PAKISTAN HERITAGE

Editors

Shakirullah and Ruth Young

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Editors

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Editorial Note

Pakistan Heritage is a peer-reviewed journal, published annually. This volume included the papers on different aspects of the history and archaeology of Pakistan and adjacent regions with subject matter ranging from Neolithic to the Historic Period. Many of the recent cultural assets are highlighted, anticipating the dialogue and managerial efforts.

We acknowledge the efforts of the members of the Board of Editorial Advisors, the contributors, the review and colleagues of the Department of Archaeology, Hazara University Mansehra. Special thanks are due to Mr. Junaid Ahmad, Lecturer of the department for technical assistance. On the other hand we are grateful to the worthy Vice Chancellor and management of Hazara University Mansehra for support and encouragement.

Editors

Scenario of Chalcolithic Site Surveys in Gujarat

RAJESH S.V., PRABHIN SUKUMARAN AND K. KRISHNAN

Abstract

The Chalcolithic Cultural milieu of Gujarat is primarily identified based on variations in ceramic traditions. Lack of multidisciplinary approaches and other methodological constraints made it difficult to assess other cultural components that could have explained the role of regional Chalcolithic Cultures within the Gujarat Harappans. The present article explains the role of regional ceramic traditions and its spatial and temporal variations within Gujarat.

Keywords: *Chalcolithic, Site Survey, Gujarat, Pre Urban Harappan, Urban Harappan, Post Urban Harappan, Ceramics*

Introduction

Chalcolithic researches in Gujarat, western India over the last eight decades by government agencies and several universities have identified 755 settlements (Figures 1 and 2) of which 59 have been excavated (Figure 3). These intense studies identified intricate variations within the Harappan Culture and its association with regional traditions, mainly represented by different variety of ceramics, along with findings of microliths.

Gujarat Region

Attempts have also been made by researchers to categorize the Harappan settlements, primarily based on their geographical locations. Thus, within the geographical region of Greater Indus (Mughal 1970), Rao (1973: 3, 8-49) identified four provinces; the eastern province consisting of Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, southern province including entire Gujarat, the western province extending over southern parts of Baluchistan and central province consisting of Sind and Punjab. Joshi (1984: 51-54) followed a type site centered division, which resulted into categorizing the area into six geographical

regions/sectors; northern (Punjab, type site: Harappa), eastern (Rajasthan and Haryana, type site: Kalibangan), central (Bahawalpur, type site: Ganveriwala), Southern (Sind, type site: Mohenjo-Daro), south-western (Baluchistan, type site: Kulli Harappan) and south-eastern (Gujarat, type site: Lothal). Finally Possehl (1999: 269) classified the sites of the Indus Civilization into seven regions; the Central Region, the Gedrosia Region, the Southern Region, the North-western Region, the Northern Region, the Eastern Region and the Hakra Region.

The southern region of Possehl's (1999: 269, 327) classification is corresponding to the boundaries of the present day political state of Gujarat, which comprises 26 districts. Based on geographical criteria and ethnic composition, Gujarat can be divided into four sub-regions namely the North Gujarat (Banaskantha, Mehsana, Patan, Sabarkantha and Surendranagar districts), South Gujarat (Bharuch, Dahod, Dang, Narmada, Navsari, Panchmahal, Surat, Tapi, Vadodara and Valsad districts), Kachchh (Kachchh district) and Saurashtra (Ahmedabad, Amreli, Anand, Gandhinagar, Bhavnagar, Jamnagar, Junagadh, Kheda, Porbandar and Rajkot districts) . In the earlier period, these sub-regions were known as Anarta, Lata, Kaccha and Surastra/Saurashtra respectively (Sankalia 1941: 4-6; Subbarao 1958: 128; Majumdar 1960: xvii-xviii).

Based on chronometric (Figure 4) and relative dating methods, the Chalcolithic cultures/ traditions in Gujarat region can be tentatively dated between 3950-900 BC, which is divisible into three phases namely, Pre Urban Harappan (c. 3950-2600 BC), Urban Harappan (c. 2600-1900 BC) and Post Urban Harappan (c. 1900-900 BC).

Pre Urban Harappan Phase (c. 3950-2600 BC)

It represents the period which precede the Urban or Mature Harappan period. Possehl (1992: 118) defines it from a site specific point of view, while (Kenoyer 1991, 1994) views it as a developmental phase of different cultural processes. Till the second half of 1980s, the Pre Urban Harappan Phase in Gujarat (Figures 5 and 6) was not defined. But, based on several excavations and explorations in the following decades, the relative and absolute dates from various sites and reanalysis of ceramics and other artefacts from previously excavated sites brought out the existence of various cultural traditions. These

cultural traditions are mainly represented by the characteristic features of ceramic traditions and are now designated 'vaguely' as Anarta, Padri, Pre Urban Harappan Sindh Type, Pre Prabhas, cultural groups using Reserved Slip Ware and Black and Red Ware. Sonawane and Ajithprasad (1994) observes that except the Sindh Type Pottery, none of the ceramic types of this period from Gujarat showed clear technological and stylistic similarities to the Pre Urban Harappan ceramics or later ceramics of the Indus Valley proper .

Urban Harappan Phase (c. 2600-1900 BC)

The term Urban Harappan is used to represent the developed stage of the Harappan culture beginning from the middle of the third millennium BC (Possehl 1992). In a similar way the terms Harappan, Mature Harappan (Mughal 1970: 7) and Integration Era (Shaffer 1992) were used. According to Shaffer (1992), at the beginning of this period, most of the regional cultures of the Greater Indus Valley and adjoining regions, integrated into a wide spread urban society termed as Harappa Phase. Pronounced homogeneity in material culture of the urban society distributed over a vast area (Shaffer 1992), technologically complex craft activities, standardized weights and measures, use of un-deciphered script and maritime trade with Mesopotamia are the characteristic features of this period (Kenoyer 1998; Possehl 2002).

Urban Harappan period in Gujarat was marked by huge urban centre, Dholavira to small sites of less than 0.25 ha. At least fifteen known sites of this period were surrounded by huge fortifications (Figure 7). Based on the similarities in the material culture of these sites to those of Indus Valley proper, sometimes they are considered as outposts or colonies (Bisht 1989: 397-408; Joshi 1990; Dhavalikar 1994). Residents at many of the sites like Dholavira (Bisht 1989: 265-272), Lothal (Rao 1979, 1985), Gola Dhoro (Sonawane et al. 2003: 21-50), Nageswar (Hegde et al. 1990) and Navinal (Gadekar et al. 2014) were involved in craft activities, such as, production and trading of stone beads and shell bangles (Bhan and Gowda 2003), faience materials, lithic blades, copper objects etc., to different Harappan settlements, mostly within its immediate vicinity. Apart from the Classical Harappan artefacts, regional Chalcolithic artefacts were also unearthed from many sites of the Urban Harappan period. Majority of the ceramic

traditions of Pre Urban Harappan period continued to this period, and some new traditions/cultures like Prabhas were also integrated.

Post Urban Harappan Phase (c. 1900-900 BC)

The term Post Urban Harappan is equivalent to the terminologies Late Harappan, Post Harappan and Localization Era, which encompasses the period following the principal urban occupations at Mohenjo Daro, Harappa and the urban phase sites coincident with the period of literacy and the making of the classic Indus stamp seals (Possehl 1992: 118). During this period, the long distance/inter regional trade, one of the characteristics of Integration Era appears to have broken down and the major geographic regions that had been encompassed by the Urban Harappan period were differentiated from one another on the basis of ceramics and other aspects of material culture (Chase 2007). Production of inscribed steatite seals, standardized weights, stoneware bangles and Classical Harappan architectural practices almost disappeared during this period (Kenoyer 1998: 173-185).

Post Urban Harappan period in Gujarat corresponds to Rangpur Phases IIC and III. Four hundred and thirty nine sites belonging to this period have been reported from different parts of Gujarat (Figures 8 and 9). This period was represented by the cultures/traditions namely Late Sorath Harappan, Prabhas Ware, Black and Red Ware, Micaceous Red Ware, Lustrous Red Ware, Jorwe Ware and Malwa Ware. During this phase, in Gujarat, many of the Classical Harappan vessel forms became extinct, Rohri chert blades became very rare, and they were substituted by smaller blades of local chert and chalcedony (Sonawane 2002: 167). Terracotta beads became very common (Sonawane 2002: 167) and distinctive aspects of Harappan material culture such as chert weights, triangular terracotta cakes and steatite stamp seals decreased in frequency or disappeared altogether (Bhan 1989: 226; Sonawane 2000: 142). Deterioration in urban settlement pattern is also noticeable (Sonawane 2000: 142) and there was a decrease in the average size of the settlements in Saurashtra (Bhan 1994: 82).

Classical Harappan and Regional Chalcolithic Cultures/Traditions in Gujarat

As many of the excavated and explored sites in Gujarat had some elements of Classical Harappans, without any doubt or second thought, they were labelled as 'Harappan' until the first half of the 1980s. However, excavations and explorations from the mid-1980s and reanalysis of the ceramics from the earlier excavated sites revealed the evidence for the existence of regional Chalcolithic cultures other than the Classical Harappans. In the beginning of Chalcolithic researches, the distinct features of the material culture of the site(s) in Gujarat was observed by a few scholars like Vats (1937), Dikshit (1950), Subbarao (1958), Nanavati (1962) Wheeler (1959, 1966) and Rao (1963). Vats (1937) based on his observations at Rangpur suggested that the part he excavated at the site might correspond to the Late period of the Indus Civilization or probably fall between that time and Cemetery H at Harappa, and it triggered the belief that Chalcolithic sites in Saurashtra are Late Harappan (Possehl 2007: 303). In 1958, Subbarao categorized the excavated Chalcolithic sites of Gujarat into three viz. Kathiawad Harappan (Lothal and Rangpur IIA), Late Kathiawad Harappan (Rangpur IIB, Somnath IA and IB and Lakhabawal I) and Post Kathiawad Harappan (Rangpur IIC and III, Somnath II and Amra I) (Subbarao 1958: fig. 37). Though he hasn't given any explanation for this classification, it can be viewed as a division based on the geographical region supported by differences in artifacts. Subbarao (1958: 132-133) also identified the presence of a typical regional ceramic type; Prabhas Ware along with the Harapppan ceramics at Somnath. Wheeler (1959: 38) also noticed the distinctive character of the Chalcolithic sites in Saurashtra/Kathiawar, and he called them as a sub-Indus or a provisional variant of the Indus Civilization. Later, Wheeler (1966: 87) used the term Saurashtrian Indus to denote a late and the developing branch of the Indus civilization. Nanavati (1962: 424) suggested the possibility of Lothal being a regional variation of the Harappan culture in Gujarat, which may have dissociated from the parental one at an early stage and took its own course of development. In 1963, Rao suggested the probable existence of an indigenous Micaceous Red pottery using community at Lothal prior to the Harappan occupation (Rao 1963).

In the 1960s and 70s, ceramics similar to those of Jorwe and Malwa culture were recovered from a few excavated sites in south Gujarat along with the Post Urban Harappan pottery (IAR 1961-62; IAR 1966-67; Mehta et al. 1971). Joshi (1972: 122-

126) also noticed the variation of certain ceramics found associated with the Harappan pottery from Surkotada. Sankalia (1972: 171-172) regarded the trends observed through the material remains at Rangpur and Somnath as regional, ethnic and cultural forces that clearly differed from the Harappan way of life. He also suggested that changes in pottery shapes, techniques and decoration cannot be indigenously evolved without some outside influence (Sankalia 1974: 381). Although, Pandya (1983: 59-63) based on the results of Rangpur excavations by Dikshit (1950) and Rao (1963) argued that the local Chalcolithic communities may have preceded as well as co-existed with the Harappans. Similarly, Allchin (1990: 30) suggested that the local settlements with a distinctive regional character were already established in Gujarat even before the arrival of the Harappans and later in time Post Urban Harappan features blended with the re-emerging local cultural style.

By the end of 1980s Possehl and Herman (1990: 314) noticed significant variations from the Classical Harappan in the material culture of Rojdi and many sites in Saurashtra and they termed this regional manifestation of the Harappan Urban phase as Sorath Harappan, which is stylistically different from the Sindhi/Classical Harappan (urban phase sites in Kachchh, Sind and Punjab) and clearly a part of the entire Harappan culture. Allchin and Allchin (1997: 160-161) suggested the term Local Harappan instead of Sorath Harappan to this regional manifestation. A very short period after the identification of Sorath Harappans, Shinde (1992 a, 1992 b) identified a new regional Chalcolithic assemblage at the lowest levels of Padri and termed it as Padri Ware. Re-analysis of ceramics from Prabhas Patan (Dhavalikar and Possehl 1992) in Saurashtra also revealed the evidence for the existence of a regional Chalcolithic population well represented by the ceramic assemblage named as Pre-Prabhas. Excavations and explorations in various parts of North Gujarat and adjoining regions by the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda clearly established the evidence for the existence of another regional Chalcolithic tradition termed as Anarta (Sonawane and Ajithprasad 1994). In the same time, a few sites in North Gujarat and Saurashtra also revealed ceramics similar to those from Pre Urban Harappan levels at Amri, Nal, Kot Diji, Balakot and Dam Sadat (Hegde et al. 1988; Majumdar and Sonawane 1996-1997). Thus, it clearly indicates that from the beginning of the fourth to the beginning of the first

millennium BC (3950-900 BC), Gujarat was populated by the Classical Harappan and different regional Chalcolithic cultures. In the following section, various features of these Chalcolithic cultures and their district wise distribution pattern in Gujarat are mentioned.

Anarta Tradition

Anarta Assemblage is the Regional Chalcolithic tradition first reported as a distinctive ceramic group from North Gujarat. Though the ceramics similar to this tradition were noticed in association with Classical Harappan ceramics at Surkotada (Joshi 1972: 122-126), its regional trait was first recognized in 1985 during the excavations at Nagwada in Surendranagar district where these ceramics were found associated with Pre Urban and Urban Harappan elements. However, its independent nature as a Pre Urban Harappan ceramic tradition of North Gujarat was established only after the excavations at Loteshwar in Patan (part of erstwhile Mehsana) district in 1991-92 (Sonawane and Ajithprasad 1994). The site revealed two fold cultural sequence (Mesolithic and Chalcolithic) and Loteshwar is conspicuous for the absence of crested ridge technique of blade production (Brahmbhatt 2000: 75). The introduction of sheep and goat a long time after the beginning of Chalcolithic occupation (Patel 2009: 181) and a very thin Chalcolithic deposit representing almost 2000 years of habitation (probably seasonal) having a number of pits of varying diameter and the absence of structures are the other important features of the site. Anarta ceramics are also found associated with Pre Urban Harappan Sindh Type Pottery/Burial pottery (Amri Nal type) at sites like Motipipli and Datrana and with Pre-Prabhas pottery at Datrana. The similarities between Anarta ceramics and Padri Ware were also noticed by Shinde (1998) and Ajithprasad (2002). Anarta ceramics are also found along with the Classical Harappan and Sorath Harappan artefacts at Gola Dhoro (Bagasra) (Sonawane et al. 2003: 21-50; Bhan et al. 2004: 153-158) and Shikarpur (Bhan and Ajithprasad 2008: 1-9, 2009: 1-9). This pottery tradition is represented by Gritty Red Ware, Fine Red Ware, Burnished Red Ware and Burnished Grey/Black Wares. The vessels are hand /slow wheel made and vessel forms include straight or convex sided bowls with incurved rims, basins with thick flaring rim, pots/jars with flaring rim, constricted neck and bulbous body. They are treated with red slip with paintings in red, black and white (Sonawane and Ajithprasad 1994; Ajithprasad

2002). Apart from many sites in North Gujarat, it is also found associated with the Classical Harappan and Sorath Harappan artifacts at Shikarpur (Bhan and Ajithprasad 2008: 1-9; Bhan and Ajithprasad 2009: 1-9) in Kachchh and Bagasra in Saurashtra (Sonawane et al. 2003; Bhan et al. 2004). The non-Harappan ceramic tradition from all the periods (IA, IB and IC) of Surkotada is analogous with Anarta pottery. Though, the Anarta pottery was found associated with the pottery analogous to the Rangpur IIC ceramics at a number of explored sites in North Gujarat, none of the excavated sites till date has revealed its presence in the Post Urban Harappan context. Hence, based on series of radio carbon dates from Loteshwar and Bagasra, this tradition can be tentatively dated between 3950 BC – 1900 BC.

The archaeological evidences till date suggest that the core area of the spread of Anarta tradition is North Gujarat. Material remains of this tradition primarily characterized by the pottery are reported from sixty seven sites in North Gujarat, Kachchh and Saurashtra regions. Sixty sites of this tradition are reported from North Gujarat, four sites from Kachchh and three from Saurashtra regions respectively. If the so called Padri Ware is not different from the Anarta Tradition, the number of sites from the Saurashtra region will increase to fourteen. Figure 10 shows the district-wise distribution of Anarta tradition in various sub-regions of Gujarat.

Padri Ware

Another set of Chalcolithic ceramics showing non-Harappan features is the Padri Ware/Padri Culture reported from Padri in Padri Gohil Ni, the 'salt manufacturing site' of the Chalcolithic time in Talaja taluka of Bhavnagar district (Shinde 1992 a, 1992 b, 1998; Shinde and Kar 1992; Paul et al. 1997; Bhagat 2001; Shirvalkar 2008). At Padri, this hand/slow wheel made coarse ceramic having thick red slip with black paintings occur during Pre Urban Harappan and Urban Harappan periods (3600-2000 BC). The important vessel shapes are bowls with straight/incurved/convex sides, stud handle bowls, basins, globular pots, dish on stands and perforated jars (Shinde 1992, 1998, Shinde and Kar 1992). Other ceramic types occur in the Pre Urban Harappan levels at

Padri are Coarse Red/Grey Ware, White Lustrous Ware, Pink Slipped Ware, Bichrome Ware, Plain Handmade Ware and Red Painted Ware (Shinde 1992a, 1998; Prabodh 2008).

Red Painted pottery of Padri is akin to Sorath Harappan pottery and occurs from the lowest level of the site (Bhagat 2001). A resemblance in some of the shapes and a few decorations of Padri Ware with ceramics from North Gujarat (Anarta) (Shinde 1992b; Shinde and Kar 1992; Sonawane and Ajithprasad 1994; Shirvalkar 2008) and Pre Urban Harppan pottery from Dholavira (Bicrhome ware) (Shinde 1998) has been suggested. It is also reported from eleven other explored sites in the lower Shetrunji river basin in Bhavnagar district along with Sorath Harappan ceramics and classified as Pre Harappan (Paul et al. 1997; Shirvalkar 2008).

Till date, none of the sites outside the Bhavnagar district produced evidence for the existence of Padri Ware/Padri Culture. Among the twelve reported sites, eleven are from Talaja and one is from Mahua talukas respectively. Among all the reported sites, Padri is the biggest and the only excavated one. In all sites, Padri Ware is chiefly associated with Urban Harappan (Sorath Harappan) and Post urban Harappan (Late Sorath Harappan) ceramics. Intensive explorations in other parts of Bhavnagar district and Saurashtra may provide a better picture regarding this tradition/culture. Figure 11 shows the distribution of Padri Ware/Padri Culture in Gujarat.

Pre-Prabhas Assemblage

Pre-Prabhas pottery is a non Harappan assemblage first unearthed in 1956-57 excavation at Prabhas Patan (Somnath) in Junagadh district. According to Subbarao (1958), Period IA at Prabhas Patan was characterised by the occurrence of a corrugated or broadly incised ware along with a blade industry of agate and chalcedony with crested ridges (IAR 1956-57; Subbarao 1958; Dhavalikar and Possehl 1992) and this ceramic had similarities with Rangpur IIB pottery (IAR 1956-57), although, in the Somnath excavation report (Nanavati et al. 1971) there is no mention of the Pre-Prabhas level. Pre-Prabhas level datable to 3000-2600 BC was identified during 1970s through a re-excavation of the site and the details of this ceramic type were published only in 1992

(Dhavalikar and Possehl 1992). Pre-Prabhas assemblage is characterised by handmade pottery comprising of Red Ware, Incised Red Ware, Black and Red Ware and Grey Ware. A Black Painted Red Ware akin to the Post Urban Harappan pottery is also reported from the site (IAR 1971-72). The forms represented are wide mouthed jars, deep shallow basins, flat bottomed basin with flaring sides and incised rims (IAR 1971-72). Other finds from the level include chalcedony blades; beads of faience (some are segmented) and steatite; and a wall plaster suggesting wattle and daub architecture (Dhavalikar and Possehl 1992). Though, there is mention about the availability of Pre-Prabhas type Crude Corrugated Ware in the earliest level of Rojdi (IAR 1957-58); from the reports of the later excavations it appears that the site is devoid of the same and the pottery reported in 1957-58 might be the Sorath Harappan Corrugated Ware (Ajithprasad: Personal Communication). The excavations at Datrana (mound IV) in Banaskantha district of North Gujarat also revealed Pre-Prabhas pottery (3200-2600 BC), where it was found associated with Anarta pottery, Pre Urban Harappan Sindh Type Pottery, crested ridge blades and cores of chalcedony, agate, jasper and chert and copper/bronze punch (Ajithprasad 2002).

As per the current knowledge, there are only four Pre-Prabhas sites in Gujarat and they are located in Saurashtra (1) and North Gujarat regions (3) respectively. The reasons for the availability of this assemblage only in four sites of two different regions need to be understood properly. Figure 12 shows the district wise distribution of Pre-Prabhas Assemblage in Gujarat.

Pre Urban Harappan Sindh Type Pottery (Burial Pottery)

Pre Urban Harappan Sindh Type Pottery was first reported during the excavations at Nagwada in 1985 (Hegde et al. 1988: 55-65; Ajithprasad 2002: 144) where both inhumation and symbolic burials were noticed in Period IA. Red Ware, Pinkish Buff Ware and Grey Ware represented the symbolic burials at the site. The vessels were made of well elutriated clay and the ceramics were slipped and painted (Majumdar and Sonawane 1996-1997: 16). Major shapes in this group are large bulbous pot with narrow flat base, a short and straight neck and flat rim, flasks or beaker shaped vases with sides converging into a narrow opening, beakers with slightly flaring rim, dish on stand with

up turned rim, dish with no carination and shallow bowls (Ajithprasad 2002: 145). The bulbous pot is painted at the rim with a thick dark band and at the shoulder with horizontal and wavy lines. Pipal leaf motif on one of the large pots is an important feature. These burial ceramics resemble the vessels recovered from the Pre Urban Harappan levels at Kot Diji, Amri, Dam Bhuti, Nal and Balakot (Hegde et al. 1988: 58; Ajithprasad 2002: 145). Such ceramics are also present in the cemetery at Surkotada in Kachchh (Joshi 1990; Possehl 1997: 81-87). Subsequent excavations at Santhli, Datrana and Moti Pipli in north Gujarat also revealed these ceramics along with Anarta pottery. At Datrana, in the upper levels, it was also found associated with Pre-Prabhas assemblage. Exploration in the Junagadh district of Saurashtra region showed its existence in three sites (Ajithprasad et al. 2011). The relative time period assigned to the burial ceramics is beginning of the third millennium BC (Majumdar and Sonawane 1996-1997: 20; Ajithprasad 2002: 147). Majumdar (1999: 194) based on the evidence from Nagwada, Moti Pipli, Datrana and Surkotada suggest a time bracket of 3000 BC to 2600 BC for the spread of Pre Urban Harappan Sindh Type Pottery and its authors to Kachchh and North Gujarat.

Till date, Pre Urban Harappan Sindh Type Pottery is reported from fifteen sites in Gujarat. Among them ten are located in North Gujarat, two in Kachchh and three in Saurashtra sub-regions respectively. The availability of these ceramics in different sub-regions of Gujarat shows that more systematic explorations can bring to light more number of sites and better understanding of Sindh type ceramic using community. Figure 13 shows the district-wise distribution of Pre-Urban Harappan Sindh Type Pottery in different sub-regions of Gujarat.

Black and Red Ware

In India, Black and Red Ware ceramics are reported from Chalcolithic, Megalithic and Early Historic contexts (Dey 2003: 131-136). According to many scholars' dual colour in the ceramic is the result of inverted firing technique (Wheeler 1947; Sharma 1960; Subbarao 1961; Rao 1963). Black and Red Ware ceramics are reported from most of the

Chalcolithic sites in Gujarat, and it was first reported from Rangpur (Dikshit 1950: 18-19), where these ceramics were found in all the periods and the major shapes include bowl, jar and dish and some of the bowls were painted using white colour (Rao 1963). Black and Red Ware ceramics are found associated with Micaceous Red Ware (Rao 1985), Classical Harappan (Rao 1985), Prabhas Ware (Rao 1985), Sorath Harappan (Sen 2009), Pre Urban Harappan Sindh Type Pottery (Majumdar 1999), Pre-Prabhas Assemblage (Dhavalikar and Possehl 1992; Ajithprasad 2002), Anarta tradition (Ajithprasad and Sonawane 1994; Ajithprasad 2002), Lustrous Red Ware (Rao 1963; Rissman and Chitalwala 1990), Malwa Ware (Mehta et al. 1971), Jorwe Ware, Reserved Slip Ware and Microliths (IAR 1961-62). There are certain similarities and dissimilarities in the shape and fabric of Black and Red Ware in different periods and cultures/traditions in Gujarat. In Chalcolithic Gujarat, chronologically it can be roughly placed between 3950 BC - 900 BC.

Black and Red Ware ceramics are available from all the sub-regions of Gujarat. This Ware is reported from nine sites respectively in Kachchh and North Gujarat, twenty one in Saurashtra and seven in South Gujarat. The actual number of this kind of ceramic yielding sites might be quite higher as in many exploration reports the ceramic types available in these sites are not mentioned. Figure 14 shows the district wise distribution of Black and Red Ware in different sub-regions of Gujarat.

Reserved Slip Ware

Reserved Slip Ware was first reported during the excavation of Mohenjodaro and the term was used by the excavators to describe a kind of low fired ceramics (Mackay 1938: 184). The term reserved slip refers to a particular kind of surface treatment given to the pre-fired ceramic by applying two slip layers to the surface of the vessel and later by skillfully removing the upper slip through gently combing the surface thus leaving two contrasting colours, in either a straight or a wavy line pattern. There are different kinds of this ceramic; "Glazed" Reserved Slip Ware, "Ungalzed" Reserved Slip Ware and Periano Reserve Ware (Shinde et al. 2008: 85). The Glazed Reserved Slip Ware was characterized by a well-defined, glossy and hard surface layer, where as the surface of Unglazed Reserved Slip Ware is matt and soft (Krishnan 2005: 692). Periano Reserve

Ware which is totally different from the Glazed and Unglazed Reserved Slip Ware was first identified at Periano Ghundai by Fairservis and it is recovered from many sites in the Greater Indus Region including Kalibangan, Girawad and Farmana. The surface treatment of this ware includes the application of sandy clay coating or a slip on the surface of the leather hard vessel to give the appearance of a very smooth exterior surface over which broad wavy and horizontal parallel grooves in low relief are executed (Shinde et al. 2008: 85). Glazed and Ungalzed Reserved Slip sherds are reported from both Pre Urban Harappan and Urban Harappan sites in Gujarat and its main concentration is in Kachchh region. In Gujarat, it can be dated between 3950-1900 BC. At this stage of research, it is very difficult to pinpoint the authors of this ware.

Varieties of Reserved Slip Ware was reported from eleven sites in Kachchh, five sites in Saurashtra, three sites in North Gujarat and one site in South Gujarat regions. In all the excavated sites in Gujarat, these ceramics were found in very less quantity. Figure 15 shows the district wise distribution of Reserved Slip Ware in different sub-regions of Gujarat.

Micaceous Red Ware

S.R. Rao in 1963 described the possible existence of an indigenous Micaceous Red pottery using Chalcolithic population at Lothal prior to the Harappan occupation (Rao 1963). In spite of several efforts, he hasn't found a stratum exclusively of Micaceous Red Ware at the site (1985). This pottery type was found to increase in quantity in the lower levels of Lothal A but it was always found associated with Harappan ceramics (IAR 1961-62). In fabric, surface treatment, forms and modeling this pottery shows non-Harappan features (Rao 1963; Dhavalikar and Possehl 1992; Herman and Krishnan 1994; Sonawane and Ajithprasad 1994). This hand/mould made pottery has a thick pink to light brown/grey glossy slip with smooth surface and appears as dusted with tiny mica particles. The vessel forms represented are convex sided bowl with or without stud handle, shallow dish-basin, globular jar, lamp, bottle and perforated jar (Figure 16). Similar pottery was also reported from Rangpur (Rao 1963). The excavations at Kanewal (Mehta et al. 1980) and Vagad (Sonawane and Mehta 1985) in the Bhal region strengthened the theory of the existence of Micaceous Red ware using community in the

area around Gulf of Khambhat. Explorations (Dimri 1998-99; Dimri 1999; Krishnan and Dimri 2005; Dimri 2005; Rajesh 2011) in the Bhogava, Sukha Bhadar and Lilka river basins also provided supporting evidence. It is also reported in small quantities from excavated Chalcolithic sites like Rojdi, Nageshwar and Bagasra in Saurashtra, Desalpur in Kutch and Ratanpura in North Gujarat (Herman and Krishnan 1994, Dimri 1999). One sherd each showing similarities to Micaceous Red Ware were also recovered from Shimal in United Arab Emirates and Lohumjo Daro in Pakistan. Chronologically this Ware can be placed tentatively between 2600- BC (Lothal A Phase I and Rojdi A) to 1600 BC (Vagad IB).

The material remains collected from different parts of Gujarat till date suggests that the core area of the existence of this tradition is Saurashtra. Micaceous Red Ware is reported from twenty two sites in Saurashtra, five sites in North Gujarat and one site in Kachchh regions. Figure 17 shows the district-wise distribution of Micaceous Red Ware indifferent sub-regions of Gujarat.

Classical Harappan

Classical Harappan sites are mainly concentrated in the Kachchh region and represented by the excavated settlements like Dholavira, Desalpur, Surkotada, Pabumath, Kanmer, Juni Kuran, Shikarpur and Khirsara. The other sites are Lothal, Nageswar and Bagasra in Saurashtra; Nagwada and Zekhda in North Gujarat. All the excavated sites have Classical Harappan features apart from the artefacts of regional Chalcolithic cultures/traditions (Bhan 1994: 79). Possehl (1992) called the Classical Harappan settlements as Sindhi Harappan. According to Sen (2009: 1) "the term 'Sindhi Harappan' used by Possehl, although originally meant to refer to characteristic cultural traits generally found associated with the urban sites of the Harappa culture in the entire Indus valley, by default refers only to that of the Sindh region because the word Sindh/Sindhi has regional/ethnic connotations. The urban Harappan features are found not only in the Indus valley proper but also in the adjoining regions in the east, south and west". Many of the Classical Harappan sites were associated with the manufacture of specialized items of semi-precious stone, steatite, faience, shell and copper (Sonawane 2000: 141). Size of the Classical Harappan sites in Gujarat varied from less than 0.25 ha to 60 ha.

The Classical Harappan sites revealed evidences for the existence of city, towns, villages, camp sites, craft production centres, market places, rituals, controlling authority, social stratification, monumental and domestic architecture, science and technology, script and writing, art, trade and craft specialization in ceramics, terracotta, stone, shell, metal, faience and bones. A number of Classical Harappan settlements are fortified and bipartite division is also present in some of them. Classical Harappan remains from the sites of Gujarat include goblets, beakers, S profile jar, copper tools, architecture with standardized sun dried/kiln baked bricks and dressed stone, cubical stone weights, seals with script and figures, long parallel chert blades of Rohri chert and terracotta triangular cakes (Sonawane 2000: 141). The Classical Harappans of Gujarat region probably traded shell bangles and stone beads to other sites in Greater Indus region and the collapse happened to the trade probably by the end of second millennium BC might have led to the decline of these settlements and contributed to a large scale cultural change usually called as Post Urban Harappan period. Based on absolute and relative chronology, Classical Harappan sites in Gujarat can be dated between 2600-1900 BC.

Five hundred and sixty one sites of the Urban Harappan period are reported from different parts of Gujarat. Majority of the Classical Harappan sites are located in Kachchh and almost all sites earlier reported as Harappan/Classical Harappan shows more affinity to Sorath Harappan rather than the Classical Harappan. Hence, both the Classical Harappan and Sorath Harappan sites are treated together.

Sorath Harappan

The regional manifestation of the Urban Harappan phase in Saurashtra is popularly known as Sorath Harappan (Possehl and Herman 1990). Radio carbon dates from Rojdi A and B showed that all the sites in Saurashtra having pottery similar to these two phases should be dated to the Urban Phase Harappan and not the Post-Urban Phase (Possehl 1992: 129). Ceramics and a few other tools associated with sites of Rojdi A and B type are quite different in detail from those of the Classical Harappan. In Sorath Harappan, the vessel shapes were much alike the Harappans in the Sindh region but the classic black on red painting styles were absent on them (Possehl 1992: 129). Though there are

no seals and little writing, there are weights and measures, etched carnelian beads and copper implements of Classical Harappan type (Possehl 1992: 129). Apart from Saurashtra, Sorath Harappan artefacts are recovered from sites in Kachchh and North Gujarat. The average size of the Sorath Harappan settlements is estimated to 5.3 ha (Possehl 1980) and many of these settlements are devoid of elaborate architecture showing proper plan and layout (Ajithprasad 2002: 85). Like the Classical Harapan settlements, some of the Sorath Harappan settlements are fortified and bipartite division is also present in some of them (Ajithprasad 2008: 83). According to Ajithprasad (2008), thickness of Sorath Harappan fortification walls are much lesser in comparison to the Classical Harappans. He (Ajithprasad 2008) further suggests that curvilinear and polygonal structures seem to be not the norm in Classical Urban Harappan sites. Till the beginning of 1990s Sorath Harappan sites were considered as Late Harappan or Post Urban Harappan, and they were classified to Period IIB-C or III of Rangpur Sequence. Possehl divided the Rangpur IIB sites as Sorath Harappan, IIC as Late Sorath Harappan and III as Lustrous Red Ware sites (c.f. Varma and Menon 1999: 9; Possehl 1999). Based on the absolute dates from Rojdi Sorath Harappan can be placed between 2600-1700 BC. However, the material remains and radio carbon dates from Padri suggest an earlier date of 3600 BC to Sorath Harappan. Among the five hundred and sixty one Classical Harappan/Sorath Harappan sites reported from Gujarat fifty three are located in Kachchh, seventy five in North Gujarat, four hundred and twelve in Saurashtra, eleven in South Gujarat and ten in unknown districts. Figures 18 and 19 show the district-wise distribution of Classical Harappan/ Sorath Harappan sites in different sub-regions of Gujarat.

Prabhas Assemblage

Period II at Prabhas Patan was marked by a different set of ceramics known as the Prabhas Ware and this was unearthed during the excavation in 1956 (Subbarao 1958; Nanavati et al. 1971; Dhavalikar and Possehl 1992). The characteristic Features of the Prabhas Ware are hemispherical bowls with slightly incurved and bevelled rim and medium size jars/pots with an averted short rim, incipient neck, wide shoulder and globular body (Ajithprasad 2002: 134). It is made of fine clay and treated with a thin greenish grey slip, decorated with faint violet or purple pigment and the decorative

patterns, generally geometric forms like horizontal and vertical lines, dots and other forms, were executed in horizontal panels or registers at the rim or at the shoulder (Nanavati et al. 1971). This pottery is found associated with Black and Red Ware, Sorath Harappan and Classical Harappan artefacts. At Somnath/Prabhas Patan it occurs along with stone structural remains, copper implements including celt, steatite and faience beads, and carved stone seal bearing images of several stylized deer indicating Harappan influence (Ajithprasad 2002: 134). Prabhas pottery has wide distribution in Saurashtra, and it was reported from the sites like Lothal, Rojdi, Amra and Lakhabaval. This assemblage is dated between 2200 BC to 1700 BC (Dhavalikar and Possehl 1992: 72).

The data available till date shows that core region of the distribution of this ceramic type is Saurashtra. Among the nineteen sites reported till date eighteen are from Saurashtra region and one belongs to Kachchh. The reasons for the distribution of this ceramic type mainly in Saurashtra region needs further investigations. Figure 20 shows the district and sub-region wise distribution of Prabhas Ware in Gujarat.

Lustrous Red Ware

Lustrous Res Ware is first reported during the excavations at Rangpur (Vats 1937: 34-38; Dikshit 1950: 3-55; Rao 1963). At the site, this ceramic type made its first appearance in Period IIC in limited quantity and Period III is noted for its exuberance (Rao 1963). This kind of pottery was later reported from many explored and excavated sites in Saurashtra, Kachchh, North Gujarat and South Gujarat. Generally, the fabric of Lustrous Red Ware is coarse with the rare occurrence of a fine variety (Rao 1963). These ceramics are treated with bright slip and are highly burnished, which results in a very shiny surface. Colour of the ceramics ranged from tan, orange, bright red and purple (Rissman and Chitalwala 1990). Major shapes in the same are bowl, basin, dish, pot/jar and dish on stand (Figure 21). In many sites, it is associated with Painted Black and Red Ware and Coarse Red Ware (Bhan 1994: 82). Based on chronometric and relative methods this ceramic group can be placed between 1900-1300 BC (Bhan 1994: 82; Sonawane 2002: 168).

Lustrous Red Ware ceramics are reported from one hundred and twenty seven sites in Gujarat. Most of the sites are from Saurashtra followed by North Gujarat regions. Sixty eight sites from Saurashtra, fifty five from North Gujarat, two each from Kachchh and South Gujarat regions showed its presence. Figure 22 shows the district wise distribution of Lustrous Red Ware in Gujarat.

Malwa Ware

Malwa Culture (c. 1700-1450 BC) was spread over a large part of central India in general, and in Malwa, the western part of Madhya Pradesh, in particular (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1971: 345). More than hundred sites of this culture were located in the valleys of river Chambal, Narmada and Betwa and its tributaries (Misra 2001: 515). The excavations at Nagda (Banerjee 1986), Kayatha (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1973), Navdatoli (Sankalia et al. 1958; Sankalia et al. 1971), Maheshwar (Sankalia et al. 1958) and Eran (Singh 1962) revealed the evidence for the existence of Malwa culture (Dahvalikar 1979a: 236). The people of this culture built large rectangular houses and circular pit houses in wattle and daub, sun dried bricks and kiln baked bricks (Dhavalikar 1979a: 237-238; 1979b: 248; Misra 2001: 515). A defence wall of mud from Eran (Singh 1962) and drain of mud bricks from Nagda (Banerjee 1986) were also reported. A square pit unearthed from Navdatoli (Sankalia et al. 1958; Sankalia et al. 1971) is interpreted as yajna kunda (Sankalia et al. 1971). The economy of the Chalcolithic community of Malwa culture was based on farming, hunting and fishing (Dhavalikar 1979b: 250). Burials of this period were unearthed from Daimabad (Sali 1986) and Inamgaon (Dhavalikar et al. 1988). The people of this culture had a specialized blade industry of chalcedony and agate, and the tools like penknife blades, parallel sided blades, points, lunates and triangles were used by them. They also used copper tools like flat celts, spear head and swords with mid rib. The ornaments used by them are semi-precious stone beads, copper rings and bangles. Male and female terracotta figurines were also reported from many sites yielding Malwa Ware. This culture is characterized by wheel made black painted red pottery having orange-red slip. Simple and elaborate geometric designs in panels were painted using purple to brown-black pigment. The designs usually confined to the upper half of vessels, and it includes either hatched or solid triangles, diamonds in rows, concentric circles and loops. In addition to the geometric pattern,

there are animal motifs such as deer, crane and peacock. The common shapes in the Malwa Ware include lota, jars with flaring mouths and a variety of bowls and dishes. Another important ceramic is the white painted Black and Red Ware, usually represented by bowls and dishes. The people also used a coarse handmade red/grey ware identical with that of the southern Neolithic (Dhavalikar 1979b: 249).

Some ceramics showing affinity to the Malwa culture are unearthed from Jokha, Dhatva and Malvan in south Gujarat and these sites are relatively dated to the 15th-10th century BC. At Jokha, Malwa Ware was associated with Jorwe Ware, Painted Red Ware, Buff Ware, Black and Red Ware and Painted Red Ware with black bands on white back ground (Mehta et al. 1971: 14). At Dhatva, Malwa Ware was found associated with Black on Red Ware and Black and Red Ware (Mehta et al. 1975: 31). A few sherds of the Malwa Ware in the shapes of globular pots having flaring rim, medium fabric, cream colour and black painting were recovered from the site. The designs were mainly bands and wavy lines (Mehta et al. 1975: 29-31). Some of the sherds had corrugations in exterior (Mehta et al. 1975: 34). Based on the associated finds from Gujarat, Malwa Ware in Gujarat can be roughly dated between 15th to 10th centuries BC.

Malwa Ware is only reported from three sites in Surat district of South Gujarat region. This ceramic might have come to the sites in South Gujarat probably due to the contacts of the inhabitants of the sites to the Deccan Chalcolithic communities. Figure 23 shows the distribution of Malwa Ware in Gujarat.

Jorwe Ware

Jorwe culture is represented at more than 200 sites from Tapi valley in the north to Bhima valley in the south of western Maharashtra (Misra 2001: 517; Dhavalikar 1979b: 251; 1984: 63-80). Jorwe culture is divided into two phases, early Jorwe (1500–1200 BC) and late Jorwe (1200–900 BC) based on structures, subsistence economy and materials used. Jorwe settlements can be classified into large regional centres, villages, hamlets, farmsteads and camps. Largest settlement of Jorwe culture is Diamabad, which is 30 ha in size (Sali 1986). The early Jorwe houses were rectangular in plan but late Jorwe houses were small round huts. The animal remains from the Jorwe sites include

cattle, sheep/goat, buffalo and pig. Copper objects found at different sites comprise axes, chisels and fish hooks. Some pottery kilns were also noticed at Inamgaon (Dhavalikar et al. 1988) and Daimabad (Sali 1986). The ceramics were wheel made and well fired. The pots were painted in black on red background with simple geometric motifs. The typical shapes are spouted jar and carinated bowl. A large number of human burials of the early and late Jorwe phases have been found at Inamgaon (Dhavalikar et al. 1988), Nevasa (Sankalia et al. 1960) and other sites. Jorwe people worshiped both gods and goddesses (1997: 206-208) made out of baked as well as unbaked clay. The goddesses were represented with and without head (Misra 2001: 518). As per Dhavalikar (1979b: 251),

Jorwe people had contacts with the Late Harappans and the Lustrous Red Ware users of Gujarat. At Jokha, Period I (circa 1500-1000 BC) was marked by the occurrence of Jorwe Ware and Malwa Ware (IAR 1966-67). From Nagal, microlithic tools associated with Black and Red Ware and small fragments of Ochrous Red Ware similar to the ceramics from Jorwe were also recovered (IAR 1961-62). Some of the ceramics from Malvan also showed similarities to the coarse Wares of Jorwe-Nevasa complex (IAR 1966-67: 9). Jorwe Ware is only reported from three sites of South Gujarat region. Like the Malwa Ware, it might have reached sites in South Gujarat probably due to the contacts maintained by the inhabitants of these sites with the Deccan Chalcolithic communities. Figure 24 shows the distribution of Jorwe Ware in Gujarat.

Microliths

In Indian context, the term Mesolithic has been used to define the post-Pleistocene Stone Age culture (characterized by the presence of microliths like composite points, blades, arrow heads, burins, borers, scrapers and blade blanks)which succeeded the Palaeolithic and preceeded the stone, ceramic, and metal using cultures of the Neolithic/Chalcolithic periods (Sonawane 2002; Ajithprasad 2002). In Gujarat, microliths occurs at Mesolithic, Chalcolithic and even Early Historic Sites. In many of the excavated sites, microliths using community preceded the Chalcolithic after a chronological gap. Langhnaj in North Gujarat revealed a copper knife of 98% purity, Black and Red Ware and steatite disc beads in Mesolithic level and it indicates some sort of relationship existed between Chalcolithic and Mesolithic community of Gujarat. More than seven hundred sites in

various regions of Gujarat revealed the existence of Mesolithic/Microliths using community and based on the radio carbon dates it can be securely dated from the seventh millennium BC to the end of second millennium BC with two different Phases i.e. Pre Chalcolithic and Chalcolithic (Sonawane 2002; Ajithprasad 2004).

Based on the archaeological data till date, microliths of the Chalcolithic level were reported from one hundred and sixty nine sites in Gujarat. Among them fourteen sites are located in Kachchh, forty four in North Gujarat, one hundred in Saurashtra and eleven in South Gujarat regions. Figure 25 shows the sub-region wise distribution of Chalcolithic sites having Microliths in Gujarat.

Summary

Despite consistent effort from Archaeologists over more than eight decades the Chalcolithic archaeology of Gujarat offers more challenges. It must be admitted that, although the methods of archaeological investigations underwent several changes all over the world, most of them are not taken into consideration by the workers in Gujarat. To begin with, the term 'site' itself is not properly defined by majority of the workers, due to which one finds it difficult to understand its primary nature. Many investigators have failed to assign proper chronology to their sites though several chronometric techniques are available. Over emphasis on ceramic studies and lack of multi-disciplinary approaches pertaining to the development of cultural processes have weighed down our proper understanding of the Gujarat Harappans. The present overview suggests that many more facets of the Harappan Culture in Gujarat are yet to be understood.

