35.60 mm

B. Head measurement

Measurements: 42.81 x 40.71 mm

Left side head thickness: 27.63 mm

Right side head thickness: 24.02 mm

Appliquéd eyes:

Diameter of the left eye: 13.38 mm

Diameter of the right eye: 11.96 mm

C. Possible third eye:

Measurements: 6.94 x 4.12 mm

Appliquéd Mouth:

Width: 13.04 mm

Height: 10.44 mm

D. Projected Face

Length: 9.41 mm

Lips length: 11.89 mm

Lips opening (maximum): 3.35 mm

Lower lip thickness: 3.54 mm

Upper lip thickness: 4.55 mm

E. Appliquéd Necklace:

Necklace 1: In front and around neck

Maximum length: 30.28 mm

Maximum width: 10.62 mm

Minimum width: 6.54 mm

Maximum thickness: 4.37 mm

Rows of perforations/ dotted lines: 2

Total number of perforations: 14

F. Hair Dress:

Surviving left side of hair dress:

Maximum length: 31.94 mm

Maximum width: 6.37 mm

Minimum width: 4.74 mm

Maximum thickness: 4.10 mm

No. of holes: 6

Surviving right side of hair dress:

Maximum length: 37.12 mm

Maximum width: 6.12 mm

Minimum width: 4.37 mm

Maximum thickness: 4.11 mm

No. of surviving perforations/holes: 3

Length of the broken part: 26.56 mm

G. Ear Lobes/Pendants:

Left ear pendant

Maximum length: 31.51 mm

Maximum width: 7.95 mm

Minimum width: 5.15 mm

Maximum thickness: 4.46 mm

Minimum thickness: 1.19 mm

No. of grooves: 11

Right ear pendant:

Maximum length: 22.96 mm

Maximum width: 7.10 mm

Minimum width: 4.98 mm

Maximum thickness: 4.05 mm

Minimum thickness: 0.96 mm

No. of grooves: 9

No. of perforations/holes: 2

H. Arms/Stubs:

Left arm/stub:

Maximum length: 30.73 mm

Maximum width: 18.22 mm

Minimum width: 7.58 mm

Maximum thickness: 16.77 mm

Minimum thickness: 8.64 mm

I. Middle/Upper body figural attachment - Appliquéd Figure 3

Maximum length: 38.75 mm

Middle body width: 13.92 mm

Middle body thickness: 8.10 mm

Width of arms: 31.57 mm

Width of legs: 29.17 mm

Width of head: 7.89 mm

J. Lower body figural attachment - Appliquéd Figure 4

Maximum length: 19.50 mm

Middle body width: 10.13 mm

Middle body thickness: 6.53 mm

Width of arms/arms' spread: 21.37 mm

Width/spread of legs: 18.69 mm

Width of head portion (broken): 5.40 mm

K. Figural attachment on left side – Appliquéd Figure 1

Maximum length: 32.04 mm

Middle body width: 10.53 mm

Middle body thickness: 7.98 mm

Width of arms/arms' spread: 26.13 mm

Width/spread of legs: 22.02 mm

Width of head portion: 5.94 mm

L. Figural attachment on right side – Appliquéd Figure 2

Maximum length: 41.08 mm

Middle body width: 10.89 mm

Middle body thickness: 8.78 mm

Width of arms/arms' spread (rounded around the body): 23.96mm

Width/spread of legs: 23.68 mm

Width of head portion: 7.35 mm

M. Lower Body or Base:

Maximum outside diameter: 44.96 mm

Minimum outside diameter: 33.54 mm

Maximum inside diameter (diagonal): 22.91 mm

Minimum inside diameter: 20. 01 mm

Maximum wall thickness: 12.97 mm

Minimum wall thickness: 6.49 mm

Figure 1: Satellite Map of Pakistan, with Singoor Village, North-Western Pakistan

