

# **ROCK ART OF SWAT: A STUDY OF CARVINGS, INSCRIPTIONS AND PAINTINGS**

**BY**

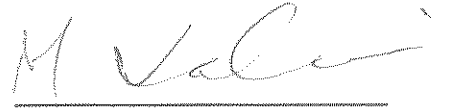
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## CERTIFICATE

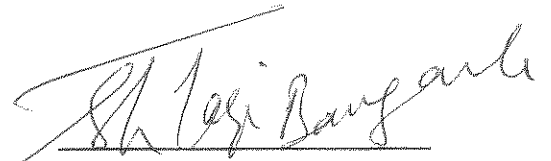
This is to certify that this dissertation of Badshah Sardar is accepted in its present form by The Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad, as satisfying the dissertation requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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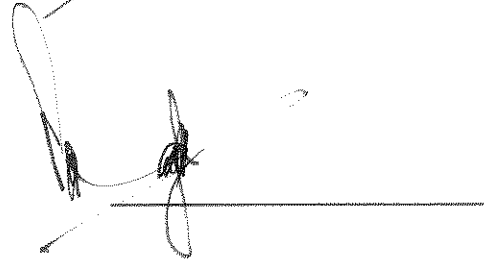
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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my individual research and it has not been submitted concurrently to any other university for any other degree.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Badshah Sardar', is written over a horizontal line. The signature is stylized and somewhat cursive.

Badshah Sardar

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### ABBREVIATIONS

AIOU	Allama Iqbal Open University
ANP	Antiquities of Northern Pakistan
AP	Ancient Pakistan
ARG	Archaeological Reconnaissance in Gandhara
ASI	Archaeological Survey of India
ASIR	Archaeological Survey of India Report
ASR	Archaeological Survey Report
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
EI	Epigraphia Indica
EW	East and West
IAM	Italian Archaeological Mission
IGI	Imperial Gazetteer of India
IsIAO	Istituto Italiano Per L'afrika E L'oriente
IsMEO	Istituto Italiano per Il Medio ed Estremo Oriente
JAC	Journal of Asian Civilizations
JCA	Journal of Central Asia
JPAF	Journal of Pakistan Archaeologists Forum
JPHS	Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society
JSSH	Journal of Social Science & Humanities
LMB	Lahore Museum Bulletin
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
NCCR	National Centre of Competence in Research
n. d.	Not dated
PA	Pakistan Archaeology
PJHC	Pakistan Journal of History & Culture
Pl.	Plate
QAU	Quaid-E-Azam University
S AS	South Asian Studies
SAA	South Asian Archaeology
TIAC	Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations

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## ABSTRACT

This work represents studies of engravings, carvings or reliefs, inscriptions and paintings over the rocks in the Swat Valley of Pakistan. It also investigates relief sculptures carved on natural rocks and stelae. The focus of this study is the rock art that developed along the ancient trade routes, which cross the Swat Valley connecting the sub-continent with Central Asia and Europe. Sites of rock art were mainly found in the central part of the Valley between Madyan and Barikot along both sides of the river Swat. They were also recorded in the Central, Upper Swat and from the tributary Valleys of Murghazar, Salampur, Jambil, Ogaz, Manglaur, Ningriyal and Karakar. I have discovered Brahmi inscriptions in village Jahanabad near Mingora and prehistoric carvings at Charai near Madiyan.

It has always been observed that most of the rock art sites were found in the vicinity of the Buddhist sacred areas of stupas and monasteries suggesting an association with these sites. There is an important discovery of carving of king Uttarasena carrying the relic casket. I have also found Hindu deities of Ganesh and Shiva in Buddhist reliefs. This is very rare in Buddhist art.

The rock art was not however, merely to mark the main communication routes of the Buddhist Pilgrims. It seems that it played an important role in the religious, social and cultural life of the people of that time. The diversity of this art also suggest<sup>s</sup> the importance of the Swat Valley on the one hand and for reconstructing history of the land routes from South Asia to China and Central Asia on the other.

This art serves as traces of man's evolution from prehistoric to the historic period, covering a span of the last 5000 years. It spreads all over the length and breadth of the Valley having continuity from prehistory to the historic period in such a way that one can well speak in the language of cultural continuity from prehistory to history.

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

The term "rock art" is used for all types of artistic expression found on natural rocks, cliffs, caves, shelters, and on the surface of boulders. In other words sketches, graphics, images, designs engraved or painted on the rock surfaces are generally referred to as rock art. Rock art normally deals with incised, engraved or carved figures. Rock art, whether it is painting or engravings (see appendix-A), is well known and widespread in the World. Rock art is a common feature of almost all ancient civilizations. However there are only half a dozen regions where the majority of rock art is located. In the past fifty years awareness has been created about the rock art studies. It has been recorded, described and copied by artists, travelers, scholars, historians and archaeologists. The rock art is broadly divided into two forms: engraving and painting.

The engravings are generally found on the large boulders and open surfaces of the rocks, while paintings (see appendix A) are found on walls of rock shelters formed in cliffs of the mountains. The engravings are in boldly pecked outline or relief formed by the complete removal of the rock surface within the outline. A few images are either carved on rocks with the help of some sharp cutting instruments or pecked with hammers. The oldest engravings are thought to be those which depict the animals in profile, in rather static poses, but

executed in great detail. It appears that early rock art was executed by hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists (Mathpal 1998: 47-53).

The paintings, on the other hand, are normally found where caves, shelters or overhangs are present. They were probably produced in many ways, such as with fingers, animal hair brushes, sticks and feathers. The painted images were drawn with mineral colours collected from the local geological deposits, plants and animals.

Previously, rock art studies were conducted largely on a regional basis, dealing mostly with local issues and surrounding phenomena, and individual researchers had relatively little contact with colleagues in other regions or continents. The results of these developments are evident. The remarkable increase has been observed in rock art studies, conservation, site documentation, recording, analyses, development of methodology, dating and other analytical research work throughout the World and can be seen through modern internet facilities. A lot of research on rock art is being carried out in most of the regions of the World. Many new aspects of rock art studies are put forward. Archaeological survey, exploration and excavations are in progress at many sites, like Foz Coa in Portugal (Clottes 1998: 112), Cosquer and Chauvet in France (Clottes 1998: 118), Church Hole Cave and Creswell Crags in UK (Bahn *et al.* 2003: 227), Hohle Fels Cave in Germany (Conard 2003: 830), the area of Canning Stock Route and Pilbara in Australia and Wild Wollemi National Park in northwest of Sydney (Paul *et al.* 2005: 1-5). The researches conducted by the scholars like (Salih & Hammam 2006: 1-8; Salih & Amara 2006: 8-15;

Subils 2006: 15-23; Jacobson 2006: 23-27 Bednarik 2006: 27-30) reveal material to understand correlation between Archaeological sites and the rock art. In most of rock art, human beings, animals and animal-like creatures are depicted.

Rock art is the evidence of a glorious past in the form of relief sculptures, engravings, sketches or drawings and petroglyphs on rocks. Rock art is one of the richest treasures of human visual creations discovered throughout the World. It evolved in Pleistocene period and continues until today (Beltran 1982: 61). In some countries of Asia, Africa and Australia it is still a living tradition. Rock art presents an evolution from non-iconic to iconic forms. Once the revolution to create iconic forms was achieved by the humans, a vast panorama of designs, motifs and symbols, both living and lifeless, was created in a variety of forms and styles. They occur in the form of pictures and petroglyphs.

Rock art is one of the most fascinating and informative of all sources of human history. It presents a pictorial story of the prehistoric and protohistoric communities. In the history of mankind no other work of art has such a wide distribution and it lasted for a long time. It was produced by pre-literate and pre-industrial societies whose work is a kind of visual representation and does not come within our definition of a written language. As soon as rock art images were discovered, people started wondering about their origin and tried to understand them.

Rock art of the different continents of the World is finally being recognized as an important part of national and international heritage. With this acknowledgment comes the Government, Non-Governmental Organizations

realizing, that these precious sites must be administered and protected. Various countries, groups and individuals have developed management plans and educational programs to promote the appreciation, conservation, and protection of rock art sites of the World. Rock art sites set in the bountiful natural environment or deep in the mysterious caves, are great centres of universal attractions. UNESCO has declared some of them, like Lascaux in France, Altamira in Spain (Ripoll 1994: 1-2), Valcamonica in Italy (Sansoni *et al.* 2000; 1-5), Kakadu National Park in Australia (Layton, 1992), Bhimbetka and Ajanta in India (Chakravarty & Bednarika 1997) as World heritage sites. Their global publicity is given by the media. The sites like Ajanta Caves in India attract visitors (Chandramouli 2002). The most recent research by Ghosh and Sonawane (2005-2006:50) has also given account of the Indian rock art.

Carvings and paintings of wild goat, deer, ox, horse, camel and wolf have also been reported from Sinkiang, but they are attributed to nomadic hunters (Shunying 1984: 60-61). At Rouffignac Cave in the Dordogne in south France, 254 figures of animal, human and other motifs are identified. The cave lies in Dordogne near the village of Les Eyzies. The paintings are dated to 13-14000 years B.P. of the middle Magdalenian Culture (Gelder & Sharpe 2004:11). The Rock engravings in Cueva de la Luz Ramales de la Victoria, Cantabria in Spain reveal Palaeolithic art. The cave was first described in the 1960s and was published in 1969. The cave assemblages of tools and bones are attributed to Aurignacian and the Gravettian Cultures (Barquin *et al.* 2003: 1-6).

Rock art serves as an invaluable chronicle of man's evolution from Stone Age to late periods covering about 30,000 years. The rock art so studied and interpreted by the scholars have yielded many phases of history and illustrates the cultural, social and economic life of its creators and their surroundings.

## 1.2 Past and Present Research on Rock Art in Pakistan

Mehrgarh is the earliest Neolithic site of more than 7000 years (Table-1) with clay art of figurines and painted pottery (Jarrige 1987: 87). The glyptic art in the form of seals recovered from the sites of Mohenjodaro (Franke-Vogt 1987: 182), Harappa (Franke-Vogt 1987: 179), Bala Kot (Agrawal 1982: 128), speaks of the skill and ingenuity of the native craftsmen of the Bronze Age. The sculptural art of Indus Civilization is represented at its best in the steatite bust of the priest king from Mohenjodaro wearing a robe with trefoil design (Marshall, 2004: 356). A large number of terracotta figurines of female and models of animals and birds were found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The female figurines are known as 'Mother goddesses' were modelled by hand and painted light red. A few male figurines are always made on steatite and are seated. The steatite seals have bull, short horned bull, buffalo, tiger, rhinoceros, crocodile, mythological creature like a unicorn, a human figure with horns and a tail, and horned tiger are the artistic expression of 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. (Parpola 1981: 118, Shah & Parpola 1991: XXI, Parpola 1994: 54).

The figurines from Baluchistan known as 'Zhub mother-goddesses' of 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium are derived from Neolithic prototypes (Jarrige 1987: 87). At Mehrgarh terracotta figurines of male with turbans and female with jewellery are

dated to 3000 BC. The finds at Mehrgarh and in the Kachi Plain now make it possible to follow the evolution of human figurines from the Neolithic period to the Indus Civilization (Jarrige 1987: 87). A Chance discovery of Quetta hoard objects included a golden goblet decorated with a frieze of lions and two small gold pendants in the shape of bulls of early second millennium BC (Jarrige and Hasan 1987: 150).

In 1996 in Bannu basin a piece of female figurine was found on the surface of the deposits at the site of Ter Kala Dheri, upstream from Akra on the Lohra Nullah. It is known now as "Akra devi" or in earlier studies as a female figurine "in the Akra style". It is a female figure, generally oval shaped, moulded torso, without legs or feet. The hands are in *anjali mudra* and the back is plain. (Farid Khan & *et al.* 2000: 62-63). A thermoluminescence analysis of one of the figurines from Akra gave an estimate of firing between 850 and 1400 years B.P. (Harle 1990: 648-50).

From Kashmir, in a late Neolithic level at Burzahom two engraved stone slabs were found. One slab has an abstract design of a hut with a thatched domical roof. To right the rear of an animal and its tail is clearly visible ( Agrawal 1982: 79-80). Another slab depicts a hunting scene showing a stag being pierced at the back with a long spear and struck from the front by an arrow by two hunters. On the top it reveals a dog and two sun-symbols. They may be placed in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC. (Pande 1971: 134-38).

In Gandhara (see appendix A) a number of terracotta human figurines of Indo-Greek period prior to the flowering of Gandhara art have been found at



Shaikhan Dheri site near Charsada (Dani 1965-66: 46). Similarly Marshall has illustrated two sandstone figures from Taxila valley. They belong to a school different from the main trends of Gandhara (Marshall 1973: 24-25). Ingholt made four chronological groups for classification of Gandhara sculptures, starting from A. D. 114 the accession of Kanishka to A. D. 460. He concludes that Group-I, Gandhara art is marked by Hellenistic influence from Parthia and Mesopotamia. In Group-II, Sassanian influence was noticed. In Group-III, a new wave of influence enters the country from Mathura. In Group-IV Sassanian influences re-appear (Ingholt 1957: 26-27). Similarly Ackermann has attempted to establish stylistic history of the art. His studies were based on stone reliefs from the sites of Jamalgarhi, Sikri, Sahri Bahlol, Lorian Tajgai, Taxila and classified them in sixteen groups. He is of the view that Gandhara art was influenced by the Roman art (Ackermann 1975: 7).

The history of rock art research in Pakistan goes back to late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The first discovery of rock art was made by Von Ujfalvy in the Upper Indus Valley. In 1884 he reported rock carvings from Baltistan (Hauptmann 2006: 2). In 1907 Buddhist engravings were reported in the District of Diamar near Chilas (Muhammad 1907: 93). In 1902 August (Francke 1914: 62) started a study of historical monuments while he was in Ladakh as a member of the Moravian Mission to Leh. He observed carvings near Kargil of sun and ibex.

In 1926 Stein carried out archaeological survey in the Swat valley (Stein 1930: 46). Some of these rock carvings bear ancient inscriptions written in Brahmi, Kharoshti and Sharada scripts. Buhler published them (Stein 1930: 49).

Konow (1928-29: 2-3, 8-9) had already published a few of them. Occasional carvings have also been reported from the northern Waziristan in Baluchistan (Stein 1929: 16). In 1935 Paterson revisited at the site of Mandori 9 kms below Attock (Paterson & Drumond 1962: 119). He illustrates elephants with riders, bull, trident, and human figures.

Later on Gordon fixed their chronology on the basis of the neighbouring Kharoshti inscriptions and defined their cultural context in greater detailed (Gordon 1960: 111-12). In 1939 Barger and Wright (1941:1-6) conducted survey and exploration in the Swat valley for Buddhist sites. In 1942 Stein reported rock carvings of the Upper Indus Valley. In Chilas area he found Buddhist images and Brahmi inscriptions (Stein 1942: 49). Later he published rock carvings of the Hunza valley (Stein 1944: 5). In 1955 prehistoric engravings were found at Gogdara by Tucci (1958: 291-92). The figures are deeply carved. He also reported carvings of Buddha and Bodhisattvas. Olivieri conducted excavation at Gogdara to document these engravings. There are 118 figures including ibex, bull or panther and a wheel Chariot. He has attributed them to Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (Olivieri 1998: 82).

Later Dani reported Buddhist carvings at Damkot in the nearby Dir district (Dani 1968-69: 251-57). The engravings in the Swat valley were found at Hathiano Kandao (Nazir Khan 1983: 59-60). The numerous deep engravings of this site are similar to the engravings of Gogdara, although the animals depicted are different in both places. These engravings belong to second millennium BC. (Dani 2001: 99)

The research in detail on the rock art of Pakistan was started in 1979 by Jettmar and Dani as a Pak-German group. This research was initiated in 1978 shortly after the construction of the Karakorum Highway, connecting Pakistan and China through the Himalayan and Karakorum mountains. Their investigation revealed that one of the world's largest rock art is spread along the banks and old routes of the River Indus. A detailed study of prehistoric carvings in general shows animals, ibex and hunting scenes.

Dani discusses two areas of the rock carvings in the Upper Indus Valley at the junction of the Indus and Gilgit rivers, and another one at the confluence of the Hunza and the Hopar rivers. The rock carvings of the Upper Indus Valley are classified in four chronological periods as follows (Dani 2001: 99-100).

- The latest engravings are of the early historic period including stupas, temples, symbols of phallus, circle, squares and mounted horsemen. They belong to first millennium A.D., and continue to modern time.
- The Pre-Kushan engravings are at the Sacred Rock of Hunza, the Scythian period carvings near Chilas and the appearance of first stupas and anthropomorphic figures in this region.
- The third group includes figures of demi-gods, stock-raising and herd rearing communities of second to first millennium B.C.
- The earliest group includes purely hunters and gatherers, using pebble tools and stone-tipped arrows, representing sometimes individual or group hunting. They may be dated prior to 2nd millennium B.C. and may go back to 6<sup>th</sup> or 5<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C.

Jettmar recorded 30 sites on a stretch of 100 km to both sides of the Indus River (Jettmar 1989a : 177-94). After Jettmar, the systematic documentation and publication of rock art material has been conducted since 1989 and continues under Hauptmann. So far, more than 50,000 rock carvings and 5,000 rock inscriptions have been discovered ranging from the Palaeolithic to Neolithic. Hauptmann reports carvings between Shatial and Raikot Bridge (Hauptmann 2006: 1)

The old paths along the Upper Indus Valley later constituted a branch of the historical trade routes. Various invaders, travellers, merchants and pilgrims from Central Asia, China and Pakistan executed many of the carvings of this period. In the 8<sup>th</sup> century the Buddhist rulers (i.e, Sri Badad or Sri Badat & Agartham of Gilgit, Abudgamo & Sri Bagartham of Baltistan and Chandra Sri Deva Vikramaditya) of the Upper Indus Valley were caught up in the conflict between Tibet and Chinese empire (Bandini-König *et al.* 1997: 33). During the 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D., the Buddhist belief was replaced by a new socio-religious movement. The subsequent political changes are reflected in carvings of the sun symbol, battle-axes and warriors on horseback. They indicate the arrival of new people from inner Asia. Axes and sun-symbols are the new signs of this last phase of the Upper Indus Valley rock art (Bandini-König *et al.* 1997: 33). Similar symbols can be found on the wooden beams and doors of mosques in Northern Area of Pakistan (Bandini-König *et al.* 1997: 46).

Italian Archaeological Mission has been working since 1955 and excavated several sites like Butkara-I, Panr, Saidu Stupa, Ghalegai, Loebanr,

Katelai and Barikot Ghundai. Italians as well as Pakistani archaeologists and ethnologists have devoted attention to the survey, exploration and documentation of the rock art of Swat valley. Filigenzi and Olivieri reported Gandhara sculptures and stelae (see appendix A) in Swat valley (Faccenna *et al.* 1993). Casual research was also done (Olivieri 1994: 467-80; Ashraf Khan 1994: 455-66; Filigenzi 1997: 625-35; Sardar & Hashmi 1993) and a discovery of historic painting was made (Nazir Khan *et al.* 1995:333-53; Vidale & M. Olivieri 2002 :173-223). In 1993 the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar discovered some rock reliefs and rock carvings at three different sites in Swabi district (Shah Nazar 1995: 115-17). Then carvings of markhor, ibex, *trishula* symbols, fighting, dancing and hunting scenes were reported (Nasim Khan 1994: 201; Nasim Khan 1998b:97).

In 1994-95 near Gariala a boulder with carved human figure of Neolithic age has been found (Khokhar and Hashmi 1996: 35). One example can be given of the recording of more than a hundred Buddhist rock reliefs, which reveal isolated figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and sometimes a triad (Olivieri 1998: 57). Salim has reported granite Neolithic tools on the surface of Gariala bone site 103 of De Terra and de Chardin (1936: 796). He also recorded tools near the confluence of Haro-Indus rivers (Salim 2002: 47)

The material of the religious rock carvings belongs fairly to a late period, probably, 6<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> century A.D., and iconographically, can be linked with Mahayana Buddhism (see appendix A, Olivieri 1994: 467). From the time immemorial, the vast tracks of Swat valley remained hospitable and habitat of

various races and there were many tracks on which a student of art, history, archaeology and culture seek material for studies.

### 1.3 Research Problems

1. Who created the rock art?
2. What are different types of art?
3. What was the purpose of this art and what does it stand for?
4. Whether this art suggests any possible connection with Buddhist pilgrim's route and historical trade routes to the sacred places of worship.
5. What is the chronology of these rock carvings?
6. What were Swat's commercial, political, cultural and religious ties with the neighbouring regions?

With these objectives I hope to examine the rock art of the Swat valley. Its importance lies not only in its style, but in its multiplicity and origin as well. The evaluation of the rock art of the valley will facilitate to understand in a better way the commercial, political, cultural and religious ties of ancient Uddiyana (see appendix A) with the other neighbouring states.

Swat was connected to a network of trade routes, known as "**historical trade routes**"; the most ancient trade route from China to the Indian Subcontinent and the Mediterranean World (Map 1). The caravans always used to move along the Taxila-Bactria road and would branch off at Shahbazgarhi. They traversed north through Sahri Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi, Malakand Pass and the Swat valley. The route branching off at Shahbazgarhi, would proceed towards Ambeela Pass via Rustam, go over to Karra Karr Pass via Buner and join the Pushkalavati-Swat road near the town of Bazira or (Barikot). From Barikot, the joint road proceeded, as today, to Gogdara, Ora or (Udigram), Butkara,

**MAP-1**  
**HISTORICAL ROUTES IN GANDHARA AND UDDIYANA**



**References/Legend**

- Silk Route
- Rivers
- Towns
- Passes



Shahkhorai or (Jahanabad) and through Shangla Pass to meet the Karakorum Highway at Basham (Dar 1988: 33-34).

The artistic and religious centres that grew up along these trade routes facilitated contact among the diverse ethnic groups of the area i.e. Shahbazgarhi, Sahri Bahlol, Takht-i-Bahi, Barikot, Bazira and Butkara. The Buddhist monasteries that lined the routes commissioned religious art and encouraged the development of distinctive artistic traditions. These routes were marked by numerous Buddhist period rock engravings. Local society, including Buddhism and Hinduism, added to the prevailing concepts. Memory of these sources survives in the legend of Padmasambhava; magician-saint,(see appendix A)of the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D., who is said to have exported Buddhism from Uddiyana to Tibet (Wentz 1978: 222)

The Himalayan mountains prevented invaders to cross over it, so the northwestern part of Pakistan remained open to foreign conquests in the ancient times. As a result of these invasions combined with the emergence of Buddhism, it inspired the people to evolve unique sculptures depicting the Buddhist legends.

Thus the area of Swat became the centre of Buddhism and one of the sacred places for Buddhists in the whole of South Asia. It is believed that besides the two schools; Hinayana and Mahayana, there was a third school of Buddhism developed in the area in the 7<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D., called Tantric or Vajrayana Buddhism (see appendix A), (Inayat-ur-Rahman 1989: 90).



## 1.4 Geography

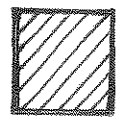
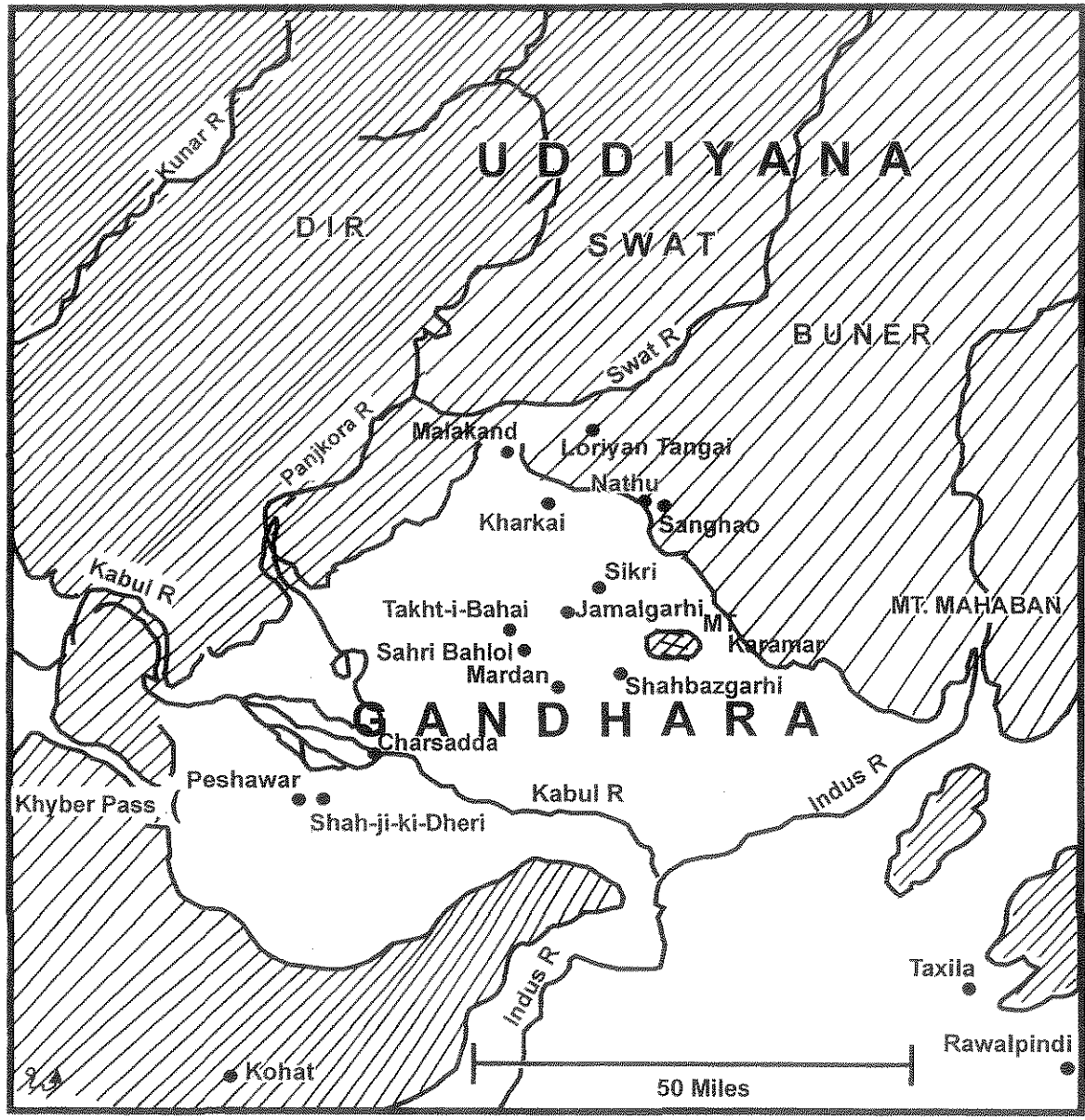
The Northern part of Pakistan has played a very important role in ancient times. It is a land of flowers and snow covered mountains. In the first millennium A. D., when trade between the great Civilizations of Asia flourished and the "historical trade routes" were important avenues of commerce, this region gave birth to different arts. It was a cradle of Buddhist civilization and centre of cultural diffusion. This region of the Indus was occupied by two ancient states: Gandhara and Uddiyana (Map 2). The former included the present Peshawar Valley, while the latter covered almost entire Malakand Division.

### 1.4.1 Topography

Malakand division lies approximately between  $34^{\circ} - 10'$  to  $36^{\circ} - 55'$  North latitude and  $71^{\circ} - 10'$  to  $73^{\circ} - 55'$  East longitude. It includes district Chitral, Dir, Swat, Buner, Shangla and Malakand protected area, about 29,000 kms area entirely lying in mountainous region (Map 3). The Swat valley is one of the numerous valleys in the Malakand Division, lies between  $34^{\circ} - 10'$  to  $35^{\circ} - 52'$  North latitude and  $72^{\circ} - 06'$  to  $73^{\circ} - 20'$  East longitude, spreads over about 3798 sq : kms in the foothills of Himalayan range (Ali & Khan, 1991: 97). Districts Ghizer and Chitral are to the north of the Swat valley, district Dir to the west, districts Kohistan and Shangla to the east, while Malakand protected area and Buner district<sup>1</sup> share their border to the south.

MAP-2

ANCIENT GANDHARA AND UDDIYANA  
(After Ingholt 1957:12)



Mountain areas of Gandhara

Topographically, Swat valley is a mountainous area and can be divided into two distinct tracts, Swat-Kohistan and Swat proper. The former is a mountain region on the upper reaches of the Swat river down to Ain in the south. The upper valleys of Swat-Kohistan rise up to steep, pine-covered ridges that lead toward scores of snow-clad mountains of about 6000 metres. The latter stretches south of Ain and is known as Swat proper, which is further subdivided into *Bar-Swat* (upper Swat) and *Kuz-Swat* (lower Swat). *Bar-Swat* has narrow river flowing through pine forests. The *Kuz-Swat* extends from Landakai a few kilometers above the junction of the Swat and Panjkora rivers to Kalangai in the southwest. *Kuz-Swat* is wide and the fields on both side of the river are full of wheat and wild plants; the villages here are prosperous and surrounded by fruit orchards (Map 4).

#### 1.4.2 Location

Before Hsuan Tsang passed through the Kingdom of U-chang-na or Udyana (Uddiyana) we know that the capital was a citadel in the neighbouring Indus River (Watters 1973: 226). However by the time Hsuan Tsang arrived on the scene, he tells us that a new capital had been built on the Swat River. It was where today stands the modern town of Mingora. In fact the very name "Mingora" can be traced directly back to the ancient site itself, which Hsuan Tsang tells us was called Mungali or Mung-kie-li (Legge 1886: 29). Beal translated the accounts of Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang as follows;

There are about ten temples of Devas, and a mixed number of unbelievers who dwell in them. There are four or five strong towns. The kings mostly reign at Mungali (Mung-kie-li) as their capital. This town is about 16 or 17 li in circuit and thickly populated. Four or five li to the east of Mungali is a great stupa, where very many spiritual portents are seen. This is the spot where Buddha, when he

lived in old time, was the Rishi who practised patience (Kshanti-rishi), and for the sake of Kali-rajā endured the dismemberment of his body (Beal, 1969: 121).