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Figures
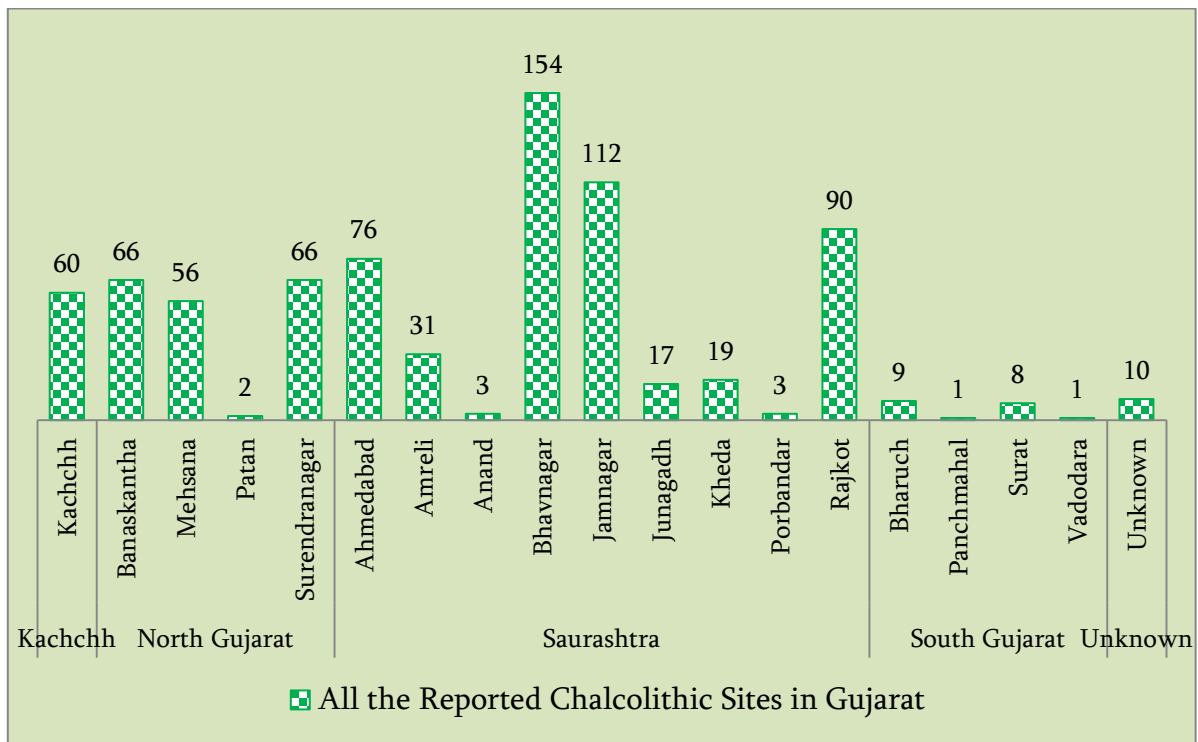
Figure 1. District and Sub-Region wise Distribution of all the Reported Chalcolithic Sites in Gujarat
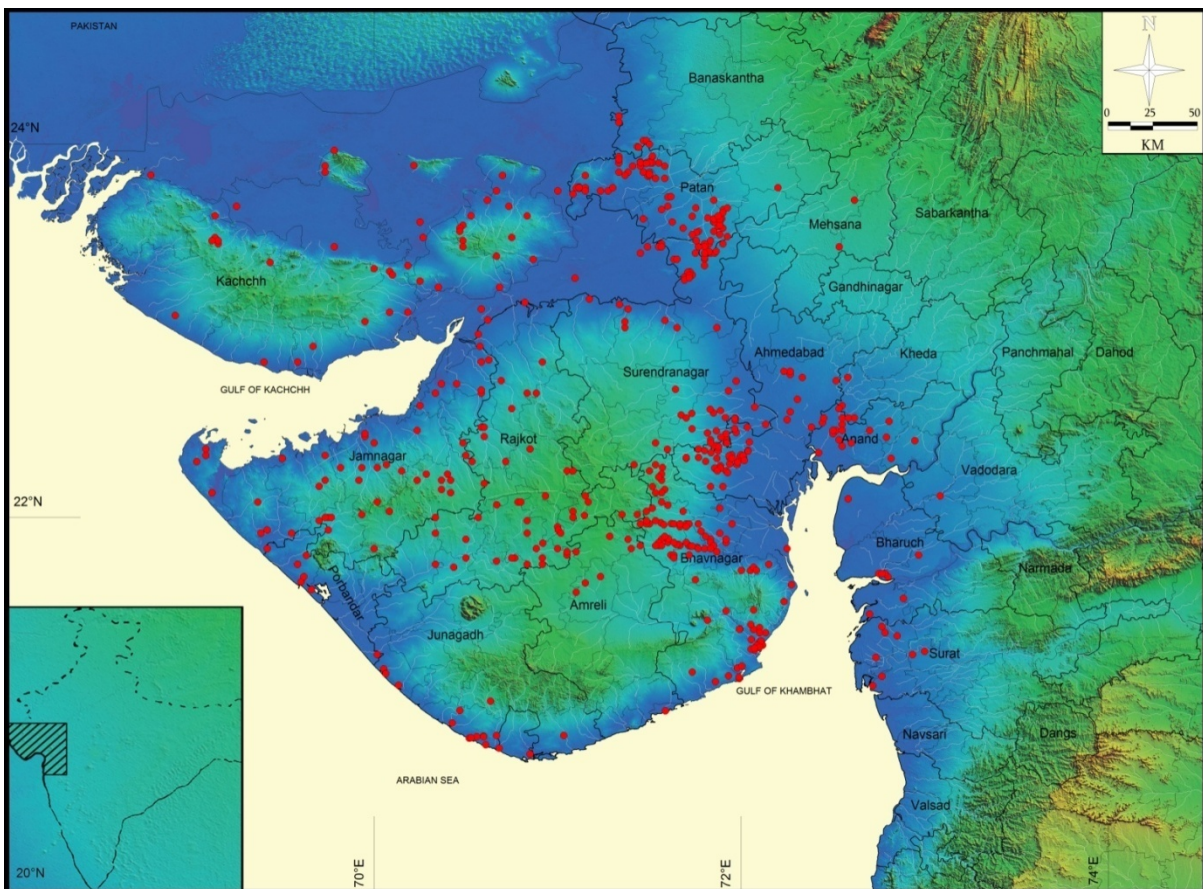
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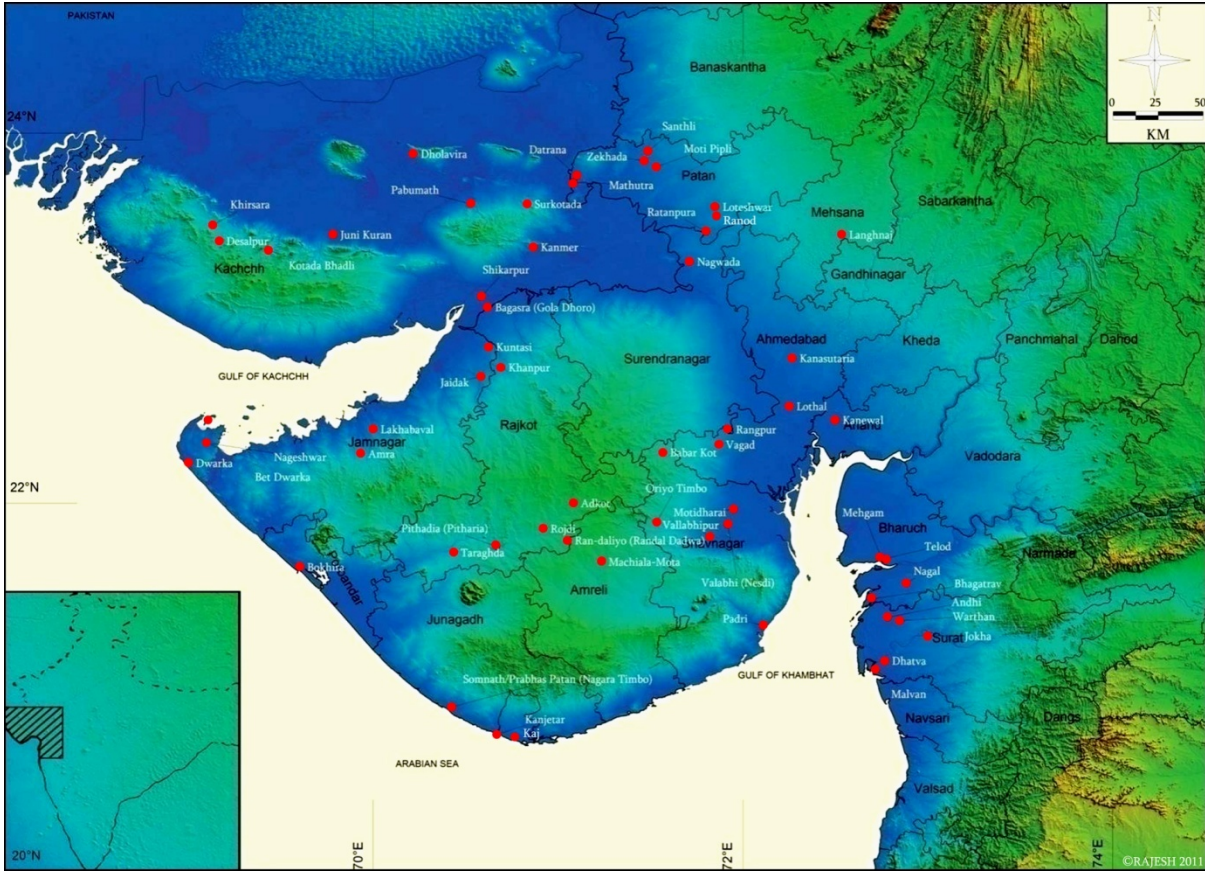
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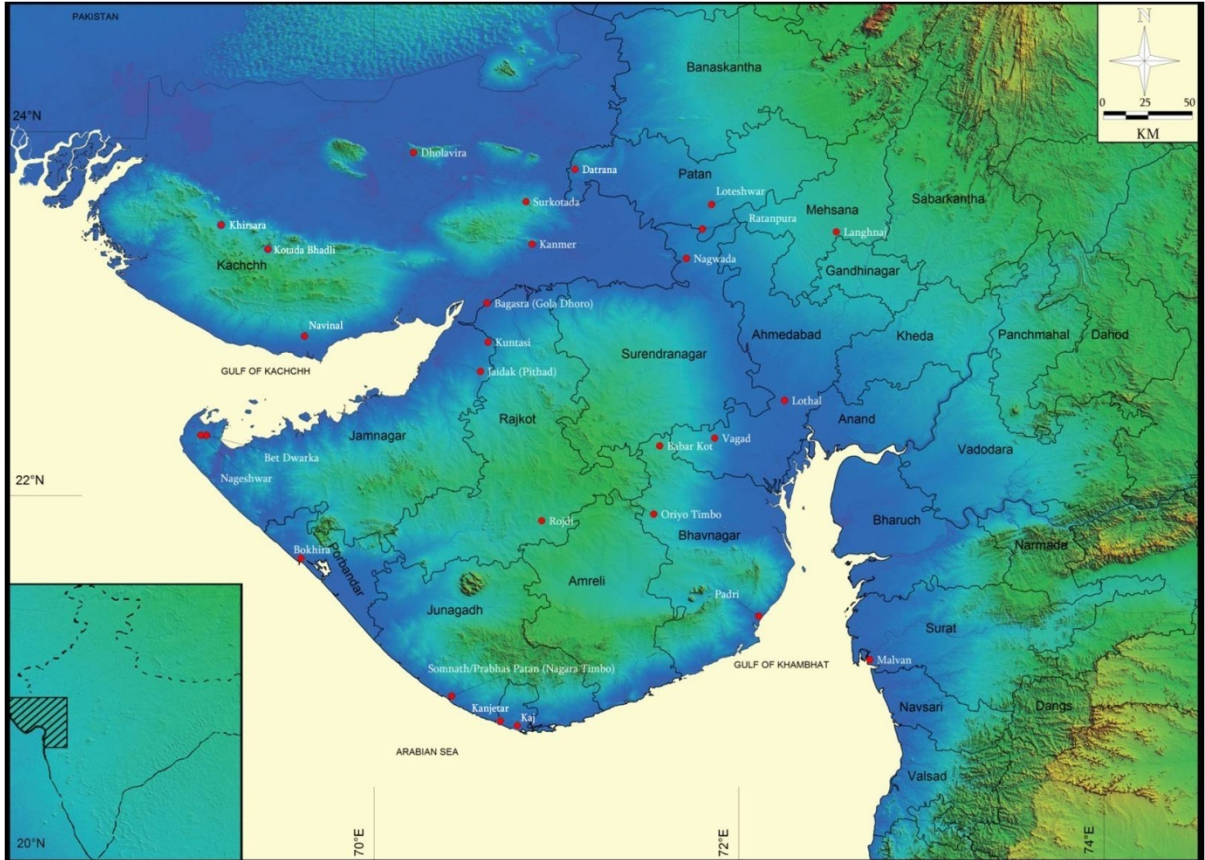
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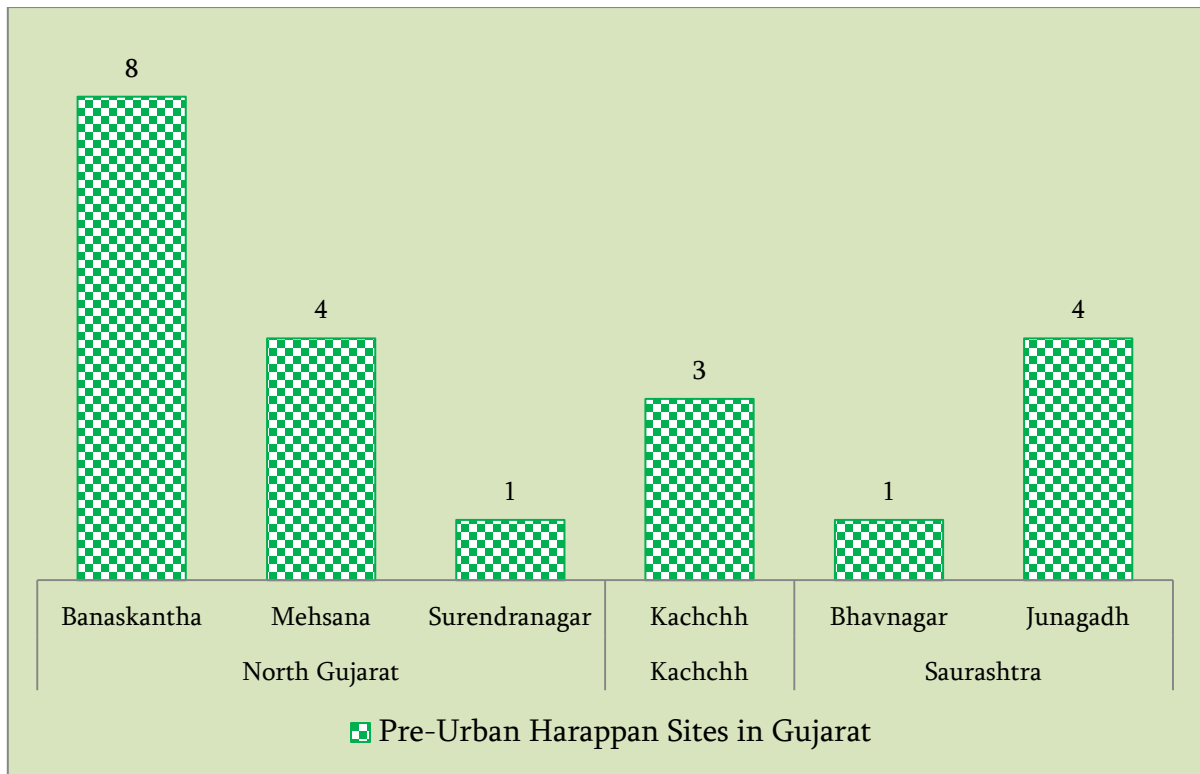
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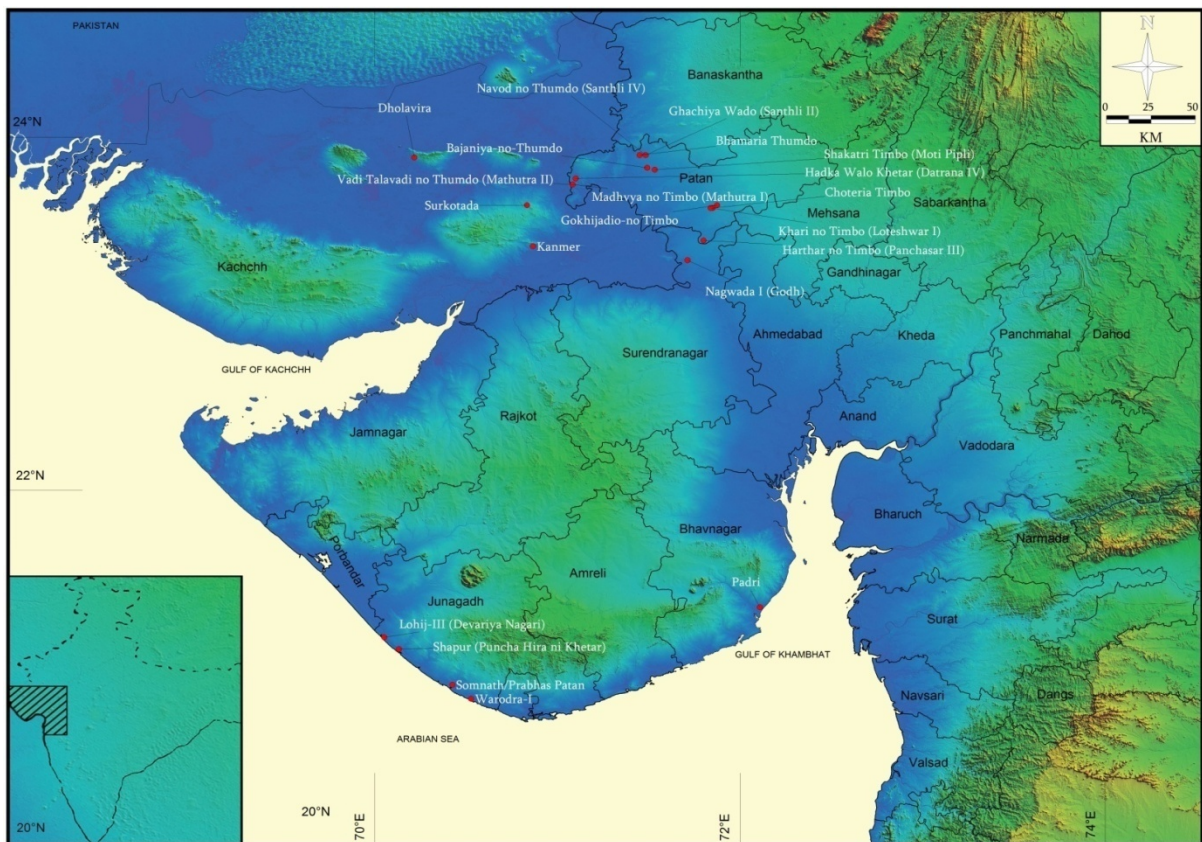
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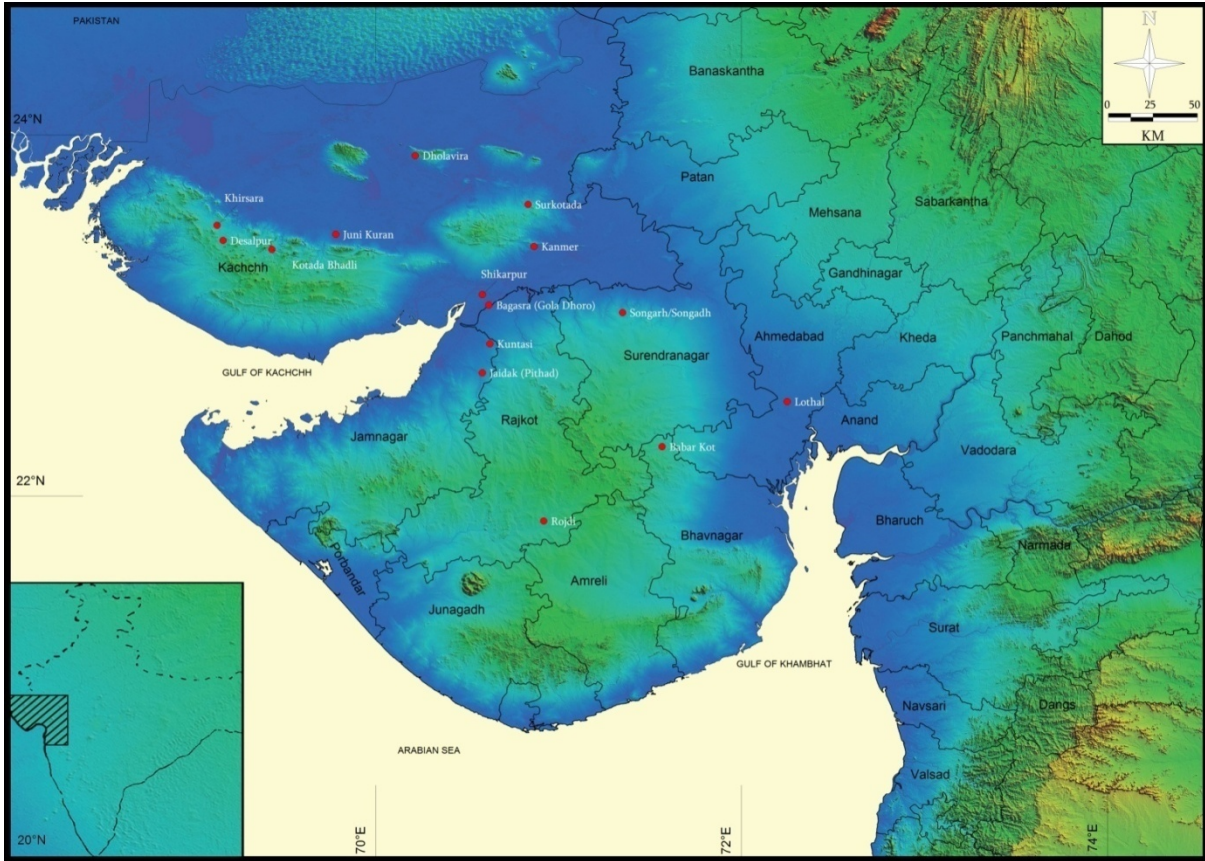
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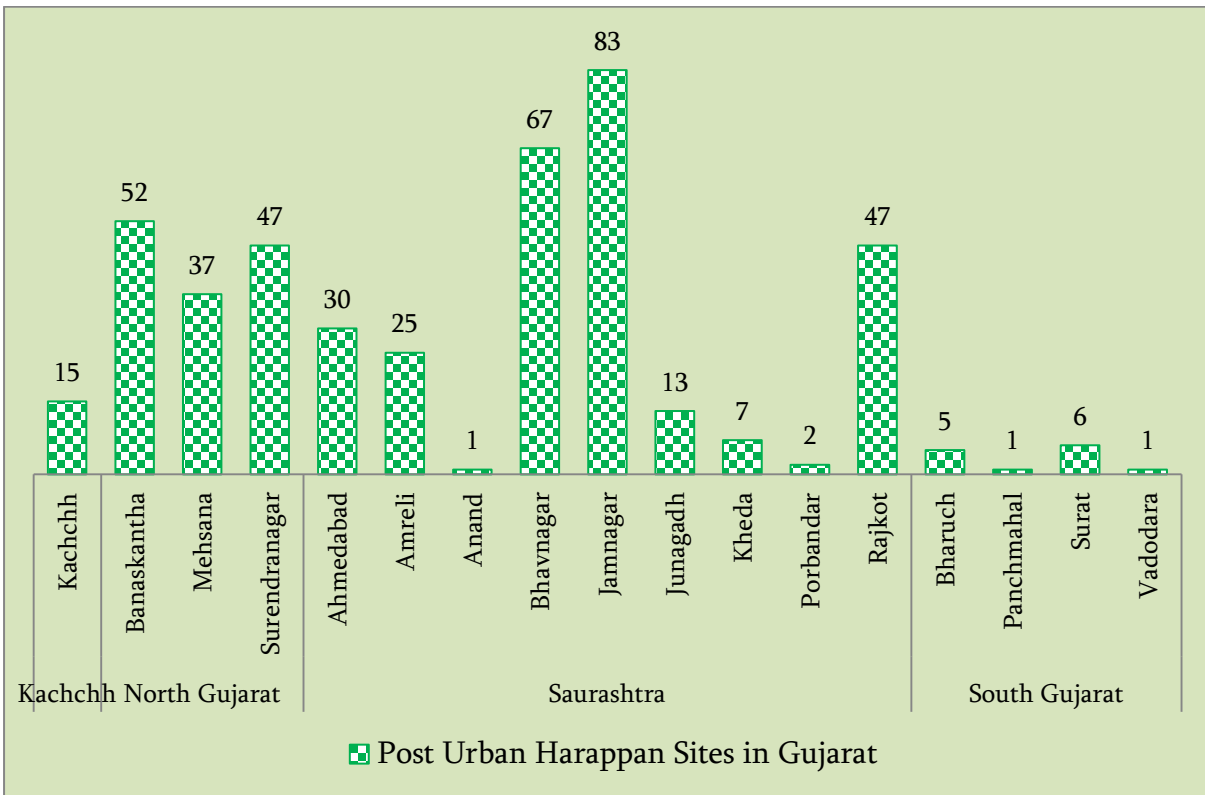
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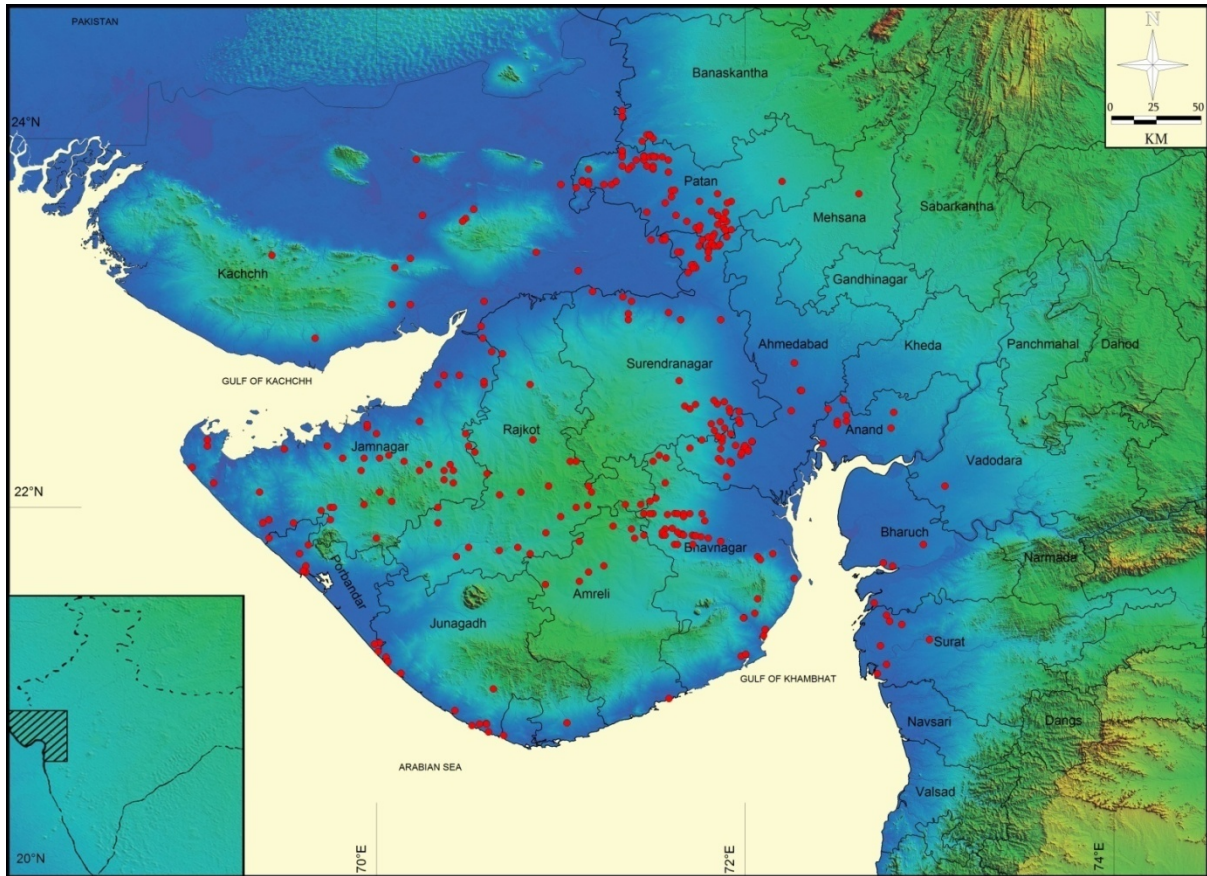
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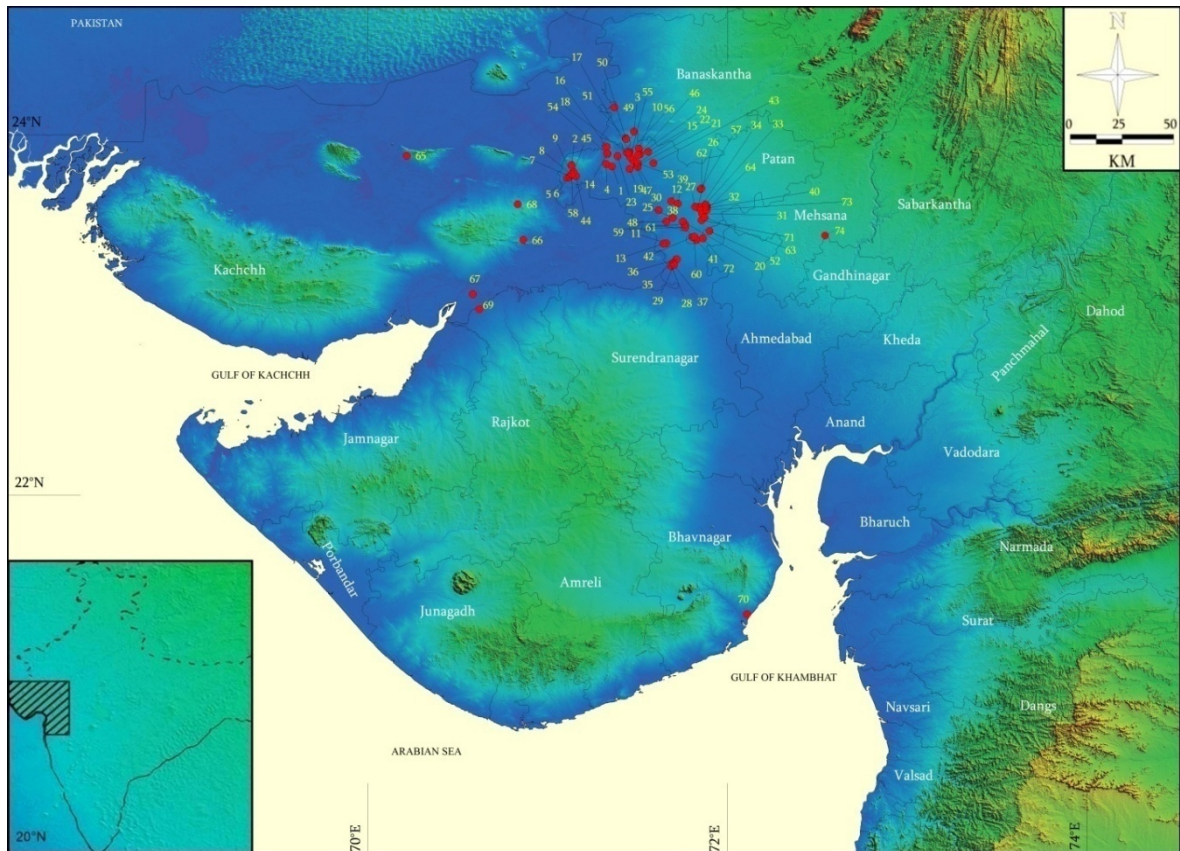
Figure 10. Distribution of Anarta Sites in Gujarat
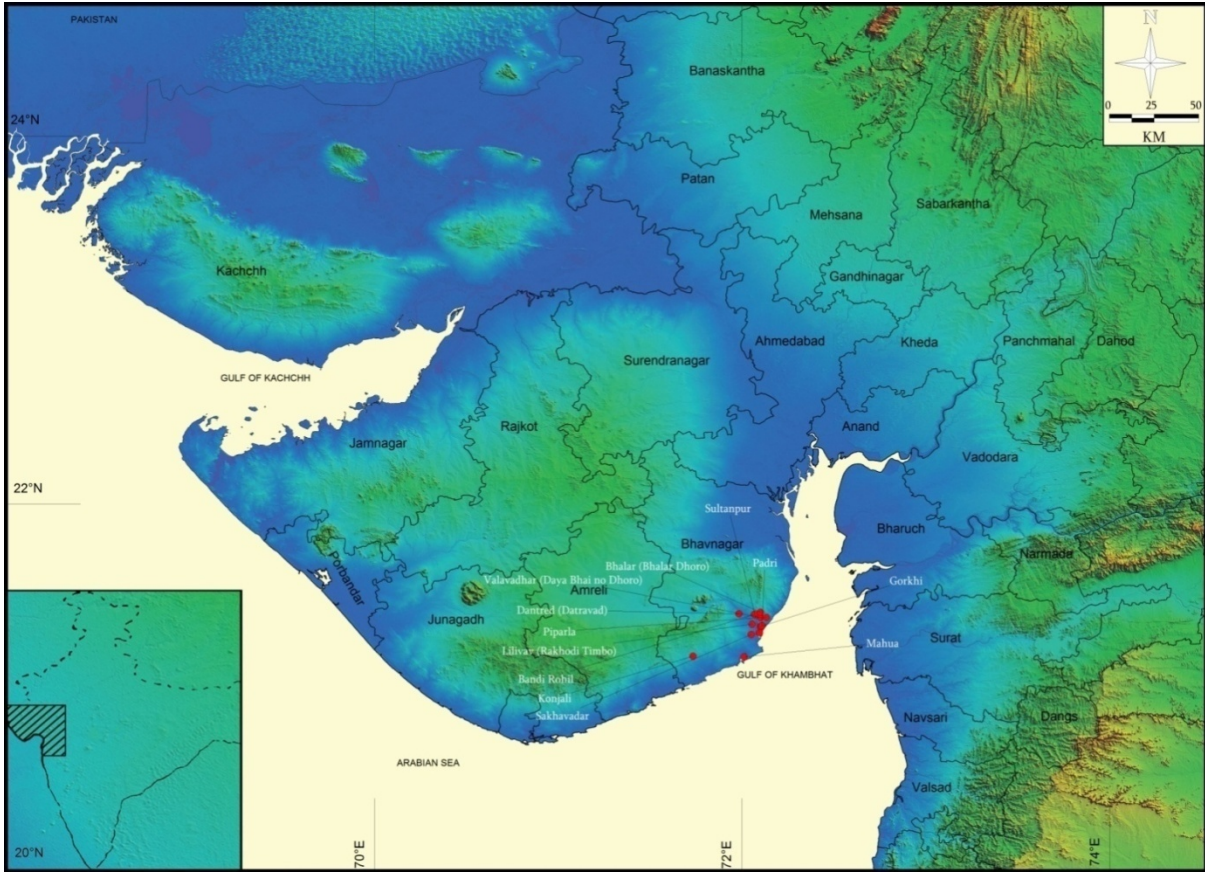
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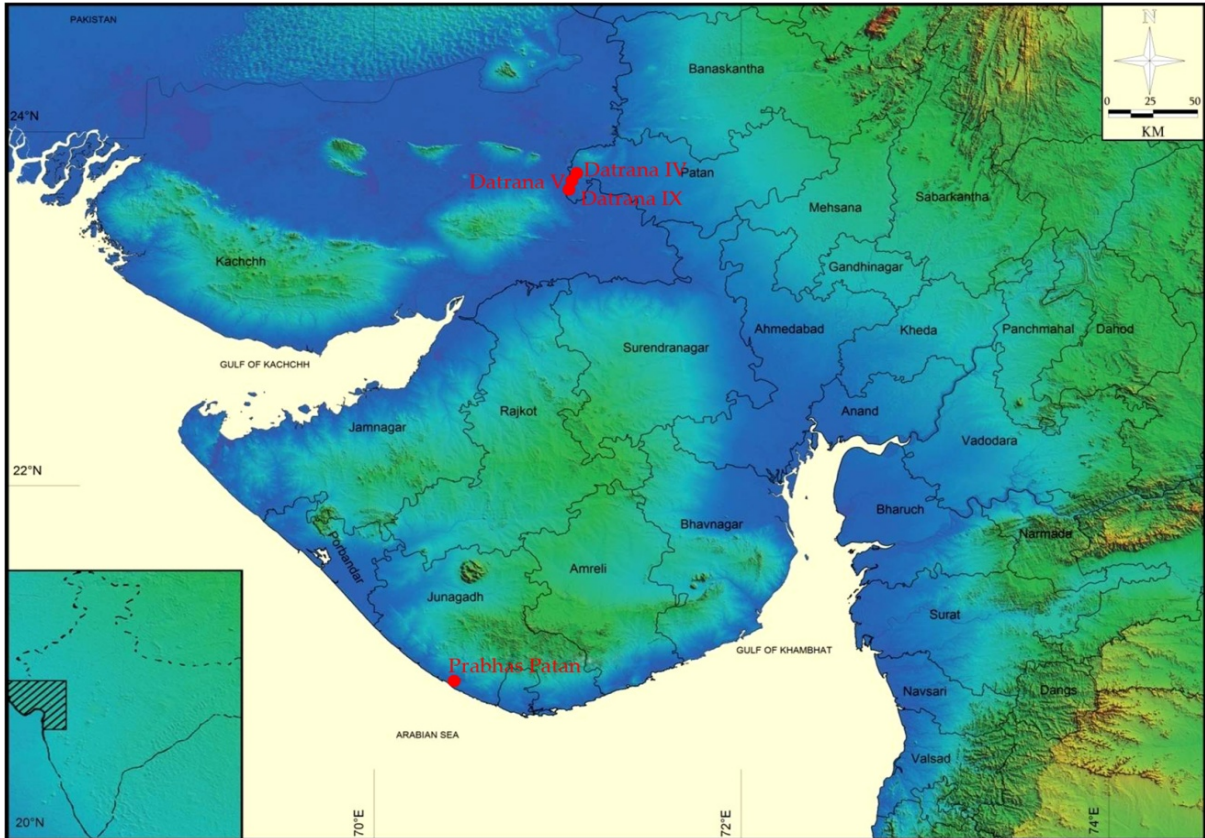
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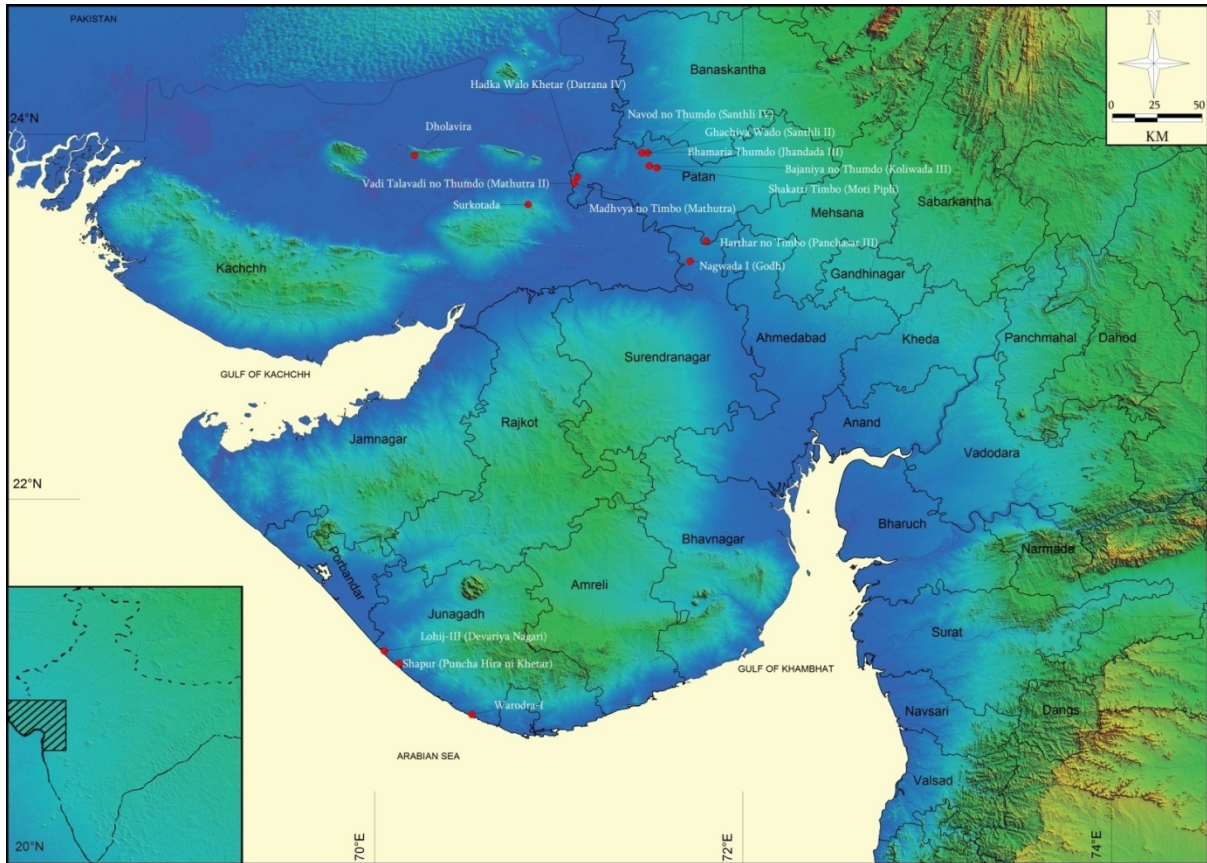
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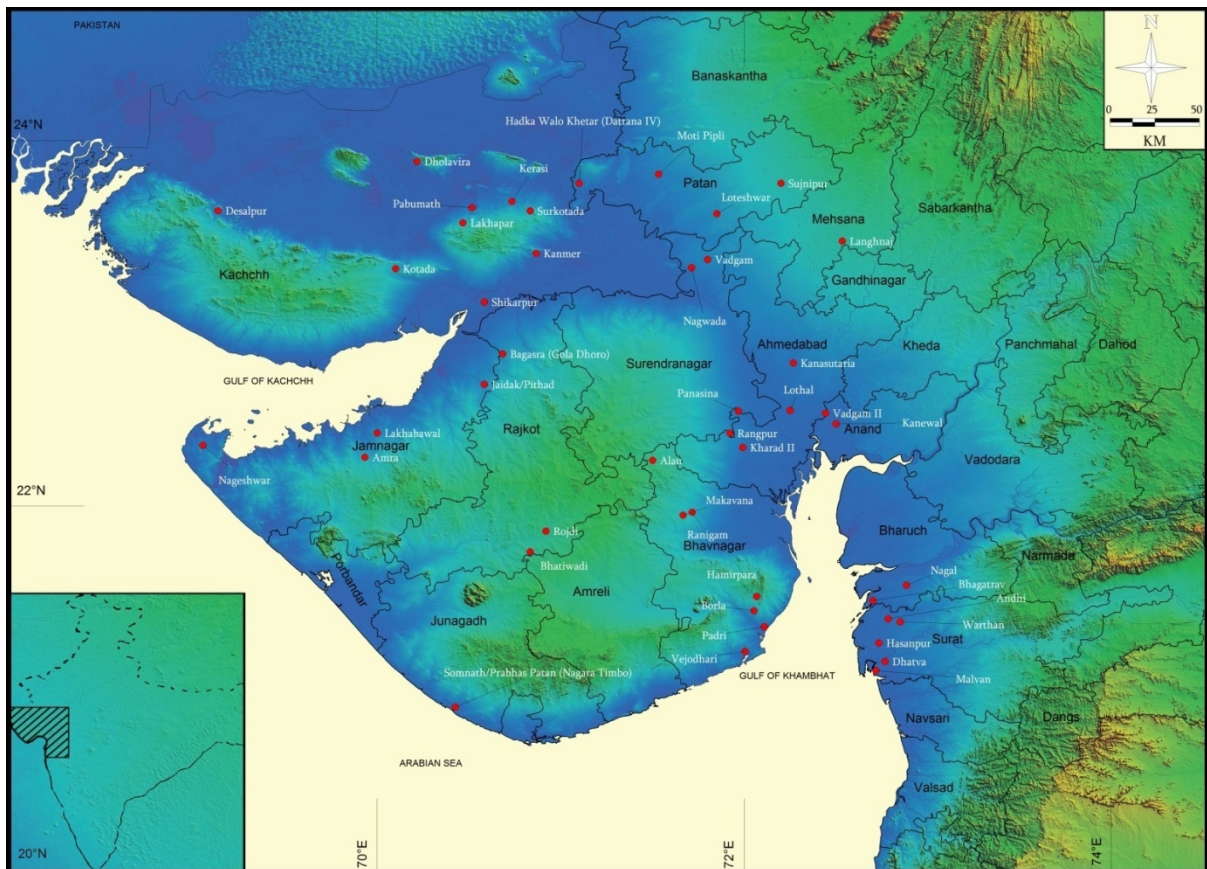
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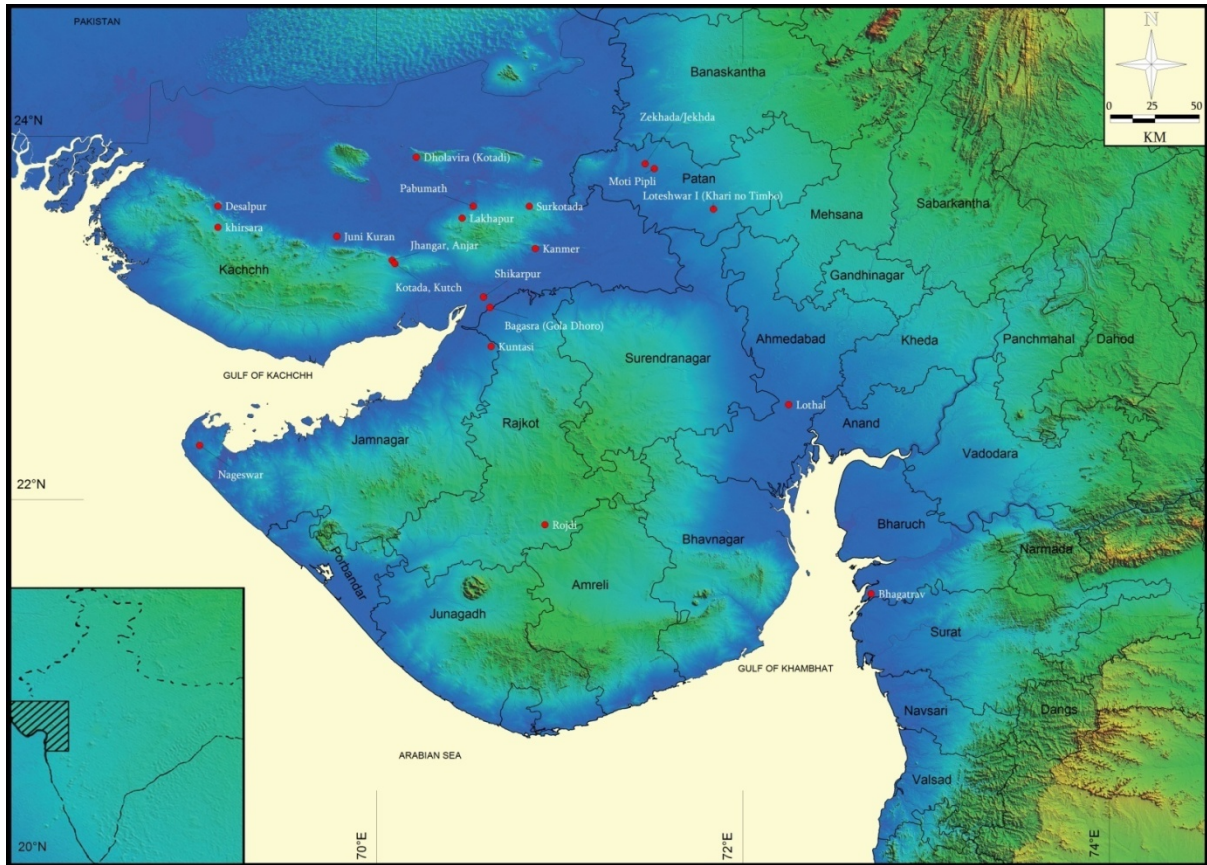
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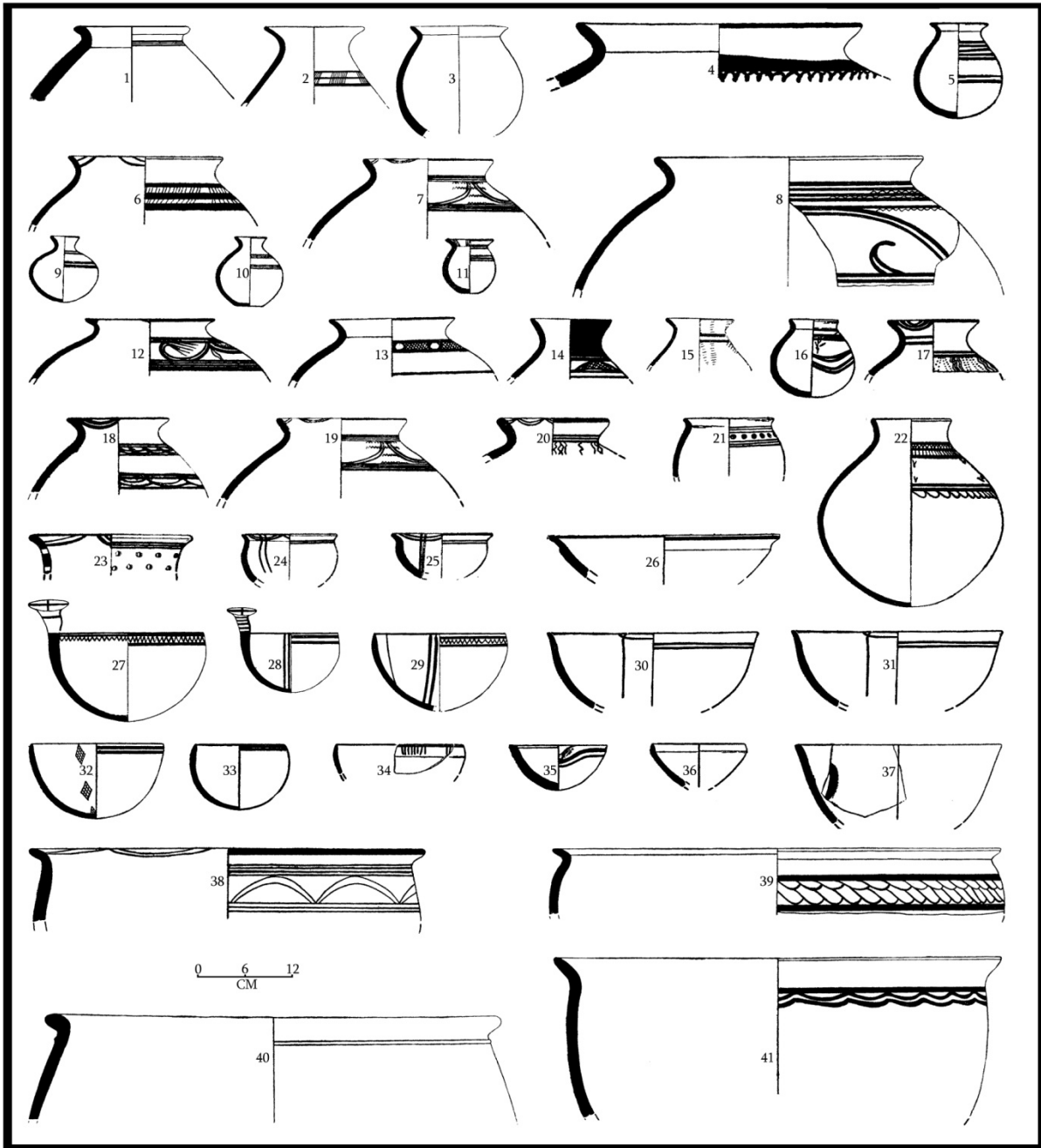
Figure 16. Micaceous Red Ware (Adapted: Rao 1985: 396, 397, 399 and 431)
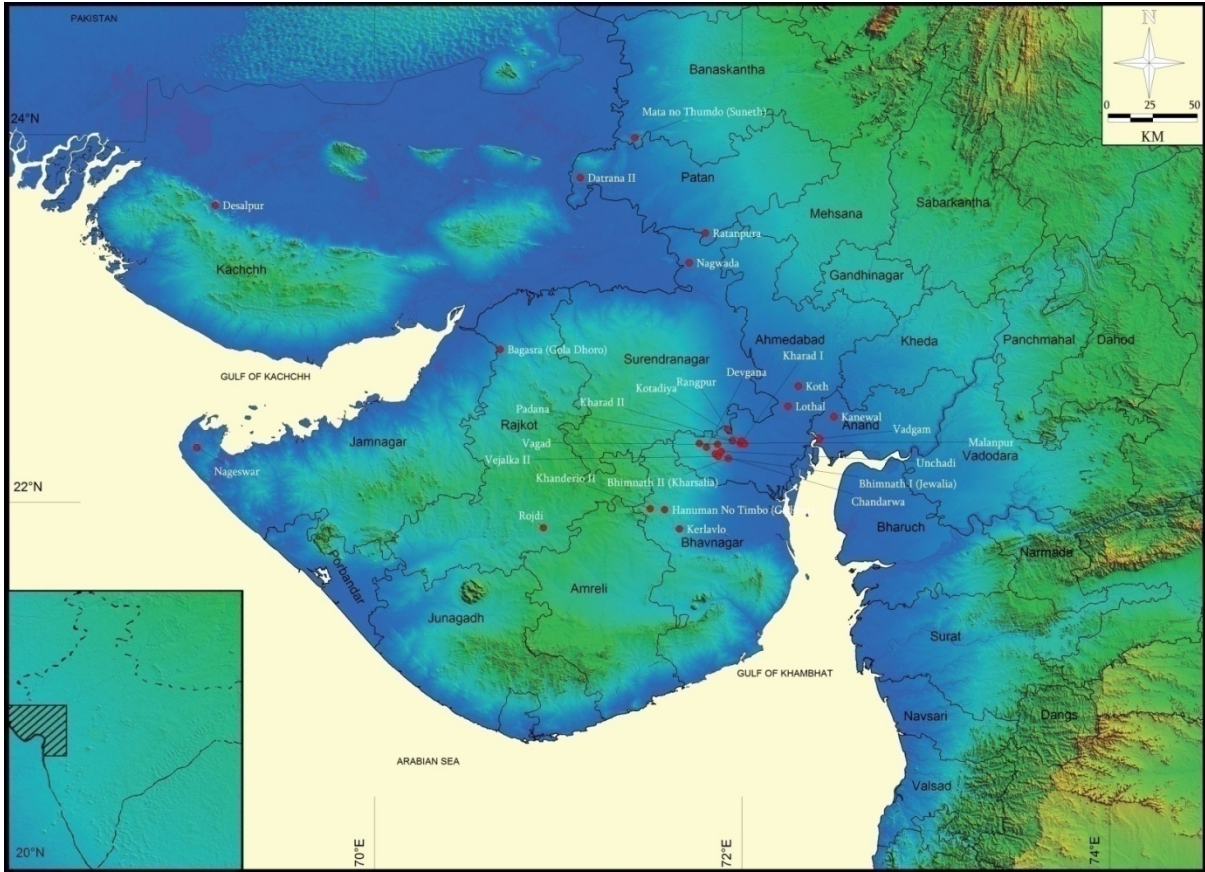
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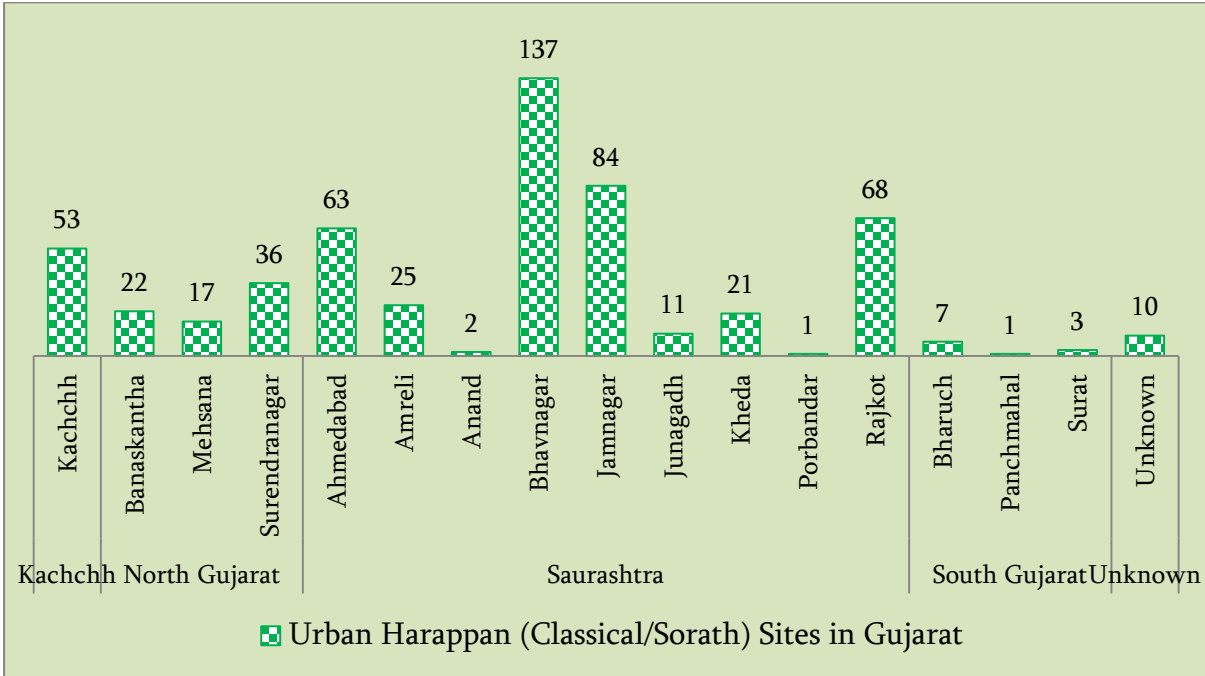
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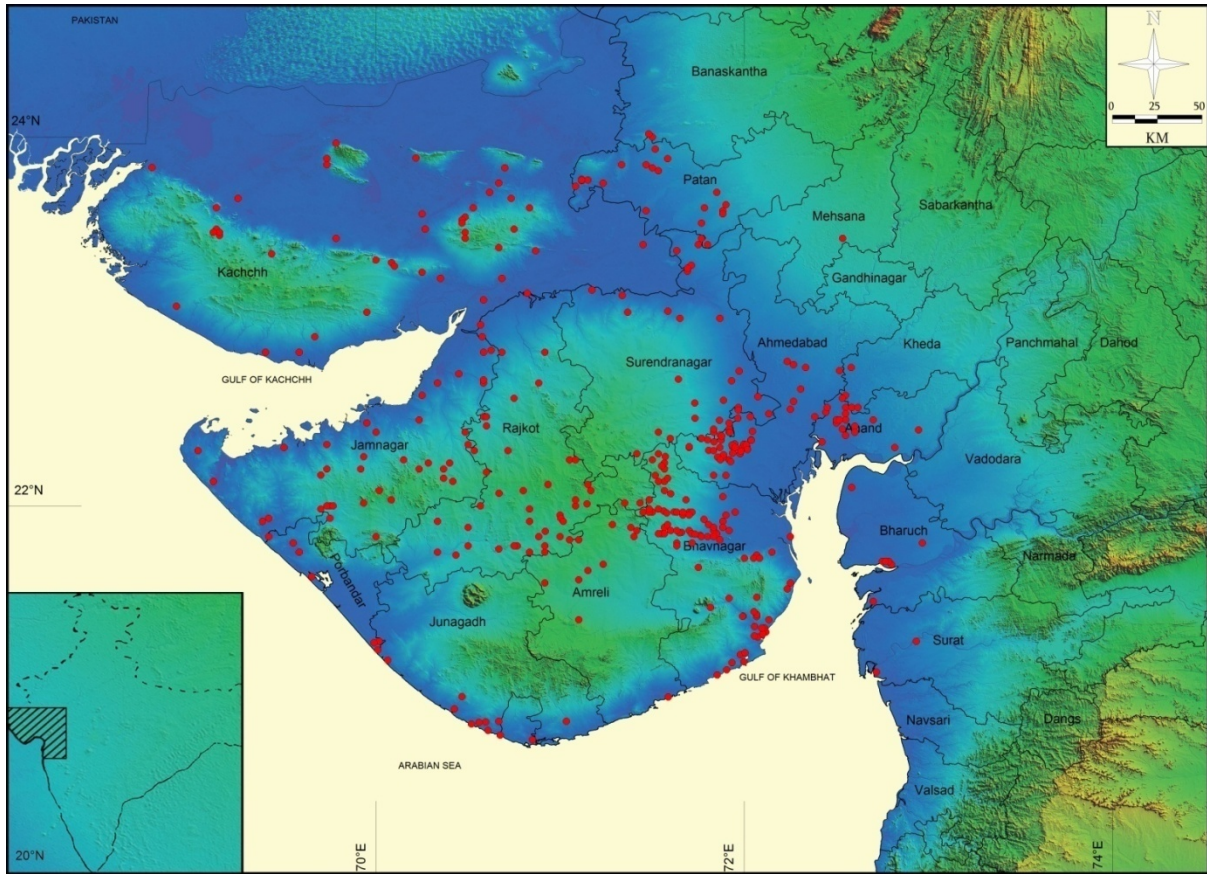
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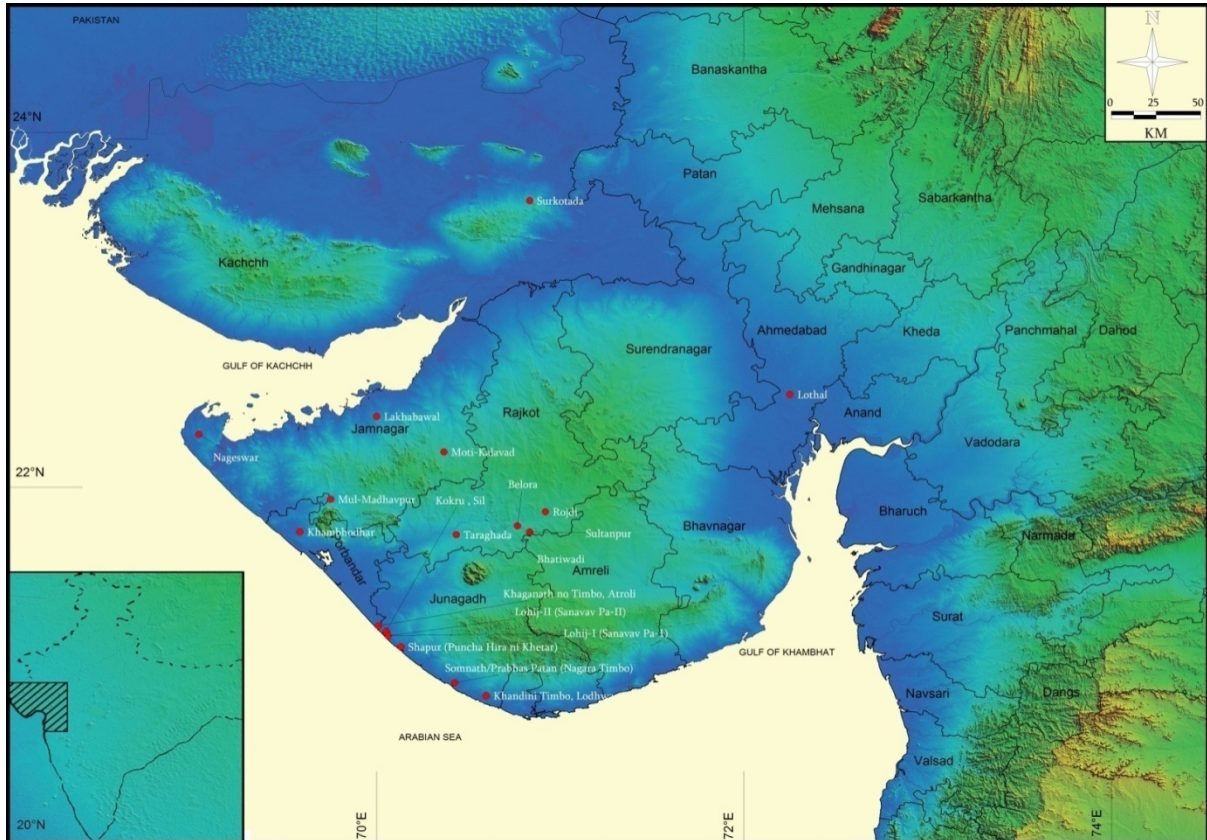
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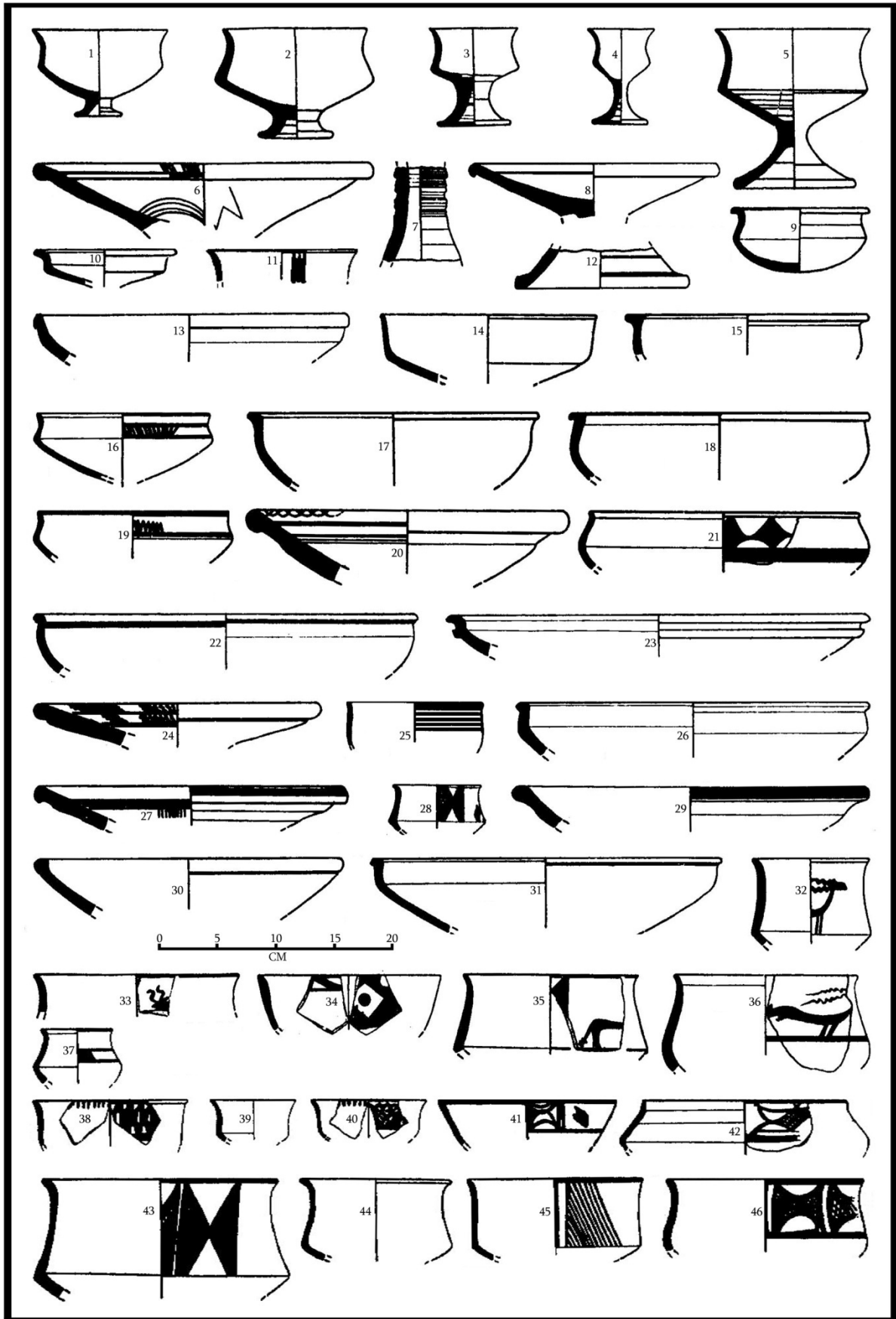
Figure 21. Lustrous Red Ware (Adapted Rao 1963: 102, 110, 113 and 115)
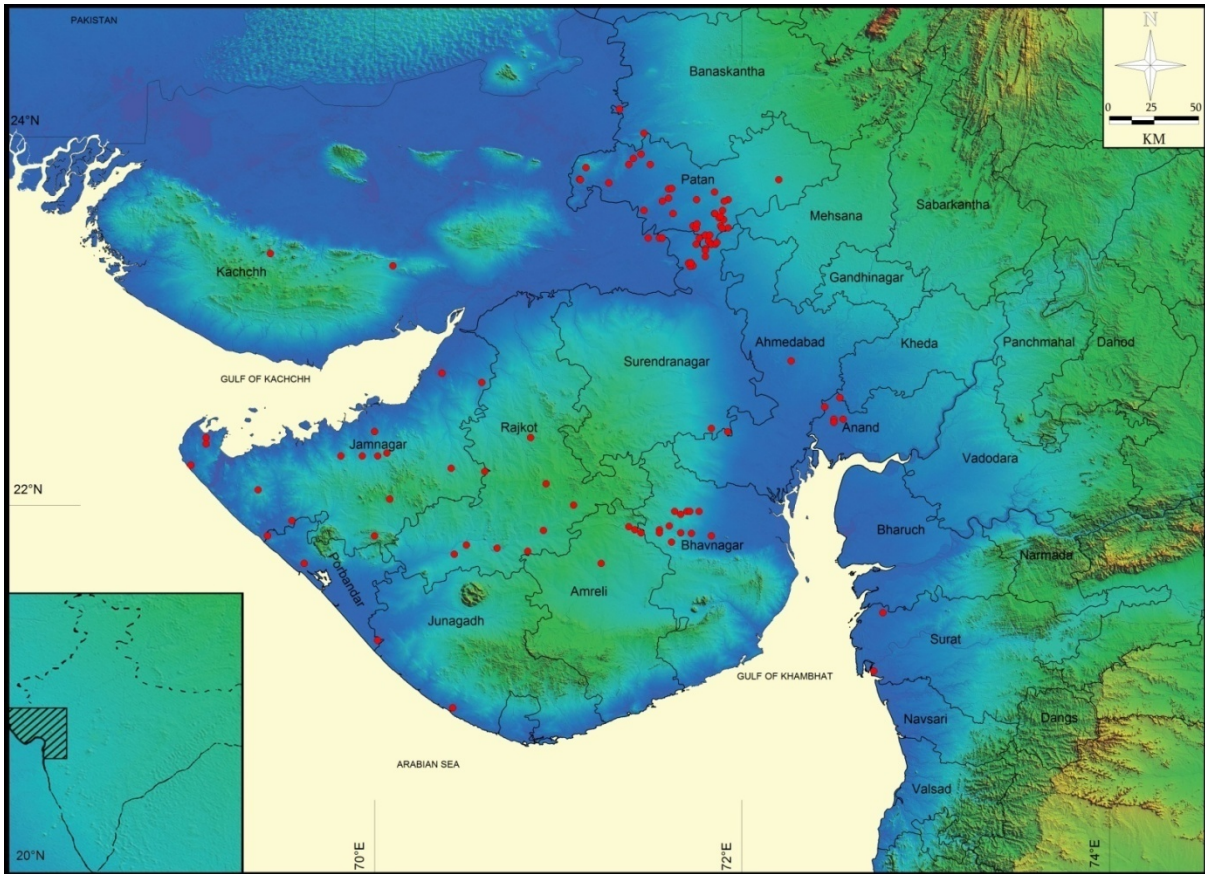
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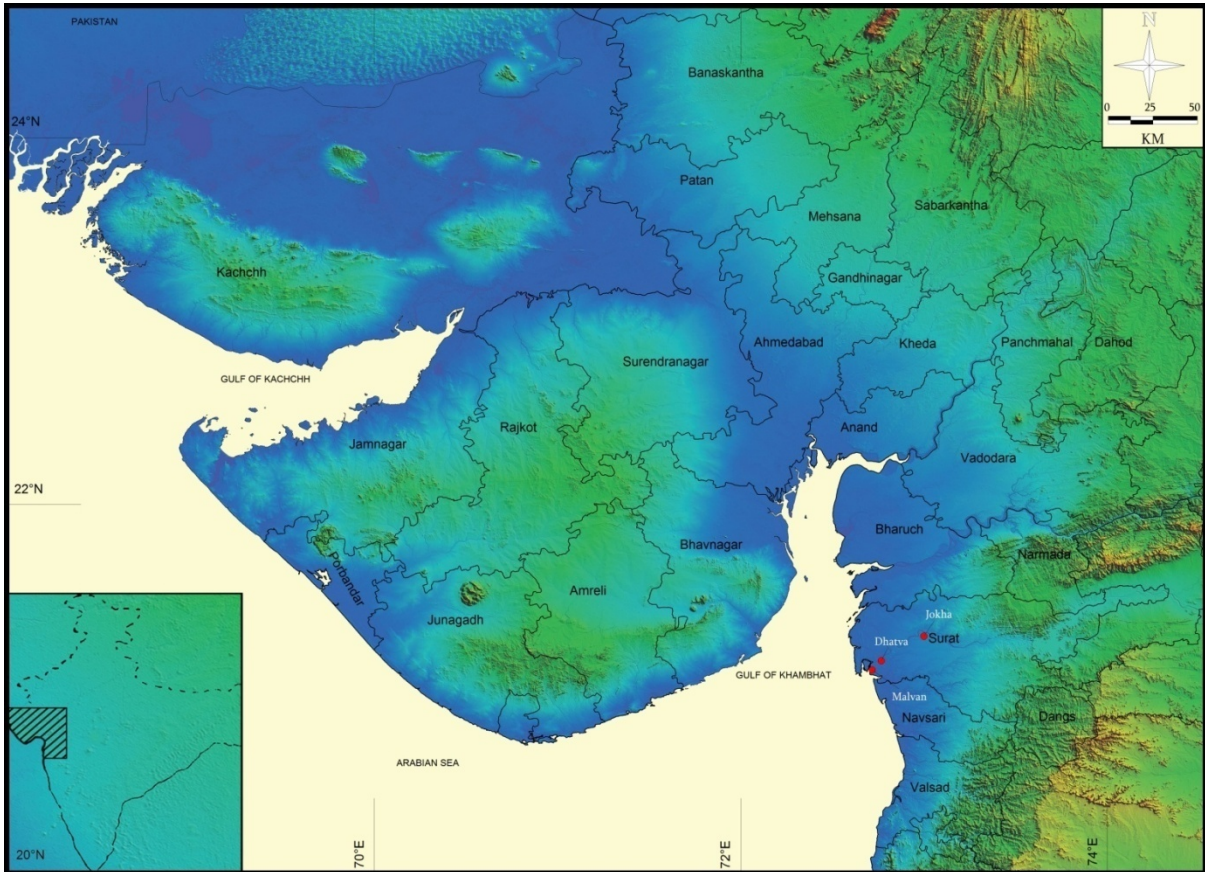
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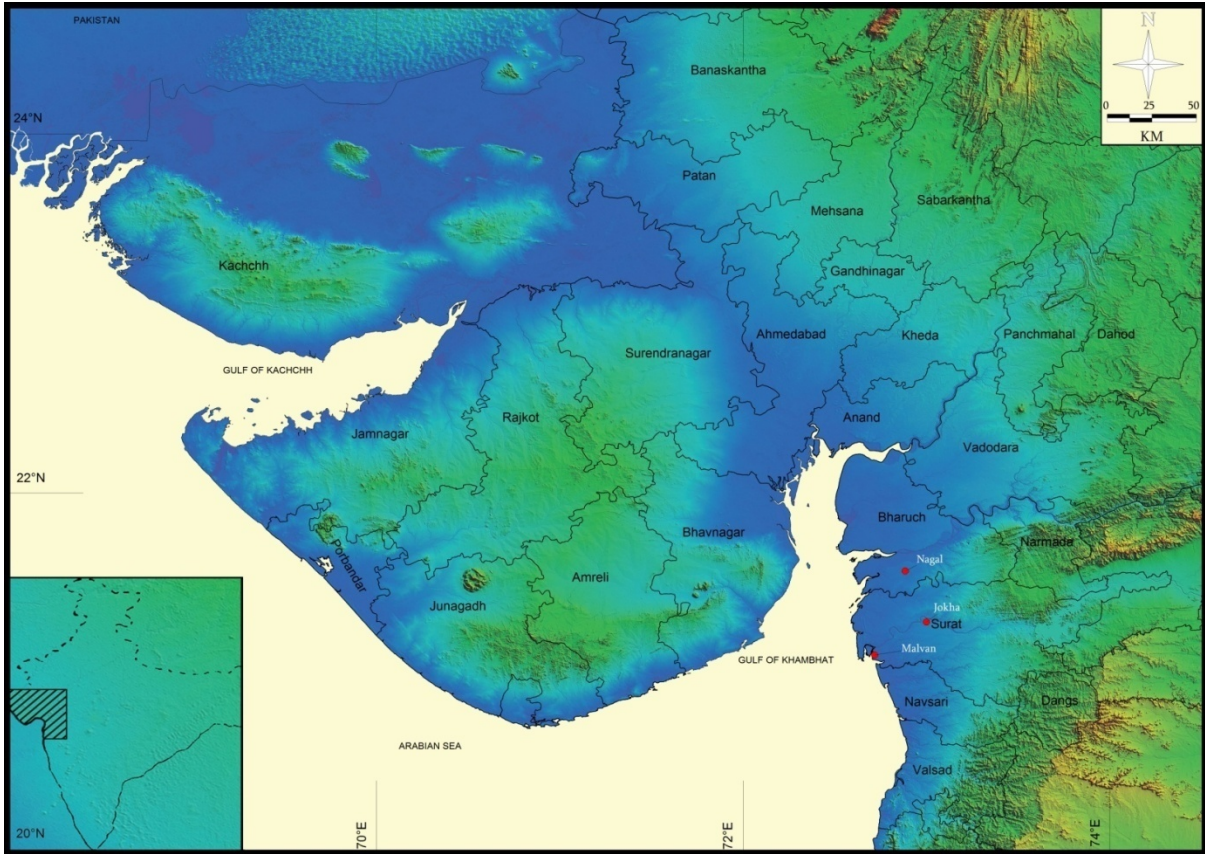
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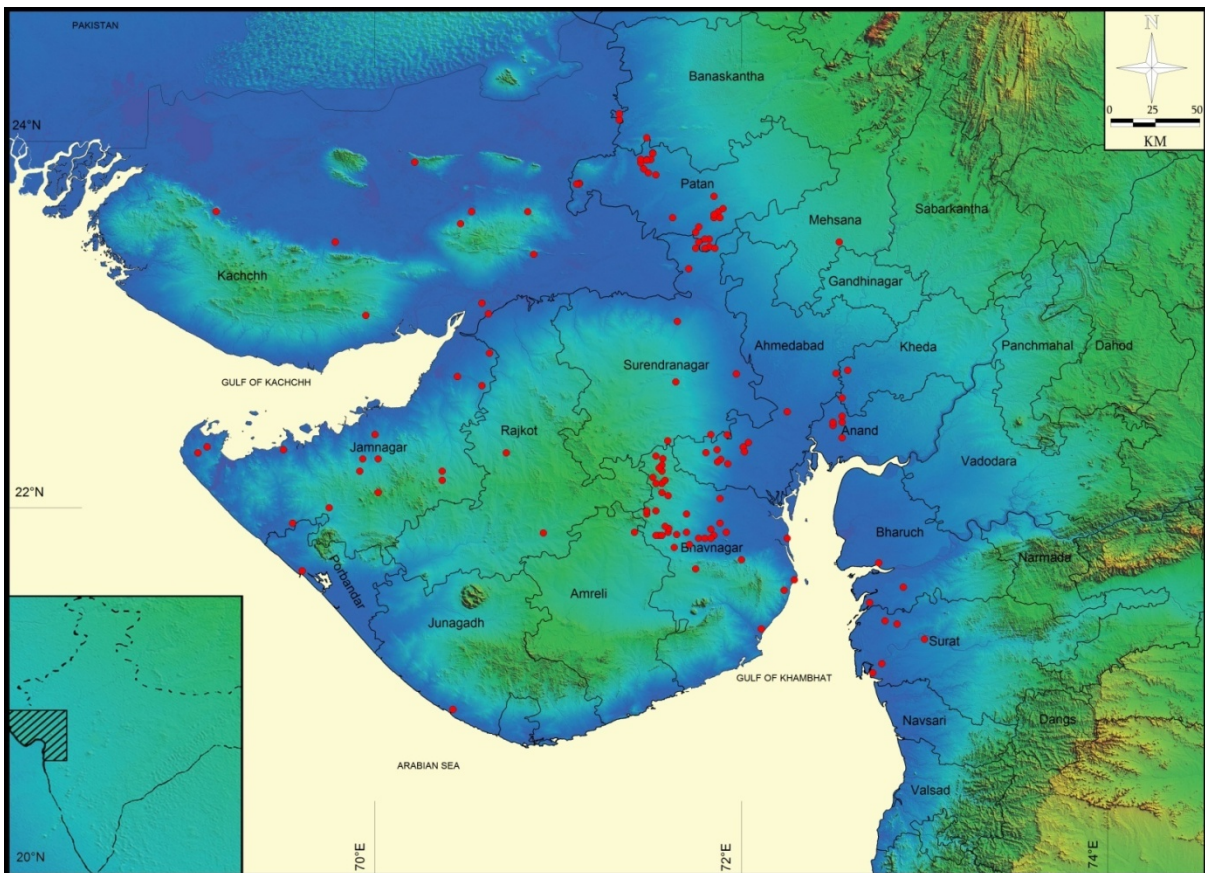
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Kayatha Culture: Problems and Issues

ESHA PRASAD

Abstract

The Kayatha culture is one of the most important Chalcolithic cultures of India and specifically of Madhya Pradesh. Its discovery raised questions among the scholars like its origin, extent, cultural significance etc. Quite a few number of Kayatha culture sites have been excavated which however complicated the understanding of the Kayatha culture even more rather than providing significant answers. The issues and problems associated with the Kayatha culture have been pointed out. Based on the issues and problems, a re-analysis of the Kayatha culture ceramics has been carried out and it has been proposed that Chocolate Slipped Ware should not be considered as the characteristic ceramic of the Kayatha culture. Instead the Red on Cream Variety of Red Ware should be recognised as the main parameter for the identification of the Kayatha culture.