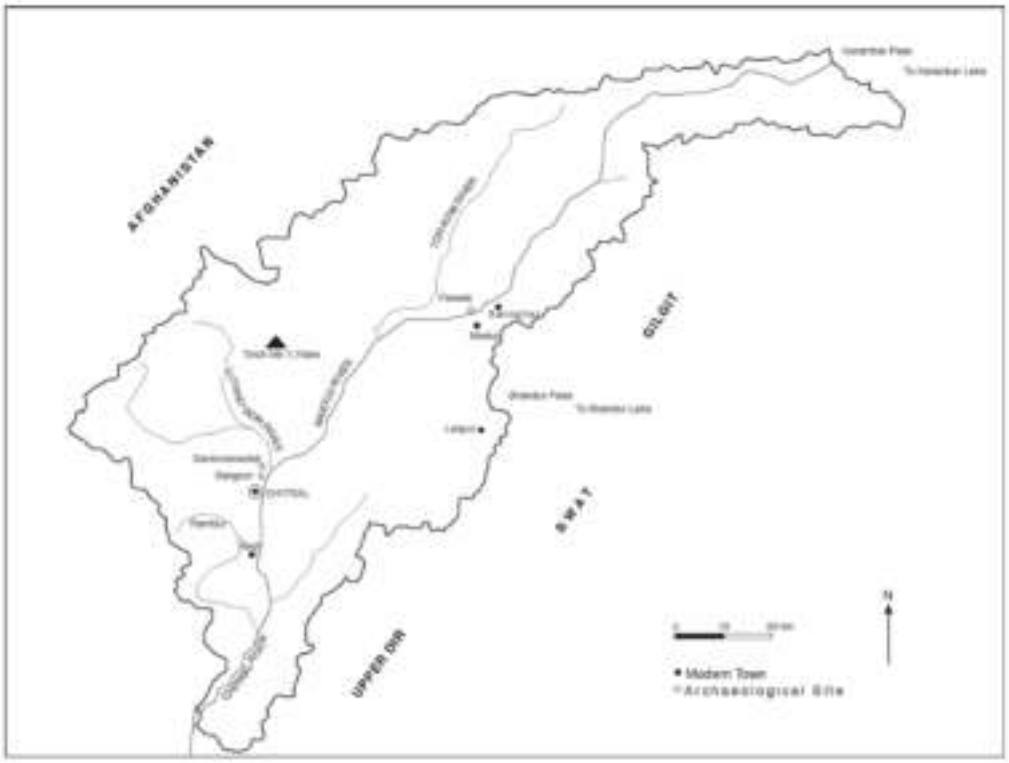

Figure 2: Sketch Map of District Chitral, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