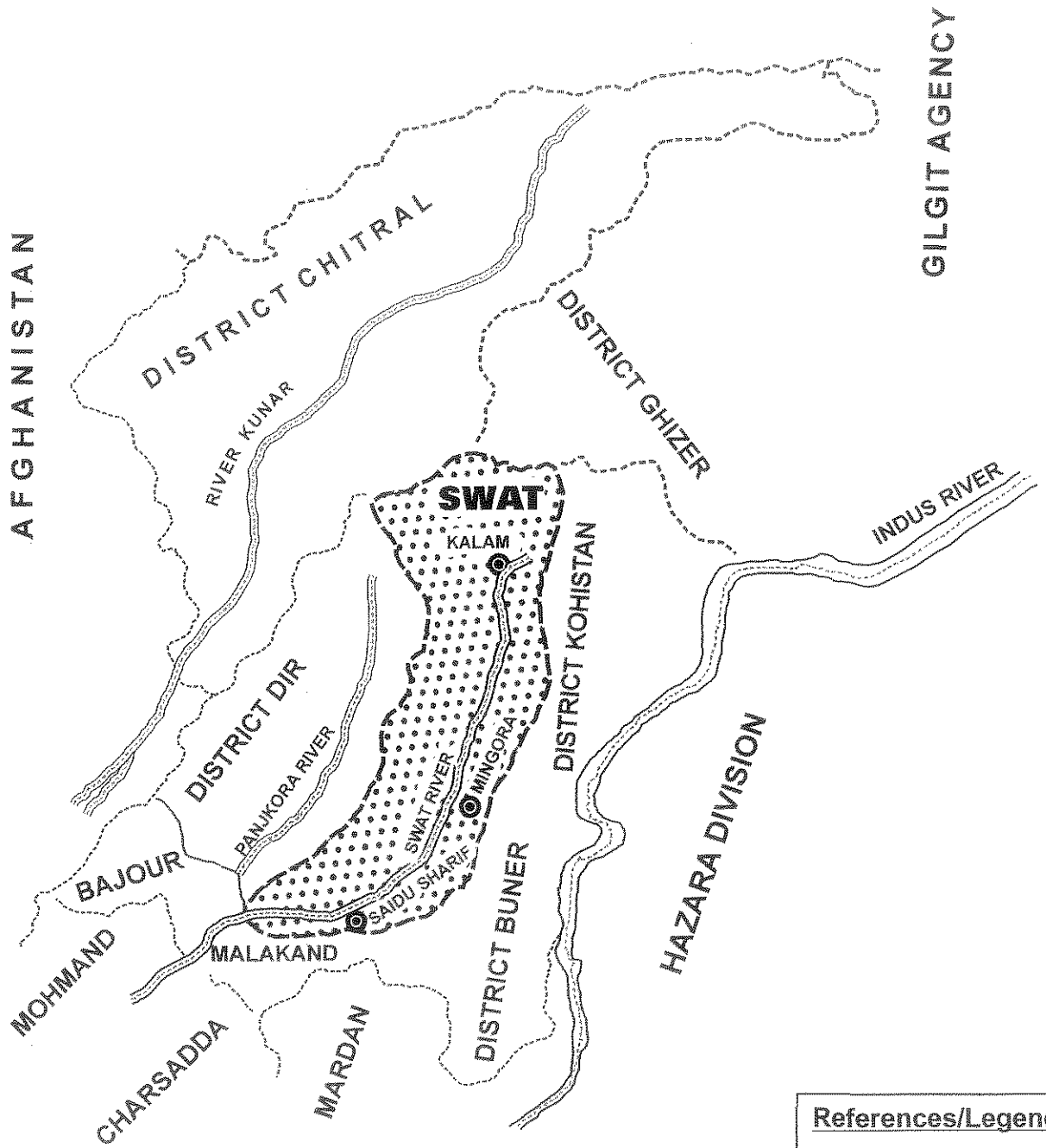
Foucher has found references to this capital city in a Nepali manuscript of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, which mentions that a royal temple dedicated to the Bodhisattva Vajrapani was located there (Foucher 1917: 80). Old Mingora, with the more recent town of Saidu Sharif grown up on its southern flank, is still the main city of Swat. The establishment of administrative centre at Saidu Sharif initiated the growth of Mingora as the main urban territory in the valley. Mingora has a large dusty bazaar, with modern vehicles, fumes and noise. *today*

Saidu Sharif and Mingora are twin towns 1.5 kms apart. Saidu Sharif is the administrative capital of the Malakand Division and District Head Quarter as well. At Saidu Sharif there are remains of Butkara Stupa, the *Wali* (ruler) of Swat's palace, and the tomb of the Abdul Ghaffur (Akund) known as Saidu Baba Ziyarat (shrine) built in about 1877 and the locality was named as Saidu Sharif after him (Sultan-i-Rome 1992 : 299-308). The total area of the valley is 8220 square kms (Inm-ur-Rahim and Viaro, 2002: 2). Mingora has been an important trading centre for the last 2000 years. Its bazaars are worth exploring for precious and semi-precious stones, locally woven and embroidered shawls, cloth and tribal jewellery.

Though Swat is a remote region surrounded by mountains, it has been India's gateway to Central Asia, China and Europe. The valley lies on transit

MAP-3

### LOCATION OF SWAT VALLEY IN MALAKAND DIVISION



**References/Legend**

- Swat Valley
- Divisional Board
- Rivers
- Towns
- District Border



roads between Central Asia and the Subcontinent; Chilas, Gilgit, China in the east and Bajour, Chitral, Afghanistan to the south.

### 1.4.3 Physical Features

The land of mountains was visited by many and some left accounts Hsuan Tsang was one of them who narrates;

The country of U-Chang-na is about 5000 li in circuit; the mountains and valleys are continuously connected, and the valleys and marshes alternate with a succession of high plateaux. Though various kinds of grain are sown, yet the crops are not rich. The grape is abundant, the sugar-cane scarce. The earth produces gold and iron, and is favourable to the cultivation of the scented (shrub) called Yo-kin (turmeric). The forests are thick and shady, the fruits and flowers abundant. The cold and heat are agreeably tempered; the wind and rain come in their season. The people are soft and effeminate, and in disposition are somewhat sly and crafty. They love learning yet have no application (Beal, 1969: 119-120).

The valley basin is an aeolian deposit of the Cenozoic era, which is overlaid by alluvial deposit of Swat River. Most of the area of the valley comes under the Sino-Japanese region (Ali & Qaiser 1986: 89-101). The elevation of the valley in south (Malakand range) is over 600 metres and rises rapidly towards the north. The valley is wider in the south and narrows down toward the north. Tributary valleys and streams merge into the main valley on both sides of the river throughout its length. There are several mountain peaks in Swat to the north at Dadarili (4941m), Mankial (3872m) and West of Baranial (4174m) (Syed 1986: 42-43).

Thick, terraced layers of post-Tertiary alluvial soils (Map 5) with clay cover a large part of the Valley floor in the middle and lower Swat valley. As in the hills and lower mountains bordering the Peshawar plain country, these deposits were formed in sub-humid climatic conditions. Because of the higher rainfall, they have

been leached of lime and are non-calcareous, medium to fine textured, and have a slightly higher organic content.

#### **1.4.4 Famous Passes**

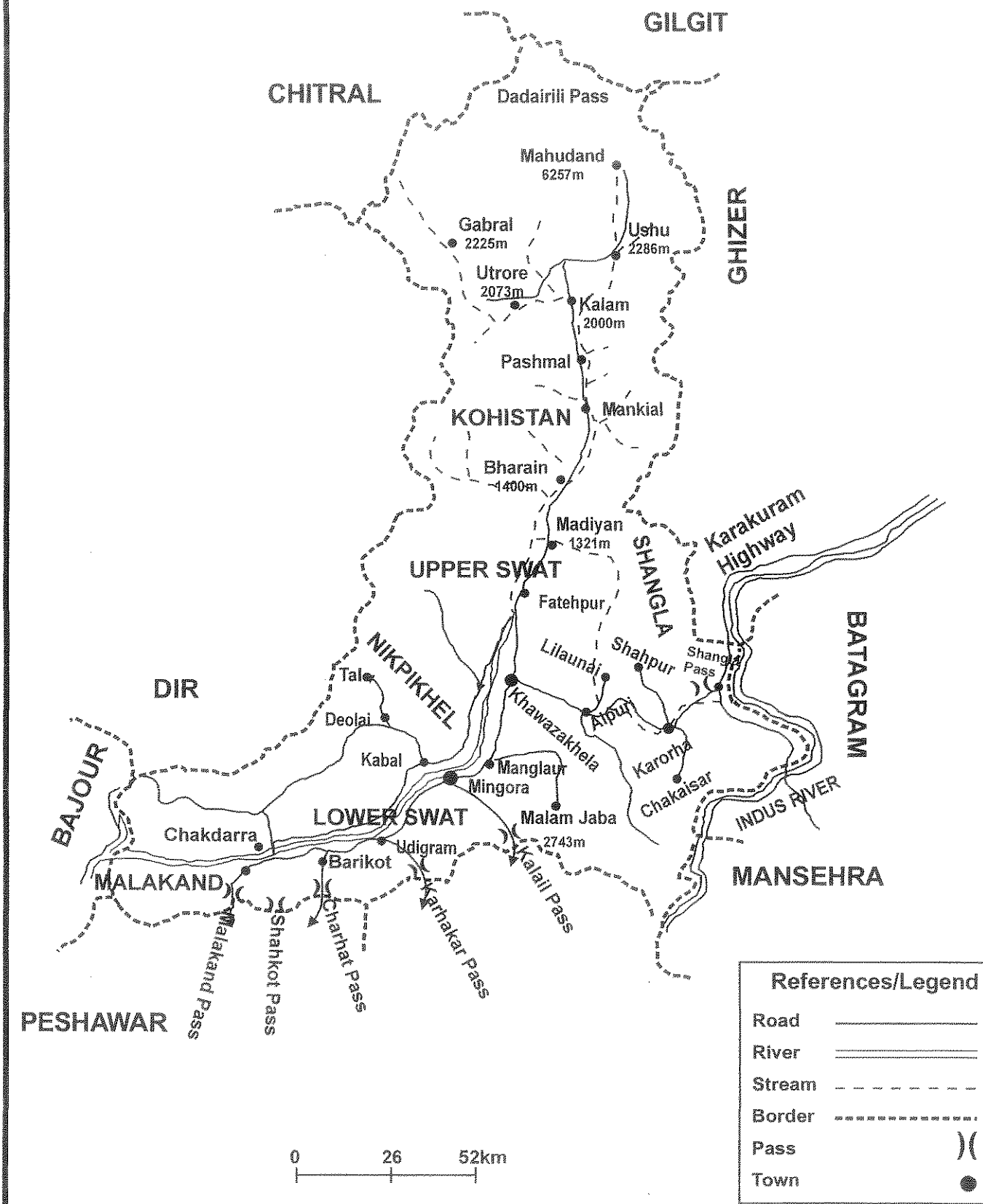
In the mountains to the east are Shangla pass, Kalail pass, Jowarai and Shairatrap pass and Karakar pass. All the passes remain open throughout the year except for a few days during winter snowfall, affecting Shangla, Dadarili and Kalail passes. The road access has been established through Shangla and Karakar pass to Shangla and Buner areas. The local people of Mingora and its surroundings used to cross Jowarai and Shairatrap pass on foot while visiting the shrine of Pir Baba in Buner. The passes of Shawar valley, Tal Dardiyai valley and Kamraney pass through Adinzai valley join the Swat valley with Dir. To the south are the passes of Charhath, Shahkot, Malakand and Qulangai. The Malakand pass is the main pass, while Shahkot was the historic pass mainly used during the Buddhist period linking Central Asia and China with India (Map 4).

#### **1.4.5 Population**

The people of the ancient Swat valley according to Hsuan Tsang, were gentle, soft and effeminate. In our imagination he summons a scene of healthy, brown people, mostly clothed in pure white cotton. The men had white turbans, the women soft flowing saris, also white. These were a gentle, happy people, rarely endangered by war or calamity. Their society appreciated fine culture, and they were great lovers of learning (Beal 1969: 119-120).

MAP-4

SWAT VALLEY IN NORTHERN PAKISTAN



**GILGIT**

**CHITRAL**

Dadairili Pass

Mahudand 6257m

Gabral 2225m

Ushu 2286m

Utroro 2073m

Kalam 2000m

Pashmal

Mankial

**KOHISTAN**

Bharain 1400m

Madiyan 1321m

**UPPER SWAT**

Fatehpur

Lilaunai

Shahpur

Shangla Pass

**SHANGLA**

Karakoram Highway

**DIR**

Tal

Deolai

**BAJOUR**

Kabal

Manglaur

Mingora

Khawazakhela

Atpur

Karorha

Chakaisar

**LOWER SWAT**

Chakdarra

Malam Jaba 2743m

Udigram

Malai Pass

**INDUS RIVER**

**BATAGRAM**

**MANSEHRA**

Malakand Pass

Shahkot Pass

Charhat Pass

**PESHAWAR**



In the Swat valley the main towns and villages are situated on both sides of River Swat and are interconnected through roads and telecommunication services. The villages of Chakdara, Shamozaï, Kabal, Kanjo, Koza Bandai, Bara Bandai, Ningualai, Matta, Durushkhela, Bahrain and Kalam are situated on the right bank. On the left bank of the river are the villages of Totakan, Khar, Batkhela, Thana, Kota, Barikot, Ghaligai, Manyar, Udigram, and Balorgam. The population is also very diverse, belonging to several ethnic and linguistic groups. Presently the area is occupied by three distinct ethnic groups i. e. Pathans<sup>ii</sup>, Gujars<sup>iii</sup> and Kohistanis<sup>iv</sup>, exploiting different ecological niches and sharing the resources (Barth 1956: 1079-1089).

#### 1.4.6 Ethnic Groups

Different ethnic groups or artisans either dispersed or occupying independent territorial units in the valley are called *Quom* (group). Hence Kohistani, Gujar, *Joula* (weavers), *Inger* (blacksmith) *Zargar* (goldsmith) are considered different *Quoms*. The Yousafzai Pukhtuns are considered that they belong to one *Quom*. The *Quom* is determined by parentage and its membership is determined by birth (Barth 1956 : 1079-1089). The Pukhtuns are concentrated in the main villages, at the bottom of the main valley as well as in the tributary valleys. In the past, these tribes practiced an occupational pattern of different valleys on a five to ten years basis through the *Wesh* system<sup>v</sup> ( also see Appendix A). *Mullan*, a religious caste also resides in the villages along with the Pukhtuns, while *Miangan*, another religious group have independent hamlets.

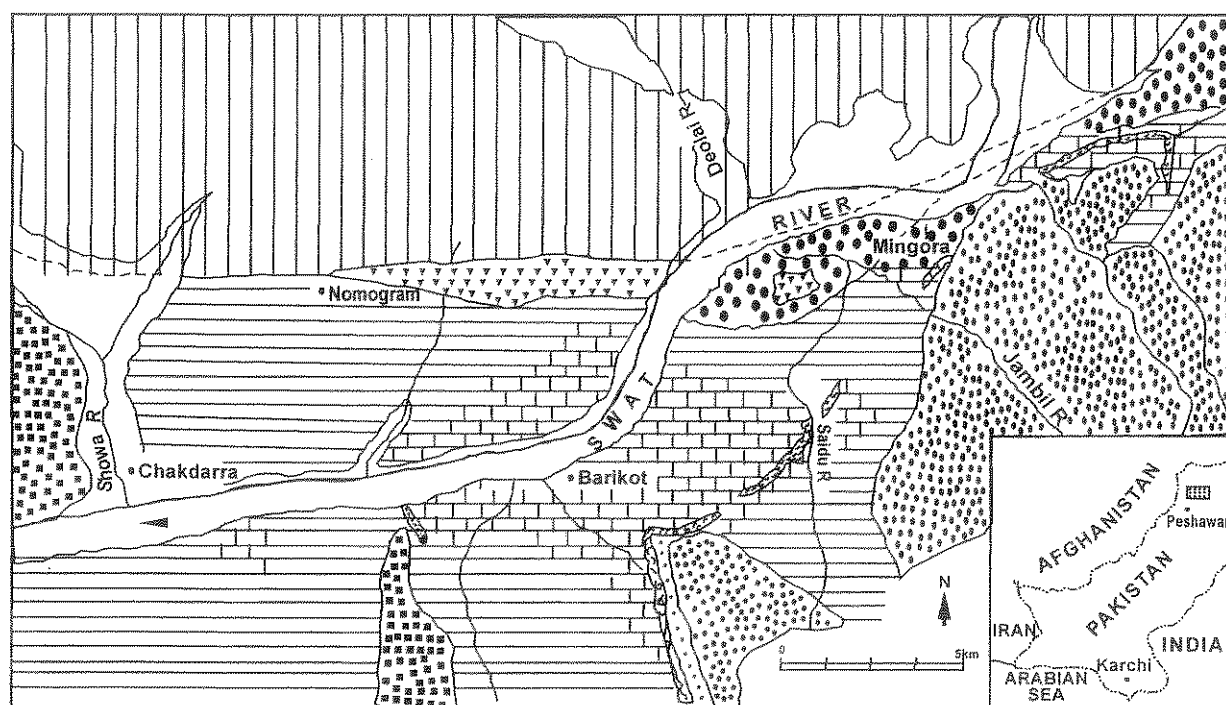
Apart from Miangan and Mullan in the religious class, there are also Sayyeds<sup>vi</sup>, Sahibzadgan<sup>vii</sup> and Akhunzadgan<sup>viii</sup>.

Within the village Pauktuns, Sayyed, Sahibzadgan and Akhunzadgan are considered socially superior. *Naai* , (barber) and *Shakhel* (leather worker) are inferior castes. The remaining artisan groups including *Zargar*, *Inger*, *Joula*, *Kulal* (potter) *Parachha* (muleteer) and *Tarkan* (Carpenter), etc., have intermediate social status. The Gujars (settled livestock herders with cattle and buffalo herds) and Ajars (sheep and goat herders) on the other hand are not considered part of the rural social structure as they usually reside in hamlets outside the proper village or live in scattered houses on the hill slopes and speak different language than the rest of villagers. Their cultural traditions are different from the remaining rural social segments and they possess their own welfare mechanism (Rahim & Viaro 2002 : 8).

#### 1.4.7 Agriculture

The entire Swat valley is 209 km in length and about 19 km in width. The total area of the valley is 8220 square km. Between Madiyan and Chakdara the valley averages about three to four km in width (Survey of Pakistan 1988). It contains a series of rich alluvial tracts, extensively cultivated, extending for about 112 km along the riverbanks. Agricultural land falls into three main categories: artificially irrigated, naturally irrigated and irrigated garden. Water is partly drawn from the Swat River but mostly from its smaller tributaries by a complex system of channels, which irrigate a large part of the valley floor.

MAP-5 GEOLOGICAL MAP OF THE LOWER SWAT VALLEY  
(After Lorenzoni et al 1994: 37)



1: alluvial terrains; 2: Kohistan Island Arc; 3-5: Suture Zone (3: soapstone, chlorite-schists, serpentinites, pillow-lavas, limestones, jasper; 4: plagiogranites and gabbroic rock; 5: greens-chist and blueschist mé lange). 6-10: Indo-Pakistan Plate (6: tourmaline granites (Karakar Pass), granodiorites (Shakorei); 7: +- chloritoid - phyllites, garnet, 8: marbles; 9: amphibolites; 10: Augen-gneisses and granite-gneisses).

Maize, wheat, rice, barley, sugarcane, lentils and mustard are the main crops. Due to its moderate climate the valley has a great potential for various type of fruits and vegetable products. Apple, pear, persimmon, walnut, grapes, apricot, plum and citrus fruits are grown all over the valley, and vegetables like onions, potatoes, turnips, radish, carrot, tomatoes, pumpkins, gourds are grown here. Buffalo, cow, sheep and goat provide milk and meat, dry fruit and honey is also produced.

#### 1.4.8 Seasons and Climate

Hsuan Tsang reports the climate of ancient Uddiyana as below;

The forests are thick and shady, the fruits and flowers abundant. The cold and heat are agreeably tempered; the wind and rain come in their season. (Beal 1969: 120)

It is also one of the most beautiful areas as it lies in the monsoon belt and is greener and more fertile than the valleys further north. In Upper Swat the narrow river flows through pine forests on snowcapped mountains. The year has been traditionally divided into six seasons including *Sparlay* (spring), *Harh* (dry summer), *Pashakal* (wet summer) *Asu* (early autumn) *Manay* (late autumn) and *Jamay* (winter). June & July are the hottest and December & January are the coolest months of the year. The temperature is, however, not uniform and varies with increasing elevation. The valley has long winter season extending from November to March with cold winds and heavy snowfall.

The summer season, always short and moderate is warm in the lower and cool and refreshing in the Upper Swat (Barth 1959: 6). There are two main rainy seasons, from the end of December to the end of April and from the end of July to mid September. The two main dry seasons are from May to mid July and

October to the end of November. The annual rainfall varies from region to region, but the highest rainfall recorded during March is about 242 mm. The valley receives both summer and winter rainfall, but the annual share of winter rain is higher than summer season. January is the coldest month when the temperature falls to freezing point, and June is the hottest month when the temperature exceeds 30 Celsius. The environmental and economical condition of the valley were suitable for human settlements connected with historical trade routes and seems to have attracted people from distant places to live here.

#### 1.4.9 Flora and Fauna

The valley is lush green and about twenty percent of the land area is under forest cover. Poplars, mulberry and wild olive tree, pine, cedars are found on the mountains of the Upper valley. Chir (*pinus roxburghii*), deodar, blue pine, silver, spruce and oak are the natural forests of the Lower valley. The main forest types are poplars, mulberry and olive tree pine and cedars. (Sultan-i-Rome 2005: 73). There is dense and thick vegetation cover, fertile agricultural lands, and large numbers of small meadows and plentiful supply of water.

Various species of botanical plants and medicinal herbs e. g henbane, elodeas are available on high altitudes (Ahmad & Ahmad 2003: 72). Swat has birds like falcon, duck, partridge, *chackor*, waterfowls, golden fowl and pheasant. Among mammals are snow leopard, black and brown bears, Markhor, musk deer, ibex, pig, porcupine, hare, cat, jackal and monkey (Ahmad & Ahmad 2003: 75). Unlike the Lower Swat valley, throughout Swat Kohistan there is a shortage of cultivable land. Here, only one harvest of wheat is possible, the people depend

far more on their cattle and goats. The main farming animals, used for their milk and meat, are cow, water buffalo, sheep and goat. Donkey mule and horse are used for transport.

#### 1.4.10 Rivers and Streams

River Swat (Sanskrit, *Suvastu*; Greek, *Souastos* or *Souastene*)<sup>ix</sup> is the tributary of the rivers Gabral and Ushu<sup>x</sup> and flows through the length of the valley from northeast to southwest (Map 4). It originates at some 2000 m in Swat Kohistan near the present day village of Kalam from glaciers. At about 1400 m, near the village of Madiyan, where the valley gradually widens into extensively cultivated terraced fields, the river slows its course. A large number of different tributary streams (*khwar*) originating from different tributary valleys, merge into the main river throughout its length. Prominent among these are Harnoi *khwar*, Deolai *khwar*, Darail *khwar*, Manglour *khwar*, Jambil *khwar* and Marghuzar *khwar*.

From Kalam the river flows almost due south at a relatively high speed through the Kohistani territory and reaches Madiyan after covering a distance of 35 km. Towards the south of Madiyan, the river gradually slows down in the main 70 km long drainage basin of the river and gradually widens for about 2 kms into vast alluvial plains. The inter-mountain basin toward Madiyan consists of rocky, rugged and complex mountains and narrow valleys. Near the village Manglaur the river turns abruptly to the southwest and further west for about 39 kms until River Panjkora<sup>xi</sup> near Chakdara in the Dir district joins it. The elevation of mountains gradually decreases towards south. Near Qulangai village<sup>xii</sup> the valley

terminates, where Swat and Panjkora join and flows to the Mohmand hills. Finally the river flows Southeast in several streams over the plain, joining the Kabul river at Nisatta in Charsadda district after covering a total course of about 640 kms (1998 Census Report 2000: 25).

#### 1.4.11 Tourist Resorts

The lush green valley of Swat, with its rushing torrents, blue lakes, fruit-laden orchards and flower decked slopes offer a number of beautiful hilly stations and tourist resorts, such as Khwazakhela<sup>xiii</sup>, Malam Jabba<sup>xiv</sup>, Miandam<sup>xv</sup>, Madiyan<sup>xvi</sup>, Bahrain<sup>xvii</sup> and Kalam<sup>xviii</sup>. Just beyond Kalam is the junction of Ushu<sup>xix</sup> and Utror<sup>xx</sup> rivers, which together form river Swat. Roads follow each river, both accessible in summer. The Gabral valley<sup>xxi</sup> enters Utror from the northwest. The most beautiful fishing lake, Mahodand is situated to the north (Map 6).

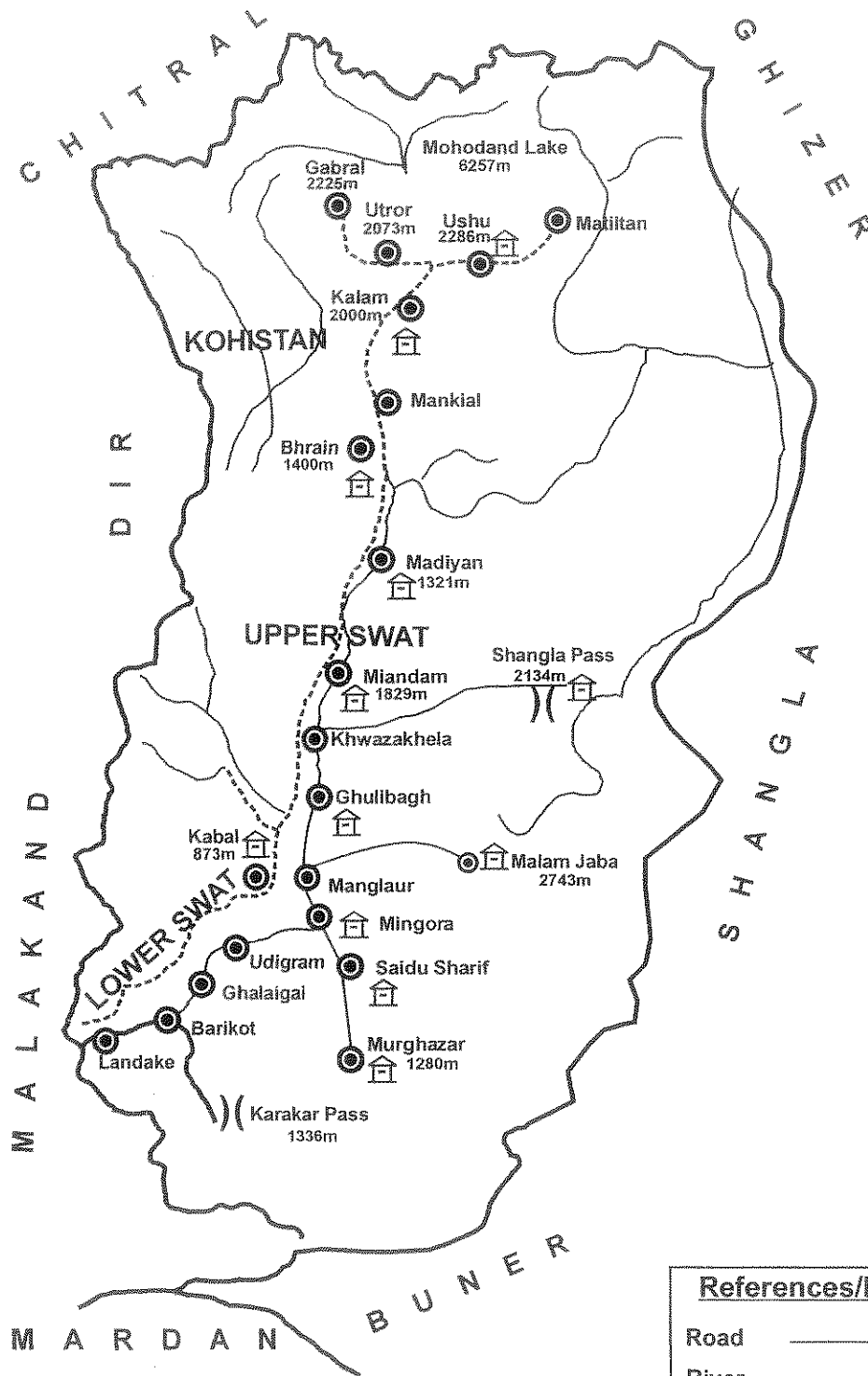
### 1.5 Geology and Chronology

Some work has been done to identify raw material used for Gandhara sculpture, stelae and rock reliefs (Map 5). A geological sketch illustrates different raw materials of lower Swat valley. Marshall has identified some as mica-schists, phyllites, chlorite-schist, soapstone, various types of sandstone, clay and some came from Swat (Marshall 1951: 494). Courtois (1962-3: 108) has identified two groups;

- Chlorite, carbonate, garnet phyllites, from the Kapisa Plain, Afghanistan
- Chloritoid-phyllites with organic substances, found in sculptures from Hadda, Afghanistan and Peshawar areas.