Keywords: *Chalcolithic, Kayatha culture, Explored sites, Excavated sites, Stratigraphy, Chronological Problems, Dating, Re-analysis.*

Introduction

V.S. Wakankar of Vikram University, Ujjain carried out extensive survey in the Malwa region and identified various Chalcolithic sites. In his exploration, he found a Chalcolithic pottery hitherto unknown and termed it as the Nepawali Meen Ware (Wakankar 1967). His work showed the existence of an earlier culture but it was based on the surface collection and was not from a stratified context. It was against this background that he did the excavation at Kayatha from 1965-67 (Wakankar 1967) and brought to light a new Chalcolithic culture in the Malwa region termed as the Kayatha Culture. The earlier reported Nepawali Meen Ware was re- casted as Kayatha Ware (Wakankar 1967). In order to understand the distribution of Kayatha culture sites he carried out exploration in the Malwa region and reported sites pertaining to the Kayatha Culture (Wakankar 1967). Most of the sites are located in river valleys of Narmada and Chambal. The site of Kayatha was re-excavated by Z.D. Ansari and M.K. Dhavalikar of

Deccan College, Pune in collaboration with V.S. Wakankar of Vikram University, Ujjain in 1968 (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975).

Both the excavations were important as they pointed out that an independent chalcolithic culture was prevalent in Central India in the second millennium BCE based on the radio carbon dates (Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975). Moreover the excavation also stretched the spread of Ahar culture in the Malwa region before which it's spread was thought to be confined only in Mewar region of Rajasthan based on the excavations at Ahar (Sankalia et. al. 1969).

Discovery of Kayatha culture led archaeologists to take up more sites for excavations to confirm the existence. A series of sites such as Azad Nagar (Wakankar 1976;Wakankar 1981), Pipilya Lorka (Krishna 1976; IAR 1983-84: 52-53), Runija (Wakankar 1980),Mandsaur (Wakankar and Bajpai 1981), Dangwada (IAR 1982-83:59-61), Kotra (IAR 1988-89:40-41; Trivedi 1991-92; IAR 1990-91:35-36; Pandeya 1990-91) were subjected to excavation. Expect for Eran (IAR 1960-61:17-18; IAR 1961-62:24-25; IAR 1962-63:11-12; IAR 1963-64:15-16; IAR 1987-88:76-77; IAR 1997-98:114-115; Singh 1967; Pandey 1984) which was subjected to excavation prior to the identification of Kayatha culture shows that in the initial reporting Kayatha culture is missing whereas it appears in the reports after 1987 (Map No. 1).

The characteristic feature of the Kayatha culture is the ceramic assemblage which distinguishes it from the other Chalcolithic cultures which has been identified at the site of Kayatha. Wakankar (1967) identified four wares from the Kayatha levels viz. Kayatha Rough Coarse Ware, Kayatha Buff ware, Kayatha Sturdy Ware and Kayatha Incised Ware. He has further sub-divided the wares into different classes based on the surface treatment. Dhavalikar and Ansari (IAR 1967-68:24-25; Dhavalikar 1970; Ansari and Dhavalikar1975; Dhavalikar 1997) however developed a different classification of the Wares and has described the ceramic assemblage as the Kayatha or the Chocolate Slipped Ware, Red on Buff Ware, Combed Ware and Handmade Ware. Except for the site of Kayatha, no other site has produced evidence of material culture in the form of antiquities. At the site of Kayatha, even though the excavation was of limited nature, a significant record of antiquities has been found. From one of the houses excavator

reports a copper cache containing 27 bangles found in two different pots of Red Painted Buff Ware. The cache has 20 complete bangles, 7 fragmentary and 5 inter-locked in a bunch. Apart from that two exquisite necklaces made of semi precious stones such as carnelian, agate, crystal and jasper has been found. Another cache discovered is of steatite beads found in a pot. The pot contains 40,000 disc shaped steatite beads. The list includes two copper axes as well (IAR 1967-68:24-25;Dhavalikar 1970; Ansari and Dhavalikar 1971; Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975; Dhavalikar 1997).

Problems and Issues

In researching Kayatha culture one can come across many problems. The first and foremost issue is of locating sites. Wakankar (1967) has reported a number of sites but the site details such as latitude and longitude, tehsil or district has not been mentioned. In this case, it is difficult to re-locate these sites and ascertain their relation with Kayatha culture.

Even though a good amount of sites pertaining to the Kayatha culture has been excavated, some basic intriguing issues are still unsolved. The major issue which persists even after so many excavations is of its chronological positioning in a regional and intra-regional framework. The sites excavated give puzzling evidence as regards to its chronological position. At the site of Kayatha there is an ambiguity about a sterile layer between the Kayatha and the Ahar levels. Wakankar (1967) after the initial excavations at Kayatha has reported a sterile layer which thins out to hardly an inch in the corresponding trenches. The sterile layer is reported to be is approximately 15 cm after the second season of excavation (IAR 1967-68,24-25; Dhavalikar 1970; Ansari and Dhavalikar 1971; Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975). Wakankar (1976) however after the second season reports that there is hardly any gap between the Kayatha Culture and the Ahar Culture. Though the sterile layer has been an issue the cultural chronology of the site has not been changed by any of the researchers which is Kayatha Culture followed by the Ahar and the Malwa Cultures respectively. A similar cultural sequencing is confirmed from the excavations at Dangwada (IAR 1982-83:59-61) and Kotra (Pandeya 1990-91).

The cultural sequence obtained at the site of Kayatha cannot be generalised as the other excavated sites have different chronological ordering such as at the site of Eran where Ahar and Malwa cultures preceded the Kayatha Culture (IAR 1987-88:76-77; IAR 1997-98:114-115) whereas at the site of Azad Nagar, the Malwa culture is succeeded by the Kayatha culture without any gap and the Ahar culture is conspicuous by its absence (Wakankar 1981). Even at the site of Mandsaur, the Kayatha culture appears after the Ahar culture (Wakankar and Bajpai 1981). In contrast to these cultural sequencing, at the site of Piplyalorka, Kayatha Ware has been found in a mix assemblage along with White Painted Black and Red Ware which is a characteristic feature of the Ahar Culture and Lustrous Red Ware (Krishna 1976). From the excavated sites and chronological positions Kayatha culture predates Ahar and Malwa cultures at the sites of Kayatha, Dhangwada and Kotra whereas it is post Malwa culture at the sites of Eran and Azad Nagar and at the site of Mandsaur it occurs after the Ahar culture. In this light it can be said that the placing and chronology of Kayatha culture on the regional basis is not strongly based and is a complete chaos and has no stratigraphical validation (Table No. 1). A similar view has been given by Shinde and Deshpande (2002). The above paragraph has been summarised in the following table.

Table 1

Site	Period I	Period II	Period III
Kayatha	Kayatha	Ahar	Malwa
Dangwada	Kayatha	Ahar	Malwa
Kotra	Kayatha	Ahar	Malwa
Eran	Ahar	Malwa	Kayatha
Azad Nagar	Malwa	Kayatha	
Mandsaur	Ahar	Kayatha	
Pipilya Lorka	Kayatha and Ahar		

Another issue related with Kayatha is of chronological bracketing. As stated earlier, Ansari and Dhavalikar (1975) based on the radiometric dates put the Kayatha culture in

the second millennium BCE whereas the recalibration done by Possehl and Rissman puts the Kayatha culture in a bracket of Ca 2450-2000 BCE i.e. third millennium BCE (Possehl and Rissman 1992).

As far as the cultural material is concerned the Kayatha culture sites are devoid of any construction activities save rammed floors and probably wattle and daub structures (Dhavalikar 1970; Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975; Dhavalikar 1997; Wakankar 1968-69; Wakankar 1976; Wakankar 1981).

In lieu of above information it is required to take systematic survey of the region to document Kayatha culture sites with all modern technologies such as geo-coordinates. Only then is it possible to understand the settlement pattern and distribution network.

To understand the problems of Kayatha positioning in regional chronology the most important step that needs to be taken is of a large scale scientific excavation of sites belonging to the Kayatha culture and specifically re-excavation of some of the multi cultural sites to determine the chronological sequence of the cultures on a regional basis. Based on the new and scientific excavations, the already excavated material should be looked into and the data should be reanalysed. Sites such as Pipilya Lorka and Mandsaur, Kayatha culture appears with the Ahar culture or succeeds the Ahar culture without any cultural gap are more problematic as ceramics which are the only distinguishing feature are similar for both the culture. The Chocolate Ware and the Combed Ware of Kayatha are akin in appearance to that of Tan Ware and Incised Ware of Ahar culture. In such conditions it is very difficult to segregate the characteristic ceramic of Kayatha from that of Ahar due to its resemblance with each other. At this stage the similarity is confined only to the slip colour and shapes. The only distinguishing feature of the Kayatha culture observed only at the site of Kayatha is the Red on Buff Ware which has not been reported from other sites. Hence, in all plausibility Red on Buff Ware looks to be a character of Kayatha culture in place of Chocolate Slipped Ware. The only reason to come to such a conclusion is based on the fact that Chocolate Slipped Ware has been found over a large area such as Rajasthan, Gujarat, Haryana etc as well as is a part of Early and Mature ceramic assemblage of the Harappans, the same can be said about Combed Ware and its similarity with Incised Ware from other cultures. In light of this

discussion Chocolate Slipped Ware and Combed Ware of Kayatha and of Ahar and Harappan are very similar and needs further analyses. In such conditions Chocolate Slipped Ware cannot be granted the characteristic ceramic of Kayatha culture and identification of these sites based on Chocolate Slipped Ware belonging to the Kayatha culture is not on firm grounds.

Re-analyses

On this very background an attempt has been made by the author to study the pottery assemblage from the site of Kayatha housed in the Deccan College repository in order to understand the culture in a better perspective. It was during this study it came to notice that some of the Wares were not reported in the excavation reports. Moreover some of the wares which were reported turned out to be completely different when seen in person. Hence the re-analysis of the Kayatha ceramics was taken up by the author. The re-analyses has been carried out on the basis of Ware types and its varieties and on morphological descriptions. For carrying out re-analyses the method employed is adopted from Shirvalkar (2013).

After the re-analyses, on the basis of the ware types, the Kayatha Culture ceramics has been divided into four main wares:

1. Red Ware
2. Chocolate Slipped Ware
3. Incised Ware
4. Violet Slipped Ware

The Red Ware, Chocolate Slipped Ware and Incised Ware have further been divided into different varieties on the basis of surface treatment and fabric.

Red Ware

Red Ware can be said to be the main ware. It has further been classified into three varieties:

1. Red on Cream Variety (Fig. No.1): This variety has been identified as Red on

Buff Ware by the excavators (Dhavalikar 1970; Ansari and Dhavalikar 1975; Dhavalikar 1990). However on re-examination, this particular ware has been put in a different category. It has been noticed that neither a buff colour slip or wash has been applied nor the fabric itself is buff in colour. This ware however has been found in very limited quantity in the assemblage. The ware has a cream colour wash or slip applied to it. The wash is sometimes so thin that the red colour of the ware is visible below it. Over this cream colour wash or slip, paintings in red have been executed. The paintings usually comprise of geometrical motifs such as bands drawn vertically, horizontally and sometimes even in a slanting way. Apart from these the *jali* pattern is another common motif which has been executed on the vessels. Another important motif which occurs very commonly in this variety is of a triangle. This triangle is done using red colour and it is not filled with any other colour due to which the wash or slip colour that is cream is visible.

It has been observed that in some cases this cream wash or slip is followed by red or chocolate colour slip. The slips have been applied in a manner that it gives it a bichrome effect.

In this ware a peculiar treatment was observed particularly for the bases. Some bases are given cream colour wash over which the rustication is done at the bottom. This rustication is not found in any other wares from Kayatha. The ware is made out of well levigated clay and is very thin in section. It is mostly well fired and is fast wheel made.

2. Red Slipped Variety (Fig. No. 2): A red colour slip has been applied to the vessels. The slip has been applied externally and sometimes extends to the internal side up to the throat. Except for the slip, no decoration has been done. It is both well fired and ill fired. Even the fabric varies and has both coarse and fine fabric in the assemblage. Fast wheel, slow wheel and luting techniques has been employed for the manufacturing of this variety.

3. Plain Red Variety (Fig. No. 3): This ware is devoid of any surface treatment. It is found in large number in the assemblage. Most of the pottery is ill fired as

evident from the section which is black in colour showing that the firing has not been done properly. The fabric is coarse in texture with a few exceptions where medium fine fabric has been used. Fast wheel and luting techniques has been employed for the manufacturing of this variety.

Chocolate Slipped Ware

The Chocolate Slipped Ware (Fig. No. 4) has been identified as the principle ware of the Kayatha Culture. On the basis of thickness of the body this Ware has been divided into Thick and Thin variety.

The slip in this Ware has been applied in such a way that different variants of the chocolate colour are seen on the pots. The colour varies from chocolate; light to dark brown and is also sometimes so dark that it appears to be black. Sometimes the slip has been applied in such a manner that variants of the chocolate colour are seen in the form of bands. This however could also be a result of firing in some cases. This ware has a Chocolate colour slip on the external side which sometimes extends to the internal side either up to the lip or the throat. The slip has not been applied all over the body. In most cases, it ends at the carination, below which either a slip of some other colour (mostly red) is applied or is left untreated. A few sherds have incised decorations instead of a slip. The ware is mostly fast wheel made. The firing ranges from some pots being well fired to some being ill fired. However most of the sherds analysed are either well fired or is medium fired. The fabric is medium fine to fine in texture although coarse fabric is also found.

Incised Ware

This is the second most important ceramic of the Kayatha Culture. The Incised Ware (Fig. No. 5) is basically a variety of the Red Ware but it has been treated as separate ware since it is a very important ware. Two types of incisions are noticed on the sherds. Some sherds are deeply incised whereas the others are lightly incised. The incisions on the Lightly Incised Variety are very superficial. The assemblage is dominated by the Lightly Incised Variety and the ones with deep incisions are limited in assemblage. The incisions are executed on the external side and are sometimes executed on the top of the

rim as well. It has been observed that both types of incisions are hardly carried out on the interior. The incisions are mostly in the form of wavy lines.

In case of bowls and basins, which are open vessels forms, a slip has been applied on both the interior as well as exterior. In this ware one finds two types of slip colour used such as red and chocolate. But in general this ware is dominated by plain surface or it is untreated. The fabric is medium fine to coarse in texture. The firing has not been done properly and most of the sherds are ill fired. The Ware is mostly made on fast wheel.

Violet Slipped Ware

This particular ware has been reported by Ansari and Dhavalikar (1975) as a painted variety of the Chocolate Slipped Ware. Although Wakankar initially reports wares with a mauve colour slip on it (IAR 1964-65:18-19) but he later changed the classification and considered it as Painted variety of Chocolate Slipped Ware (Wakankar 1967).

The ware was re-analysed and it is my opinion that it is a completely different ware. The ware has been applied with a purple or violet colour slip (Fig. No. 6). The slip is restricted only to the external surface. Sometimes the slip is not applied over the entire vessel and is accompanied by slips of other colours such as chocolate or red. Over the slip, paintings have been executed in black or chocolate colour. The paintings are normally bands of varying thickness. The clay used is medium fine to coarse in texture. The ware is well fired.

The re-analysis done on the Kayatha ceramics has brought to light certain new ceramic patterns and different views. The most important is the identification of two new ware types and re-identification of some earlier wares. The earlier Red on Buff Ware has been identified as Cream Slipped variety with paintings in Red i.e. Red on Cream variety. Also, what has been identified as the painted variety of Chocolate Slipped Ware is actually Violet Slipped Ware with paintings on it. This violet colour slip does not look to be a result of firing but it seems that this was done on purpose using different mineral colour. Moreover, in the assemblage, Handmade Ware was not found instead of that, Red Slipped and Plain Red variety dominates the assemblage.

Discussion and Conclusion

As discussed earlier, issues and problems are attested with the Chocolate Slipped Ware of the Kayatha Culture. It is difficult to accept this ware as a characteristic feature of the Kayatha culture due to its affiliations with Ahar and Harappan. Instead of that the Red on Cream variety should be treated as the characteristic Ware of the Kayatha culture. The other option is of Violet Slipped Ware which is also found exclusively from the site of Kayatha. These two ceramics have not been reported from any of the other so called Kayatha culture site and is a single site evidence. Moreover, the cultural material found from the site of Kayatha i.e. beads of semiprecious stones, steatite and terracotta, copper bangles and axes are only pertaining to the site of Kayatha.

The other sites of Kayatha culture are reported on the basis of Chocolate Slipped Ware whereas other identifiable cultural material such as Red on Cream Variety, Violet Slipped Ware, beads, copper artefacts etc are missing. If, one considers these parameters as the character of Kayatha culture then none of the sites reported so far as belonging to the Kayatha culture cannot be attributed to this culture. Hence the distribution or the map of Kayatha culture sites at this moment based on new hypothesis needs to be revised. At present, the site of Kayatha seems to be the only site which belongs to the Kayatha culture but as stated it is the single site evidence. In such conditions it is difficult to call this as a culture. Rather at this point it looks to be more a site based phenomena instead of regional phenomena.

This vacuum of identification needs to be understood by looking at other cultural material from the surrounding areas such as Rajasthan and Gujarat. The Kayatha levels from the site of Kayatha shows some similarities with the Harappan civilisation. Wakankar (1967) is the first one to state that the earliest settlers were Harappans at Kayatha. The shapes and designs of the ceramics has affinities with Harappan and Pre Harappan cultures of Rajasthan and Gujarat. Ansari and Dhavalikar (1975) have also given a similar view. They go on to say "the C-14 determinations clearly establish the Kayatha culture as a junior contemporary of the Harappans" (Ansari and Dhavalikar1975:18). From the material culture studied, it seems to be a possibility that the there was a diffusion of ideas from Early Harappan cultures, though it is not

possible to identify the area of diffusion or stimulus and show whether it was an ideological or physical migration. Whatever may be the reason at present one can state that Kayatha has ceramic similarities with the Harappan civilisation and Ahar culture. In bead technology it shows connections with Harappan civilization (Anasari and Dhavalikar 1975). Taking into consideration all the facts it is an important issue and further excavations and analyses will definitely shed light on whether it was an independent culture, site based local phenomena or is an outcome of certain cultural movement and amalgamation, wherein certain local traditions got incorporated into the assemblage.

Acknowledgement

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Figures
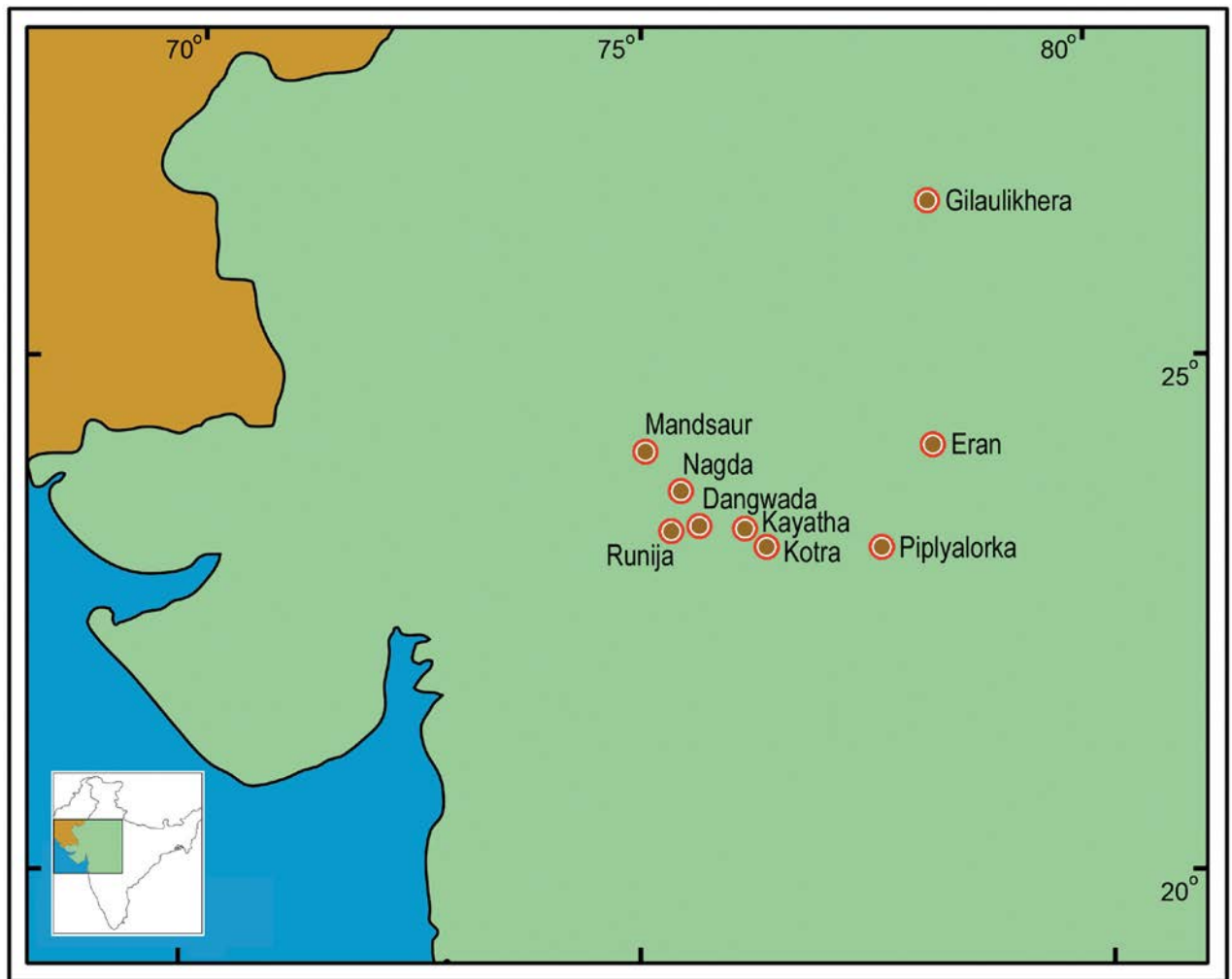
Map. 1. Excavated sites of Kayatha Cultures

Globular Pots of Red on Cream Variety

Base of Red on Cream Variety

Body Sherds of Red on Cream Variety

Figure 1. Red on Cream

Globular Pots of Red Slipped Variety

Storage Jars of Red Slipped Variety
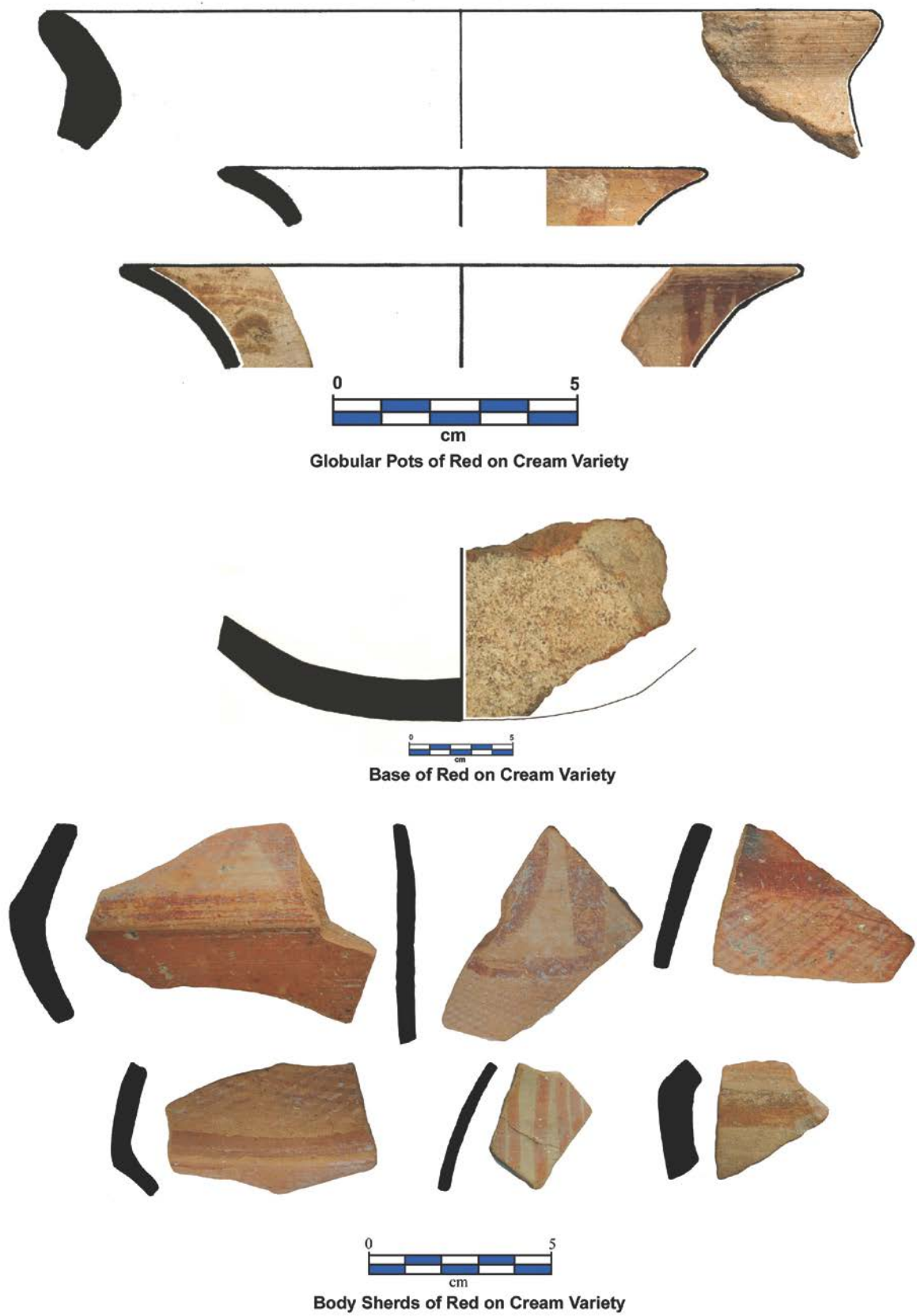
Bases of Red Slipped Variety
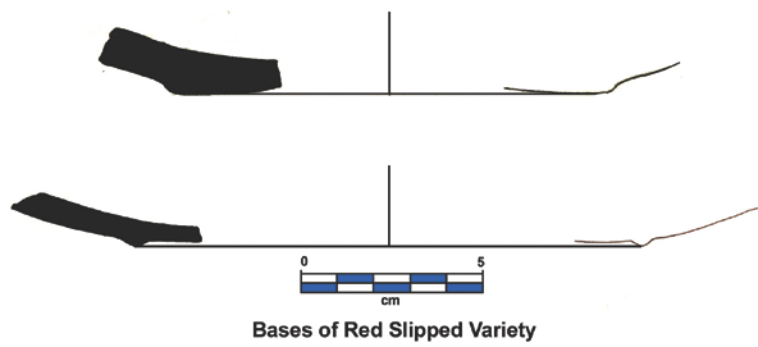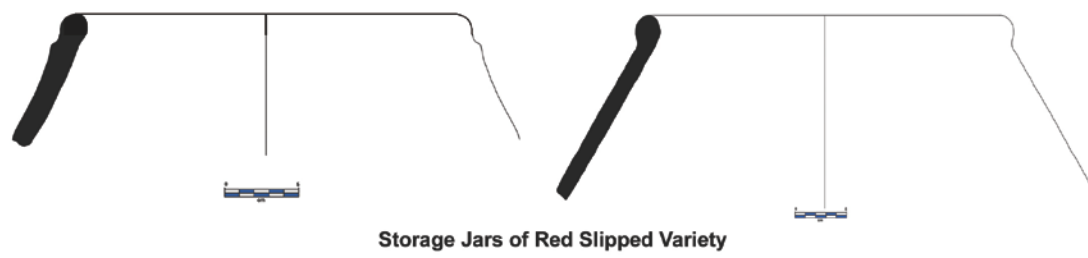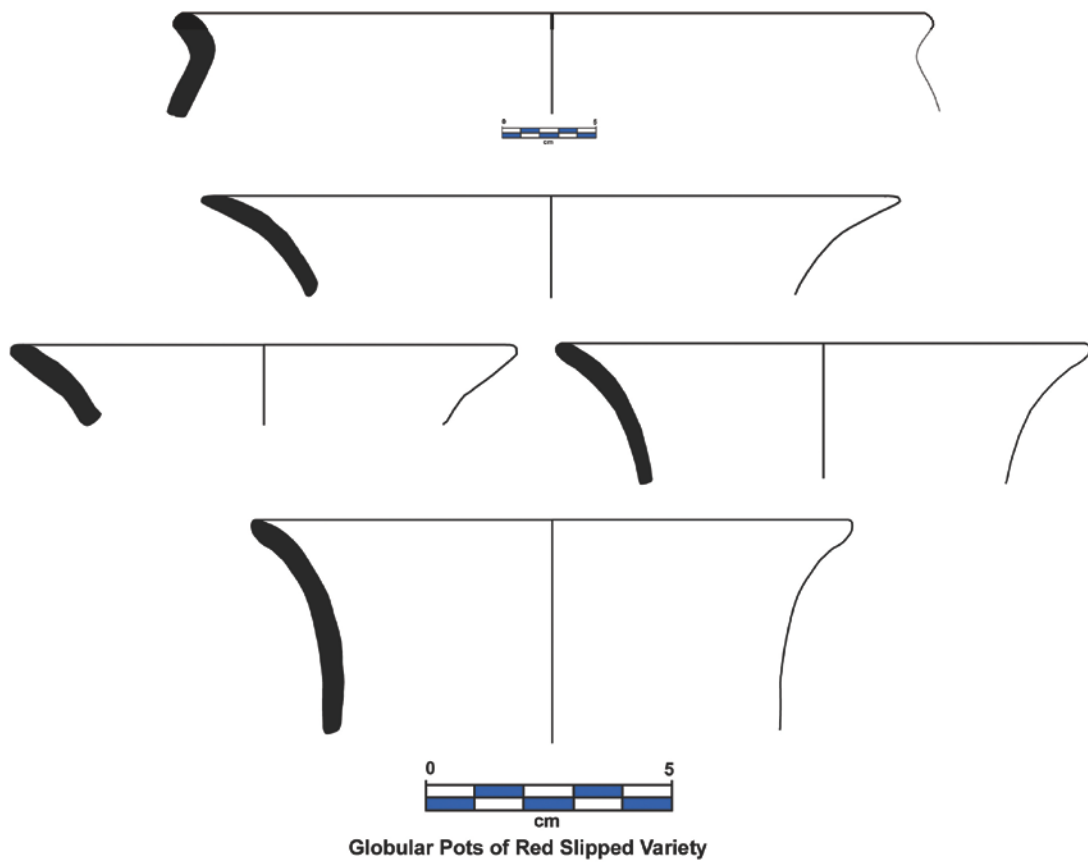
Figure 2. Red Slipped Variety
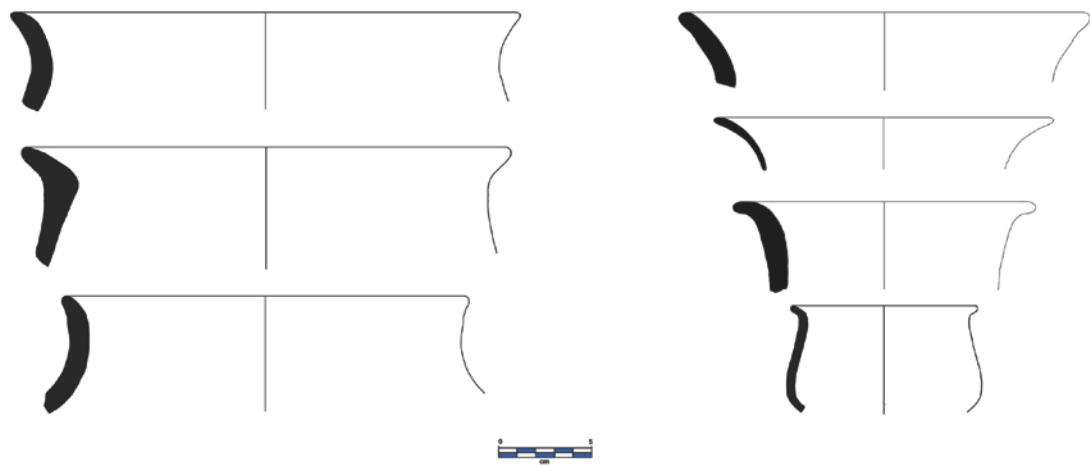
Globular Pots of Plain Red Variety
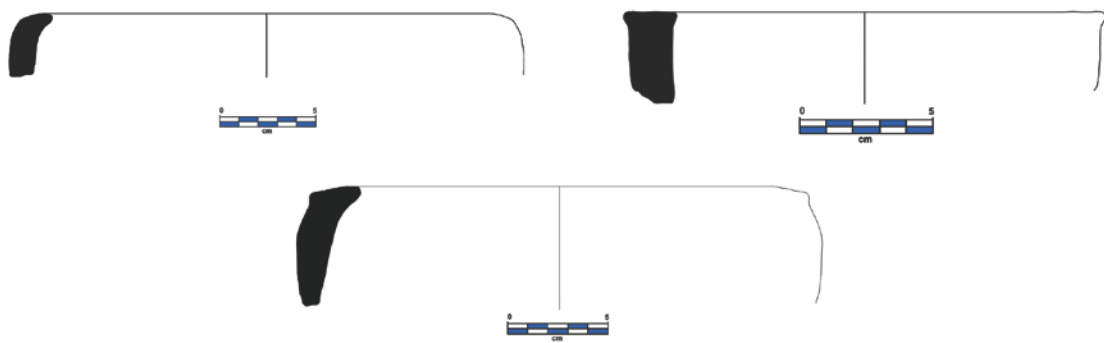
Bowls of Plain Red Variety
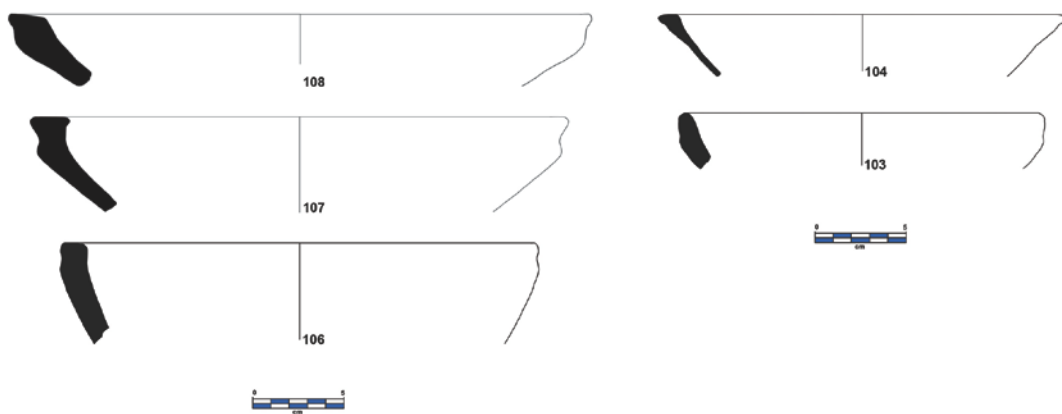
Basins of Plain Red Variety

Figure 3. Plain Red Variety

Globular Pots of Chocolate Slipped Ware

Basins of Chocolate Slipped Ware

Bases of Chocolate Slipped Ware

Body Sherds of Chocolate Slipped Ware

Figure 4. Chocolate Slipped Ware
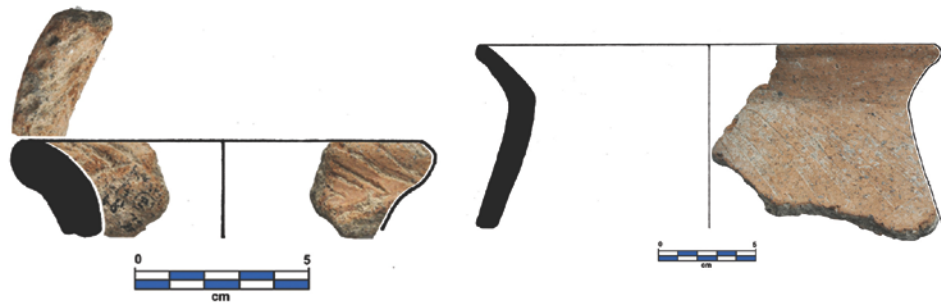
Globular Pots of Incised Ware
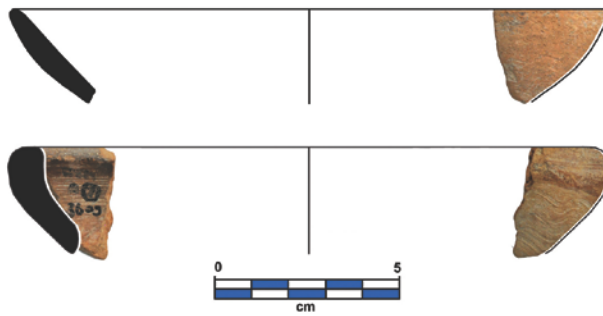
Bowls of Incised Ware
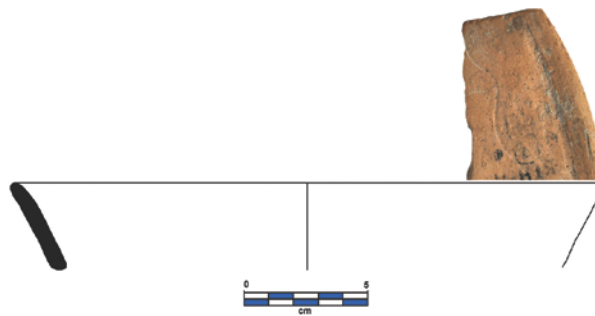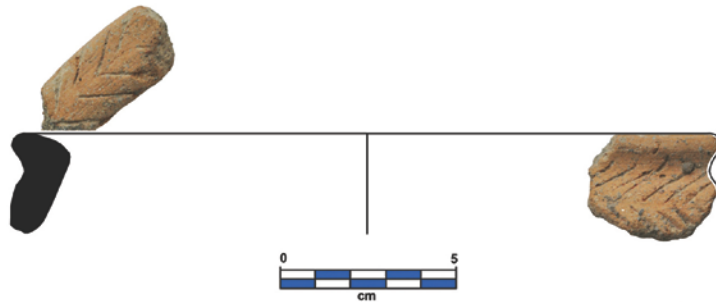
Basins of Incised Ware

Figure 5. Incised Ware
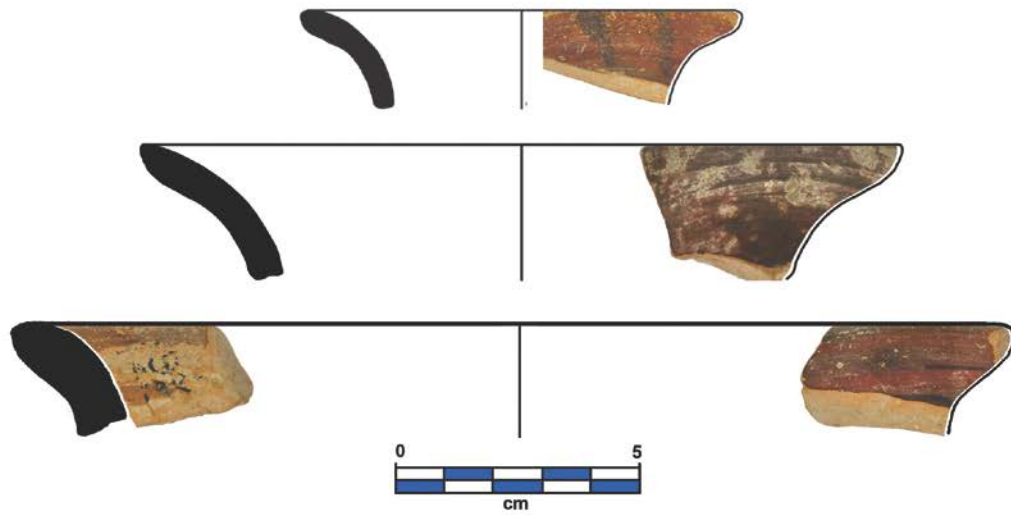
Globular Pots of Violet Slipped Ware

Body Sherds of Violet Slipped Ware

Figure 6.Violet Slipped Ware

Minor antiquities of India and their role in the life pattern of ancient civilization – an interpretation

MAHUA CHAKRABARTI

Abstract

Minor antiquities are small but not small in importance. These are the objects of utilitarian purposes like objects of daily use, children's toy, ornaments, gems and intaglios, seals and sealing, ritualistic things, etc. However, little emphasis was given upon the study of minor antiquities but these are also conveyors of culture. Perhaps it may seem that minor antiquities are too insignificant to reveal the actual culture of a community and perhaps for this reason these are 'minor' or 'inferior in importance'. However, they are called minor simply because of their small dimensions. Therefore, people must know the unexplored message within the tiny pieces of objects. The article aims to discuss how minor antiquities were used in their own world, i.e. in ancient cultures, and to judge our modern culture in comparison to ancient ones.

Keywords: *Minor antiquities, ancient culture*

Introduction

'Minor antiquities' are small objects, which had been used in the past for various utilitarian purposes like worship, plaything, popular religious and magical purposes, progeny, interior decoration, etc. Some scholars thought that the term 'minor' meant 'less important' and those were of lesser significance to record the culture of the folk, in comparison to architecture, sculptures, inscriptions, coins, etc. However, less emphasis was given to the study of such items in detail. Gradually, these minor antiquities invited the attention of scholars.

Throughout India, the archaeological sites have unearthed abundant number of minor antiquities. We may categorize those in the following headings: (1) playthings (2) utilitarian objects, (3) objects used for personal beautification (4) ornaments, (5) votive things, (6) beads, and (7) seals.

We may have a glimpse of various types of minor antiquities now.

Playthings

Like modern children, the children of ancient times used to play with toys. Toys are simple miniature forms and models. A variety of such things have been unearthed, like cart with or without wheel, wheeled objects, animals or birds without wheels or cart frame, rattle, knucklebone, miniature vessel, and so on.

Among toys, rattles were favorite type that produced sound when shaken. The common varieties were animals (rams and tortoise) and birds (cocks and parrots), grotesque figures, etc. Small pellets had been put inside these hollow objects for jingling. The other types include fruit (pomegranates) and human figures. Rattles have been found at many early historical sites. During the early historical period, the most common metal rattles were in the shape of bird.

Besides, carts, frames and wheels have been found together or separately from the Chalcolithic to the late historical period. Cart models and frames had also been made of copper and bronze along with terracotta. Copper and bronze toy carts are reported from the third century BC. They bear a cross perforation for the axle below the frame and another perforation for the front shaft. The wheels contain thick and conspicuous axis and felly. Harappa has yielded attractive, small copper model of an *ekka* like cart. This is only two inches in height except the missing wheels. Back and front of it are open, with driver's seat; sides are closed and have a gable roof. Two other copper carts have been found at Chanhudaro, one of which has its solid wheels, of a simpler type without cover. The bronze cart models from Rairh show a yoke, open at the rear and they have high slanted and voluted sides; one has no yoke, but has a distinct shelf like a 'mud guard' at the rear for sitting of the passenger. No coverings are noticed. An open cart with two wheels, hubs and spokes was a characteristic type of the Ganga valley. It is outwardly designed with floral motifs in three series. Brahmapuri has yielded superb bronze examples of Satavahana times. There are provisions for tying single or a couple of bullocks or horses. One example from Taxila is a two-wheeled vehicle identified as competition chariot. Another is a plain dog toy-cart made to fit with two holes in the front for shafts and two ground projections underneath for the wheeled axle.

Covered wagons and chariots to be drawn by two horses, bulls, rams, birds, etc. have also been found. These are datable from third century BC to third-fourth century AD.

Ram with prominent curved horns appears to be a favourite subject for the terracotta toy cart. These were either pushed by a stick inserted through a hole at the back made for the purpose, or drawn by a cord. Mukherjee notes (Mukherjee, 1972), "the toy animals mostly come from the Śunga and the Kushāna periods with a greater number belonging to the later period".

The toy carts representing scenes of rural life form a distinct type during the Śunga period. Amongst them, mention should be made of a bullock cart showing a group of people travelling in it. The party consists of six male and female figures, carrying food, drink and musical instruments with them as if for a pleasure trip. Two important specimens found from Kauśāmbi deserve special mention. One depicts a picnic party travelling in a cart carrying food staff. This is a rare toy cart that is ascribed to the first-second century AD. Similar toy cart almost parallel to this has been discovered from Bhita.

A fragmentary terracotta chariot drawn by two headless creatures (equine animals?) with ornamented frontal part is a notable discovery at Chandraketugarh (sixth-third century BC). Another cart displays a human figure, presumably *Indra* riding on an elephant. An example is a '*Rākshas*' cart; this exhibits a pot bellied demon with malicious face, hooplike eyeballs, flattish nose and strong teeth, consuming with enjoyment a large snake as long as holding an elephant just like to be eaten up as after. Another specimen depicts *Ganeśa* with spouse, on a cart (first-second century AD). The female divinity is embellished with turban and earrings. By her right hand, she holds *lāddu* in front of the trunk of her god and her left hand adheres to a tusk. The crowned head of *Ganesa* towers above the arrangement.

Other toy carts represent elephant, horse, humped bull, and bird (owl, parrot, dove, peacock, woodpecker, and crane). A toy cart dragged by a ram (c. first century AD) comes from Tamluk. Cart models and frames of the early historical period indicate a range of vehicles prepared in a realistic miniature form.

Not only cart models, mention may be made of model boats in terracotta found from Lothal. A refined model of a boat contains a sharp bottom, tapered forepart and flat stern and has three hidden holes, two of which are for attaching flagpole and fastening ropes of the boat and the third for maintaining an oar. One dismembered model was without mast. It clearly

stands for a native workmanship used in local waterways and rivers. The first type was intended for the ocean.

Another type of toy was animal figurines. The earliest example in terracotta had been found in the Chalcolithic period, in Kulli, Zhob and Quetta areas where agricultural communities were prevalent. These mostly include hand-made bulls with a conspicuous hump, big horns and squat legs, and the second one with a low hump, little horns and broad neck. Supposedly, these were used as votive offerings. The terracotta quadruped animal with two holes at the neck for having a movable head is a very interesting toy. Such objects have been found in Mohenjodaro and Harappa. The head was attached to the body of a quadruped perhaps by means of bristle or stiff hair. The head could be moved back and forth by means of a cord passing through the upper hole. The Harappan culture produced a wide variety of animal figurines, such as ram, bull, sheep, elephant, tiger, lion (couple-headed stylized figure), dog, bear, rhinoceros, unicorn, cow, pig, monkey, cat, squirrel, etc. Interestingly, horse figurine is absent except one from Mohenjodaro and another from Lothal. The definite purpose of the animal figurines is obscure. However, those having provisions for wheels and detachable neck suggest that these had been used as playthings. Several ram and bull figurines presumably have been used as votive offerings or ritualistic things.

In the NBPW levels, animal figurines as elephant, bull, ram, dog, horse, monkey, *nāgi*, etc. spread in many townships in the Ganga valley area. Elephants from Buxar bear vertical stripes treated with colour. A shiny grace is noticed on the animal figurines of Prahladpur, Mathura, etc. like that on the Northern Black Polished Ware. At Mathura, some of the wheel turned elephant-figurines are hollow and have 'applied tail and trunk'. The animal figurines are thoroughly embellished as perhaps they were used for ritualistic purpose. Strips, punch-marks and carved foliage motif were used to decorate the figurines. Some elephant and horse figurines have riders on them, which were fashioned out of double mould. These are datable between c. AD 500 to 650. These were rarely hollow. Afterward AD 650, we find less number of animal figurines and those are overly crude.

The Harappan civilization had produced the earliest examples of wheel. Mainly solid wheels have been excavated from Harappan sites. Those are of three types like, plain i.e. without hub (it is probably the earliest example), the second one with a hub on one side, the third one with hubs on both sides. Spoked wheels has not been reported from Harappan culture, but were

not unknown to that people, which is evident from the spokes on toy cartwheels treated with colour. In some cases, the wheels indicate signs of wear in the axle hole.

Besides, whistles have been reported from the Chalcolithic time. In Taxila, all are made of clay in the shape of sling bullets, barrel beads or miniature vases.

Dolls have also been found in ancient culture. In the Indus civilization, male figurines had been produced though female figurines were more in number. The male figurines from the Indus civilization are seen seated with hands encircling knees. These resemble the 'sorrowful god' discovered at Marija Gimbutas in Old Europe, datable to c. 4500 BC, probably have been denoting the male spouse of goddess, who was offered at the time of seasonal ceremonies (Ghosh, 1989). From Mohenjodaro and Kalibangan, Sumerian type of male figurines, and from Lothal, a miniature mummy with small mould-made masks with spikes and oblique eyes, have been unearthed. Female figurines have probably been used as cult objects. Pregnant woman, mother with baby (in some cases, 'bear/monkey mask') have been unearthed at Mohenjodaro. Some female figurines such as a woman kneading flour dough have also been found. Notably, human figurines were rare in the OCW and PGW cultures in northern India. The largest number of terracotta human figurines is found between c. 600 BC and AD 650. They are crude, handmade and decorated by pinching technique. From c. 300 BC, we find fine specimens, which are partially mould made and handmade (i.e. the face is mould made and body is handmade). Male and female figurines used as toys or dolls continued from the protohistorical period. They bear perforations; different parts have been made and joined together. Human figures are pierced at neck, shoulders and knees for attachment as movable toys. Many crude handmade figures with pinched nose, round eyes and outstretched arms belong to the third century BC – third century AD.

Some interesting playthings were dices, which are long, square in cross section bearing one to six incised dots on the sides. All Harappan sites have yielded dices made of bone and ivory. In the early historical period, dices of bone and ivory have been found at Ganga Valley region. From the early first millennium BC to the early centuries of the Christian era, dices were made of stone, shells and terracotta. It is noted that the four sides of the dice contain 4, 3, 2 or 1 incised or written on them. The common shapes are flat, rectangular or oblong with four sides incised with one to four dots running serially. Each dot is surrounded by one or more circle and bordered with straight lines. Cubic dices are rare; some examples made of terracotta have been reported from the Kushāna period. They bear one to six points arranged

in such a way that the sum of the points of each pair of the opposite faces is seven, similar to those found from the Harappan sites.

Another form of plaything was the gamesmen of simple shapes such as disc, flat at the bottom and on the upper side with a raised boss surrounded by concentric circles the center, or are solid cylinders, square or hexagonal tablet. Some have perforations on top for threading. A few are with symbols. Gamesmen of bone and ivory have also been excavated at Lothal and from the Ganga valley region. The gamesmen are also made of stone, conch-shell etc.

Hopscotches are flat circular gaming pieces. Probably these were used as children's game of hopping on one foot and kicking the object over scotches (lines) marked on the ground. Edges of potsherds were rubbed to make it round shaped. Hopscotches of stone, bone and ivory have been found at many sites.

Knucklebones are gaming pieces with four flat sides and two round sides. The four flat sides bear number markings one opposite six and three opposite four.

Small sized stools, chests, boards; etc. made of ivory of early Christian era has been found. Toy furniture of bone and ivory like handles, terminals, trinkets, tables, bedsteads, etc. have been yielded from Taxila belonging to third century BC and third century AD levels.

Discs were evidently used as gaming counters. They are simple with the edges decorated. Discs of various kinds have been found; such as: discs with star-shaped decoration round the edge made by notching, with floral design on one side and *swastikā* incised on the other side, with double perforations made of a potsherd, with rows of pinholes round the edge, bearing a figure of tortoise on one side and so on.

Utilitarian objects

We may mention a variety of objects used for utilitarian purposes. One of those is lamp. These were made of terracotta, stone, copper and iron. Various types of lamps have been reported like small shallow bowl with or without beaked edge; small shallow bowl with a handle with or without water container; with a beak having a single or multiple channel, spouted lamp, plain and decorated with human or animal head, tortoise shaped, lamps with

lugs and nozzle; a human figure holding lamp in hand; rectangular lamp having an ornamented spout.

The earliest evidence of lamps comes from the Chalcolithic sites and were in use in the early historical times (sixth century BC to sixth century AD) and gradually varieties increased during later periods. Lamps have also been found in copper and iron.

Bells made of iron, copper, bronze and silver have been found. Bells are hollow and domical in shape having a ring at the top. However, bells with a rectangular base and a suspension loop have also been reported from Hunur. Pyramidal shaped bells with a loop at the top have been reported as well from some sites, one is from Brahmagiri.

Chisels of copper or bronze in various shapes have been excavated at Harappan sites. One end is slanting to sharp edge and the other is left blunt for striking it with a hammer. Chisels from Pandu Rajar Dhibi have a rectangular cross section. Chisels reported from Deccan Chalcolithic sites are handle-less but with a thick body and convex cutting edge. Iron chisels excavated from the megalithic levels are with a rectangular bar body, pointed end and incipient shoulders. Some chisels are bevelled on both faces, and had probably been used as pointed end for wooden ploughs. In the early historical period, iron chisels are found having a circular top section, bevelled end and flattened to a straight sharp edge. Some have a heavy circular body and pointed end.

From the Harappan and other Chalcolithic cultures of Central India and Deccan, various metallic fishhooks have been yielded. Both barbed and non-barbed types from Mohenjodaro are the earliest known examples. Copper was replaced by iron in the Megalithic and the early historical cultures, but the non-barbed fishhook with tapering body and slightly carved threading end remained to be the popular type. The use of fishhook had not been popular in late historical times, perhaps because of the extensive use of other fishing devices like many kinds of nets and traps.

For fishing, net sinkers were used. Those are heavy perforated objects made of metal, stone or terracotta. In eastern parts of India and Bangladesh, an area with rivers and pools the fish had continually been a staple cuisine of the people. People of this region used net sinkers for catching fish by nets.

Balls of terracotta, shell, faience or stone have been used as pebbles or pellets for sling or sling-ball. Those are solid and rounded. Terracotta balls are red in colour, but owing to ill firing, some become black. Slip has not been applied to any ball. The diameters of these balls vary from 1.50 inch to 0.35 inch. Balls have been found at the Harappan sites.

Spindle whorls were used in ancient times as flying wheel in a spindle (*takli*) to spin fabrics. These objects, either disc shaped or plano convex in section with single or multiple central hole(s) were made of terracotta, shell, stone, faience, metal, bone, wood etc. It is suggested that some light-weighed whorls bearing one small hole at the centre, probably with a simple metal/wooden spindle inserted in it were used to spin fine fabric, like cotton. Some heavy specimens show more than one hole at the centre, probably fixed to a split wooden spindle and used to spin a jute-like coarse fabric.

Cones and pointed tops were made for utilitarian purposes. Cones may have a phallic significance. These could be ear pendants, or may have been used as pointed darts from sling bows as noted that points of most of these cones are broken. Being mostly handmade and hard baked the colour of cones ranges from light red to dark brown. Some cones were made of special clay of very compact nature and fired in the kiln in such a way that they shine. One variety of these cones has flat base that can readily stand up.

Cloth dyer's stamps are hollow stamps with designs in relief on them. The exact purpose of these stamps cannot be determined. They are highly baked and seem to have been used as potter's or cloth dyer's stamp (Mukherjee, 1972). The motifs and designs in various stamps deserve minute study and these might reflect light on possible cultural contact. Some of the cloth dyer's stamps bear net design, star-shaped design in the centre and band of other motifs running in the concentric circles. Some are semi-circular in shape, some have pedestal shaped handle etc.

Inkpot was another thing used for keeping ink in it. From archaeological evidence, we come to know that the Greeks introduced metal inkpots; the Śakas imitated those in clay. Few types from Ahicchatra carry indications of ink while a few examples from Vaisali contain black carbon stain on the rim or within these. Usually refined to average quality clay was used to make those. These have a wash or slip and a narrow edge, remarkably broad mid portion and a bulky, plane or spherical base. They are reported from the first and sixth century. A vase-shaped inkpot of bronze set on a stand has been revealed from Nalanda.

Ascribed to the eighth – tenth century, it is decorated with Buddhist motifs on the crest of the edge.

Some terracotta objects, varying from 4-10 cm and triangular, oval, round or blunt cylindrical in shape have been found in different sites. Their exact usage is not known; may be these were used as ritualistic objects as found in 'post-cremation urn burials' at Harappa. These might be used to construct floors and roads since some specimens have been found in 'fire places' at Lothal and Kalibangan. These were of clay, mixed with husk and grit. Triangular shaped ones bear 'self-slip' and these were more frequent in early times.

Copper or bronze knives, the earliest ones from the Harappan culture are simple with a thin tanged blade and pointed top, the cutting edge on the curved side is slightly thick. Some specimens bear revert holes for attaching to wooden handles. Most of the knives are made of sheet metal but not cast. During the Megalithic culture, iron replaced copper. Knives of this period have blades, a short tang and are circular in section. In the early historical period, mainly two types were prevalent, namely, one with concave back and the other with straight back and tapering edge. Iron knives were widely used in the first century BC - second / third century AD.

Nails of copper have been reported from the Chalcolithic levels of Navdatoli. These have a long body, round or rhomboid and have a convex outspread or square head. Iron nails occurred at megalithic sites. Those from the early historical period are long and tapering. These have heads variously shaped – circular, hooked, knobbed, oblong, bulbous and beaked. In the same level, copper nails have also been reported. These are sharp, pointed with a round or flat body and rectangular or square in section with flat, circular or knobbed head. Iron nails of the shapes mentioned above were in use till late historical times.

Locks and keys are very rare finds from excavations. Sirkap and Taxila have yielded keys. Both locks and keys have been reported from Sanchi (fourth-fifth century AD) and Nalanda (later time). Locks have a 'spring and push type device', with a very simple system; four elastic springs at the end of the bolts were made to pass through a small hole inside the lock case which has a hole in the opposite end to let the key to be inserted for operation of the lock. From Sirpur some locks and keys have been found which are circular and rectangular in cross section.

Needles, used for sewing, are round and oblong with pointed tips, and of various sizes with an eye and no head. The first evidence of the needles in India had come from the Neolithic levels at Burzahom (Kashmir), Chirand (Bihar) and Bagor. Needles have also been reported from Harappa. From the post-Harappan age down to the end of the Mauryan period, needles are noticeably absent.

Razors of copper and bronze have been excavated exclusively from the Harappan culture. Various forms include double-bladed, simple-bladed, L-shaped, U-shaped or crescent shaped, hook-shaped. Double-bladed razors have been found from all levels of the Harappan culture. It has oval tang with uneven edges and is very thin. The cutting edge of a simple bladed razor is at the square end with a rounded corner. It has also the other convex side with rough end. L-shaped razors have two arms, one of that is longer and broader than the other one. Hook shaped razor is a curved one. Its outer curve is ended to the handle joint; the inner curve is blunt with bird-headed handle. The straight end has a sharp cutting edge.

Weights of various sizes in series of degrees, measures and their supplementary parts have been found in metal. During the early historical period, circular weights made of copper have been unearthed. Some weights bear small holes on their surface. Perhaps to increase the weight the holes were therefore filled up with lead. Some cavities with lead fillings have also been reported. From Taxila, scale-pans of copper and iron datable between 300 BC and AD 500 have been excavated. They are saucer-shaped and two metal-loops are attached to it for hanging.

Personal adornment objects

Antimony rods of terracotta, copper, bronze, ivory, shell, lead, stone, and of various shapes and forms, also known as kohl-sticks or collyrium-sticks have been reported from all the subsequent periods almost all over the entire subcontinent. They are generally long and cylindrical, plain, with both ends rounded, clubbed or bulbous. Some have one end rounded, clubbed or bulbous; and the other end unfinished, plain, pointed, cut-off square, tapering, scooped or with a pin, toothpick, ear-cleaner, or some decorative cleaners.

Antimony rods of shell, bone and ivory have been revealed from the Harappan as well as historical sites.

Apart from this, not all such rods might have been used as antimony rods and are identified as stylus or objects of indeterminate use.

The use of skin rubbers has a long tradition in India. The earliest dated specimen comes from the Harappan culture. During this period, Indian skin rubbers were generally barrel-shaped or rounded with smaller incisions on the body. For scrubbing the skin, these were either pecked or incised with oblique lines, rectangular or semicircular notches, triangular V-shaped notches, checks, zigzags, chevrons. Terracotta slabs having a prick file-like face and smooth rounded back are called as skin rubbers. These are of various shapes and patterns – mostly rectangular, square or circular and rarely plano-convex, oval, barrel-shaped or trapezoid.

The barrel-shaped rubbers are wheel-turned while others are handmade. The clay was mixed with lime and sufficient quantity of sand to obtain rough surface. Often quartz pieces were added to roughen the exterior. Skin rubbers, excavated at Ahicchatra and Rajghat bear animal figures including elephant, crocodile, griffin, etc., which testify the decorative function of the animals.

For cleaning and doing the hair, for keeping it in position after dressing and as an ornament for the head ancient people used combs. These are toothed toilet objects, being variously made of bone, horn and ivory and decorated. The earliest combs were reported from the Harappan sites, from the Neolithic site of Burzahom (Kashmir). Early historical sites have yielded combs of ivory, horn and bone.

Metal mirrors, circular or oval, polished on the obverse and plain or with a design or decoration on the reverse have been reported from many sites but are limited in number. From Harappan sites, metal mirrors have been reported so far. The decorated bone or ivory handles, in which the tangs of the mirror were inserted, have been found from many Harappan sites and from first century BC to first century AD levels of Sirkap and Vaisali.

Containers used for keeping toilet items like perfume, ointment, antimony and kohl are known as toilet caskets. The earliest example of toilet casket is fluted kohl or cosmetic pot made of cast bronze, found from Chanhudaro. It has a narrow mouth and a long neck, which seems to be used to keep a fine powder such as kohl. Bronze and silver caskets have been found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, which had possibly been used to keep cosmetics in it as

traces are found of inside these collyrium, cerussite, kohl etc. Caskets of gold, silver, copper have also been excavated in Taxila.

In ancient times, both men and women used to wear ornaments to adorn various parts of body. We find references to various types of head ornaments in literature. Terracotta pendants may have been worn on the forehead. Ivory combs may also have been used as head ornaments. Men and women used hairpins to deck their coiffure and to keep the hair in place. Hairpins of bronze, ivory, steatite, shell, bone with their heads decorated with spirals and animal figures were in use. Fillets were worn on the forehead. A broken gold pin has been found from Pāndu Rājār Dhibi (West Bengal).