Figure 3: Topographic Map of Singoor Village, Chitral

Figure 4: Photograph of the Singoor Figure, Chitral

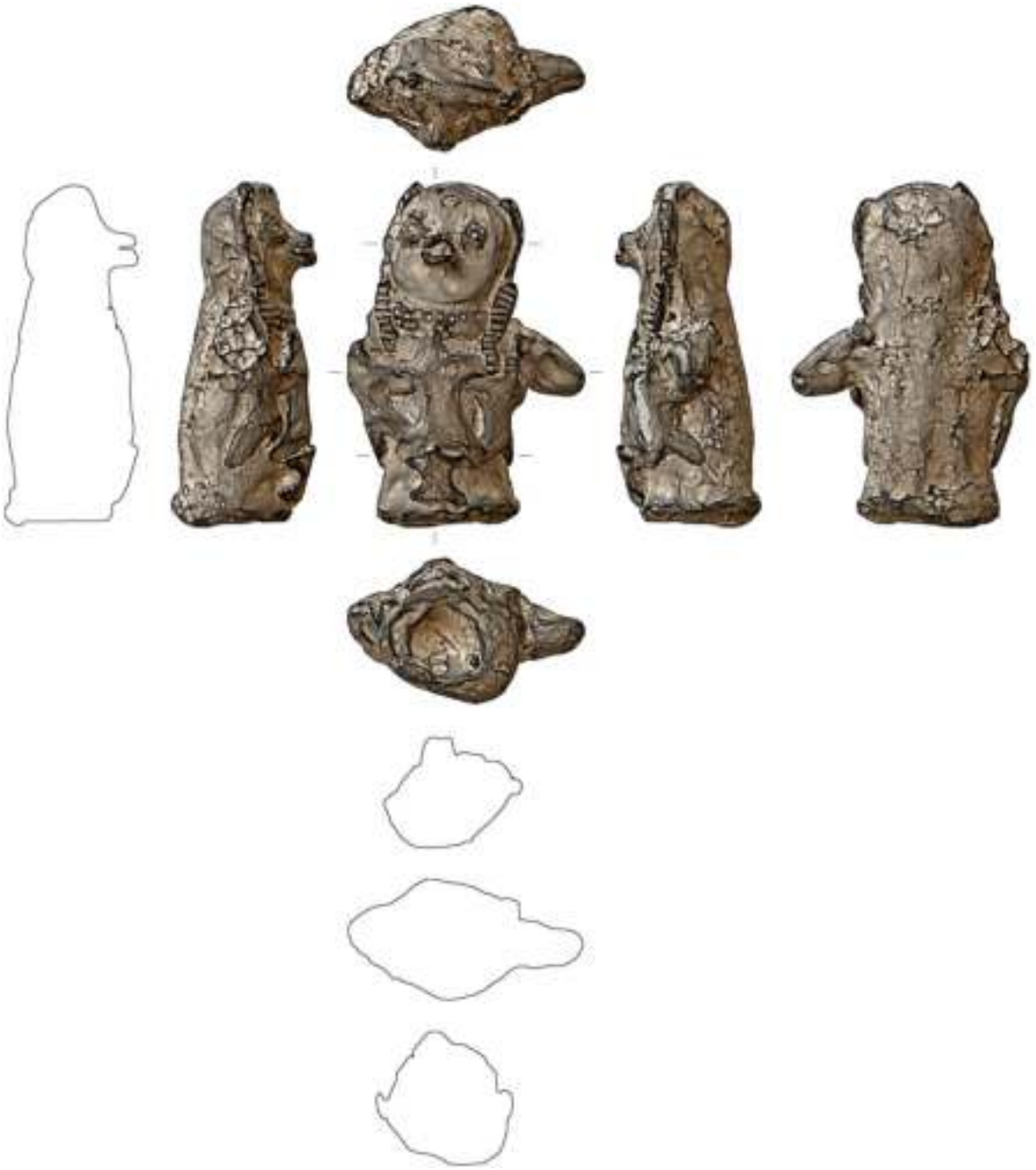

Figure 5: 3-Dimensional Image and Drawings of the Singoor Figure, Chitral (Courtesy: Atsushi Noguchi)


L1: Preparation of Clay Lump
L2: Palm Squeezing
L3: Core or Body Forming and shaping to double concave form
L4:Lower Body/Base Forming
L5: Base rounding, hollowing, walling and flattening
L6: Application/ Modeling/carving out of the Arms
L7: Rounding, smoothening and stubbing of Arms
L8: Head and Face rounding
L9: Mouth pinching or squeezing
L10: Face smoothening
L11: Construction and application of protuberant Eyes
L12: Construction and application of Necklace
L13: Construction and application of Hair Dress
L14: Construction and application of Figure 1 on Left side of Figurine
L15: Construction and application of Figure 2 on Right side of the Figurine
L16: Construction and application of Figure 3 on Front (Upper)
L17: Adjustment and smoothening of the appliqued necklace
L18: Construction and application Figure 4 on Front (Lower)
L19: Construction and application of Figure 5 on left shoulder
L20: Construction and application of Figure 6 on right shoulder
L21: Construction and application of Ear Lobes/Pendant
L22: Grooving of Mouth/Lips
L23: Piercing/carving of a cavity on forehead
L24: Grooving on Ear Lobes/Pendant
L25: Piercing holes in the forehead cavity, eyes, lips, necklace and ear lobes/pendant
L26: Leaving the backside unfinished
L27: Provisioning of Slip
L28: Firing and transformation into permanent structure as 'one'
L29: Post firing accumulation of black colour/soot/incense burning on lower body and children 1, 3 and 4
L30: Wear and Tear due to utilization
L31: Breaking of Applied figure on Left shoulder
L32: Breaking of the right arm/stub