MAP-6

TOURIST RESORTS IN SWAT VALLEY



References/Legend	
Road	—————
River	- - - - -
Border	—————
Pass	) (
Town	⊙
Resort	🏠





Lahanier also recognizes schist quarries in different areas of the Swat valley (Lahanier 1976: 80-81). Examining samples of stupa umbrellas from Panr-I, Jamalgarhi and Takth-i-Bahi, Kemp defines them as chloritoid-schist and traces the old quarries between Dargai and Sakhakot, above a tunnel through which runs the Upper Swat Canal near Gul Magam (Kempe 1982 : 25-28) . Newman (1992 : 163-74) examined 14 Gandharan sculptures in museums and private collections in USA, 12 carved in chloritoid-hyalite, the other two in magnetite-chlorite-schist and carbonaceous gypsum. For the area of origin he refers to the south-east area of Swat-Hazara lying beyond the Swat valley. Furthermore, Newman offers electron microprobe analyses of chloritoid from phyllites used in 16 Gandharan sculptures and analyses could indicate groups that are likely to be related to some source. Tissot applies the term schist for the material used in the Gandharan sculptures (Tissot 1976: 79). Reedy also identifies schist from Swat region (Reedy 1992: 264). The Italian Mission after a detailed geo-archaeological investigation in the Swat reached the following conclusion;

The ophiolitic rocks include chlorite-schists, in places characterized by the presence of post-kenematic muscovite, talc-schists with carbonate matter (called 'soapstone' in archaeological literature), calc-schists and marbles, phyllites and metatufites, serpentinites, actinolitic gneisses, epidotites and glaucophane gneisses. Some lithotypes are difficult to distinguish from the rocks of the Upper formation. In the ophiolitic mélange plagiogranites little bodies, dykes, and veins moderately affected by boudinage phenomena typical of the mélange are present. The best examples can be seen on the left side of the Saidu river opposite Saidu Sharif. There the intrusive relationships with the chlorite schists are evident (Faccenna, C. *et al.* 1993: 261-62).

The Swat River crosses an area of great geological complexity, where the Pakistan Plate joins with the Kohistan Island Arc through a suture zone.

Pakistan Plate consists entirely of metamorphic and magmatic rocks belonging to two different tectonic units (Kazmi *et al.* 1984: 128);

- a) Lower unit consisting of various types of granite and Augen gneiss, as well as fine grained gneiss
- b) An upper unit consisting of phyllite , marble and schist.

The hilly country of the lower Swat valley has 'lower Swat Schistose Group (Martin *et al.* 1962: 1-14) where the main settlements are situated. It includes schists, amphibolite, limestone, dolomites and marbles. Between Khwazakhela and Kalam the 'Upper Swat Hornablendic Group' on the other hand forms a broad belt of plutonic rocks, which include granite, diorite, gabbro and associated pegmatites (Davies 1962: 51-52). The "Kalam Group", to the north of the valley, is made up of meta-sedimentary and volcanic rocks (Matsushita, 1965: 37). Large bodies of granitic intrusions emerge on the surface about 4 km to the north of Mingora, and have been estimated to date from the Cambrian age (Tahirkheli 1982: 1-15).

During three Pleistocene glaciations (Porter 1970: 142) most of the higher Swat valley was covered by glaciers extending as far down as 1700 m, although traces have been found at the even lower levels of 1400/1500 m. Thick, terraced layers of post-tertiary alluvial soils with varying quantities of silt, clay and organic matter cover a large part of the valley floor in the middle and lower Swat valley. As in the hills and lower mountains bordering the Peshawar plain country, these deposits were formed in sub-humid climate conditions. On account of high rainfall they have been leached of lime (Kempe 1986 : 79).

The rock types used for the well-known Buddhist sculptures of Gandhara and Uddiyana with some variations occur between the Afghan border to Central Asia and the Punjab in Pakistan. It was observed that sites around Peshawar and the Swat valley to the north yielded the greatest quantities of sculptures.

Traces of ancient quarries are widespread in the Swat valley. Two types of quarry work were found;

- a) Scattered excavations in the zone surrounding Buddhist sacred areas of Panr and Saidu stupas, provided rocks of phyllite, calc-schist and gneiss for common building.
- b) Intensive excavations in the areas of Gogdara and Amlukdarra rocks such as soapstone, chlorite-schist, and talc-schist were used for the facing of walls and for sculptures and decorations (Di Florio *et al.* 1993: 63).

The choice of rocks for sites depended not only on their relative availability, but also on the period and technique. The core of the solid structures usually consists of river pebbles and rubble of re-used materials. For the facing, soapstone and Augen-gneiss were favoured in the first century AD (Di Florio *et al.* 1993: 66). This difference in material reflects different construction techniques. The rock outcrops in the neighborhoods of all the archaeological sites reveal evidence of quarrying for example around Butkara stupa.

Di Florio *et al.* (1993) after geo-archaeological study of the middle Swat valley have observed that different raw materials were used in different periods; Phyllites around 1<sup>st</sup> century BC and Soapstone, marbles up to 150 A. D. Carved

reliefs and sculptures were traded between Peshawar and Swat and pottery from Peshawar to the north.

### 1.6 Old Flora and Fauna

In this section only animal and plant remains are discussed that are related to archaeological sites. Man has exploited them since Palaeolithic times. Costantini has mostly identified floral remains found in the different archaeological sites of the Swat valley. They are wheat, barley, rice, oats, lentils, peas and grapes. The first ash sample was taken in 1967 from Ghaligai Period-III while further samples were collected during the 1980 excavations. Wheat and barley grains and weed seeds were identified from these samples, where as a large number of *celtis* fruit seeds were collected (Costantini 1987: 155). At Barikot Ghundai some soil samples were taken for palaeo-botanical analysis. They come from the earliest occupation layers of the dwelling ascribed to Period-IV of the Ghaligai sequence. The vegetal and faunal remains attest a settled life and a variety in the diet. Charred wheat, barley and rice grains were identified. (Costantini 1987: 155). The samples from the site of Loebanr-III contained charred seeds of different cereals barley, wheat, rice along with lentils, peas, linseed, grapes and various species of weeds.

The faunal remains belong to the domestic animals. Compagnoni has identified horse bones at the site of Barikot Ghundai (Stacul, 1985: 364). The identified bone sample belonging to macro mammals recovered during from different prehistoric sites in the Swat valley. These sites were Ghaligai, Loebanr-III, Barikot Ghundai and Kalakodheray<sup>xxii</sup>. The finds come from the occupation

layers ascribed to periods-I-IV in the Ghaligai sequence, dated between the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the middle of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium BC. The total numbers of faunal bones examined by them were 3248. Most of them coming from Barikot Ghundai (see table-2). There is prevalence of cattle and sheep or goats, followed by pigs and *equids*. Interestingly, sheep and goat farming was highly developed at Loebanr-III as opposed to Barikot Ghundai, where cattle and pig raising was prevalent (Compagnoni 1987 : 132).

The faunal remains from Kalakodheray Swat were collected from different pits of the site. A total number of 131 faunal fragments was collected from Kalakodheray pits in four season excavations. The number of fragments is lower as compared to those generally collected from other sites in the valley.

Evidence of the domestication for food purposes, of asses, mules and horses in the valley has been found in the form of the numerous bone remains from the excavation of the proto-historic sites of Loebanr-III, Ghaligai Period-III (Compagnoni 1979 : 697-700). Two complete skeletons of a very robust eastern strain of *Equus caballus* were found in the Katelai graveyard (Compagnoni 1987: 139; Olivieri 1998: 67). This evidence inside the protohistoric cemetery is of important role of this animal in the graveyard cultures of Swat valley.

As for husbandry practices at Kalakodheray, the cattle were kept for milk and traction and were killed for food at an old age when they became less functional. The *Bos* species contributed mostly for protein diet throughout Bronze Age of Swat valley, as revealed by their dominance at Loebanr-III, Barikot Ghundai and Ghaligai. The results so far recorded at Kalakodheray represented

a husbandry practice and survival pattern of *Ovis/Capra* somewhat different from those of *Bos* species. The male animals were most probably basically kept for meat consumption. Consequently they were not allowed to grow too old and were killed soon after when they attained maximum weight. On the other hand, the females enjoyed a longer life span as they were used for milk and reproduction.

Besides the old flora and fauna remains in the valley, we do have the evidence of prehistoric representation of the *equid* in the rock carvings of Gogdara-I. The most frequently represented figure is certainly the *equid*, with a total of 31 specimens (Olivieri 1998: 67). A horse in black appears on a red pottery fragment from Barikot Ghundai. It is suggested that it may be related to the sacrificial worship of the horse in Vedic times (Stacul 1987: 109).

The continuity of faunal exploitation is also recorded from southwest. The site of Shaikhan Dheri in Charasada was excavated by Dani in 1963 and later on by Farid Khan in 1993. The faunal collection was studied by Jawad. The dating is limited to Scytho-Parthian period of 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to 65 A. D. The *Bos* and *Ovis/Capra* dominate the collection which was their main diet source. Deer and pig were hunted and camel and *equid* were also eaten here (Jawad 1994: 170). The following Table-3 shows flora and fauna of Bronze Age sites in the Swat valley.

**Table 1: Plant and Animal Remains from the sites in Swat  
(3000 B.C to 1400 B.C.)\***

Crops/ Weeds	Species	Common names	Animal species	Common names
Cereals	<i>Triticum aestivum s.1.</i> <i>Triticum sphaerococcum</i> <i>Triticum sp.</i>	Wheat	<i>Felis sp.</i>	Wild Cat
			<i>Panthera sp.</i>	Carnivores (Tiger and lion)
	<i>Oryza sativa</i>	Rice	<i>Muntiacus muntjak</i>	Barking deer
			<i>Cervids</i>	Deer
			<i>Bovids</i>	Water Buffalo
	<i>Hordeum distichum</i> <i>Hordeum vulgare</i> <i>Hordeum vulgarenudum</i> <i>Hordeum sp.</i>	Hulled barley Naked barley	<i>Noemohedus goral</i>	Grey goral
			<i>Capra falconeri</i>	Markhor
Legumes	<i>Lens culinaris</i> <i>Pisum sativum</i>	Lentil Pea	<i>Lepus sp.</i>	Hare
			<i>Hystrix indica</i>	Crested Porcupine
Oil seeds	<i>Linum usitatissimum</i>	Linseed	<i>Canis familiaris</i>	Dog
			<i>Axis porcinus</i>	Hog deer
Fruits	<i>Celtis australis</i> <i>Vitis vinifera</i>	Grape Hackberry	<i>Equus caballus</i>	Horse
			<i>Equus asinus</i>	Donkey
Wild fruits and Weeds	<i>Aegilopssp.</i> <i>Argemone sp.</i> <i>Euphorbia elioscopia</i> <i>Galium sp.</i> <i>Lithospermum arvense</i> <i>Secale sp.</i>	Weeds  Spurge	<i>Sus srafa domesticus</i>	Pig
			<i>Bos indicus</i>	Zebu cattle
		Wild fruits Wild seeds	<i>Capra hircus</i> <i>Ovis aries</i>	Sheep & Goat

\*Ghaligai, Barikot Ghundai, Loebanr-III, Aligrama and Kalako Dheri  
(Based on Constantini 1979:704,705 & 1987:165, Compagnoni 1979: 701 &  
1987: 134 and Jawad 1998 : 268)

Shaikhan Dheri was dated to Scytho-Parthian period, on the basis C14  
dates as follow;

Site	Lab No.	Date
1. SHK	(UW 78)	1940 ± 70 = 47 B.C. to 93 A.D.
2. SHK	(UW 70)	2155 ± 60 = 252 B.C. to 132 B.C.

Dani (1965-66: 25) feels that margin of error is great so latest dates 132 B. C. to 93 A.D., may be accepted. In 1993 the site was re-excavated by Farid Khan and large faunal collection was recovered, much of which came from trash pits, dumps, hearths and walls. Since early times there is an evidence of the exploitation of some fauna such as cattle, deer, sheep and goat (Jawad 1994: 165).

**Table 2: Animal Remains from site of Shaikhan Dheri (Charsada)**  
(Based on Jawad 1994: 164-79)

Animal species	Common names
<i>Felis domesticus</i>	Cat
<i>Panthera tigris</i>	Tiger
<i>Cervids</i>	Deer
<i>Large Bovids</i>	Cattle and water buffalo
<i>Small Bovids</i>	Gazelle or blackbuck
<i>Canis familiaris</i>	Dog
<i>Equus caballus</i>	Horse
<i>Equus asinus</i>	Donkey
<i>Sus srofa</i>	Pig
<i>Capra hircus</i>	Goat
<i>Ovis aries</i>	Sheep
<i>Camelus bactrianus</i>	Two humped camel
	Monkey, snake, crocodile, carnivores, birds and fish



## CHAPTER TWO

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENC OF THE SWAT VALLEY

#### 2.1 Palaeolithic studies

Before discussing the Palaeolithic in Swat Valley, we have to assess the Palaeolithic environment of the area as a habitat of the early *hominids*. In the history of evolution of humans during the last two million years, the changing phases of the climate have played a most significant and crucial role. The global climate during early Quaternary or Pleistocene Period has varied from extreme cold to warm conditions. The Pleistocene, generally also called the Ice Age, incorporated long spells of extremely cold climate, during which nearly 30% of the continental landmasses were covered by thick sheets of ice (Kazmi *et al.* 1984: 128). The tremendous mass of frozen water locked on dry land surface, naturally lowered the sea-level by many hundreds of feet at the height of the Glacial periods. During warm phases known as Interglacial periods, the molten ice flowing back to the oceans caused the sea-level to rise by many hundreds of feet.

The physical effects of the climatic changes during the Pleistocene Period have been studied in details in Europe and America . In Asia and in rest of the world, Pleistocene researches have been given due importance in rebuilding the ecological conditions during the past ages. In South Asia, we are indebted to the studies of De Terra and Paterson (1939) for their indication of the Pleistocene climatic and physiographical changes in Kashmir Valley, and the effects on the developing cultures of the Stone Age in the peri-glacial areas of Potwar Plateau,

and over the tropical Peninsular India (De Terra, *et al* 1939: 252). The work provides only a general framework of the Pleistocene sequence of changing environment, build upon the model of the Ice Age studied in European Alps with its four major Glacials such as Gunz, Mindel, Riss, and Wurm and the three intervening Interglacial Periods.

A serious study of the Palaeolithic period in a micro-geographical area like that of the Swat Valley requires a much detailed and refined model of the Glacial and Interglacial sequence. The study was made on the Ice Age in Swat Valley, by an American geologist (Porter, 1970: 1421). His studies suggest three major Glacial periods in Swat Kohistan, which are Laikot, weathered granite boulders of Laikot Drift, followed by Gabral as indicated by terraces G1 and G2, succeeded by Kalam Glacial as interpreted by its three terraces K1, K2 and K3.

The thick deposits of Kalam terrace do not represent just one glacial sedimentation, but an accumulation of many more glacial tills, probably separated by layers of palaeosols developed during the warm periods of the Interglacial phases. In cold phases of Pleistocene climate, the ice sheets are likely to have covered most of the topography ranging from 12,000 feet to about 5,600 feet. Perhaps, only the parts of Lower Swat might have stood clear of permanent ice. I think, most of the Swat Valley must have formed a very attractive ecological niche during the Interglacial phases, mostly with open air habitation sites like those of Potwar. During cold phases of climate, hominids may have shifted to the narrow valleys of Lower Swat, seeking shelters under its overhanging cliffs or rock shelters.

We may also consider availability of the suitable raw material for stone tools. In Palaeolithic cultures of Africa, Asia and Europe, there is a definite relationship between tools and raw material. In Lower Palaeolithic of Potwar we find quartzite pebbles in Siwalik deposits and river beds of Soan, Kurang and Ping. Early man made pebble tools, handaxes, scrapers, borers and Levalloisian tools. During the Late Palaeolithic blade tools were made.

In Swat Valley the most abundantly available hard material is either siltstone or sandstone. It may be assumed that Palaeolithic cultures developing in Swat, probably made tools from animal bones and dry wood, in addition the siltstones and sandstones available in the local geological formations.

### **2.1.1 Palaeolithic sites in Swat**

No work was done on the Stone Age. The closest approach to Palaeolithic studies in the vicinity of Swat Valley was Dani's discovery of the Middle Palaeolithic deposits in Sanghao Cave in 1963, and its subsequent studies of the Mousterian assemblage of quartz as the raw material (Dani 1964:1, Salim 1986: Tusa 1987-88:76). C14 dates including 42,500 B. P. from Sanghao is now available (Gowlett *et al.* 1997: 148 also see table 4).

The study of the Middle Palaeolithic in Sanghao Cave has inspired a number of young scholars in NWFP, to look for Palaeolithic sites in various districts of NWFP (Ihsan and Jan 2005:1, Ihsan and Lut-fur-Rahman 2005b:55). But recently a report on Stone Age tools from areas of Middle and Lower Swat Valley (Michelli, 2006: 45-66).

A small beginning in the prehistory of Swat Valley was made by the Italian Mission (IsIAO) in 2006 with discovery of several Palaeolithic artefacts of diorite and basalt from lower Swat Valley (Micheli 2006: 45). They collected several cores, flaked pebbles, bifacial tools, a few blades and retouched flakes, bifacial choppers, flakes and disc-shaped artefacts. According to Micheli two lithic traditions are represented by handaxes and cleavers and by chopper-chopping tools. The former are typical of the Acheulean of the Lower Palaeolithic, while pebble tools can be attributed to Soan tradition (Micheli 2006: 47).

These lithic tools do not belong to Lower Palaeolithic but of Middle Palaeolithic Age. The blades and flakes from prepared cores, may be compared with Middle Palaeolithic samples from the Sanghao Cave (Salim 1986: fig. 26), Daud Khel in the Mianwali district (Salim 1992: figs7-10). Soan valley (Paterson & Drummond 1962: 40; Salim 1986: 59, no.1). Another element supporting the Middle Palaeolithic Age is the presence of two borers. Other artefacts with unifacial or bifacial flaking obtained from large pebbles could reasonably be ascribed to the Lower Palaeolithic and seem comparable to some items of the Soan tradition, Such artefacts correspond to the Soan pebble tools typology (Paterson & Drummond 1962: 68). Other artefacts, for instance the core tools with bifacial edge corresponded to the Lower Palaeolithic in China and peninsular India (Leng & Shannon 2000: 23).

The collected artefacts reveal some bifacial tools, one scraper of Levalloisian technique and some Mousterian flakes. According to Farid Khan and

Ashafque, these artefacts belong to the Middle Palaeolithic Age (personal communication in 2007).

**Table 3: C14 dates of North Western Pakistan**  
(Gowlett *et al* 1997: 184, Stacul 1987:167)

<b>Middle Palaeolithic</b>	<b>Laboratory No.</b>	<b>B. P. Dates</b> Half-life = 5568 years
Sanghao Cave	OxA.979	21,950 ± 350
	OxA.980	27,200 ± 500
	OxA.1012	34,300 ± 1400
	OxA.1064	27,400 ± 650
	OxA.1065	30,100 ± 900
	OxA.1066	23,950 ± 450
	OxA.1067	29,700 ± 850
	OxA.1068	42,500 ± 4000
	OxA.1074	28,100 ± 700
	OxA.1075	30,200 ± 1000
	OxA.1076	25,700 ± 700
	OxA.1077	23,600 ± 450
	OxA.1078	27,100 ± 700
	OxA.1079	38,600 ± 3000
	OxA.2504	27,720 ± 500
	OxA.2505	18,250 ± 200
OxA.2506	16,820 ± 160	
OxA.2507	16,970 ± 180	
<b>Neolithic Site</b>	<b>Laboratory No.</b>	<b>B. P. Dates</b> Half-life = 5568 years
Ghaligai	R—379	4245 ± 55
	R—378A	3760 ± 55
	R—379A	4180 ± 70
	R—380	4200 ± 140
	R—377A	3455 ± 50
Loebanr-III	P—2583	3280 ± 90
	P—2584	3140 ± 60
	P—2585	3250 ± 60
	P—2586	3360 ± 60
Aligrama	P—2151	3010±60
	P—2151a	3350±60

## 2.2 Mesolithic Period

Microlithic artefacts mark Mesolithic period in the North Western regions of Pakistan. On the basis of material evidence from Potwar area, it is placed in the Holocene before Neolithic (Salim, 1997:55). Microlithic from Marwat Kundi hills and Bannu Plain were reported (Morris 1939:410-411). Mesolithic assemblages from Gul Shah Tup west of Kot Kashmir, Tukhti Khel south of Takhti Khel village, Yarak and Nekumshak were reported by Farid Khan (Farid Khan *et al.* 1991:21). All these sites reveal chert microliths and cores from surface of the dunes. The raw materials are chert, and chalcedony. Stone assemblages from all these Mesolithic sites are small and were made on blades. The industry of these sites is earlier than 10,000 B.P. (Farid Khan *et al.* 1991:21). Recently Morris (2004) has carried out C14 calibrated dates from Bannu Mesolithic for his Ph.D. research.

Gordon reported microlithic artefacts from Jamagarhi cave Mardan (Gordon 1938: 23). He also discovered microlithic core and a small quartzite cleaver at Budho near Wah Cement Factory (Gordon 1945: 17). Dani reported microliths from Sanghao cave (Dani 1964: 1-50). Tusa re-excavated Sanghao cave and reported Mesolithic culture (Tusa 1987-88:76-77). At Gichi Nala, Chilas VII, microlithic quartz points, scrapers, triangles, flakes and cores of Mesolithic technology were discovered by Dani (1983: 16-18). Chalcedony microliths with hand-made pottery were reported from Khanpur Cave I (Johnson 1972: 76-77). Khanpur Cave I was re-excavated by Farid Khan with scraper, lunettes, arrowheads and micro-burins (Farid Khan 1974: 4). Microlithic sites at Kot

Kashmir-Takhtikhel area in Bannu district were explored (Farid Khan *et al.* 1987: 85).

Recently survey conducted by Peshawar University in the Gomal valley reported lithic assemblage (Ihsan & Jan 2005: 14). A survey in Bajaur and Mohmand regions identified 24 sites ranging from Middle Paleolithic to Neolithic period (Ihsan & Lut-fur-Rahman 2005a:64). They also reported quartz and chert blades, burins, points and scrapers with a large number of bones tools. The lithic industry explored and excavated by the Peshawar University reveals Mesolithic period assemblage (Ihsan & Lut-fur-Rahman 2005b:124).

### **2.3 Neolithic Age**

The Neolithic culture is characterized by the gradual transition of hunting life to more intensive domestication of animals, beginning of agriculture and settlements. It has hand-made followed by wheel-made pottery, and a variety of tools and ornaments of shell, stone, terracotta, bone and gold. Beads of steatite, shell, agate, gold and stones were also manufactured. They domesticated cattle, sheep, goat, dog, pig and ass. Hunting and fishing were also their activities.

The transition from Mesolithic to Neolithic in Pakistan took place in 7<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C., in the Bolan valley of Mehrgarh, Baluchistan (Jarrige & Lechevallier 1979: 463). In other parts of the country it is rather late between 5000 to 2000 B.C. We find the Neolithic Culture of Burzahom in Kashmir (Lal 1997:18-19) and the urbanized phase of Harappa culture in the Indus Valley (Kenoyer: 1991: 29). Even in the rest of Subcontinent, the Neolithic cultures are

roughly contemporary with the Harappa culture, but do not precede it except at Kili Ghul Mohammad and Mehargarh (Agrawal 1982: 90).

In Swat Valley Neolithic assemblages have been reported from three sites. At Ghaligai Rock Shelter, the lowest levels produced coarse handmade pottery. Period-I assemblage reveals Neolithic artefacts of 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C. The seven successive periods at the Rock Shelter provided a time-scale dated from early 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B. C. to 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (Stacul 1987: 115). Wheel made pottery, which recalls the early Harappan types succeeds Neolithic level. Then painted pottery of distinctly early Indus character appears, only to disappear again in period III. Stacul examined the wares from Burzahom and finds remarkable similarities in the burnished black wares of Ghaligai period-IV and Burzahom-II (Stacul 1987: 27-45).

The cave dwellers used pebble tools and initially without pottery, though later on they made burnished hand-made grey pottery. Some of those pots showed mat impression at their base. Some forms are comparable to the chalcolithic pottery of Turkmenistan (Stacul 1974: 239). Animal bones, particularly antler and boar tusks, were also used for making tools are similar to the Neolithic cultures of northern China (Stacul 1974: 239). The ceramics resemble those from Sarai Khola (Halim 1971:23) On the basis of C 14 determinations, it has been dated to 2970-2920 B.C. (Stacul 1987: 33)

At Loebanr III, dwelling pits were dug in the natural soil, used for dwelling as well as for storage purpose. The pottery consisted mainly of black-grey burnished ware and a brown-gritty cooking pot, among them bowls on stand and



bowls. Radiocarbon dates from Loebanr, suggest that this cultural tradition continued into second millennium B.C.( table 4).

Stone Celts, polished bone points and jade beads can be compared with Neolithic of Burzahom (Pande 1970: 39) in Kashmir. The coarse and burnished grey and brown wares of the early Swat sites can be associated with those of Burzahom and Sarai Khola-I (Bridget & Allchin 1985:116).

The close affinities are between the cultural complexes represented by in the Swat Valley and the Neolithic Culture of Burzahom in Kashmir. Also to the Neolithic culture of Bannu (Farid Khan *et al.* 1987-88: 99) and that of Haro river (Salim 2002: 46) in the South.

**Table 4: Radiocarbon Dates From Mehrgarh**  
(Possehl 1988: 187)

S. No.	Lab. No.	Date in B. C.	Period
1	BETA-1712	7717 ± 158 BC	Period IA
2	LY-1950	6745 ± 258 BC	Period IB
3	BETA-1407	5378 ± 300 BC	Period IA
4	BETA-1408	5183 ± 80 BC	Period IA
5	BETA-2689	4745 ± 80 BC	Period III
6	LY-1947	4055 ± 196 BC	Period IA
7	LY1948	3940 ± 752 BC	Period IA
8	LY-1945	3571 ± 320 BC	Period IIB
9	LY-1528	2366 ± 145 BC	Period IV
10	LY-1527	1727 ± 135 BC	Period VI or VII

## 2.4 Bronze Age

The Bronze Age in Indo-Pak subcontinent greatly varies from region to region according to the local cultural development. Evidences of the Bronze Age culture in the Swat Valley have been recorded from a few sites like Ghaligai, Gogdara engravings and earlier level of Barikot Ghundai. Period III of Ghaligai, Rock Shelter which is characterized by pinkish painted and wheel-turned ware, very fine in fabric and culture are closely related with Harappan pottery.

Later research work by the Italian on sites like Aligrama (Stacul & Tusa 1974: 151), Loebanr-III (Stacul 1977: 227), Barikot Ghundai (Stacul 1980: 55-65) and Kalako Dheri (Stacul 1995: 98) have extended the horizon of the Bronze Age culture. On the basis of the C14 results obtained by the University of Pennsylvania, this period of the Swat valley may be dated between 1800 and 1500 B.C., (table 5).

It is marked by a new tradition in pottery, stone and bone tools, and a settlement pattern with evidence of long-distance trade. During this period, around the middle of the second millennium B.C., pit-dwellings were replaced by stone-walled houses, built of irregular stones and pebbles. Another technological feature was the introduction of copper. Terracotta figurines, both human and animal, were found mostly around the fireplaces, indicating probably their cultic nature. The animal figurines always represent the humped bull. The vegetal remains indicate the existence of wheat, barley and rice and suggest specialized farming (Thapar & Rahman 1996: 267).

Pottery motifs include oxen, horses, peacocks and birds. Among floral patterns, *pipal* leaves and tree are of particular interest. The only anthropomorphic representation consists of a very schematic human figurine. It can be related with Cemetery H Culture at Harappa (Documentary Exhibition 1982: 14).

Another important evidence of Bronze age culture is Gogdara Rock engravings. There are more than one hundred engravings on a rocky cliff at the foot of the hill. At the time of the discovery, these rock carvings were dated as prehistoric (Tucci 1958: 292). The rock face presents some 118 figures incised or executed as graffiti. Some 71 animal figures all rigorously executed in profile and turned to the right. The human figure is completely absent. These engravings show horse drawn carts and isolated zoomorphic figures. Olivieri places Gogdara engravings in late Bronze and early Iron Age (Olivieri 1998: 82). This is best supported by C 14 dates of 1950 B.C. – 1500 B.C. from Ghaligai Rock Shelter and Loebanr III (table 5).

**Table 5: Radiocarbon Dates from Bronze Age sites of Swat**  
(Based on G. Stacul 1987: 167)

Period	Site	Lab. No.	B. P. Dates Half-life = 5568 years	Calibrated Dates Half-life = 5730 years
I	Ghaligai	R-379	4245 ± 55	2970 B.C.
I	Ghaligai	R-379a	4180 ± 70	2920 B.C.
I	Ghaligai	R-380	4200 ± 140	2940-2920 B.C.
II	Ghaligai	R-378a	3760 ± 55	2180 B.C.
III	Ghaligai	R-377a	3455 ± 50	1950-1920 B.C.
IV	Loebanr-III	P-2583	3280 ± 90	1650 B.C.
IV	Loebanr-III	P-2584	3140 ± 60	1500 B.C.
IV	Loebanr-III	P-2585	3250 ± 60	1640-1600 B.C.
IV	Loebanr-III	P-2586	3360 ± 60	1730-1690 B.C.
IV	Aligrama	P-2151	3010 ± 60	1360-1300 B.C.
IV	Aligrama	P-2151a	3350 ± 60	1710-1690 B.C.

## 2.5 Iron Age

The Iron Age bridges the gap between Bronze Age and historic period. From the early Iron Age no inscriptions are available, though oral traditions existed during Vedic times. Iron makes its appearance around the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Banerjee believed Iron appeared in India as early as 1000 B.C., and became more common around 800 B.C. (Banerjee 1965). Iron Age in Pakistan at Pirak site is dated to 1100 B. C. (Dani 1988:63). They entered the northwestern valleys and moved on into the plains of India and Pakistan proper (Bridget & Allchin 1985:301).