Ear ornaments like rings and tops unearthed at various sites and similar ornaments noticed on terracotta figurines prove that those were widely used. Ear ornaments can be broadly categorized into five groups: ear-tops (have knob at the back), ear-studs (look like nail with large head), eardrops (consist of a hole at the top and its centre is raised which forms a convex disc), earrings and ear-pendants (have grooves near the top to hold the wire and perhaps they used to be hung to the ear lobes). Earrings made of copper, bronze and silver have been unearthed as stray finds. Ear lobes of terracotta, cylindrical or round in shape come from Manjhi, Chirand, Vaiśali and Pataliputra (Bihar). These are of various shapes and are wheel made, dull red coloured, showing concentric circles on both ends with projection in the front side and depression in the back. At Champa, terracotta ear ornaments have been collected from period III attributed to the Gupta age. At Buxar, ear studs have been discovered from Period I. In West Bengal, Chandraketugarh and Nanoor (Birbhum) have yielded ear studs. The one obtained from Chandraketugarh in decorated with lotus motif. Sisupalgarh excavation has yielded 148 number of terracotta ear ornaments.

Amongst the neck ornaments, the most common was beaded necklace. Innumerable beads have been found at all archaeological sites. Complete necklaces of beads are rare. Necklaces of semiprecious stones, gold, copper, steatite, shell have been found. Pendants of different materials and of different forms have been in a large number. Terracotta bulla was probably worn as neck ornaments. Chains of copper, bronze, cabled strips of gold, torque of solid wire, torque of beaten sheet of gold on a core of lac, gold necklace set with jewels etc. have been revealed. A fragmentary gold necklace was recovered from Vaisali. Sirkap has yielded a gold necklace of first century AD. It has two small fish with tail.

When necklace of beads with several rows were manufactured, spacers were used. It has more than one perforation. Two broad types of spacers have been found – (1) flat and (2) crescent shaped. In both cases, their purpose was the same, that is, to keep the strings separate. The first type of spacers contains three, four or six holes while the second type has only two parallel holes. Bead spacers with only one hole have also been found which are described as middle ribbed beads.

Terminals have several holes at one end, which all terminate in one large hole at the other end. Perhaps they were made in two sections and then joined together. Combined terminals are also found being generally semicircular in shape.

The arm and wrist ornaments in the ancient times were mainly made of metal, faience, shell, terracotta, glass, ivory, bone etc.

Finger rings have been found practically at all levels of archaeological sites. Plain rings of copper and terracotta were wide spread in ancient times. Other materials used are gold, silver, ivory, shell and during historical time, glass. Gold finger rings have been found only in Taxila, often inlaid with crystal, garnet, malachite and have filigree and granular beading work (Graeco-Roman period). Copper and soapstone specimens have been reported from third century BC. A soapstone specimen from Tripuri shows mother goddess and Garuda figure holding serpents in the hoop. Hastinapura and Rajghat specimens show broad bezels (first century BC - second century AD).

In ancient times, girdles were used for decorative purposes and to keep the loincloth in position. A gold girdle was discovered at Taxila (first century AD). It has 116 lily-pattern pieces, hollow inside and having two transverse holes for strings.

Foot ornaments include lead anklets, an example of it have been unearthed at Bulandibagh probably of pre Mauryan date.

Votive/magical objects

Mother goddess was the most common votive thing throughout the ages. The earliest mother goddess is dated between 2300 BC - 1700 BC. Terracotta mother goddess was prepared for popular religious and magical practices and progeny purposes. They were definitely associated with fertility cult.

The mother goddess has bird or animal like face, extended arms, prominent breasts, broad hip, and thin waist, triple rosetted headdress, collar, necklace and conspicuous waist girdles. In some examples, cup is attached to either side of her head, which probably contained incense. The legs of the most of the figurines are straight having no feet. She wears short skirts held up by a single or double belt. Some figurines have no jewelry. Some figurines have double horn-like projections on their headdress.

Some male or female figurines called *Yakshas* or *Yakshīs* may be identified as secondary deities due to their symbols, vehicles and association with particular animals or birds. They form a distinct type of the Maurya-Śunga period. These figurines were probably worshipped in shrines or placed under big leafy trees. The female figurines are larger in number than the male ones. *Yakshas* or *Yakshīs* seated on mount are rarely reported.

The most common *Yakshī* figurines show round face, elaborate headdress, draperies, ornaments and five hairpins (*āyudhas*). These five magical hairpins include sword, trident, battle-axe, arrow and *ankuśa*. Stella Kramrisch identified them as '*Apsarā Pañchachūdā*' (Kramrisch, 1939).

From ancient times, worship of *nāgī* or snake was prevalent. The *nāgī* figurines, which also occur in the pre-NBP levels at certain sites of Bihar and Utter Pradesh are stylized and have snake hood and human female body. They are handmade, bearing punched and etching marks to indicate the navel, girdle, etc. The common form of stylized snake hoods shows a long neck and tapering hood with two circular eyes. Between the head and neck, there are bands. Mid portion of the body is broad and decorated with stamped circlets. It has two stumpy legs. Another form shows a standing female figure with a halo of snake hood, beneath a merloned roof. These figurines seem to be the representations of mother goddess.

From the earliest time beads have been worn by men and women as ornament as for their magical properties. For this reason, great variation is noticed in their shapes and materials.

A special and common type of bead is the 'eye bead' resembling the eye. There are four main varieties of eye beads: (a) spot eye beads, (b) beads with small circlets, (c) stratified eye beads, (d) inserted cane eye beads.

Amulets are a kind of charm believed to have magical power to safeguard the wearer. Various plants and animals' teeth were also worn as amulet. Amulets and pendants have a wide range of shapes and motifs. They are also executed in a wide range of materials. Pendants were used as decorative objects, while amulets were believed to have magical and curative power, which had also been referred to in literature.

Talismans are the beads believed to be enriched with magical properties and thus able to change fate into fortune and to orient human actions and feelings in a special way. The power of a talisman may be originated from a connection with physical forces from religious affiliations, or from being made in a ritual manner of special material. The basic difference between a talisman and an amulet is that a talisman can change events whereas the function of amulet is fundamentally protective.

Seals

Ancient seals were of three types - 'stamp seal', 'cylinder seal' and 'seal ring'. A 'stamp seal' consists of a cut surface on the end of a block or cone or other shape, with or without a handle on the back. A 'cylinder seal' consists of a cylinder with carved figures. The former gives it impression on the medium by simple downward pressure; the latter is rolled over the medium.

Sealings have been found more profusely than seals. Generally, sealings have been discovered at centers of trade and commerce, administration and religion where letters, parcels, and votive tablets were exchanged. Paucity of seals may be owing to the reason that a single seal could make many seal-impressions. Though baked and intact, the die was usually destroyed after its owner's death to avoid its misuse. A few seals are found intact because they might be lost or not destroyed due to their sentimental, artistic or intrinsic value.

The Indus seals dominated at the contemporary period. These were made of steatite. The standard Indus seals were square, measuring from 2-3 cm. On the obverse an animal was engraved above which was a brief legend (?). The reverse has commonly a pierced boss for hanging. The animals portrayed are unicorn, elephant, rhinoceros, buffalo, etc. and the Brahmanical bull with its hump and pendulant dewlap. There are rectangular or round seals, and several are cylindrical. Some seals bear only a legend but no animals. There are other seals that have only an animal, bird or a symbol but without any legend.

Role of minor antiquities in the life pattern of ancient civilization

In the history of civilization, minor antiquities have a conspicuous place. The study of plastic art without the study of minor antiquities remains incomplete. These were probably spontaneous artistic expression of man throughout the ages. These have survived from early times and are the significant materials of a civilization with a character of its own, bubbling with life and colour.

India has been a cultural center from a very ancient time. In the early literature, we find insufficient description about this country. However, archaeological evidences are opulent to depict the existence of a prosperous culture. Minor antiquities not only serve as an art piece but also portray the activity and transformation in the customs and manners of man in different periods for which we have found no other evidences.

Minor antiquities had a significant role in the economic condition of the then people. These provide firm evidence of urbanization. By opening and developing new trade centers and markets, a society tries to be urbanized. This is not possible in a self-sufficient rural agricultural society where industries do not grow promptly. In this context, mention may be made of the terracottas of Pataliputra and Buxar, which help infer that a new socio-economic structure gradually flourished during the early historical period. Again, a number of terracotta figurines present peculiar types bearing foreign influence. The motifs and designs were migrated from the West and Central Asia and subsequently mixed together with the existing motifs and designs of indigenous terracotta types. Introduction of fine, translucent, light blue glass in manufacturing bangles, evident from some sites, suggests that there might have been a Roman influence. Evidently, the people of Gujarat, Konkan, the Malabar Coast, Tamil Nadu, Vengi, Andhra, Kalinga and Vanga were all carrying on trade with South East Asia. Various Indian miniature models of boats found in that country support this fact. The carved gems are found in large numbers all over the entire northwestern region and are confirmed by the bearing of legends in early Brahmi or Kharosthi, along with in Greek figures, to be the work of local artisans. They have been prevalent in India in the first and second centuries AD and indicate that an effective swell of influence – possibly owing to Roman extension – came from Asia Minor.

Much important were the weights and measures (scales), cowries and balance. They unquestionably discovered a scientific standard for manufacturing and selling the products.

These weights and measures are standard and equally measured, ranging from large pieces to small examples. "Their smallness indicates that they might have been jewellers' weight" (Ghosh, 1989).

In trade, seals prevented tampering. These might have been used for various commercial purposes like official authority seals, identity token, fixation tablets, sealing of letters or packets, etc. The invention of script, application of seals, production of weights and measures – all suggest about flourishing trade and commerce. Lothal was the main trade centre. The Indus people were capable to make the economic relations with West Asian and Central Asian countries that supported the Indus economy. For example, a typical Persian Gulf seal was found at the port-site of Lothal, which denotes to the presence of a Gulf trader from Gujarat. A large number of seals of the Indus character excavated at Ur, Lagash, Susa, Tell Asmar, Umma, etc. suggest that the Indian traders went to Mesopotamia. A Sealing was reported from Umma, found along with a bundle of cloth, which obviously was taken abroad from India. Like cloth, probably the Indus people have also sold abroad spices, ivory, etc. Some tradesmen of Afghanistan brought in return to the Indian subcontinent semiprecious stone and lapis lazuli, highly in demand, from Badakhshan.

The abundance of shell bangles and waste materials found from various sites, indicate that manufacture of shell bangles was a flourishing cottage industry at that time. Besides, many minor antiquities made of different materials including a few 'unfinished ones also indicate presence of local industry.

Beads were used as the medium of exchange, standard units of value in barter and market systems. The ornaments also represent the economic condition of society and the trade relations with other countries. In the early Vedic Age, introduction of currency may be noticed in the form of '*Niska*' as gifts; the '*Niska*' most likely was an ornament in the form of a necklace of gold or silver. Afterward it was replaced by gold coins. From these, it is evident that the people of ancient times were carrying on profitable trade with various countries, in which minor antiquities were of great importance.

The spiritual life of ancient people was full of rites and rituals. In the rituals related to fertility, people may have worshipped the mother goddess. Female figurines were believed to bear some religious significance whose physical features played a distinct role. Mother goddess was considered the tutelary goddess of agriculture, for the prosperity of the crops

and entire animal world. These figurines of mother goddess are perhaps the most ancient cult works of art.

The *yogī* figure from Mohenjodaro seal suggests that people of that time had a thought on 'Higher Reality'. A three-faced deity on some Harappan seals, seen in a feather-and-horn headdress and surrounded by a number of wild and tamed animals, was worshipped as Paśupati, lord of animals that indicating the primitive form of Śiva

Common serpent figurines of terracotta were plentifully found in the early historical period, which claim to a primitive *nāga* cult, especially predominant in Bihar, since this day.

Beads were also supposed to have some miraculous powers. In ancient times, beads were dispersed like seeds during architectural construction in hope of a good crop. It has been believed that beads had been of symbolic repositories of sacred knowledge, having curative power, serving as the 'fee for passing' to the afterlife. The 'eye bead' resembling an eye was believed to have protective power against malevolent eye. They were the 'eyes that could see in all directions' and afforded protection against evil. Seals were used as pilgrimage token, as amulets and charms as well as votive offerings.

Amulets were the charms worn or placed in a house and believed to have a protective effect. Talisman was believed to have magical properties and thus able to change fate into fortune. It is interesting to note that the designs on the amulets and symbols on the beads had their meaning. We get them in form of teeth which probably worn to protect one from the mad dog's bite. Heart shaped pendant was possibly worn to avoid heart disease. Fish shaped amulets was possibly worn for fecundity. The animal amulets were perhaps fashioned with the belief that the pet animal would confront the first attack of the enemy and thus defend the wearer from physical harm.

Excavations at some Harappan sites revealed some containers, mirrors and antimony rods put beside the dead body, under the belief that the deceased person would use those things in afterlife.

Of the recreations of the Indians, the most popular was the chariot meet and the second was dicing. Some sort of betting also appears to have been popular, as suggested by the presence of dice. The recreation of the people included the game of chess of which gamesmen have

been used. Children played hopscotches and marbles, and played with horned masks and some simple toys like bulls with movable heads and monkeys 'going up and down a cord'. Terracotta toys including rattles, carts, whistles, bird chariots, human figurines etc., were popular among the children. The purpose of producing toys was definitely to pacify, entertain and teach children. Sometimes, those were used for interior decoration. The representation of animals as toy carts suggests that those animals were domesticated and probably used in agriculture. The miniature carts used by the children also reflect the prevailing transport of that time. The medium of conveyance was vehicles like carts, wagons and chariots drawn by men or animals while on waterway boats and sailing ships served the end. We come across toy carts with solid wheels as well as with spoked wheels in terracotta. From the Harappan sites we find *Ekkās* in bronze and copper which possibly the children of affluent families used.

Dolls, dices, hopscotches, discs etc., also served as objects of amusement. Some of the dices bear the representation of dancers. Probably they had some significance or may be used for embossing.

The life of luxury led by the people of ancient time can be imagined from the articles of toilet as well as ornaments found from many sites. Among the toilet objects unearthed are mirrors, razors, combs, antimony pots, kohl sticks, skin rubbers, etc. Combs were used for cleaning and arranging the hair, for keeping it in position when dressed, and as an ornament for the head. The great plenty of skin rubbers, especially in drains (in case of Harappan sites) prove their use in toilet. Kohl was applied to eyes with kohl sticks. Antimony pots were used for keeping antimony powder. Bronze mirrors were used to see the image of oneself during personal ornamentation. These reveal how fastidious the women of the ancient times in culture of beauty were.

Ornaments are essential for personal decoration for their aesthetic value. From the excavated human figurines it appears that ornaments were spontaneously worn by all; necklaces, fillets, armlets and finger rings by both men and women; girdles, ear rings and anklets by women exclusively. They evince the good taste of jewelers. In the early historical periods, ornaments were of gold and silver. The poor were fond of ornaments but had to be gratified with terracotta beads and ornaments. Ornaments indicate social status and position of man. Say for instance, a crown shows royalty or divinity. The form and decoration of the ornaments represented the aspirations, fears, jealousies, and the ambitions of people.

Apart from the aesthetic and ritualistic significance, minor antiquities in their varied uses throw considerable light on the history of the people. They show that society was divided into different groups and classes based on existence of weavers, jewellers, potters, blacksmiths, ivory carvers and such other types of artisans. Society was largely divided into two classes namely the rich and poor. We can assume that ornaments for the rich were made of gold, silver, faïence, ivory and the semi precious stones; for the poor they were mainly of shell, bone, copper and terracotta. Beads were also worn to indicate the status. Terracotta was associated more with the masses than with the upper echelon; furnishing a sign to the level of creativity of a community. So, terracotta figurines may be regarded as the 'poor man's sculpture'. Art was not confined to the higher groups of people; it was the best exponent of the popular life and mind of contemporary society on the other.

People's knowledge of technology can be traced from minor antiquities. The knowledge was extended to three 'R's viz., reading, writing and (a) rithmetic. Weights and measures, made by those people, prove this. Weights of chert, limestone, steatite, slate, chalcedony, schist, gneiss, etc. usually cubic in form secured a binary system for the lower category and a decimal one bigger up, the proportions being 1,2, 8/3, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 160, 200, 320, 640, 1600, 3200, etc. up to 12800. Such a series and arrangement was unique. Mention may be made of graded scales, found at Mohenjodaro, Lothal and Kalibangan, albeit these are occasionally unfinished. A bronze bar from Harappa also bears marking at fixed intervals. The evidence implies that the Indus people adopted a 'foot' of about 33 cm to 33.5 cm, together with a 'unit of measurement' measuring about 51.6 cm to 52.8 cm. The art of mixing copper with tin or arsenic to produce bronze must have come to the protohistoric man as a great discovery. The terracotta objects were created both by hand and mould; sometimes both these techniques were employed. Introduction of double mould, presence of air holes, grits and admixture of rice husk, use of pigments etc. indicate a high skill in terracotta making. Glass objects were manufactured following a high technology.

In the pattern of Indian art as a whole, the cumulative evidence from archaeological excavations shows that minor antiquities played an essential part in many ways in the life pattern of ancient world. In the change and development of forms and materials of minor antiquities and their decorations is hidden the study of progress of humanity through the ages. They were possibly influenced by exotic contacts and setting them in their chronological order a notable course was left upon to trace the history of the age-old culture of India. These

find serve as documents of economy, religion, society and culture as well as denote the history of art predominating during ancient times. The vast repertory of minor antiquities may be recognized as the natural growth of early Indian art based on indigenous soil and trends that was the in thing in that time.

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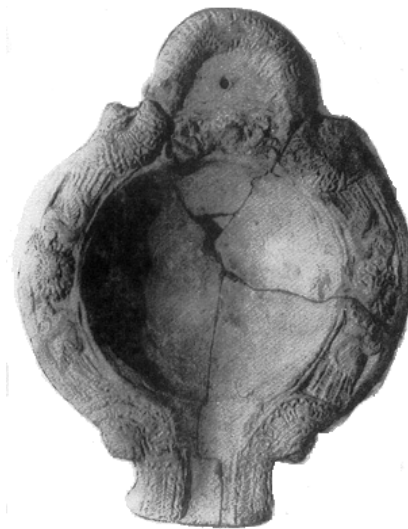
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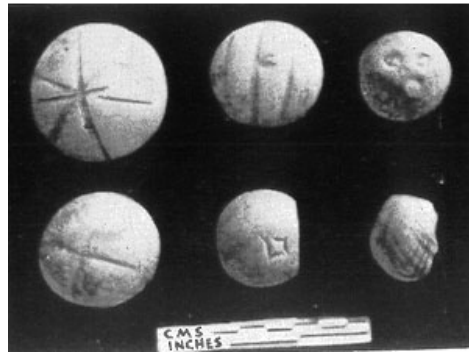
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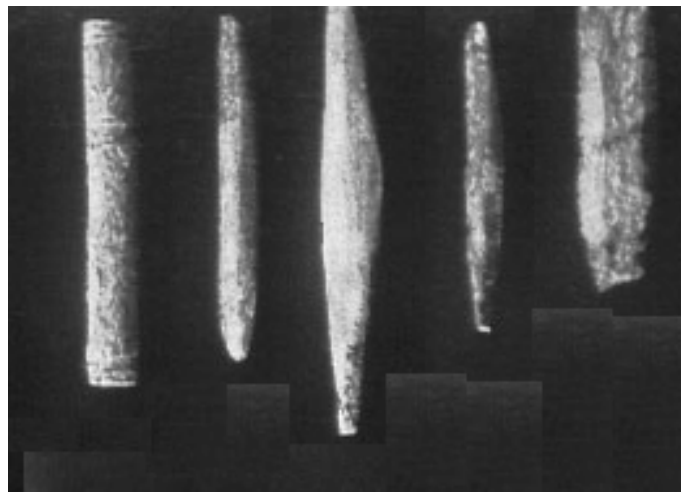
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Urban defenses at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat (Pakistan). The Saka-Parthian Phases: Data from the 2015 excavation campaign

Elisa Iori, Luca M. Olivieri and Amanullah Afridi

Abstract

This article reports on the latest data provided by the 2015 excavation campaign at the Early Historic urban site of Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat (N Pakistan). This campaign followed on from an intensive 4-year excavation phase carried out inside the SW quarter of the ancient town (2011-2013), as well as outside the SW corner of the city wall (2014). The new campaign focused on a portion of the external area, and revealed a complex sequence of constructions, collapses and abandonment of the urban defenses of the site. The new data are compared with others from previous excavation campaigns in the same site.

Keywords: *Indo-Greek, urban fortifications, North-West India, Early Historic period*

Introduction

After 31 years and 19 excavation campaigns, the Early Historic urban site of Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, identified as the ancient town of Bazira/Vajīrasthāna (e.g. Olivieri 2012), can be considered, along with the Taxila valley sites of Sirkap and Bhir Mound, and the Charsadda sites of Bala Hisar and Shaikhan-dheri, as the most important excavated historic settlement in the North-West of the Indo-Pakistani Subcontinent.

The site is located west of the modern village of Barikot, and is marked by a steep hill (acropolis) overlooking the Swat River. The area of the ancient town (about 7 hectares), and part of the acropolis were encompassed within a defensive circuit - a massive construction built of pebbles, stone slabs and clay mortar (c. 3 m thick) - (hereafter: 'Wall') featured by massive rectangular bastions every 28 mt, the equivalent of 100 Attic feet (or 1 *plethron*). The Wall was dated on the basis of the results of the previous excavation to the second half of the 2nd century BCE (McDowall and Callieri 2004; Callieri 2007). According to P. Callieri, the Wall of Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai represents the

only Indo-Greek urban defensive works excavated so far, as well as the easternmost example of Hellenistic military architecture in Asia (Callieri 2007)[1].

Thanks to the extensive excavation program, the benchmarks of the cultural sequence of the town are well known (Olivieri *et al.* 2014). The town was founded as a fortified settlement at the time when the Indo-Greek rulers were extending their control over the Swat valley (mid-2nd century CE = BKG Cultural Phase 3 A). During the construction of the town, a previous village (BKG Cultural Phase 2, culturally linked to periods VII-VIII of the Ghalegai sequence = second-half of the 1st millennium BCE) was totally razed to the ground and the resulting materials re-employed in the early constructions (Callieri *et al.* 1992; Olivieri 2015). After the foundation the town was maintained as a fortified settlement in Saka-Parthian times (BKG Cultural Phase 3 B), and demilitarized only in Kushan times, possibly during the 2nd century CE (BKG Cultural Phase 4 A). Indeed, already in 2nd century BCE (BKG Cultural Phase 4 B) the Wall fell into disrepair, and was then turned into a sort of huge retaining wall encompassing the artificial mound formed by the continuously rising levels of the town (Olivieri 2015). The coincidence between the collapse of the Kushan power and a series of destructive earthquakes eventually marked the end of the town (or its partial abandonment) towards the end of the 3rd century CE (BKG Cultural Phase 5 B), under the rule of the Kushano-Sasanians (Olivieri 2012).

The 2015 excavation focused on the area around the first bastion E after the SW corner of the Wall (trench BKG 12E). The excavation of the area had already started in 2011, when it revealed the full structure of bastion E, and the levels corresponding to the abandonment of the Wall (BKG Cultural Phase 4 A) were reached. The excavation was resumed in the Fall of 2014, when the limits of the new trench were established by L.M. Olivieri and the surface of the BKG Cultural Phase 4 B was reached. A year later, the

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[1] On the Hellenistic fortifications, Francfort 1979, Leriche and Trèziny, eds. 1986, still represents the most precious overview. See also Deloche 1992.

excavation of trench BKG 12E was resumed[2]. The excavation was initially aimed at ascertaining the extent to which the pre-Wall settlement was a living settlement at the time of its demolition. On this assumption it was expected to proceed easily through the later layers and reach the layers of BKG Cultural Phase 3 A. However, the focus of the excavation changed during the execution, since the former revealed the existence of an infrastructural complex, belonging to the Saka-Parthian phases of the site (BKG Cultural Phase 3 B), which appeared to be far more complex (and interesting) than expected.

The structural sequence of BKG 12E

Trench BKG 12E is located outside the first bastion E of the SW corner of the Wall, and consequently represents a portion of the area external to the built-up area of the ancient town of Bazira/Vajirasthana. Trench BKG 12E covers an area of about 95 sq mt, and its orientation corresponds to the alignments of the W and S stretches of the Wall (Figs. 1-3).

The following paragraphs present a summary of the major structural events, grouped in phases. The sequence is illustrated in chronological order in Table 1. The tentative correspondence between these phases and the structural Periods documented during the excavation of Trenches 3, 4-5 and 11 is presented in Table 2.

This paper is meant to be the follow-up of a previous one published in 2015 on the results of trench BKG 12 excavated in Summer 2014 (Olivieri 2015).

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[2] The excavation was carried out in the framework of the Archaeology, Community, Tourism-Field School Project (ACT), implemented by the Italian Archaeological Mission (IAM-ISMEO) and the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums (DoAM), Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The ACT project is financed by the Pakistani-Italian Debt Swap Agreement, a program sponsored by the Italian Development Cooperation body, under the supervision of the Economic Affairs Division, Government of Pakistan. The participation of Ms Elisa Iori was made possible thanks to a grant of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cultural Cooperation (Overseas Italian Archaeological Missions).

The 2015 fieldwork at BKG 12E, which lasted for 5 weeks from September to October, was organized by Dr. L.M. Olivieri, and directed in the field by Ms. Elisa Iori with the collaboration of Mr. Amanullah Afridi (DoAM), and the invaluable assistance of Mr. Abdul Azim, Mr. Abid Khan, and Mr. Naik Mohammad (IAM Field Officers, Barikot).

Phase 1: Construction of the wall (=BKG 12 Phase C, BKG Cultural Phase 3 A)

The earliest phase of occupation identified in BKG 12E is related to the construction of the defensive Wall [303] and the annexed bastion [4], dating to the Indo-Greek period (= BKG Cultural Phase 3 A) (McDowall and Callieri 2004; Callieri 2007). As already stated (Callieri *et al.* 1990; Callieri *et al.* 1992; Olivieri 2015), in its S stretch, the Wall is built in a low stepped longitudinal trench dug into the slope of the preexisting artificial mound. During this phase, the external area included a free flat area adjacent to the Wall, followed by a ditch[3], running parallel to the fortification, at about 5 m from the outer face of the Wall, i.e. 2 m from the bastions.

Inter-phase A: Partial collapse of the Bastion (= BKG 12 inter-phase 1, BKG Cultural Phase 3 B) (Fig. 4)

Some time later, a natural event, most probably an earthquake, caused the partial collapse of the bastion (more exactly, the top and the SE corner). Inter-phase A correlates with inter-phase 1 in BKG 12 (Olivieri 2015), Phase 4 in BKG 4-5 (Callieri *et al.* 1992), and Phase IIB in BKG 3 (Callieri *et al.* 1990), with which damage to and partial collapses of both Wall and bastions are associated.

Phase 2: Reinforcement/pit-well/external precinct (= BKG 12 Phase D, BKG Cultural Phase 3 B) (Fig. 5)

Phase 2A

First, the SE corner of the bastion was reconstructed, and in that point merged with an additional structure, i.e. escarpment [5]. The latter is built abutting the front of the bastion, and only partly joined to the right corner of the same. In order to facilitate the run-off of the rainwater from the area close to the Wall down to the ditch, a drain consisting of three overlapping stones [70] was positioned between the escarpment and a

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[3] The ditch or moat was previously documented in BKG 3 = Callieri *et al.* 1990, BKG 4-5 = Callieri *et al.*1992, BKG 12 = Olivieri 2015

new retaining wall [3], parallel to the Wall[4].

On the same level as wall [3], and parallel to it, a wider masonry structure [28E] also lies, located at a distance of *ca.* 5 m from the Wall and serving as further support for the bastion. The state of preservation of wall [28E] prevented a full definition of the main role of this wall, which probably was not restricted solely to its supporting function, and the continuous restoration to which it was subjected suggest it played quite an important role.

Once this work of reconstruction, reinforcement and prevention was completed, further resources were invested in the construction of masonry structures not involved in the Wall's stability, namely a pit-well and related structures.

The same structural sub-phase of [3], besides a partial reconstruction of [28E], namely [28W], includes a pit-well [61], discovered at about 1.80 m to the S of the bastion. The pit-well (external dim. 2.20 x 2.20 m; internal dim. 0.80 x 0.85 m) was cleared down to a depth of 3 m, after which the excavation was halted for safety reasons. The pit-well is internally provided with a vertical row of four square putlog holes on each face (*ca.* 0.40-0.50 m from each other) and on its external N face displays a drain [91], only partly uncovered, which was probably part of a broader draining system aimed at protecting from water run-off the pit-well and other structures, located at a far lower level than the Wall's terrain.

Phase 2B

Shortly after, two other walls were constructed: [14bis] and [65]. The former abuts on the retaining wall [3] at right angles, while the latter is located at less than 9 m from the

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[4] One significant detail is the inclination of the drain, which gives us an idea of how steep the slope was below the escarpment during this phase.

Wall and runs parallel to it. Unfortunately, the possible corner [14bis]-[65] could not be investigated, because of the presence of a modern drain. Although it cannot be proved that [14bis] and [65] were part of the same structure, it is highly probable.

Perhaps these structures, together with [3] and [28E]-[28W], were components of a defensive precinct of the extramural pit-well [61], a fact that might explain both their imposing nature and the several rebuildings (of [14bis]).

Inter-phase B: Collapse of the external structures (=BKG 12 Phase D, BKG Cultural Phase 3 B) (Fig. 5)

The reinforcements of Phase 2 proved insufficient. In fact, a landslide must have created a deep depression, of which we have some negative evidence in the collapse of [65] at the SW corner of our trench. The landslide caused the destruction of the precinct, as well as the slight downwards slipping of the western part of the escarpment [5]. The collapse of [65] ultimately marked the closure of the pit-well (see below).

Phase 3: Reinforcement/closure of pit-well (=BKG 12 Phase D, BKG Cultural Phase 3 B)

A fresh attempt to arrest the continuous landslips and their consequences for the structures was the construction of a retaining wall [12], running parallel to the Wall at a very short distance from the bastion (*ca.* 1 m) and its escarpment. Wall [12], extending over almost the whole length of the trench, was built in a low stepped foundation trench open to the S. The supporting wall [25] is coeval to [12], and abuts on the S face of the latter, at *ca.* 0.80 m W of the pit-well. It cannot be excluded that wall [25] represented the new western limit of the defensive precinct, now smaller than before in view of the unstable state of the ground level to the SW.

To the S, wall [12] was further supported by an earlier wall [28W]-[28E] and by a new structure, [62]. The latter, abutting the W face of [28W] and the S face of [12], was a low structure, probably meant to act as a sort of junction between the surrounding structures.

Structure [62] was later prolonged by [62bis] which overlaid the pit-well, the latter, at that point, being abandoned and sealed.

Inter-phase C: Collapse and abandonment of the area (=BKG 12 Phase D, BKG Cultural Phase 3 B)

A later landslide swept away part of wall [25], causing also the partial slipping of other structures (negative interface <78>). At this point the depression in area SW was so steep that the area must have been unusable. The depression was later filled by a very thick layer [59].

Phase 4: Construction of retaining wall [11] (=BKG 12 Phase E, BKG Cultural Phase 4 A) (Fig. 6)

By the time of Phase 4 all the preexisting external structures in BKG 12E were covered by a sequence of accumulation layers interspersed with collapsed areas. The main feature of this phase is the construction of a berm, to the W of the bastion. The berm acts as a retaining wall [11] parallel to the Wall and is located at a distance of *ca.* 3.20 from the latter. The retaining wall was built by cutting the sloping ground to create an embankment. The aim of this structure, with only the S face exposed, was both to regularize the external area, also creating a passageway, and to prevent further problems caused to the Wall. However, as pointed out elsewhere (Callieri 1992: 11; Olivieri 2012; Olivieri 2015), the functional role of the Wall at this point in time was about to change, passing from the role of fortification to that of substruction of the raising ground-level of the town.

Later on the retaining wall [11] was provided with a small additional wall [6] (Phase 4 B).

Decorated Pottery and Other Finds

Among the finds of BKG 12E (Inventory in Table 3), chronological indications are provided by two items of numismatic evidence. A coin of Azes II (Inv. 2814) and of Kujula Kadphises (Inv. 2771), respectively found in inter-Phase C and Phase 4, agree with the chronological picture proposed above.

Particularly important is the discovery in inter-phase C, of a fragment of a votive tank decorated with a bird with outspread wings (Inv. 2841). This find has a clear affinity with votive tanks (Marshall 1951: pl. 136, n.155-159) recovered at Sirkap and dated to the early 1st century CE (Marshall 1951: 463-464).

Amongst the pottery (mostly red ware with few gray ware sherds), painted and decorated pottery is particularly significant[5]. As regards the black painted ware, its presence is attested from Phase 2 up to Phase 4 and the decorative motifs include: triangles, simple garlands and leaf patterns between horizontal lines, and a comb-like pattern[6]. Although a certain continuity may be observed in the motifs of the painted sherds, for convenience, sherds have been distinguished on the basis of the chronological sequence: sherds belonging to Phase 2 and Inter-Phase C (BKG Cultural Phase 3 B) and sherds from Phase 4 (BKG Cultural Phase 4 A).

In BKG Cultural Phase 3 B, the painted horizontal lines in most cases follow the path of a single or double incised line turned on wheel by the potter in order to facilitate the work of the painter, a practice that is attested also in painted ware from the Bhir Mound and in some later sherds from Sirkap (Marshall 1951: 431). The range of decorative motifs at Bir-kot includes: row of triangles (empty: Inv. 2832, Inv. 2836; with oblique wavy lines: Inv. 2832, Inv. 2830, Inv. 2836; with oblique hatches: Inv. 2869), diverging leaf pattern between painted or incised and painted lines (Inv. 2829, Inv. 2831, Inv. 2835), simple garland hanging from a line (Inv. 2828) and a comb-like pattern on the neck of the pot (Inv. 2834). Also a row of triangles (Inv. 2804) or a frieze (small fragments from SU53) with cross-hatched pattern appear in Inter-Phase C[7].

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[5] Black painted pottery and incised, stamped and embossed forms. All these forms are red slipped and wheel-turned.

[6] The fragmentary state of the sherds does not afford any understanding of the original shape of the painted vessels, although it should be noted that neither dishes nor bowls with everted rim, which are the forms typically provided with black painting on the rim and on their inner part in the Indo-Greek and Saka-Parthian periods (Callieri 2000: 859), were found.

[7] See also Inv. 2803 from the same context (Tab. 3).

Decorated sherds of BKG Cultural Phase 4 A are not quantitatively representative since they consist of only two fragments from the same layer. However, it is interesting to note the appearance in Phase 4, as well as of a zig-zag pattern (in some ways similar to the wavy lines) on a spout (Inv. 2794), of a slightly different type of garland (leaf pattern ?) below a painted rib[8] on a red sherd with an external dark-red slip (Inv. 2793).

The lasting tradition of black painted ware at the historic Bir-kot was clearly highlighted by Callieri (2000: 859-863) who called it 'Black-on-Red Ware'. In particular, the painted motifs of triangles with wavy lines and cross-hatching from BKG 12E parallel three specimens previously found at Bir-kot. The first motif is attested both in BKG 4-5 (Fig. 7a; Callieri 2000: fig 1a) and BKG L (Fig. 8; Filigenzi 1985: 437, fig.16), in layers respectively dated to the Indo-Greek period and to the Saka-Parthian period (?). The fragment from BKG 4-5 also reveals the use of horizontal incised double lines under the painting, as attested in sherds of BKG 12E Cultural Phase 3B. The better preserved specimen from BKG L under the row of triangles with wavy lines displays two registers with animal figures in relief [9]. In addition, a comparable painted decoration appears on the upper body of a red deep bowl from Bala Hisar (Wheeler 1962: fig.22, 128), found, together with tulip bowls[10] and carinated bowls with S-shaped rims, in Ch.I layer 27 which Wheeler dated to the 3rd century CE (see also Vogelsang 1988: 104; *contra* Dittman 1984: 189)[11].

Regarding the motif of the cross-hatched triangles pointing downwards, which were found from inter-phase C on, one example is provided by the upper external surface of a

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[8] The presence of a painted rib and garlands on sherds with dark red slip is documented also by three other small fragments from the same layer.

[9] A very similar moulded figure of a bird, appearing here on the upper register, is found on an unpublished fragment from Udegram Bazar from early strata.

[10] Tulip bowls were found together with NBPW in layers associated with the first occupation of the Wall in BKG L (Filigenzi 1985: 436).

[11] For an updated overview of the considerations put forward on ceramic material from Charsadda see Petrie 2013.

bowl found in BKG 4-5 and dated to the Indo-Greek period (Fig. 7b; Callieri 2000: fig.1b)[12]. It is worth mentioning also two unpublished red slipped sherds from the Bhir Mound (Taxila Museum): one with a row of hatched triangles between two incised and painted lines, the other with a cross-hatched frieze between two incised and painted lines. Both sherds seem very similar to those recovered from the BKG 12E Cultural Phase 3B. It is likely that they are specimens belonging to the 'local red-and-black painted ware' which Marshall asserted were characterized, at the Bhir Mound, by simple motifs such as "parallel bands, chequered triangles, network patterns and vandykes" (Marshall 1951: 431). Also belonging to the 'Local red-and-black painted ware' is certainly a black painted sherd with a cross-hatched frieze between two incised and painted lines (one is missing) (Sharif 1969: fig.24, 10) and another sherd with a row of hatched triangles between two incised and painted lines (Sharif 1969: fig.24, 11) dated to the second half of the 2nd century CE[13].

The painted garland motif appears both in BKG Cultural Phase 3B and BKG Cultural Phase 4 A in trench BKG 12E. The motif is well documented at Sirkap: a specimen published by Marshall (1951: Pl.127, 221-222) is from *stratum* IV (Saka period). Out of the four sherds published by Ghosh, three (Ghosh 1948: fig.15, XXI, XXII, XXX) are dated between the 1st-2nd century CE, while one (Ghosh 1948: fig.15, XXVIII) is dated to the first half of the 1st century BCE. In the specimens from Sirkap the garland is often associated with a cross-hatched frieze, while there is no trace of the rib found on the example from Phase 4 at Bir-kot (Inv. 2793).

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[12] In particular, the decoration on this bowl recalls the hanging hatched or cross-hatched triangles which appear on bowls belonging to the so-called 'Triangle-Ware' from West and Southwest-Iran dated from the late 6th century CE till the end of 2nd/1st century CE (Haerinck 1978: 84-85, Fig.6; Burney 1962: Pl.XLV, 36; also Stronach 1978: fig.111, 5). For a discussion about Eastern-Triangle–Ware at Charsadda see Dittman 1984: 189, fig.10. Besides Bir-kot (Callieri 2000: fig.1) see also Charsadda (Wheeler 1962: fig.27, 206-207, fig. 28, 237), Shaikhan Dheri (Dani 1965-6: fig.21) and Sirkap (Ghosh 1948: fig. 3 1c-d, 1m-n, 2a; Marshall 1951: Pl. 127, 218-219).

[13] A small red bowl, slipped outside, with a painted cross-hatched frieze between two incised and painted lines was dated to 3rd-2nd century BC (Bahadar Khan 2002: figs. 45, 20).

As regards the other decorative techniques, besides a stamped (Inv. 2859) and an incised leaf decoration (Inv. 2868) on the internal base of dishes, it is worth mentioning the discovery in an accumulation layer SU59 (inter-phase C) of the bottom of a bowl featured by an embossed *emblema* representing a female bust in naturalistic style (Inv. 2861). At Bir-kot, Hellenistic embossed decoration in the form of *emblema* is attested in the Saka-Parthian period (Callieri 2000: 870), although the image of a female bust represented an *unicum*. The comparison comes from trench BKG 4-5 where a layer dated to Period V (= Phase 4-5 in BKG 12E, see Tab.2), revealed an *emblema* with a female figurine in bas relief (Fig. 9; Callieri *et al.* 1992: Pl.XVI. 3)[14].

Another fragment of embossed ware comes from SU37, BKG Cultural Phase 4 A. It is a red slipped sherd preserving the lower part of a bird and an elongated 'egg' cornice[15] below (Inv. 2763), which probably belongs to the 'Early historic embossed ware' decorated with animal or human figures framed in superimposed registers attested at Barikot in the Indo-Greek and Saka period (Callieri 2000: 869-870). Their relation with examples from Sirkap (Marshall 1951: 435, 131b) and Charsadda (Wheeler 1962: 102, pl. XIX) has already been stressed by Callieri (2000: 870). In particular, in the rendering, this figure recalls the figure of a bird on embossed ware found at Bir-kot and dated between the 1st century CE and the 1st century CE (Callieri 1990: fig.3; Callieri 2000: fig.4, j).

The pottery evidence clearly shows that decorated pottery from BKG Cultural Phase 3 A, 3 B and 4 A can be positively compared with ceramic material from Bala Hisar, Bhir

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[14] Outside Bir-kot, embossed *emblema* on the bottom of bowls bearing female images were recovered at Shaikhan-dheri (Dani 1965-6: Pl. XXXI) and Ai Khanoum (Lecuyot 2013: pl.XLIX, 2-4; Guillaume et Rougeulle 1987: 64, 1153-1158) Also worth mentioning is the fortuitous discovery at Akra of a small sherd with a female bust with a very similar style of decoration (Khan *et al.* 2000: 80, fig. 8b). This specimen differs from those found at Bir-kot, Shaikhan Dheri and Ai Khanoum, as the figurine seems to be in full relief, and is thus not embossed but appliqué. However, the common Hellenistic influence is clear.

[15] Elongated 'egg' cornice along with embossed animal figures is found also on another sherd from an Indo-Greek layer in BKG 4-5 (Callieri 2000: fig. 6).

Mound and Sirkap dated to the Indo-Greek and Saka-Parthian periods, thus evidencing the existence of a pottery tradition shared between these sites.

Considerations on the Saka-Parthian external structures (= BKG Cultural Phase 3 B)

The evidence provided by the excavation of BKG 12E sheds new light on the organization and functions of the external area of the Wall (S stretch) during the BKG Cultural Phase 3 B.

The extramural sectors investigated so far have revealed little evidence beyond the defensive functions (BKG 3 = Callieri *et al.* 1990; Trench BKG L and M = Filigenzi 1985: 436, 437-438; BKG 4-5 = Callieri *et al.* 1992; Olivieri 2003; BKG 12 = Olivieri 2015), the draining system (BKG 4-5, Callieri *et al.* 1992), and the external passageway network (BKG 12 = Olivieri 2015). Notwithstanding the value of this information, our understanding of the relationship between the town and the immediately surrounding area is incomplete. In this regard, an interesting issue is represented by a series of extramural structures identified during the survey of the Bir-kot plain, that, judging from the masonry technique used, date to historic times (Olivieri 2003: 34-35). It has been hypothesized that "a built-up area existed *extra moenia* for dwelling purposes" (Olivieri 2003: 35), and that the structures identified were in some?? way involved in the defence of a city gate[16].

Obviously, this is a different matter, and the evidence emerging from BKG 12E offers the opportunity for a closer examination of the use of the extramural area, showing that already in the Saka-Parthian period (as indicated by the earlier results of trench BKG 12 = Olivieri 2015) the necessities urban life led to the 'outside' becoming the natural prosecution of the urban 'inside'.

Since the very short distance of the pit-well from the Wall is an obvious indication of the connection of the former with the urban center, the question of why not to build the well

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[16] For a possible location of the city gate see Olivieri 2003: 36.

inside the town thus seems legitimate. Most probably, at the beginning of this phase (BKG Cultural Phase 3 B) the inner built-up area had already reached saturation point so that the inhabitants were prompted to construct the pit-well in an extramural area, where, moreover, it would have been easier to reach the water table as the ground level was far lower. In such a framework, the reconstructive hypothesis of a defensive precinct encompassing the pit-well gains strength. Consequently, the intensive building activities and the frequent restoration work on the structures, can be conceived of as taking place in the context of an external service area of that part of the city[17].

An interesting comparison with the hypothetical defensive precinct comes from BKG 3 which yielded a rectangular structure built to the S of the bastion, parallel to the Wall, and stretching eastwards, creating a large room, BKG310, interpreted as a blockhouse (Olivieri 2015: fig. 10). The reconstruction of the bastion (Period IIB) and the subsequent construction of the external room BKG310 (Period III) can be included in the same chronological frame as the service area in BKG 12E. Therefore, the masonry structures of BKG 3, far better preserved than those of BKG 12E (namely [14 bis] and [65]), represent a good example of an extramural room abutting a bastion in Saka-Parthian period, despite the possible different functions (Callieri *et al.* 1990: 171-172)[18].

Coming back to BKG 12E, another point which needs to be stressed is that of the accessibility to the service area. It goes without saying that the possible presence of a city gate in the immediate surroundings, appears to be a sensible explanation for the location for the pit-well. Even if the location of BKG 12E, so close to the SW corner of

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[17] The fact that wells ascribed to subsequent phases have been discovered inside the city (Callieri *et al.* 1992: 18, 20; Callieri *et al.* 1990: 177; Olivieri *et al.* 2014) can be explained by the reorganization of the urban spaces in Kushan time.

[18] For Saka-Parthian phases outside the city wall see Filigenzi 1985: 436-439 (trenches L-M), Callieri *et al.* 1990: (BKG 3), Callieri *et al.* 1992: 10-11 (BKG 4-5), Olivieri 2015: 191 (BKG 12); for Saka-Parthian phases inside the city wall see Callieri *et al.* 1990: 170-174 (BKG 3), Callieri *et al.* 1992: 15-19 (BKG 4-5).

the S side of the Wall, does not seem the most suitable point for a main gateway[19], nothing prevents us from proposing the presence of a secondary gate nearby[20].

However, the presence of a pit-well outside the Wall, and maybe close to a secondary gate, may to some extent compared to function of the so-called 'water-gates'. The latter were meant for water to be drawn in security, and have been hypothesized at Sirkap (Marshall 1951: 115; Ghosh 1948: 42)[21]. Within this overall picture the choice to locate a defendable service area with a well here does not seem unreasonable.

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[19] With regard to the gateway, it is again worth mentioning the result of the 1992-1993 survey during which, in the present village of Barikot, a large downward slope has been observed which creates a gap in the continuity of the level of the ancient perimeter of the fortification wall. The reasonable explanation given for such a gap is the presence of a gateway, which at this point would also benefit from a central position on the S side of the Wall (Olivieri 2003: 36).

[20] Indeed, in the unexcavated area immediately adjacent to the E limit of BKG 12E, along the continuation of the Wall (which is clearly detectable underground), a small downward slope was found corresponding to an inner area?? which seems to be interestingly free of structures. This speculation should be taken into account when planning future investigations. For another possible location of a secondary gate see Olivieri 2003: 35.

[21] At Barikot, since the course of the Swat river borders the steep hill (citadel), it must have been easier for the inhabitants to draw water from the Bir-kot *khwar* which flows on the E side of the site. Here structural remains have actually led to the presence of a secondary gate being proposed (Olivieri 2003: 35). Hence, the S side of the city, where BKG 12E was excavated, proved to be the side that is less served by water supply. With regard to the citadel, difficulties of water supply, and the different solutions found by the inhabitants of Bazira (a hilltop pit-tank as well as underground passages) have already been previously discussed (*ibid*.: 43).

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Tables

Table 1. The occupation sequence (Sketch drawings by F. Martore; not to scale).
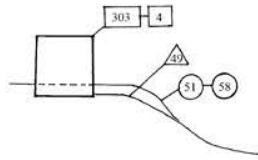
1) Construction of the Wall [303] and its Bastion [4];
Artificial cut <49> into the proto-historic mound.
Eternal setting: (51) to the W, (58) to the E of the Bastion.
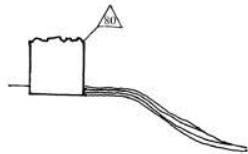
A) Partial collapse of the Bastion <80>.
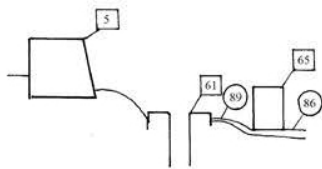
2) Reconstruction of the Bastion and construction of the additional structure, enscarpment [5].
Construction, on floor-level (89), of pit-well [61] encompassed by structures, among which wall [65] resting on layer (86).
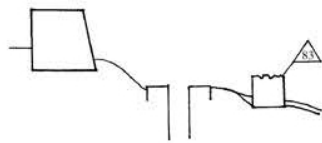
B) Collapse of the external structures here testified by the collapse of wall [65], namely <83>.
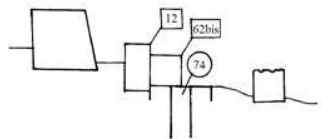
3) Construction of retaining wall [12].
Once the pit-well was filled (74), structure [62bis] closed and sealed the pit-well.
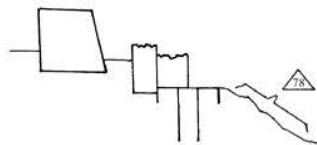
C) Another landslide <78> determines the partial collapse of the external structures.
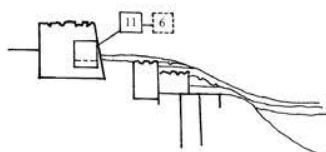
4-5) The external structures are now covered by a sequence of accumulation layers and collapses.

Construction of retaining wall [11] in Phase 4, and of an additional wall [6] in Phase 5.
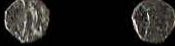
Table 2. Tentative correspondence between the BKG 12E Phases/Inter-phases and the periodization of trenches BKG 12, 3, 4-5 and 11.

Cultural Phases (After Olivieri et al. 2014)	Macro-periods (After Colliva 2011)	BKG 4-5 BKG 11	BKG 4-5 outside the city wall	BKG 12 outside the city wall (After Olivieri 2015)	BKG 12E outside the city wall	BKG 3 outside the city wall	Relative Chronology ABSOLUTE CHRONOLOGY (14C) (from trenches BKG 1, 3, 11)
Cultural Phase 7	BKGCS VIIIb	Period X		Inter-phase 3		Period VI	5th-6th CE?
Cultural Phase 6	BKGCS VIIIa	Period IX				Period V	4TH CE (BEGINNING)
Cultural Phase 5	BKGCS VII	earthquake				Period IVB	3RD CE (SECOND HALF)
		Period VIII	Phase 8	Phase F			
		earthquake	Phase 7	Inter-phase 2			
		Period VII					3rd CE (first half)
Cultural Phase 4 B	BKGCS VI	Period VI	Phase 6	Phase E		Period IIIB	2nd CE
		earthquake					
Cultural Phase 4 A	BKGCS V	Period V			Phase 5	Period IIIA	1st-2nd CE
			Phase 5		Phase 4		
Cultural Phase 3 B	BKGCS IV	Period IV	Phase 4	Phase D	Inter-phase C	Period IIB	1st BCE
					Phase 3		
					Inter-phase B		
					Phase 2		
Cultural Phase 3 A		earthquake		Inter-phase 1	Inter-phase A		
	BKGS III	Period III	Phase 3	Phase C	Phase 1	Period IIA	2ND BCE (SECOND HALF)
Cultural Phase 2	BKGCS II	Period II	Phase 2	Phase B		Period IA	Periods V to VIII of the Ghalegai sequence (1300-300 BCE)
		Period I	Phase 1	Phase A			
Cultural Phase 1	BKGCS I					Period IB	Period IV of the Ghalegai sequence (1700-1400 BCE)

Table 3. List of inventoried objects cited in the text, and grouped according to their Phases/Inter-phases (Photos by Aurangzeib Khan)

Inv. No	Source	Description	Conditions	Dimensions	Material	Phase	
2828	BKG 12E (77)	Sherd. Painted in black. Simple garlands hanging from line below the neck. Line painted along the body.	Fragment. Wheel-made.	h. max. 6.3 w. max. 7.5 t. 0.4	Red slip Ware	Phase 2	
2829	BKG 12E (77)	Sherd. Painted in black. Simple diverging leaves' pattern between two lines incised and painted below.	Fragment. Wheel-made.	h. max. 6.9 w. max. 5.8 t. 0.6	Red slip Ware	Phase 2	
2830	BKG 12E (77)	Sherd. Part of a spout (missing). Painted in black. Horizontal line to the left, and, to the right, horizontal frame decorated with a pattern of wave-like lines.	Fragment. Wheel-made.	h. max. 5.7 w. max. 3.0 t. 0.6	Red slip Ware	Phase 2	
2831	BKG 12E (77)	Sherd. Part of a spout (missing). Painted in black. Horizontal painted and incised line along the body (diverging leaves' pattern?).	Fragment. Wheel-made.	h. max. 6.5 w. max. 5.3 t. 0.7	Red slip Ware	Phase 2	
2832	BKG 12E (77)	Sherd. Painted in black. Triangles with oblique wave-like lines below along the neck. Sinuous discontinuous line between two lines (incised and painted) along the body.	Fragmentary. recomposed from three fragments.	h. max. 4.6 w. max. 8.1 t. 0.5	Red slip Ware	Phase 2	
2834	BKG 12E (77)	Sherd. Painted in black. Line with comb-like pattern open below.	Fragment. Wheel-made.	h. max. 2.6 w. max. 2.8 t. 0.5	Red slip Ware	Phase 2	
2835	BKG 12E (77)	Sherd. Part of a spout (brocken) with knob below. Painted in black. Simple diverging leaves' pattern between two painted lines (upper missing).	Fragment. Wheel-made.	h. max. 6.7 w. max. 6.8 t. 0.5	Red slip Ware	Phase 2	

Inv. No	Source	Description	Conditions	Dimensions	Material	Phase	
2869	BKG 12E (89)	Sherd. Painted in black. Triangles with oblique like lines between two incised painted lines.	Fragment. Wheel-made.	l. max. 7.2 w. max. 5.4 t. 0.7	Red slip Ware	Phase 2	
2836	BKG 12E (69)	Sherd. With horizontale handle (partly preserved). Painted in black. Triangles with oblique wave-like lines below along the handle (external side). Below, row of empty triangles pointed down between two painted lines.	Fragment. Wheel-made.	h. max. 4.5 w. max. 3.5 t. 0.5	Red slip Ware	Phase 3	
2803	BKG 12E (57)	Sherd. With handle. Painted in black. Geometric pattern.	Fragment. Half handle preserved.	l. 7.1 t. 0.8	Red Slip Ware	inter-Phase C	
2804	BKG 12E (57)	Sherd. Painted in black. Row of triangles with oblique wave-like	Fragment. Wheel-made.	l. 8.8 t. 0.6	Red Slip Ware	inter-Phase C	
2814	BKG 12E (59)	Coin. Azes II. Obv.: King mounted r. Rev.: Zeus standing l. Göbl 1976: nos. 46-56.	Worn, corroded, heavily oxidized.	D. 1.9 2.0 gr	Æ	Inter-phase C	
2841	BKG 12E (59)	Part of a rectangular votive tank. Bird with outspread wings perched on the rim (Marshall 1951: n.155-159).	Fragment. Hand-made.	h. max. 2.5 w. max. 5.5 t. 0.5	Terracotta Red	Inter-phase C	
2859	BKG 12E (59)	Sherd. Part of a dish with decorated bottom. Stamped decoration. Leaves around a central circle (two concentric depressions).	Fragment. Only one leave is preserved. Wheel-made.	l. max. 6.4 w. max. 4.4 t. 0.25	Red slip Ware	Inter-phase C	
2861	BKG 12E (59)	Sherd. Bottom of a bowl. Embossed *émblema* with Roman-style image. Female bust wearing a tunic and overtunic. The figure wears necklace (row of pearls) and earrings. Hairdress featured by a row of curls over the forehead (or crown?). Cf. BKG 1516 (Callieri et al. 1992: Pl.XVI. 3).	Fragment. the right part of the body is missing.	l. max. 3.8 w. max. 3.2 t. max 1.8, t. 0.7	Red slip Ware.	Inter-phase C	

INV. NO	SOURCE	DESCRIPTION	CONDITIONS	DIMENSIONS	MATERIAL	PHASE	
2868	BKG 12E (59)	Sherd. Base of a dish. Internal base decorated with pattern of incised leaves.	Fragment. Sharp breaks.	l. max. 8.9 w. max. 4.0 t. 0.6	Red. slip Ware	Inter-phase C	
2793	BKG 12E (38)	Sherd. Painted in black. Line with comb-like pattern above. Garlands hanging from central rib (painted).	Fragment. recomposed from two fragments. Wheel-made.	l. 11.4 t. 0.5	Red Slip Ware	Phase 4	
2794	BKG 12E (38)	Sherd. Spout. Painted in black. Zigzag lines	Fragment. Wheel-made.	l. 5.8	Red Slip Ware	Phase 4	
2763	BKG 12E (37)	Sherd with impressed linear image of bird; row of pointed ovoli below. Shoulder.	Sherd.	7.8 6.0 0.9	Red Ware Slipped	Phase 4	
2771	BKG 12E (24)	Coin. K Kujula Kadphises (?) Rev.: King standing frontal. Göbl 1976: nos. 129-132?	Worn, corroded, oxidized.	D. 1.6 3.9 gr	Æ	Phase 4	