Figure 6: Flow Chart of the Chaîne Opératoire of the Singoor Figure, Chitral

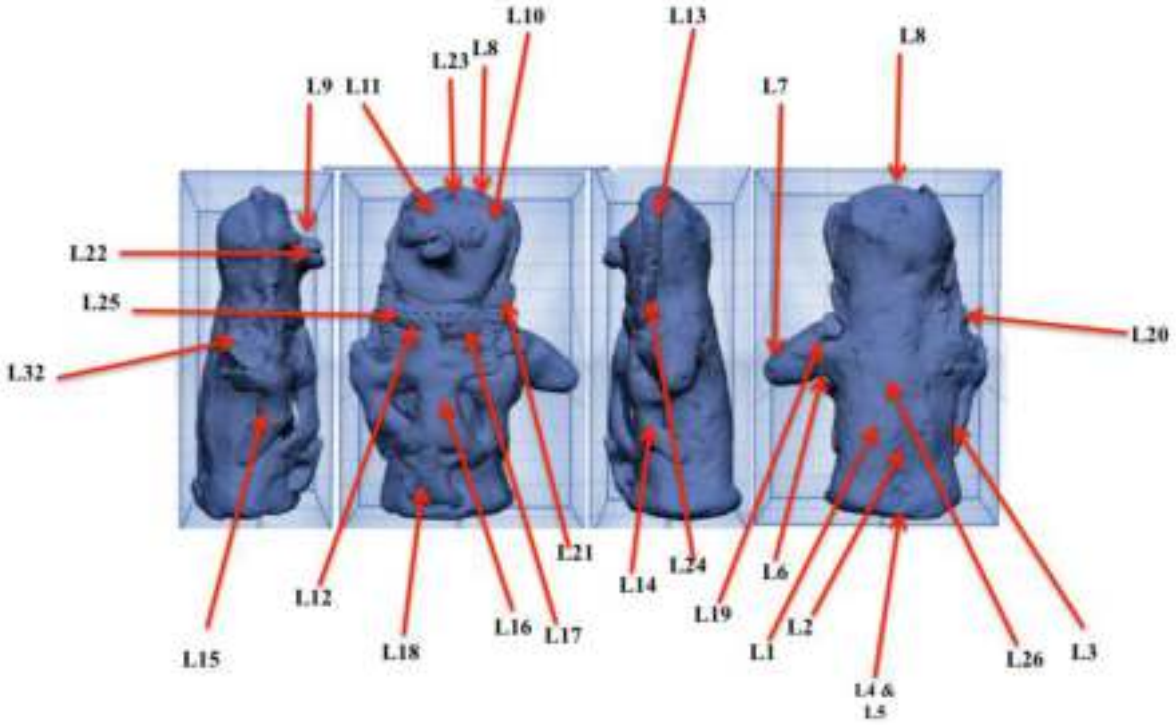

Figure 7: Chaîne Opératoire of the Singoor Figure, Chitral

Site	*Lab identification no.*	*Grave/burial context*	*Material*	*Radiocarbon age (BP)*	*Calibrated date (95% confidence)*
Gankoreneotek	WK-22036	1	Cremated human bones	2494 ± 30	790–420 cal BCE
Singoor	WK-22040	22	Human bones	2167 ± 30	360–110 cal BCE
Singoor	WK-22038	1	Human bones	1975 ± 30	50 cal BCE–90 cal CE
Singoor	WK-22039	21	Human bones	1499 ± 30	cal 440–640 CE
Parwak	WK-22759	31/Burial 2	Human bones	1157 ± 37	cal 770–980 CE
Parwak	WK-22758	31 / Burial 1	Human bones	1148 ± 36	cal 770–980 CE
Parwak	WK-22760	51	Human bones	1138 ± 37	cal 770–980 CE

Figure 8: Published Radiocarbon Dates from Protohistoric Graves, District Chitral