### 2.5.1 Aryans, Vedas and Gandhara Grave Culture

The Aryan crossed over the Hindu Kush Mountains and settled in the Plains of northern Pakistan during second millennium B.C. They belonged to a race of warriors. They called themselves Aryans, which meant "noble by birth and race". They enjoyed a pastoral life and introduced the language of Sanskrit, Dani calls them Indo-Aryans (1988:75). These proud, tall, fair-skinned people, with their great herds of cattle and horses, their flocks of sheep and goats and packs of barking dogs, had migrated from their ancestral homeland on the Eurasian Steppes to the Iranian plateau sometimes around 2000 B.C., (Phillips 1996: 127). Those who were later known as Indo-Aryans gradually made their way east through the passes of the Hindu Kush mountains. They emerged from the foothills into the fertile valleys of the Indus River and its tributaries a region they called *SaptaSindhus* (Phillips 1996:127). It is suggested that for many centuries after arriving in India they built neither cities nor national political structures.

At Chanhu-daro, a town of the Indus Civilization eighty miles south of Mohenjo-daro, the Indus population deserted their homes and were succeeded by a poorer folk of the "Jhukar" culture, who reused some the abandoned houses (Bridget and Allchin 1985: 111). At Harappa itself, after the abandonment of the city, a new group arrived and built shoddy houses among the ruins. Their burial rite was at first inhumation, later introduced exposing the dead and subsequently deposited selected bones in urns. These Cemetery 'H' people, as they are called, have been tentatively recognized as Aryans (Thapar and Rahman: 1994: 267).

Aryans are the authors of *Rigveda*, where their customs, religion and journey into northwestern regions of Pakistan can be traced. Various references to the *Saptasindhavah* or 'land of the seven rivers' occurs in the Vedic hymns (Stacul 1987: 7). The *Rigveda* mentions that *Suvastu* or the present day Swat River flows into the Kubha, the present day Kabul (Stacul 1987: 7). In Sanskrit, *Suvāstu* means 'having good dwelling' or comfortable residence. S

Vedic period starts with coming of Aryan in Pakistan. Vedic culture flourished in subcontinent between 1900 to 800 B.C. (Rowland 1977: 43). During this period Vedas including the *Samhita*, the *Upanisads*, the *Bramana* and the *Sutra Vedanga* were composed over several centuries. Scholars differ about the age of its composition (Agrawal 1982:262). According to Heesterman the Vedas has been passed from generation to generation by oral traditions (Heesterman 1987: 214).

Before the Vedic Aryans migrated into the northwestern region of Pakistan, they called it *Saptasindhavah*. Their ancestors had lived together with the ancestors of the Iranian Aryans in Balkha and its vicinity for a long time about 2200-2000 B.C. (Heesterman 1987: 214). People from Central Asia and Iran have been migrating to Pakistan during Bronze and Iron Ages, even later during 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C., Wright believes that Aryans settled here in 1700 B.C. (Wright 1979 : 67).

The earliest accounts of the northwestern regions of the Indo-Pakistan are found in the *Rigveda*. Various references to the *Saptasindhavah* occur in the Vedic hymns. The Vedic literature reveals name of the rivers like Sindhu (Indus),

Susartu (Swat), Kubha (Kabul), Krumu (Kurram) and Gomati (Gomal) (Bhargava 1964: 43).

Another interesting development of the Iron Age in the northwestern regions of Pakistan like Taxila, Peshawar, Charasada, Mohmand, Bajaur, Malakand, Swat, Dir, Chitral, and Buner is the appearance of about 573 excavated graves (Vinogradova 2001: 34, table 7) having a distinctive iron goods like arrowheads, spearheads, nails, fingers rings and horse cheek-bars. Thus the first appearance of iron in the Swat Valley is datable to 1000 B. C. (see table 6).

The terracotta figurines, urns with perforations near the neck, wheel made pottery and copper tools are among the grave goods. Such graveyards and settlements are recorded from Afghanistan, Taxila, Chitral, and river Kabul to the South. At several sites in the Northern Area of Pakistan, such as at Manikyala Payin in Darel valley, Gichi at Chilas VII and Jayachand Hill at Chilas, grave sites yielding ritual pottery similar to Gandhara Grave Culture of first millennium B.C. have been reported (Dani 1983: 60-62).

Gandhara Grave Culture is different from the Indus Valley Civilization. It originated in the Bronze Age and continued into Iron Age and is apparently linked with Northern Iran and Central Asia (Khan 1969: 67). The graves consist for the most part of an oblong pit with dry stone walls and generally with stone slabs to form a roof. A grave was usually surrounded by a rough stone circle. On the basis of ceramics evidence these settlements can be dated 1300-1000 B.C. (see table 6).

**Table 6: Radiocarbon Dates from Gandhara Grave Settlements of Swat.**  
(Half life 5730)

Period	Settlements		
	Ghaligai	Alligrama	Loebanr-III
V		1230 ± 40 B.C 1220 ± 175 B.C 1210 ± 235 B.C 1035 ± 115 B.C 790 ± 135 B.C	
IV		1500 ± 40 B.C 1150 ± 60 B.C	1510 ± 60 B.C 1410 ± 95 B.C 1400 ± 60 B.C 1285 ± 60 B.C
III	1610 ± 50 B.C		
II	1925 ± 55 B.C		
I	2420 ± 55 B.C 2375 ± 145 B.C 2355 ± 70 B.C		

(Vinogradova 2001: 35)

Timargarha graves excavated by Dani (1967:1) were called as **Gandhara Grave Culture** found in Gandhara with human burials and pottery. It is so termed because the distribution of graves spread over a large area of Gandhara. They were equipped with poor bronze and iron tools and weapons (Dani 1967: 25). At other sites these graves are marked by a variety of iron tools e.g. arrowheads, spearheads, nails, finger rings and horse cheek-bars (Stacul 1966:261, Stacul 1967: 220, Stacul 1977: 227, Stacul 1978:137, Stacul 1995:98). The C 14 date ranges from 2970 B.C. to 1500 B. C. from Ghaligai, Alligrama and Loebanr III (see table 5).

The grave goods included large quantities of plain pottery, either buff-red or grey. Pottery included tall goblets' pedestal cups, beakers with flared mouths, bottles with tall narrow necks, and occasional jugs with raised lips, spouted pots-



some with small handles (Ihsan & Zahir 2005 : 144). Burial jars with human face (Dani 1967:36). There are also sometimes terracotta figurines of distinctive type, generally flat tablets with rough human form, breasts and stylized heads, with incised necklaces and eyes. Metal objects include copper or bronze, commonly pins with decorated tops, and more rarely objects of iron (Ihsan & Zahir 2005 : 143). A variety of iron tools, arrowheads, spearheads, nails, finger rings and horse cheek-bars, parallels in Central Asia (Pyankova 1981: 287).

The Italian Archaeological Mission (Stacul 1966: 261) has named the grave culture of Swat as **Pre-Buddhist Necropolises** or **Pre-Buddhist Cemeteries** (Stacul 1967: 220) and **Protohistoric Cemeteries** (Stacul 1969: 92), which started in the Bronze Age in early second millennium B.C., and survived into the Iron Age. Scholars differ regarding the chronology of the Swat graveyards. Dani proposed dates of 16<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. (Dani 1967: 48), while Stacul suggests 14<sup>th</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. (Vinogradova 2001: 9).

The cemeteries are consisting of many hundreds of graves, have provided a rich evidence of the Protohistoric Cultures of Swat in 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. (see table 5). On the basis of their stratigraphical position and typology of their furnishings, the graves have been assigned to three successive cultural periods (IsMEO 1982: 16):

- Early Period 14<sup>th</sup> -9<sup>th</sup> century B. C.
- Middle Period 8<sup>th</sup> -5<sup>th</sup> century B. C.
- Late Period 4<sup>th</sup> century B. C.

Thus the development of the Swat grave culture can be placed in the chronological period between the 15<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> centuries B.C. The question of the chronology of the Gandhara Grave Culture and their correlations with the settlements of the Swat culture is still open to discussion.

**Table 7: Gandhara Graves Culture of Swat (burials)**  
(Vinogradova 2001: 35)

Site	Lab. No	Period	C 14 Dates Half-life =5730 years
Butkara II	R-194	-	550 ± 40 B.C
Katelai I	R-476	-	1295 ± 155 B.C
Katelai I	R-477	-	1005 ± 60 B.C
Katelai I	R-477A	-	885 ± 50 B.C
Katelai I	R-479	II B-III	370 ± 50 B.C
Katelai I	R-279	II B-III	235 ± 45 B.C
Loebanr I	BM-195	I A	1120 ± 155 B.C
Loebanr I	R-474	I A	510 ± 100 B.C
Loebanr I	BM-196	I B	985 ± 155 B.C
Loebanr I	R-276	I A	585 ± 50 B.C
Timargarha	H-?	I (ac. to Dani)	1530 ± 60 B.C
Timargarha	H-?	III (ac. to Dani)	940 ± 60 B.C
Loebanr I	R-278	II A	500 ± 500 B.C

### 2.5.2 The Achaemenids

The Achaemenid empire, began with Cyrus 553-529 B.C. and later Darius-I (518 B.C.). From the end of the 6th century B.C. the area between Jalalabad, on the Kabul River, and the Indus formed part of the Achaemenid Empire as the twentieth satrapy with the name Gandhara, which was considered to be the richest and most populous province of the Persian Empire (Khan 1969: 69). After

518 B.C., under the rule of Darius-I, the regions of Gandhara and Taxila as well as Sind became a part of the Persia (Higuchi 1984: 210). Behistun inscription of Darius I mentions Gandhara and listed it under the names of countries subjected to Persia (Hartel 1966: 12).

Behistun inscription of Darius I reveals that the Gandharians appear among the subject people, distinct from the Indians of the Indus Valley (Dani 1966 : 3). The writing system of Kharoshthi, the coinage, stone cutter's art, gem-cutting and diaper stone masonry were introduced by the Achaemenians (Dani 1967:6). At Gor Khuttree, Peshawar Achaemenian period ceramics have been found (Durrani *et al* 1997: 192).

The history of northwestern region is well known when Alexander the Great overpowered and succeeded the last Achaemenian king Astes, who had his capital at Puskaravati the modern Charasada (Marshall and Vogel, 1902-03: 141). The Swat valley is not thought to have been part of this satrapy, from the 6<sup>th</sup> century onwards it was within the political and cultural influence of the Achaemenids( Inam-ur-Rahim and Viaro 2002: 37).

Among the 69 toilet trays so far reported from Taxila excavations 33 are from Sirkap only, which reveals pure Hellenistic themes and workmanship (Marshall 1973:17). Hellenistic pottery or N.B.P.W<sup>1</sup>, terracotta figurines, coins and gems coming from earlier level excavations of Taxila are dated to 4<sup>th</sup> –2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C.(Dar 1998:42). According to Dar 519 Greek coins so far recovered from Taxila excavations represent 25 kings (Dar 1998:256).

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<sup>1</sup> Northern Black Polished ware

### 2.5.3 The Greek Invasion

In 327 B.C. Alexander of Macedonia invaded Swat on his way from Jalalabad, Afghanistan to the Indus and divided his army into two parts (Rahman 2007:1). One division of the army was commanded by Hephaestion and Perdikkas was sent down to Pushkalavati and crossed river Indus. They were welcomed by Ambi, the ruler of Taxila in 324 B. C. (Rahman 2007:1). Greek period cultural materials are at Bhir mound such as ceramic, coins, Hellenistic black and embossed wares and two silver didrachms of Alexander were found in Taxila (Marshall 1960: 57).

The second division was commanded by Alexander himself and advanced towards the Swat valley. On his passage to the valley, he stormed and conquered several cities and strongholds; one of among them is Artaka and Arigaion; modern Nawagai (Boehringler & Riederer 1963: 22). He crossed the river of Kunar and Panjkora and reached to the Swat conquered the towns of Ora; (Udigram) and Bazira (Barikot) and subdued the Assakenoi people living there in the valley (Rahman 2007; Stein 1975: 60).

The fortified centres of Bazira and Ora were actually besieged and captured by Coenus, Alexander's Lieutenant, during military campaign of Alexander. Both these sites have been identified by IsMEO Mission Swat (Olivieri 1996:45). A potsherd with a Greek inscription was recovered from Bir-Kot Ghundai by the Italian archaeological Mission in Swat (Callieri 1984:49).

Similarly Taddei has provided very interesting details about the Hellenistic model used in some Buddhist reliefs discovered from Swat (Taddei 1965: 174).

Greeks, though excellent stone carvers do appear to have left some rock carvings. However, during excavations at Udigram a Greek name: NOY inscribed on the fragment of a rim of a vessel was found. The name belongs to NOUS as described by Puglies Carratelli and this potsherd can be attributed to Mauryan period (Tucci 1977: 59). The Greek power and influence introduced new ethnic and cultural elements such as architecture, coinage, sculptures, arts and crafts in the region during this era (Dani & Bernard 1994: 73).

#### **2.5.4 Mauryan Empire**

After Alexander's death only the regions north of Hindukush remained under the Greek rule of the Seleucids. The southern regions, including Gandhara were conquered by the Indian Mauryan dynasty (Thapar 1996: 363). Chandragupta Mauryan (321-297 B.C.) annexed Swat and Peshawar Valleys (Smith & Spear 1985:97-98). The rock edicts at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra are the ever lasting relics of Mauryan period (Thaplyal 2004: 188; Hultzch 1925: 11). Mauryan period cultural materials are at Bhir mound such as Jewellery and ornaments like ear-pendant, finger-rings are superb pieces of work. Ceramics such as cups, bowls, saucers polished with porcelain agate were found in Taxila (Marshall 1960: 58-59) and of Bala Hisar mound such as pottery, ornaments, votive plaques with figures of deities, male and female at Charsada (Wheeler 1962: 38).

Ashoka the grandson of Chandragupta, patronized Buddhism and its monks (Callieri 2006:13) It was under this great Buddhist monarch (273-235 B.C.) that the inhabitants of Gandhara, and Uddiyana were converted to Buddhism (Inayat-ur-Rahman 1989: 88). A Mauryan copper coin found in the dome of the Great Stupa of Butkara-I reveal that the Great Stupa was founded by Chandragupta Maurya (Gobl 1976: 11). Though later on new research attribute the foundation of the Grate Stupa to Ashoka reign (Fabregues: 1987: 34). Another evidence of the Mauryan art is a painted Kharoshti inscription on an earthenware pot found on the north side of the stupa, which reveals 'Stupa Dharmarajika' (Petech 1966: 45). According to Petech it shows that the Great Stupa was founded by Ashoka, who is called in the *Divyavadana* the Dharmaraja. It also throws lights on the fact that Swat Valley was a part of his empire. Period I of Butkara Stupa is dated to 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C (Faccenna 1980: table VIII).

According to Dar (1980: 1) Buddhism reached Taxila, Mansehra and Shahbazgahari in 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. These sites can be regarded as the entry points to the ancient trade routes. Ashoka established his famous rock edicts at Mansehra and Shahbazgahari for the propagation of Buddhism. From the second century B.C. to the eight century A. D. Buddhism flourished in the Swat valley, leaving behind a legacy of beautiful sculptures and more than 500 monasteries. After Atoka's death his empire disintegrated and this region came under the rule of Bactrian Greeks (Imperial Gazetteer of India 1979: 124).

### 2.5.5 Bactrian Greeks

After the collapse of Mauryan Empire the Indus region once again came under Bactrian Greeks (Smith & Spear 1958: 37). The Greeks were settled to the north and south of the upper Oxus river—present day Tajikistan and northern Afghanistan (Frye 1996: 454). The Bactrian Greeks are also known as Indo-Greeks (Narain 1962). The beginning of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century B.C. saw the re-appearance of the Greeks from Bactria to the Indus region (Dani 1967: 6). Around the middle of third century, Bactria became an independent kingdom which through its prosperity and conquests extended to east and around 183 B.C. reached the Ganges. After the collapse of this empire Menander formed an Indo-Greek kingdom out of its southern parts, including Gandhara and Punjab. They ruled this region for nearly 200 years. Their history has been reconstructed mainly on the basis of their coins. The coins recovered from Gandhara region reveal names of the following Indo-Greek or Bactrian Greek rulers, Diodotus, Euthydemus, Demetrius, Agathocles, Appollodotus, Pantaleon, Menander, Eucratides, Hermaeus (Halim, 1994: 33; Marshall 1960:Pl. II & III). The excavations at Sirkap in Taxila (Marshall 1960: 5) and at Shaikhan Dheri in Charasada (Dani 1965-66: 227) have confirmed their presence. Two bilingual inscriptions of Greek origin are now preserved in the Peshawar Museum and fully discussed by Dani, Humbach and Gobl (Dani *et al.* 1964: 125).

The lay-out of Sirkap was introduced by the Greeks (Marshall 1960: 5; Dar 1998:55). Jandial temple at Sirkap is unmistakable Greek in origin and is the only one of its type ever discovered in Pakistan, India and Afghanistan (Marshall

1960:85). These are purely Hellenistic contribution towards the architecture of this region. Sculptures, jewellery, gems, coins, metalware, ceramics and toilet trays are the other archaeological proofs of Greek's invasion. The gold ear pendants recovered from Sirkap and Bhir Mound Taxila have got their parallels in the jewellery art of Greece (Sharif 1983:87). They were followed by tribes of Iranian origin; the Śakas and Parthians (Puri 1994: 191).

### 2.5.6 The Scythians

Scythians or Sakas were the eastern-most of the Indo-European speaking tribes of Central Asia. They conquered the Indo-Greek lands in 75 B.C. Litvinsky's hypothesis is quoted by Jettmar that the Sakas invaded Sub-continent not only through Afghanistan and Sind, but also direct through the mountains of Karakorum. His hypothesis is now proved by a number of rock carvings in typical Siberian animal's style of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. (Jettmar 1982: fig 2-3, 6-9 & 13). A solid gold stag and a bracelet from Dhamtaur near Abbotabad (Dar 1988: 37) and a Scythian period gold girdle of 16 Kg from Pattan-Indus Kohistan are much examples (Saeedur Rehman 1990: 6). Similarly Dani has discovered at least three inscriptions with the name of Maus, the great Scythian Emperor of 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. The name of the king Maues of Moga also occurs in two long inscriptions at Chilas-II along with names of his two Kshatrapas-Ghoshamitra, son of Kaka and Sidhalaka (Dani 1983: 96 & 102).

The Kharoshthi inscription from Taxila presented to Major Pears in 1855 and popularly known as Shahpur inscription (Konow 1929: 4-5), belongs to Scythian period and dated to 1<sup>st</sup> century B. C. In Taxila more than 3983 coins of



Scytho-Parthian kings have been discovered from various strata of Sirkap (Dar 1998: 257). Most of the rulers of these dynasties used Greek as well as Kharoshthi legends on their coins. Similarly a coin of Indo-Scythian ruler Azes II found at column 135, phase III of the Great Stupa of Butkara I is dated to the end of the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. (Gobl 1976: 15). It shows that phase III of the Great Stupa, and stupas 14 & 17 were erected towards the first decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. or the beginning of the Parthian period (Fabregues 1987:35)

### **2.5.7 The Parthians**

An ancient Iranian people (19 B. C. and 49 B.C.) were from north-eastern Iranian region of Parthia (Frye 1996:454). Towards 1<sup>st</sup> half of 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. a branch of Parthian rulers established themselves at Taxila (Hasan 2005:34). The Gondophares inscription from Takht-i-Bahi mentions that in the year 26 of Gondophares, and in the year of 103 Balasvami Boyana, alongwith his son Kenamira Boyana, gifted a railing after honouring prince Kapao and his parents (Konow, 1929: 57). They were the great patrons of art traditions and it was under the Parthians that Gandhara art started to flourish. Many of the Buddhist reliefs illustrate Parthian art traditions like funerary portraits, assemblies, ritual sacrifice and royal statuary (Goldman 1978: 189).

A large number of inscriptions and stupas engraved at Chilas-II in the Upper Indus Valley, suggest that the Scythian continued to rule for sometime until they were replaced by the Parthians. The evidence of this is a Kharoshthi inscription on a rock at Chilas which gives the name of the Parthian Emperor

Gandophares (Dani 1983: 64, fig. 46). They ruled this land for about one and a half centuries followed by the Yüehchi or Kushans (Smith & Spear 1985: 147)

### 2.5.8 Kushan

During the middle of the 2nd century BC, the Kushan dynasty began to gain dominance (Frye 1996: 456). They originally came from the border regions of the Chinese Kansu province, conquered Ferghana and Bactria of northern Afghanistan. They took over Gandhara under the leadership of two kings Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises. Later Kaniska extended the dynasty's domain further to the east and established a great empire in northwestern region of Pakistan. King Kaniska had his capital at Purushapura, present day Peshawar. Buddhism flourished under his reign. The date of his reign is not clear, for example he is said to have reigned from 78 A.D. to 144 A. D. (Higuchi 1984:210). It is certain that he ruled sometime in the first half of the second century A.D.

It was under the rule of Kaniska and his successors that this region enjoyed the period of the greatest prosperity. His empire extended during the first half of the second century from Bactria to Sind to the south, and Pamir to the north. Gandhara became the trading centre of an empire and established links with Rome and China, and brought cultural and technological influences. The last ruler of the Kushan dynasty was Vasudeva (225 AD). In the Northern Areas many inscriptions in Kharoshti script reveal Kushan Emperor's names like Vimakadaphasa, Vasishka or Vajheshka, Kaeshkasa or Jhashkasa, Kaisarasa, Rajatirajasa and Devadevasa (Dani 1983: 68). Buddhism flourished as a major

religion from the 1<sup>st</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. It was indeed the golden period of Buddhism.

During this period Swat valley became an important centre of Buddhism. This is evident from many sites of stupas, monasteries, rock engravings, rock paintings, inscriptions, coins, artefacts and reports of Chinese pilgrims. Swat enjoyed a separate entity both geographically and ethnically. Physically located on the borderland of subcontinent, and remained a gateway to Central Asia. During the Kushan dynasty, Gandhara art flourished, it was also the heartland of the nomadic peoples of the area. It was a centre of the lively trade between India, China, Central Asia, and the Mediterranean world. Its importance as a Buddhist region is attested by the fact that it was regarded as the birth place of the second Buddha, the Padmasambhava (Wentz 1978:222) and also it was here that king Indrabhuti wrote his Tantric commentaries, the "Uddiyana Pitha" (Tucci 1958: 280).

### 2.5.9 The Sassanians

In the third century the power of Kushan dynasty slowly collapsed and was taken over by the Sassanians (Gignoux 1996: 132). There was also pressure from the nomadic tribes of Central Asia who were forcing one another to move beyond the Oxus and the Hindukush. Rock carvings near Chilas in the Upper Indus Valley reveal a goat or sheep with a bow around their neck, a motif of Sassanian of Iran of the 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. A carving of lion (*Simha*) from Hodur with a raised paw and a flower on his shoulder is known from Iranian metal-work and from coins of Turk Shahis of 6<sup>th</sup> century A.D. (Dar 1993:121-122).

About 32 of Sassanian coins are reported from Taxila. Most of these belong to the reign of Shahpur II (309-379 A. D.) and Shahpur III (383-388 A.. D.) Coins of the Sassanian rulers such as Shahpur-III, Varahran IV and Khusru II have been found at Taxila (Dar 1998: 262). The Kidarites followed the Chionites and in turn were followed by Hephthalites or White Huns (Sundermann 1996: 473).

#### **2.5.10 Hephthalites or White Huns**

By the middle of the 4<sup>th</sup> century A.D, a nomadic pastoral people from west of China occupied Transoxiana, fought with the Sassanian kings of Persia, pushed Iranian to the south and formed a nation known as the White Huns. The Greeks called them the Chionites and the Indians called them the Hunas (Sundermann 1996:473). Prof. Kuwayama while commenting on their movement towards Tokharistan and Gandhara discloses that Hephthalites advanced towards Gandhara during 456 and 507 A.D. At the time of their arrival Kidara Kushans were the rulers of Gandhara, and they were expelled in 477 A.D., by the Hephthalites. So the Hephthalite invasion into Gandhara is datable between 477 and 507 A. D., (Kuwayama 1992:4)

When they came to northwestern borders of India, the region was dominated by Kidara Kushans. The exact period of their occupation of Gandhara and its surrounding areas is not yet known (Basham 1973:45). They came to Gandhara sometimes around 388 A.D. under the leadership of their King Ki-to-lo and occupied the province from the Kushans. They ruled this region including Peshawar for a long Period (Basham 1973: 47). In Peshawar 16 coins of Huns

were recovered from Shahji-ki-dheri excavation in 1911(Whitehead 1913:48). They conquered the whole of the Indus Valley towards the end of the fifth century and settled there until they were forced to give way to an alliance of the Sassanids under Chosroes I and the T'uchuch Turks (Harmatta 1996: 475).

The destruction of the stupas and monasteries in Gandhara and Uddiyana regions is attributed to the White Huns, who swept into Northern India in the middle of the fifth centuries A. D. The Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun recorded that the great upheaval, the ruthless destruction of the Buddhist centers was carried out by the barbarous White Huns (Stein 1929 : 4 ; Tucci, 1958 : 278-80). Dani believes otherwise and suggest that Hun's rulers like Tunjina, Toramana, Mihrkula, and Pravarasena gained fame and reputation as a wise and benevolent monarchs of Kashmir, Gandhara and Kabul valleys. Their ruler Khinkhila arranged permanent feeding of the Brahmanas. They were the worshipers of Shiva and have a great respect for the holy shrines. Dani believes that scholars have over looked the facts here (Dani 1999:76-77).

Around 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D., the White Huns took Uddiyana and Kashmir and subjugated the Buddhists. White Huns may have been partially responsible for the rapid decay of Buddhism in Gandhara and Uddiyana but the scholars like Barger and Wright suggests that the extent of the ravages of the White Huns is overestimated. They described that most of decay and destruction of this remarkable Buddhist civilization is attributed to the natural causes—to earthquakes and floods. The chipping, battering and breaking of the sculptures found in Swat valley may have been due to natural causes (Barger & Wright

1985: 32). But most of the sites like Butkara-I, Panr Stupa, Loebanr Stupa, Saidu Sharif and Gumbatoona Stupa are above river levels and it is difficult to accept their theory.

With the advent of the Udi Shahis Buddhism started to decline. But it is evident that through all these destructions, the true law of Buddhism had been lost. New doctrine integrating mysterious figures and popular beliefs developed, which later gave birth to the Tantrism or Vajrayana Buddhism was originally developed in Swat valley.

#### **2.5.11 Udi Shahis (Hindu Shahis)**

A new name Udi Shahis is given by Rahman (1999: 13) replacing Hindu Shahis, he argues that the epigraphical records of the area referred about the Rajas of Bajaur, Swat and Gandhara as Udis (Rahman 1999: 15). A number of villages, for instance, in Swat, Bajaur and the Peshawar valley are even now called Udigram which literally means an 'Udi village'. Similarly the word Udiyana or Uddiyana, often used as an ancient name for Swat, may be interpreted as the 'land of Udis' (Rahman 1999: 15).

The kingdom of the Turk Shahi of Kabul were extended from the border of Sistan to the northern Punjab and Swat was taken over in about 745 A. D. (Rahman 1979: 3-4). The Udi Shahi dynasty established its rule after the downfall of the Turki Shahis, and extended their kingdom with the passage of time (Mishra 1972). The exact date of the origin of the rule of this dynasty is not recorded, however they ruled from 843 to 1026 A. D., (Rahman 1979: 52). They established their capital at Hund on the right bank of river Indus, which is

generally identified with name *Udbandapur*, the capital city of the Udi Shahi Kings ( Dani 1968-69: 28).

Hartel (1989: fig.2-4) has described certain Gandhara reliefs depicting Siva images. There is an image of Hindu deity recovered from Chatpat of 1<sup>st</sup> century A.D. on display in Chakdara Museum (Aurangzeb Khan 1979: 101). From Taxila coins with Brahmi legends of Udi-Shahi of Ohind, successors of Hindu Shahis of Kabul have been recovered (Dar 1998: 254). From at Taxila 2 coins of Spalapatideva (820 A. D.), 14 coins of Samantadeva (870 A. D.) and 5 coins of Vakkadeva (903-921 A. D.) have come to light (Dar 1998: 255).

They established the state of Bolor and ruled the area well up to the 8<sup>th</sup> century A. D. Seven Shahis rulers and their consorts are known from Gilgit manuscripts (Dani 2001: 151). They also organized and established a route between Gandhara and the Tarim Basin through the Karakorum ranges.

Swat was also ruled by the Udi Shahis from 8<sup>th</sup> to 10<sup>th</sup> centuries A.D. The Birkot inscription of the reign of Jayapaladeva found on a hill to the north of Barikot hints at Swat being a part of the Udi Shahi (Mishra 1972 : 89). Moreover the evidence of nomenclature such as Udigram (Udi town) and Udiyana (Udi Land) and the towns of Dangram, Taligram and Nimogram are the famous village of Udis in Swat valley (Rahman 1999:16). They built fortified cities on the tops of many of the hills of lower Swat valley. The massive ruined fort of Raja Gira still visible about two thousand feet above the plain of Udigram was built by the last Udi ruler of Swat. Other huge stonewalls in ruins still crown the peaks on every side. Both the Buddhist and the Udi traditions regard Swat as a center of

esoteric teachings “a place of magic spells and love potions, witchcraft, sorcerers and fairies” (Tucci 1958: 280). They ruled until the beginning of the 11<sup>th</sup> century A. D. when Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Swat via Dir and defeated Raja Gira, the local Udi ruler at Udigram. They suffered a series of defeats at the hands of Ghaznavid rulers who gradually pushed them out of Afghanistan and the Indus zone (Rahman 2005:418).

Swat remained as a centre of Hinayana Buddhism and of the Mahayana school that developed from it. Tucci considers that there was no more suitable place in the subcontinent than Swat for the development of this school. In this place Buddhism blossomed into a new style. The geographical environment also favoured the development of Swat as a centre for Tantrism. Both the Buddhist and the Hindu traditions regard Swat as a centre for sacred teachings, a place of magic spells and love (Tucci 1958: 281). This was the golden period of the history of this mountainous kingdom of Uddiyana extends from the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. to the 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. It was the time when Buddhism was supreme here. It was the presence of this religion in the region that affected the life and thoughts of people of Pakistan and of those living further East in China and Japan.