Figures
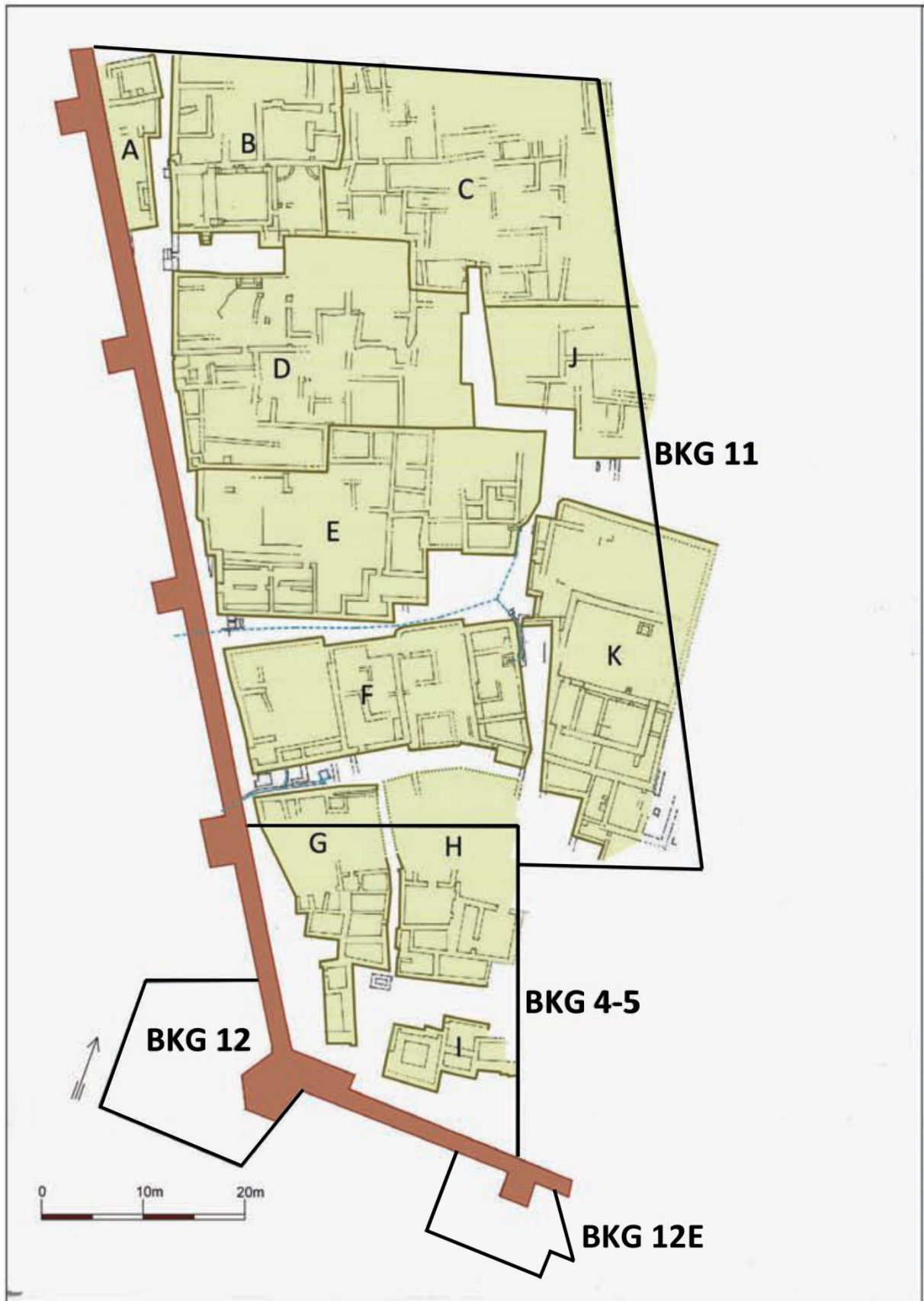
Figure 1. Position of trenches BKG 11, BKG 4-5, BKG 12 and BKG 12E (Modified by EI after Olivieri 2015: fig. 1)
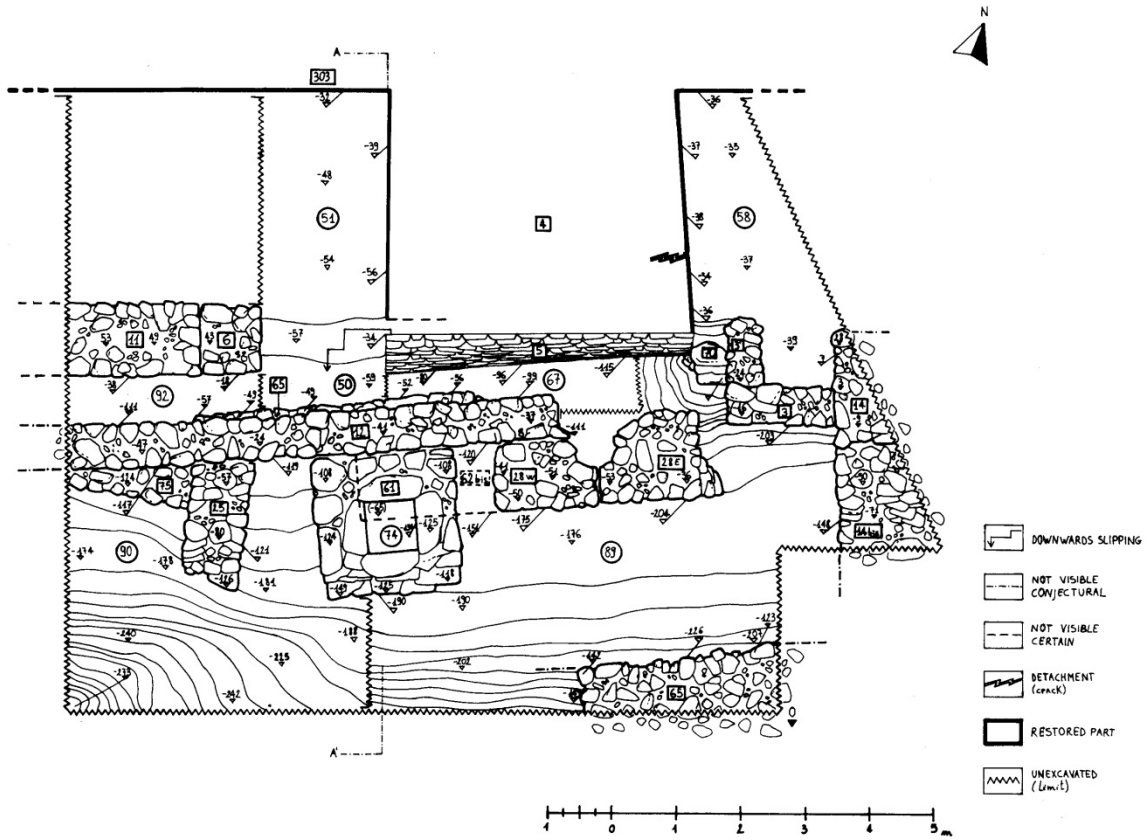
Figure 2. Trench BKG 12, final plan (Drawings by EI)
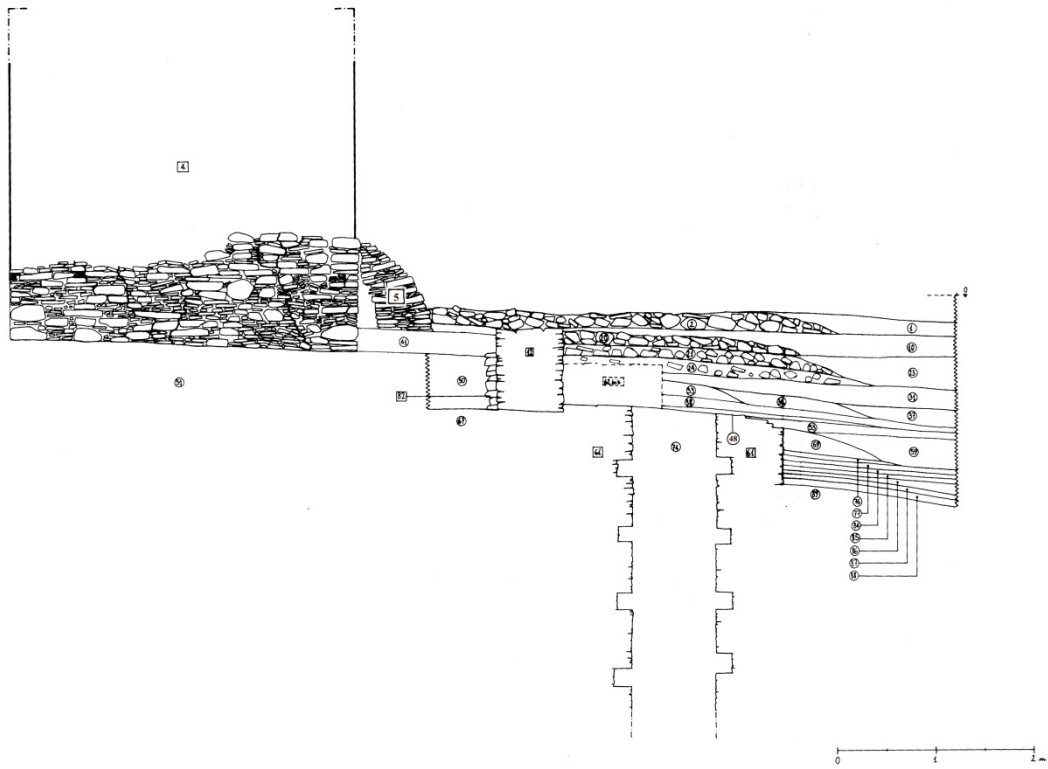
Figure 3. Stratigraphic section AA' (Drawings by EI)
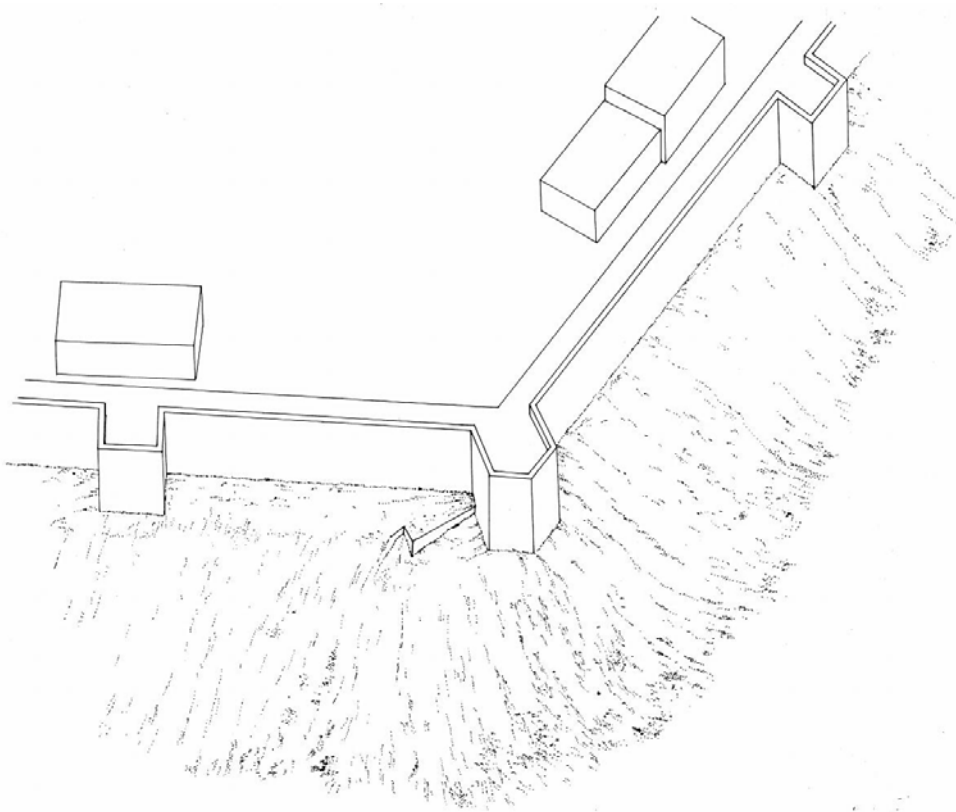
Figure 4. Phase 1: Axonometric restitution of the SW corner of the Wall with external area (Drawings by F. Martore).
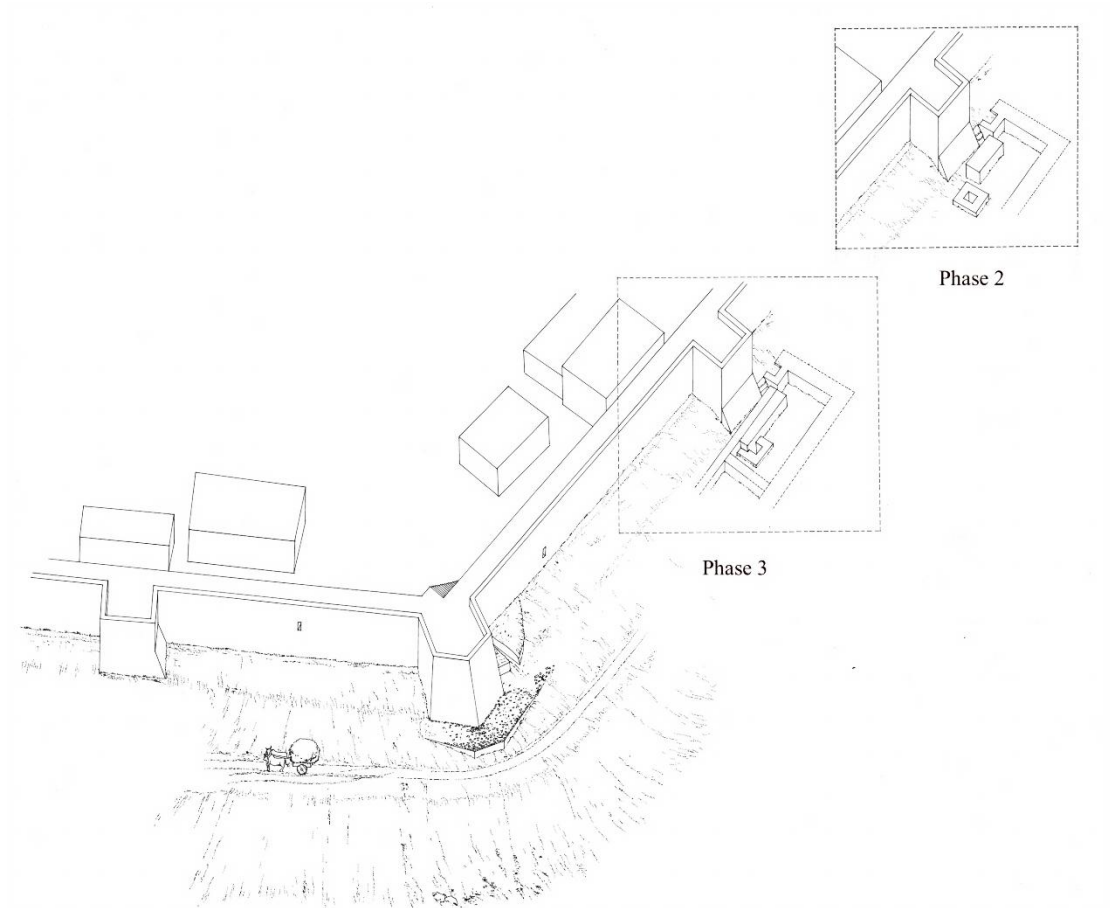
Figure 5. Phases 2-3: Axonometric restitution of the Wall with external area (Drawings by F. Martore).
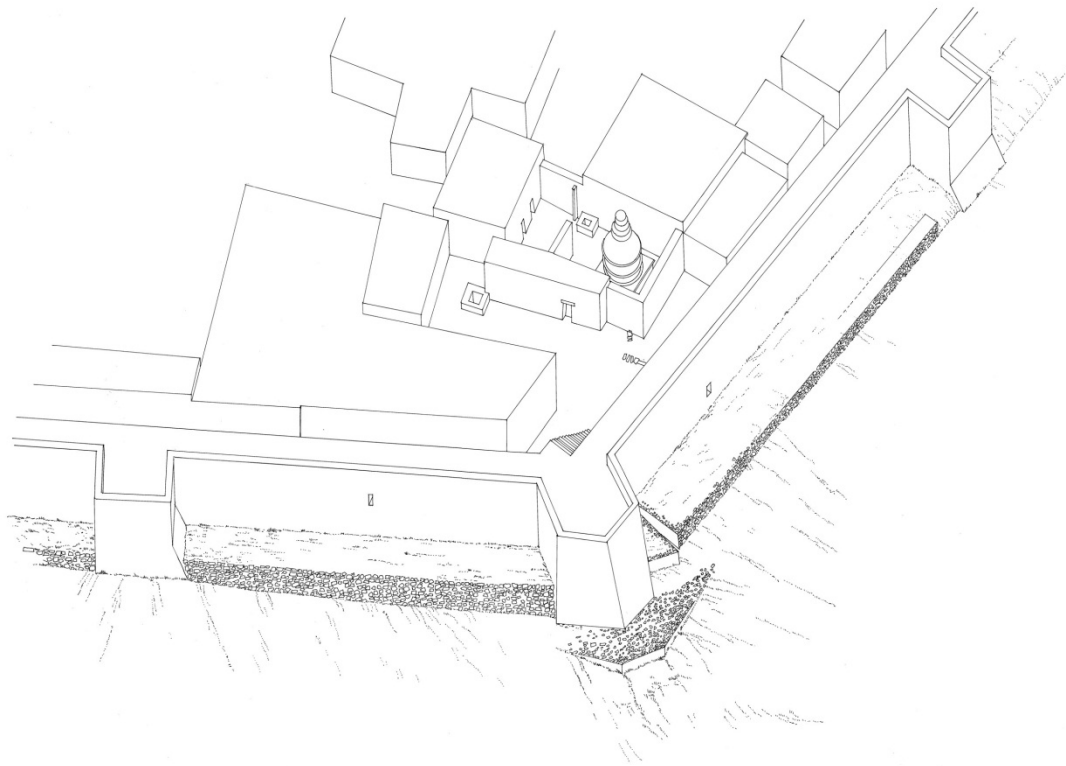
Figure 6. Phase 4: Axonometric restitution of the Wall with external area (Drawings by F. Martore).

Figure 7. Black-on-red painted pottery from BKG Cultural Phases 3 (After Callieri 2000: fig. 1 a-b)
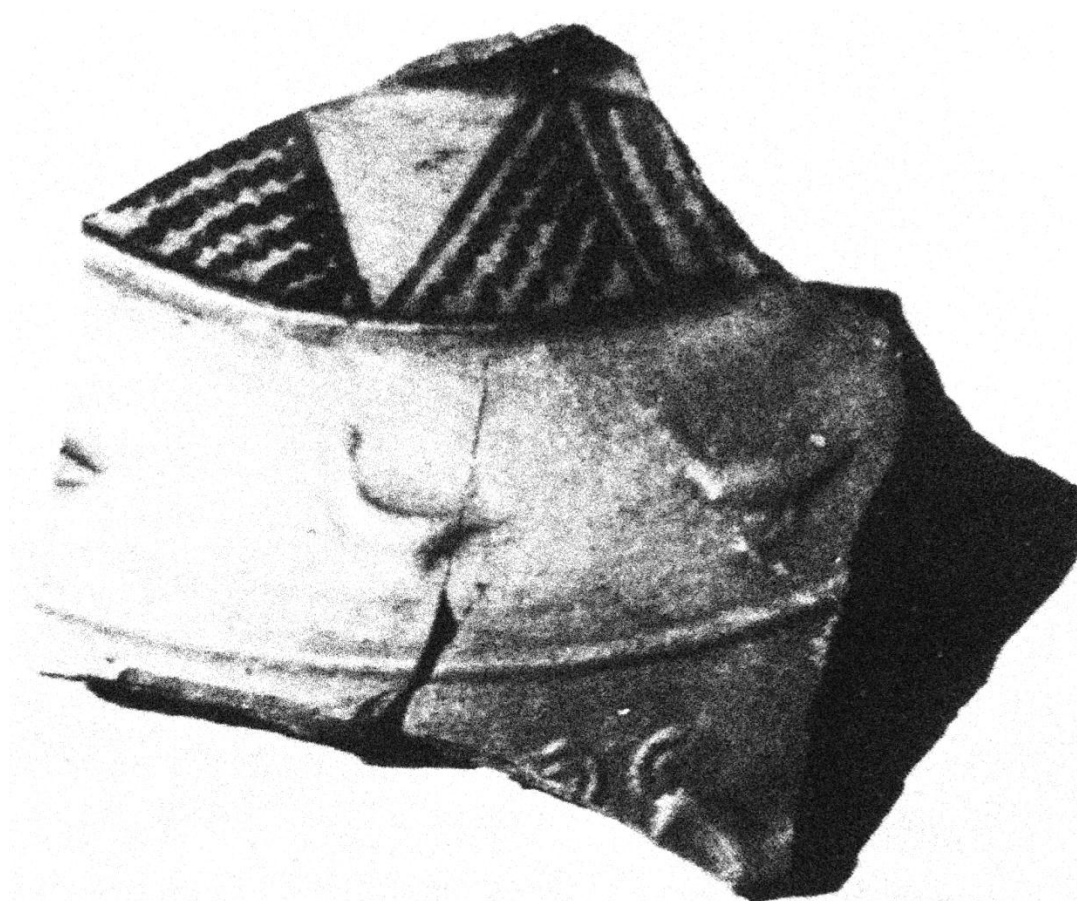
Figure 8. BKG 988: BKG L (10), BKG Cultural Phase 3 B (?) (After Filigenzi 1985: fig. 16).

Figure 9. BKG 1516: BKG 4-5, BKG Cultural Phase 3 B (After Callieri *et al*. 1992: fig. 3).

Figure 10. The Bastion, escarpment [5] and wall [12], seen from W: Inter-phase B (Photo by EI).

Figure 11. Trench BKG 12E, view from NNE, Phase 3 (Photo by EI)

Figure 12. Detail of Trench BKG 12E, view from S, Phase 2 (Photo by LMO)

Buddhist Heritage of Gujarat: An Account from 300BC-400AD

AMBIKA B. PATEL

Introduction

Study of Buddhist cultural heritage structures and remains by academic disciplines like archaeology, art history, history and religious studies have evolved through time. Study of Buddhist Stupas by Alexander Cunningham during the mid 19th century elevated the Buddhist art and architecture to the forefront of academic study for the first time. During the second half of 19th and early 20th century, the remains of Buddhist Stupas assumed a prominent position in art and architecture studies. The study of carved architectural and sculptural remains was mainly focused on chronology of stylistic development. Some scholars viewed architectural and sculptural remains of stupas in the light of the "psychology" and "meaning" of art as expressed in the philosophical and aesthetic traditions (Hawkes & Shimada 2009).

Gujarat, the north western state of India, holds the testimony of existence of Buddhism since Mauryan times with the popular Girnar Rock Edict of Emperor Asoka, located in Junagadh, Saurashtra. Evidence of a brick built stupa at Boriya, Junagadh region is dated to post Mauryan times. This region yielded evidences of both stupas and rock cut caves (in large number) established during the early historic period (100AD-400AD). On the basis of archaeological and art historical perspectives, data generated on early Buddhism (Mauryan and post Mauryan cultural periods) of this region is limited, leaving immense scope for research and exploration. Except few excavation and exploration reports of rock-cut caves, stupas, and reports of other material remains and few museum catalogues, publication is scanty in the field of Buddhist studies in Gujarat. Thus the study and research of Buddhist heritage is of great importance. The present paper is an attempt to elucidate the Buddhist heritage materials of Gujarat from 300BC-400AD so as to generate information on the basis of a multidisciplinary research in the field of Buddhist studies in Gujarat.

Early Historic Gujarat from 300BC- 400AD

The verifiable political history of Gujarat begins with Mauryan dynasty and urbanism in the early historic period of Gujarat emerged after the conquest by Mauryans around 3rd century BC (Allchin 1995). Sankalia (1941), opines that, the status of this region during Mauryan period seems to be that of an 'outlaying' province ruled by a raja under the direct control of 'viceroy' of Malwa and the province might have been autonomous and independent for its internal matters. Traditional records of Pandits, Yatis, Bhatas, folk-literature and travelogues are the literary sources which draw information on early historic Gujarat (Majumdar 1960).

According to Allchin (1995) "it appears that the period between the Harappan and Early Historic was less of a dark age, but more of a period of gradual stable growth and innovation which culminated in the emergence of the Early Historic world". The material evidences prior to 4th century BC from the archaeological excavations at Dwaraka (Ansari 1966; IAR 1979), Nagara (Mehta and Shah 1968) and Prabhas Patan (Nanavati *et.al.*1971) hold up the view. Allchin (1995) further proposed that urbanism in the Early Historic Period in Gujarat emerged after the conquest by Mauryans around 3rd century BC.

The Girnar rock inscription, one of the significant rock edict of Asoka, stand as the earliest evidence to hold up the occurrence of Buddhism in this region. It appears that the erstwhile population of Saurashtra was quite a sizable population and for whose benefit this inscription was engraved and this implies how important this region was as an annexure to the Mauryan empire to merit such an endeavor. Based on Buddhist literature *Dipavamsa*, *Mahavamsa* and Asokan edicts, Sankalia (1941) suggests *Dharmaraksita* were acted as the convoys who introduced Buddhism to Kathiawar/Saurashtra. On stylistic grounds, scholars assigned some of the rock cut caves of Junagadh to the 2nd century BC contemporary to Mauryans, though this needs cross verification and authentication. The absence of dating material and other relative archaeological evidences from the site makes it difficult to assign a definite date for these caves.

The strategic location of this region might have played a major role in its continuous cultural growth. There is no clear evidence available to indicate the direct control of Sungas, Satvahanas and Andhras over Gujarat. During early centuries of Christian era, this area might have served as an area of amalgamation between the indigenous rulers and Kushan and Greek invaders. It appears that Buddhism was adopted by the Greeks during Menander's time and they acted as donors to many Buddhist establishments. Along with Pali textual references which mention the role of Indo-Greeks in missionary activities, the numismatic evidences from northwestern frontier designate the jurisdictional influence of Greeks. Thus it has turned out to be the Greeks who were responsible for evolving a new style of Buddhist art, usually known as Indo-Greek art, flourished in North-Western sub-continent. Indo-Greek rule over Gujarat is mainly attested by numismatic evidence. *Milindapanha*, the famous Buddhist text immortalized Indo-Greek king Menander as a Buddhist devotee. It appears that some caves in Gujarat can be assigned to Indo-Greek rule dating 1st-2nd century AD. Gandhara school of Art under the Kushanas also influenced the north western states of modern India including Gujarat. The influences of the foreign elements are well illustrated in the artistic representation of this period.

Though Sakas said to have conquered sea provinces of Kutch and *Surastrene,* details of ruling of this north-western region is uncertain. According to the traditional records, Sakas were driven out from Ujjain in 58BC and is uncertain what happened to their territories in Gujarat (Sankalia 1941).

The earliest undeniable evidence of the succeeding rulers, the Western Kshatrapas comes from Andhau inscription dated to 89AD (Gokhale 1972) from Kutch. Another six inscriptions from the same area, four of them on the same stone slab (Banerji 1921) attest the joint rule of Rudradaman and Chastana for at least a decade. The most popular Devnimori Buddhist settlement was constructed by Kshatrapas and their rule appears to have ended by c.305AD. During Kshatrapa time, many viharas were excavated in the rocky areas at Junagadh, Sana, Talaja, Dhank, Zinurizar and Khambalida (Sankalia 1960).

The main traits of early historic period, such as the existence of agro pastoral economy, development of script, rise of urban settlements; brick built structural remains and monumental buildings, international trade and occurrence of Jainism, Vaishnavism and Buddhism. The excavated sites like Devnimori (Mehta *etal* 1966), Vadnagar (Subbarao 1955, Rawat 2011), Amreli (Rao 1966) and Siyot (IAR 1988-89) revealed art and architectural remains of Buddhist settlements (Map 1). The material cultural assemblages consists of variety of ceramics, coins, glass objects, shell artifacts, metal artifacts enable us to appreciate the Buddhism and the early historic period of Gujarat from 300BC-400AD in deeper dimensions.

Monumental Heritage: Architectural Edifices (Stupas, Viharas and Rock cut Caves)

For the first several centuries of Buddhist history, disciples and monks led an ascetic life, often wandering and depended on donations of food and begging. Once institutionalized, this lifestyle allowed the pursuit of enlightenment among the monkish community (sangha) which formed around the Buddhist doctrine. It became customary for the itinerant monks to meet for periodic retreats at monasteries, often for two or three months during the rainy season, to confirm the teachings of the community. Later, settled monasteries were established and maintained through donations by lay persons of both high and low status (Barnes 1995). The built heritage and its environment are full of meaning and functional perspectives in relation to time and space as well as to the communities who have built it by their participation in its planning, construction and maintenance and it remains same for Buddhist built heritage as well.

Buddhist worship thus was focused on stupas, especially large ones containing relics of the great master. The smaller ones either held relics of close disciples of him or were built as commemorative/votive constructions within the stupa and monastic establishments. Buddhist religious centers received the patronage of kings, guilds, merchants, bankers and even by the clergy themselves.

The free standing monuments, stupas, viharas/monasteries in the plains consisting of large open air complexes (built with a focus on pilgrimage by the Buddhist laity) were

located in the plains of North Gujarat. Buddhist monasteries carved into the rocky cliffs at various pockets of Gujarat as rock cut caves were distributed in Saurashtra, Kutch and south Gujarat. They functioned either as *chaitya halls* (for meditation/prayer) or as *chaitya grihas* (for living) or for combined purposes by the Buddhists. Innumerable number of both these types of structures was built during Kshatrapa time (100-300AD).

Rock Cut Caves

The rock cut caves are majorly located in the rocky cliff areas of Junagadh, Kutch and South Gujarat, and were of mainly two types, Chaitya halls and Viharas (*Chaityagruhas*). The isolated rocky cliffs might have served peaceful environment for Buddhist monks to meditate and stay. Approximately 200 Buddhist caves at various stages of preservation have been reported from Gujarat (IAR 1953-2000). Junagadh itself reported more than 50 caves spread in three locations; Uparkot, Khaprakodia and Bavapyara (IAR 1958-59, Gosh 1989). Though some of the rock cut caves are assigned to Mauryan and post Mauryan period by some scholars, the absence of archaeological evidence makes it difficult to accept it. However, Sankalia (1941) assigned some of the rock cut monuments at Junnagadh, Talaja and Sana to the early Hinayana type based on stylistic grounds. Majority of the caves are simple and consist of plain cells without much ornamentation except Uparkot with ornate pillars and rows of chaitya arches (Figure**1**), above the cells and chequer design band in between. Bavapyara caves showcase chaitya arches, Khaprakodia caves indicate fragmentary remains of capital/bracket figures and Talaja caves with weathered vedika designs on the façade of Ebhal mandapa).

Kshatrapa period being the blooming time of Buddhism in Gujarat, majority of the rock cut caves were assigned to this time viz., Uparkot, Sana, Talaja, Khaprakodia, Dhank (in Saurashtra), Siddhsar, Siyot, Lakhpat (in Kutch), Kadiyadungar (in South Gujarat) and are probably occupied from 1st- 4th Century AD. Based on the vedika ornamentation, Sankalia (1941) dates Zinzurizar caves to 1st-2nd century AD. The ornamentation of Chaitya arches and chequer design on the facade of the lower halls at Uparkot caves show similarity with Devnimori stylistic elements, perhaps indicate their contemporaneous existence. The excavated material remains from Uparkot (IAR 1958-59) namely, coins of Kshatrapa king Rudrasena II, and terracotta figurines show

similarity with those from Devnimori to hold up the aforesaid view. The caves at Khambalida dated to Kshtarapa - Maitraka period have shown elaborate ornamentation at the facade of the chaitya hall. Vajrapani and Padmapani are illustrated with attendant figures on either side of the façade in life size highlighting pervasiveness of Mahayanism (Figure **2**). Perhaps some of these caves continued to be occupied by the monks during the succeeding Maitraka period.

Stupas

Elaborate structural monuments namely stupa and vihara were excavated from Devnimori, Vadnagar, Boriya etc. Devnimori, located 2kms in the south of Shamalaji, Bhiloda Taluka of North Gujarat is a popular Buddhist settlement excavated by the Department of Archaeology and Ancient History, The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda in 1959-63 (Mehta and Chowdhary 1966). This Buddhist complex revealed one Mahastupa, two Viharas and four votive stupas and an apsidal chaitya hall **(Figure: 3)** along with large number of antiquities and an inscribed stone casket with bodily relics of Buddha (casket contained a copper vessel having gold bottle in it with relics). The stupa was built of brick and mortar and has two platforms topped by an elongated hemispherical dome (*anda)* and perhaps originally had a harmika and umbrellas (*chatrayashti)* which is missing. The height of the ruined stupa structure **(Figure.4)** was 11m from the ground with a shallow and broad base. The first tier was a square platform and might have been the circumambulatory path (*pradakshinapatha*). The platform on its elevation had four mouldings, with tiny moulded cornice with rounded bricks seen as string course, super imposed with wall mouldings and in between pilasters with plain base and Indo-Corinthan capitals with acanthus leaves. In between each pilaster, on the second platform arches under which Buddha images in *dhyanamudra* were placed. The arches were decorated with *ghatapallava* motifs, lotus petals, chequer designs etc. This stupa shows close similarities with those from Mirpurkhas, Taktibahi in Pakistan and others located in the north western frontier.

Two votive stupas were excavated at Vadnagar, one with a square plan and other is a circular one near the north eastern corner of the monastery, dated to 5th century AD (Rawat 2011). The stupa, square in plan is erected in terraced fashion with three

diminishing terraces and with an elevation of 1.25m extant, the *anda* is missing. The second circular votive stupa had at least three courses extant. The stupa at Boriya, Junagadh excavated by Cousens (1891) revealed a solid brick core and structural remains decorated with herring–bone pattern of brick alignment. The relics were embedded in the brick structure at considerable depth above ground level and the relic casket is now part of Junagadh museum collection. Numerous small mounds seen in the vicinity appears to be votive stupas (Majumdar 1960) and to confirm the same it needs more research.

Viharas

The Chatusala vihara at Devnimori measured (36x36m) with an open courtyard (Figure **3)** paved with diagonally placed bricks, having rooms/cells all around was single storied structure with flat rectangular roof tiles. The southern side central cell was in different plan with raised platform with moulded bands, floor with rectangular schist slabs perhaps functioned as a chamber for prayer and the platform on the western side might have been used as a preaching dais. Absence of Buddha images in the vihara perhaps highlights inhabitance of Samitya school of monks (Mehta Chowdhary 1966).

Vadnagar reported a Buddhist monastery made of burnt bricks located within a fortified area during the recent excavations from 2008-09. The plan of the monastery is quadrangle with an open square courtyard in the middle surrounded by cells on all sides. The construction and arrangement of cells around the courtyard followed a swastika pattern which was possibly meant to provide easy access to the cells located at the corners (Rawat 2011) which is comparable to monasteries from Taxila. The Vadnagar monastery was provided with narrow veranda on the front side and the postholes on the front wall indicate the erstwhile existence of a wooden roof structure.

Vihara at Intwa, a brick built monastery, excavated by Acharya (1949) is known as Rudrasena monastery on the basis of the inscribed round seal. The eastern outer structure with six rooms and a veranda, brick floors, platform and remnants of brick walls etc. were uncovered during excavation. Covered gutters as part of drainage system, water closets etc. along with roof tiles, terracotta beads, red polished ware and other material remains provide evidence of flourishing ancient vihara at Intwa (Majumdar 1960).

Art Heritage

Buddhists practicing autonomous and distinctive aesthetic art tradition perhaps act as the first mature expression of Indian Art following the collapse of the proto-historic (Harappan /Chalcolithic) art. Buddhist art tradition was increasingly favored by special characters of its doctrine especially meditation (which remained as the central discipline leading to the attainment of spiritual grace representing images of the seer seated in deep contemplation or dispensing the fruit of his meditations, the *Dhamma*. Though, the doctrines were later divided into separate sectarian lines, they nonetheless exerted a pervasive unifying power over the realm of artistic expression (Rosenfield 1965). Buddhist Art in Gujarat represents diverse forms of sculptures, decorative motives of architectural edifices, rock paintings and sealings. Among the sculptures, Buddha images remain as the dominant category.

Buddha Sculptures

As per the Buddhist scriptures, after the death of Great Master, Buddhism got divided into two schools; Hinayana relied in the doctrines preached by Buddha in original form while and Mahayana emphasized on human representation of Buddha as Sakyamuni, an eternally supreme deity. Early Buddhist art being an-iconic never depicted Buddha in anthropomorphic form, instead, his presence was generally indicated by a footprint, an empty throne, royal umbrella/parasol. Texts such as *Suddharma Pundarika* (lotus sutra) and *Mahavastu* emphasize worship as supreme means of salvation, brought an end to aniconic stage of Buddhism and provided a suitable climate for the creation of the anthropomorphic image of Buddha.

The genesis of the Buddha image is one of the inexplicable issues in Indian art (Foucher 1917; Rowland 1936; Krishnan 1996). The first images of Buddha are generally said to have produced either in the ancient province of Gandhara, in the northwest of the Indian subcontinent or at Mathura (125km away from Delhi) was a flourishing commercial and religious center once formed the focus of southern part of erstwhile Kushana Empire. The earliest Buddha images are those that bear dates in the reign of Kanishka, viz., the Saranath Bodhisattva dated to the 3rd regnal year of Kanishka (Agrawala 1965). The growing practice of Buddha-puja (the cult of devotion of the Buddha as lord), creation of

images as manifestation of bhakti, growing popularity and prevalence of Mahayana cult perhaps flourished hand in hand. Image making was known by the end of 3rd century BC as a figural style and based on the concept of *Mahapurusha* (great man) with distinctive *lakshanas* (identification features), the images of the great master was created in different regional styles based on certain art traditions and techniques (Sharma 2004).

By the first century AD., followers of the Buddha elevated him to the status of god and symbolically stupa became synonymous to Buddha himself representing his presence in structural form. Buddha images became popular by middle of second century AD, and in the case of Gujarat, their early appearance is assigned to 1st/2nd century AD and dominantly seen in Kshatrap period (2nd-4th century AD). The human figure of the Buddha wearing a monastic robe began to dominate the art of India.

Asokavandana refered to the use of wood and clay for making Buddha images at many parts of India (c.f. Strong 1983). The material evidences from the early historic sites in Gujarat showcase iconic representation of Buddha in stone, metal and terracotta. Early evidences during Kshatrapa period, terracotta dominated as a major media of image making. The finely made Buddha images in terracotta (Figure 5) from Gujarat are master pieces of Kshatrap-Gupta Art highlighting the balanced blending of artistic expression and technical skill of the maker.

Stone Image of Bodhisattava (sits on lotus in *padmasana* posture on *simhasana)* from Vadnagar is akin to Katara Buddha in its depiction. The hair style of this image as well as the depiction of animals on the base is similar to typical early Katara images. This seated red sand stone image is dated to 1st/2nd century AD from the inscription on its base. The inscription reads as "*Sammatiyo Bhikhuno yo Devo Bodhisattvas tayo chataye kuteye Acharyen Mahasayaken pariyoh*" means that Acharya Mahasayak brought the image of Boddhisattva, who is the God of Sammatiya Bhikshus for installing in the chaitya. This image is very significant as it directs towards the existence of Samitya School in Gujarat during early centuries of Christian era.

Stone Relic Casket

The inscribed relic casket (Figure.**6**) is made of greenish schist stone and measures 7-inch diameter and 5-inch height, found *insitu* position, placed in an earthen pot at a depth of 13 feet from the top of the *stupa* at the core part, from the *Mahastupa* of the Buddhist establishment at Devnimori, Sabarkantha District, North Gujarat, dated between 3rd-5th century AD (Mehta and Chaudhary 1966).   It is one of the exclusive artistic object created in stone with a lid having separable knob. This greenish-grey casket is a squat cylindrical box of chlorite schist and its shape corresponds to a woven bamboo (Pitaka) basket with a lid. The stopper appears as handmade while the lid and the box are finished on a fast turning lathe as indicated the lathe marks.

This relic Casket is inscribed all around its body, base as well as inside and outside of the lid. The appearance of the inscription namely thick bold lines on the body and thin long incisions on inside as well as outside of the lid gives an impression that, these represent skills of different scribes. The rounded rim appears elegant ornamentation on the rims of the lid and base of the casket. The flank of the lid is decorated with a pair of grooved lines. The lid is inscribed both inside out side with doctrine of *Pratityasamutpada*, the Buddhist ideology. This exclusive art object act as an excellent source of information with regard to the built heritage.

Terracotta Sealings

The circular inscribed seal from Intwa vihara with chaitya symbol at the center with brahmi legend around it on the borders is a noteworthy object for terracotta art. It also stands as a source to assess the role of then monks and monasteries. The inscription on the seal read as *Maharaja rudrasena vihare bhikshusamghasya,* indicate that it belong to the bikshu samgha of Maharaja Rudrasena monastery. The terracotta seals and sealing obtained from excavations at Nagara are very interesting as one among them read as *Buddhapasya* along with few other seals read as (*Shiri?*)*vijayamitra*, *Mahasena etc.*(Mehta & Chowdhary 1968). Some of the black ware sherds with high polish from Vadnagar is inscribed with brahmi legends, like *Devshririshi, Shakasya and Dhamma* (personal communication with excavator, Shri.Y.S.Rawat).

Conclusion

The Buddhist architectural heritage in this region acted as a strong vehicle for the propagation of the religion from Maurayn times onwards and served as an annexure to the great empire. Though Buddhism occur in Gujarat during Mauryan times and grown during post – Maurayn time, the built and the art heritage remain as potential evidences to highlight the booming of the religion during Khastrapa period (100AD-400AD). The location of the major Buddhist settlement sites like Devnimori, Vadnagar, Siyot etc. on the ancient trade routes indicate the influence of merchant support. The Girnar rock edict and the inscription on Devnimori relic casket corroborate the royal patronage for the establishment of their construction. The built heritage specially, stupas are stylistically different from those in various regions of India. They show close similarity with those in Pakistan and Afghanistan more specifically to that of stupas of Mirpurkhas, Taktibahi etc. Hence the architectural heritage stands as the media to highlight the stylistic parallels within the region as well as with the neighboring countries.

The data accumulated through the present paper on the structural heritage can be used to study further on the lines of use of architectural monuments as ritual spaces. This information can act as the basic records to start with in comparing the use of ritual space in an open air stupa complex and in the rock cut caves.

The artistic representations and architectural edifices augment Hinayana to Mahayana transformation. The Buddha images in terracotta were splendors representing artistic skill. The stone image from Vadnagar highlights the Katara style in depiction and therefore establishes connection between the two regions. Thus the Buddhist heritage from 300BC-400AD highlight the emergence of Buddhism in the region, the centers of its growth, followed by booming of the religion during Kshatrapa times. The variety of built heritage and the art heritage contribute each other in showcasing the growth of Buddhism in this region from Mauryan to Kshatrapa times.

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Figures
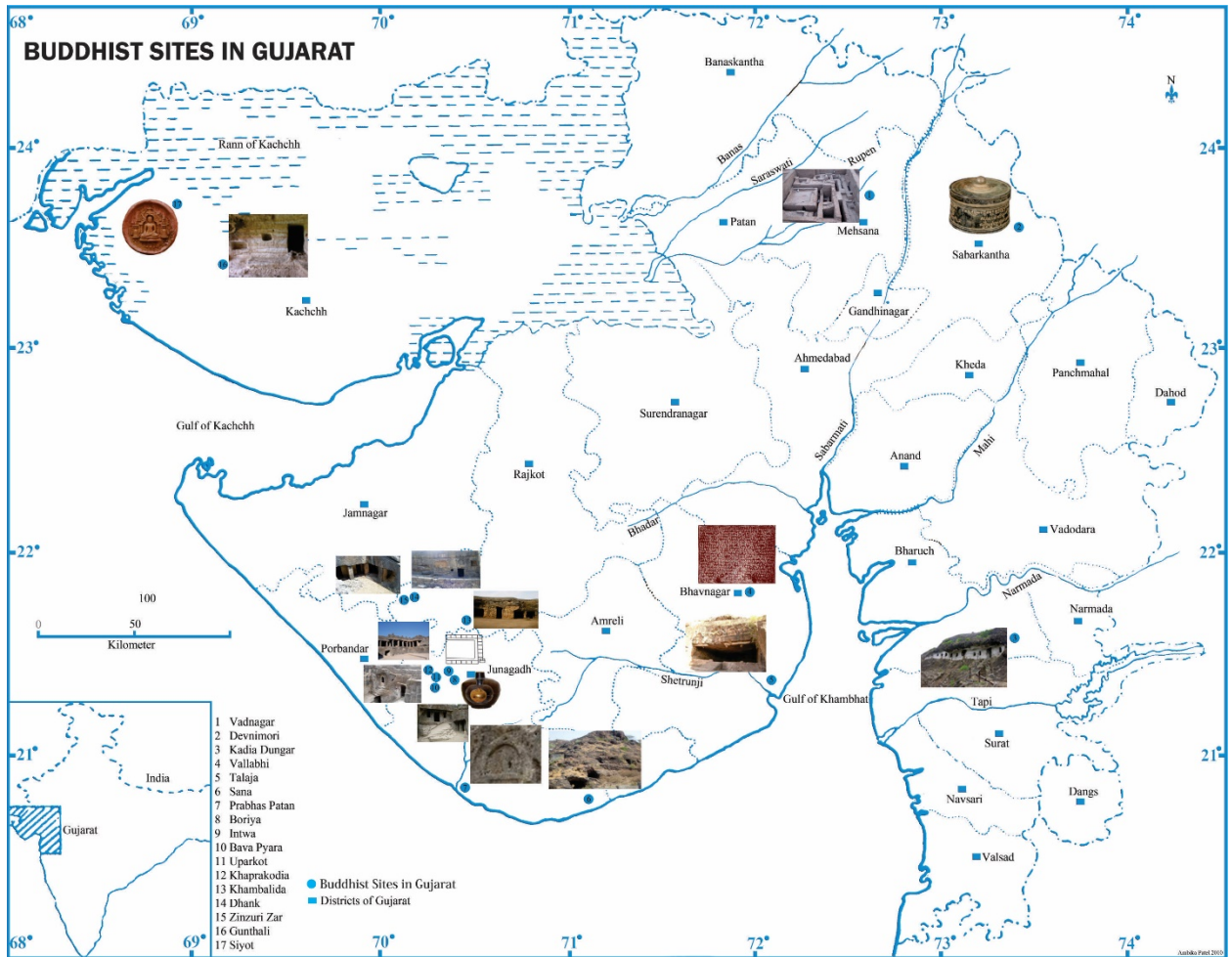
Figure 1. **Buddhist sites/settlements in Early Historic Gujarat**

Figure 1: Ornamentation in the cave Façade, Khambalida Caves

Figure 2:
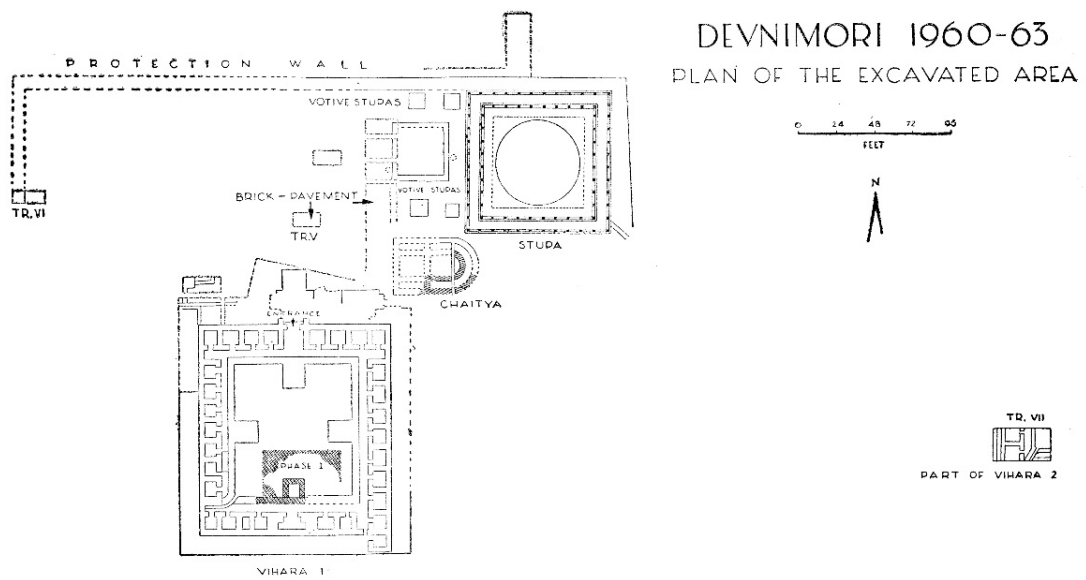
Figure 3: Plan and Layout of Devnimori Stupa Compound

Figure 4 : Excavated Stupa, Devnimori

Figure 5 : Terracotta Buddha images, Devnimori

Figure 6 : Relic Casket

Hindu Diptych Type Portable Shrines from Gandhara and Kashmir: An Introduction

MUHAMMAD HAMEED

Abstract

Hindu themes are not unknown within the context of sculptural art of Gandhara and Kashmir. There are representations of Hindu deities such as Indra, Brahma, Skanda, Sakkra, Sasthi, Kumara, Surya, Yakshas, Yakshis, Gandharavas, Mother goddess, Nagas and Naginis, etc. In Gandhara and Kashmir, more often than not, these Hindu gods and goddesses are there not only to glorify Hinduism but also to appear as subordinate beings to serve the cause of Buddhism. They are depicted on a small number of fragments of diptych type portable shrines. They were made of stone and carved from both sides and some from one side. Most of the diptychs are broke and preserved in the form of fragments as either single wing or fraction of a wing of the diptychs. These fragments are referred to as "Hindu Diptychs" and preliminary information will be given in the present paper.

Keywords:

Introduction

This paper discusses seven fragments of the Hindu diptychs. These fragments are divided into the following sub-types:

- Ṣaṣṭhī Type
- Ekamukhaliṅga Type
- Śiva and Pārvatī Type
- Kumāra Type

Ṣaṣṭhī Type Fragment from Cleveland Museum of Art

The first fragment of the "Hindu Diptychs" belongs to the Cleveland Museum of Art. It

consists of the right wing of a diptych with an unadorned exterior (Figure **1**). The Museum purchased this fragment from the John L. Severance Fund. It was first published by Czuma (1985: 162-163) and then discussed by Agrawala (1993: 271-274), Sen-Gupta (2002: 46) and Siudmak (2013a: 96-97). Nothing is known about its find-spot.

The fragment's interior is divided into two parts, an upper arched panel and a lower rectangular panel. Both panels are framed inside with prominent tiny rectangular blocks. The space beyond the decorated border is plain and marks the outline of the fragment. Two tiny holes are also visible on the edges and were probably used for hinges in order to join both wings. The iconography of this fragment is significant and unusual regarding its subject matter. It depicts seated male and female figures in the arched section and a standing couple in the lower rectangular panel.

From right to left: The arched panel depicts a seated male, facing the viewer (Figure 1). His right leg rests on the ground and the left foot rises to the calf of the right leg. The man wears thick drapery that covers both shoulders and the lower parts of his body. His hair style forms a top knot. He holds a lance in his right hand and a bird in left hand, placed close to the left knee. He was identified as Pañcika[1] and later on as Skanda-Kārttikeya.[2] These interpretations of the male figure can be challenged after comparing this depiction with the "Kumāra Type" diptych fragment in the present collection. Both figures hold a bird in their right hand and a lance in their left hand. In the "Kumāra Type diptych" the lance is not visible but its slanting position can be seen passing over the deity's left leg. With regard to this comparison, the seated male is neither Pañcika nor Skanda-Kārttikeya but Kumāra.

The other seated figure to the male's right is female. She wears a long tunic that falls down to the ground covering her feet. She seems to be wearing a necklace and her head is surrounded by five human heads. In her right hand she holds a circular object from the

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[1] Czuma mentioned that Pāncika, husband of Hārītī, holds a spear in his right hand and that he is considered a war hero. Czuma, however, did not mention anything about the objects in this figure's left hand.

[2] Agrawala challenged Czuma's interpretation of the seated male figure and argued that the male holds a bird (a cock) in his left hand in a traditional manner. Czuma did not notice the bird and this created confusion in his interpretation of the figure as Pañcika instead of Skanda-Kārttikeya.

bottom and a hanging cylindrical object from the top left. Czuma (1985: 163) did not explain these objects; however, Agrawala identified them as a lotus and a purse (1993: 272).[3] With regard to the figural identification, Czuma discerned her as Hāritī (1985: 163) whereas Agrawala identifed her as Ṣaṣṭhī (1993: 272).[4]

The lower rectagular panel represents a standing female figure wearing a blouse and a heavy lower garment that covers her feet (Figure 1). She wears a helmet type headdress, centrally adorned by a horn like object. A tiny object in her right hand, raised to chest level, is also visible. She holds the fall of her garment in left hand. The male figure wears a lower garment down to his knees characterised by a broad collar, his earrings and sacred thread are made of garment. Half of his long hair is tied up into a top knot and the rest falls over his shoulders. He holds a lotus flower from stem in his right hand whereas a bird sits on his left hand, close to his thigh. He can be identified as Kūmara, depicted a second time here, but this time in standing position. He holds a bird in his right hand and a lotus flower instead of a lance. Another seated figure is depicted below the hanging lotus and next to the right knee of the male figure. He faces the standing figure and joins his hands in añjalimudrā. A similar small figure can also be seen standing in the lower left corner of the relief.

The figures in the lower panel were identified as "titular couple, probably the donors, in the elegant attire of Kuṣāṇa nobility" (Czuma 1985: 163). The figures in the upper arched panel were identified as "six-headed Ṣaṣṭhī in the company of Skanda"; their appearance next to each other is certainly an interesting trait (Agrawala 1993: 272).[5] According to another interpretation, "standing two-armed Kumāra accompanied by a fanged tutelary goddess with flaring hair [...]" (Siudmak 2013a: 96).

Keeping the fragment's iconographical details and the analysis of Agrawala in view, an

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[3] Agrawala mentioned that she holds a lotus in her right hand (mistakenly stated as the left hand) and a purse in her left hand.

[4] According to his interpretation, the carving of five tiny human heads around her main head calls for her specific identification with Ṣaṣṭhī, the goddess who is associated with Skanda-Kārttikeya, both as his wife and sister in Indian literature.

[5] Agrawala goes on by saying that it is not possible to identify him as Skanda Kumāra, although the presence of a bird in his left hand is quite interesting. This panel calls for closer scrutiny, as the six-headed Ṣaṣṭhī in the company of Skanda is certainly an intriguing trait. One has to search for more icons of this type, though we already know some Kuṣāṇa Mathuran panels where the standing Ṣaṣṭhī is flanked by Skanda and Viśākha. Also see Härtel 1987.

analysis of the object suggests that it may mark the beginning of diptych type portable shrines with a Brāhmaṇical theme in Gandhara. In this regard, this fragment is being dated to the 5th century – approximately.[6] This tradition travelled to Kashmir where several diptychs were produced with themes taken from Hindu mythology.

Ekamukhaliṅga Type

Considering all the fragments of Hindu diptychs in the present collection, it can be presumed that Kashmiri sculptors preferred to depict Śiva. The majority of the fragments represent Śiva in different forms. The exterior surface illustrates Ekamukhaliṅga due to which these are named "Ekamukhaliṅga Type". The interior depicts Śiva either with Pārvatī or as Maheśa. The following paragraph shall discuss five fragments of such shrines.

Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The first example of the "Ekamukhaliṅga Type" belongs to the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[7] Only the left wing of this diptych has been preserved. In 1964, Goetz published a first account of this fragment after it was shown to him by an American collector; he referred to it as a 10th century Ekamukhaliṅga from Kashmir (Goetz 1964: 275-279). The following year, Taddei discussed this Ekamukhaliṅga-shaped shrine and attributed it to the Hindu Śāhi period (Taddei 1965: 24-25). This section of the diptych was also included by Rowan while discussing a Buddhist ivory diptych (Rowan 1985: 279-280). Later on, Srinivasan included the diptych in her work about Para Śiva, Sadāśiva and Maheśa in Indian Art (Srinivasan 1990: 108-142). Then in 1991, Lerner & Kossak listed this particular object in their catalogue of Indian and South Asian Art from the Samuel Eilenberg Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Lerner & Kossak 1991: 113, No. 82). Yoshihide quoted this piece in his work about Buddhist portable shrines (2000: 136. Pl. 23). Recently Behrendt quoted it in his article about asceticism (2012: 299-332).

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[6] Samad 2010, has also mentioned the same date. His dating formula is based upon the popularity of the Skanda-Kumāra cult in Gandhara in the 5th century C.E. Moreover, Skanda and Ṣaṣṭhī were perceived as a divine couple in Gandhara.

[7] The fragment is available on the official website of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The external surface of this fragment illustrates Ekamukhaliṅga (Figure 2). The facial features show a round face, a long nose, thin lips, a moustache and a small chin.[8] The thin and slightly oblique eyes have a carved pupil and iris and broad lid under a thin round eyebrow. His hair forms a wavy lock that runs across his receding forehead and over his ears. The hair also forms a jāṭa straight above the forehead. The jāṭa is also adorned by a crescent. It is interesting to note that Śiva wears large earring which cover a part of his back jaw and the fleshy neck. The neck shows three horizontal folds, the lower one is adjacent to the necklace. This fragment has a semi-circular base forming a garland decorated with geometric designs.

The inner surface of Ekamukhaliṅga diptych presents an elaborate content. It depicts Śiva with his vāhana, Pārvatī and a smaller attendant, all in standing position (Figure 2).

Śiva, with crossed legs, is turned to his left having three heads, four arms and prominent ūrdhva liṅga. He wears large earrings, a necklace, a yajñopavīta or upavīta, bracelets and a lower garment up to knee level. His facial features are similar to what can be observed on the exterior of the diptych, except for what seems to be a third eye in the centre of the forehead. THz depiction makes it "one of the rare images of Śiva where god is three-headed and at the same time shows the third eye" (Taddei 1965: 25). Among the three heads, the central is larger with wavy hair and a jāṭa. The smaller head on Śiva's left has upraised hair. From the facial expressions, it looks like a male head with a fleshy face, a long nose and protruding eyes. The one on other side gives a feminine look with hair tied in chignon.

Three-headed Śiva holds a rosary in his lower right hand which is placed in his hip. He holds a trident in his upper right hand, visible next to a smaller head. The lower left hand of the god rests on a gadā placed in between him and Pārvatī. His upper left hand holds a kamaṇḍalu. The left arm is probably placed on Pārvatī's right shoulder.

Frontal Pārvatī stands with a slightly flexed left leg. Her face is turned to the right,

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[8] According to Goetz, some physical elements like the receding forehead and the long nose seem to be characteristics of the ancient population of Kashmir, namely the Khāśas. Such features are also visible in Hārvan tile reliefs, a stucco head from Ushkur (Srinagar Museum), in a portrait of king Avantivarman in the Avantīśvara Temple at Vanitpor, the head of Buddha-avatāra, on king Śamkaraverman`s screen from Divsar (Srinagar Museum) and on Avalokiteśvara and Māyā (Birth of the Buddha) belonging to the reign of queen Diddā (Srinagar Museum).

towards Śiva. Her drapery includes a thin blouse, heavy lower garment covering both feet and an upper garment running perpendicular from right shoulder to legs. She wears a necklace that falls between her breasts, a bracelets and large earrings, identical to her companion. Her facial features include a receding forehead, thin round eyebrows, broad eyelids, sharp eyes, a long nose, thin lips, prominent cheeks and a fleshy neck. These features are quite similar to her companion both on the exterior and on the interior of the diptych. Pārvatī is two-armed and holds a round mirror in the left hand positioned close to her breast. Her right hand is raised to chest level and probably holds a casket, "the two objects still carried by Hindu brides at the moment of their marriage" (Taddei 1965: 25).

The smaller figure is male and stands in the bottom right corner, turned to his right side. His facial features are damaged, but the hair style and large earrings can be identified. These elements resemble those Śiva and Pārvatī. He holds a trident in his right hand and something that resembles a pot in the left hand. Taddei believed that both objects are in fact attributes of Pārvatī (Taddai 1965: 25).

In the left bottom corner of the composition, a half-length bull is depicted behind standing Śiva. The remaining space follows the outline of the external carving. Two holes on the right edges of the piece were made to support hinges.

There are different opinions regarding the interior's identification: Taddei suggested that the interior illustrates Śiva as Kalyāṇa-Sundara or Vaivāhika Murti, that is, the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī (Taddei1965: 24). Srinivasan, however, mentions that the interior of this shrine depicts the Umā-Maheśvara pair (Srinivasan 1990: 128).[9]

Talking about the utility of this Ekamukhaliṅga diptych type portable shrine, Goetz believed that this pocket-size object served the purpose of personal use of either a

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[9] Maheśvara is a three-headed and four-armed. The middle head with the third eye is larger than the lateral heads; its hair style is similar to that seen on the outer Ekamukha. Again, thereby, a formal connection between the two beings (i.e., Sadāśiva and Maheśvara) is stated in visual terms. The nature of the lateral heads is somewhat problematic, although the head on the left may be feminine. Maheśvara holds a trident in the upper right hand and a water pot (kamaṇḍalu) is the upper left hand; the lower right and left hands hold the rosary and gaḍā respectively. Leaning towards his consort, Maheśvara stands cross-legged in front of Nandi in a manner recalling the stance of Oeśo in front of the bull on coin issued by Vāsudeva II (Srinivasan 1990: 128).

nobleman or a high official who travelled extensively (1994: 275).[10] On the other hand, Taddei suggested that this liṅga-shaped portable sanctuary is similar to stone reliefs of Buddhist subject found by Sir Aurel Stein (Taddei 1965: 24). Its use as portable shrine was equally supported by other scholars.[11]

As far as the dating of this fragment is concerned, most scholars consider this an example of the Hindu Śāhi period of Kashmir[12] but Behrendt corrects the date back to the 6/7th century C.E. (Behrendt 2012: 304).

Second Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The next fragment of a "Ekamukhaliṅga Type" diptych belongs to the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.[13] It was first published by Lerner & Kossak in their catalogue of Indian and South Asian art from the Samuel Eilenberg (Lerner & Kossak 1991: 114, No. 83) and later on by Yoshihide (2000: 89. Pl. 24). We have preliminary details about this right section or wing of the portable shrine, attributing it to a pure Kashmiri style.

This fragment portrays another Ekamukhaliṅga on the outside (Figure 3). Unlike the previous pieces, this fragment depicts the image in a slightly different way. "The proportions of the Ekamukhaliṅga carved on the exterior and the physiognomic type of Śiva reflect earlier models" (Lerner & Kossak 1991: 114).

His facial features are less refined than in to the previous piece. The face is oval in shape. Other features include a low forehead, thin curvy eyebrows, less broad eyelids, sharpe eyes, a thin nose, prominent cheeks and a small chin. The part below his chin is damaged leaving no clue of the neck shape. The face is adorned with comparatively small earrings. The earrings are further marked by a hole, probably used either as hinge

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[10] Goetz added that small idols were carried in the luggage, which is often mentioned in the Rājput traditions and must have been an old custom. When in ritual use, such idols were placed on a collapsible bronze or silver stand with an umbrella, such as are rarely depicted in Rājasthānī and Pahāṛī miniatures. This may again have suggested the idea of a sort of chapel, because such chapel-like boxes were likewise used in travelling, are infact still the custom in Nepāl and Tibet, and are likewise common as house shrines in Rājput castle of Himālaya (1964: 275).

[11] Rowan 1985: 279-280. Srinivasnan 1990: 128. Lerner und Kossak 1991: 113-114 . Behrendt 2012: 304.

[12] Goetz 1964: 275-279, Taddei 1965: 24-25, Rowan 1985: 279-280, Srinivasan 1990: 108-142, Lerner & Kossak 1991: 113, No. 82.

[13] Photograph courtesy: the online collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

to joint or to carry the object. Śiva`s hair style shows two different settings. A part of the front hair forms a wavy line that runs across his forehead and falls down to his ear, similar to Kumāra. The rest of the hair forms vertical lines and is drawn upward, pulled into a top knot. A garland of geometric designs runs from top to bottom between the liṅga and the image of the god. The lower part of this fragment is damaged leaving its content difficlut to interpert.

Th inner surface of this left wing is divided into two panels, separated by a decorated frieze. The upper panel is in complete shape and depicts a standing diety, however, most of the lower section is damaged, only leaving the head of diety intact.

"The interior has in its upper section a representation of Parvati holding a mirror [...]" (Lerner & Kossak 1991: 114). The entire image is framed by a miniature rectangular blocks, except for the base. Pārvatī is depicted in standing position with crossed legs (Figure 3). Her head is slightly leaning to her right side. She seems to be wearing a thin upper garment and a heavy lower garment fastend to her waist. It is interesting to note that the lower garment not only covers her down to the feet but also falls down to both corners in different layers. Among the body ornaments, she wears a necklace that falls between her breasts, four bangles or bracelets in each hand and prominent earrings.

Pārvatī has a round face with prominant cheeks, a long nose and protruding eyes. Her forehead, chin and neck seem to be less worked. The hair style forms a semi-circular curves running across her forehead and ears. She seems to be wearing a crown-like object.

The damaged lower panel represents a diety's head. "In its lower portion only the head of a deity, probably Shiva but perhaps Skanda, has survived" (Lerner & Kossak 1991: 114). The deity stands frontally, its face is almost round in shape. The facial features consist of a flat forehead, prominent eyes, cheeks and a small chin. The hair is drawn upward from the front forming a large jāṭa at the top. However, the side hair forms wavy curls that fall down to the ears. We can also see a hole right above the deity's left ear.

From the object's shape and size the use a portable shrine in the form of a diptych can easily be identified. Unfortunatly, like many other objects of a similar category, only one

wing has survived.

As far as the dating of the object is concerned, it is also based entirely on stylistic grounds. Ther is no information about the provenance of this fragment. So, by comparing this piece to other fragments of the same category, it seems to be work of Kashmir artists that can be dated to a period between the 6th and 7th century as mentiond by Lerner & Kossak (1991: 114).

Third Fragment from Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The third fargment of the " Ekamukhaliṅga Type" diptych is carved on both sides. Again it belongs to the collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.[14] Unlike other pieces, this fragment is badly damaged and merely a part of its right wing has survived. It was published by Srinivasan.[15] This is the only publication referring to this particular fragment.

While explaining the exterior (Figure 4) of this portble shrine, Srinivasan writes:

> The outer side, quite damaged, shows the top of the liṅga and a proportion of the head below. The deep goove of the glans penis separate the two. The proportion of the head that remains is a crown with large locks of hair descending along the brow. The crown is decorated band topped with crests; these crests somewhat resemble crenelated turrets. From the center of each crest hanges a tussel (a bunch of jewels? ribbens?) The shape of the crown is the single most important clue to identify the subject of the diptych. The crown worn by Ekamukha on the outer side matches the shape of the crown worn by the four-armed, fully anthropomorphic figure on the inner side. (Srinivasan 1990: 127)

Srinivasan also explains the interior carving (Figure 4) of this diptych's fragment in the following words:

> The later is also in poor condition. It is not possible to determine the attributes held in the hands. All that can be said is that the extra, raised left arm follows the

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[14] Photograph courtesy: online collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[15] Srinivasan 1990: Figs. 3 & 4.

curve of an arch under which stands the male figure. The figure wears a dhoṭī and is sparsely and simply adorned, with earrings, armlets, and necklace. In spite of the few details and the damaged consition ,the identitiy of the figure is unproblematic. (Srinivasan 1990: 127)

The figure's face is round and displays a relaxed countenance. His small eyes, prominent cheeks and tripple-grooved neck are among the notable features. Moreover, the crown he wears seems to differ slightly from the crown worn by Ekamukha on the outside. Although the crown is similarily decorated with a band of crests the shape of the side crests is more like a spike or bead. The figure is set inside a carved border in the form of tiny rectangular blocks, the traces of which are visible on the right side of the border.

The subsequent part will try to identify the subject matter of this liṅga-shaped diptych. Srinivasan believes that it represents the image of Sadāśiva on the exterior and standing Maheśa on the interior (1990: 127). She further explains that on the exterior the top of the liṅga recalls Para Śiva and the head recalls Sadāśiva. Similarly it depicts Maheśa on interior, which is in fact the Ekamūrtī version of the triple Śiva Reality (Srinivasan 1990: 127).

The provenance of this fragment is unknown. It was initially part of the Samuel Eilenberg Collection and then given to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Based upon a stylistic analysis, the object's dating can assumaly be loated in the Hindu Śāhi art.[16]

Enough details are avaiable to determine the shape and use of this object as a diptych type portable shrine.

Fragment from the John Siudmak Collection, London

This fragment of the "Ekamukhaliṅga Type" diptych with a carved exterior and interior in this collection and was presensted by Siudmak in an exhibition catalogue of Indian

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[16] Talking about its date, Srinivasan mentions in footnote 16 that it is difficult to date and place this object. The Śāhi period is determined largely on the distinctive physiognomy of full figure, although the crown may also be a factor. The round, full face, high cheek bones, small eyes and pursed lips resemble the Śahi facial type. For information about Śāhis see Rehman 1979.

and Himalayan Sculptures (Siudmak 2013b: 4-5).[17] Only the left wing of the complete diptych is preserved. "Acquired in Kashmir by Professor Janey, daughter of the British Resident of Kashmir, Sir James Acheson, and brought back to England in the 1930's. Janey Ironside`s daughter Virginia inherited it from her mother, and gifted it to Denis Whyte in 1992" (Siudmak 2013b: 4). Siudmak put the object on sale and its present location is unknwon. His exhibition catalogue provides us with the only published material.

The external surface of this fargement represents the lower section of Ekamukhaliṅga resting on a small pedestal (Figure **5**). According to Siudmak "The external part has a tall pedestal and the stump of an Ekamukhaliṅga with swept-back hair and a necklace. The complete sculpture would have had an inner upper register containing a further figure or figures" (Siudmak 2013b: 4).

It is interesting to note that such treatment of the exterior is slightly different in character than the previous examples. Here, a prominent base which covers almost half of the total height of the fragment's exterior surfacecan be identified. The base consists of a plain body or shaft and is decorated with receding bands on the top and bottom. The fragments listed in the present collection are also broken and only the central or upper parts are preserved, leaving us with no clue to determine any possible use of the pedestal. On the other hand, catalogue number 29 shows the complete left wing of a diptych but it has no base. This method of using podiums or bases was quite common in Buddhist diptych type portable shrines. This similarity in treatment of a base suggests that the idea of making a diptych type portable shrine was adopted from Buddhist artistic traditions.