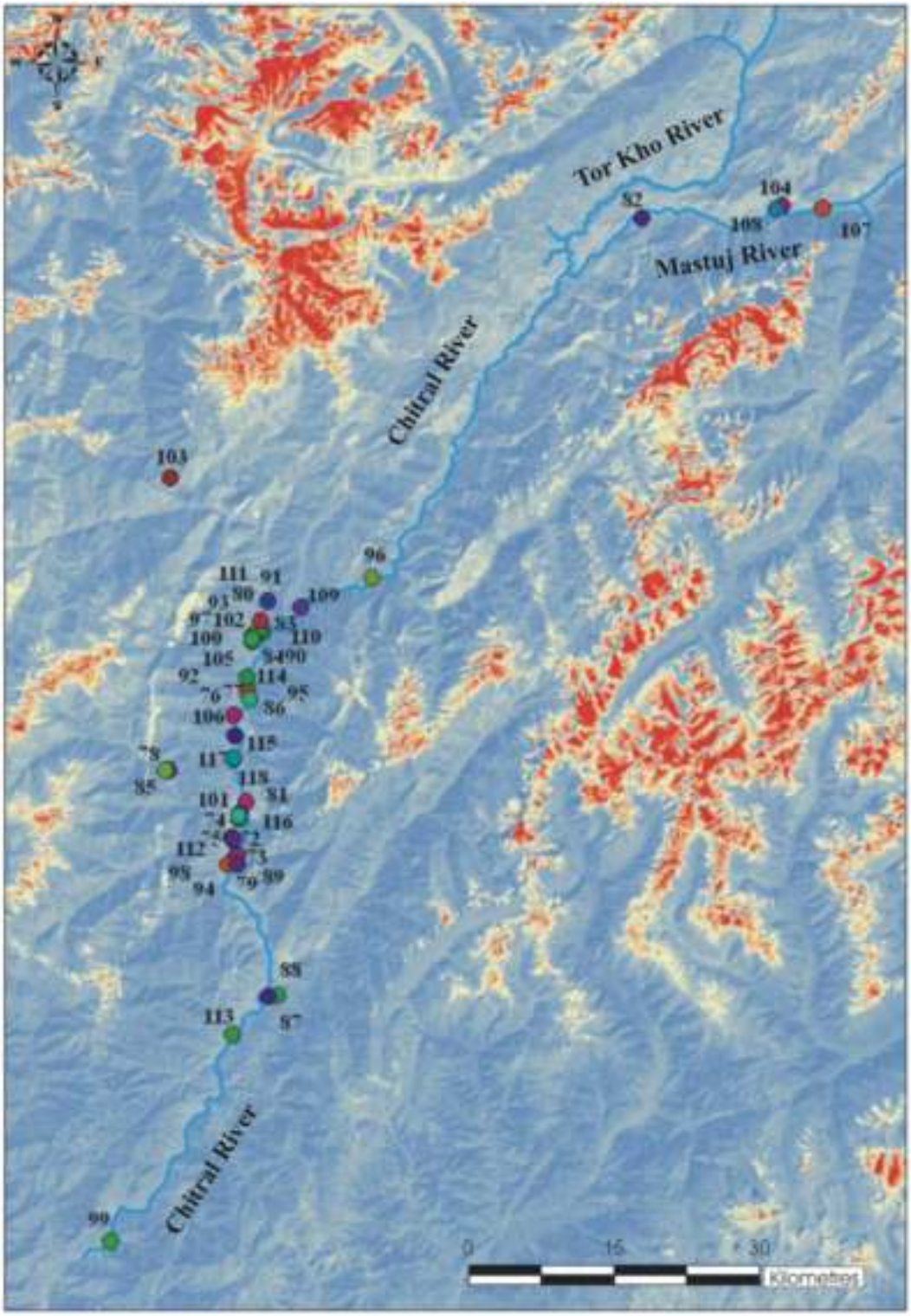

Figure 9: Map of the protohistoric cemeteries along the Chitral River in District Chitral, North-western Pakistan (adopted from Zahir 2012, 2016b).