## **2.6 Chinese and Korean Accounts**

Swat valley always remained an attractive place for foreign invaders and sacred place for religious activities. But the interest taken by the Chinese and Korean pilgrims in the social, cultural and religious life of this area stands prominent. The numerous monasteries and religious monuments of the ancient Uddiyana prove their widespread influence of Buddhism. Various Korean and



Chinese pilgrims crossed the snowy mountains; the Pamir and Hindukush chains to reach the Swat valley. Accounts and written records of these pilgrims describe Uddiyana, its landscape, social and cultural life.

#### 2.6.1 Fa-Hien (399-414 A. D.)

Chinese Buddhist monk renowned for being the first pilgrim who left for India with nine other monks through Central Asia in 399 A. D. in search of scriptures and returns to China in 414 A.D. He travelled Northwest to Karashahr, then turning to the south he passed through Khotan and crossed the Pamirs into Kashmir and entered North West Pakistan. He left a carefully dated record of his travels, *the Record of Buddhist Kingdoms* which is the oldest known travel book in Chinese literature and which has been invaluable in establishing India and Central Asian chronology (Legge 1886: 28-29). He wrote that in Swat the language, food and clothes of the common people are the same as that of Central India. He reported 500 monasteries with monks being the students of the Hinayana. He mentioned Swat with the name of Woo-Chang Fa-Hien remarks;

"There is a tradition that when Buddha came to North India, he came at once to this county, and that here he left a print of his foot, which is long or short according to the ideas of the beholder (on the subject). It exists, and the same thing is true about it, at the present day. Here also are still to be seen the rock on which he dried his clothes, and the place where he converted the wicked dragon. The rock is fourteen cubits high, and more than twenty broad, with one side of it smooth (Legge 1886: 28-29)."

#### 2.6.2 Sung Yun (519 A. D.)

Another most well-known Chinese pilgrim was Sung Yun, who arrived at Uddiyana in 519 A.D. to seek religious books. He took the same route as adopted by Fa Hien one hundred years before him. Sung Yun provides details of the area and highlights its environmental characteristics. He described that the

stupas and monasteries were still working with 300 monks in one of them 200 in another, 80 in a third one. He reported six thousand gold images in a single monastery of 'Talo' probably Butkara-I (Stein 1929 : 14 ; Tucci 1958: 279-80). The excavations at Butkara-I, testify his statements by the discovery of many images with gold wash.

In 520 A.D., Sung Yun was sent from the court of Yetha (Huns) in China (Dani 1983:50), leaves Uddiyana and enters the kingdom of Gandhara. According to Sung Yun Hephthalites destroyed (Dani 1969: 52) and occupied this kingdom two generations before his visit. The king Lae-lih did not believe in the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. At Hunza at Upper Indus Valley a Chinese inscription reveals about a Chinese ambassador coming from the court of Ta-Wei dynasty in the 6<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

### **2.6.3 Hsuan-Tsang (629/630 A. D.)**

Another famous Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Tsang, who arrived there around 630 A.D. reported Swat with U-chng-na (Udyana). He mentioned about 1400 Buddhist monasteries mostly deserted. He described Mingchili, modern Mingora, where he saw the biggest Buddhist monastery (Legge 1886: 29; Rashid 1966: 21). He mentioned about Teerat where he saw the foot prints of Buddha (Stein 1930: 50). He also describes the huge image of Buddha at Shakhorai, some thirteen km away from Mingora (Stein 1998:77-78). He also described the stupa of Uttarasena, which has been identified near the village of Shingerdar. Hsuan Tsang also gave account of the valley's mild climate and its abundant forests, flowers and fruit trees. Hsuan-Tsang remarks that;

On both sides of the river Su-fa-su-tu, there are some 1400 old *sangharamas*. They are now generally waste and desolate; formerly there were some 18,000 priests in them, but gradually they have become less, till now there are very few. They study the Great Vehicle; they practice the duty of quiet meditation, and have pleasure in reciting texts relating to this subject, but have no great understanding as to them. The (*priests who*) practice the rules of morality lead a pure life and purposely prohibit the use of charms. The schools of the *Vinaya* traditionally known amongst them are the Sarvastivadins, the Dharmaguptas, the Mahisasakas, the Kasyapiyas, and the Mahasanghikas (Beal 1969: 120).

There is another characteristic, which the Chinese Pilgrim noted concerning the people of Uddiyana (Swat). Hsuan-Tsang a monk of the pure Zen Chan tradition of Buddhism, wrote, "the people of Uddiyana are addicted to the art of reciting charms" (Beal 1969: 120). In fact, this statement may well be one of the earliest references concerning the Buddhist use of mantra that is known to scholars. Hsuan-Tsang, an adherent of a form of Buddhism that knows nothing of the *Vajra* way, perceived mantra-recitation not as a type of yoga, but rather as the utterance of superstitious spells.

#### 2.6.4 Hye Ch'o (724-727 A. D.)

An eminent Korean monk and pilgrim visited Gandhara, who was native of Hsin-lo, or the kingdom of Silla, in the Korean Peninsula (Han-Sun *et al* n.d. : 50). Hye Ch'o made his departure from South China and travelled by the southern sea route to India. He records in his Memoir that he made pilgrimages to holy sites such as Sarnath, Kusinagara, Rajarha and Bodhgaya. He continued his travels and came to western India, north-west India, Kahmir valley and its neighboring countries. After passing through the land of Gandhara he reached Uddiyana. He records.

From Gandhara, going directly north, I entered the mountains, traveled for three days and arrived at the country of Udyāna, which its people call Uddiyāna. The king of this country greatly reveres the Three Jewels. Most of his villages and their inhabitants have been donated for the support of the monasteries. Only a

few villages remain his own and even food and clothing from them are donated to the monasteries. He daily offers feasts [to the Sangha]. There are many monasteries and monks. There are slightly more monks than laymen. The dress, food, and customs here are similar to Gandhāra, though the languages are different. The land has many camels, mules, sheep, cotton clothing, and similar things. The climate is very cold (Han-Sun, Yun-Huag & Shotaro n.d. : 50).

Besides the four well known Chinese pilgrims, many other nameless pilgrims, teachers and other monks, used the ancient trade routes for visiting and seeing holy places in Gandhara and Uddiyana. The travel reports of these Chinese travellers are today, invaluable sources of information since the 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Jettmar 1982: 26-27).

## **2.7 Muslim Period**

From the eighth century onwards the Arabs put forth pressure from the west to the Iran-Afghan area and converted the population to Islam (Kalter 1991: 161). The conquest of the Peshawar basin by Mahmud in 1001 marks the beginning of the first Ghaznavid invasion of the northern India (Inam-ur-Rahim & Viaro 2002: 60).

### **2.7.1 Mahmud of Ghazni (1001 A. D.)**

In 1001, Mahmud of Ghazni began a series of invasions of India and, in the course, his generals conquered Swat. Mahmud of Ghazni was perhaps the first Muslim king to invade the Swat valley. It is believed that he personally came here in 1001 A. D. and fought a fierce battle at Udigram defeating the strong army of the Hindu Raja Gira. Mahmud's commander Pir Khushal Ghazi Baba was reportedly martyred in the battle. Remains of the earliest mosque in northern Pakistan of Mahmud of Ghazni are still visible near the tomb of Pir Khushal Ghazi Baba at Udigram (Secrato 1985:439).

It is true that the appearance of Islam is an important event in the long fascinating political and cultural history of the Swat valley. We know very little about early Muslim rule in Swat. About the early Islamic history of the area Scerrato says;

"As we have said, historical sources provide no evidence about the rise of Islam in the Swat Valley. There is an oral tradition alone, still deeply rooted and very much alive, to attribute to Mahmud, the great Ghaznavid Sultan, the conquest of the fortress surmounting Mount Raja Gira. This was enough to break down the resistance of the former inhabitants, the idol-worshipping Dardi, thus marking the rise of Islam in the Swat Valley" (Scerrato 1974-86 : 57)

Dr. Rehman is of the view that there is no written proof to quote that Sultan personally invaded the Swat valley. He reports that.

"[...] in the recorded accounts of Mahmud's Indian campaigns Swat is indeed nowhere mentioned expressly. The area was apparently still in the process of opening up. The Sultan personally, it seems, led no invasion of Swat, otherwise it would have been carefully recorded. Although history has failed to enlighten us on the progress of Muslim arms in the Malakand division..." (Rehman 1997-98 : 37)

After the occupation of the valley by the Muslims, different Pakhtun tribes like Swati Pakhtuns took over the land and settled there. They established their rule for centuries and the valley remained under the occupation of Swatis Pakhtuns tribes. Information about their longstanding rule is scanty, they remained independent and out of the sphere of influence of the neighbouring Muslim rulers of Afghanistan and India throughout their occupation. Swat valley remained in a possession of Swati Pakhtuns up to the last decade of the fifteenth century, while Sultan Awais was its chief ruler (Sultan-i-Rome 2000: 29).

### **2.7.2 Yusufzai Pathans**

The sixteenth century proved a turning point in the history of Swat valley as the Yusufzai Pathans occupied the land. The Yusufzai moved to the basin of

Peshawar and Mardan and drove beyond the Indus the Dilazak people who were settled there. Soon they were penetrating into the Swat valley (Sultan-i-Rome 2000: 29). But it was not until after twelve years of bitter fighting that they succeeded in defeating the Swatis under their Sultan Awais. The Swatis, too were forced to cross the Indus and settled in Hazara, they still call themselves Swati. Shortly afterwards the Yusufzai also conquered Dir and Buner.

For five hundred years the Yusufzai Pathans of Swat led nomadic lives. They did not remain at one place long enough to build new towns or extend existing ones. This unsettled mode of life was a great setback to the development of agriculture, trade and crafts. Swat never came under alien rule at least after its occupation by the Yusufzai. The Yusufzai, however, failed to form an organized government, headed by their Chief. They lived in their old tribal style.

During the time of their leader Malik Ahmed and Sheikh Mali, the land was occupied and divided land among the clans of the Yusufzai. The Mandars received Mardan and Swabi, The Nolizais Buner, the Malizais Dir and the Akozais Swat valley. At the same time Sheikh Mali introduced the *Wesh* system; a periodic reallocation of land among the groups of descendants the individual clans (see Appendix-A). *Wesh* system survived in Swat until the first quarter of the present century. Initially, the Yusufzai were guaranteed rights over the lands occupied by them, but paid tribute to Babur, the Mughal emperor of India (Sultan-i-Rome 2000: 22).

### 2.7.3 Mughal Period

While the Yusufzai gained footing in Swat, Babur made himself master of Kabul. Collision between the two sides was unavoidable, because one of Babur's routes to India fell within the domain of the Yusufzai. With the intention of attacking the Yusufzai, Babur marched for Swat and dismounted in between the waters of Jandol and Bajour. The Yusufzai of Swat retained their independent position up to Humayun's reign. The valley remained independent. Akbar sent an army to conquer Bajour and Swat under the command of Zain Khan Koka. Chakdara was made the base and a foundation of a fort was laid there. They marched towards Buner, but they were stopped at Karakar pass and met a great disaster. Birbal lost his life along with 8000 soldiers (Ferishta 1977: 259-60). They, however, made another try under the command of Zain Khan and fought in Bajour and Swat from 1587 to 1592, but without any real or lasting success (Caroe 1976: 218). Swat retained its freedom throughout the Mughal period and also during the reigns of the Durrani and the Sikhs.

With annexation of the Punjab and Peshawar by the British a new phase in the history of the valley began. The Swati chiefs got alarmed with the British power at their doorstep. They held *Jirgas* and at last installed Sayyad Akbar Shah as the king of Swat, who died on 11<sup>th</sup> of May 1857. After his death Swat itself plunged into civil war and remained preoccupied with its own affairs (Wylly 1998: 129). The Swatis had no significant collision with the British until the Ambela campaign in 1863 when the British forces made their advance through the Ambela Pass. In order to pass through Buner territory and crush the followers

of Sayyad Ahmad Shaheed Brailwi, in their colony, at Malka. Their advance was blocked by combined tribes' forces of Buner and Swat and gave them tough time for about two months. The Imperial Power failed to defeat them but their diplomacy worked in a sense that a ceasefire took place and the tribes dispersed.

The Swatis remained peaceful; they made no attempt against British Government till the death of the Akhund of Swat, on 12<sup>th</sup> of January 1877. Akhund prevailed over the situation, despite great pressure upon him (Barth 1995: 21). In 1895, the internal developments once more resulted in a collision and fighting between the Swatis and the British forces when the Swatis resolved to block passage of the British forces through their country. The massive British force attacked through Malakand Pass on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1895, the tribesmen continued their resistance and stopped the advance of the troops and artillery for four days. The British army succeeded in making their advance and for the first time from the south entered the Swat valley. They established their garrisons at Malakand and Chakdara.

## **2.8 Establishment of Swat State**

In 1835 Abdul Gaffoor alias Saidu Baba, (Saidu Sharif named after him), who was born around 1795 in Upper Swat, returned to Swat after years of wandering and Sufi meditation. His piety had earned him the epithet of an "Akhund of Swat" and after his arrival his reputation as a holy man increased so that he soon became the leading figure in the valley. He settled in Saidu Sharif which then became the centre of political life in Swat. Because of his influence



over the people he succeeded in forcing the rival Yusufzai clans to unity. His participation in the successful resistance to the British further increased his religious and political influence. From 1845 till his death in 1877, he tried to unite rival Yusufzai clans, with alternating degrees of success and failure.

When the British occupied Peshawar in 1849, the Swatis became anxious of their independence and attempted to form a government of their own in order to preserve their independence. They made Sayyed Akbar Shah, the name proposed by Abdul Ghafoor their king. They accepted the appointment of Sayyed Akbar Shah as king of Swat and the establishment of a standing army of 800 horsemen, 3000 foot soldiers and five or six cannons, the first prerequisites for a centralized state power. Sayyed Akbar Shah made Ghaligai his capital and died in 1857. With the death of Sayyed Akber Shah the State came to an end. After his death, Abdul Ghafoor tried twice, to get recognition of his eldest son as a ruler of Swat but could not succeed.

In the beginning of 20th century, external forces increasingly threatened Yusufzai dominance in Swat, particularly by the British. After the construction of the Malakand Pass road, the British created the Political Agency of Malakand at the most important pass linking the Swat valley with the southern plains in order to protect their interests in Dir and Swat as well as the connection to Chitral which ran through Dir. In 1901 when the North West Frontier Province was founded Swat together with other Tribal Areas became part of British India, although it still could not be brought under British control. Locally there was a threat from Dir State in the west. The ruler of Dir state occupied the territory on

the right bank of river Swat and started collection of *usher* (see Appendix-A). The occupation made the people of Shamizai, Sebjuni and Nikpi Khel united. They made a common cause under a religious personality, Sandakai Mullah. At the expulsion of the Dir forces the tribal elders invited the grandsons of Abdul Ghafoor (Saidu Baba), Miangul Abdul Wadud and his brother Shirin Jan, to become their rulers. They, however, did not accept for their own reasons. So the people invited Sayyed Abdul Jabbar Shah from Sitana and made him their king in April 1915. Jabbar Shah ruled for two and half years. He was asked by the tribal *Jirga* to leave Swat in September 1917, due to political and religious reasons.

Under the circumstances, the late Akhund's grandson, Miangul Abdul Wadud, exploited the situation claiming the political legacy of the Akhund. He succeeded in September 1917 in being elected the *Badshah* (king) of Swat by the *Loya-Jirga* (assembly) of some of the Yusufzai clans. He was recognized by British government as ruler of Swat State, or *Wali*, in 1926. Miangul Abdul Wadud, established his capital at his hereditary seat Saidu Sharif. Miangul Abdul Wadud consolidated his power with great energy and in a short time had created a stable state. He formed a standing army, with 80 forts at all strategically important points in the country from which a small garrison could control all the surrounding territory, built new roads, created a telephone network, and founded the first schools and hospitals.

In a short time he succeeded in extended the frontiers of the Swat valley , patronized the valley by declaring Pushto as a official language and above all by abolishing the *Wesh* System. At the same time within the State there developed

a sense of ethnic identity among the “Swatis”, based less on an actual ethnic unity than on identification with the geographical and political territory of the Swat State. In 1925, after eight years of Miangul Abdul Wadud installation, the process of the permanent settlement was taken in hand and, though not fair on the whole, fresh lots were drawn, and permanent settlement was made. The land reform process took five years to complete and the *Wali* took advantage of the process to reward his supporters and punish his opponents to some extent. In 1949, Miangul Abdul Wadud abdicated in favour of his son, Miangul Jahanzeb (Sultani-Rome 2000: 29). He ruled for about 20 years until the State was merged in Pakistan on 28<sup>th</sup> of July 1969.

## CHAPTER THREE

### SITES OF THE ROCK CARVINGS

#### 3.1 Rock Reliefs in Tributary valleys

This research presents a summary of the Buddhist rock reliefs or rock reliefs of the Swat valley. Under the Buddhist tradition a glorious era of rock reliefs was started in Swat valley as reflected in various tributaries. These rock reliefs are perhaps the best expression of the artistic genius of the artist of ancient Uddiyana. The aim of the research is to provide up-to-date information about the ongoing and completed research, which has been conducted in the Swat valley. The fundamental nature of the research is a scientific exploration and survey of the rock reliefs, which was conducted in spring 2002 in the valley. The present work is a first attempt in the context of the rock reliefs of Swat. Rock reliefs constitute an important aspect of the Buddhist art in Swat given in this chapter. At least in this respect this investigation will serve the purpose of preparing the ground upon which further research could be undertaken.

These rock reliefs and stelae display *Mahayanist* subject, most of them showing isolated figures of *Bodhisattvas* (see Appendix-A). Among them Padmapani, Avaloketiśvara, Maitreya, Vajrapani, Manjuśri and other standing figures were frequently observed. The figures of the Buddha are shown in *Dhyana mudra* (meditation pose) with half-closed eyes clearly marked *usniśa* (wisdom-bump) and *urna* (beauty spot). The Buddha figures sometime repeat the well-known pattern of the triad (see Appendix-A). Brahmanical images, e.g., Siva, Yoni-Linga, and Ganesha were also noted at a few places. Chronologically

and stylistically, they can be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries A. D. (Dani 1968-69: 257; Filigenze 1995: 625).

It is always observed that most of the reliefs on rocks/stelae are found in the vicinity of the stupas and monasteries suggesting an association with them. They played an important role in the religious, social and cultural life of the people of that time as well. Rock reliefs of the Swat valley deserve much attention because, besides their peculiar artistic character, they serve as both original and positive sources of history also.

Most of the rock relief sites of this research is generally known by the name of the locality. Efforts have also been made to throw light on the locations through the description of individual rock reliefs in the text as far as possible. Following are the details of the rock reliefs of the Buddhist period found in the dales of Swat.

The reconnaissance conducted in the spring of 2002 lead us to the discoveries of cave art, rock cut shelters, kharoshti inscription and Buddhist rock reliefs of the historic period. These findings were made at the banks of the river Swat in the main valley and her tributaries. The explored specimens here include mostly rock reliefs, cave paintings, rock inscriptions and few stelae carved on cliffs or isolated rocks still in situ.

### **3.2 Sites of the Jambil Valley**

This chapter focuses on the catalogue and documentation of the Buddhist rock reliefs of the Jambil valley. Although Tucci and Stein have referred to the reliefs of Jambil sub-valley in their reports, but the detail is not given. I, therefore, was able to record the following 30 rock reliefs sites in the Jambil tributary on

both banks of Jambil Khwar (stream). Jambil valley is situated to the east of Mingora and Saidu Sharif. From Mingora, a road on the right side of Jambil *Khwar* and passes through the villages of Haji Baba, Butkara, Panr, Rasha-Gata or Bate, Dangram, Kokarai, Jambil, Chinar, Meragai, Pronna, Sangar hamlet and finally reaches to Kalel Kandow. The road generally follows the bank of the Jambil *Khwar*. Jambil is a small ancient hamlet, with rich sites. It occupies most important place in the cultural history of the Swat valley.

It is a beautiful fertile hilly region watered by a perennial stream of the same name, 'the Jambil *Khwar*. The winding valley sometimes narrows into a gorge, sometimes broadens into small plains; it is bordered in by a mountain range, whose sharp sides plunge downwards to divide the region in a number of natural pockets. The lower mountain slopes are covered sand and clay in terraces. The valley contains large numbers of ancient remains of stupas, monasteries, settlements, graves and rock reliefs. A huge number of rock reliefs are attached to both banks of the Jambil Khwar, which gushing down through the rocky tract reaches to the plain beyond Mingora. These sites have been mentioned by the Stein and Tucci (Stein 1930: 45-46; Tucci 1958: 309-312)

Stein in his survey report mentions:

there were numerous Buddhist ruins also in the Janbil valley through which the route from the Khalēl pass leads down to Mingaora. There we found nearly a dozen ruinous Stupas scattered in little groups; all had suffered badly because their accessible position had made them convenient quarries of building-stone. It was probable, too, that iconoclastic zeal would assert itself with special vigour in a populous neighbourhood (Stein 1998: 74)

Tucci remarks:

Of greater importance was certainly the valley of Jambhil. This is one of the places richest in archaeological remains, be they rock-cut engravings, steles or stūpas. The search for antiquities in this valley took us many days because those remains are scattered on both sides of the river, and we were compelled to toil

up and down along winding paths, tiresome explorations in the maize fields where the stelae or the relief are often hidden (Tucci 1958: 309)

### 3.2.1 Butkara Village

The village Butkara's new name is Gul-Kada and is situated in the entrance of the Jambil sub-valley and to south east of Mingora city. This area is named after a famous Buddhist site of Butkara-I, excavated by Italian Archaeological Mission (IsMEO) in 1956-62. The sacred area of Butkara-I where a great stupa was erected immediately after Asoka and surrounded by 240 minor stupas documents the evolution of Gandhara Art (Faccenna 1980-81). The site lies on the left side of Jambil *Khwar*, accessible by a Jeep track from Mingora-Saidu road. Leaving Mingora along the left bank of the Jambil *Khwar* one reaches the ruins of Butkara-I site lying in the plain. The remains are seen in section, as it were, along the deeply eroded banks of the Jambil *Khwar*. The detail of the rock relief situated near Butkara-I site is as follows;

#### Pl. 1

##### Butkara-I

Measurements of the rock: 130 x 200 cm

H. 130 x W. 150 x D. 10 cm

Material: Schist stone

Orientation: Lying up side down

Reference: (Ashraf Khan 1996: 109; Sardar 2005: 58)

The site of this relief is situated about 200 metres east of the Butkara-I stupa site. The boulder is now dislodged from its original place and is lying upside down on the left edge of Jambil *Khwar*. The rock reveals a single figure of Bodhisattva Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive mood (see Appendix-A). The Padmapani is represented on a high *asana* (seat/throne) with the right leg gently folded on the throne, while the left one hangs down. The right hand rests

on the right thigh in *varadamudra* (Bhattacharyya 1985: 198). While the left one is resting on the left thigh holding a lotus stalk. The *prabhamandala* (halo) is slightly desecrated. The folds of the dress are distinctly marked. The boulder as well as the relief is chipped off and broken from many places. The details of jewellery or headdress of the figure could not be identified. This rock relief is presently buried inside the ground.

### 3.2.2 Panr Village

The village Panr is situated about two km east of Mingora city on the right bank of Jambil *Khawar*. Panr locality is famous for Buddhist sanctuary also (Faccenna *et al.* 1993). There are total seven sites of rock reliefs in the vicinity of Panr village. Two localities i. e Kandou Paté and Koni-Gut contain rock reliefs sites. The locality of Kandou Paté lies to the north of Panr village; reveal three groups of rock reliefs, while the locality of Koni-Gut is situated to the east of Panr village having four groups of rock reliefs accessible through Jambil road. Following are the descriptions and details of the rock reliefs of the Panr village.

#### Pl. 2

##### **Kandou Paté-I**

Measurements of the boulder: 100 x 280 cm

H. 55 x W. 190 x D. 16 cm

Material: Schist stone

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Ashraf Khan 1996: 108-109; Sardar 2005: 59)

This rock reveals the outlines of three human figures mostly defaced and destroyed. The extant remains show deeply cut niches for the images. No physical details could be identified on the boulder due to deteriorated condition of the figure. All the images are defaced and completely removed by the local people. The site is now being used as a stone quarry.



**Pl. 3****Kandou Paté-II**

Measurements of the boulder: 190 x 400 cm

H. 120 x W. 220 x D. 13 cm.

Material: Schist stone

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Filigenzi 1995: 626; Sardar 2005: 59)

This group of rock reliefs is about one metre above the site Kandou Paté-I. The rock reveals four human figures; two of them in standing positions while two in sitting. Starting from the right hand side is a figure of the seated *Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara* in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. The upper part is missing. Yet the extant remains show that his right leg is gently folded on the throne, while his right hand rests on the right thigh.

The clinging folds of his drapery are visible over his seat. On his right is the famous scene of triad. The standing figure on the right side of Avalokiteśvara is Padmapani, having lotus flower in the left hand and unidentified object in the right one. He is standing on *padmasana* (lotus flower pedestal). The upper part of his body is broken. On his right is the image of *Dhyani Buddha* on *simhasana* (lion throne). The lions are shown between two pillars. The Buddha figure is represented in drapery and his throne shows a deep crack in the middle. To the extreme left side of the figure is a standing Maitreya on *padmasana* having a water flask in the right hand and a lotus flowers in the left. The *prabhamandala* behind his head is clearly visible. The nearby heap of pebbles and stones show that they were thrown at the figures by passers-by. This group of rock reliefs also shows shallow holes of bullets fired at by the local people during shooting competition. The relief is damaged.

**Pl. 4****Kandou Paté-III**

Measurements of the boulder: 160 x 1220 cm.

H. 125 x W. 160 x D. 15 cm.

Material: Schist stone

Orientation: Facing east

Reference: (Tucci 1958: 311; Faccenna *et al.* 1993: 262; Ashraf Khan 1996: 108-109; Sardar 2005: 60)

This site is situated about 500 metres east of the Kandou Paté-II and to the north of Panr village and about half km from the main road leading to Jambil. A seasonal dry ravine (*nalla*) on the east of the site running down from Kandou spur finally joins the Jambil *Khwar*. Traces of ancient walls and remain of deserted stupas on the south east side of these rock reliefs were observed. A large number of potsherds and decorated stone pieces of the Buddhist period are scattered all over the ground. The rock reveals two human figures executed in two separate properly chiseled niches, the right one is a seated defaced figure of *Dhyani* Buddha. The left one is a destroyed figure of a *Bodhisattva* in *lalitasana* whose body outline is visible, but no details. The local people and casual visitors have disfigured their heads and faces and other body parts.

**Pl. 5****Koni-Gut-I**

Measurement of the boulder: 200 x 350 cm.

H. 125 x W. 100 x D. 21 cm

Material: Calcareous schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 1993: 76; Ashraf Khan 1996: 108-109; Sardar 2005: 61)

The Koni-Gut-I relief depicts seven figures (human and animal), including one triad (*Dhyani* Buddha between two standing *Bodhisattvas*). *Dhyani* Buddha with cross-legged and upturned soles is shown seated in a yoga style on a high

*simhasana*. He is dressed in Indian drapery, shawl and *dhoti*. Folds of his *dhoti* are symmetrically hanging at the front of the *asana*. The throne of the Buddha is at its base, decorated with *chakra* (wheel), adorned by two small animals, probably deer. On his right is an unidentified figure, due to much defacing, standing *Bodhisattva* on *padmasana*, while on his left is Maitreya standing on *padmasana* holding a water flask in the left hand and a lotus in the right.

This is the only example in the whole series of the rock reliefs of the district of Swat, where we found the *asana* of the Buddha adorned by *chakra* and two deer, which represents the first sermon of the lord Buddha (Zwalf 1985: 107). The peculiar detail occurs on the base, in the tiny composition which represents the first sermon at Sarnath—the “turning of the wheel of the law” usually symbolized by the wheel flanked by deer or antelope. The head and upper torso of the *Buddha* are damaged by man as well as nature.

#### Pl. 6

##### Koni-Gut-II

Measurements of the boulder: 140 x 240 cm.

H. 96 x W. 110 x D. 08 cm

Material: Calcareous Schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 61)

This group of rock reliefs is about 50 metres above Koni-Gut-I. The rock reveals five figures (human and animal). The main scene is a triad, the seated Buddha in *bhūmisparśa -mudra* (earth touching pose).

Starting from right, there is seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* performing *varadamudra*. His right hand is stretched downwards, while his left one rests on left thigh holding a lotus. In the middle is a seated Buddha in *bhūmisparśa mudra*

on a high *simhasana*. On his right is standing Maitreya having a water flask in left hand, while his right hand is broken off. All the figures are in bad state of preservation thereby loosing all finer details

#### Pl. 7

##### Koni-Gut-III

Measurements of the rock: 270 x 560 cm.

H. 80 x W. 1200 x D. 18 cm

Material: Calcareous Schist

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 62)

Koni-Gut-III group of rock reliefs is revealing three human figures and situated 4 metres towards south of Koni-Gut-II. Starting from the right there is Padmapani seated in *lalitasana* on a high *asana* in pensive attitude. His right hand rests on his right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh is holding a lotus stem. The signs of his *prabhamandala* behind his head are prominent. On his right standing Maitreya on *padmasana* holds a water flask in his right hand, while his left hand is broken off. Further right is Avalokiteśvara *Bodhisattva* in *lalitasana* on a high *asana* in pensive attitude. His right hand rests on his right thigh, while his left hand on the left thigh is holding a lotus stem. Both the figures on the left have their heads chopped off, while the whole relief, in general, is much defaced and no clear picture of their drapery and ornament emerge.