Unilke the exterior, the carving on the inner side is preseved in good condition (Figure **5**). Siudmak describes the inner contents in the following words:

> "The inner part of the present example is carved in deep relief with a standing ithyphallic, eight-armed, three headed image of Maheshvara accompanied by his bull and a diminutive standing donor. His lower garment is a voluminous lion

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[17] This fragment was published in an exhibition catalogue 3, "Indian and Himalayan Sculptures: Including property from the collection of the late Simon Digby". The exhibition was held in New York on Friday 15 March and Saturday 23 March, 2013.

pelt, the animal's head falling below his knees, its legs serving as a belt framing his prominent erection. His pacific central head, which has the third eye, is framed by a diminutive male head on the proper left and a wrapped female head on the right, both of which have elongated necks and project well beyond the central head. It dates from an early stage of the development of the multi-headed Śiva in Kashmir, and the pacific form of the lateral male head gives no clue to its future identity as the fierce Bhairava. The hair is centrally parted and combed to the sides and crowned by a huge topknot. Three of his four left hands survive, of which one holds a pot, a long mace and the third, charmingly, the tail of the bull. The slanting pole to the left is the shaft of a trisula" (Siudmak 2013b: 4).

A close examination of the interior carving shows some more details. It appears as if three-headed Śiva wears a sort of upper garment that covers his shoulders and is wrapped over the left side. The fragmentary details also suggest that is wearing a necklace and armlets. He has a round face. Other features include a broad forehead, thin eyes with heavy upper lids, prominent cheeks, pursed lips, a low chin and a plump neck (the nose is broken). These facial features are almost identical to the depiction of Śiva in the former fragments of Ekamukhaliṅga. The topknot (jaṭā) is comparatively larger in size. Only one in four right hands has survived and holds a wreath. Underneath the hand, in bottom left corner of the relief stands a small figure of a man. He wears upper and short lower garment and a crested turban. He either holds an object or joins his hands in añjalimudrā. The entire carving is framed inside a decorated border in the form of miniature rectangular blocks. The rest of the space marks the outline of the external pedestal. The fragment's bottom left corner is slightly broken and shows the remains of a hole on the edge, probably for a hinge.

Sufficient details are available on both sides to identify the subject matter of this diptych. The exterior, there is no doubt, illustrates Ekamukhaliṅga on a tall podium. The interior, on the other hand, depicts three-headed and eight-armed Śiva standing frontally. Siudmak has identified the subject as Maheśvara (Siudmak 2013b: 4).

Explaining the provenance of this fragment, Siudmak is unsure whether the fragment belongs to Kashmir. His observation determining a Kashmiri provenance is based upon

the short history of the object's acquisition because it was reported to be collected by a British citizen, residing in Kashmir in the early 19th century.

On stylistic accounts and considering various sculptures of Ekamukhaliṅga from the vicinity of Baramula, this fragment relates to a 5th century style or to an early phase of what Siudmak calls "formative period" in Kashmir (Siudmak 2013b: 4). The dating seems to be incorrect because when we compare this fragment with the other fragments of a similar category, the iconographical details are very similar. Therefore, it would be more adequate to date the object somewhere around the 7th century C.E.[18]

Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Only the left wing of this fragment of a Hindu diptych has survived.[19] The Museum's records mention that the piece arrived as a gift with the Samuel Eilenberg collection of 1987. Lerner & Kossak listed this object in their catalogue of the Samuel Eilenberg Collection (1991: 112. No. 81). Afterwards, Yoshihide quoted it in his study on portable shrines from India (2000: 136. Pl. 25). The online source stares that this portable object was a section of a diptych in liṅga form.[20]

The interior of this fragment depicts Śiva with Pārvatī and the bull (Figure **6**). Śiva is illustrated standing frontally, facing the audience, his right leg crossed over his left. He wears his usual lower garment up to his knees, fastened around waits, ending in wavy edges leaving his left thigh and erected penis uncovered. In bodily ornaments, Śiva wears a necklace, armlets and bracelets but no earrings. His face is slightly raised and is in almost square shape. Although damaged, the facial features consist of a broad forehead, thin eyes with prominent lids, a properly shaped nose, pursed lips, a balanced chin and prominent cheeks. His neck is also quite fleshy, marked by three horizontal grooves; the long ears are also significant. The hair style forms large curls running along his forehead and falling behind his ears. The rest of the hair is simply combed upright to form a top knot. A small round object to the left topknot appears to be crescent.

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[18] To read more about the worship of Śiva in the form of Liṅga and Ekamukhaliṅga and about the dating of this piece with regard to other fragments, see Bhan 2010: 83-102.
[19] The fragment is available on the website of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
[20] Ibid.

Śiva is depicted with three heads. The central head is larger in size. The side heads are quite identical in shape and size to the previous diptych fragments. The head on the right side shows hair which is combed upright and most likely depicts the head of male figure. The depiction of the head on the viewer`s left is much more feminine.

Only two of Śiva's four hands have survived. His lower left hand rests on a club or gadā. His lower right hand is placed on his thigh and holds a rosary or akṣamālā. Lerner & Kossak believe that Śiva holds a trident in his raised right hand and that his raised left elbow rests on Pārvatī's shoulder (Lerner and Kossak 1991: 113).

Śiva is accompanied by Pārvatī on his left. She stands in a frontal position and her body is thoroughly covered by a thin upper garment and heavy lower garment that falls all the way down, covering her feet. Another upper garment with a decorated border covers her left arm and falls downwards to cover her legs. The ornaments she wears include a necklace, garlands, earrings, and bracelets. Her face is almost round and the other facial features are quite identical to her companion. Her hair forms descending curls over her forehead, similar to Śiva. The rest of her hair is properly combed into an upright position. She holds mirror in left hand and rosary in her right hand, attributes which could already be seen in previous fragments as well.

The front of the bull is depicted behind Śiva. The bull has a prominent hump and a smaller face. Its fore-legs are positioned in the shrine's bottom right corner.

The overall impression of this object gives us enough details to determine its utility as a diptych type portable shrine.

Lerner & Kossak identified Mahādeva as the subject, similar to the way in which Śiva is depicted with four arms, standing cross-legged with erected penis (Lerner and Kossak 1991: 113).

As far as the provenance of this fragment is concerned, nothing is recorded. Keeping in view the iconographical similarities, it has been attributed to Kashmir.

Keeping in subjective and artistic characteristics it has been suggested that this miniature shrine would have been produced in 7th century C.E. Lerner & Kossak comment the

dating as follows: "The artist has with considerable skill and sensitivity rendered the two deities in relaxed, intimate poses in contrast to the frontal and hieratic postures adopted for them at a later date" (Lerner & Kossak 1991: 113).

Kumāra Type

The final group of the "Hindu diptychs" is related to the "Kumāra Type". This fragment has a blank exterior like the previous piece. The deity, whose head has broken off, is identified on the bases of iconographical analysis and attributes in hands.

Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The right wing of the complete diptych has survived and shows a carving only on its inner side. The object belongs to the collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It has been referred to as the panel of a portable shrine with Kārttikeya, the god of war.[21]

Siudmak published this fragment while discussing many sculptures depicting the same deity (2013a: 80-95).[22]

Interior of the fragment depicts a standing four-armed figure, whose head is no longer visible, carved in high relief. He stands in a frontal position and wears a short lower garment which is skilfully fastened around his waist. Among the body ornaments, he wears a beaded necklace across the chest, an armlet and bracelets. Each hand holds a different attribute. The left lower hand holds a rooster while the lower left hand holds a bell with a clanger. His upper right hand is broken which could possibly have held a lance. In the lower right hand, he holds a ring-wreath.

A small standing figure of a male devotee is depicted in the bottom left corner of the relief. He wears a proper upper garment and a short lower garment up to his knees, belted around his waist. He also wears a headdress and earrings. He holds offerings in both hands – a wreath in the left and an unidentified object the right hand.

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[21] The fragment is available on the Museum's website.
[22] Siudmak believes that most of the sculptures depicting Kumāra were produced in Bijbihara and date back to the early phase of fifth century C.E. For more details, see chapter three of his work.

In the bottom right corner, a peacock is depicted, its head slightly damaged. Like the main deity, the peacock is also portrayed in a frontal standing posture.

The carving is framed inside a miniature rectangular margin of the usual pattern. The ornament represents successive tiny rectangular blocks. Two small holes on the inner edge of the fragment are visible. They were used for hinges.

The outer edge of the fragment shows two hinges on the right side and two at the bottom. These hinges were definitely made to join both wings of the diptych. This treatment confirms the use of this object as a diptych type of a portable shrine.

Siudmak's study has found many iconographical features of this fragment similar to many other sculptures of Kumāra from Bijbihara (2013a: 91). These features include a frontal standing position of a deity, a short round torso, a lower garment and attributes in figures' hands. The presence of the peacock is also important in this regard: "Several features of design are rendered in cross-hatching. The remains of a single grooved nimbus are visible in the upper left corner of the relief. Nothing remains of either ear ornaments, but they do appear to be annular" (Siudmak 2013a: 91). These details leave no margin of error to identify this headless figure on the inner side as Kumāra.

The museum's record does not provide any information about the provenance of this wing of a portable shrine. It would have been produced either in Gandhara or in Kashmir.

As far as the dating of this fragment is concerned, a stylistic study suggests a dating to the 7th century C.E., although Siudmak determines a much earlier date.

Conclusion

In comparison to the Buddhist diptychs, the Hindu diptych fragments are few in number. The latter represent a wide range of subject matter. With regard to their shape, we have both types of the diptychs, namely 1) diptychs carved on both sides and 2) diptychs with a plain exterior.

The variety of subject matter in the Hindu diptychs that were discussed in this chapter

depict not only the major god Śiva but also less popular deities such as Ṣaṣṭhī and Kumāra. The figural representation of Śiva in the Umā-Maheśa pair – Sadāśiva and Maheśa – is very significant. At the same time, shrines of the Ekamukhaliṅga type provide a version of the monolithic Ekamukhaliṅga of the 5th and 6th century C.E., from Baramula, Kashmir. Siudmak has discussed many of such examples in his book.[23] It appears as if the tradition of producing miniature Ekamukhaliṅga developed during the 6/7th century C.E. The idea of using Hindu diptychs must have been inspired by the existing Buddhist diptychs. It was adopted and modified according to faith, need and desire of the persons under whose reign these diptychs were manufactured. These diptychs were used as a private object of worship and were either kept inside the house or carried by their respective persons, travellers, traders or missionaries.

It is also obvious that, in the beginning, some of the main gods were depicted. However, later on, less popular deities like Ṣaṣṭhī and Kumāra were also illustrated. This expresses the popularity and the quick adoptability of diptychs in the local artistic tradition. Unfortunately, due to their tiny size, many of such pieces have not been recovered and only fragmentary details are available. We do not have any information about their archaeological context and exact provenance. By making a comparative analysis of the iconographical features, we can suggest that these diptych type portable shrines were produced in Kashmir around the 6th or the 7th century C.E.

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[23] For detailed information about the style and shape of miniature Ekamukhaliṅga, see Siudmak, 2013a, chapter four which is referred to as the Formative period: Sculptures from Baramula from the fifth to the sixth Century.

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Figures

Figure 1. Interior of the Ṣaṣṭhī Type Fragment. (After Czuma 1985: 162)

Figure 2. Exterior and Interior of the Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, In The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Retrieved January 1, 2016, from http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/38254?rpp=30&pg=1&ft=Kashmir+&pos=16

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Figure 3. Exterior and Interior of the Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Retrieved January 1, 2016, from http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/38255?rpp=90&pg=1&ft=Kashmir&pos=57

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Figure 4. Exterior and Interior of the Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Retrieved January 1, 2016, from http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/38710?rpp=90&pg=1&ft=Kashmir&pos=59&imgno=1&tabname=related-objects http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/38710?rpp=90&pg=1&ft=Kashmir&pos=59

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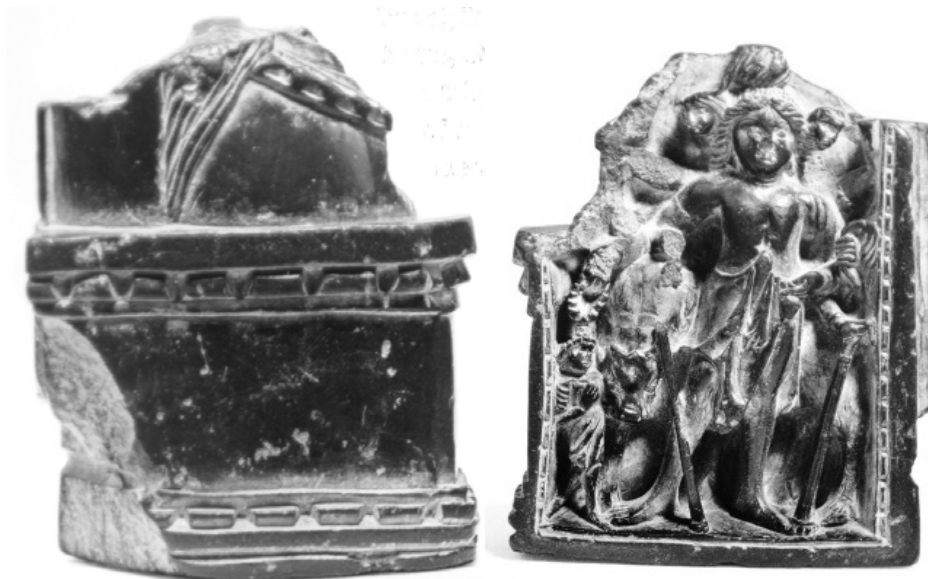
Figure 5. Exterior of the Fragment from the Siudmak Collection, London (After Siudmak 2013b: 4)

Figure 6. Interior of the Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Retrieved January 1, 2016, from http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/38493?rpp=90&pg=1&ft=Kashmir&pos=58

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Figure 7. Interior of the Fragment from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, In *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Retrieved January 1, 2016, from http://www.metmuseum.org/collection/the-collection-online/search/38181?rpp=90&pg=1&ft=kumara+with+a+peacock&pos=37

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Śarda Temple and the Stone Temples of Kashmir in Perspective: A Review Note

JUNAID AHMAD AND ABDUL SAMAD

Abstract

The current paper is aimed at reviewing the research on a partially ruined historic building in Azad Jammu and Kashmir. For being in a remote area, deep in the Neelum Valley (Kiśan Gaṇga of Nīlamata Purāna), the site is not well known among the scholars. A few studies have been made on the worth of the building. This deductive model is posed to explore the research potential of the building, the history of the region also placing it on the table for comparisons within the epistemology of art historians.

Keywords: *Kashmir, Hindu Temple, Stone Temples, Śarda Temple, Śarda Devi*

Introduction

The Hinduism was the main religion of Kashmir since the known period. Originally no doubt it was the *Ophite* or snake worship (Wilson 1825: 84), but this is a part of the Hindu ritual, and the *Nagas* are included in the orthodox pantheon: the adoration of *Śiva* was soon engrafted upon this, even if the two rites were not originally identified. Kashmir has been the part of Kuṣanas' Empire in the second cent. C.E. However, the country has been under Buddhism's dominance as early as in the Aśokan period as it is mentioned even in the *Singhalese* chronicle, *Mahāvaṃsa* (Foucher 1914:119). It is evident also from their coinage (Rapson 1966: 1-55) and literature. The famous Chinese monk, Xuanzang, who travelled all of India, enlightens us with a deliberate status of Buddhism in 7th century Kashmir. C.E (Beal 1884: 148-162; Watter 1904: 225-257). He explains that, in the beginning of the seventh century, Kashmir had established a predominant influence up to Taxila (Wilson 1860: 117). The real story began far earlier, when the Kuṣana king Kaniśka held fourth Buddhist council to codify the *Saravāstivādan* sect (Basham 1959: 266) in Kashmir. It ultimately connects Kashmir with Gandhāra and also provided a logical opportunity to interact with Buddhist

Gandhāra. Therefore under Kuṣana rule, Kashmir got its Buddhist traditions which are directly linked to Gandhāra (Kak R.C. 1933: 50), particularly in material culture. The influence further extended till *Mihiragula* (d 542 CE), a Huṅa king who took control of Gandhāra and the valley of Kashmir (Caroe 1965: 84) and Buddhism started declining. In this new Brahmanical phase in Kashmir's history, from where the roots of Kashmiri School of Temple Architecture can be originated.

Historic References

British explorer has been in Kashmir since the early 1800s. Mahārāja Raṅjīt Singh conquered Kashmir in July 1819. On the consequences of the Anglo-Sikh War, Kashmir was ceded over to Mahārāja Gulāb Singh in a separate treaty on March 1946 (Grewal 2008: 124). During Sikh reign, it was easy for British to visit and study the area. They left us with their travelogues like Moorcroft & Trebec (1841) and Vigne (1842). Many explorer, archaeologists, philologists, zoologists, linguists, botanists visited and published their notes on the very travel in the 19th century, for example Schonberg (1853), Torrens (1862), Younghusband (1909) and Bellew (1875).

It was initially the effort of Professor Bühler (1877) who gathered a huge bulk of Sanskrit Manuscripts from Kashmir. His translations of the same, helped to incorporate sacred history of the area as well as culture, art and traditions.

Stein (1900) elaborated all these studies in his monumental work *"Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅgiṇī: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr"*. Here, he not only translated the famous Kashmiri chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Pandita Kalhaṇa, but also explained it into a scholarly fashion. He tried to locate every place mentioned in it and included special notes on archaeological remains found there. He included Sanskrit writings in his descriptions of architecture, art, philosophy, religion, etc.

Studies on the Architecture

The first ever standardised architectural study was made by Cunningham (1848) by focusing the temples of Kashmir. He documented almost every aspect of the major stone temples of Kashmir. Same study was followed by Cowie (1867) as the continuation of

his predecessor.

Lawrence (1895) discussed the constructional procedures of the Kashmiri temples. He is very much obsessed by the columns of this style and even calls it as *Araiostlye* after *ΑΡΑΙΟΣ* of Herodotus (Lawrence 1895: 164).

Stein (1900) also gave measurements and other features of the ancient buildings included in *Rājataraṅginī*. A Kashmiri Pandita, Ram Chandra Kak (1933) documented most of the major monuments of Kashmir. Percy Brown (1959) outlines the architectural traditions of early Kashmir in a systematic way. One important work in this regard is that of the Krishna Deva (1988). Debala Mitra (1993) focuses on the major temples of Kashmir. i.e. *Pandrethan, Avantipur and Martand*.

Śārda: A Goddess, A Place and A Script

The name *Śarda* (*Shārda)* (Ahmad & Bano 1984:197) or more precisely *Śāradā* of Sanskrit is quite familiar in the treatises on the history of Kashmir. *Śāradā* is a famous Hindu goddess particularly venerated in Kashmir (Ray 1969: 184) as well as a script (Dani 1986:113). Abdur Rahman (1979: 237) originates the word '*Śāradā*' as an abbreviation of *Śāradākṣarāṇī*, meaning 'letters sacred to *Śāradā* or Sarasvati'- the Hindu goddess of learning. Stein, referring to Māhātmya, describes other incarnations of the same deity as Nārada, Vāgdevi or Sarasvatī. He quotes the mentions from Māhātmyas about *Śakti* (Stein 1900: 281), which is considered as energy of a god personified in the female form (Basham 1959; Shah 2013: 337-351).

Kalhaṇa refers to her as seen in the form of a swan in a lake (Stein 1900: 8) while Basham (1959) say that Sarasvatī, consort of Brahmā, is the patron of music, art and letters. Apart from Rig Vedic River, Sarasvatī in later Vedas is a hypostatic deity. She is often presented as fair lady holding lute and a book and attended by a swan. She is also, traditionally proven, inventor of Sanskrit language, *Devanāgrī* Script (Basham 1959: 318-19) and in due course worshiped by students, writers and musicians (Kak S. 2014:18).

The *Śāradā* script has been prevailing for number of Sanskrit works of ancient India. It

was originally the Mathuran Style of Brahamī, which influenced the northern states under Guptas and lead to *Śāradā* in Chamba and Kashmir (Dani 1986:113). Abdur Rahman (1979: 238) argues for two possible origins of the name for *Śāradā* Script. One, on the account of many terms in some ancient works, associating *Śāradā* to Kashmir, it seems that it was not the name of script. However, it was given to primary script of Kashmir for being in the peak time for the veneration of the goddess of learning and words. Secondly, he, referring to Elmslie's view that it was taken to Kashmir by Shāradah Nandan, poses that it was possibly brought form Udabhāṇḍapura (Hund). He also gave the name *Śāradā prima facie*, giving the impression that it was developed in Kashmir (Rahman 1979: 238). It is to be investigated weather the goddess and the script were originated form Kashmir or not, yet Kashmiri *Panditas* have a huge respect and reverence for them than other Hindus.

Nīlamata Purāna and Māhātmya

Earliest reference of this site can be found in the *Purānas*. The famous Nīlamata Purāna of Kashmir is an ancient Sanskrit work dealing with the *Tīrathas* (sacred places, *peeth* is also an alternative Hindi word), rituals and ceremonials of Kashmir (Kumari 1988: ii). It may possibly be taken as guidebook of the sacred places. It consists of a bulk of Māhātmyas, the stories and myths associated to very *tīrathas*.

Stein (1900) also gave a detailed account of the '*Śāradā Māhātmya*'. It tells the myth that how a non-Barahman *rishi*, *Muni* Śāṇḍilya, son of Mātaṅga, worshiped the goddess Śāradā so hard that she appeared to him. This place is identified by Stein as 'Guś' (currently in Indian Occupied Kashmir). She promised him to show her real form, *Śakti* [*sic*]. He worshipped more and got divine advice to reach *Śāradā* forest for the purpose. He bathes in the Kṛṣṇanaga spring near modern Darṅgā and half of his body became golden. On the way he saw god Gaṇeśa on the eastern side of a hill. It can easily be identified by the Kiśan Ghatī near modern *Śarda* village. At the end goddess revealed herself in her triple form of *Śāradā*, Nāradā or Sarasvatī and Vāgdevi over the sacred place and invited him to her abode. He was then preparing for a ritual and took water from '*Mahāsindhu*'. Half of this water turned into honey and became a stream, the Madhumatī Stream. Since then, the Bathing on the confluence of *Sindhu* (Neelum River

or *Kiṣaṅgaṅgā*) and Madhumatī assures the complete remission of sins. Stein comments that further this Māhātmya elaborates the proceedings of the pilgrimage (Stein 1900: 179-83).

This deity is also elaborated by Ved Kumari (1988: 165) in contrast with Durgā where she points out that how confusing, both the deities are represented in the Nīlamata. For example; there are references to worship of books, in the Nīlamata Purāna, inside the Durgā temple (Nilamata: V 789). Whereas it is clear that *Śāradā* is the deity, venerated for the knowledge and learning (Kumari 1988: 165). On the other hand 'Śāradā *Māhātmya'* (vv. 88sqq), suggests the offering of meat to *Śāradā* (Stein 1900: 281). Offering meat in worship is something which is not popular in the *Śivites* and the *Viśnites* alike.

Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī & Jonrāja

In the famous chronicle of Kashmir (Kalla 1996:137-150), Kalhaṇa also referred this place as the seat of great veneration to Hindus. Being a Pandita scholar, he started his work with praising different gods with particular emphasis on *Śāradā*. Here, he called her other forms and spotted her residence (Book I, verse 35)'

"*There the goddess Sarasvatī herself is seen in the form a swan in a lake situated on the summit of the Bheḍa-hill which is sanctified by the Gaṅgā-source*" [*sic*] (Stein 1900: 8, I-35).

He elaborated further by discussing a deity as well as her practical manifestation, and an abode of the goddess. He refers (Book 4, verse 322-336) to an event in Lalitaditya Muktapida's rule (713-55). It was an issue caused by the deceptive visit posed as a religious visit, a *Yātra* of *Śāradā*'s temple by the men of the king of Gauda (Bengāl) (Stein 1900: 151-52). These people wanted to retaliate the murder of their king by Lalitaditya Muktapida. They destroyed the temple of Prehasapura and was eliminated by the royal army. Here, he indirectly pointed out that this place would have been visited by the people from as far as Bengāl.

In Kalhaṇa's own time, a group of rebel princes were besieged in the upper Kiṣaṅgaṅgā

Valley. In this connection, he gave a detailed account in his eighth book.

He further mentioned in Book 8th, in the reign of Jayasiṁha (1128-49 CE), three princes, namely Loṭhana, Vigraharāja and Bhoja rebelled against the king. They tried to make alliances and to setup a coup in their favour. The royal army responded with forceful pursuit of the rebelled princes who fled and took refuge in 'Śiraḥśilā Castle' in the upper *Kiṣangaṅgā* Valley. There are fragmentary remains of the same near Śarda town.

He further mentioned (Book VIII: Verses 2556-2706) the location of Śiraḥśilā castle is little downstream from the temple of *Śāradā*. The royal army arrived in pursuit of rebels and settled the camp along the temple of *Śāradā* (Stein 1900: 207-213). It is evidenced that the place where Stein allocated *Śiraḥśilā* Castle, is not enough to house a castle and the camp for a siege without getting menaced by the archers of the besieged. As per Kalhaṇa, the current place of the *Śarda* Archaeological complex is ultimately convinces for having the open space where military setup temporary village. Apart from the military campaign, it was also an opportunity for him to praise the goddess by referring the participant of this siege to visit this place to pay homage to the associated goddess. In book VIII, verse 2556 he referred to a military official's (Sust Chander) visit of the temple.

He discussed this place as a temple and never gone through the very details of its structure.

Jonrāja also mentioned the arrival of King Zain-ul-Abideen on the site at the time of "*Śāradā Astamī*" in 1422 CE. King got angry for the deity as she did not appeared to him in personal. However, he argues, that he slep in the cout of the temple where she came in his dream (Stein 1900: 287).

Muslim Historians and the Site

Albīrūnī, a famous Muslim scholar visited India during the Mahmud of Gaza's invasion. He wrote detailed account on India. His assessment of religious beliefs, deities and symbols not hindered for the idol of *Śāradā*. He mentioned the importance of *Śāradā* and the existence of a wooden deity along with other famous idols of India. He also proposed

the location of the temple of *Śāradā*, toward the northern side 2 or 3 day travel from the capital of Kashmir (Sachau 2007:133). Estimate of his comment about this site is that it is a religious learning establishment with a deity as an epicentre of the activities like it does in the temples.

Abu-ul-Fazal al-Mubarik wrote the famous account of '*The Ain I Akbari*' in Mughal Emperor Akbar's reign. He mentioned of a stone temple along the bank of *Padmati* (Madhumati) dedicated to the goddess Durgā (Blochmann 1869: 365-66).

Another set of chronicles by Muslim historians were also produced. Their contents mostly revolve around sultanate period of Kashmir. One of them by Pir Gulam Hassan Shah, '*Tarikh-i-Hassan*' refers to some of the historic earthquakes. His work helps to determine the destruction of Kashmir temples. He translated some of the earlier works in his history and hence he acknowledged the authority of his predecessors (Bilham & Bali 2013: 8).

Śarda: An Archaeological Heritage

Architectural remains of this ancient complex can be found in the village of Śarda, Neelum Valley, Azad Jammu & Kashmir. This is a fascinating architectural tourist destination. They praise the architecture of this site for sheer scale of the stone blocks piled up elegantly. On the other hand locals are also boast to have such historic monuments related to their glorious past.

Most of the 19th century scholars had identified it as a Hindu Temple or a learning centre as mentioned in different historic sources (see above).

The site in the 19th century

British studied almost every part of India. Even though this site is in a remote area, yet it has been mentioned by some scholars of repute. More detailed work is that of military officials, Maj. Bates's confidential document, a gazetteer of Kashmir (Bates 1883). It was meant to be used for the political and military purposes. In this he sketched a detailed account of this structure.

According to Bates (1883: 338-40), the main cella was mounted by a shingle roof on the orders of Colonel Gondu, the *Ziladar* of Muzaffarabad. He mentioned one *lingham* in the northern wall's niche. He speaks of a chimney above the niche just beside the postern in the eastern wall. Currently, it is a niche just like in other walls with open top.

Bate noted a coping which extended in the case of eastern wall, as a pyramidal shape. The only information inside the cella, coming through him, is that there was a huge rough stone slab in it. Raja of *Karnao* (Karnah), Mansrur Khan was told to have disturbed this stone while in his unsuccessful hunt for treasures.

Marc Aurél Stein (1900) not only translated the famous Sanskrit work of Kalhaṇa but also took over and annotated the work of Professor Bühler. He prepared a catalogue of Māhātmya and translated them.

He explored, incorporated and mapped the places mentioned by Kalhaṇa. Shrine of *Śāradā* and Śiraḥśilā castle's architectural map was plotted by him. He assessed every architectural feature and declared the *Śarda* Archaeological Complex as the Kalhaṇa's Temple of *Śāradā*.

In a note by him in his famous '*Kalhaṇa's Rājataraṅginī: A Chronicle of the Kings of Kaśmīr*', he explained the architectural features and allotted the identity to this site as a Hindu Temple, a *tīrathas*. However he did not indulged himself into the architectural styles of the temples of Kashmir.

Some modern researchers and history students are also attracted toward this heritage complex. They tried to identify them with all their best.

Dr. Khurram Qadir (1993) of National Institute of Cultural and Historic Research (NICHR) has elaborated the historic references and architectural details. He also assessed the locals' perception of the ruin. He associated the local sayings of '*Mai Śarda*' and '*Mai Narda* (a trans-river peak known as Nārda Peak among the locals)'. Both the names are loosely used by the current population of the area with ambiguity. He also explained the architectural styles and compared it to the temples of the Kashmir valley (Qader 1993: 17-27).

A local author of the book on *Śarda* Archaeological Complex, Khawaja Abdul Ghani (2009) has tried to line up the available sources on the subject. He also went into the historic details. Apart from this he added a good deal of the material culture found from the area.

More interesting studies were done by the geologist Roger Bilham (2009; 2010; 2013) on the seismic patterns of this area and its influence on the stone temples of Kashmir. These set of studies are very much helpful in reconstructing the autopsy of the destruction of stone temples.

Local Perception of the Site

People of the area are boasting to claim the *Śarda* Archaeological Complex as their intellectual heritage; an academic institution. They present their own interpretation of the site.

The local interpretations are best represented by Abdul Ghani (2009). Two of them are as under.

There were two sisters, *Śarda* and *Narda* (*Narāda*) ruling the world. One day *Narda* (to whom they point to the north of this site toward the Narda Peak) saw from her abode in a lake of *Narda* Peak toward the *Śarda'*s abode, she got stunned that her sister is dead and all the giants are fleeing and abandoning her dead body. She became furious and summoned all of them and orders to make tomb for her (Ghani 2009: 50).

There was a giant who loved a princes (varies). When she desired a palace here, he started working and the roof was incomplete when the *Azān* for morning Prayer commenced the end of his turn. And hence roof is not there till this day.

Generally, locals say that in this place a script (the *Śāradā* script) was introduced which spread to all of the India. It was a learning centre, a university. Huge number of students studied in this place (personal comm.).

Conclusion

Śarda Temple is an archaeological complex, a ruined structure in modern village *Śarda* of Azad Jammu & Kashmir. Most of the scholars identified it conventionally as a Hindu Temple, one mentioned for goddess *Śāradā*. Local population has different views about the *Śarda* archaeological complex, some peoples consider it as a fairy palace, others say that it is a university of ancient time where learned people established *Śāradā* script.

The styles of its architecture is that of Kashmiri School (Cunningham 1848: 241-327; Cowei 1867: 91-123; Fergusson 1891: 279-297; Kak 1933: 10-15; Brown 1956: 154-161; Fisher, R. E. 1982: 46-53; Mitra 1983:1-7). This allows the scholars to look for expansion and links of contemporary Kashmir to Dardistan and Upper Kaghan Valley.

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Figures
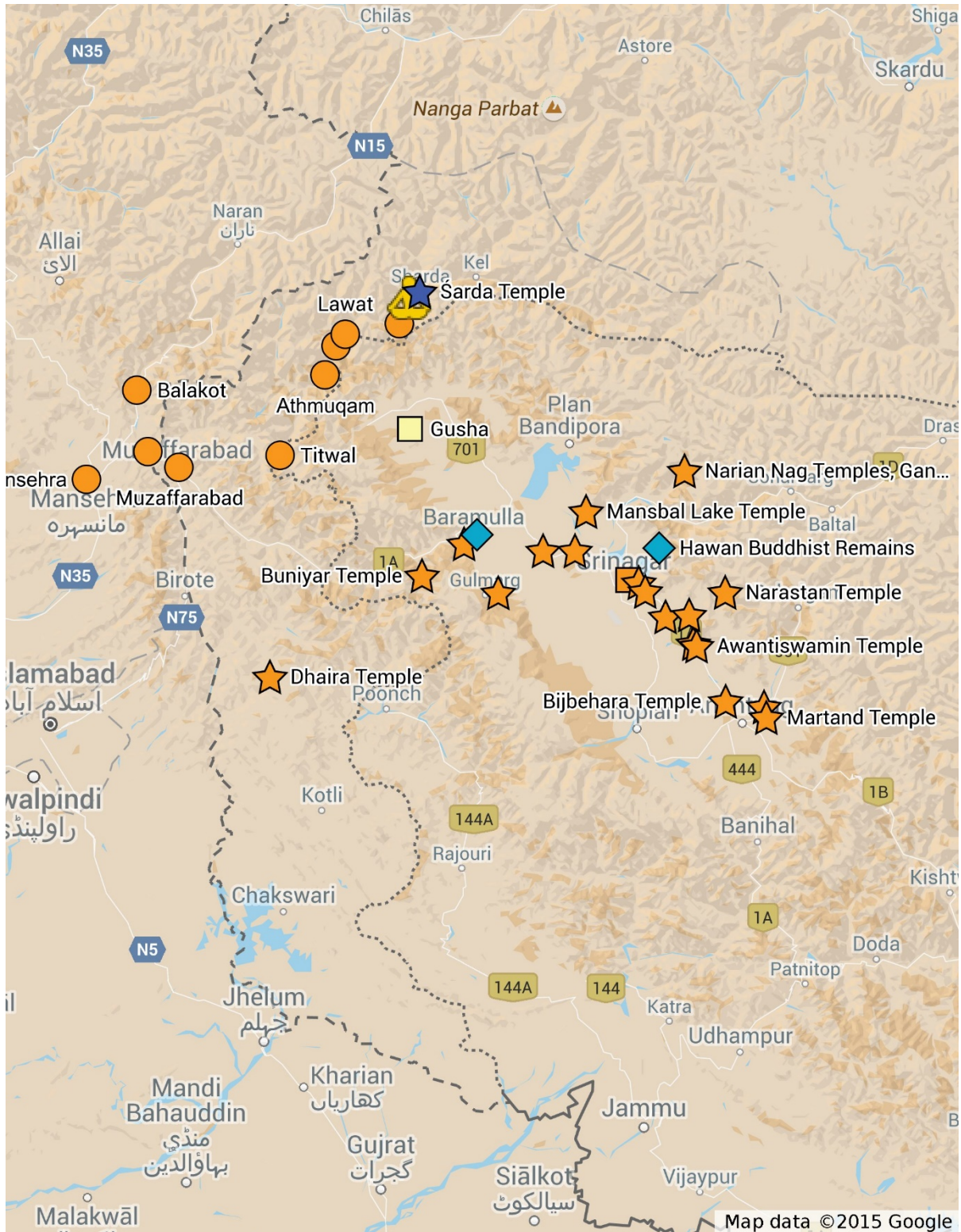
Figure 1. Google plotting of the Stone Temples of Kashmir (Courtesy Google)

Figure 2. Śarda Temple (Photo by Authors)

Figure 3. Martand Temple, built by Lalitaditya Muktapida (After Fisher 1982: 52)

Figure 4. Pandrethan Temple near Śrinagar, 10th cent. CE (After Fisher 1982: 52)

The religious practices and believes of Prehistoric Balochistan and its relation with major religions of South Asia

JAHANZEB KHAN AND SYEDA MEHER TABAN

Abstract

The religious believes associated with man are as old as man himself and this one of the universal phenomenon found around the globe throughout the long history mankind. The debate among scholars whether the birth of religion was before the emergence of human society or it has been contracted after the emergence of social institutions, is long and abortive. Since the emergence of culture/settlement in South Asia is first found in the geographical boundaries of Balochistan, so the present paper is focused on the emergence of religion and rituals associated with it, are discussed. The emergence and evolution of religion and rituals in prehistoric Balochistan is found and its legacy/impact is related with the subsequence cultures and traditions.

The present work is based on the interpretation of symbolisms present in the prehistoric traditions of Balochistan and its continuity into other cultures, hence providing roots to the major religions of South Asia i.e. Hinduism and Buddhism. This symbolic and ritualistic interpretation of believes associated with prehistoric Balochistan cultures and its relationship with subsequent cultures of Indus Valley Traditions, Gandhara Grave Culture and other major religions of ancient South Asia will be the main focus of the present work. The main rational behind the present work is to find the roots of major religions of South Asia in the indigenous cultures if any.

Keywords: *Religious practices, Prehistoric Balochistan, Religions of South Asia*

Introduction

The history of origin of religion is as old as man himself. The nature of origin of religion is a long debate and the participants of this debate can be categorized into two groups i.e. first group is the divine followers of religion, who suggest that religion is revealed by a "Divine Being" .Who is all comprehensive, omnipotent, omnipresent and indivisible.

The followers of divine religion can also be called "Missionary Religions" as these religions have complete codes of life and a preaching mission. The major religions of this group are Judaism, Christianity and Islam, this group is also called the *Abrahamic Religions* (Mathews, 1999). The second group advocates that religion is a social construct and man over a long period of time has devised religion as other social institutions and this group advocates that religion can also be studied in the same manner as other social institutions. This group describes religion in its social and cultural perspective where religion is way or mean for attaining the equilibrium in the society (Heehs, 2002).

There are several schools of thought which define religion in different perspectives. The *essential* school of thought emphasis on actions of individuals or societies once these individuals/societies become religious, the *normative* school advocates that how or what a religion ought to be (Mathews, 1999). Similarly the *sociological/functionalist* school of thought advocates the working nature of religion in the society i.e. how religion works in individual and social life of a given society, the *Marxist* school presents religion only a tool through which the exploited class is controlled by the ruling class while *Psychological* school of thought championed by SigmandFriud advocates the experimental perspective for self-employed psychological catharsis (Mathews, 1999). There is no specific definition of religion on which two schools of thought would agree. We may define religion as a set of beliefs and principles on which the set of rituals or practices are performed by a group of people who consider such principles, rituals and objects as sacred which provide salvation and relief.

In prehistoric Balochistan cultures, the traces of religious belief and rituals are found from cave dwellers to modern period but here only pre-Indus period is described. Man at cave started worship of some supper-natural and powerful deities, whom he could not see but ask for help in the times of grief, disaster and agony (Mathews, 1999). Whether cave dwellers really worshiped those whose images they have depicted in the caves or this only shows an aesthetic sense of human nature is a long debate among scholars. The cave painting in Balochistan have been found in Zhob and Loralai valley by Dr. F.D Kakar and he associates these caves and its paintings with the Paleolithic people and their belief systems.

During the Neolithic and chalcolithic period, the religious and ritual practices in Balochistan became more prominent. The archaeological data has made it possible that now we can reconstruct the religious beliefs of the people of Neolithic and Chalcolithic era and the major source for such religious account is found in the terracotta figurines and graves cultures rather than caves. The graves have been found in the sites scattered throughout Balochistan but Mehrgarh and MiriQalat are the principle sites for such a study. Along with grave culture, there are other sources too which give a good account on the religious beliefs of the people and these comprise of terracotta figurines of male, female and animals on one hand and paintings, designs and motives on pottery on the other hand (Allchin B. A., 1997).

Burial rituals

The Balochistan Tradition's religious perspective can be studied in a better way in grave and burial rituals. During Early Food Producing Era (MR I, II 7000 BCE to 5500 BCE) the burial rituals were based upon the system of rich grave goods (Jarrige J. J., 1995). The dead body was painted with red ochre and there were animals sacrificed which would accompany the dead body, the grave goods would consist of terracotta bangles, pottery, bitumen baskets, lithic objects comprising of axes, cherts and arrow heads, the ornaments and beads made up of sea shells, precious and semiprecious stones of lapis lazuli, steatite and turquoise were also placed in grave along the dead (C. J. Jarrige 1995) (Kenoyer 2000)(Pearsall 2008). The concept of placing goods along with the dead body might reflect the belief in the life after death and the people would think that the dead body might need these objects in the next life so the belongings of the deceased were placed along the dead. The precious items, for example sacrificed animal and precious, semiprecious stones and stone tools suggest that which kind of economy was at that time. The presence of animals show that the people had been engaged in animal husbandry while exotic materials (precious and semiprecious objects) makes it clear that people were engage in long distance trade as these objects are not locally available (Kenoyer 1998).

The concept of grave goods changed after 5500 BCE as now the dead body did not accompany precious and scarce good like sacrificed goats and exotic goods while

terracotta bangles, pottery and stone tools were still buried along with dead (Jarrige J. J., 1995). This can be due to change in the ideological and economic systems of the period. As with passage of time economy grew, the exotic material become more precious and livestock as a source of wealth so people stopped buryingsuch items along with deceased as the items could be used by decedents of the dead person and this would result in the circulation of such wealth in the economy rather than being damped in or buried along dead body. Another reason of change in the ideology of grave goods can be the avoidance of treasure hunting. The people of the locality knew that how many precious/valuable items have been placed with dead body and the treasure hunters could reopen the graves and can steal the valuable items. This would result not only the stealing of precious goods rather this can be taken as dishonoring the deceased which offend the ideology and feelings of descendants of the deceased.

But this practice of reducing the precious grave goods only to few vessels and stone tools was not universal in Balochistan Traditions. As in the southern Balochistan (SohrDamb/Nal I) the graves were still rich in terms of grave goods. The dead body was ochre-covered and the grave goods would consist of beads made up of agate, lapis lazuli, carnelian, steatites and sea shells having red pigment on one hand while vessels and stone tools including grinding stones and stone weight (Pearsall 2008). There is another aspect in the study of grave goods as one finds the vessels of one type or place of origin in other parts of Balochistan i.e. the Togua Ware, Kechi Beg and Faiz Muhammad Wares are found in Nal, ShahiTump and Mehrgarh cemeteries which show a close cultural interaction among these sites (Cardi, 1964). The burial practices also show that the people had common belief systems with very slight differences as all cultural sites depict that life after death was a common belief among the people and Nal cemetery shows there might be communal burials (Pearsall, 2008) (Besenval, 1993). But this communal burials (multiple body remains in one grave) may not be common practice rather the people might have used one grave in multiple times as old dead body's bones were not completely removed and the next dead body might have been buried in the same grave which resulted in multiple bodies found in one grave by excavation teams.

Figurines of Prehistoric Balochistan

The origin of ancient religious practices is always associated with two things i.e. cave paintings and terracotta figurines. The cave paintings are associated with the worship of animal cult and find of good hunting games while terracotta figurines are related with fertility. This fertility concept is dual in nature as the fertility of human beings and fertility of agricultural products are associated with these figurines. The people might have made anthropomorphic figurines for ritual and worship purpose, as by worshiping abstract gods and goddess through making there figurines and making offerings, men would seek the blessings of these gods and goddesses who would fulfill their wishes and bring good fortunes to them.

The presence of terracotta figurines in Balochistan suggests that people here might have worshiped "mother goddess cult". The figurines have been found from aceramic period to post Harappan period. The first appearance of terracotta figurines were found in Mehrgarh I period with simple structure but the time of Mehrgarh III, IV (4800 BCE to 3800 BCE) saw the peak of figurine cults with well-structured and shaped anthropomorphic figurines (C. J. Jarrige 1995) (Jarrige J. , 1991). The structures of these figurines vary from site to site and time to time but here only the common features of these figurines are presented.The terracotta figurines were made. The figurines types were male, female and animal figures. The male figurines have turbans or headdress while the female figurines have different hair styles and ornaments, jointed legs and the breasts sizes are extended/large which show the fertility and baby feeding of feminine character (C. J. Jarrige 1995).

There is another aspect of figurine tradition of Balochistan that the figurines have been found scattered throughout site rather than being placed in a particular building or place. This suggests that there might not have been a central temple in the Balochistan sites rather people would worship and make offerings on individual bases. Besides, these figurines might have been made for a particular religious event or offering and once the event/offering was over, these figurines were used by kids as toys rather than a sacred symbol (Kenoyer1998) (Possehl, 2006).

Prehistoric Balochistan and roots of South Asian religions

Defining religious beliefs or ideology on the basis of cultural material is one of the most problematic issues in prehistory. Since we have only few religious patterns on which speculations could be made about the ideology of a given area which vanished long ago. In this perspective, Balochistan Tradition's ideological or religious beliefs can be studied in above mentioned areas (cave paintings, burials, seals and figurines). The discussion here we will start from cave paintings because these are the oldest available activities associated with human belief systems. The cave paintings and terracotta seals can give a general pattern of symbolism in early people of Balochistan. The images of animals painted in caves might show that people would worship some animal deity or perform some rituals for better hunting of games. These cave paintings have been in practice in almost around the world during the hunting-gathering societies (Green, 1997) and Balochistan Tradition is not an exception. The practice of paintings revolutionized with the invention of ceramics and paintings become the salient feature of ceramic industry. The paintings on the pottery (zoomorphic, geometrical and plant motives) remained the basic theme of ceramic industry. This continuity of image making/paintings, from caves to ceramic industry, can be associated with some cultural and ideological beliefs as there were no place lift empty or uncolored on the exterior of pots and almost entire exterior of pots were painted with zigzag or cress-cross lines so that these potteries might be saved from demons. Furthermore, the images of fish in the water were also constructed which would bring some good fortune for the pot and eatables, placed in such pots to save them from demons so that these food items would remain pure (Kenoyer 1998).

Balochistan Tradition is defined on the basis of its ceramic industry, so a general conclusion can be made that the beliefs associated with pottery paintings of Indus Civilization has its roots in Balochistan. The continuity of painting in the religious beliefs remained intact throughout Indus period as one can observe the presences of motives during and after mature Indus Valley. The images of human, plants and animals can be seen in latter religions of Subcontinent especially Hinduism and Buddhism. The images of almost all Hindu gods and goddess are painted and they are worshiped. Similarly, Gautama Siddhartha commonly known as Buddha is always depicted as sitting beneath a tree (pipel tree) while worshiping, preaching and contemplating. The image of a pipel leave can be found on Quetta Ware, Nal Ware and later on throughout Indus

Tradition which shows that pipel leaves or tree has been one of the sacred images in Subcontinent's symbolism which has its roots back in pre-Indus period of Balochistan Traditions.

Another aspect of early symbolism can be found on the seals which were made during Mehrgarh phase. These seals might have been used on the embroideries especially for buttons because the shape and a hook like structure at the interior of seals give similar impression. The symbols on the seals at an early stage show that there were some rectangular, cress-cross and swastikas like designs (C. J. Jarrige 1995) (Kenoyer, 1998). The button like seals were in various shapes and designs i.e. circular, rectangular and triangular in shape with incurved designs and these might have been used by different people. The material of these seals were also diverse (lapis lazuli, turquoise, steatites and terracotta) and this diverse material also shows the social stratigraphy of the society because exotic materials were not in the access of common people and these people would only copy the design of seals and make it by terracotta. These symbols on the seals can also be associated with belief system of the people as we find similar symbols in the later Hindu mythology especially making of swastikas for showing the cosmic activity and the wheel of law which shows uniformity and generally the swastikas were made when there would have been some chaos and by making swastikas the ritual was performed to restore the calmness in the cosmos (Heehs, 2002). The presence of cosmic impressions on the seals, pottery and architecture show a close relation of beliefs and associated mythologies which have its roots in the thousands of year's history, starting from early Mehrgarh to mature Indus and up to Hindu-Shahi period. The cultural continuity of symbolism in South Asia can be studied in the symbols of swastika, starting from simple terracotta button seals of Mehrgarh to the complex, cosmic and main concept of *Dharma Chakra* or the *Wheel of Law* of Hindu religion. This shows that over the period of time, the beliefs associated with primitive symbolism evolved into a complex philosophical mythology Hinduism in general and Hindu Laws of life in particular. This can also be evidence that the religions evolved in South Asia have an indigenous root rather than being imported from any foreign migration, invasion and diffusion.

The study of prehistoric religions without figurines and grave rituals is incomplete

because most of the religious beliefs and rituals are associated with graves and figurines. The emergence of figurines in Balochistan Traditions is found during aceramic or Mehrgarh I period. During this period the simple terracotta figurines were made. With the passage of time, there were some changes in the shape and material of figurines and these were undergoing an evolutionary process of moving from simple to complex forms but the basic theme remained same. The sculptures of Hinduism and Buddhism might have its roots in the prehistoric figurines as the concept of giving gods and goddess anthropomorphic shapes were existing in the pre-Indus and mature Indus periods, so the cultural continuity in terms of figurines can be clearly found in the South Asia from Neolithic to Hindu Shahi period. The concept of figurines was present in almost all regions and cultures from prehistoric to modern times and there were variations in figurines because of cultural choices but the basic concept remained same. Similarly the burial rituals were in practice in cultural sites of BalochistanTraditions (Shaffer, Balochistan Traditions, 1992) and it has also undergone evolutionary process. There were variations in the grave goods, as the early burials of Mehrgarh (7000 BCE to 5500 BCE) had rich grave but the chalcolithic period reversed the tradition of grave goods. During this period no animal sacrifice was practiced and graves goods were limited to daily usable items and pottery. The grave or burial cultural rituals continued during mature Indus period (2600 BCE to1900 BCE) and post-Indus with similar grave items which suggest that the ideology of Indus and post Indus period had its roots in the Neolithic traditions of Balochistan. Interesting studies can be made during the Gandhara Grave Culture (1500 BCE to 1000 BCE) and there are similarities in the burials. The Gandhara Grave Culture or pre-Buddhist period has two types of burial methods i.e. cremation and inhumation (Faccenna, 1964). The cremation is purely a latter development but inhumation can be connected with greater Indus Valley Traditions which has its roots in Balochistan Traditions. The grave goods of the Gandhara Grave Culture would consist of pottery, daily usable items and some graves would contain more valuable items made by precious and exotic materials. These grave goods would depict the social status and gender of the deceased as the precious items, beads, ornaments and other items were placed in graves, the female ornament would mention the gender while precious items would show that the grave might be of some prominent personality of society (Faccenna, 1964) (Shaffer, Prehistoric Balochistan:(with

Excavation Report on Said Qala Tepe), 1978). The methods and beliefs of such burials can be associated with cultural continuity of early Indus traditions because of similarities in the grave goods and rituals associated with it. Although most of the scholars relate Gandhara Grave Culture with Aryan's invasion and their cultural influence on Subcontinent but recent research posed serious questions on the *Aryans Theory* (Allchin B. A., 1999). The *contextual school of thought* presented a new perspective of interpreting available data in its contextual sense while making some connectivity of cultural continuity (Trigger, 1989). If the Gandhara Grave Culture is studied in its contextual perspective then lots of similarities can be found in this culture and its preceding ones which shows cultural continuity especially in the rituals associated with graves and burials because the grave goods ritual had been started during Neolithic period of Balochistan Traditions and it remained part of dominant belief system during chalcolithic period, Indus period and Gandhara Grave Culture.

The above discussion makes it clear that socio-cultural and religious ideology in Balochistan Traditions has evolved over a long period of time and it has taken almost four millenniums (7000 BCE to 3300 BCE) to develop . This extensive tradition gives roots to all cultural/institutional developments an indigenous flavor and if careful studies are made than it becomes clear that there were variations in the socio-economic and religious developments in the all regions of South Asia but the basic concept remained same. This makes a cultural mosaic of traditions which are scattered over entire South Asia with very strong interaction resulting in the mutual influence of these traditions. This has also helped in the development of regional cultural interactions in terms of economic resources and technological development and there are strong evidences that Balochistan Traditions have provided roots to Indus Valley civilization in terms of religious ideology, economic resources, technological and architectural development one hand and religious ideologies/rituals of Gandhara Grave culture, Hinduism and Buddhism one the other hand.

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Figures
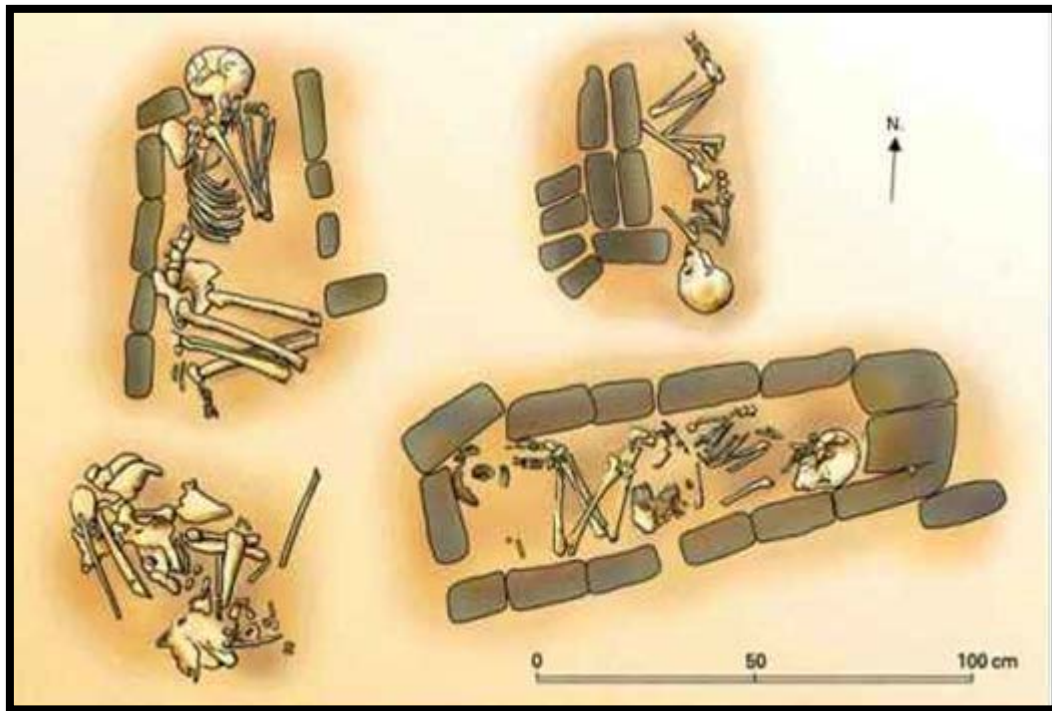
Figure 1. The Mehrgarh burials along with sacrificed animal (Courtesy J.F Jarrige)

Figure 2. SohrDamb/Nal period I. multiple fragmentary burials with grave goods(courtesy Elsevier Inc)

Figure 3. Terracotta figurines of Mehrgarh (Courtesy J.F Jarrige)

Figure 4. Terracotta figurines of Balochistan Traditions (Courtesy J.F Jarrige)

The origin of tomb architecture in Indian sub-Continent

TAUQEER AHMAD

Abstract

Current paper is aimed to review the origin of the tomb architecture in the whole of Pakistan and India. The study encompasses about all of the aspects of its origin, including historic perspectives, influences of pre Muslim period, etc. The paper is posed to the researchers and scholar as an integrated tool.

Keywords: *Origin of Tomb Architecture, Indian sub-Continent, Muslim Architecture*

Historical Perspective

In the beginning of the 2nd decade of the eighth century CE during the Umayyad caliphate the Arab Muslims carried the banner of Islam Spain in the west, Bactria and Soghdiana (the valley of Oxus and Jaxartes) the east, and lower valley of river Sindh up to Multan in the south. The lower valley of the Indus was annexed to Umayyad caliphate and a governor appointed in Sindh in 711-12. This practice continued till CE 750. After the overthrow of the Umayyad's, the Abbasids maintained their grip over Sindh as a province under the caliphate of Baghdad till about the last quarter of the 9th century CE. Thereafter the active control of Baghdad over Sindh like other peripheral territories became loose (Haig 1987: 9).

In the last quarter of the 9th century CE two Arab chiefs succeeded in establishing their dynastic rule in Sindh with their capital cities at Mansura in the south and Multan in the Punjab. In principle, Multan and Mansura recognized the spiritual and political suzerainty of Baghdad. In 871 CE Sindh finally broke away from caliphate. During this period a new doctrinal propaganda initiated perhaps first in Multan from where, in the course of years it spread to the rest of Sindh. This propaganda was known as Ismaili doctrine, backed by the Fatimid's of Cairo (Egypt). With the military support of the Fatimid's, the Ismailis first captured Multan in 977 and after sometimes overcame the Hibbaris of Mansura. The Ismailis started reciting Khutba in the name of the Fatimid and

also destroyed the Sun Temple of Multan, which had been spared by the most liberal minded Arab Muslims. They ruled for about 28 years when they were subdued by Mahmud of Ghazna in 1005. About twenty years later Mahmud also invaded Mansura while he was returning to Ghazna after the invasion of Somanath (Akram 1989:46).

With the death of last Udi Shahi ruler Bhimpaladeva (1026) the kingdom of Kallar, founded in 821, was brought to an end (Rehman 1993:31) and the Peshawar valley (ancient Gandhara), the Punjab including Multan, and Sindh were annexed to the kingdom of Ghazna. The Ghaznavid political domination continued over this region (Indus) till the defeat of its last ruler Khusro Malik who was killed by Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam, the Ghurid, in 1186. Walking in the footsteps of their predecessors Ghurids established their rule in the Punjab and attempted to extend their rule, to the plains of Indus. But Shahab-ud-Din was killed near Rawalpindi in CE 1206 and was succeeded by his slave general Qutb-ud-Din Aibak who founded first Muslim Sultanate in the Indian Sub-continent with its capital at Delhi in the same year. Thus, he became the first Turkish Muslim King of Delhi Sultanate. In its early days it was feeble, fragile and precarious, as its independent existence was threatened by the other generals of Shahab-ud-Din such as Taj-ud-Din Ildiz and Nasir-ud-Din Kabacha who declared themselves equally legitimate claimants for the crown of Delhi. However, Qutab-ud-Din, inspite of severe political unrest, upheavals and turmoil, kept his nascent Delhi Sultanate under his control and intact. But his reign proved short as he died after falling from his horse while playing Polo at Lahore in 1210 where afterwards he was buried. Qutb-ud-Din was succeeded by his son Aram Shah on the throne of Delhi but because of inexperience he was dethroned by the nobles of Delhi who raised Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish to the throne. He was son-in law of Qutb-ud-Din Aibak and was the governor of Bada'un. Shams-ud-Din is regarded as a real founder of the Delhi Sultanate. Being an ingenious statesman as well as inborn soldier he fought against the centrifugal forces and succeeded in establishing himself as a paramount ruler of Delhi, Bengal, Peshawar and Sindh. He ruled for about 24 years (Quraishi 1947: 253-261). Like his predecessor he also showed keen interest in art and architecture, as the erection of a number of monuments is also attributed to him, not only as a governor of Bada'un but also as king of Delhi. He built a magnificent tomb as a memorial to the untimely death of his son

Nasir-ud Din Mahmud which is, sometimes, erroneously regarded as the earliest tomb ever built in the Indian Sub-continent (Rakhshanda 2011:30).

Origin of Tomb Architecture in South Asia

The erection of a building over a grave is disapproved in Islam. After the death of the Caliph al- Muntasir, however, his Greek mother requested, and obtained permission to erect a mausoleum for him. It lay in the neighbourhood of the Qasr al Sawami and the Caliph al- Mutazz and Muhtadi were subsequently buried in it also. On the strength of these facts Herzfeld suggested that the Qubbat al- Sulaibiya was possibly the mausoleum of these three Caliphs. In 1911 he excavated the place and found three graves. It was obviously built after the death of al- Muntasir in June CE 862. The building is octagonal in shape and has an outer and inner octagon with a corridor running in between. This is the first ever tomb in Islam (Herzfeld 1911:86). The intention and purpose of such imposing construction was well understood, as tomb building was originally intended to glorify the deceased personage. Thus, tomb structure emerged definitely as a secular building without any kind of religious association. Very soon, however, it was felt to sanctify the burial chamber and transform its secular character.

No tomb building or structure of the time of Arab governors who ruled over the lower Indus valley from Debal to Multan almost for two hundred and sixty six years (711 to 971 CE) has survived. So far as the origin of tomb architecture is concerned, probably, the history of tomb or mausoleum architecture may not be traced earlier than the tomb of Qubbat as-Sulaibiya. Some of the tombs are claimed to have been built earlier than Qubbat as- Sulaibiya, but, serious doubts are expressed regarding the originality of their surviving structures and proposed dates (Baluch 1980:64-65). Nonetheless, what appears true is that once Muslims initiated the erection of tomb chambers, being inspired and influenced most probably by Roman and Christian tomb traditions, over the graves as memorial or commemorative buildings to glorify the deceased person, the idea sprang up and diffused throughout the Muslim world and was much appreciated, and was never discarded. In the course of centuries typical styles and forms of Muslim tomb architecture were developed which, afterwards, became models, and were imitated and copied across the countries and continents.

Regarding the earliest Muslim tombs in South Asia it was believed that the fortress burial chamber of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud, locally known as Sultan Ghari, built by his father sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish at Delhi in 1231, was the first funerary building of its kind (Brown 1942:14). However, archaeological activities, after the creation of Pakistan brought to light certain burial chambers which were definitely built before the construction of the tomb of Sultan Ghari at Delhi.

Tomb of Muhammad b. Harun

One such building, located in the Lasbela district, is allegedly identified as the last resting place of the Arab general Muhammad Bin Harun. However, the tomb (Fig. 1) structure is traditionally attributed to a saintly personage known as 'Peer Ari'. The number of graves (six in all) shows that it was a family burial chamber. Seemingly the tomb came to be known after the name of the person first buried. If this is so, the first person for whom the tomb was originally built was a certain "Peer Ari". Who precisely this "Peer Ari" was, is not known for certain. The technical aspect of the building such as the style of architecture, mode of masonry, its composition and the ground plan, suggest a date not earlier than 15th 0r 16th century, as a large number of tombs or burial chambers containing the graves of the Muslim saints and tribal chiefs are reported from Baluchistan (Taj Ali 1991:51), which share common architectural features with it. In fact, the tomb of Peer Ari at Lasbela is not an exception, we have other similar examples and one of them is a group of tombs situated in the district of Dera Ismail khan known as the tombs of Lal Mara Sharif after the name of the village located nearby.

Had this tomb of "Peer Ari" not been renovated, a circumstance which has hidden its original shape, it might have given more conclusive information pertaining to its identification and style of architecture. Explaining the word "Peer Ari" N. A. Baluch suggests:

> *"The place may be identified with the locality where the time honoured the tomb of Peer Ari stands outside the Bela town. The existing baked brick structure of the mausoleum appears to be of Ghaznavid period, and its antiquity suggests that the grave may be of Muhammad b. Harun*

(=Ibn Harun=Harun further shortened into Ari in later centuries). 'Ari' (in urdu) is the prestigious ancestral title in the Baluch genealogy, and he might have been called 'Ari' by the people if Muhammad b. Harun had entered into family relationship with the Baluch people."(1980:64-65).

But it is well known that Baluch tribes moved into Baluchistan in the 15th CE (M. S. K. Baluch:1, 45). Therefore no family relation between Muhamad .b Harun (CE 715) and Baluch tribes could be visualized. At present, we have a domed square structure, built of burnt bricks which reveals unpretentious architectural composition in all respects. The tomb building stands on a cultural mound in the midst of a graveyard and is locally known as burial chamber of 'Peer Ari'. Unfortunately nothing is known about the history of this certain 'Peer Ari'. However, it appears that saintly personage buried at Las Bela, after his death came to be known by prestigious Baluch title "Ari" instead of his real name.

At the time of the conquest of Makran the territory of Lasbela was known to Arab geographers and historians as Armanbel or Armanbil or Armanbela (Dawson:156-157) which may be translated as 'Islands of Arman'. So far as the Arab commander and governor of Makran Muhammad b. Haroon is concerned, no doubt, he joined the army of Muhammad b. Qasim while latter launched military expedition against Raja Dahir. The tomb of Muhammad b. Harun is believed to have originally been constructed in 11th or 12th century. Brigadier (rtd) Usman (2002: pls 1, 21) gives two photographs of the time before conservation.

Tomb of Saif-ud-Daula

Another dilapidated stone structure situated in Zairan about 5 kilometers from Parachinar is allegedly identified as the tomb (Fig. 2) of Saif-ud-Daula Mahmud (Rahman 1989:79) which reveals a square plan with a sunken arch that accommodates an entrance with a window above. It seems that this scheme of sunken arched entrance and a window above would have originally been repeated on all sides. There is no trace of an arched niche or Mehrab in the Qibla or western wall as a directional element. Moreover

this derelict tomb building is extremely unpretentious and originally stood as a solitary structure without any surrounding wall or enclosure. Nothing is known about the precise date of its construction as no inscription was found from the body of the monument. However, it appears as the only tomb ever erected for any Ghaznavid prince or governor on the soil of medieval Pakistan. What role precisely did it play in the history of tomb architecture in the sub-continent is not known except that the tomb of Saif-ud-Daula Mahmud seems to be the earliest of its kind ever built for any Muslim ruler or governor in this region the structural remains of which still survive. Moreover, it may be suggested that with the construction of the tomb of Saif-ud-Daula Mahmud the funeral architecture took its initiation in Indian sub-continent.

Tomb of Khalid Walid

Multan fell into the hands of the Ghurid's when Shahab-ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam defeated the Ismaili dais in CE 1175 and Ali Karmakh was appointed as governor by the conqueror. During the Ghurid's early days a funeral mosque was constructed under the orders of the Ali b. Karmakh, the governor of Multan (EC 1175-1186) as known from an inscriptional record, recovered from this monument (Farooq 1988:246). At first sight it appears to be a fortress-like monumental structure, erected at a solitary location apparently possessing no politically significance. Quite naturally the monumental nature of this building raises a number of questions. Though, inscriptional evidence records that it was built on the commands of Ali b. Karmakh, there is nothing in historical literature regarding to the importance of the place where now it stands. The place is locally known as Khatti Chur. What does this name signify still remains a question mark. It may only be assumed that Khatti Chur had achieved the status of an administrative-cum-political centre or a residence of a saintly personage by the time of the erection of the building. The monument marks the site of an ancient cultural mound, about fifty feet high from the ground level, covering a considerable area. It is adjacent to a graveyard still used by the people of Khatti Chur. Not far from it are the remains of a serai and a mosque locally known as Shahi masjid. There is everything to suggest that it was situated upon a highway and must have been the headquarters of sub-district in the early medieval period.

The tomb is situated near a small village named Khatti Chur in the district of Kabir Wala, Punjab (Pakistan) and is about 40 kilometers away to the south-east of Multan. The actual tomb building, originally built on a 15 feet high plinth (Siddiq & Rehman 1991:41) is surrounded by a fortification wall about 30 feet in height externally. Internally the height of the defensive wall, due to the raised inner surface is much smaller. This imposing boundary wall of immense size gives the monument a fortress-like look (Fig: 3).

Khaliq or Khalid b. Waleed, a saintly personage, is said to have travelled to Multan from Afghanistan or Central Asia or Iran along with the armies of Mahmud of Ghazna for the preaching of Islam. Having reached Multan the saint finally chose a place as his residence now known as Khatti Chur. Presently it consists of a hamlet of more than 100 families (Khan 1990:75). Unfortunately, nothing is known about the saint from historical sources of the region.

If anything in the form of battlement or merlons on the fashion of pre-Muslim Indian tradition existed on top of the defensive wall is now missing. However, a frieze or chain of connected circles is running all around on the upper part of this wall. The uppermost portion of the bastions has disappeared. The utter plainness of the external face of the wall is only interrupted by slightly recessed arched windows, irregularly placed in upper half on three sides. Set between turrets close to the north-eastern end, a flight of steps provides access to the walled enclosure. The interior face of the enclosure wall is not dissimilar to that of the exterior, as plainness and the burnt brick masonry prevails everywhere. The steps lead up to a raised courtyard or enclosure, rectangular in shape, in the centre of which the domed burial chamber of the saint stands. The actual tomb building was originally surrounded by vaulted galleries on all sides, but now they have collapsed leaving remains of the barrel vaults along the perimeter wall. The burial chamber of the saint was flanked on north and south by vaulted halls, which are now in a decaying condition (Fig: 4). The composition and arrangement of central burial chamber surrounded by galleries and flanking halls seems to be a novel idea. Wherefrom this idea was borrowed is not known. Tapering wall is a characteristic of the Tughlaq architecture but here we have a much earlier example.

The actual burial chamber is a square structure of burnt brick masonry measures 24 feet a side (Fig: 5). The walls of the chamber was originally pierced by openings one on each side. At present, except for the eastern opening the rest have been walled up. The entrance consists of a modern wooden door-frame set within an arched opening. The tapering tendency, of the wall can only be discerned at corner angles. The phase of transition shows arched squinches in the corners, about five feet above the floor which converted the square into an octagon. To transform octagon in a circular base, the spandrels of the squinches are filled with stepped recessed niches. These are executed by placing bricks in zig-zag position. This architectural device is generally termed as 'phase of transition', which was commonly used in the Muslim monuments of Central Asia, before the erection of the tomb of Khitti Chor. Thus, the dome of the tomb of Khalid bin Waleed was facilitated. So far as the original form or the shape of dome is concerned, it has lost its originality due to successive repairs. However, at present a pointed dome crowns the whole lower scheme.

Mihrab

The Mihrab consists of a half-vaulted niche, placed in the middle of the western wall. This may confidently be termed as the earliest surviving Mihrab ever built in this region. This architectural feature emerged in the mosques at first, and was later also incorporated in the body of tomb structure as a directional element. At Khatti Chur the grave chamber being devoid of a Mihrab, it is fixed in the middle of the western wall of the fortress, and is externally marked by a rectangular projection. The façade of the Mihrab consists of three receding pilasters which originally carried inscriptional bands. The curves of the niche are now missing. The front wall of the Mihrab is decorated with a trefoil arch and sides are left untreated. The pseudo-Corinthian pilasters are used as support to the main arch as well as the trefoil arch. Moreover, the façade and the interior of the niche was originally profusely decorated with foliated Kufic inscriptions consisting of Quranic verses, the attributes of Allah, the names of the last Prophet and his companions such as Abu Bakr, Farooq, Usman and Ali. The cut-brick technique was applied in carrying out such a wonderful piece of art. The foliated form of Kufic characters was created by carving or cut-brick technique for which Indian craftsmen appears to have been engaged. Except for the Kufic characters and theme of the

inscriptions, every other aspect of the Mihrab speaks of local art traditions such as the form of the main niche, interior trefoil arch in relief on the front face, pseudo Corithian pilasters as well as decorative elements including foliation of conventionalized acanthus, dentil moulding, floral tendrils, series of lotus leaves, series of roundels, and foliated Kufic characters (Fig: 6).

Nature of Monument

The provision of a mosque in the tomb chamber had become a well established tradition by the 12th century CE. Its absence in the present case and its provision in the perimeter wall suggests that both the structures were raised simultaneously. Regarding similar funerary mosques R. Hillenbrand remarks:

> *"Frequently the very wording of an inscription or a text enforces the interpretation that a given mausoleum also served some other and non-funerary function. Example of this are ribats, zawiyas, funerary madrasas, and even funerary mosques, such as the one at Turbat-i-jam. These cases show clearly enough how funerary architecture was part of the warp and weft of medieval Iranian society. Such joint- or even multiple - foundations brought the mausoleum into the orbit of society at large and made it natural to extend the functions of a tomb structure beyond simple burial. This did not prevent the secular mausoleum from becoming a symbol of conspicuous consumption. Nevertheless, for patrons desirous of perpetuating their names and at the same time flaunting their piety or, benefitting the local community, or making atonement for their sins by engaging in good works, such joint foundations were ideal. The mausoleum provided, as it were, a stamp of ownership for the entire foundation. By a natural transition the mausoleum would acquire sanctity from its very surroundings and indeed might become in due time a supplementary place of worship". (1994:277-78)*

In the light of above mentioned observation the nature of monumental structure of Khatti

Chur may be understood. In fact, it seems an extension of a new 'funerary mosque concept' in which worship place was combined with burial chamber intending to transform the secular nature of tomb building into a religious one. The idea of structural arrangement or composition of such a building seems to have been copied from some existing monument from some close neighbouring countries where funerary mosque architecture had taken firm grounds.

Tomb of Sultan Ghari

Qutb-ud-Din Aibak was the first ruler of the sultanate of Delhi. He died after falling from his horse and was buried in Lahore in CE 1210. No burial chamber erected over his grave. Present mausoleum dates from 1970's. Before this the Ghurid ruler Shahab-ud din Muhammad b. Sam is believed to have temporarily been buried at Dhamek (district Rawalpindi) where he was assassinated in CE 1206. His dead body was finally taken to Ghazni. A nice looking mausoleum has been erected over the grave by Abdul Qadir Khan Ghori. About fifty five years after the erection of the tomb of Khalid b. Walid another mortuary chamber was built for a prince at Delhi—the capital of the nascent Muslim Sultanate in Hindustan. In 1231-32, Sultan Shams-ud-Din Iltutmish buit a tomb for his son Nasir-ud-din Mahmud about 5km away towards the east from Delhi. The mausoleum of Sultan Ghari (Fig: 7), (=Sultan of the cave) as it is known locally because his burial chamber consisted of an underground chamber, is in an octagonal form covered with flat roof. Two-thirds of the burial chamber is below the ground level while the octagonal roof was originally covered by a pillared pavilion, which is now missing. The burial chamber is enclosed by a fortification wall perforated with arched windows and strengthened at corners by circular turrets. The tomb is approached through a gateway in the middle of the eastern side. The fortress-like appearance of Sultan Ghari shows striking structural analogy with the mausoleum at Khatti Chur, as both share monumental fortifications, bastions or turrets and arched windows, and were raised on platforms approached by flight of steps. Such similarities between the tomb of Khalid b. Walid and Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud suggest that the mausoleum of Nasir-ud-Din Mahmud would have borrowed the layout from Khatti Chur. In other words it may be remarked that the mausoleum of Khalid b. Walid, with all probabilities had served as a model for the tomb of Delhi.

Concluding Remarks

The concept of burial chamber, the way they glorified the deceased bodies of the Kings, saints, nobles and queens brought by Muslims into India. In the course of countries they developed tomb architecture by borrowing new styles from neighboring countries, as well as the innovative skills of the indigenous masons. The Muslim invaders did not hesitate in adapting and introducing indigenous architectural traditions in their plans and compositions. They showed unfailing sense of adaptation to the environmental, geographical factors and climatic conditions. They employed indigenous masons and appreciated their age-old artistic skills and decorative arts and schemes, which now we observe in Muslim monuments throughout the length and breadth of Indian sub-continent.

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Figures

Figure 1. Tomb of Peer Ari at Lasbela (cira 15th, 16th Century CE)

Figure 2. Tomb of Saif-ud-Daula Mahmud, Zairan, (Parachinar) cira. 1086 CE.

Figure 3. Tomb of Khalid b. Walid, Kabirwala, Punjab (Pakistan) 1175 CE.

Figure 4. Fortification wall of Tomb of Khalid b. Walid.

Figure 5. Barrel vault 0f the Tomb of Khalid b. Walid. Kabir Wala, Punjab,

Figure 6. Mehrab inside the western wall of the tomb of Khalid Walid.

Figure 7. Tomb of Sultan Ghari at Delhi (1231-32 CE)

Nastalique Inscription inside the tomb of Shei<u>kh</u> Imām-ud-din Muḥammad I'nayatullah at Palosi Piran Pakistan: A Fresh study

MARIA SHAHEEN

Abstract

The tomb of Shei<u>kh</u> Imam-ud-din is situated at Palosi Pirān behind the Agriculture University Peshāwar. The celebrated Shei<u>kh</u> Imam-ad-din was born during the early 16th century Christian era at Peshawar. He earned respect in society for his religious devotion and scholarly guidance. The ancestry line of Shei<u>kh</u> Imām-ad-Din can be traced back to the <u>Kh</u>alil tribe(Afghani1965 : 573; Rahman1981:117).

Though in the past many attempts have been made to record and translate the inscription yet the scholars remained silent regarding the defaced issues in the text. Therefore, we need to reinvestigate the inscription in order to solve the missing issues. The present attempt will reveal in detail the ancestry line through Tarikh-e-Khan Jahani wa Makhzane Afghāni. Through this source we may be able to find the third and fourth name, which have been rubbed out in the epigraphic record inscribed inside the tomb chamber these defaced names have close association with the understudy Saint. Besides, the inscription is also the time frame in which the construction of the tomb was completed. These are the important findings, which shall be discussed at length in this fresh study.

Keywords: *Tomb of Shei<u>kh</u> Imam-ad-din, Nastalique Inscription, Palosi Piran*

Brief History

Before to investigate the inscription, it is necessary to know the family of in question saint:The authentic source confirm that the saint belongs to the <u>Kh</u>alil an Afghan tribe. In this process question arises that who were <u>Kh</u>alil? And from where they migrated to Peshāwar?

In order to solve the prevailing matter of contention in the light of authentic sources it can be proclaimed that Khalil is an Afghān clan, and Khalils are descended from the Khalil (Hussain 1986:655-657; Peshawar Gazeteer1989:136).

Khalil belongs to the Sarbani Pathāns tribe and Khalil's mother was from Lodhi family. Thus, after this Khalil the clan has been formed. The founder of this clan was Khalil who was the son of Ghauri bin Gond bin Kherudin (Kharshabun) bin Sarbani. Khalil had two sons 1. ShaikhOmar and 2. Shaikh Bara.(Hussain1986:655-656; Dorn 1976 :124)They took migration from the north of Qandhahār to Peshāwar in 15th century Christian era.(Caroe2000:238,258-259;Rashid 2005: 518; Bosworth2007:427) The Khalil with the Mahmand and Daudzais formed the Ghwariakhel clan of Afghāns and initially established themselves along the bank of Tarnak River, south of Ghazni (PeshawarGazetteer1989:136).They made inroads to Bajaur area and assisted Yousafzai against Malik Haibu but very soon ousted by Yousafzai from Bajaur. They entered in to Peshawar in the time of Mirza Kamran Beg. (Caroe2000:258-262; Rashid 2005: 518; Peshawar Gazetteer1989:136).After the death of Babur in (AH936) 1530 Christian era the Mughal empire divided into two parts. The eldest son prince Humayun confirmed his brother Mirza Kamran Beg in his fief Kabul province. The Dilazāks were at then in possession of the whole area east of the Khyber Pass were loyal to Humayun. In actual Humayun was the king of India and was enjoying the powers, while Mirza Kamran Beg was mere the feudatory. Khalils conspired with Mirza Kamran Beg to drive out the Dilazāks. Mirzā Kamran helped Khalil and Mahmand in ousting the Dilazāks across the Indus. (Raverty 1976:225-226; Khan1986:171; Caroe 2000:258-262; Peshawar Gazetteer1989:136) Later on, Khalils crosssed the River Indus and occupied the country on its southern and northern banks. Soon they becomes so powerful, which makes them haughty and arrogant. Khalils started plundering and looted the Yousafzai caravans passing through the neighborhood. The prevailing circumstances caused for the enragence of Khan Kaju (the chief of the Yousafzai tribe) thus subsequently resulted in the battle on the southern bank of the southern branch of the river Kabul near Sheikh Tapoor (1) where the former received a crushing defeat. (Raverty 1976:227; Khan 1986:172-173; Rashid2005:521; Khawar 2011: 26-33).

The Genealogy of Sheikh Imam-ud-din

Sheikh Imam-ad-din Muhammad Inayat ullah s/o Sheikh Kabir (Bala pir) s/o Sheikh Qasim- Alqadri s/o Sheikh Qadam Sulemani Qadri s/o Sheikh Khwaja Muhammad Zahid s/o Sheikh Mir Dard s/o Sheikh Sultan s/o Sheikh. Katta s/o Sheikh Yusuf Zahir Ben s/o Sheikh. Matti s/o Sheikh Abbas s/o Sheikh Umar s/o Sheikh Khalil s/o Ghauri s/o Gond

1.Shaikh Tapoor or Patur is said to be the name of the shrine of some Holy Man,near the Dabor Marsh

Dani and Rahman mentioned the name of the understudy saint in their work such as Shaikh Imam-ad-Din (Dani1995:221; Rahman1981:117).However the present researcher has been able to find the full name of the saint that is Shaikh Imam-ud-Din Muhammad Inayatullah, which was for the first time recorded by Harvi in the *Tarikh-e-Khan Jahani wa Makhzane Afghani* where Ibrahim shah in his investigations has also quoted the same reference regarding the above cited exact name of the Saint (Hussain1986: 664; Shah2001:164).

Sheikh Imam-ad-din Muhammad Inayat-ullah the son of Sheikh Kabir locally known as (Balapir or Pir Bala).The date on which the Sheikh was born is incorrectly recorded by Afghani, Rehman and Rafia Wahid such as Wednesday, 1ˢᵗ Muharram 1020 H. 6ᵗʰMarch 1611 at Budhni near Peshawar(Afghani1965:573;Rahman1981 :117;Wahid1992:75). However, when this Hijri date is converted into Gregorian calendar thus the date change into Wednesday 16ᵗʰ March not 6ᵗʰ March 1611 century Christain era. His mother name was Taj Bibi; she was daughter of Malik Darweza (Afghani1965:573; Rahman1981:117; Wahid 1992:75) Shaikh Imam-ad-din also wrote a book on the history of Afghans known as *Tarikh-e Afghani* (Afghani1965:572; Rahman1981:117).

A Persian Inscription found from inside the tomb chamber; Though it was for the time published by Dani in his book yet, he left some issues in the documentation and its translation in to English. Similarly, the same mistake has been also followed by the other scholars, who one way or other have conducted their research on these monuments (Dani1995:221-222; Rahman1981:117-118; Wahid1992:76; Nadiem2007; 145).

The incorrectly recorded and translated Persian inscription is given as under,

الله اكبر

معلوم جميع مريدان و محبان - - مان سلسله عليه قونيه قادريه بطريقه مستقيمه قائمه بوده
باشد كه بتاريخ بست و سيوم شهر محرم الحرام شب چهار شنبه وقت سحر سنه هزار و شصت و
بود كه حضرت امام (الحق والدين) و سراج المحققين امام الملة والدين نياز مند جناب
كبريا الى حضرت شيخ امام الدين . . . . حضرت شيخ . . . . از واراالقنا

بدارالبقا رحلت نمودو بتاريخ سنه هزار و شصت سه بود كه بفرموده حضرت شيخ عبدالرزاق
مرشد دين و شيخ عبدالحق شيخ - - - - الواحد اكثر فهم الله تعالى فى الدارين ابتدا .بنا روضه
- - - - منوره مقدمه مزار فايض الانوار كرده شد و باهتمام حاجى اسكندر خادم و استاد
فتح محمد بتاريخ بستم شهر شعبان المعظم سنه هزار و شصت و نهم بود كه كار عمارت مزار فيض
آثار با تمام رسيد اين چند كلمه بطريق يادداشت كتب مختصر
دست حنابت حضرت شيخ بين بالا پير حمايت جان من مسلمانان ان شيخ

(Dani 1995: 221; Rahman 1981:117-118; Wahid 1992:76; Nadiem 2007: 145)

English Translation of the Text

The Shaikh died on Wednesday 23 Muharram 1060AH. 26th January 1650 Christian era. Two years after his death, was started the construction of a lofty domed structure over his grave in 1063 H. A.D.1652-53 by the Shaikhs disciples known as Shaikh 'Abdul-Razzāq, Shaikh 'Abdul-Haq and another Shaikh whose name has unfortunately been rubbed out of the commemorative plaque, which form our only source of information on this point. The construction was carried out under the superintendence of a certain Haji Iskandar (Khadim) and Ustad Fateh Muhammad (Lahori) and completed on Tuesday 20 Shabaan 1069 H.(13 May,1659 Christian Era) When date is converted into Gregorian calendar thus it became Monday 12th May, 1659 Christian Era. (Dani 1995: 221; Rahman 1981:117-118; Wahid1992: 76; Nadiem2007:145)

Keeping in view the prevailing concern we need to follow scientific approach of the research methodology that is the process of investigation and observation in order to find

out the solution in the light of authentic evidence to identify the problems to solve the matter.

The present researchers after reinvestigating the above cited inscription which shows the missing issues and the problems left in the translation, by the scholars after solving the above mentioned problems is given as under :

اکبر   اللہ

بمعلوم جمیع مریدان و محبان ۔۔۔مان سلسلہ علیہ قونیہ قادریہ بطریقہ مستقیمہ قاسمیہ بودہ باشد کہ بتاریخ بست وسیوم شہر محرم الحرام شب چہارشنبہ

وقت سحر سنہ ہزار و شصت بود کہ حضرت امام (الحق والدین)وسراج المحققین امام الملتہ والدین نیاز مند جناب کبریاالی حضرت شیخ امام الدین

۔۔۔۔۔۔حضرت شیخ۔۔۔۔۔۔از دارالفنا

بدار البقار حلت نمود و بتاریخ سنہ ہزار و شصت سہ بود کہ بفر مودہ حضرت شیخ عبدالرزاق مرشد دین و شیخ عبدالحق شیخ، محمد فاضل شیخ عبدالواحد اکثر فہم

اللہ تعالیٰ فی الدارین ابتدابسنار وضہ ۔۔۔۔۔۔ منورہ مقدمہ مزار فایض الانوار کردہ شد و باہتمام حاجی اسکندر خادم واستاد آثار باتمام رسیداس چند کلمہ

بطریق یاد داشت کتب مختصر

دست حنابت حضرت شیخ کبیر بالا پیر حمایت جان من متنظمان ان شیخ

Keeping in view the above cited epigraphic record the first line of the tomb stone has not been translated by any scholar such as the inscription mentioned that the all followers are of Qaunyia Qadria Batariqa Mustaqimya Qasmia. Another question arises that who was the third person? whose name has been defaced. In this process the research scholars like Dani, Rehman, Wahid and Nadiem are absolutely silent about the rubbed name after the title "Shaikh" However the present researcher has been able to find an authentic reference in the *Tarikh-e-Khan Jahani wa Makhzan-e-Afghani* composed by Harvi, who has given the defaced name, which is Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Wāhid, he was the fifth son of Shaikh Imām-ad-din muhammad I'nayatullah, who was also known as Shaikh Atal, he was born on 28th Muharram 1048AH(Friday 11th June 1638 Christian

era)(Hussain1986:13,664).It is quite clear from genealogical table Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Razzāq, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Haq, Shaikh 'Abd-ul-Wāhid were the sons of the under study saint, whose name are also mentioned in the inscribed tablet. Apart from those three names of his sons there are signs of fourth name, which must be the name of his other son. Shaikh 'Abd-al-Wāhid is not the third name but it is the fourth name. After the name of 'Abd-al-Razzāq then there is a title such as Shaikh and then a huge gap then again the title Shaikh can be seen. The name after this title is a missing name, the space of this defaced name can be noticed in the frame of a huge gap between Shaikh 'Abd-al-Haq and 'Abd- al-Wāhid, which gives us indication that there must be another name but the alphabets are completely defaced only "Ma" and lower part of "la" in Persian Nastālique style can be seen in the inscription. These half drawn alphabets lead us to the name of Shaikh Muhammad Fāzil the fourth son of the under study saint, was born on Monday 22nd Rajab in1041AH (Friday13th february1632 Christian era).This defaced name can be recorded in the account of Neamatullah Harvi, where this name can be found. The last line of this inscription is not translated by any investigator in the past. However, Dani in his works incorrectly mentioned a name in the last line such as Hazarat Shaikh ben Bālā pir Himāyat jān(Dani1995:221-222).Whereas, the correct name in the tombstone is Shaikh Kabir Bala Pir Himayat Jan not Ben Bāla Pir Himayat Jān which has been underlined in the correct version of the inscription.

In the genealogical table of Shaikh Imām-ud-din's Muhammad I'nayatullah, Rahmān has given only the detail of Shaikh Mitti, Shaikh Katta and Shaikh Qasim(Rahman1981:118-119).While further detail of other descendants has been given by the present author.

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Figures

Figure 1. General View of the Sheikh Imam-ud-din Muhammad Inayatuallah's tom
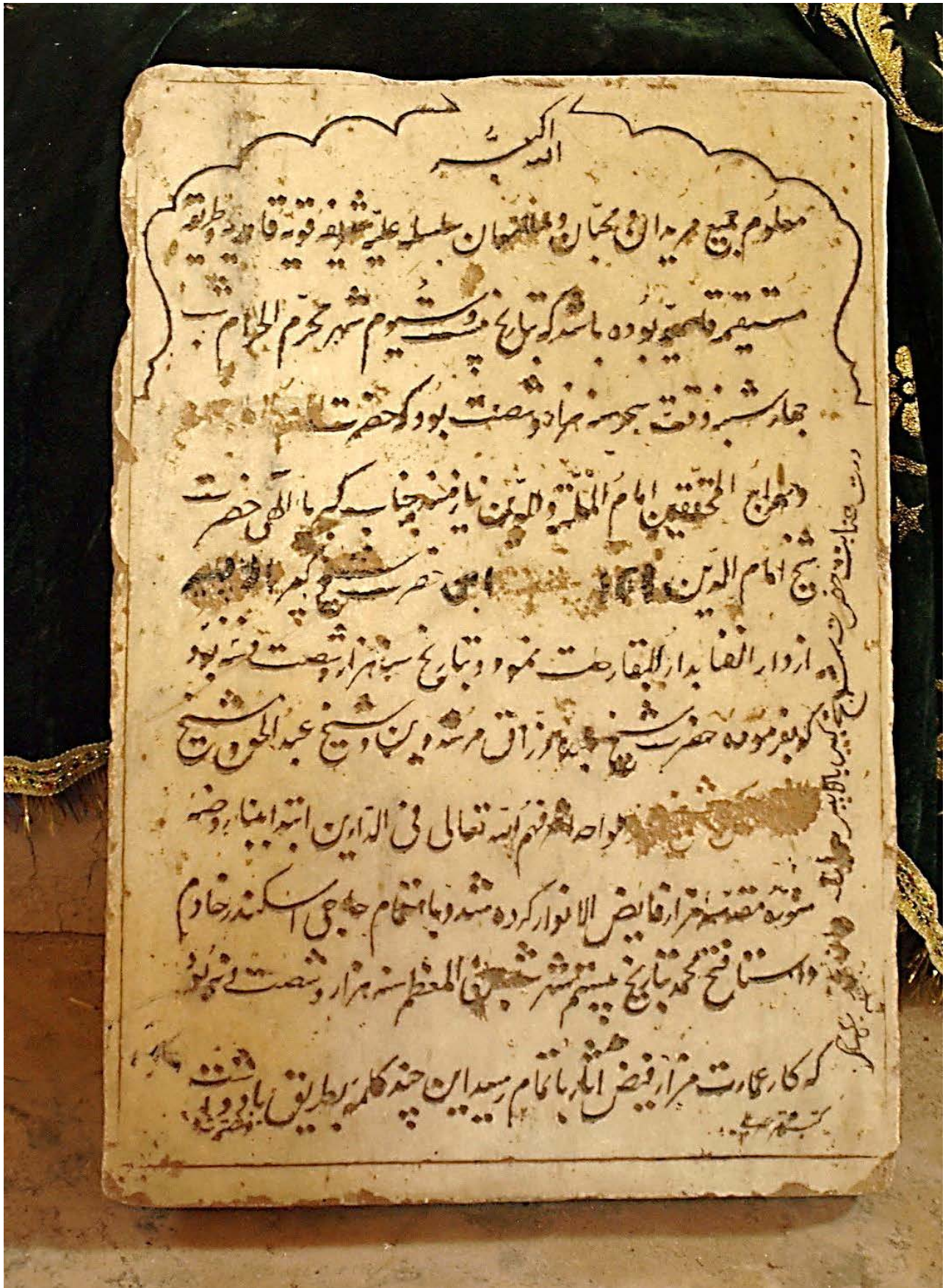
Figure 2. Nastalique Inscription inside the Sheikh Imam-ud-din Muhammad Inayat-ullah's tomb

Malik Aḥmad: Life and Times (Part-III)

FAZAL SHER AND ABDUR RAHMAN

Abstract

So far we had the advantage of having with us the Memoirs – the touchstone for checking Khwāju's statements, Bābur died on Monday the 5th of Jumādi al-Awwal 937 H/ Dec. 26, 1530. But even long before that, since 1520 in fact, when he passed through Bājaur on way to India and brought some refractory Bājaur tribes to order, his focus of attention had shifted to the conquest of India; consequently, he tells us nothing about the frontier tribes. Therefore we have necessarily to depend upon Khwāju and Akhūnd Darwezā for the rest of the story regarding Malik Aḥmad's achievements.

Keywords: *Malik Aḥmad, Khwāju, Babur's Death*

Arrival of Gagiānis in the Doābah

According to Khwāju the Gagiānis in Kābul found it difficult to live in Kābul owing to the harsh treatment meted out to them by Bābur. On the same page (175) he also remarks that Malik Hamza b. Ya'qūb, Mughal Khel, the Ganiāni chief, was very close to Bābur. Malik Hamza, we are further told, sent a delegation comprising eminent Gagiāni chiefs to Malik Aḥmad to explain to him how were they living in extreme anxiety and distress in Kābul and that they were looking, to him as Malik al-Malūk (Chief of Chiefs) to show kindness and favour in that hour of need. Aḥmad warmly welcomed then saying "It is very good that even you have been sent to me by God. Now be composed, and satisfied, I give you the whole of Doābah". Aḥmad's statement had a hidden reference to the animosity shown by the Gagiānis when the Yūsufzais were at Kābul. Hearing this good news the Gagiānis went back and soon after moved through the Karappa Pass to the Doabah, except the Mūsazais who had played the leading role, in collusion with Mirzā Ullugh Beg, in expelling the Yūsufzais from Kābul and now feared reprisal. The Gagiānis distributed the land among them and within a short span of two years, Khwāju says, they grew rich and prosperous.

One day, our historian goes on to state, Malik Hamza's tent, having colourful carpet flooring and a cushioned couch covered with velvet sheet at one end, was fixed on a prominent place. There he took his seat to receive the guests, attired in a gorgeous dress. One by one the guests went in to shake hands with him while he kept seated and in no case rose from his seat as required by Pakhtūn tradition. When Malik Aḥmad came to know about it he felt that his companions have been slighted. He turned back without shaking hands. As he went out of the tent he shouted loudly. "These ill-natured Ganiānis who did us wrong even when we were in Kābul, I thought, might have repented of their wrongful actions therefore they came to me, and I gave them the most fertile land like the Doābah, but their instinctive malice still exists. Well, if I am a man, I shall get the haughtiness out of their heads and avenge the wrongs they did us in Kābul" (p.177). The Gagiānis heard these words but kept quiet. Aḥmad took his companion with him and everybody went home. The Yūsufzais in general did not like the treatment meted out to their maliks. Consequently, the old days of enmity got a fresh boost.

Malik Hamza thought of a novel plan to escape the wrath of Aḥmad. He at once went to Kābul and joined the service of Bābur and persuaded him to come to Peshāwar to conquer more lands. Bābur came, we are told, and became the personal guest of Hamza. The purpose behind this move was that on seeing Bābur as the personal guest of Hamza, Aḥmad would be obliged to make up matters with him. Khwāju then goes on to tell the story how Bābur fell upon the 'Umr Khel Dilazaks and destroyed their villages. It is worth noting here that not even an hint exists in the Bābur Nāma to uphold the truth of this story. It is no doubt fictitious and has no foundation in history.

In any case the 'Umr Khels believed that the wrong done to them was on the instigation of the Gagiānis. A delegation of the 'Umr Khel therefore went to Swāt to inform Malik Aḥmad who had already learnt about the death of Sarabdāl. He told the 'Umr Khels that he knew what had happened and that he himself was the real target of the Gagiāniswho wanted to demonstrate their power. In a few days, he remarked. "I am going to Buner, you also come there and there we shall make a decision after due consultations. Now, you go back and get busy with the task of rehabilitation".

After a few days Malik Aḥmad and Shaikh Mali etc. went to the Samah where they met

Malik Mahmud b. Yahyā 'Alā ad-Dīnzai and condoled the death of the late Sarabdāl and also scolded the Yūsufzais for helping Hamza Gagiāni – their inveterate enemy of old. He then went to Buner where the 'Umr Khels had also arrived. After consultation he announced the decision. Addressing the 'Umr Khel he said! "Your enemy is my enemy. I give up the Khakhay nang (honour, revenge). Go and avenge yourselves". The 'Umr Khel came back and collected a huge force. Crossing the Landi river at Surgh Warae they reached Peshāwar where other Dilazāks also joined them.

When the Dilazāk lashkar was on the way to Doābah, Malik Hamza dispatched letters to Mir Fateh Khān b. Mūsā, Baizai Solizai and Dādi (actually Allāh Dād) b. Popal b. Fakhr ad-Dīn Yusufzai for help in the name of Khakhay. Both were then living in lower Samah and both responded positively without consulting Malik Aḥmad. When they reached Doābah with their lashkars the Gagiāni women showered praises on them singing song and asked Mir Fateh what for they are thanking us. "It is price of our blood", Fateh Khān answered. Malik Hamza said to Fateh Khān "You were the chief of Yūsufzais so far, but now you have become the chief of the whole khakay. Congratulation, we also consider you our chief."

When Fateh Khān was passing though Hashtnagar a certain newly married Youngman Sargīn Sadozai, who was going back home with the marriage procession sent the bride home and joined Fateh Khān's lashkar. Meanwhile Malik Aḥmad came to know about it. He at one dispatched Mir Aḥmad 'Umr Khail Sadozai to stop Mir Fateh Khān and Dādi and tell them not to join forces in support of Hamza. But Mir Aḥmad, keeping the Khakhay nang in view also joined the Ganianis. Muḥammad zai at that time were in Kāmah (Nangarhār). They also sent a contingent in support of Hamza. Thus the Gagiānis also collected a great lashkar in which horsemen had the upper hand the Gagiānis alone had one thousand horse riders, all wearing armour, from head to feet.

The Dilazāk lashkar with full preparation departed from Peshāwar and reached Gul Belah where they crossed the "river of Peshawar" and went straight to Nimah Warae both the lashkars clashed. The Dilazāk archers who were great experts in this art, wounded a great number of the Gagiānis. When Fateh Khān, Dādi, Sargin and Hamza saw this they aso jumped into the foray and hand to hand fighting began with swords and

spears. The Gagiānis showed great bravery but were cut to pieces in the Dilazak onslaught. The Makka Khel who three hundred horsemen fell in the battle and suffered the most. After this battle they grew very weak and dwindled into insignificance as a tribe. The Dilazāks did not molest women and children and carrying their dead and wounded stayed at the bank of the river of Hashtnagar for the night. The next day they dispersed and went home. They Gagiānis suffered a great loss and all their leaders, including the Yūsufzai supporters lay dead on the battle field.

The Battle of Kātlang

The battle of Nīmah Warae in which the Gagiānis were completely crushed and their Yūsufzai supporters such as Mir Fateh Khan, Dādi, Sargin and Mir Aḥmad lost their lives produced adverse efforts on the Yūsufzai in general and came to be looked upon as a deadly blow to the Khakhay nang which needed to be avenged. Malik Aḥmad who had earlier said "I give the Khakhay nang", now came under pressure from the relatives of all those who died on the battle field. If Malik Aḥmad does not do anything, it as argued, they would themselves take steps to kill the Dilazāk chiefs, which would create an even bigger challenge for the Yūsufzais. Malik Aḥmad tried to calm down and told them that he himself cannot forget the deaths of his dear ones and that he was looking for an excuse to take revenge.

The excuse did not take long to come by. According Khwāju (p.199) says that some Yūsufzai women were washing their clothes in the Bagiāri stream and had spreads their clothes on bushes to dry them up, when a party of Dilazāk youngmen on their to Kalah Panri passed nearby. A naughty Dilazāk young man picked up the paroni (a sheet of cloth used by ladies to cover their heads and other parts of the body) of a women and did not return inspite of her abusive protest. This news spread among the Yūsufzais like wild fire and everyone demanded to avenge this insult. Akhūnd Darweza however does not mention it and it appears to be a merely lame excuse.

The land grasping Yūsufzais had already occupied part of Swāt and now wanted more territory in the Samah from the Dilazāks who not only refused but also contumaciously resisted encroachments upon their lands. Thus accusing the Dilazāks of undue severity in

the battle against the Gagiānis, which, Malik Aḥmad and other chiefs thought had made them arrogant and contumacious, they decided to go to war with them in the name of Khakhay nang. Forgetful of the generosity which the Dilazāks showed to them when they were penniless and begged for a piece of land, Aḥmad and his advisers determined to bring the whole of the Khakhay together, and also their allied tribes into the field against their erstwhile benefactors. To bring together the Khakhay, and in some cases even the non-Khakhay tribes, Akhund Darweza (p.95), says Malik Aḥmad thought that expediency demanded that Shakhi tribes should be approached and if there was enmity between them it should be brought to an end by showing humility. Thus Mohmandzai (actually Muḥammad zai) seeing his humility sympathized with him and decided to accompany him on the condition that Hashnagar would be allotted to them. Similarly the Gagiānis came with him on the condition that the Doābah would be given to them. The Yūsufzais, he further remarks, have stood by their word till today. Only the Tarklanris did not accept Aḥmad's plea and were give no land after the Khakhay victory in the battle of Kātlang.

Khwāju puts it differently. Having heard about the pronany affair mentioned above in which a Dilazak Youngman took away the sheet of cloth worn by ladies to cover their head; Malik Aḥmad got enraged and said: "If I do not avenge this dishonour of the whole Khakhay, I shall not consider myself the son of Sultān Shāh". After this he held a jirgah of all the notable chiefs and got busy with the job of collecting a lashkar to clash with the Dilazāks.

A section of the Gagiānis – the Mūsā Zais – who had in the past cooperated with Mirzā Ulugh Beg, in inflicting injuries upon the Yūsufzai, preferred to stay in Kābul fearing reprisal, while othr Gagianis moved to the Doabah. Now Aḥmad needed more and more troops and Mūsāzais had to be reconciled some how. Some of the Utmān Khels were also in Kābul, while the Tarklanris occupied Lamghān and Muḥammad zais who had no territory of their own were in Nangarhār living there (p.200) as vassals of the Gagiānis.

For this purpose a delegation under Shaikh Mali was dispatched to Kabul with instructions to take the help of some Gagiāni chiefs of the Doābah. The delegation reached Kābul and convinced the Mūsāzais of the sincerity of Malik Aḥmad's promise to

foreget about the past. Mūsāzais were glade to know this and sent their lashkar with Shaikh Mali who also collected the Muḥammad zai contingent on the way back. But the Tarklanris refused to provide any help. When the lashkar on the way back reached Bagiāri, about 9 to 10 miles from Kātlang to the east, Shaikh Mali went ahead to inform Malik Aḥmad of the arrival of a great army which may join the other force to morrow.

With Shaikh Mali's departure for Kābul Malik Aḥmad got busy with collecting lashkars from Swāt, Bājaur, Sammah, Hashnagar – all Yūsufzais – but he also received contigents from Utman Kehl, Mashwāni, Gadūn, Kakhār, Rāhwānri, Ranri, Kāsi, Swāti, Shalmāni and Barech sections of the population. All these were collected and posted in villages around Kātlang (p.202).

Meanwhile the Dilazāks, when they came to that Malik Aḥmad is collecting a lashkar, they sent messengers to Peshawar, Hazārah, Mangrāo, (Manakrāo), Akori, Tarbela, and across the Indus, Pehūr, Sher Darah, Panjtār, upto the bank of the river landā and gathered a large number of people. With a view to attacking Malik Aḥmad's force before the lashkar brought by Shaikh Mali joins it, the Dilazāks made an early start towards Kātlang. Malik Aḥmad and Shaikh Mali also moved their men slowly. Both Khwāju (p.204) and Akhund Darweza (p.95) say that the Utmān Khel had brought dried skins of cows and buffaloes to be used as Sheilds. These, according to Akhund Darweza, were studded with what in Afghāni language is called "Kurwah" (nest). The lashkars clashed with each other at the place called Gadar, which is also the name of a near by seasonal stream.

By the time the vanguard of the Dilazāks reached the stream, the main body of their lashkar was proceeding slowly, two hundred horsemen of the Yūsufzais, under Salām Khān b. Ma'dūd b. Popal, said and Jokal, sons Dilkhak b. Popal Malizai, suddenly attachedk the Dilazāk vanguard and pushed it behind. Meanwhile the Yūsufzai force crossed the stream and engaged the Dilazāks. At this very moment the Gagiānis also reached the battle field and attacked the Dilazāks from the south. The vanguard thus overpowered retreated. When the main body saw the vanguard retreating, it was so scared that it fled without even engaging the enemy. The victors pursued the vanguished, many were slaughtered and their houses plundered. Inspite of Aḥmad's call not take any

prisoners, some Yūsufzais did not release women and girls and wedded them later on. One of these was 'Ali Khān who married a Dilazāk girl who gave birth to his foursons – Mūsā, 'Isā, Hindāl and Kāmrān. On the pattern of 'Ali Khān, Khwāju remarks (p.206), many others also did the same.

Khān Kaju b. Malik Qarah in his early youth also took part in this battle. He went to Munārah, crossing point of the Indus, in pursuit of the fleeing Dilazāks. There he came face to face with a Dilazāk chief named Bhai Khān who was waiting for his turn to cross. Seeing Khān Kaju, who had earlier sought his daughter in marriage but in vain, he implored him to keep back his men that the females might be sent across, otherwise they would all throw themselves into it and perish rather than be made captives. His appeal to the youth was not without effect; and taking pity on the Dilazāk chief, he cried out to his clansmen: "Give over Kinsmen! Let them alone! Do not harm them, for, after all, they are Afghāns like ourselves". The chief was thus enabled to get across safely with his family. It was not long after this that the Dilazāk damsel became the wife of Khān Kaju (Khwaju 1977: 206-07).

We have so far followed the sequence of events as recorded by Khwāju. Akhund Darweza (p.95) puts it slightly differently. We have seen above that having settled affairs with Muḥammad zais and Gagiānis, Malik Aḥmad returned from Kābul and then, taking their families with them, his lashkar marched to Gadar Rūd (or stream). The next day the Dilazāk lashkar set out from Langarkot for fighting. I have heared, Akhund Darweza says, that the Utmān Khel put in the greatest effort in this fight. They had brought fifty dried cow skins studded with Kurwah (nest). It was carried by one person but behind it several warriors could take Shulter. This made the rain of arrows coming from the Dilazāk side ineffective. As a result the Yūsufzai lashkar went on proceeding steadily and engaged the enemy in hand to hand fight. The first person from the Yūsufzai force to jump into the Gadar Rūd was Basharīn, son of 'Ali Ismailzai who killed the son of Zangi, the Dilazāk. After this the Yūsufzai prevailed upon the Dilazāks on every side and defeated them. The Yūsufzais drove the Dilazāks to the village Jalabi in their pursuit. The Dilazāks fled to Hazārah and spoiled that country. After this Malik Aḥmad and Shaikh Mali took and decided to move with their families to the Shah Kot Pass for the purpose of invading that country.

The actual date of the battle of Kātlang is not recorded. Sir Olaf Caroe (1958: 179) argues in favour of AD 1525. "On internal evidence", Caroe says, It probably fell some time between Babur's second into this region (1519), when he too was at Kātlang, and his final conquest of Delhi (1526). If we are to accept these chronicles at their face value, it can hardly be believed that Bābur, who had previously enjoyed many contacts with all these tribes, would not have recorded the disastrous Dilazāk defeat at Kātlang, if that defeat had taken place before he reached that same place in 1519. on this ground, I think, the battle must be dated after 1519, say 1525".

After this terrible defeat, when the Dilazāks vacated the entire territory to the west of the Indus, the Yūsufzais gathered in a meeting at Kātlang for the distribution of land. Malik Aḥmad and Shaikh Mali played the leading role. Hashtangar was allotted to the Muḥammad zais on their own demand. The Gagiānis asked for more lands in addition to the Doābah to accommodate the new-comers-the Musaziais. Malik Aḥmad quite generiously gave them almost one half Bājaur-from Dānish kol to 'Anbar and Lāshorah and from Nāwagai to Chāmang – the entire territory previously held by the Khalīls. The rest of the land was distributed by Shaikh Mali among the Yūsufzais and their allics. Shaikh Mali did the job honestly and the best of his ability. The main principle underlying the distribution was not equal Shares for everyone but on the need of every family. Then there were good and ba lands. Shaikh Mali therefore introduced the idea of mutually exchange lands after a fixed period of time so that everyone may share the benefit or loss on equal basis. Shaikh Mali's distribution proved lasting and stood the test of time.

Working out the boundaries of each and every Sharte was an upholl task but Mali did it to the satisfaction of everyone. Akhūnd Darwezā (P. 106) appreciates Shaikh Mali's distribution of land saying that, at the time of his death, he clearly stated, in the presence of all who happened to be there, that whatever he did for the people was done to please God and earn merit, not for any personal benefit or to show vanities of the world on the pattern of the rich. "If I am truthful in what I have said, he remarked" I am hopeful that God, the almighty, will keep the distribution I have made in place for sevcen generation (i.e. forever), if, however, I have told lie, may God quickly undo it" Similarly, Sir Olaf Caroe (1958: 181-83) pays a rich tribute to Shaikh Mali's honesty of purpose and hard

work in marking out the boundaries of the divisions wisely separated by seraes (land allotted to holy persons) to put a lasting stop, to tendencies regarding boundary disputes. Munshi Gopāl Dās (1874: 410-13) gives a detailed account of Mali's distribution and says that he was the leventh descendant of Saraban, one of the sons of Qais who is considered by Pakhtūns as the progenitor of the Pakhtūn people.

The mode of apportionment very nicely described by Belew is thus quoted in the Gazetteer of Peshawar (1989: 148): "The land to be divided is first marked off into impact blocks called vand, each of which is subdivided into the required number of allotments. After the measurement and primary division of a vand. Its distribution is regulated by lot, or, as it is termed, casting the pucha or hissah. It is thus managed. The representative of each of the Khels to Share in the distribution selects a private mark (a piece of wood, or a rag, a grain of maize or peket of Sheep's dung or a stone, or any substance near at land) which, in the presence of all, he hand over to the 'greybeard' appointed to cast the lot, declaring it to be his token. The 'greybeard' having collected all the tokens and seen them severally recognized gathers them together in the skirt of this frock and then walks round the vand, followed by the assembly, and as he passed them throws on each of the plots marked off the first token that comes into his hand. The several plots then become the possession of the Khels severally represented by the token thrown out on them. Each plot is then successively divided and allotted in a similar manner to the divisions of the Khels and their several respective families."

The exact date of this distribution is not known. But we know for certain that it took place after the Battle of Kātlang (I say in AD 1530). A few years after this distribution Khāju says (p. 212) Shaikh Mali fell ill and died and was buried at Ghorbandi in a level piece of ground near the road connecting Swāt with Damghār. If 'a few years' means four to five years, the Shaikh may have died in 1535. Whatever the date of his death, his survey and apportionment of land became proverbial and was so popular with the masses that even lone after this whenever there was dispute about boundaries, the disputants, in support of their own claims, asked each other; "Have you gto it written from Shaikh Mali" (Khwāju: 213).

After one year of the death of Shaikh Mali, Malik Aḥmad Also died and was buried at an

uneven place near the road connecting Alah Dad Dheri with Thanrah. If our assumption that the Battle of Kātlang was fought in 1525, and that the land distribution took place in about 1530, and that Shaikh Mali died in 1535, Malik Aḥmad must have died in 1536 or 1547.

Learning a bitter lesion from past when the Khakhays were driven from place to place, and the Yūsufzai—Mandanrs expelled from Kābul valley, Malik Aḥmad wanted to have a piece of land for his tribe where it could plant its feet firmly. To obtain land at whatever cost was his primary objective and he pursued it aggressively. He got his sister married to Sultan Awes (Khwāju: 134), in order perhaps to obtain information about Swāt at which the Yūsufzais had an eye since their expulsion from the Kābul valley; he made an alliance with the Khalīls to root out the 'Umr Khel Dilazaks from Bājaur and then managed to get the help of the Dilazāks against the Khalīls and dispossessed them of Bājaur. When he found that he was not strong enough to face the Dilazāk Chief Muḥammad Khān in the Peshawar valley, he bowed down. But then got busy with expelling the governor of Sultān Awes and marching upon Swāt itself. Having occupied Bājaur, Swāt and Hashtnagar, his lust for more land was not satisfied. He then made a grand alliance against his erstwhile benefactors – the Dilazāks of the Peshawar valley north of the Kābul river – and pushed them out. Even the more powerful, Zahir ad-Din Bābur could extract nothing from him except one girl give to him in marriage. This in short is the story of Malik Aḥmad's magnificent achievements.

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The So-Called "Faringees" of the Sikh Army and the Monumental Grave of Colonel Canora at Haripur, Pakistan

SHAKIRULLAH AND IHSANULLAH JAN

Abstract

Ranjit Singh employed a number of foreign officers popularly known as "Faringees". One of these was Canora – an artillery officer posted at Haripur. He was shot dead during his duty by one of the Chattar Singh's soldiers he disobeyed his orders. His grave is located in Chaman Park lady garden at Haripur city. The history of the burial, as noted in the gazetteer, is somewhat different from that of Major James Abbott. An attempt has been made in this paper to discuss the popular foreign officers in service of the Sikh army.

Key Words: *Colonel, Canora, Chattar Singh, Hazāra, Ranjit Singh*

Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, died on 27 June 1839. Before this, he built up his army as one of the best fighting force of the world. He began by recruiting Hindustani deserters from the East India Company's troops, and gave training jobs to the senior among them. In order to make the infantry popular he used to attend its parades in person and to extend special favour to infantrymen. Once this branch became popular with the Sikhs, he began to be selective and recruited the pick of the youth of the country, lying special emphasis upon good looks and physical fitness. Hindus and Muslims also came in and were selected on the same criteria. Two European officers Allard and Ventura, joined the Mahārāja's service and helped in putting the infantry on a proper footing.

After organizing the infantry Ranjit Singh turned his attention to the artillery. The Sikhs had no experience of heavy artillery and only knew how to use small swivel guns. In the beginning he had to import both officers and gunners from outside the Punjab. Among the senior officers he recruited were to Europeans, Claude Auguste Court, and Alexander Gardnes. In order to cast guns he established a number of gun factories, of which local

men, trained by foreign officers, took charge in due course.

Ghorcharha Fauj (Cavalry) was the aristocratic branch of the army by reason of its dignity. It was manned by representatives of the powerful families of the country whom Ranjit Singh thought it necessary to keep near his court for political reasons.

Ranjt Singh's "*faringees*" , as the foreign officers were popularly called, consisted of Italians, French, Americans, Englishmen, Greeks, Russians, Germans, Scots and Anglo-Indians as the following table given by G. G. Smyth in his *The Reigning Family of Lahore*, (First Pakistani edn. 1978: xxxvi)

Alvarine	Italian	Infantry	Died at Lahore
Ventura	Italian	Infantry	Left
Avitabile	Italian	Infantry	Left
Bianchi	Italian	Infantry	Left
Gordon	Anglo-Indian	Cavalry	Died at Lahore
Holmes	Anglo-Indian	Infantry	In service
Cortlandt	Anglo-Indian	Infantry	In service
Fitzroy	Anglo-Indian	Infantry	Left
Leslie	Anglo-Indian	Infantry	Left
Barlow	Anglo-Indian	Cavalry	Left
Allard	French	Cavalry	Died at Peshawar
De l'Ust	French	Infantry	Left
Dubignon	French	Infantry	Merchant at Lahore
Mouton	French	Cavalry	Left

De la Rocha	French	Infantry	Fell from horse and died
De Fasheye	French	Cavalry	Died at Lahore
Jervais	French	Infantry	Left
Argon	French	Infantry	Left
Hommus	Spaniard	Infantry	Died at Lahore
Hurbon	Spaniard	Engineer	Left
Vochen	Russian	Infantry	Left
Honigberger	German	Medical	In service
Steinbach	German	Infantry	In service
Dottenwise	German	Engineer	Left
Harlan	American	Civil Engineer	Left
Gardner	American	Artillery	Left
Kunarai	American	Artillery	In service
Hest	Greek	Infantry	Killed at Lahore
Hureleek	Greek	Infantry	Left
Mc Pherson	English	Infantry	Left
Foulkes	English	Cavalry	Killed by Sikhs
Ford died	English	Infantry	Wounded by Sikhs and
Moervious	Perssian	Infantry	Left

De la Font, 1st	French	Infantry	Left
De la Font, 2nd	French	Infantry	Left
De Fasheye (son)	French	Cavalry	Left

This obviously is not an exhaustive list for we find more names in the other sources. These include an Englishman called Price, a deserter from Ochterlony's troops. He was the first to come. Then came a number of Anglo-Indian soldiers of fortune, some of them sons of well-known British officers, including Robert Dick, son of Major General Sir Robert Dick, and Jacob Thomas, son of the famous adventurer, George Thomas.

Another Well-known figure, at least in Hazāra (Pakistan), was an American artillery commander called Canora or Colonel Canora. He was posted in Haripur by Rāja Chattar Singh, the Sikh governor of Hazāra. The Sikh ruled by this time had greatly weakened because of defeat they suffered at the hands of the British who appointed their own officers in various parts of the country apparently to assist the Sikh governors. James Abbot was working in this capacity in Hazāra. Meanwhile Mūlrāja, the ruler of Multan decided to oppose the British and requested the Sikhs to help him. The Sikh army in Hazāra under Rāja Sher Singh, son of Chattar Singh, made preparations to move to Multan but Abbot did not like it and wanted to obstruct. When Chattar Singh came to know about Abbot's designs, he collected the entire Sikh army at Haripur and order Canora to move. But he refused to obey and was therefore murdered by some of the Sikh solders when he pointed guns at the Sikh armies and threatened to blow them up. He lies buried in the present Ladies Garden (Chaman Park), near the District Headquarters Hospital to the right side of the main road in Haripur bazar (Lat. N 33. 99485 and Long. E 072. 93097).

During the British period a pyramidal structure was raised upon the grave. It is built of locally available stone blocks, properly dressed and fixed in lime mortar and brick powder. It is square in ground plan and measures 2.36 m a side. Originally it was four metres in height (Figure 1) but because of the filling around the level of the surrounding area has risen by two metres (Figure 2) so that the present height has been reduced to merely two metres. The south, almost in the middle, shows the matrix of a square

inscribed slab (now missing). The text of the inscription noted before its disappearance, reads "Canora, who fell nobly in the performance of his duty. Being summoned by the rebel Sikh Army to surrender his guns and being basely deserted by his men, he seized the linstock and fell singly combating a host, July 6, 1848" (Wace 1883-84: 34). The structure of the monument, gently tapering upwards, ends in a square slab measuring 0.80 m a side. The top stone shows a grooved line running on all the four sides.

According to Sabir Canora was murdered on 4 August, which is obviously an error (see Sabir, M. S. 1986: 539). James Abbot writes that Canora was an American soldier of fortune named Kennedy (Allen 2000: 162-63). He is mentioned in the Gazetteer of Hazāra (1883-84: 34) as a French, which is incorrect.

Discussion

The first foreign officer who proved really valuable acquisitions was Jean Francois Allard and Jean Baptiste Ventura, Who joined Ranjit Singh's service in 1822. Allard was a French and Ventura an Italian. Both came of good families and both had served under Napoleon in the armies of Spain and Italy. After the declaration of peace they had been demobilized and had unsuccessfully tried their fortune in Egypt and Persia. They had then come to Lahore. Allard was commissioned to raise a corps of dragoons, to be disciplined and armed exactly on the same lines as a cavalry crops in Europe. Ventura was put in command of the *Fauj-i Khāṣ* – a special brigade in the Khālṣa army. Both were given liberal salaries.

Another prominent foreign officer was Colonel Henry Court, a French of noble birth educated at the Ecole Polytechnique of Paris. He commanded two Gurkha battalions and later on organized what was known as French Legion. He was a man of culture and refinement as well.

The most dramatic of Ranjit Sing's officers was Paolo de Avitabile, an Italian by birth, who had also seen service in Persia. He was a stout six-footer and ruthless in his methods of administration. He was therefore generally employed where a heavy hand was needed. He was first posed as governor of Wazirabad, but was later transferred to Peshawar, who governed Peshawar (AD1838 – 1842) and locally known as *Abu Tabela,* (Jaffar 1946:

103), where his name is still remembered by people as strict disciplinarian.

Ranjit Singh used his foreign officers mostly for purposes of training. Although he gave them responsible positions, he never put them in supreme command of any major expedition.

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Figures
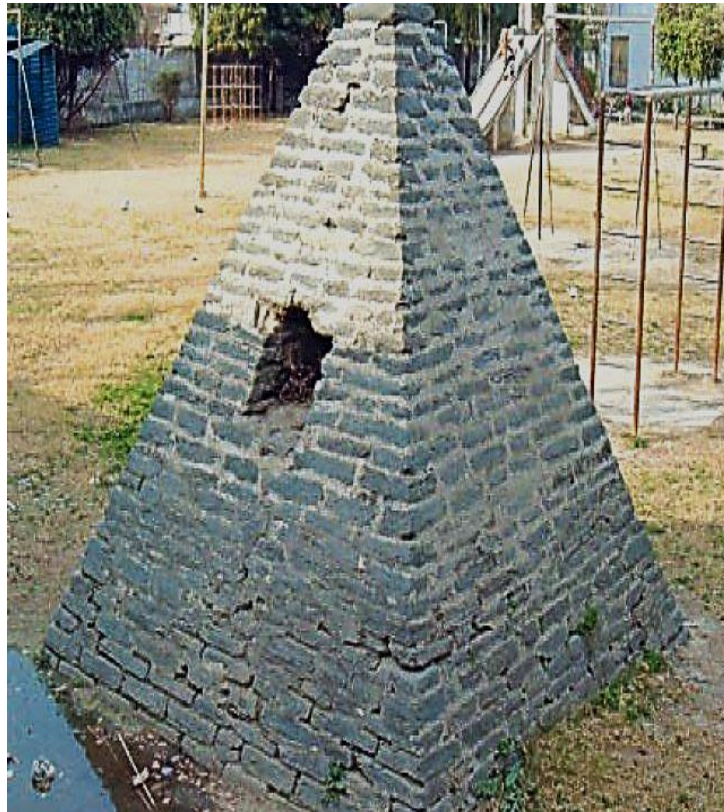
(Courtesy by Daily Tribune)

Figure 1. (Haripur): An old picture of Colonel Canara Monument, view south east corner

Figure 2. (Haripur): Recent view of the Monument from the south

'Alam in the Shi'a Traditions of Pakistan

FAIZA IQBAL

Abstract

This paper deals with the sacred object of 'alam in the light of the Shi'a religious doctrine, group and individual religious experiences. The battle of Karbala is the most important symbolic event which serves as a religious model among the Shi'as of the world. Aim of this paper is an attempt to highlight the significance of 'alam in Shi'a rituals of daily life. This exploratory study was carried out in district Chakwal, Pakistan, which is predominantly populated by Shi'a Muslims. Direct observation technique was used to collect the field data and the findings of the study are mainly based on the empirical evidence. This paper, first describes the symbolic meanings of 'alam. Secondly, it discusses 'alam rituals in Pakistan and importance as symbol in Shi'a rituals. Thirdly, it explains the 'alam in Shi'a historical perspective. It also discusses the 'alam colours in detail. This also paper traces ethno-historic evidence of 'alam symbol and rituals as mannat in Chakwal.

Keywords: *'Alam, Shi'a Traditions of Pakistan, Symbol, Ritual*

Introduction

Cole describes that Muharram rituals of Shi'as were introduced in Pakistan by Mahmood bin Amir Wali who was a traveler from Bukhara. He described celebrations of Muharram in Lahore around 1635 (Rizvi 1980:191). In the late eighteenth century processions of ta'ziyah (replica of Hussain's tomb) and 'alams (battle standards used at Karbala) became spectacular events in Awadh and spread from Lucknow into rural areas. The Iranian practice of chest beating was introduced into India by Syed Dildar Ali Nasirabadi (1762-1819) and the concept of Zul jinnah (the horse with two wings) processions, also from Iran, was introduced into Lahore by Nawas Ali Raza Khan Qizilbash in the nineteenth century (Cole 1988:108).

Religious Symbols and Rituals

Religious symbols are found all over the world. People perform religious rituals to memorize the religious events. Researcher observed that these sacred symbols provide historical and religious information about the Shi'a people of Pakistan especially in district Chakwal where Shi'a are the main religious group who are powerful and influential.

According to Wilkinson, rituals include the various worship rites and sacraments of organized religion and cult. The common subject matter practices of rituals in all the world religions is rituals that vibrate with the standard and regular system of human life give believers chances to connect with the absolute authority at specific stages of development, at particular times of year, or as an ingredient of customary worship (Wilkinson 2008: 30).

'Alam as Religious Symbol

'Alam is deeply rooted with Shi'a faith. The term 'alam is an Arabian word and its meaning is "worry and be troubled". 'Alam is a distinctive (sacred) flag that can be interpreted as religious identity of Shi'ism in all over the world.

Findings and Discussions:

'Alam in Pakistan

It is the most vital and necessary representation of Shi'a majales and procession especially in Pakistan. It is a religious sacred idea, a holy flag which is one of the essential and main symbols of the Shi'a Muslims. The 'alam is not an ordinary or just a piece of coloursed cloth but is the representation of war or battle standard of the Shi'ism.

Chakwali Shi'as have 'alam mostly in rectangular shape, however there are several colours of 'alam such as black, red and green which are plain as well as decorated with different sacred sayings/scripts (slogans), colourful ribbons and laces.

Aghaie explains that 'alam is the key symbol of Shi'as and have great importance in processions as, in front of the Shi'a processions, there are usually large and heavy banners, such as the 'alam, in addition to black flags adorning religious phrases (Aghaie

2004: 149).

There are a lot of traditional rituals and *mannat* perform by Shi'as like holding of 'alam with procession (*Matami jalus*) in Imam Bargah and walk through streets of the already defined area in the month of Muharram, Saffar, Zul haj and Rajjab (months of Islamic calendar).

The 'alam is not only a piece of cloth but also having the religious and sacred slogans like "*Allah o Akber*" (Allah is great) "*Ghazi Abbas Alamdar*", "*Ana majnun al-Hussain*" (I am the lover of Imam Hussain) "*Ya Ali Madad*", "*Salam Ya Hussain*", in Arabic script and these words are labeled sometimes in painted or in embroidered form on fabric.

In Chakwal, *zakirs* and 'ulama*s* address the *majlis* or before the procession and had a number of 'alam.

"In *majales*, 'alam is placed on the table of the *zakir*. Most of the *zakir*, swear 'alam just to lament their addressees or to make their argument more assailable. On the other hand, 'alam are used to lead the processions during the Muharram. 'Alam which are used for the *majalis* and processions are kept in the *noor mehel*-a room in Imam Bargah, where *'alam, ta'ziya,* and other sacred items are placed. An 'alam is permanently borne on or attached to a poll with length of hundred feet in the centre of the courtyard of the Imam bargah. This is the same place where *ta'ziaya* is displayed on 10th of Muharram" (Khan & Rehman 2012: 33).