#### Pl. 8

##### Koni-Gut-IV

Measurements of the rock: 170 x 420 cm.

H. 90 x W. 80 x D. 17 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 62)

The rock of Koni-Gut-IV relief is situated to the west of Koni-Gut-III. The rock reveals a single seated figure of *Bodhisattva Padmapani* in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude on a high *asana*. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while his left hand rests on the left thigh holding a lotus flower. The signs of *prabhamandala* behind his head are clearly visible over the rock surface. Exposed to human as well as to natural weathering the figure is much defaced.

### 3.2.3 Rasha-Gata or Batai

The village of Rasha-Gata, close to the hamlet of Batai, is situated about 3 km east of Mingora city on the left side of the road leading to Jambil. The rock relief is about 400 metres above Batai Bus Stand. The rock relief is amongst the scattered houses of Batai hamlet. This is the only relief in the whole locality of Rasha-Gata or Batai.

#### Pl. 9

#### Rasha-Gata-I

Measurements: 255 x 1020 cm.

H. 160 x W. 130 x D. 14 cm

Material: Gramu diorite

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 63)

The rock reveals five human figures of different sizes. Starting from the right side is the figure of Padmapani in *lalitasana* in meditative attitude on a high *asana*. His right hand rests on his right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. Above his right shoulder are depicted two unidentifiable figures. The remaining two figures on the extreme left are probably Bodhisattvas in *lalitasana*. The whole relief is defaced and heap of pebbles in front of the rock shows that they were thrown at for demolishing the figures. Right side portion of

the relief is missing. Due to lack of protection bad state of preservation, no details of the costumes and ornaments are visible over the rock surface.

### 3.2.4 Rahman Cheena

The hamlet of Rahman Cheena is situated about 5 km east of Mingora city and a half km west of Loebarr village on the left side of the Jambil *Khwar*. Stein has described this site as Shararai (Stein, 1930: 45), while Tucci mentioned it with name Arap Khan (Tucci 1958: 310) and Faccenna as Arapkhanchina in their reports (Faccenna, 1993: 262).

This area was once known as Shararai, presently it is known as 'Arapkhan Cheena' or 'Rahman Cheena' by the local people. Here, there are extensive remains of three deserted Buddhist stupas and monasteries and ruined structures of ancient time scattered all around. Historic period potsherds and pieces of sculpture over the surface of the ground testify to the existence of a very extensive religious Buddhist establishment, built near spring. Six groups of rock reliefs covering an area of about 500 metres around were found in this locality. Their details are as under:

#### Pl. 10

#### Rahman Cheena-I

Measurements of the boulder: 180 x 420 cm

H. 135 x W. 126 x D. 18 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Stein 1930: 45; Tucci 1958: 310; Faccenna *et al.* 1993: 262; Sardar 2005: 64)

The rock reliefs on the east side of a seasonal *nalla*, which reveal two human figures, the main figure is a Padmapani executed on a high *asana* in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. His right leg is gently folded over the seat, while the

left one hangs down. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding lotus stem. The lower edge of the *Bodhisattva asana* is decorated with rope designs. Occupying a tiny place on the boulder above his left shoulder is carved a small-seated *Dhyani* Buddha. Both the figures have prominent *prabhamandalas* behind their heads. The boulder contains a layer of patina and is weathered.

**Pl. 11**

**Rahman Cheena-II**

Measurements: 97 x 70 cm

H. 153 x W. 128 x D. 37 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Stein, 1930: 45; Tucci 1958: 310, fig 18; Ashraf Khan 1996: 108-109: 108; Sardar 2005 : 65)

This rock relief is situated to the east of the site Rahman Cheena-I. This group of rock reliefs depicts three seated human figures. The main figure is a Padmapani in *lalitasana* in thinking mood. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. Two small *Dhyani* Buddhas, one on each side of the main figure, give the impression that they are busy in meditation of the Padmapani. The surface of the rock shows that it was chiseled into a deep niche for the reliefs. Heads and faces of the entire group are damaged.

**Pl. 12**

**Rahman Cheena-III**

Measurements of the rock: 300 x 278 cm.

H. 300 x W. 278 x D. 14 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Ashraf Khan 1996: 108; Sardar 1993: 78-82; Sardar 2005: 65)

This rock is lying in middle of cultivated fields to the north of the Rahman Cheena-II. The rock partly is embedded in the ground in good state of preservation. It reveals thirteen figures (humans and animals) in two scenes of a triads. Starting from the right, there is a standing Maitreya holding a water flask in the left hand and a lotus stem in the right. On his right is a well-known scene of a triad. The Buddha is seated on *simhasana*, the lower portion of which is decorated with lotus petals. On his left side is standing Padmapani holding a lotus flower in his right, while a lotus stem in the left hand. On his right side is standing Maitreya (?), whose upper half and hands are badly defaced. Both the *Bodhisattvas* are standing on *padmasanas*. The folds of dresses of all the figures are visible, two lions under the throne and lotus petals underneath.

Two relatively small statues of *Dhyani* Buddha are shown above the shoulders of the large *Dhyani* Buddha. The most interesting element of this rock relief is the two recognized *vidyadhara* or *gandharvas*, floating above the shoulders of the *Dhyani* Buddha. This may be the rendering of *Bodhisattva* Sidharatha before enlightenment (Rahman 1995: 70)

The second scene of the panel is another triad, but the central figure instead of *Dhyani* Buddha is Padmapani in *lalitasana* in thinking mood on a high seat. It is for the first time that a single rock reveals two scenes of triads. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. On his left side standing Maitraya holds a water flask in the left hand and a lotus stem in the right. On his right is a standing figure of Padmapani holding lotus flowers in the right while a lotus stem in the left hand.



The upper part of the rock is exposed to natural and human hazards and the reliefs are mostly broken and defaced, while the lower part is buried in soil and preserved to some extent .

**Pl. 13**

**Rahman Cheena-IV**

Measurements of the rock: 269 x 523 cm.

H. 163 x W. 172 x D. 30 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Tucci 1958: 310; Filigenzi 1999: 20, fig. 8; Sardar 1993: 78-82; Ashraf Khan 1996: 108; Sardar 2005 : 66)

This rock lies to the west of Rahman Cheena-III. It reveals seven human and animal figures. Starting from the right, there is a seated Padmapani in *ardhaparyankasana*—a reverse form of *lalitasana* pose, with his right leg pointing downwards and his left leg folded upon the seat (Filigenzi 1995: 627). His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. Above his shoulder is shown a seated Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* in *varadamudra*, the hand stretched with fingers pointing downwards. His right hand rests on the right, while the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus stem.

The main figure of Avalokiteśvara is represented on *simhasana*, on his right is depicted a *Dhyani* Buddha, while on his extreme left is Maitreya in *lalitasana* in pensive mood on high throne. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stems (Filigenzi 1999: 20, fig. 8).

Another is an unidentified standing *Bodhisattva* in the lower corner of the rock. A small *Dhyani* Buddha is depicted on the right side of Padmapani. All the figures of this group are having smart and slim bodies. No details of costumes/dresses and jewellery could be made out. The rock being exposed to rain, sunlight and floodwater has a thick layer of black patina and crust on its surface.

**Pl. 14**

**Rahman Cheena-V**

Measurements of the rock: 380 x 600 cm

H. 175 x W. 125 x D. 20 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 67)

The rock is lying close to the house of Mr. Ramdad Khan (the landowner). This rock depicts one of the best preserved masterpieces of Avalokiteśvara, on the left, seated on a high throne in *lalitasana*. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. The *Bodhisattva* wears a prominent crown, bearing a small statue of *Dhyani* Buddha. The *Bodhisattva* is adorned with jewellery of necklace and bracelets. The figure wears a transparent dress, the folds of which are visible on the throne, the lower part of which is decorated with lotus petals.

**Pl. 15**

**Rahman Cheena-VI**

Measurements of the rock: 147 x 200 cm.

H. 95 x W. 145 x D. 11 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing east

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 68)

This rock relief is situated on the top of the plateau. The famous spring of Rahman Cheena is situated to the southeast. The rock depicts two seated statues almost equal in size. On the right is *Dhyani Buddha* (?) on a high seat with the head and left arm is broken off and not illustrated here. On his right is seated unidentified *Bodhisattva* in *ardhaparyankasana* in pensive attitude. His left hand rests on his left thigh, while the right one on the right thigh, holding a lotus stem.

### 3.2.5 Dangram village

The village of Dangram is about 5 km east of Mingora. The site of the stele is to the south of Dangram village, on the left side of the road leading to Jambil village. The stele is lying in the cultivated fields owned by Mr. Fazal Khlaique. This area is locally known as Danda Patē. It is an abandoned broken stele lying in the pedestrian track covered by pebbles and mud.

#### PI. 16

##### Dangram-I (stele)

Measurements of the slab: 110 x 60 cm.

H. 110 x W. 60 x D. 08 cm

Material: Diorite gabbros

Orientation: Lying up side down

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 68)

The Danda Patē stele is a headless Maitreya figure having water flask in the left and a lotus stem in the right hand. The slab is lying to the north south direction. The figure shows prominent hips and thin waist, his stretched down right hand is partially covered in the folds of shawl. The chipped off signs over the stele reveal that it is rolled down from an upper terrace.

### 3.2.6 Garasa village

The village of Garasa is about 7 km to the east of Mingora on the right side of Jambil *Khwar*. The village contains scattered populations of Gujars tribe. There is a huge Buddhist stupa in Garasa village. The stupa was partially excavated by the department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, in 1980. About 1 km Jeep track leads to the site from the main metalled road of Jambil. The name of the landowner is Atha-ur Rahman of Kokarai village.

**Pl. 17**

**Kar Patē-I**

Measurements of the rock: 210 x 520 cm.

H. 85 x W. 150 x D. 20 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 69)

The Kar Patē relief depicts four human figures. Starting from the right, there is Maitreya in *lalitasana* pose on a high *asanas*. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left one resting on the left thigh holds a lotus stem. On his right is a *Dhyani* Buddha on a low seat. Further right is Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude on a high throne. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. To his right is Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude on a high throne. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. As compared to the other statues over the rock the figure of *Dhyani* Buddha is smaller and occupies a small space on the rock. A thick layer of white patina fades all the relief. No scientific analyses of the reliefs were possible due to heavy crust over the surface of the boulder.

**3.2.7 Saman-Gul hamlet**

The site is situated about a km to the north of the Kokarai village. A small paved Jeep track leads to the site near Kokarai Muslim graveyard. The seasonal *nalla* with little water flows in the front of the rock caused dark patina over the surface of the rock. The figures are smooth due to weathering.

**Pl. 18**

**Saman-Gul-1**

Measurements of the rock: 170 x 520 cm.

H. 125 x W. 187 x D. 10 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing south west

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 69)

The rock of Saman-Gul-1 reveals ten figures of humans and animals. Seven among them are humans but mostly faded. Starting from the right side is *Dhyani* Buddha on a high seat. On his right is Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude on a high *asana*. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. On his right is Maitreya, in *lalitasana*, his right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. There are three statues of *Dhyani* Buddhas, one on *simhasana* occupying a small place over the rock. The rock shows two other tiny *Bodhisattvas* figures hardly recognizable. This rock reveals a thick layer of dark patina. The constant exposure of the relief made most of the details illegible. Years of exposure has made the surface of the boulder gray.

**3.2.8 Kalako Dheray**

Kalako Dheray locality, famous for the Gandhara Grave site situated at the back side of Kokarai village, and about 8 km to the east of Mingora on the left

side of the road leading to Jambil, excavated by the Italian Mission, while this site of the rock relief is situated to the east of the Kalako Dheray.

**Pl. 19**

**Kalako Dheray-I**

Measurements of the rock: 145 x 280 cm.

H. 140 x W. 110 x D. 20 cm

Material: Augan gneiss

Orientation of the relief: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 1993: 83-84; Sardar 2005: 70)

The rock reveals a seated *Bodhisattva* in *lalitasana* on a high throne. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. The throne of the *Bodhisattva* reveals a tiny figure of *Dhyani* Buddha. The *Bodhisattva*'s throne is decorated with geometrical designs, visible from a distance. The upper part of the *Bodhisattva* is defaced and chipped off. No cosmetic details of costume/dress and jewellery are visible on the rock.

**3.2.9 Shanglow Mera hamlet**

Shanglow Mera lies to the west of Kokarai village on the left bank of the Jambil *Khwar*. The site of the rock reliefs is about half a km from Kokarai Bus Stand. The Bagh or Baghdherai mentioned by Tucci is to the south of the hamlet (Tucci 1958: 311-12). Five groups of rock reliefs were explored during the survey of the area. The details are as under.

**Pl. 20**

**Shanglow Mera-I**

Measurements of the rock: 330 x 550 cm.

H. 210 x W. 280 x D. 12 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing east

Reference: (Tucci 1958: 310; Filigenzi 1995: 626 ; Sardar 2005: 71)

Two *Bodhisattvas*, i. e., Padmapani and Avalokiteśvara are carved. Starting from the right, there is an image of Padmapani on a high throne in *lalitasana*. The right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand rests on the left thigh holding a lotus stalk. On his right is a large statue of Avalokiteśvara on a high throne in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. The right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand rests on the left thigh holding a lotus stalk. The head and face of the figure are chipped off. The prominent *prabhamandala* behind his head is decorated with rope design. Both the *Bodhisattvas* are wearing long *dhoti*, (*adhovastra*) the graceful folds of which are visible on the thrones (Murthy 1977: 18-27). They are adorned with bracelets and necklaces partially chipped off. Lower parts of their seats are missing.

**Pl. 21**

**Shanglow Mera-II (stele)**

Measurements of the slab: 156 x 100 cm

H. 156 x W. 100 x D. 12 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Open to sky

Reference: (Filigenzi 1995: 627; Sardar 2005: 71)

The slab of Shanglow Mera-I reveals a single figure of *Bodhisattva* in *rdhaparyankasana* in pensive attitude on *simhasana*. His left leg is gently folded over the seat, while his right leg hangs down. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holds a lotus stem. This stele has apparently rolled down from the upper terraces and presently lying in a pedestrian's path in east west direction. The stele is in bad state of preservation, chipped off at many places.

**Pl. 22****Shanglow Mera-III (stele)**

Measurements of the Slab: 127 x 143 cm.

H. 127 x W. 143 x D. 11 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing sky

Reference: (Sardar 2005:72)

This slab of Shanglow Mera-III is lying about 100 metres to the north of Shanglow Mera-II inside the cultivated fields. The stele reveals five human and animal figures; it also depicts a scene of triad *Dhyani* Buddha between two standing *Bodhisattvas*. The Buddha figure is represented on a high *simhasana*. The *prabhamandala* of the Buddha is decorated with rope designs (?). On his right is a standing Maitreya having water flask in the right and a lotus flowers in the left hand. On his left is standing Vajrapani (see Appendix-A). Both the *Bodhisattvas* bear prominent *prabhamandalas* behind their heads. All the figures are slightly projected from the stele surface. A thick layer of patina made most of the details invisible. The stele is chipped off from various places.

**Pl. 23****Shanglow Mera-IV (stele)**

Measurements of the slab: 210 x 45 cm. (166 X 52 cm.)

H. 210 x W. 45 x D. 26 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing sky

Reference: (Sardar 2005:72)

The stele of Shanglow Mera-IV is a broken and having two equal parts lying in the north east of Shanglow Mera-III. Both parts reveal a single large figure of seated Padmapani in *lalitasan* on *simhasana*. Both the lions on the throne of *Bodhisattva* are in seated position and carved in a profile. Both the pieces show poor state of preservation and contain a thick layer of patina.



**Pl. 24****Shanglow Mera-V (stele)**

Measurements of the slab/stele: 86 x 79 cm.

H. 86 x W. 79 x D. 14 cm

Material: Granite Geniss

Orientation: Lying up side down

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 73)

The slab of Shanglow Mera-V is lying inside the house of Sodagar (a local farmer). According to him it rolled down from the upper terraces. The stele depicts three human and animal figures including a seated headless *Dhayani* Buddha on *simhasana*. The right side of slab was broken off. The extant remains are quite preserved and show a impressive artistic workmanship; the Buddha figure is fully robbed in monastic dress covering both his shoulders. The prominent rippling of the robe is accentuated. The graceful folds of the drapery are clearly visible over his body.

**3.2.10 Jambil village**

The village of Jambil is about 11 km east of Mingora. All the three sites of rock reliefs are just below the Jambil Bus Stand on the right side of the Jambil *Khwar*. A *Madrassa* (religious school) is on the west of the sites. The rocks are in cultivated fields. Their details are as under.

**Pl. 25****Jambil-I**

Measurements of the boulder: 370 x 820 cm.

H. 120 x W. 138 x D. 25 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005:74)

The rock of Jambil-1 reveals seven human figures, starting from right is a triad (*Dhyani* Buddha between two standing *Bodhisattvas* on *simhasana*), on his left side is a standing Padmapani and on his right is Maitreya. On the right of the triad is Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana*. The right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left one rests on the left thigh holding a lotus stalk. To his right is Padmapani in *lalitasana*. The right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. Most of the figures are chipped off.

**Pl. 26**

**Jambil-II**

Measurements of the boulder: 100 x 320 cm.

H. 85 x W. 240 x D. 13 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 74)

Jambil-II is about 5 metres below Jambil-I, reveals a group of five figures on a rock. Starting from the right is a seated Maitreya (?) in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude. The right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left one rests on the left thigh holding a lotus stalk. On his right is a seated Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude. The right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left rests on the left thigh holding a lotus stalk. To his right is a seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude. The right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left rests on the left thigh holding a lotus stalk. The remaining two on the extreme left are the images of *Dhyani* Buddhas. All the figures are in poor state of preservation and mostly defaced.

**Pl. 27**

**Jambil-III**

Measurements of the rock: 470 x 240 cm

H. 70 x W. 190 x D. 69 cm

Material: Quartz mica schist  
 Orientation: Facing south west  
 Reference: (Sardar 2005 :75)

This group of rock relief is also situated to the right side of the Jambil *Khwar* 500 metres west of Jambil-II. This relief is in a deep recess, with a rock shelter above. The boulder shows seven human figures: one among them is a standing, while the remaining six are in sitting positions.

Starting from the right the first two are *Dhyani* Buddhas on high thrones. Another is a standing Maitreya with his characteristic water flask in the right hand and a lotus stem in the left. The three-seated *Bodhisattvas* on high *asanas* in *lalitasana* are in pensive attitudes. Their right legs are gently folded over the seats, while their left legs are hanging down. Their right hands rest on their right thighs, while their left hands rest on their left thighs holding lotus stalks. These reliefs are preserved to some extent.

#### Pl. 28

#### Jambil-IV

Standing Padmapani

H. 29 x W. 17 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing West

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 76)

This represents a defaced standing Padmapani in *varadamudra* his right hand (chopped off) stretched towards the earth. He holds a lotus stem in left hand (broken). The Bodhisattva wears two pieces of garments; the upper garment or the *uttariya* covers both of his shoulders, while the lower garment is short *dhoti* (*ardhoruka*) tied with a belt over the waist, clinging down to his knee. He is bare footed adorned with necklace, bracelets and an amulet on right arm.

**Pl. 29****Jambil-V**

Seated Maitreya

H. 24 x W. 16 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing West

Reference: (Sardar 2005 : 76)

This stele reveals seated Maitreya on a high podium throne, in *lalitasana* pose, his left leg folded over the seat, while the right leg hangs down. His right hand rises in his front in *abhayamudra*, in his left hand holds a water pot. The seat is plain. The stela of the Bodhisattva is broken in the middle face of the figure is chipped off and also left hand is damaged, while an outline of halo behind his head is visible.

**Pl. 30****Jambil-VI**

Standing Padmapani

H. 53 x W. 20 cm

Material: Granite gneiss

Orientation: Facing West

Reference: (Sardar 2005 :76)

This stela represents a Bodhisattva Padmapani in *varadamudra*, his right hand stretched towards the earth. He holds a lotus stem in left hand, issuing from (broken) pedestal passing through his shoulder. The Bodhisattva wears two pieces of garments; the upper garment or the *uttariya* passing over the shoulders, rolls round the right arm, while the lower garment is short *dhoti* tied with a belt over the waist, clinging down to his knee. He is barefooted with necklace, bracelets and an amulet on right arm.

### 3.3 Sites of the Murghazar Valley

Murghazar sub-Valley is situated to the south of Saidu Sharif, the present district headquarters of District Swat. A metalled road follows the bank of the Murghazar or Elam *Khwar* and, as it passes Shagai, Sehrai and Guligram villages, takes a sharp turn to the east and near the present Kukrai Police Station bifurcates— the eastern branch leading to the village of Salamapur and the southern to Murghazar (Tucci 1958: 146). Murghazar itself is a small hamlet situated at the foot of Elam about 13 km from Saidu Sharif. Murghazar remained a summer campus of the *Wali* (ruler) of Swat, where he built a White Palace in 1940-41.

Crossing the hamlet of Nilgot by road one reaches to the famous Muslim graveyard known as Mian Baba Ziarat on the right side of Elam *Khwar*. Three roads meet; one coming from Saidu Sharif along the Elam river, another from the same locality but passing through Salampur, and the third one proceeding to Murghazar crossing Chitor hamlet. Murghazar is a small village at the top of the Valley, about 1280 metres above sea level and 13 km from Saidu Sharif (see Map.6). Murghazar is actually a captivating spot worth mentioning, famous for its “*Safaid Mahal*” (white palace). This is a white marble splendid palace of the former *Wali* Swat. Here the Murghazar stream cascades down off Elam. Beside the stream behind the Murghazar Palace runs the old Hindu pilgrim path up to Elam.

The valley is famous for numerous archaeological sites i.e. rock reliefs, stelae, Brahmanical images and Buddhist religious establishments. The famous

sites are the Shnaisha Gumbat, Dhop Darra stupa and Mount Elam. The most famous Buddhist stupa locally known as Shnaisha Gumbat; comprising a huge stupa and monastery. It is the stupa, already noticed by Aural Stein, of Shanesha on the slopes of the mountain Tarkhana. The Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar excavated this stupa in 1990 and brought to light frequent numbers of antiquities mostly sculptures, stelae and reliefs (Rahman 1993: 67-82).

Another most important Buddhist establishment is situated in Batora Spur a large Buddhist establishment in an attractive glen called Dhop Darra. This place is completely hidden from view and can only be easily approached through the bed of a dry *Khwar*. The ruins are found in a much-disturbed condition and consist of a main stupa, some under ground cells and a monastery. The main stupa still stands to the height of its drum, which is hollow and coated by lime plaster from inside, but it has gone through a period of extensive plundering, not only at the hands of sculpture hunters but also of a contractor who is said to have used the hollow drum as a furnace.

This sub-valley lies on the most direct and convenient route from Mingora and the adjacent central parts of Upper Swat to the sacred top of Elam, which is still annually visited by a large number of Hindu pilgrims. On the right hand (south) side of the road, it is 2811 metres high, making it the highest hill in lower Swat. According to legend, it has been sacred since prehistoric times, when it was believed to be the seat of tribal deities and ancestors. The pilgrimage to Mount Elam is certainly of a very ancient origin as is proved by Hsuan Tsang's

description of Mount Hi-lo. At the top are big square blocks of natural stone that may have been used as prehistoric altars.

More numerous however are the remains of rock reliefs found in the area stretching from Nilgot hamlet to Sapalbandai village. Some of these reliefs were seen by A. Stein in 1926 and were then found badly disfigured because of stones thrown at them by passers-by. Among the already reported site a few new sites of the rock reliefs were traced on both sides of the Murghazar *Khwar*. The details are as under:

### 3.3.1 Nilgot hamlet

A little short of the Mian Baba Ziarat the stream dashes against the hill side leaving only a small space for the road to pass through. Here, in the course of centuries, the *Khwar* water has scooped out a deep trough in the bed of stream locally known as Nilgot (Rahman 1993: 1-67). The actual name of the hamlet has long been forgotten; while the present name owes its origin to the neighboring Gujar hamlet of a few scattered houses. It lies about five km southwest of Saidu Sharif on the left bank of Elam *Khwar*. The famous stupa of Shanaisha is to the southwest of the village Batora and the west of the rock reliefs (Tucci 1958: 313).

#### Pl. 31 Nilgot-I

Measurements of the rock: 110 x 140 cm.

H. 110 x W. 140 x D. 09 cm

Material: Quartz

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Rahman 1993: 9; Taddei 1998:172; Ashraf Khan 1996:109; Sardar 2005 :80)

This rock reveals four human figures; two are seated, while two are in standing position. The Padmapani in a pensive mood, his right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand rests on the left, holding a lotus stalk. On his left is a standing Maitreya holding the water flask in his right hand. On his right, above the crown of Padmapani is a small statue of *Dhyani* Buddha occupying a small place on the rock. On the left side of the Padmapani is another seated figure. No details of costume or jewellery are visible. All the figures of the relief are in bad state of preservation and the boulder contains deep cracks at various places. Dark and gray patina made it difficult to identify many of its artistic details.

### 3.3.2 Chitor

Before the Elam Bridge there is small hamlet known as Chitor and famous for Sayyed families. This hamlet is about 6 km south of Saidu Sharif, on the left side of road leading to Murghazar. A defaced stele was found near the house of Mian Bacha (the land owner) , following are the details.

#### Pl. 32

##### Chitor-I (stele)

Measurements of the stele: 110 x 57 cm.

H. 110 x W. 57 x D. 04 cm

Material: Schist

Orientation: Lying up side down

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 80)

The slab is lying on the right side of the road a little off the Elam Bridge. This is a dislodged slab from its original position lying in a pedestrian path. The stele depicts a single standing figure of a *Bodhisattva* with a dress. It lies in bad state of preservation and the outline of the figure is chipped off. The upper part of the figure has almost vanished.



### 3.3.3 Salampure

Salampure is small hamlet known for the local handicrafts—woodwork, hand made blankets and shawls since ancient times. It is about 6 km due south of Mingora and two km off the main Saidu Murghazar road. Tucci has mentioned in his report about Salampure and its rock reliefs. The present writer did not trace the rock reliefs mentioned by him (Tucci 1958: 313). Following are the detail of the new site of rock relief in Islampur *Mohallah* Balao.

#### Pl. 33

#### Salampure-I

Measurements of the rock: 270 x 270 cm.

H. 85 x W. 65 x D. 07 cm

Material of the rock: Granite

Orientation of the relief: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 81)

The boulder of this rock relief is situated in *Mohallah* Balao of Salampure village. It is on the left side of the pedestrian track leading to Saleem Khan Village. It is fixed in the front wall of the house owned by Mr. Aqalmond of the same village. The rock reveals a seated Padmapani in *lalitasana*.

### 3.3.4 Kukrai

The village Kukrai lies about 7 km south of Mingora, on the left bank of the Elam *Khwar*. The site of the rock reliefs is locally called *Angan Baba* (enclosure of Saint) because of a walled structure, which encloses a Muslim graveyard in the vicinity. Four groups of rock reliefs were revisited. These rock reliefs lie a little above the spring in use. Stein and Tucci had mentioned the rock reliefs of *Angan Baba* in their reports. Their present condition and existing artistic details are as under.

**Pl. 34****Kukrai-I**

Measurements of the rock: 300 x 169

H. 95 x W. 169 x D. 09 cm

Material: Marble

Orientation: Facing south west

Reference: (Stein 1930: 43-44; Tucci 1958: 313; Sardar 1993: 68-71; Sardar 2005: 82)

This rock relief depicts four human figures. From the right hand side, first is a triad; (a seated Padmapani between two standing *Bodhisattvas*). The standing *Bodhisattva* on a lotus base holding a lotus stalk in the right and handled pot (?) in the left hand. The upper part of his body is badly mutilated. Second is defaced seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive mood, on a high *padmasana*. His right leg is folded over the seat, while the left hangs down. The head and right hand is chipped off. On his right is a standing *Bodhisattva* on the lotus base holding a lotus stem in the left, while the right arm hangs down in *varadamudra*. The extreme left side figure is a seated Maitreya in *ardhaparyankasana* on a high *padmasana*.

All the figures show outlines of circular *prabhamandalas* behind their heads, but the details of their draperies and jewelleries are not identical. The whole relief is cracked and chipped off at various places. Moreover the figures are defaced and damaged by human and natural hazards. The heap of stones in front of the rock relief shows that the local people and passer-by had been hitting reliefs with them

**Pl. 35****Kukrai-II**

Measurements of the rock: 85 x 98 cm.

H. 85 x W. 98 x D. 12 cm

Material: White marble

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Stein 1930: 43-44; Tucci 1958: 313; Sardar 1993: 68-71; Sardar 2005 :82)

This group of reliefs is situated a little too north of Kukrai-I, upon two separate rocks facing each other. They reveal different scenes. The rock facing north depicts two *Bodhisattvas* seated side by side. The right one is Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive mood on *padmasana*. His right leg rests on the seat, while the left (broken) hangs down. The right elbow rests on right thigh while a broken hand touches the face. The circular *prabhamandala* behind the head is clearly visible. The graceful folds of his *adhovastra* (*dhoti*) are visible on the throne. The *asana* of the *Bodhisattva* is decorated with leaf design. The figure is badly mutilated and chipped off at different places.

The second is a broken Maitreya in *lalitasana* relatively smaller in size. He holds a water vessel in the left (broken), while the right hand is missing. The upper part of his body is chipped off and broken. There are traces of a circular *prabhamandala* behind his head. No detail of his dress and jewellery is legible. A heap of stones thrown at them is visible in the picture.

#### Pl. 36

#### Kukrai-III

Measurements of the rock: 180 x 140 cm.

H. 180 x W. 140 x D. 12 cm

Material: White marble

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Filigenzi 1995: 627; Sardar 2005 :83)

This part of the rock is facing south towards Kukrai-II. It reveals two defaced figures seated side by side. Starting from the left side is a seated *Bodhisattva* with crossed legs, while both of his legs rest on the throne and

hands on his knees. He wears a prominent headdress, defaced traces of a circular halo may be seen behind his head.

The second is Padmapani in *ardhaparyankasana* left leg is gently folded over the seat, while the right leg hangs down. The left elbow rests on the left knee, holding an indistinct object (?) in the left, while the right is in *varadamudra*. Traces of a circular *prabhamandala* are there behind his head. The whole relief is defaced, chipped off and broken at various places. No details of drapery and jewellery could be identified.

#### PI. 37

##### Kukrai-IV

Measurements of the rock: 190 x 250 cm.

H. 120 x W. 110 x D. 05 cm

Material: White marble

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Filigenzi 1995: 627; Sardar 2005 :84)

This group of rock reliefs is about 5 metres north of the Kukrai-III. The rock reveals two figures equal in size seated side by side. Starting from right is a seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive mood on high *asana*. The right elbow (broken) rests on the right thigh, while the left on the left thigh holding a lotus stalk. The *prabhamandala* behind his head is quite prominent. The body of the *Bodhisattva* is recently chipped off and bears bullets holes.

Another Maitreya in *ardhaparyankasana* on a high seat, with the right leg hangs down, while the left is gently folded over the throne. The right hand (broken) rests on the right, while in the left (chipped off) hand he holds a water flask. The graceful folds of *adhovastra* are visible on the seat. The relief shows

deep holes of bullets fired by the local people through machine guns, causing much damage.

### 3.3.5 Supalbandai

The Sapalbandai village of the thatched hut is situated near the Elam Bridge on Murghazar road (Faccenna *et al.* 1993: 263; Taddei 1962: 288-310). A little outside the village is a lonely house owned by Mr. Bakht-Amin situated at a lower terrace in the middle of cultivated fields, the outer wall of the house stands upon a huge granite boulder showing a group of four reliefs. The present condition and details are following.

#### Pl. 38

#### Sapalbandai-I

Measurement of the rock: 150 x 300 cm.

H. 150 x W. 260 x D. 17 cm

Material: Grey granite

Orientation: Facing South

Reference: (Stein 1930: 43-44; Tucci 1958: 313; Taddei 1962: 288-310; Sardar 1993: 68-71; Faccenna *et al.* 1993: 263; Rahman 1993:8-12; Sardar 2005 :85)

This group of rock reliefs lies about a km on the right side of Elam *Khwar*. Starting from the right hand side is a seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* with missing head. He holds a lotus stem in his left hand, while the right one is missing. Another is standing Siva— a *Brahmanical* god. He wears a loose garment clinging down to the knee, and shows four hands- two on each side.

These are as follows:

- 1 Lower right arm: hangs down, hand open showing the palm in front.
- 2 Upper right arm: raised, hold *trisūla*.
- 3 Lower left arm: hangs down, holds a handled pot.
- 4 Upper left arm: raised, holds an indistinct flat object.

On his right is standing Padmapani, his right hand hangs down, while in the left he holds a lotus stem. Another standing figure is an unidentified *Bodhisattva*, covered by a portion of wall and wild bushes. The boulder shows a deep crack in the middle, which has seriously damaged one of the reliefs. Most of the reliefs are defaced and broken at various places.

### 3.3.6 Gulbandai

The village of Gulbandai is situated on the right side of the Elam *Khwar* and opposite *Khwar Shaheedan* (Muslim graveyard). It is about 11 km from Saidu Sharif. The rock that contains relief is facing west and lies on the side of a pedestrian's path.

#### Pl. 39

#### Gulbandai-I

Measurements of the rock: 142 x 88 cm.

H. 160 x W. 200 x D. 09 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Sardar 1993: 68-71; Ashraf Khan 1996: 110; Sardar 2005: 86)

The rock displays Padmapani *Bodhisattvas* seated on a high seat in *lalitasana* pensive mood. His right hand rests on his right, while the left hand on the left thigh is holding a lotus stem. The head and face of the *Bodhisattva* is broken and chipped off. Thick layer of gray patina over the surface of the rock made the artistic details illegible. No signs of halo are behind his head. No details of jewellery or dress could be identified. To his right an outline of a human face can be recognized.

### 3.4 Sites of the Central and Upper Swat

In the upper Swat valley only two sites of rock reliefs were mentioned by Fa-Hien in his accounts (Legge 1886: 29). In 1926 Stein described these sites in his report, while in 1955 Tucci gave details. The rock relief of Jarai at Madiyan and stelae of Jampur Dheri at Charbagh. Latter on in the Central stretch of the valley (from north to south) on both banks of the river Swat, sites of rock reliefs were explored and reported by foreign as well as Pakistani scholars. The sites of rock reliefs were documented at Jarai, Fiza-Gut, Balogram, Udigram, Ghaligai, Gogdara, Jangai (Thin-do-dog), Barikot Ghundai, Kahotang and Damkot. The artistic details and present state of preservation of these rock reliefs are stated below.

#### 3.4.1 Charai (Madiyan)

Charai locality is situated on an equal distance between Madiyan and Jarai hamlet, on the left bank of the river Swat. The site or rock art is situated on the left side of the road leading to Madiyan.

#### PI. 40

#### Charai -I (petroglyphs)

Orientation: Facing west

Material: Granite

Reference: unpublished

The site was discovered in June 2005 with Dr. Salim. The boulder of the engravings is lying in the middle of cultivated fields and inside an apple orchard. The boulder is partially embedded in the ground and recently broken and exploded by the land owner. The most outstanding is a group of archaic petroglyphs that distinguish them clearly from the later reliefs. This site of

petroglyphs is not been reported earlier. The artistic details of the engravings are given below.

The exposed portion of the boulder reveals a rough outline of two human bodies, both are in standing position. The human figures reveal rounded heads on top; hands extended sideways and legs are straight down. The natural form of man is not portrayed by the artist. Anyhow sufficient details are given to recognize the forms as human, it look like that the artist was interested in man's action rather than in human form.

On the other hand we have got a solid body made up in a bi-triangular style, well known in metal from Tepe Hissar dating to third millennium B.C. Such a bi-triangular form of the body is seen in another example in which the hands make a bracket. This style is known in the trans-Pamir region and could be dated to 3<sup>rd</sup> or 4<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C. (Samashhev 1993: 36). These primitive engravings bear patina over the rock surface due to aging. Hauptmann thinks it is of Hindu Shahi period.

#### **3.4.2 Jarai (Madiyan)**

Jarai is a famous small hamlet in upper Swat valley, situated on the road side leading to Kalam 2 kms short of Madiyan. The locality is famous for archaeological wealth of Buddhist period.

##### **Pl. 41**

##### **Jarai -I (Madiyan)**

Measurements of the rock: 330 x 370 cm.

H. 330 x W. 370 x D. 08 cm

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (: 263; Sardar 2005: 87)



The site is situated on the left side of the road leading toward Kalam. It is on the left bank of the river Swat and opposite to Khazana Gut (Tirat). The rock relief is partially embedded in the ground; the exposed portion reveals a well-executed statue of Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. His right hand rests on the thigh, while the left is on the left thigh holding a lotus stem.

The *Bodhisattva* wears a transparent *uttariya* covering the upper part of his body. The *dhoti* tied around the waist by a cord covers the lower part of the body while a shawl is draped across the arms. A prominent crown is decorated with a small image of *Dhyani* Buddha—one of the characteristics of Avalokiteśvara. The necklace and the two bracelets also speak decisively for identifying the figure with *Bodhisattva* Avalokiteśvara. The head and face of the *Bodhisattva* are defaced and chipped off, while the lower part of his body is preserved to some extent. The throne of the *Bodhisattva* is partially visible and decorated with geometrical designs.

### 3.4.2 Fiza-Gut

Fiza-Gut, formerly Qaza Gut lies about half a km north east of Mingora city. It is a well-known picnic spot on the left bank of the river Swat. The reliefs engraved on the high ridge near the old pedestrian path reveal three groups or rock engravings (Sardar 1993: 85-87). Among them the present author has published two engravings as follows.

#### Pl. 42

#### Fiza-Gut-I

Measurements of the rock: 295 x 154

H. 120 x W. 96 x D. 35 cm

Material: Schist

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: Sardar 2005: 88

Fiza-Gut-I site is located within the prohibited area of *Zamarrud Kan* emerald quarry. The rock is facing northwest and depicts six seated human figures in six different niches. Only the arches and body outline of the figures can be seen on the surface of the rock. People in search of emerald have dug out the bodies of the images. The images are badly damaged and only carved niches have survived.

**Pl. 43**

**Fiza-Gut-II**

Measurements: A cliff

H. 180 x W. 100 x D. 35 cm

Material: Schist

Orientation: Facing north

Reference:(Sardar 1993: 85-87; Sardar 2005 :89)

The rock shows a deep cut niche, revealing badly damaged and defaced figure of Maitreya in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. His right hand rests on the right, while the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. The relief is chipped off and broken at various places; however the seat cover, on the front is decorated with floral design. Only a necklace can be recognized.

**Pl. 44**

**Fiza-Gut-III**

Measurements: A huge natural cliff

H. 250 x W. 200 x D. 35 cm

Material: Schist stone

Reference: published (Sardar 1993: 85-87; Sardar 2005 :89)

Orientation: Facing north

This relief lies about five metres above Fiza-Gut-II. It has a deep cut niche, and a headless *Dhyani* Buddha is on a high throne, supported by three

elephants. It is the only example, which shows the Buddha *asana* is supported by an elephant. The relief is in bade state of preservation and is mostly broken.

### 3.4.3 Udigram (Ghazi Baba)

The ancient site of Udigram the Ora of Arrian (Stein 1930:39) in the Swat valley appears to have been inhabited from protohistoric times until Genghis Khan's invasion in the 13<sup>th</sup> century. The Udigram fort seems to date from the time of Alexander, but it was enlarged later: the different methods of construction make it possible to identify the different periods. Mahmud of Ghazna destroyed the fortified city in the 11<sup>th</sup> century, when it stretched along the valley and up to the sides of the mountains. The Raja Gira Castle nearby, now in ruins and date from the Sasanian period (Gullini 1958:329-48).

The village Udigram is about half a km west of Balogram. The sites of rock reliefs lie about 1000 metres east of modern Muslims graveyard of Udigram and about 1500 metres east of ancient archaeological site known as Udigram Bazaar site. The remains of the famous mosque of Mahmud of Ghazna (Nazir Khan 1985: 133-166; Sardar 2001: 93-111) is to the south, and Raja Gira Fort is to the south east (Stein 1930: 34-40)

#### Pl. 45

#### Udigram-I

Measurements of the rock: 230 x 520 cm.

H. 80 x W. 54 x D. 12 cm

Material: Schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 91)

Udigram-I is executed in a chair like recess prepared in the rock for the image. It reveals a seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude. His right

hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand is on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. The image of the *Bodhisattva* is almost disfigured by the local people and casual visitors who throwing pebbles at it. No details of costume, dresses and jewellery can be identified.

**Pl. 46**

**Udigram-II**

Measurements of the rock: 330 x 360 cm.

H. 90 x W. 69 x D. 13 cm

Material: Schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 91)

Udigram-II lies about 5 metres west of Udigram-I. It has a seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude on a high *asana*. His right hand rests on his right thigh, while the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. His left leg is folded over the seat while the right one hangs down. Despite a natural crack in upper part of the image, its legs, arms and the throne are clearly visible as compared to Udigram-I. The rock contains thick layer of gray patina, which makes most of the artistic details illegible.

**3.4.5 Gogdara**

The village Gogdara lies about eight km south west of Mingora on the G. T. road leading to Peshawar. Three sites of rock reliefs are situated about 200 metres away from the main road and gets its name from the nearby village known as Gogdara. There are three groups or rock reliefs two of them are of historic period, while one of proto-historic period, their details are as under;

**Pl. 47**

**Gogdara-I**

Measurement: A big natural cliff

H. 135 x W. 95 x D. 26 cm

Material: Quartz

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Tucci 1958: 155; : 263; Olivieri 1998: 57; Sardar 2005 :92)

The rock reveals a total number of five figures: three human and two animals. A nearby big boulder reveals a triad (*Dhyani* Buddha on *simhasana* between two standing *Bodhisattvas*). The upper part of the body of the *Dhyani* Buddha is not clear and probably dug out by the antiquities dealers. Only an outline of his body now remains. The right side standing *Bodhisattva* is clearly identical, while the left one standing figure is visible. The only well-preserved portion of the relief is the seat of the Buddha. No signs of *prabhamandala*, behind their heads are visible. The relief is hard to recognize.

#### PI. 48

##### Gogdara-II

Measurements of the rock: 24.3 x 9.9 ms

H. 24.3 m x W. 9.9 m x D. 09 cm

Material: Limestone

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Tucci 1958: 155; Dani 1968-69:125; : 263; Olivieri 1998: 57; Sardar 2005: 92)

This specimen of rock art discovered by Tucci has more than one hundred reliefs on a rocky cliff at the foot of the hill. At the time of their discovery, these reliefs were dated as prehistoric. The rock face presents some 118 figures incised or executed as graffiti on the cliff surface. Some 71 animal figures have been identified. These are all rigorously executed in profile and turned to the right. Seventeen are the representations of various objects three of which are shown in profile. There are 29 incisions or graffiti drawings but no human figures are carved (Olivieri 1998: 60-61). On the basis of the recent research conducted

by excavator, Gogdara-II has been dated between late Bronze and early Iron Age (Olivieri 1998: 80)

The rock face was exposed some forty-five years ago and has undergone considerable damage since then. Thus a portion of the rock is occupied by modern writing whereas portion of a relief has been removed. Some faint graffiti on the outer sectors of the rock has disappeared.

**Pl. 49**

**Gogdara-III**

Measurements of the rock: 350 x 230 cm.

H. 130 x W. 160 x D. 12 cm

Material: Marble

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Sardar 1993: 68 ; Olivieri 1998: 57; Sardar 2005: 93)

This historic period rock relief lies to the east side of Gogdara-II. It reveals four seated human figures. Starting from the right is a defaced Maitreya in *lalitasana*. His left hand rests on the left, while the right one on the right thigh; he holds a water pot. On his right is a relatively large but defaced Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. His right hand rests on his right, while the left one on the left thigh. He holds a lotus stem. On his right is Padmapani in *lalitasana*. His right hand rests on his right while the left one on the left thigh. He holds a lotus stem too. A *Dhyani* Buddha near the throne of the Avalokiteśvara may be identified. All the *Bodhisattvas* are shown on high *asanas*. All the figures are in poor state of preservation; no details of their dress or jewellery could be identified. All the reliefs are in a bad state of preservation. The images are mostly defaced because the reliefs occurred very close to a habitation area.

**3.4.6 Thin-do-dog or (Jangai)**

The village Thin-do-dog is located about ten kms west of Mingora, while Jangai hamlet the site of some reliefs, is to the southeast of Thin-do-dog village on the right side of the road leading to Mingora. Jangai hamlet can be approached by a pedestrian's path in front of the present Thin-do-dog Police Station.

#### **PI. 50**

##### **Jangai-I**

Measurements of the rock: 143 x 180 cm.

H. 95 x W. 100 x D. 05 cm

Material: schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference:(Tucci 1958: 294; Sardar 2005: 94 ; Ashraf Khan 1996:110)

The rock reveals three human figures, starting from the right side is a small image of *Dhyani* Buddha, and in the middle are shown Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. His right hand rests on his right, while the left one on the left thigh, and holds a lotus stem. On his right is standing Maitreya, holds a water flask in the right, and a lotus stalk in the left hand. The seats of all the figures are decorated but no detail of dresses or jewellery is traceable. The entire relief is in a bad state of preservation. The upper portion of the rock is chipped off and contains a thick layer of patina.

#### **3.4.7 Ghaligai**

The survey activities were extended to the village of Ghaligai, which is, situated about 12 km to the west of Mingora. This area is famous for numerous archaeological remains e.g. Ghaligai Rock Sequence (Stacul 1969 :44-91), the Shankardar stupa (Stine 1930: 30-34) presently known as Shingardar Stupa, Ghaligai Buddha (Tucci 1958: 294), Buddhist establishments, and other rock

reliefs. There are four groups of rock reliefs, two are already reported and published. Interesting are the fresh discoveries of the two rock reliefs and a Kharoshti inscription on the top of the hill. The details of these rock reliefs are given below.

#### PI. 51

##### Ghaligai-I

Measurements of the rock: 680 x 320 cm.

H. 370 x W. 320 x D. 85 cm

Material: Schist marble

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Stine 1930: 32; Tucci 1958: 294; Faccenna 1985: 93-104; Ashraf Khan 1996: 110; Sardar 2005: 95)

The site lies near the village of Ghaligai at the foot of the rocky slopes on the left side of the road leading to Peshawar. Here we find a colossal image of a *Dhyani* Buddha carved on a high protruding rock of the hillside. It is one of the gigantic monuments of Buddhist period that represents the glorious past of ancient Uddiyana. The exposed portion of the rock reveals a well-executed statue of meditative Buddha.

Unfortunately this relief of the Buddha sustained some damage caused by ignorant hands in the process of touching and scratching, and by weathering also. The upper part of the body is chipped off, while the lower part seems intact to some extent. It is a deeply carved statue showing a drapery arranged in string like folds, gracefully covering the body. The *asana* of the *Dhyani* Buddha is embodied in soil no details are visible

#### PI. 52

##### Ghaligai-II

Measurements of the Cave: 200 x 74 cm

H. 71 x W. 39 x D. 07 cm

Material: Marble stone



Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Stine 1930: 32; Tucci 1958: 294; Faccenna 1985: 93-104; Ashraf Khan 1996: 110; Sardar 2005: 95; Filigenzi 2006:209-218)

This group of rock reliefs is situated 5 metres above Ghaligai-I. It is a small cave known as *Hindu Ghar* (Hindu cave), accessible by a flight of sixty steps from the roadside. Here we find a defaced bearded haloed figure standing on a pedestal supported by six lions and flanked by two persons on the right and three on the left side. He holds his hands at breast height and is crowned by flame-rimmed halo. He has been identified by Stein as king Uttarasena (see Appendix-A) on the strength of its proximity to the large stupa still preserved there and which he assigned to this king on the evidence of Hsuan-Tsang (Beal 1969: 126-27). Tucci, who has dated the relief on the basis of the halo, which appears on the Huvishka coins, does not accept this hypothesis (Faccenna 1985: 93-104). The figure wears Kushans dress, which is clearly represented on the coins of Kushans dynasty. The reliefs are executed on a soft stone. Filigenzi in her recent interpretation calls it Vishnu diety of Turk Shahis period (Filigenzi 2006:212).

**Pl. 53**

**Ghaligai-III**

Measurements of the boulder: 188 x 170 cm.

H. 72 x W. 117 x D. 14 cm

Material: Schist

Orientation: Facing south east

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 96; Filigenzi 2006:209-218)

The site is located in the middle of the Ghaligai hill spur, accessible through a *kaccha* track from the main road. The rock reveals four sitting and one standing human images. Starting from the right there are three large size statues in one row: the first one is *Dhyani* Buddha, the second a standing defaced

*Bodhisattva*. The clinging drapery of the latter reaches below the knees while he holds an un-identified object in the left hand, and hangs the right one down. The figure on the extreme left is seated Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude. Beside the larger figures two small images of *Dhyani* Buddha also occupy surface of the rock.

The reliefs are disfigured. The local people and the casual visitors had rubbed off the faces of the figures. The nearby heap of pebbles shows that they were thrown at them by the passers-by.

**Pl. 54**

**Ghaligai -IV**

Measurements of the rock: 80 x 138 cm.

H. 80 x W. 138 x D. 13 cm

Material: Marble stone

Orientation: Facing east

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 97; Filigenzi 2006:209-218)

The site of Ghaligai-IV is situated further up from Ghaligai-III. This engraved relief is situated towards the top of Ghaligai hill. Here on a rock is an engraved a relief with five figures. Starting from the right, the first one is the image of Brahmanical god Ganesha (Pal 1975: 50, fig. 1) with an elephant face and human body, seated on a high seat. This is a second example of Ganesha (see Appendix-A) (representation in the Swat valley. The first one was noticed at Nangriyal hill by Stein and later by the Italian Mission (Stein 1930: 51 fig 7; : 263). On his right is a small standing female figure dressed in frock like costume, her right hand raised in act of throwing leafs of flower towards her right side standing figure. Next to her is a standing male figure, both of his hands raised up to his breast height, holding a relic pot. On his right is another small standing

female figure, slightly bent backward as if one trying to see his face and her right hand is raised in the act of throwing flowers. On the extreme left is another Hindu god Shiva having four hands. Filigenzi in her recently published article calls it an image of Surya with two lotuses held against the chest (Filigenzi 2006:213).

More interesting are the manifestations of two Brahmanical deities of Shiva and Ganesha in a single relief was recorded for the first time in valley (Sardar 2005: 97). Their representations are very important because they are the only deities of non-Buddhist faith. Their existence in the Swat valley is testified from Hsuan Tsang's accounts (Beal 1969: 122). It is fact that in the late Mahayana philosophy, Buddhism adopted Brahmanic divinities, its ideas and practices. The portrait of two Brahmanical divinities in a single engraved relief provides evidence, that the then Buddhist rulers of Uddiyana were tolerant to Hinduism also. It also demonstrates that, with the passage of time the Mahayana beliefs accepted the influence of Hinduism and prepared the way for the ultimate merging of the non-monastic form of Buddhism with Hinduism.

This engraved relief of the Gahaligai hill reveals the actual scene of the story of Uttarasena (king of Uddiyana) as narrated by Hsuan-tsang in his account, when he visited Uddiyana in 629-645 A. D. According to the Buddhist traditions the *Mahapairinirvana* of the Buddha took place at Kushinara in about 483 B.C. The site has been identified with Kasia in the Gorakhpur district of Utter Pardesh in India. When Buddha was about to enter nirvana, he called the council of disciples and said "after my nirvana, Uttarasena ought to receive a portion of my relics". When the kings were going to divide the relics of the Tathagata

equally among themselves, Uttarasena arrived late, and this delay was attributed to a sentiment of contempt. King Uttarasena obtained the share of relics of Buddha, brought it back to his kingdom on a white elephant and erected a stupa in his kingdom to honour them. Stein had identified the stupa of Shankardar Swat erected by king Uttarasena for the Buddha relics (Stein 1930: 30-31).

Here in this relief, king Uttarasena is portrayed as an Indian prince with a muscular body wears a crown over his head, dressed in a costume of prince. His costume shows the typical Indian *dhoti*, a skirt like dress which is tied around the waist and hangs down, almost reaches to just above the knees. He is wearing a necklace and ear pendants. His long curly hair are on over his shoulders. He holds the casket of the Buddha's relic up to his breast height, to show a great respect. The relief shows that Uttarasena with casket proceeds towards Shinkardar stupa which is located on the back side of the hill to deposit the relic. He is accompanied by two Brahmanic divinities; Ganesha on the left side and four hands Shiva on the right (see Appendix-A). The reliefs also show small female royal attendants on each side of Uttarasena and are showering flowers of reverence over the relic.

All the reliefs are disfigured by the local people including casual visitors as well as the herdsmen. The images are in poor state of preservation and are mostly broken at the feet.

#### **3.4.8 Barikot Ghundai**

Barikot village is about 15 km west of Mingora. There is an isolated crescent-shaped hill known as Barikot Ghundai or Bagh Ghundai. It is situated to

the west of the modern village and on the left bank of the river, rises in the central stretch of the valley of Swat. A series of fortifications among which an imposing rampart visible on the eastern side, surround the top of the hill, where the remains of a deserted Hindu temple are still to be seen (Olivieri 2003: 78). Both Stein and Tucci identified Barikot with the ancient city of Bazira, conquered by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. (Stacul 1978:137). In its vicinity two groups of rock reliefs were discovered during the survey. Their details are as under.

**Pl. 55**

**Barikot Gundai-I**

Measurements of the rock: 245 x 700 cm.

H. 143 x W. 162 x D. 14 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 98)

Barikot Gundai-I is situated on the left bank of Barikot khwar to the north west of the Boys High School of Barikot. The rock depicts two human figures; the right one is a figure of *Bodhisattva* Padmapani seated in *lalitasana* in pensive mood on low pedestal. On his left is a *Dhyani* Buddha, with traces of halo behind his head. The figures are flat. The rock contains dark greyish rough surface and thick layer of grey patina.

**Pl. 56**

**Barikot Gundai-II**

Measurements of the rock: 230 x 490 cm.

H. 100 x W. 94 x D. 09 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 99)

Barikot Ghundai-II lies above Swat River and below the newly built unmetalled road on the north side of Barikot Ghundai. This is for the first time that

a site so nearer to river Swat was found throughout the valley. It reveals four human figures of different sizes. On the right is a small figure of *Dhyani* Buddha and to his right is a Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude. To its left is Maitreya having prominent headdress, the hair is indicated by snail curls whereas the *ushnisha* is tied up at the base by a string. The *Bodhisattva* holds a water flask in his left hand and a lotus stalk in his right. The rock has patina and the figures are defaced. No details of dresses and jewellery are visible.

#### 3.4.9 Kahotang (Tehsil Kabal)

A new site of rock relief on the right side of river Swat is situated southwest of Garai village and north of Dadahara Sisaka Pate (Ashraf Khan 1996: 90-95). The village Parai is situated on the west of the site.

##### Pl. 57

##### Kahotang-I

Measurements of the cave: 50 x 50 metres

H. 80 x W. 55 x D. 02 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 99)

The relief is inside the natural cave known as *Kahotang Gaar* (shrubs cave) facing east towards river Swat. The site is opposite to Ghaligai Buddha, which is on the left side of the river. After a thorough survey of the cave, traces of a single seated statue were found on the left wall of the cave. It is the figure of an unidentified *Bodhisattva* in the pose of *lalitasana*. The only visible portion of the relief is the lower part of his body and his *asana*, while the head has been removed. According to a local farmer, Sher Zada of Garai village who took us to the site, there once stood a standing figure inside the cave.

### 3.4.10 Damkot

Damkot is a ridge opposite the modern fort at Chakdara, built by the British in 1896 (Shaw 1989: 160) to guard the iron bridge that spans Swat River and opens the route to Dir, Bajour, Chitral and northern areas. A signal tower, commonly known as Churchill point, tops the ridge. Damkot hill overlooks the Chakdara Bridge, fort at Chakdara, and the whole Valley from Malakand Pass to Barikot. The top of the hill is covered with excavated ruins from different periods, including a Buddhist monastery and Hindu Shahi fort (Rahman 1968-69: 103).

The sites of the rock relief lie on the right bank of river Swat in Adinzai Tehsil of Dir district. Majority of the rock reliefs of the Swat valley are on the left bank of the river Swat. The Damkot reliefs are among the few exceptions on the right bank. These rock reliefs are executed both in the plains and in the foothills.

#### Pl. 58

##### Damkot-I

Measurements of the rock: 180 x 176 cm

H. 100 x W. 140 x D. 07 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Dani 1968-69: 251-57; Sardar 2005:100)

The present reliefs lie above the river Swat and below the road leading to Badwan village. The rock reveals two seated human figures. Starting from the right hand side is a seated statue of *Bodhisattva* Padmapani in *lalitasana* on a high *asana*. His right leg is gently folded over the seat while the left leg hangs down. His right elbow rests on his right thigh and the hand chipped off touches his face. The left hand placed on left thigh holds a lotus stem. Traces of *prabhamandala* behind his head are visible. On his right is a figure of a *Dhyani*

Buddha on a high throne. The upper part of his body is disfigured, and his body contains grey patina. The rock is in a bad state of preservation and contains patina over the surface. No details of halo, dress and jewellery are visible.

**Pl. 59**

**Damkot-II**

Measurements of the rock: 170 x 178 cm

H. 107 x W. 84 x D. 08 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Dani 1968-69: 251-57; Sardar 2005:101)

This rock is an extension of Damkot-I, and shows a single seated figure of *Bodhisattva* Padmapani in *lalitasana* on a high throne. His right leg is gently folded over a seat, while the left leg hangs down. His right elbow rests on his right thigh and the hand touches his face. The left hand placed on left thigh holds a lotus stem. The upper parts of his body head and right hand are broken. The head and lotus stalk of the *Bodhisattva* seems to have been broken. There is *prabhamandala* behind his head clearly marked by circular line. No details of dress and jewellery are visible.

**Pl. 60**

**Damkot-III**

Measurements of the rock: 240 x 180 cm

H. 150 x W. 146 x D. 07 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Dani 1968-69: 251-57; Sardar 2005:101)

Third group of rock reliefs is situated in the same vicinity, and show two figures of Padmapani, both are in *lalitasana* almost equal in size. Starting from the right hand side is an *Avalokitesvara*, *lalitasana* pose in pensive attitude on a high *asana*. His right leg broken folded over the seat, while the left leg hangs



down. His right hand rests on his right thigh, while left hand is on left thigh holding a lotus stem. Circular halo behind his head is visible. His head and the lotus flower have recently been damaged.

On the same rock toward his right is *Bodhisattva* Padmapani in *lalitasana* on a high *asana*. His right leg rests on the seat, while the left leg hangs down. His right hand rests on right thigh while the left hand on left thigh holding a lotus stem. The outline of a circular *prabhamandala* behind his head may be noticed. Lower part of *asana* is decorated with leaf designs. Body of the Bodhisattva is chipped off from many places, while the head and face have recently been damaged. The boulder contains dark patina and no details of jewellery or dress are identical.

### 3.4.11 Zarkandai Tangai (Alladan Dheri)

The site of these petroglyphs was found near Alladan Dheri; a village situated about 6 km south of Chakdara Bridge. The rock lies about half a km southeast of Alladan Dheri in the locality of Zarkandai Tangai. The details of these petroglyphs are as under.

#### Pl. 61

#### Zarkandai Tangai-I

Measurements of the rock: 5 ms

H. 30 x W. 80 x D. 01 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing to open sky

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 102)

The rock of Zarkandai Tangai-I lies on the western bank of a dry *nalla*. The depictions of animals at four different places were observed over the surface of the rock. The measurement of the whole carved area is about 30 X 80 cm.