During data collection researcher observe that Shi'a *'ulama* and *zakir* place an 'alam in front of them and reason is 'alam sacredness and holiness. Presence of 'alam is oath of 'ulama and *zakir* that they would defiantly talk about authenticity and realism of the events and pray under the shadow of 'alam which is Shi'as identity and source of their empowerment.

Significance of 'Alam Rituals in Shi'a Traditions

Chakwali Shi'a people have great respect for 'alam. They highly considered this religious sacred flag that's why when they remember holy personalities in *majalis* placed 'alam in centre. This show their intimacy with Panj tan Pak and especially Hazrat Imam

Hussain (R.A) who fought for the right against the wrong and got success in his mission.

"In processions Shi'a walks through streets in the shape of groups and they sing devotional songs (*mersiya* and *nohey*) of the Imam's martyrdom and do *matam* (beating one's own breast, a sign of mourning and sorrow). They call out the names of Hazrat Ali (R.A), Ghazi Abbas A.S), Imam Hassan (R.A) and Imam Hussain (R.A). At first the momentum of matam is slow but increases to a climax. There are different types of processions as 'alam *berdar* procession, *panja berdar*, *mushel berdar* etc. These rituals also performed by some Sunnis as well" (Bauman and Abrahams 1981:303).

Shi'as use to tying *dopattas* with the sacred 'alam but they believe in *mannat* and neyaaz. Shi'a people consider that it has deep inside influence of these rituals in their lives. They consume reasonable handsome amount on these rituals like *mannat*, neyaz and sabel etc for 'alam berdar (holding 'alam) processions. Shi'a consider that the compassionate eye of Hazrat Ali (R.A), Hazrat Imam Hussain (R.A), and Hazrat Imam Hassan (R.A) upon them and for memorizing them, Shi'a observe *mannat* and it is believed that all *mannat* will fulfill sooner or later.

'Alam in Historical Perspective

In Muslim traditions, especially Shi'a people have kept the remembrance of the sacrifice of the Imam Hussian (R.A) (Grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (PBHU) and son of Hazrat Ali (R.A) and his fellow's tragic demise. In this regard 'alam is the fundamental idea.

'Alam in Black Colour

'Alam in black colour is symbol of "Ghazi Abbas Salar". Hazrat Abbas (R.A) was the son of Hazrat Ali ibn Abi Talib and half-brother of Imam Hussain (R.A).

'Alam in Red Colour

In Chakwal, researcher found the idea of 'alam in red colour is the symbol of Imam Hussain (R.A). Red colours is the representation of blood. Blood of Hazrat Imam Hussain (R.A) who was martyred by the Yazidi army in Karbala. Imam Hussain was the

son of Hazrat Bibi Fatima (R.A), Hazrat Ali (R.A) and the grandson of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). For whom the Holy Prophet said,

> "Hussain is from me and I am from Hussain. May God Love Whoever Loves Hussain".

'Alam in Green Colour

Shi'as symbolized 'alam in green colour with Imam Hassan (R.A). It is said that he was poisoned by his enemy Mu'awiyah with the help of his wife Jaa'dah. Green colour is a symbol of poison that is why Shi'a people symbolized green colours of 'alam with Imam Hassan (R.A).Imam Hassan was the elder brother of Imam Hussain (R.A) and Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) had great love and affection for these two grandchildren Hassan and Hussain (R.A).

Conclusion

'Alam is an identical and inspirational symbol in Shi'a tradition and it has deep inside spiritual worth in Shi'a lives. Findings of the study lead to a conclusion that the 'alam symbol is the recollection and remembrance of all important historical Islamic events. It is observed that 'Alam is a primary vehicle in the narrative of Karbala and Shi'as has their own justification about their religious acts. They memorialize these events in socio cultural spare through major symbol 'alam and perform religious 'alam rituals and observe the great sacrifice of the Ehl e Bait (People of the House of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH).). Shi'a symbolized 'alam in different colours which are mentioned earlier. In Chakwal, 'alam rituals are carried out as their *mannat*. Shi'a religious people make new 'alam when they clean. They do not even touch 'alam when they impure and pollute. Observing *mannat* is part of Shi'a norms and values and they observe several *mannat* like make a new 'alam and decorate with the different colourful ribbons, beads and laces. Making and holding an 'alam is considered a great chance and good luck for a particular person in processions especially in the month of Muharram and Saffar. It is also believed that if a Shi'a has guilt of wrong deed, he observes a *mannat* and offer *namaz* (prayer) under the shadow of 'alam and request to Ehl e bait for help in purity of his soul with whole heartedly. It is considered that Allah redresses his grievances and helps him

becoming a pious man. In Chakwal, It has been observed that 'alam are also erected on the roofs of the Shi'a people's houses as a symbol and usually black 'alam on their house which make them different from mainstream of population when 'alam is seen on the roof of the house. It is used to protect the house from the evil eye or malevolent thoughts. This is also a mark of Shi'a house identity. It is symbol of honor and regard as well. In fact it is considered that supporting the 'alam is a religious duty for Shi'a on religious merit. People tie *dopattas* as a *mannat* with the 'alam and kiss it as a tradition. It could be related with their prosperity, protection, marriage, birth of a male child and for the health of any person. It is evident from the findings of the study that 'alam is a source of purify body and soul spiritually and in particular Shi'a participate in 'alam rituals to fulfil their worldly desires. Furthermore 'alam is a foundation of Shi'as success and relief in the world.

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Figure

Figure 1. Image of a black *'alam* without symbol fixed in central *Imam bargah* of district Chakwal.

Figure 2. Image of red waving *'alams* without symbol fixed in a Shi'a graveyard near central Imam Bargah in Chakwal.

Figure 3. Another image of a black *'alam* decorated with silver ribbon, the *panj tan* sign seems to have been set as crown. *Panj tan Pak* is a symbol of five holy personalities - Hazrat Muhammad (PBUH), Hazrat Ali (R.A) (R.A), Hazrat Bibi Fatima (R.A), Hazrat Imam Hassan (R.A) and Hazrat Imam Hussain (R.A) which is erected in *central Imam bargah* in Chakwal which is at least four to fifteen feet high.

Figure 4. Image of an *'alam* decorated with the silver coloursful ribbon erected in Shi'a graveyard behind the *central Imam bargah* Chakwal.

Figure 5. It's a speculative image representation of Hazrat Abbas (R.A) dying in the lap of his beloved brother Imam Hussain (R.A). This image has been taken from a Shi'a rational religious scholar Hafiz Imtiyaz Haider. He has displayed this image in his house.

Figure 6. This is a speculative reflection of Imam Hussain (R.A), who is carrying red *'alam* with lamenting gestures on the ground of Karbala on tenth Muharram and here red *'alam* is a symbol of blood. This image is also taken from Shi'a scholar Hafiz Imtiaz Haider.

Figure 7. Image of a green *'alam* without mark tied with the branches of tree in courtyard of *central Imam bargah* Chakwal

Archaeology and Forensic Science: The Need for an Interdisciplinary Approach in Pakistan

ABDUL BASIT AND GHANI-UR-RAHMAN

Abstract

Forensic Science and archaeology have a very close relationship. Forensic Archaeology is the application of archaeological research and techniques in Forensic Science to solve the medico-legal issues. Unlike Pakistan, archaeology is considered as an integral part of Forensic Science in the developed countries. Therefore, this is very necessary for Pakistani archaeologists to make a collaboration of Forensic Science with archaeology within Pakistan by collaborating with the forensic science agencies/departments for the bright future of archaeology. In this paper the researchers have focused on the relation of archaeology and forensic science, the multidisciplinary methodology of Forensic Archaeology and the present status and future directions of such multidisciplinary approach in Pakistan.

Forensic Science is used to predict not the future but the past (Lee 1998: 280). In modern definition forensic science is the application of scientific knowledge to legal problems (Fisher et al. 2009: 3). In other words, Forensic Science is the scientific method of gathering and examining information about the past. The word forensic comes from the Latin *forensis*, meaning "of or before the forum." Forensic science applies scientific principles, techniques, and methods to the investigation of crime. Other related definitions of forensic may include the use of science to aid in the resolution of legal matters and a scientific analysis for the purpose of judicial resolve. Recently the term forensic is used to describe many scientific investigations and some these investigations are of historical importance. For example, a forensic scientist may work on the discovery of the composition of ancient pottery or the identification of ancient human remains (Collins 2007: 1-3).

In the past, the primary tools in Forensic Science were observation and interpretation of physical evidence. In the second half of the nineteenth century for the first time science

was applied to the forensic investigation (Erckert 1997: 1). Forensic Science is a multidisciplinary science closely related to other sciences like biology, chemistry, anthropology and archaeology etc. It is interesting to compare forensic science and archaeology because of the close relationship (Drewett 1999: 2).

In the case of archaeology, scientific archaeology (also known as processual archaeology) is a theoretical movement rooted in the 1960s–1970s. Scientific archaeology represented a radical break from the then-dominant culture, the historical and antiquarian approaches to archaeology and resulted into Archaeology as a science (oxfordbibliographies.com). With the application of science archaeology has made a place in the sciences.

Archaeology also predicts the past, like Forensic Archaeology. Most archaeologists define archaeology as the study of the past through material remains. Archaeology has its own methodology and theory applicable to the remains of past peoples, societies and cultures (Drewett 1999: 2). Like Forensic Science, Archaeology is also a multidisciplinary science and has a close relationship with other sciences e.g biology, chemistry and forensic science.

Analytical knowledge is important both for archaeology and Forensic Science. The analytical knowledge of forensic investigators and archaeologists has a close relationship. Both fields of research emerged during the nineteenth century. Both disciplines were concerned with the proper identification of materials studied during investigation. Work of archaeologists and the work of forensic investigators are very similar. Both attempt to understand the nature, sequence, and fundamental reasons for certain events in the past. Their final goals may differ, but their philosophy is very identical. Both disciplines use and present evidence in order to prove their cases (Dupras et al. 2006: 103).

There are some basic principles of archaeology that can be applied to forensic science. These principals include provenience, context, features, stratigraphy, superposition and taphonomy etc. (Dupras et al. 2006: 105).

An archaeological excavation and a crime scene are similar in many ways. Both field investigates a past event. Both fields preserves past event by documenting, gathering,

preserving, and interpreting physical evidence. Techniques are used to excavate archaeological burials with careful measurements and documentation. The exact location of all items *in situ* provide the basis for recreating the crime scene (Haglund et al. 2002: 96).

Due to the great similarities between archaeology and Forensic Science, archaeological methods can be applied to Forensic Science. The mutual relation of Archaeology and Forensic Science results into a new field called, Forensic Archaeology.

Forensic archeology is the application of archeological methods to forensic science. Forensic archeologists perform the controlled recovery of human remains and other evidence at forensic scenes (Nawarocki 1996: 1). In other words, forensic archaeology is the application of archaeological theory and methods to crime scene excavation and recovery of physical evidence/forensic evidence. It can also be defined as data collection activities carried out during the field recovery (Dupras et al. 2006: 3).

Forensic archaeology involves applying archaeological methods/techniques to the crime scene. Careful archaeological techniques can help in recreating the past scene (Dupras et al. 2006: 3). Following are some skills or knowledge associated with forensic archaeologists (Dupras et al. 2006: 4).

- Ground search methods (environmental changes associated with burials)
- Survey techniques (compass, theodolite, total station)
- Geophysical search methods (GPR, electromagnetic survey, metal detector)
- Site formation analysis and description
- Mapping techniques
- Spatial controls (establishing datum points, GPS, establishing grids)

- Excavation techniques
- Basic identification of human and nonhuman skeletal anatomy
- Artifact collection, documentation and preservation
- Site recording (casting of features, digital and still photography, documentation)
- Field sample collection (soil, botanical, entomological)
- Collection and preservation of skeletal remains and associated evidence

Methodology and Interdisciplinary Approach

Forensic Science and Archaeology both are sciences, therefore scientific method is applicable in both fields. The scientific method begins with *observations*. Scientists try to organize observations. When the scientists find a relationship among the observations they suggest a *hypothesis.* The hypothesis tentatively explains what is being observed. A plan is made to test the hypothesis. Then the plan is carried out and further observations are made. If the new observations oppose the original hypothesis, a new hypothesis is suggested and tested. If the new observations confirm the original hypothesis, the scientists often choose another plan to confirm the hypothesis (Collins 2007: 5). Scientific method is valid both for Forensic Science and Archaeology and it make it easy to draw an interdisciplinary methodology to the close relation of these two sciences.

The forensic scientists do not directly solve crimes but rather they follow a systematic methodology. They simply analyze the physical evidence[1]. Physical evidence includes all objects collected at a crime scene and can be analyzed in a crime laboratory. This evidence is typically collected by police officers or specially trained crime scene investigators.

Similarly like forensic scientists, archaeologists do not directly make conclusions but rather they follow a systematic methodology. In case of archaeology the physical evidence can be termed as *Hard Evidence* (Pollard et al. 2007). Archaeologists collect *Hard Evidence* and then analyze it in the archaeological lab.

By mutually combining the methodology of both Forensic Science and Archaeology, interdisciplinary methodology can be created named as "the Methodology of Forensic Archaeology". The methodology includes archaeological methods for the collection and analysis of the physical evidences that can be used to make a final conclusion.

Sub-disciplines of Archaeology can be used for the analysis of the collected forensic evidences. For example, zooarchaeology can be applied for the analysis of forensic evidence like human bones.

Pakistan and Forensic Archaeology: The Present Condition and the Future

[1] Physical evidence consists of tangible articles such as hairs, fibers, hidden fingerprints, and biological material for scientific testing.

Directions

The first forensic laboratory was established in Lahore in 1930. By 1947 the laboratory was working as a training center and dealing with the examination of forensic evidence (Ahmad 1961:133). Today there are a few well equipped forensic laboratories in Pakistan.

As compared to forensic science, archaeology is not a developed field in Pakistan. Even in the recent time Pakistani archaeologists are using traditional methods in the archaeological investigations. The lack of interdisciplinary approaches and collaborations between the departments of Forensic Science and Archaeology are the great reasons for the lack of Forensic Archaeology in Pakistan. There is limited education of archaeology for Forensic practitioners and vise versa. There is no single course of Forensic Archaeology offered in any university of Pakistan. There are no opportunities for Pakistani archaeologists to be trained in forensic science. The current condition of Pakistan Archaeology illustrates that the importance of Forensic Archaeology has not yet been realized. Foreign archaeological missions in Pakistan do not tag Forensic Archaeology in the universities of Pakistan.

The collaboration of Forensic Science and Archaeology in Pakistan can result into a very important scientific field that will help in the investigation of crimes and terrorism. Most of the crimes remain untraced due to the lack of proper research and technical expertise in the forensic science. In most cases dead bodies are buried in the ground by the murderers in order to hide their crime. Therefore, especially in Pakistan, archaeological methods are needed to recover each and everything from the crime scene, with modern archaeological methods.

Table 1. Table showing the crime reported from 2003-2012 (Source: Bureau of Police Research & Development Ministry of Interior)

Offences	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
All Reported	400680	440578	453264	537866	538048	592503	616227	652383	673750	646900
Murder	934	971	963	1004	1055	1205	1249	1320	1386	1384

As previously mentioned, that there is no university in Pakistan that offers a single course of Forensic Archaeology. We are interested in the future to make collaboration between the departments/institutes of archaeology and forensic science departments/agencies in Pakistan.

Table 2. List of Forensic departments/agencies and facilities they offer

Forensic Departments/Agencies in Pakistan	Facilities
National Forensic Science Agency, Islamabad (NFSA) www.nfsa.gov.pk/news.html	• DNA analysis • Firearms and Toolmarks analysis • Fingerprints • Crime Scene Investigation
Center for Applied Molecular Biology (CAMB), Lahore (DNA) www.camb.edu.pk	• DNA Research
Punjab Forensic Science Agency pfsa.gop.pk/	Investigation Facilities • Crime and Death scene • DNA and Seriology • Forensic Photography • Firearm and Tool Marks • Latent Finger Prints • Pathology • Toxicology Training Facilities • Latent Finger Print Training • Medico-legal Death Investigation Training • DNA Evidence Consideration Training • Firearm and Tool mark Training • Forensic Toxicology and Narcotics Training

Table 3. The future possible collaborations of the forensic departments/agencies and departments of archaeology in Pakistan

Departments/Institutes of Archaeology in Different Universities of Pakistan, for Future Collaborations
• Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.   • Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, Peshawar, Pakistan.   • Department of Archaeology, Hazara University, Mansehra.   • Department of Archaeology, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

Conclusion

Archaeology is an integral part of forensic science. Forensic scientists must understand archaeological principles, concepts, and techniques. However, they must also be well versed in all legal matters relevant to the occupation, like the criminal justice system, state and federal laws, and chain of custody. Most importantly, forensic scientists must have spotless criminal records and only exercise the highest ethical standards. Upon completing an analysis, forensic scientists must be able to present their findings in a court of law in a manner understandable to the general public. This requires an extensive understanding of archaeological techniques in addition to the ability to ideas clearly. Forensic scientists work neither for the defense nor for the prosecution do they simply serve as advocates of the truth under all circumstances.

In Pakistan, Forensic Archaeology will open new door in the development of archaeology and will replace the traditional archaeology into scientific archaeology. The establishment of Forensic Archaeology departments will replace the traditional methodology of archaeology into a modern and scientific methodology and it will open new chapters in the Archaeology of Pakistan.

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Scientific Archaeology. *Oxford Bibliographies*. Available at: http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/ (Accessed at: December 1st, 2015).
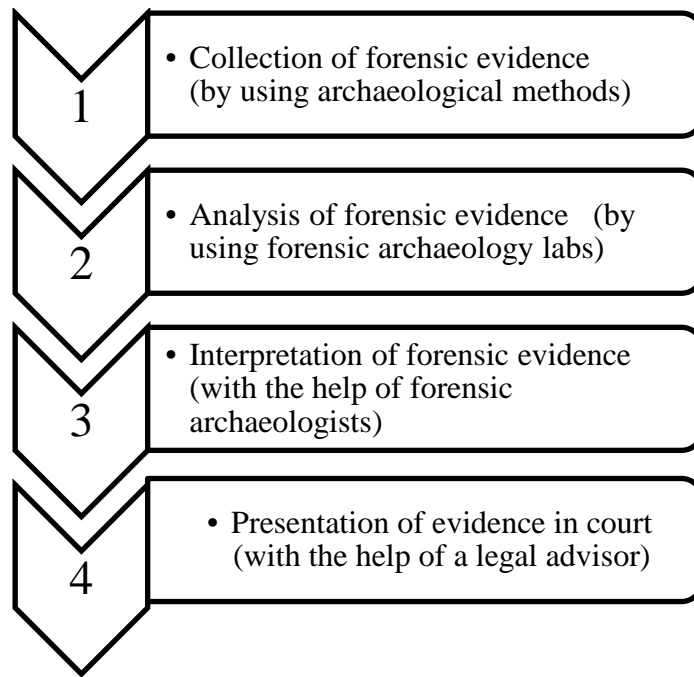
Figures

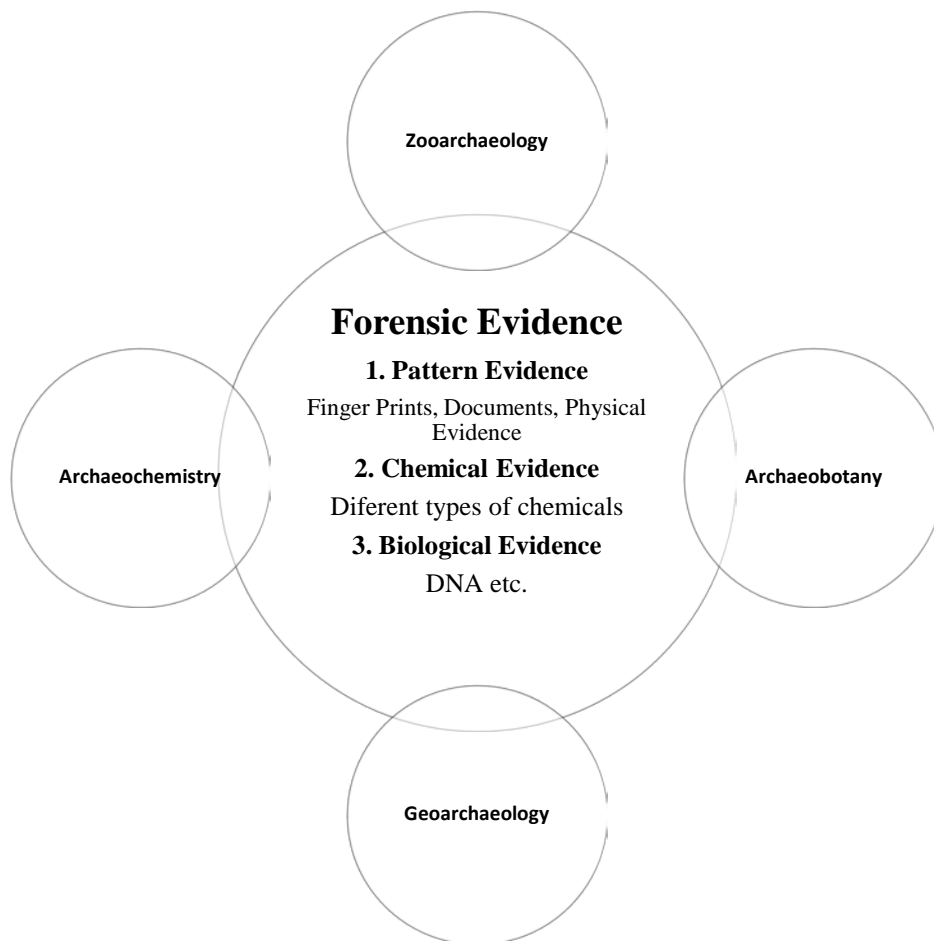**Figure 1. Methodology of Forensic Archaeology (Conceptualized by the Authors)**

Figure 2. The Relation of Forensic Evidences with the Sub-disciplines of Archaeology (By the Authors)
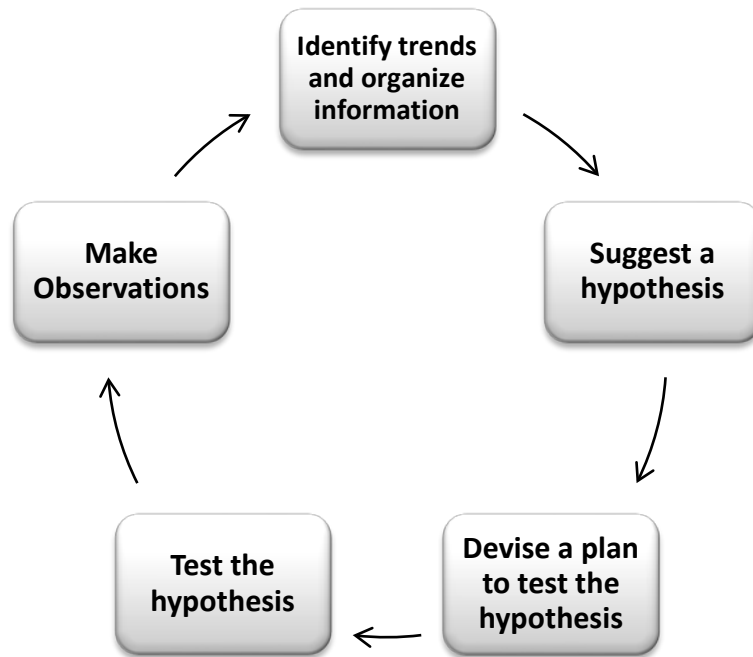
Figure 3. Scientific Method in Archaeology and Forensic Science (Diagram by the Authors).

Uncertain Future in Historical and Cultural Perspective (For the Women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

BAHADAR ALI AND ALAM ZEB KHAN

Abstract

Human life is indeed the most beautiful and precious gift of God. Living a happy, healthy and complete life is the right of every human being, weather male or female. Culture is an expression of the ways of living developed by a community and passed on from generation to generation, including customs, practices, places, objects, artistic expressions and values. It is the Culture which helps the people to connect to many social values, religions, believes, traditions and customs. It is the Culture which provides the people the automatic sense of belonging and unity by staying in a group and gives provides them the opportunity to understand the past history to which they belong and predict the future. Preserving cultural heritage is a norm most societies treasure because the historical, psychological and societal importance of honoring the past. The Cultural heritage laws govern claims asserted by the past owners and creators of cultural objects against the current possessor. These laws are important to protect culture from illicit exporting and importing.

Pakhtun socio cultural set up is intensively influence by the patriarchal stricter and male dominancy, which empowered male in all sphere of life and the women are suffering from all sort of discrimination from birth onward throughout their lives in Pakhtun socio Cultural set up. This paper is an attempt to highlight various department of life and participation of the women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, discussing past, present and pointing to the future.

Key Words: *Culture, Sex Base Discrimination, Education, Human Right*

Introduction

By looking deep into the system of nature, it becomes clear that things depends on each other, or the life of one thing depends on the life of other, for example grass or other

things are the source of living for the grazing creatures and in the same way these grazing creatures are hunted down by the other creatures like lion, tigers, cheetah etc. Similarly these creatures gives benefits to one and other directly or indirectly, but most important of all is the fact, that all these are created by Creator for the benefit and survival of Human Beings. Each and every thing which is created by the great Creator is for the benefit of the human and the human life depends on it in some way or in other, whether it is grasses, animals or air, water etc.

Human species is divided into two, Man and Woman. Here this point must be kept in mind that the woman is created for the purpose of facilitation and resting of man but not as a source of his survival. Clear difference must be made in both these things. Yes, a man is allowed to have relations with a woman but he is not allowed to use her as a source of his survival by taking away her rights, her property, giving her in "*Swara[1]*" and even her life. In Pakistan and in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in particular due to the old trend, tradition and culture women are faced with tough situations.[2]These are given to her by virtue of her humanity, and as a human being she is also entitling to certain human rights which cannot be taken away at any cost, at any time, by any one. Human being must be treated as Human being only.

Since Pakistan is an Islamic state and the official Religion of the country is "Islam," it will be quite relevant to look at the status of woman which is given to her by Islam. Islam has given a great deal of respect, sacredness and importance to a woman by virtue of her humanity as well as by virtue of her being as women. Women have been given all the rights to which the women are entitled and which deserves to them.

The status given to the women by Islam cannot be founded in any other religion of the world, for example they have been given equal right in the field of education, they got equal religious rights same is the case with social and cultural rights as well. In short we can say that Islam has given equal rights to all human beings whether they are male or female.

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[1] "*Swara*" is the name of a bad habit popular in Pakhtun societies, according to which if a lady is kidnapped or someone is killed by the other party, in such case the convict or the aggressor will have to give a girl in this regard to the victim party, irrespective of the age factor.

[2] Naz, A. (2011). *Socio-Cultural and Political Constraints to Gender Development.* An Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan.

It is clearly said in the Holy Quran that, he who does the good deeds will get the reward whether he is male or female, and in the same way a whole *Soora[3]* is related the one pious woman, (*Soora Maryam*). Even in religious obligations and duties women stands equal to a man like *zakat*; fasts, pilgrimage etc are equally required by them and will have the same reward as given to a man[4]. Thus I can say that the economic, social, cultural and religious possession of women is very clear; now let's see what is the situation of the women of the Islamic republic of Pakistan in spite of the rights given to her by Islam, international Human Rights Instruments and the Constitution of Pakistan?

This has become a tradition and cultural value of our society that women lack the ability and wisdom to discharge the duties and bear the burden of the modern world. Especially in Pakhtun societies here participation is most of the time liked with economic, religious environment and socio- Cultural matters and restricts here there.[5] In our beloved state the Islamic Republic of Pakistan the women is not given the same respect, status and rights to which she is entitle as a human being. Truly speaking out of the capacity as mother, sister, wife and daughter she has no existence at all. In our society women has no respect for those in particular who are out of here homes for the purpose of education, health and job etc. She is treated as degraded and of bad character, discussed and commented everywhere she goes same is the case of women in education, health and other departments. Though for the purpose to get empowerment in the society and to get her economic, social, cultural and political right education is very evident.[6] This is the concept responsible for the death, dishonouring and backwardness of the women in our society.

Women do take part in each and every department of life but the real problem is that if on one hand they are not encouraged on the other hand their efforts and services are not acknowledged and recognized as well. Moreover, it is the culture which is pushing

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[3] *Soora* is the name of a complete chapter of the Holy Quran, there are *114 sooras* (means chapters) in the Holy Quran, one of which is by the name of Maryam.

[4] Al- Quran.

[5] Khan, W. (2011). *The Role of Pakhtun Social Organization in Gendered Decision-Making (A Case study of Batkhela, District Malakand).* An Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Malakand.

[6] Anita, A. (2010). *Depiction of Women in Modern Pashtu Fiction.* Ph.D Desertation, Noor Ullah Katuzia Printer GT Road Peshawar, P.38.

women to the corner and constraints her, for example the set-up of our society, tradition, customs and the reluctance of her relatives is pushing her from bad to worst position in the society.[7] According to the national survey report round about 70% women takes part in agricultural activities, while in cities 75% of works in various departments are done by the hand of female. Still they are struggling in Economic, Social. Cultural, Political rights, health and educational facilities. The most worrying fact is that the services of 65% of women is ignored and not brought in the notice of people by official media. Most of the experts hold the view that the constitution of Pakistan 1973 gives and protects the rights of women but still Article 25, 27, 34, 35, and 37 are not put into operation completely which is equally applicable on the citizens of Pakistan whether it is male or female.

Let's have an eye on various rights and the position of the women of our society;

Women in Legal and Political Field

Everyone has the equal right to take part in the political affairs of the country…[8]. It is stated in the constitution of Pakistan that everyone shall be provided equal opportunities to participate in the affairs of the state, and no one shall be discouraged on the base of cast status and sex[9].

In a Pakhtun society, sense the person involved in politics will have to constant public appearance, so it is against their norms and customs that a women shall perform the same.[10] Truly speaking that the situation of the women in the legal and the political field is not up to the level as it should be;, because according to the UN women, the position of those women that stood at the minister level boost up from14.4% in 2005 and 16.9% in 2012. Pakistan at the moment is 52 at ranking of the countries according to the representation of women in the parliament. Women are minimum in representation in

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[7]   Reyes, and Socorro, L. (2002). *Regional Workshop on the Implementation of Quotas: Asian Experiences, Quotas in Pakistan: A Case Study.* Discussion Paper read at the ―Workshop on the Implementation of Quotas: Asian Experiences‖ Organized by the Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance in Jakarta. P. 2.

[8]   Article 21, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948

[9]   Article 35, the constitution of Pakistan 1973 No citizen otherwise qualified for appointment for the service of Pakistan shall be discriminated against in respect of such appointment on the ground only of……sex.

[10]   Saiyid, D. H. (2001). *Women in Politics, Problems of Participation: A case study of Pakistan.* Islamabad: Shirkat Gah- Women's Resource Centre.

Baluchistan while they are completely absent from representation in FATA.[11] For the development, progress and stability of the state as well as society female participation is evident. We have a few examples that became parliamentarian by contesting direct election. In National Assembly we have 60 seats reserved for women to which women are nominated on the base of their party's electoral strength. Seats reservation is as follow;

Punjab--35 seat

Sindh --- 14 seats.

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa ------------------------- 08 seats.

Baluchistan------------------------------------- 03 seats.

Among the seventeen judges of the apex court of Pakistan there was not even a single female judge in year 2012. In the entire legal history of Pakistan a women has not become the member of the supreme court of Pakistan. Out of the 104 high court judges there were only 3 female judges, and two of them were appointed in 2012. In the legislative measure women were note as more focused because out of 54 private bills 21 were initiated by the women parliamentarians.

Since women who belong to *"FATA"[12]* are the most miserable possession that's why steps are going to be taken for their development, in this regard there is a great achievement in the shape of National Commission on the Status of Women (NCSW).

In January the bill was adopted by the National Assembly, with 40 amendments this bill was presented to senate whereby it was passed in the second month of 2012, on the International Women's day 8th of March the bill was signed by the president of Pakistan and became a law.

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[11] Basu, A. (2005). *Women Political Parties and Social Movements in South Asia*. United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD). http://www.eldis.ids.ac.uk/static/DOC18454.htm, retrieved on 23/07/2011.

[12] FATA, is basically abbreviation, which stands for; Federally Administered Tribal Area

For the purpose of legislation and awareness regarding the female rights an important step was taken in Institute of Strategic Studies Islamabad in January 2010. In this debate many experts in various fields of life participated and shared their views regarding to topic of discussion. The only thing on which all of them agreed was that; it is the women who suffer more from poverty as compare to man, especially in the families where the women are working as the financial supporters of their family. There, woman is not only faced with economic crises but she has to go through mental sufferings as well. The women who stood out;

Sharmeen Ubaid Chinoy

She made a documentary on the women affected by acid attacks and got the attention of the world in this regard in the result of which she was given Oscar award. She draws the attention of the Authorities of the effective implementation of Acid Crimes Implementation Act.

Shad Begum

Shad Begam basically belongs to *Lower Dir*, she worked very hard for the development of the women in very conservative areas. She is still working on this project, for her efforts to protect and promote social and political rights of the women she was given the International Women of Courage Award in 2012.

Zubeida Mustafa

Zubeida Mustafa is a senior journalist, she has worked allot written allot for the rights of women, for her extensive writings for the rights of women she was given "Annual Life Time Achievement Award from International Women's Media Foundation; As a tribute to her, since she has worked for 33 year, a new award has been announced by the title of "Zubeida Mustafa Award".

Malala Usafzai

Malala Usafzai took a great risk to protect her fundamental right, right to education in *Mingora*, Swat against Taliban. She is 14 years old girl, who got the global attention in

this regard; she is working for the implementation and protection of the rights of women. For the protection of the fundamental right of education at the risk of her own life the United Nations declared the 10th of November as the "Malala Day". This incident resulted in a great international pressure on the state in terms of right to education for women in Pakistan.

Social and Economic Rights (challenges and opportunities)

Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life...[13]it is also said that for the development and prosperity of the country, the participation of the women in every field of life is very much necessary. With Pakistan affected by the global economic crises and faced with its own central issues of water, electricity and gas shortage and high food prices, poverty level rose sharply. Women, already a vulnerable sector of society, got the worst part of the deal. The women of this country is far behind in social and economic field though the year 2012 has witnessed that the step are going to be taken to take away the economic and social grievance of the women of the state, yet still the country is characterized as the discriminatory allocation of economic resources.[14] Still the steps which were taken are not of the nature to cope the situation and the need to take some concrete actions is evident. Here in Pakistan we have strange situation, for the services offered by women are paid half which is paid in full if offered by a male. Similarly they are considered as minority though in reality they in majority.

Tahira Abdullah, an active member of Human Rights group said that, "in Pakistan the ratio of people living in poverty is 75% and that is the women which is the major portion of it, and that is the women who suffers more as compare to men directly or indirectly one way or in other, which supports her family economically.

She said that in our country the exact poverty rate is not shown willingly. Reason behind that may the criticism or the public opinion or something else I don't understand the logic behind that anyhow, experts are of the view that in countries like Pakistan the

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[13] Article 34, Constitution of Pakistan, 1973 Steps shall be taken to ensure full participation of women in all spheres of national life...
[14] Shaheed et al, (2009). *Women in Politics: Participation and Representation in Pakistan, An overview.* Lahore: Shirkat Gah- Women's Resource Centre. P. 26.

politician do talk about the female rights and development of the women and give rights on paper, but which has no concern with practical life, the sole proof of which is that in spite of all their sayings and high thoughts still the poverty rate is growing day by day and the graph of poverty is increasing. In this debate many steps and policies where mentioned that were announced by the government and by the end of the day they were not given practical shape.

The government of Punjab took some important steps in the Province;

a. For micro financing the women Rs. two billion fund was instituted by the bank of Punjab.

b. The women quota in the official jobs was increased from 5 to 15 though the implementation is still not adequate and unsatisfactory.

c. For women causes Rs 14 billion were allocated the example of which is like women's empowerment Package etc.

d. In women development department 35 new positions were also allocated, which resulted in release of 1.509 million in the year 2012.

e. Many new projects and packages were launched for the women of rural areas such as Benazir Income Support Program, the beauty of this program is that with various trainings each participant were given as 12 dollars per month and her health assurance as well.

f. A vocational training program was also held in the University of Faisalabad, for the purpose of enhancing the quality of the life of the women of the rural areas of the country, courses such as cooking, stitching, art and craf5s, and fashion designing.

g. Three-day capacity building program was conducted by UNESCO and the Rural Media Network for the purpose to teach the basics of media reporting like, violence against women, harassment and discrimination which are the facing in their day to day life.

There are some other important steps taken for the empowerment and development of the women across the country such as;

a. For the purpose of protection, the rights of the female farmers, a dialogue was held in Peshawar in March under the supervision of the Organization named as Action. Which emphasized that the government should peruse the agriculture policy of 2005 and focusing female farmers of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, the reason is that here 70% of the household income is spent on food instead of this to be spend on health and education.

b. Out of 7,383 registered trade unions in Pakistan only 4,486 were women

c. According to the figure indicated 8.92% of the women are employed as home-based working without providing and legal protection. According to a non-profitable organization working inside the country by the name of Home Net Pakistan, the implementation of the policy will give 41.10% urban and 70.7% of the women belong to rural areas as they are registered worker and will give them the basic right like pension etc.

d. In Jun the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa enclosed four female crises centres in the province that were providing moral and legal assistance to the women of the province, though it has assisted 5,400 women by providing them the shelter as well as legal and medical aid. The reason behind this was the 18th amendment and the transfer of many federal projects to provinces among these centres one was in swat and the other three were in Kohat, Abbottabad and Peshawar districts and province. While the rest of the twelve are still there in Punjab waiting for the Federal decision to be taken.

e. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa sports minister has vowed that there must be equal opportunities for females in terms of sports events. Pakistan Olympics association was also directed by the ministry of sports to hold national sports events.

f. The woman that belongs to the remote parts of the country is faced with great hardships as compare to the women that lives in the settle areas. A "*Jirga* of Othman Khail[15]" Qaumi Movement also demanded for the access of women to

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[15] A *jirga* is the name of an informal group of elder and experience people of the local areas like; *bajoure, wazirestan, gandaow, jam bara,*etc. whereby they make decisions in accordance to the customs, traditions and norms of the society.

the health care and the education opportunities of the women living in those localities.

For our social and economic experts this fact is confusing that, in Pakistan the relation of poverty is direct with Human Rights, and in a society suffering from poverty the fulfillment of human rights is almost impossible. The women in particular which the most weak part of the society their rights are not restored rather taken away from them. Here the role of the women has been made limited to their homes, relatives and families only and their personal and intellectual role is neither encouraged nor acknowledged.[16] This situation is much more serious and worst where the cultural customs and norms are given importance as compare to other rules here the importance of the women role is ignored.

The products made in household's level are not paid on the required rate as it should be; similarly there is great hardship in the availability of rough material as well. In the capital of provincial government Peshawar it was assured by the Prime Minister Amir *Haider Khan Hothi* that the women must be given full opportunity to represent their products at national as well as international level. They must be given a complete storey in the Peshawar Chamber of Commerce and Industries consisting 250 shops. This was said by the head of women chamber Ms Sajida Zulfiqar Rahim Khan. She said that it is a dream which on the way of reality, she said that the women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is unbeatable in making "*Karder, Shawls*, *Amiridery[17]*", and many other products which is the specialty of the women of Pakistan, but still there is a need of its promotion, and support. An exhibition is required for this purpose not only on national but also at the international level.

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[16] Begum, S. (1987). *Status of Women in Tribal Areas.* Unpublished Master Thesis, Department of Sociology University of Peshawar, P.11-12.

[17] Kardar is tha name of a product which the local women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa makes by their hands, same is the case with the Shawls, these are pieces of big clothes which the women of this locality wears in particular and are really beautiful and warm, these are again made by hands.

Education

 Everyone has the right to have education and to go to school…[18]Right to education was declared as fundamental right for the citizens of Pakistan.

Article 34 refers as to the participation of women to all the spheres of life; similarly, the state shall take steps for the development and promotion of the economical, educational interests of the people of backward areas of the country[19].

It is also stated that the government shall provide to all the citizens free and compulsory Secondary education without any discrimination within the possible minimum time[20]. Beside these state has taken the responsibility to provide to all the basic necessities of life without any discrimination on the base of cast, color and status in the society which includes; food, medical relief, education, housing etc.[21]

According to the recent UNESCO report, round about 5.3 millions of Pakistani children are not going to school and 64 percent of which are girls. Under the Millennium Development Goals, Pakistan was supposed to achieve parity in the statistics for education for boys and girls by the year 2015. By the end of the day the literacy rate was 41% for girls and 74% for boys.

The government of Punjab has claimed that they are going to construct 4 new women universities in, *Bahawalpur, Sialkot, and Faisalabad* and in *Multan* districts for the purpose to give rise to female education. In Khyber Pakhtunkhwa things are very different about 21 girls schools were locked up due to the absence of female teachers in various parts of Charsadda, though the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa allocated seventy percent of budget for the female education, and that is expected to be spent on the schools destroyed by the hands of militants.

Only 22% of the children were there registered in Baluchistan which shows the exact picture of the female education In Baluchistan. According to the recent United Nation

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[18] Article 26, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948
[19] Article 37(a), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973
[20] Article 37(b), Constitution of Pakistan, 1973
[21] Article 38, Constitution of Pakistan, 1973

Report 59% of Pakistani women gets the primary education only and do not reach to the graduation. While all over the world this percentage is 97, this shows the exact possession where we are at the moment. According to the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan's report those women who lives in tribal areas or belongs to the agencies are living in the most vulnerable, miserable and poor situation[22].

According to 2010-11 Human Rights Commission of Pakistan's Annual Report not even a single female student took admission in *FR Kohat, Bajour* and Frontier Region because not only the extremists but their parents are also against their education. A migrant woman Asia said that the women of *Mohmand Agency* lives under the instant threat and fear. According to 2010 HRCP report the migrated women is faced with great difficulties[23]. Similarly in the disturbed areas that are the women who are made suffer as compare to men and are made to pay the price of their lives.

Inheritance

The constitution of Pakistan gives every person the right to acquire, hold, sell and transfer property in any area of the country irrespective of the sex[24].further it has been said, that no one shall be compulsorily deprived from his property unless it is in accordance with the law of the country. The law of inheritance is basically governed by Muslim Personal Law and Muslim Family Law Ordinance 1961. Cases of inheritance are decided by the courts of law, without jumping in the discussion of equality[25]. Women has as a human being has the right of inheritance, but unfortunately in many areas as well as in society she is denied of this right given to her. In the rural Punjab the women is almost in all families deprived of her share in the assets of her father, and her share in agricultural land in particular.

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[22] Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), State of Human Rights in 1999, Lahore: HRCP, 2010-11

[23] Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP). State of Human Rights in 1999. Lahore: HRCP, 2010.

[24] Article 23 provides that "every citizen shall have the right to acquire, hold and dispose of property in any part of Pakistan, subject to the Constitution and any reasonable restrictions imposed by Law in the public interest."

[25] Article 25 (1) "All citizens are equal before law and are entitled to equal protection of law. (2) There shall be no discrimination on the basis of sex alone. (3) Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for the protection of women and children."

For this purpose the Punjab Women Development Department came out with a policy to amend the Punjab Land Revenue Act 1986.

Same is the case with the women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in most of the localities the women are not given the right of inheritance, her right is taken away in many ways like, the money spent at the time of her marriage, "*barkha*"[26] and various other tactics. In order to protect the right of inheritance of the women in the assets of her father the government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa passed an Act by the name of Enforcement of the Women Ownership Act. Under this Act if someone who violate this law has to pay a fine of 5,000 rupees and shall also be subjected for 5 years imprisonment. Without active implementation it is not but a pious hope only;

Women Participation in the Political Activities

To bring a state in the front line in the world, there must be political participation of the women in the electoral activities of the state, but here I would say that the situation is very much different in terms of women participation in the concerned activities of the state. For this purpose many attempts were made that the women must be given representation in the election commission of Pakistan but thing are not seems working. Apart from this even in many areas the women were not given the right to vote, such as in various localities of *Malakan, Mardan, Miawali* and in the "*Agencies*[27]" in particular the women were not given the right to take part in the election process of Pakistan by costing their votes.

The National Commission on the Status of Women made a request to the Election Commission of Pakistan to take notice in this regard, but no action was taken.[28] Shortly before the consultation of the commission with the political parties the commission came out with the policy that in the places where the women representation is less than 10%

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[26] *Barkha*, is very famous tradition the people of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in this the brother or the brother of the female provides basic necessities to the women prior as well as even after her marriage,

[27] Here we use agency denotes the meaning as to pointing some locality like; Momand agency, bajour agency etc, which comes under FATA

[28] Ibrahim. (2012). *Socio-Cultural and Economic Constraints to Women's Political Empowerment in Pakhtun Society;* unpublished Mphil Thesis Department of Sociology University of Malakand.

are going to be re polled, but due to the pressure by the political parties this idea was ignored.

Women and the Law Enforcement

In order to reach to the solution of the women problems, the active participation of the women in the enforcement of the law is evident. Women are 0.85% of the total police force in the country, still till the day no one of them has reached to the bureaucrat level. In the year 2012 there were 19 women police stations in the state which had 3,700 police women, though these women remained less empower in their work field[29]. Only some of them were at high position, in Lahore there were even no women head of police station, similarly the women female wardens of the city were not given the street patrolling duty as well. However in *Malakand* a positive step was taken by establishing the women police station and a family courts dealing with the cases of violence against women and the related issues, similarly in the most hostile region, *Gilgit Bultistan* a female traffic warden Tahira Yousub was given promotion to the position of Deputy Superintended Police (DSP).

Keeping in view the numbers of women in the state and the numbers of women in the law enforcement activities it is clear that this is not satisfactory in any way, which requires further improvement and development in the related department.

Harassment

Sexual Harassment has grown in Pakistan and seems to have become more than merely a prevented activity. Though it is almost problem of every state and it is strictly prohibited in every part of the world[30],

The state shall… [Ensure] that…that woman is not employed in vocations unsuited to their sex…[31].But in Pakistan it has reached to a dangerous level, which needs some

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[29] Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP) State of Human Rights in 1999 Lahore: HRCP, 2012

[30] The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women," United Nations, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/

[31] Article 37, the constitution of Pakistan1973, the state shall… [Ensure] that…that woman is not employed in vocations unsuited to their sex….

serious attention from the authorities. Women are mostly sexually harassed at work places, there they rather more protection. In this regard the Punjab Women Development Department came out with a bill by the name of Punjab Protection against Harassment of Women at the Workplace bill 2012, for the purpose to better protect the rights of the women, but the bill is still pending.

An Anti-Harassment policy was established by the Higher Education Commission (HEC), under this policy all the universities of the state were required to provide the implementation process. This policy was offered in February 2011, while by February 2012 only 98 universities out of 128 followed the policy. In April there was a complaint filed by a female student in Faisalabad against her two teachers at the University of Veterinary and Animal Science (UVAS) Lahore, in consequence both of them were suspended but they denied the charges. Similarly in the University of Education in Lahore a complaint was filed against the male Professor by a female teacher.

In July a complaint was filed against the two male teachers by a female student in the department of Arts and Design, Hazara University Mansehra. Apart from this many cases were filed by the women working in various departments. Since the time of inception in 2011, the Federal ombudswomen for protection of women against harassment at the workplace found that about 62% of the women face sexual harassment at the working places.

This treatment is not only limited to the women working in the government departments but the same is the possession of the women engaged in the private sector as well, specially the women working in police, hospital nurses, teachers and office workers in particular. By looking this situation the other women do not take any interest in jobs or other services of the country.

Violence against Women

Violence against women is the main area which requires special attention. Women are attacked all over the country whenever they try to make a decision, particularly in the

field of education, job and marriage. Heinous crimes are done against the women such as honor killing; acid attacks and slaughtering are persisted without any systematic measures being taken to prevent such crimes. For example, in the month of June 4 women from *Kohistan* were deemed to be dishonored on the account that they were singing and dancing in a wedding party though their relatives were against the decision taken by the *Jirga* that's why violence against woman is considered as one of the major human rights issue in Pakistan that's why violence against women is considered as the most important and major human rights issue in Pakistan[32].

Woman who deserves special care is instead of respect and care subjected to violence, and that's why the cases of violence against the women are reported almost all over the country. The most famous of these incidents was the attack on the Malala Usafzai in Swath, and a number of other attacks which are enough to highlight the risks that the women working for the female development are facing today.

Another serious fact is that crimes against those women working for the development and progress of women have reach to its peak, according to the "*Aurat Foundation*[33]" report, the number of registered crimes against women in 2012 was 8,000, and it is strongly supposed that most of the cases might have been ignored and not mentioned publically by the media and law enforcement agencies.

 Similarly most of even registered cases were not trialed and dismissed unheard. The "*ANP*[34]" female leader Najma Hanif was shot to death on the 16 of August in Hayatabad, and her case is still pending.

Farida   Afridi was shot to death by the two motorcycle riders outside of her home; she was the Executive Director of the Women's rights Organization by the name of (*SAWERA*), though she was receiving threats as well. This thing is very common for the women working in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa for the development of women. In this regard a female NGO worker was threatened that if she entered to *Kohistan* she is going to be

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[32] Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), State of Human Rights in 1999, Lahore: HRCP, 2012

[33] It is the name of an organization, working for the empowerment and development of women of different areas of pakistan.

[34] ANP, is an abbreviation, stands for *Awami National Party*.

arrested and shall be married to a local man, though no response came to sight by the government in this regard.

For the purpose to overcome the problems of violence against the women a bill was submitted to the National Assembly by the name of "The Acid Throwing and Burn Crime Bill 2012", this bill covers many areas of the live like reporting, investigation, collecting medical evidence, compensation for rehabilitation and protection of the victims and witness, when the bill was submitted to concerned minister for comments it never came back, though the provincial assemblies were pressurized by the civil societies but still nothing happened even till know.

The head of "*Khwando Koor Organization*[35]"Maryam BiBi said that, in spite of the government saying that we have defeated the extremists still they are there and carrying on their activities in one way or in other coursing problems somehow. The women of this area have talked to me that and they let me know the conditions in which they are compelled and forced to live. She said that the women who have migrated and living in Internal Displaced People's camps are faced with great difficulties in particular, and for the purpose of their survival they are compelled to use other means. This is not the possession of the women living in agencies and cities only but same is the case of District Tank of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, where again the extremists are in majority.

Honour killings of Women

Killing in the name of honour is witnessed across the country involving both men and women. However, the majority of the victims of the honour killings are women, because in most of the cases men are exiled and forgiven by paying compensation in cash or handling over his sister or other girl as in "*Swara*[36]" to the other party. In most of the cases women are killed just on the base of suspicion of having illicit relations with someone or displaying an independence spirit that threatened the patriarchal way of life

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[35] *Khwando koor* is the name of an organization, working for the empowerment and welfare of the women of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, under the supervision of Maryam bibi.

[36] "*Swara*", is the name of a bad habit popular in Pakhtun societies, according to which if a lady is kidnapped or someone is killed by the other party, in such case the convict or the aggressor will have to give a girl in this regard to the victim party, irrespective of the age factor.

in their localities. This so called honour killing is the most consisting and abhorrent form of violence against women in Pakistan.

In the year 2012, 913 girls and women were killed on the name of honour, and this included 99 minor girls under the age of 15. Truly speaking the number of these reported incidents must be grater as the reported one because in most areas such cases are not reported by the family of the victims. Out of these 913 honour killings 613 women are killed in the name of having illicit relations with men often without any proof, more than 192 girls were killed only the base that they had married according to their own wishes and against the wishes of their family members. The perpetrators of these crimes are mostly their near relatives because in 203 case the crime was done by the hand of the brother of the victim, while in 171 case it was the father of the victim, in 209 cases it was the husband, in 61 cases in – laws and in 138 case the act was done by some other close relatives of the victims.

Reports shows that at least 17 were raped and 19 was gang raped before being killed. The ongoing year has witnessed that dozens of women were killed, majority of which were shot to death, some of them were identified while most of them went unidentified the death bodies were buried and their files were closed without any further investigation. The investigation authorities says that death caused by the unknown people are under investigation and soon the criminals are going to be arrested, but delay in most cases are caused due to the lack of co -operation by the victim families. They say that in women cases most of the family members do not registered the FIR, which mostly registered by the police personnel.

Domestic Violence

It is appeared from all account that physical and psychological violence against the women in the household remained as deep rooted as ever. In terms of domestic violence women mostly suffers by the hands of husband, brother, fathers and in-laws and these are the incidents which almost compels the women to burn their selves, shot down, jumping in the rivers or commit suicides through other means. According to a media monitoring report; in the year 2012, round about 52 women and girls were the victims of

acid attacks, while 16 women had their limbs amputated, these incidents happened mainly on the suspicion of "immoral" relations with the men. Hairs of the 38 women were shaved off which is highly a humiliating act, while in different part of the country around 50 women were burnt out for various reasons. Almost all these case are done by the hands of the relatives of the victims[37].

According to the *Aurat Foundation*, incidents of domestic violence has been increased as 8 times as compare to previous year, according to their statistics the reported cases of domestic violence from January to august was 4,587, which shows the exact picture of the domestic violence of against women in Pakistan. A medical student *Tuba Abbassi* said that most of the "*Parda Nashi[38]*" women are the victim of violence because if on one hand she lives within four walls unaware of her rights on the other hand she is mostly uneducated that's why she is always more easily deprived of her as compare to the other women. Not only here father but her husband brother also uses various tactics to take away the property belonging her. Her murder in the name of honor, bad character and acid attacks has become day to day practice. Still no law has been enacted to provide effective protection to the women up to the date.

Forget about the equal rights of the women in our society, they are not allowed even to live according to own whishes, still they are not considered but third class citizens of the state.[39] Though women in our state are in majority but they are deemed as minority.

In our society women is respectable, but as sister and mother. She is care able but as a wife only. She is considered as respectable but only the relational matters of this capacity she is not given any importance at all. If same is not the case then let's have a glance on the hospitals full of women, resulted from house violence, acid attacks and other domestic disturbance. Look at the jails there you will see unmarried young girls in the name of bad character or false cases against them treated inhumanly, again in mental

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[37] Human Rights Commission of Pakistan (HRCP), State of Human Rights in 1999, Lahore: HRCP, 2012

[38] *Parda Nashi,* is term used for some particular female, it denotes to the meaning of covering face and moves in society with open face, in most cases even such women avoids to go to courts as well

[39] Shah, N.M. (1989). *Female Status in Pakistan: Where are we Know?* In K. Mahadevan (ed). Women and Population Dynomic: Perspectives from Asian Countries. 150-166. New Delhi: Sage Publication Singhal, Damodar.

hospitals there are lots of women got mental problems due to mental and physical torture in the homes. All these presents the worst picture of the women condition in our society. If it is not satisfactory then turn back to yourself you will find that in one way or in other women is suffering from the hand of man somehow struggling for her safe survival.

We say that heaven is under the feet of women but why her life is so miserable and pity, in Islam women has given a very high level but in practice she is the most helpless part of our society. In theory women is the sacred and pious creature but in practice that is the women disgraced and tortured everywhere.

The body of women is the source of completion of all the humanity but still why she himself is so lonely, helpless and incomplete even for her completion she has to take permission from the man. As said by the great *Teepo Sultan*, "give peace and happiness to the women, because a happy woman gives birth to a brave and bold child, likewise a miserable and tortured woman gives birth to a cruel and criminal minded child".

Positive approach

Now if the majority of a society lives in poverty, threats and in discrimination then there any activity, dream and steps of development would be meaningless and of not that much high quality. Urgent steps and effective policies are needed to be taken for the women who are suffering from the increasing poverty and illiteracy, because we are already very late in taking these steps.

One of the most important things which is still continued to be ignored or neglected is the shelter for women, which is due to the lack of training in the police personnel. We saw that the government and NGOs took really keen interest in the celebrating of the 8th of March as the "International Women Day," similarly the government of Punjab announced on this day as the Women's Empowerment Package; in which a list of ideas, policies and proposals were aimed to protect the rights of the women and bringing the women into a good possession. In this package the issues like women inherent lands, for dealing the cases of sexual harassment at the working place, the appointment of ombudsperson and the provisions of medical assistance of the women which is subjected

to the acid attack. Many more proposals and polices are under consideration and they are going to be put into operation by the end of this year.

After throwing light on all departments of life and the contribution of the women thereto; it can be said that women is spending life in a very vulnerable situation. Here position varies from place to place, if she is in a good position in capital area on the other hand she is denied to take admission or use here opinion by costing here vote. If in one part of the state she may use here opinion in marriage matter in the other areas she is hunted down by the name of *"Karo Kari[40]", Swara, exchange marriage* and many more. Similarly women are being the real contributories in the development of state as well hard workers in the fields, but still they did not have the certainty in spending a happy and stable life. By looking the past, discussing the current situation of the women of Pakistan, the steps taken, and the outcome of these efforts clearly shows that in terms of living of a happy, equal and complete life, the future of the women of Pakistan is completely uncertain in this regard.

Recommendations

- Implementation of women friendly legislation needs to be carried out within the stipulated time.
- The proposals offered and the plan made by the government and Non Governmental Organizations are needed to be looked accurately and given practical shape.
- Special attention is needed to be given to the women working in the workplaces, their rights needs to be safeguarded.
- Opportunities are to be given to the women by giving them representation in the judiciary.
- There is a great need of the women in the field of law enforcement departments, in order to overcome the women problems.
- Special attention and care is needed for the women in prisons.

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[40] *"Karo Kari"* is the name of a bad custom or tradition, according to which a woman is suspected and declared as of bad or illegal character, and by the end of the day she is put to swear punishment including her death. This tradition is still very popular in various areas of Punjab and Sindh.

- Government policies for the relief of unemployed people must target women in priority, the government departments that discriminate against women while carrying out downsizing should be taken to task by the appropriate authority. All victims of discrimination on the basis of sex during downsizing must be compensated.

- Law will not put an end to the violence against the women alone, but that is the active machinery which will assure the implementation of all the laws enacted and policies drown, and ultimately will result in the eradication of wrong and in the administration of justice.

- It is also very necessary that this issue should be recognized at national level, although the government considers it but, it should be made mandatory rather compulsory.

- Stress must be given on the more and more education opportunities on the door step of the women belong to each part of the country.

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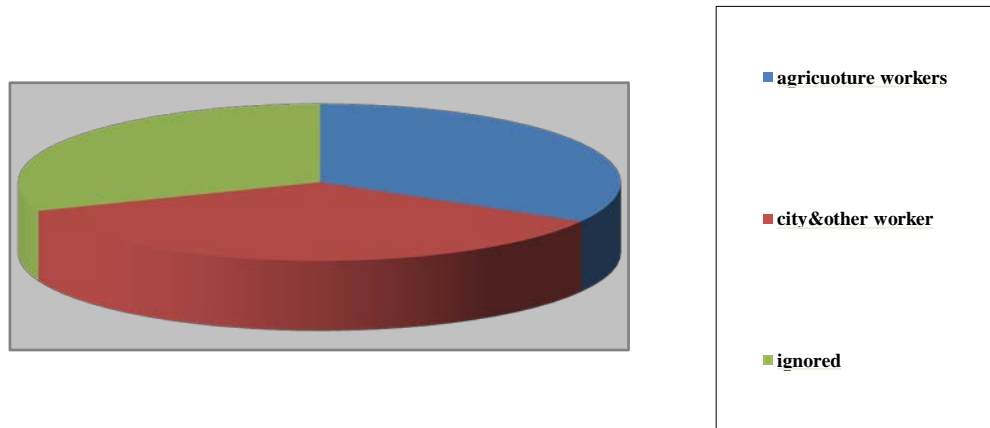United Nations, http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/

Figures

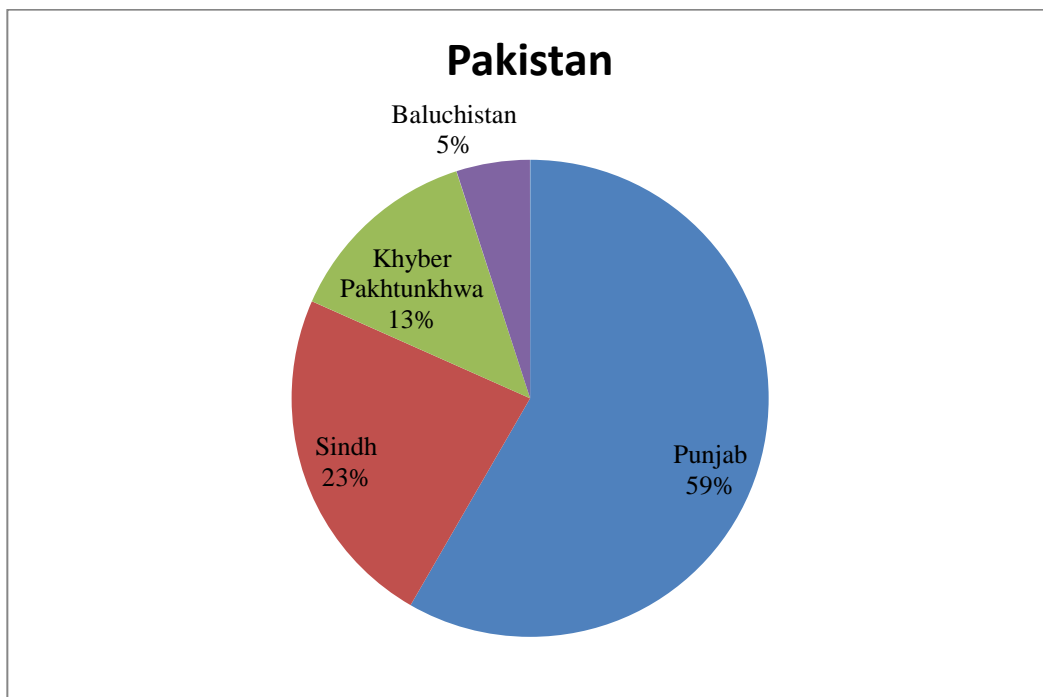**Figure 1. Distribution of the working women in Pakistan**
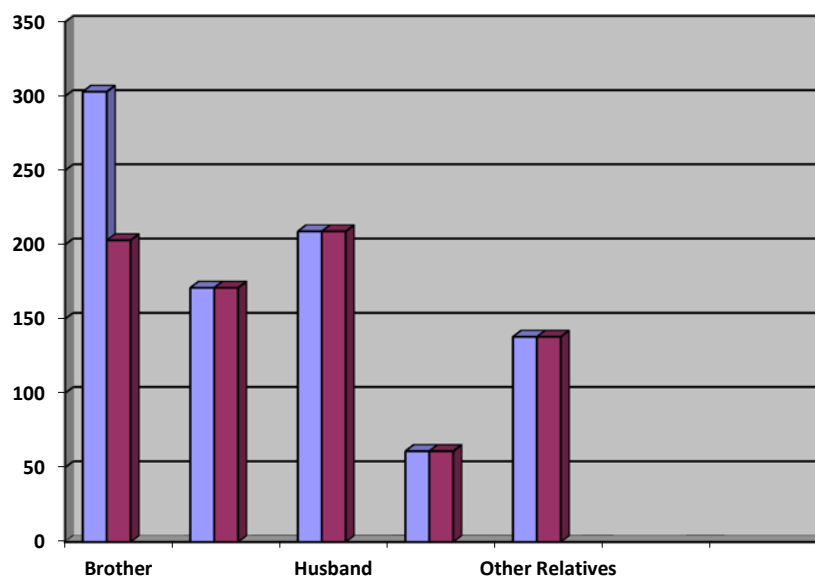

Figure 2. Seat reservation for women in Pakistan

Figure 3. Honour killing and the relation of the aggressor ratio