The engravings reveal a schematic, linear, frequently comb-like style animals belonging to 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC (Oliveri 2005: 217). These rock petroglyphs of animal are the major types of the Bronze Age imitative art executed by the artists of agricultural and cattle breeding tribes. Such types of petroglyphs have also been mentioned in the Northern areas of Pakistan (Jettmar 1985: 751-77).

### 3.5 Sites of the Manglaur Valley

Manglaur or (Manglawar) sub-valley is situated about 10 kms to northeast of Mingora, at the point where considerable side valleys descending from the watershed lie to the east. As one enters the sub-valley of Manglaur its importance is immediately revealed with the huge and well-known rock relief of the Shakhorai Buddha (Stine 1930: 50; Tucci 1958: 306). The importance of the Manglaur sub-valley can be judged from the accounts of Stein, he says;

"Of all the Buddhist relievos found on the rocks near Manglawar and miles up the Valley... the colossal image of a seated Buddha some thirteen feet in height is certainly the most striking. It is carved on the vertical face of a high reddish rock, high above the narrow terrace at its foot, and is a well-executed piece of work. This position, while it had saved the relievo from damage by pious vandals, has at the same time made it distinctly difficult to photograph. The hands of the true believers must often have itched as they saw this benign-faced heathen idol looking down towards Manglawar from its height of some three hundred feet above Shakhorai hamlet (Stein 1998:77-78)".

This valley has much potential of Buddhist sacred areas, inscriptions and rock reliefs. Four areas where most of the reliefs are concentrated have already been reported, among them are Shaldara, Kalkatai, Banjot, and Jahanabad (Stine 1930: 50; Tucci 1958: 306 ; Sardar 1993: 67-69; Ashraf Khan 1996: 112). This valley has a great potential for archaeological antiquities and shows a number of Buddhists sacred areas, Kharoshti inscriptions and rock reliefs.

However, more numerous are the new discoveries of rock reliefs at Shaldara, Kalkatai, Banjot, Thaghwan and of Nangriyal localities.

### 3.5.1 Shaldara

The Shaldara sub-valley, enclosed by the surrounding mountains, descends towards the plain of Manglaur. The rock relief is situated on the right side of Shaldara *Khwar*. It is just below the Boy's Primary School while the Girl's Primary School is on the northeast. Following are the details of the rock engravings.

#### Pl. 62

#### Shaldara-I

Measurements of the rock: 370 x 260 cm.

H. 185 x W. 100 x D. 12 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Stine 1930: 50; Tucci 1958: 306; Sardar 2005: 104)

Shaldara-I depicts a well-preserved figure of Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude on a high *asana*. His right leg folded over the seat, while the left one hangs down. His right hand rests on the right thigh while the left one rests on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. The *asana* of the *Bodhisattva* is quite prominent and vertical bands of floral design decorate its lower part. The bud of the lotus and its stem is intact. The clinging folds of his costume are falling in his front and, clearly visible over the seat. The head and face of the relief is chipped off, while a layer of patina on the rock has concealed many details.

### 3.5.2 Kalkatai

The scattered houses of Kalkatai hamlet are about 2 kms to the southeast of Manglaur. Four groups of rock reliefs were found in the locality of Kalkatai. All these sites lie on the right side of the road leading to Banjot village.

**PI. 63**

**Kalkatai-I**

Measurements of the rock: 200 x 320 cm.

H. 94 x W. 96 x D. 06 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing east

Reference: (: 263; Sardar 2005: 104)

This site is about five metres above the Boy's Primary School of Kalkatai. Shrubs and thorny bushes cover this rock. Stupa remains can be seen on the southeast. Kalkatai-1 rock reveals a figure of *Bodhisattva* in *lalitasana* attitude on high *asana*. His right leg is folded over the seat, while the left leg hangs down. His right hand rests on the right thigh and the left hand on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. The lower part of the relief is intact while the upper portion is damaged. No details of dress and jewellery are visible.

**PI. 64**

**Kalkatai-II**

Measurements of the rock: 150 x 86 cm.

H. 86 x W. 80 x D. 07 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing sky

Reference: (: 263; Sardar 2005:105)

The location of the site is similar to that of Kalkatai-I. This square shaped stone block, dislodged from its original place, presently lies at the back of the Boy's Primary School of Kalkatai. According to the local people it has rolled down from the upper hill. The only visible portion of the rock reveals seated Padmapani on a high throne in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. His right hand rests

on the right thigh, while the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. The relief is damaged and chipped off at various places.

**Pl. 65**

**Kalkatai-III**

Measurements of the rock: 210 x 350 cm.

H. 115 x W. 255 x D. 09 cm

Material: Quartz

Orientation: Facing east

Reference: (: 263; Sardar 2005 :106)

Kalkatai-IV is situated about half a km east of Kalkatai-III on the right side of the road leading to Banjot village. The rock reveals fifteen, thirteen human and two animal figures and is covered by trees and wild bushes. Most of the artistic details have faded. Four are *Dhyani* Buddhas of different sizes and five are *Bodhisattvas* in *lalitasana*. Two *Bodhisattvas* are on *simhasana*. Four among them are the statues of standing figures in different attributes. All the reliefs are defaced and covered with a thick layer of white patina deposited by a water channel running above the rock that has obscured most of the details.

**3.5.3 Banjot**

The village of Banjot is situated at distance of about three km to the south east of Manglaur, on a hillock at the end of the well protected valley of Ogaze very famous for Buddhist remains of stupas, monasteries, inscriptions and rock reliefs.

**Pl. 66**

**Banjot-I**

Measurements of the rock: side-A 180 x 560, side-B 280 x 180 cm.

H. 110 x 260 x W. 150 x 80 x D. 7 x 12 cm

Material: Quartz felsphetete

Orientation of the relief: Side-A north and Side-B west

Reference: (: 263; Sardar 1993: 67-69; Ashraf Khan 1996: 112; Sardar 2005 :106)

The site of this group of rock reliefs is situated about 500 metres south of the present Banjot Bus Stand in the middle of cultivated fields. It is a round shape boulder, reveals reliefs in clockwise direction. Three exposed sides of the rock show three diverse scenes. The southern side of the rock is buried in ground. The western side had been removed to widen the path. It is divided into side 'A' or northern and side 'B' or eastern side.

Starting from the side-A, reveals three figures, the right one is standing Maitreya, holds a water flask in the left and lotus flower in the right hand. On his right is seated Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* in pensive mood on a high *asana*. His right hand rests on his right, while the left one on the left thigh, holds a lotus flower. Another small unidentified figure is on the right side of the seat.

Side-B or the eastern side reveals three seated *Bodhisattvas*, the right one is relatively small figure of Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive mood. His right hand rests on his right, while the left one on the left thigh, holding a lotus flower. On his right is Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* in pensive mood on a high throne. His right hand rests on his right, while the left one is on the left thigh, holds a lotus flower. On his right is a figure of Maitreya in *lalitasana*. A water flask is in the right and a lotus flower in the left hand. A water flow over the rock surface has weathered it.

**Pl. 67**

**Banjot-II**

Measurements of the rock: 800 x 470 cm.

H. 180 x W. 70 x D. 08 cm

Material: Limestone

Orientation: Facing south

Reference: (Tucci 1958: 308; Sardar 1993: 67-69; : 263; Taddei 1962 : 288-310; Sardar 2005 :107)

This rock is situated inside the old village of Banjot on the right side of seasonal *nalla*, which split the hamlet of Banjot in two parts. The rock reveals standing figure of Brahmanical god Siva having prominent *prabhamandala* behind his head. He wears a loose garment clinging down to the knee, and shows four hands- two on each side. The upper part of the body is mostly chipped off, and below the feet it has been recently broken.

#### 3.5.4 Jahanabad (Shakhorai)

The site is situated about five kms to northeast of present Manglaur village on the left bank of Sair *Khwar*, while the old Shakhorai village (new Jahanabad) is to northeast of the site.

#### Pl. 68

##### Jahanabad-I

Measurements of the rock: 1180 x 2300 cm.

H. 700 x W. 500 x D. 11 cm

Material: Augen-gneiss

Orientation: Facing North West

Reference:(Stine 1930: 50; Sardar 1993: 90-92; : 263; Salter 1983: 22; Sardar 2005 : 108)

It was truly a holy place marked by a colossal rock image of Buddha, measuring 700 X 500 cm. while the *asana* of the Buddha is 120 X 390 cm. The rock reveals a colossal figure of *Dhyani* Buddha in deep contemplation on a high *asana*. The Buddha is fully robed; the graceful clinging folds of which are visible on his seat. Both of his hands rest in his lap covered by the folds of the drapery. He has curly hair with protuberance *Usnisa* with a prominent *urna* and almond

shape half-closed eyes. Its long lobes of ears are clearly visible; it is the only most preserved piece of rock relief in the whole valley.

**Pl. 69**

**Jahanabad-II**

Measurements of the rock: 155 x 237 cm.

H. 153 x W. 110 x D. 09 cm

Material of the rock: Augen-gneiss

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Rahman 1993:9-12; Sardar 2005 :109)

This rock relief is situated to the east of Jahanabad-I, lies in the middle of orchard of apple. It reveals an Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* in pensive mood on a high seat. His right hand rests on his right, while his left one on his left thigh holding a lotus flower. He wears a prominent headdress and a necklace. The rock has black patina.

**3.5.5 Thaghwan**

Leading towards Malamjaba a little off the village of Talegram a metalled road turns to the right and passing the famous locality of Qala finally reaches Bishbanr. The hamlet of Thaghwan is about 400 metres distant on the right side of the Bishbanr *Khwar*

**Pl. 70**

**Thaghwan-I (Ghar Pate)**

Measurements of the rock: 170 x 338 cm.

H. 102 x W. 83 x D. 08 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 109)

Ghar Pate is on the left bank of the Sair *Khwar* opposite to Thaleigram Dispensary. The relief is visible from Malam Jaba road. The cliff having this site



is the extension of the Nangriyal hill. The rock shows a defaced and damaged figure of a *Bodhisattva* seated on high *asana* in *lalitasana*. The lower part of the seat is buried in soil, but the upper remains show his right leg gently folded over the throne, while the left leg hangs down. His right hand rests on right thigh, while the left hand rests on the left thigh holding a lotus flower. A water channel running on the front side of this relief has caused great damage so that only body outlines is barely visible on the rock surface. No details of dress and jewellery are legible.

**Pl. 71**

**Thaghwan-II (Maijani Pate)**

Measurements of the rock: 150 x 80 cm.

H. 80 x W. 89 x D. 07 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation: Facing North West

Reference: (Sardar 2005:110)

This site of the rock relief is situated on the right side of the road leading to Qala village opposite to the rock of Parkho Patai reliefs. The landowner is Akbar Bacha of Thaghwan village. The locality is famous for ancient remains, rock cut caves and potsherds scattered all around in the cultivated fields. This rock reveals a *Bodhisattva* in *lalitasana* pose.

### 3.5.6 Nangriyal (Qala)

Nangriyal hill famous for archaeological sites and Buddhist rock reliefs is situated to the north of Qala village. On the south-western slope of the hill there are remains of a circular well with a diameter of 335 cms and wall thickness of 100 cms. Illegal diggers and smugglers have destroyed most of its remains now

scattered over different terraces. Potsherds, pieces of sculptures and decorated schist stone fragments are lying all over on the surface of the ground.

The three field terraces here contain remains of small cells, votive stupas, and water wells which have been constantly robbed over the years. Six different sites of rock reliefs on the top of the Nangriyal hill were located. Two of the rock reliefs are mentioned by Stein (1930: 51) and later on by the Italian Archaeological Mission (: 263). The details of the fresh discoveries are as under.

**Pl. 72**

**Nangriyal-I**

Measurements of the rock: (A big natural cliff)

H. 120 x W. 81 x D. 09 cm

Material of the rock: Quartz felsphetete

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 111)

This rock is situated on the top of the Nangriyal hill, the Qala village is visible at a distance of about half a km down the slope towards the south. The rock shows the *Bodhisattva* Padmapani carved in the middle of the cliff at a height of about 5 metres above the ground. It is on a high *asana* in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude. His right hand rests on the right thigh and the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus stem. No details of dress or jewellery can be identified.

**Pl. 73**

**Nangriyal-II**

Measurements of the rock: 400 x 310 cm.

H. 230 x W. 190 x D. 23 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing North West

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 112)

This site is situated to the top of the Nangriyal hill towards Talegram village. The rock reveals seven figures of human and animal. A seated

*Bodhisattva* in *lalitasana* on *simhasana* has his right hand resting on the right thigh, while the left one on the left thigh holding a lotus flowers. Both the lions are enclosed in decorated brackets; having prominent locks and jewellery. The folds of the *Bodhisattva's* dress are visible on the seat. Two small *Dhyani* Buddhas occupy a small place on the surface of the rock above the right shoulder of the main *Bodhisattva* figure. The rock is exposed to natural weathering as well as human vandalism and shows heavy patina, which has made many details invisible.

**Pl. 74**

**Nangriyal-III**

Measurements of the rock: 400 x 310 cm

H. 64 x W. 54 x D. 08 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing north

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 112)

On the right side of Nangriyal-II site on the same rock there is a *Dhyani* Buddha relatively small in size inside a deep carved arch facing north. A figure of *Dhyani* Buddha is in the middle of the rock, both of his hands rest in his lap covered by the folds of the drapery. The figure is not clearly visible from for off distance because of thick layer of black patina over the rock. The statue is chipped off and damaged by the local people and casual visitors.

**Pl. 75**

**Nangriyal-IV**

Measurements of the rock: 320 x 270 cm.

H. 260 x W. 270 x D. 33 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation of the relief: Facing northwest

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 113)

The site is about one metre to the east of Nangriyal-III. There are six figures on the rock of human and animals. There is headless Avalokitesvara in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude on *simhasana*, rests his right hand on the right thigh, while the left hand is on left thigh holding a lotus flower. The lower part of the throne is decorated with lotus leaf design. The most interesting is the Hindu god Ganesha having four hands and an elephant face on the lower right edge of the rock. Two *Gandharavas*, one at each side, above the shoulders of the main figure are flying in the air. The relentless process of patina over the rock has hidden many details hidden. The head and face of the *Bodhisattva* are already dug out and broken by the smugglers.

**Pl. 76**

**Nangriyal-V**

Measurements of the rock: 155 x 135 cm.

H. 108 x W. 137 x D. 09 cm

Material: Mica schist

Orientation: Facing west

Reference: (Sardar 2005: 113)

This site is located near the peak of the hill. The rock in maize cultivated fields depicts two defaced seated *Bodhisattvas*: Padmapani and Maitreya. Starting from the left hand side is Padmapani in *lalitasana* in pensive attitude on a high seat. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand is on the left thigh holding a lotus flower. On his left side is a Maitreya in *lalitan*, having the same attributes. Both are defaced and heavily patinated. They are exposed to human as well as natural hazards.

**Pl. 77**

**Nangriyal-VI**

Measurements of the rock: 235 x 260 cm

H. 190 x W. 234 x D. 33 cm  
 Material: Mica schist  
 Orientation: Facing east  
 Reference: (Sardar 2005: 114)

The site of this rock relief is situated to the north of Nangriyal hill, opposite Sair and Talegram villages. It is about 1 km up on the slope of Sair *Khwar*. The landowner is Mian Akbar Bacha of Thaghawn village. The rock reveals three life-size human figures. From the right side, is Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* on throne in pensive attitude. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand is on the left thigh holding a lotus flower. The middle one is a standing Maitreya having a water flask in the left hand and lotus stem in the right hand. To extreme left is *Bodhisattva* Padmapani, half-broken, in *lalitasana* on throne in pensive attitude. His right hand rests on the right thigh, while the left hand is on the left thigh and holding a lotus flower. The relief shot by machine guns has bullet marks on the bodies of the figures.

#### **Pl. 78**

#### **Nangriyal-VII**

Measurements of the rock: 210 x 190 cm.  
 H. 148 x W. 53 x D. 14 cm  
 Material: Granite  
 Orientation: Facing north  
 Reference: (Sardar 2005:114)

The site is situated about 100 metres east of Nangriyal-VI. It is a dislodged rock, rolled down from the upper terraces. The rock depicts a beautifully executed panel of 148 X 53 cm and 40 X 24 cm. It reveals a stupa model and four figures: one in standing and the remaining three in sitting positions. From the right side is a seated figure and to his right is a stupa. The

seated figures are busy in stupa cult, while the stupa shows two ribbons hanging down from its *chakra*. Each statue shows a prominent *prabhamandala* behind his head. The standing *Bodhisattva* has a lotus flower in his hand. All the figures are defaced and have a grey patina.

**Pl. 79**

**Nangriyal-VIII**

Measurements of the rock: 580 x 310 cm

H. 250 x W. 150 x D. 20 cm

Material: Granite

Orientation of the relief: Facing west

Reference: (Sardar, 2005: 115)

The site is situated to the south end of the Nangriyal hill, where from a panorama of Bishbanr as well as of the whole of Manglaur valley is clearly visible. A hard white marble reveals a life size figure of Avalokiteśvara in *lalitasana* on high throne in pensive attitude. Padmapani must be seen as a sort of patron-in-chief of the region. The high *asana* is decorated with leaf designs. The folds of his drapery are visible on his seat. The local people have defaced the head and face of the *Bodhisattva*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### SITES OF THE ROCK INSCRIPTIONS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The real story of the art of epigraphy in Gandhara starts with the discovery of Ashokan inscriptions. The two main scripts used by Ashoka were the Brahmi and Kharoshti. The most popular script was Kharoshti which was written from right to left. The Kharoshti inscriptions are mostly found in Gandhara and North West Pakistan. Several kinds of inscriptions written in these characters have enabled the scholars to have a chronological account of the kings who ruled Gandhara, and speak in detail about the spread of Buddhism, the administrative and revenue history of the area and its geography and economic conditions.

The religious history of Gandhara can easily be reconstructed with the help of epigraphs. Among the various religious faiths in Gandhara Buddhism made profound affect on the socio-cultural scenes. It also shows hierarchy of the ruling dynasties of the region. A Large number of epigraphic records from Gandhara region are Buddhist, but there are a few epigraphs from Gandhara in which the different stages of the Buddhist hierarchy are mentioned. Only two inscriptions, one from Taxila (Thaplyal 2004: 190) and other from Bajaur (Majumdar 1937-38a: 1-8) records the establishment of relics of the Buddha for the worship. The epigraphic and numismatic evidences show that the Kushanas adopted Buddhism.

The famous ancient script of the northwestern regions was Kharoshti written from right to left. It is beyond any doubt that this script came into being as

the result of intercourse between the offices of Satraps and of the native authorities. It flows like all other Semitic writings from right to left. The Hindus of ancient India used at first the pure Aramaic script, just as in much later times they adopted the Arabic characters for a number of their dialects. The period of its development was an accomplished fact in the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C, when its alphabets were used in the Mansehra and Shahbaz Garhi versions of Ashoka's Edicts (Thaplyal 2004: 188)

The Kharoshti script written from right to left like the cuneiform or wedge-shaped script of the Achaemenian period was confined to the Gandhara region only (Barua 1946: 4). The script is believed to be Semitic in origin and was derived from Aramic script, which was in common use for official purposes all over the Achaemenian Empire. Konow is of opinion that its place of origin was Gandhara, perhaps more specially Taxila valley in Punjab. He argues:

"The area within which we can prove Kharoshti to have been regularly used belongs to the north-west. The easternmost limit is, in the Panjab, at Manikiala. There are two inscriptions from Kangra, where Kharoshti is used in addition to Brahmi, and there is another record from Karnal, which shows that the alphabet was known further to the east, and foreign conquerors from the north-west used it in a well known inscription from Mathura on the Jamna, where Brahmi was the common alphabet, also in inscription and coins. We even possess a Kharoshti record from Patna. But the plaque on which it is written has evidently been left there by a person who came from north-west..." (Konow 1929: XIII)

Kharoshti script was used for more than 600 years from 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C., to 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D. in Pakistan and Afghanistan (Nasim Khan 1998a: 41). Specimens of the script have been found inscribed on stone slabs, birch bark and other materials over a vast territory extending from Gandhara in the West to Mathura and Patna in the East, and Central Asia in the North to Mohenjodaro in



the South (Dani 1986: 252). Explaining the origin and major components of the Kharoshti script, Dani says:

“The very fact that Kharoshti was written from right to left led to the easy recognition of its relationship with Aramaic script, which was the main branch of North Semitic alphabet. This relationship was strengthened by the identity of letters such as *na*, *ba*, *ra*, and *va* and the close similarity of a few other features, the most important being the employment of one basic form for the initial vowels in Kharoshti as is also the case of Aramaic (Dani 1986:255)”

Kharoshti script has been found and used within the limit of north-west Pakistan. The easternmost limit was Panjab at Manikiala. On the west Kharoshti inscriptions have been found from Khawat in Afghanistan (Dani 1986:252). The northern most Kharoshti records come from Tirath in Swat and Khalatse in Ladakh and in the south we have some fragments from Mohenjodaro in the Larkana Sindh (Dani 1986:252). The earliest inscriptions in Kharoshti are those of Ashokan times of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. found at Mansehra and Shahbazgarhi. The latest inscriptions are of the later Kushanas of 3<sup>rd</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D. no traces of Kharoshti script is seen after invasion of the Hunas in the 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Dani 1986:253).

Numerous inscriptions of Kharoshti, Brahmi, Sharada and Nagari have been reported from Gandhara (see Appendix-B). Most interesting among them are Taxila Aramic inscription of Ashoka; a fragmentary inscription, found by John Marshall at Taxila, refers to lord Priyadarsa, his queen and son (Thaplyal 2004: 190). Taxila Copper Plate of Patika, year 78 of unknown era, the inscription records the blessing of Buddha's relics and erection of monastery by *Mahadanapati* Patika, son of *Ksatrapa* Liaka Kusulaka (Thaplyal 2004: 191). The Gondophares inscription from Takht-i-Bahi mentions that in the year 26 of

Gondophares and in the year 103 Balasvami Boyana, along with his son Kenamira Boyana, gifted a railing after honouring prince Kapao and his parents (Konow 1929: 57). Kalawan Copper Plate; the plate was found at Kalawan near Taxila and records that Upasika Candrabhi established Buddha's relics along with her sons, daughter-in-laws and her grandson in the hope that it would be conducive to achieve *nirvana*. The inscription is dated to year 134 of Kushans period. Silver Scroll inscription from Taxila, bears the date 136 which records the donation of Buddha's relics in a Bodhisattva chapel of the Dharmajika stupa. Manikiala Stone Inscription of Kharoshti records the erection of several stupas by Lala Dandanayaka (Konow 1929: 145).

Similarly the Zeda inscription on the rock near Zeda village District Swabi, is dated to 20<sup>th</sup> asadha, Uttara Phalguni nakshatra, year 11, in the reign of Muroda and Marjhaka Kaniska (Konow 1929: 142). Shertala Kharoshti inscription was found in north Waziristan, records the year of 39, in the month of Avadunaga a cave was excavated by the order of the Dandanayaka of Kushana for the welfare of all beings. Garhi Matani Kharoshti inscription of Campbellpur (Attack) records the gift of monk Budhavarman and others during the reign of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Kanishka (Thaplyal 2004: 195). Kurram Copper Plate inscription is dated to 20<sup>th</sup> day of Avadunaka of year 21. It records the dedication of the relics of the Buddha to the monastery belonging to the Sarastivadins, for the welfare of all beings (Konow 1929: 152). Ara Stone inscription near Attock records the digging of a well by a person in honour of his parents, for the benefit of himself, his wife and son and for the welfare of all beings. This inscription was engraved

by a Madhu, in the year 41, of the reign of Maharaja Rajatiraja Devaputra Kaisara Kaniska (Konow 1929: 162). Another Kharoshti inscription on sculpture, translated by Mukherjee, refers to two years; year 4 and year 56. Another inscription on a sculpture, records the installation of an image of the Buddha at Dharmaraja monastery founded by Ashoka (Mukherjee 1960: 32-33). For Kharoshti, Brahmi, Sharada and other inscriptions see Appendix-B.

#### 4.2 Inscriptions in the Swat Valley

Swat valley is situated on the cross road of ancient trade routes and remained an active centre for merchants, foreign traders, pilgrims and different communities. The connection between China and Uddiyana across the complex passages is well attested in Chinese sources. Buddhist period reliefs, engravings and inscriptions have been documented by scholars. Kharoshti, Brahmi, Proto-Sharada, Nagri, Persian and Arabic scripts were reported from the valley. The outstanding among them are three Buddhist inscriptions in Swat (Bühler 1979: 133-135). The most important is the Buddha foot prints inscription from Tirat in Upper Swat Valley reveals Buddha foot prints and eleven Kharoshti letters is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century B.C. (Konow 1929: 98-9, pl. 1.5). Bajaur relic vase inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros, is one of the oldest inscriptions (Konow, 1929: 1-3). Other important inscriptions recorded in the valley are, Swat rock inscription (Konow 1929:9-10), Saddo rock inscription (Konow 1929: 9), and Loriyan Tangai pedestal inscription of the year 318 (Konow 1929: 10).

A boulder bearing bilingual inscription near the village Jarai at Madyan reveals Brahmi and Arabic scripts. Brahmi writings are mostly found at the

northwestern end of the rock. The Brahmi graffiti are very shallow and much weathered. The Arabic script covers the middle portion to the southeast surface of the rock. Among the Arabic writing or graffiti, Kufic in style which reveals the Islamic *Kalma* engraved twice with a title of *As-sultanu'laadula Mudafar al dunya walidain al Mudafar Muhammad Musa*. The graffiti covers an area of 3.35 metres high and 2.43 metres wide (Stein 1930, 55-56; Tucci 1958: 303). Another most important Muslim period inscription was discovered on the slopes of Raja Gira castle in 1984 known as Ghaznavid inscription. This marble slab consists of a fine cursive script in *naskhi*, 6 lines inscription celebrating the foundation of Ghaznavid mosque. The earliest mosque in northern Pakistan the Ghaznavid mosque at Udigram was founded in 440 A.H. or 1048-49 AD (Nazir Khan 1985: 153). Thus the Ghaznavid presence in Swat in the year 440(1048-49), as supreme ruling power is attested by an inscription from Udigram which mentions a famous Ghaznavid general Abu Mansur Nushtigin ordering the construction of a mosque.

The third most important bilingual inscription is the Zalamkot (Batkhele Lower Swat Valley) inscription published by (Rahman1997-98: 35). The limestone bearing this inscription is rectangular in shape, epigraph comprises a seven lines text in Persian inscribed in simple Kufic letters and a three line text Sharada script of highly decorative and pleasing style. The Persian text, with Arabic benedictory formulae and month name and Turkish personal names, mention the construction of a tomb by two persons—both government functionaries: (1) Arsalan al -Jadhib, the founder of the tomb and, (2) Khalilbak,

son of the Kotwal Ahmad al-Baghr, who completed the building in the month of Dhu al-Qa'ada of the Higri year 401 (1011 A .D). According the author the text of the inscription clearly suggests that the foundation stone of the tomb was laid earlier than the year 401(1011) Rahman 1997-98: 37)

A Kharoshti inscription painted on fragmented shreds of earthenware vase, found in 1960 by the IsMEO in the sacred Area of Butkara-I. Several of its pieces are missing; however the retaining fragments reveal bold and well formed Kharoshti script (Petech 1966: 80-82). A set of brass bowls from Swat, and a relic casket from Swat and a slab from Malakand (Falk 2003: 76 – 80). Recently ISIAO Mission has reported a monumental Brahmi–Sharada rock inscription of 6 lines near Talag. The inscription is sheltered below a large projecting boulder and partially covers earlier carvings. The specimen, is Sharada characters, seems to be a later version than those from Upper Indus Valley and dating to the 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Olivieri *et al.* 2006: 128 ).

During my survey in the Valley in 2002-03 lead us to the discoveries of Prehistoric engravings, Buddhist Period Rock Reliefs, cave paintings and rock inscriptions. I discovered 3 Brahmi inscriptions in Jahanabad village, carved on two separate rocks. The presence of inscriptions suggests that it was once a sacred place.

#### 4.2.1 Jahanabad

This hamlet is situated at a distance of about one and half kilometer northeast of Shakhorai village and about five kms northeast of Manglaur village on the left bank of Sair *khwar*, is approachable by a Jeep track from main

Malamjaba road. During my field survey of the Valley I found three inscriptions on two gigantic rocks. There are two huge rocks on the hillside one is known as Oba Ghat while the other is known as Khazana Ghat, with engravings of three Buddhist period inscriptions. The site is approachable by a steep rise over boulders and through thorny wild bushes.

Two inscriptions are carved on a large and eye-catching rock locally known as Oba Ghat, meaning the rock of the water and there is a spring below it. A little seasonal spring comes underneath this overhanging rock.

The third inscription is engraved on a huge isolated rock, about 200 yards off to the north east and some 100 feet lower down of Oba Ghat. The rock bearing this inscription is in the cultivated fields, lies inside an apple orchard. It is about 16 metres long and 6 metres high, is supposed to hide a great treasure and accordingly bears the name of Khazana Ghat. The following I and II inscriptions were deciphered by Nasim. Their details are given below;

**Pl. 80**

**Oba Ghat Inscription-I**

Measurement: length 4 metres, 3 lines in northsouth direction

Material: Granite

Script: Gupta Brahmi

Orientation: facing west

Reference: (Bühler 1979: 135; Stein, 1930:50)

**Reading:**      **Line 1:** sarvvapapasyakarana kusala syopasampada

**Line 2:** svacittavyavadanam

**Line 3:** ca etadbudanusasanam

**Translation:** *"Not to commit any sin, to acquire merit, to purify one's mind—that is the teaching of Buddha"*

**Inscription-I:** Inscription-I is a Sanskrit rendering of *Dhammapada*, verse 183 (Bühler 1979: 135). It is carved on the upper portion of the rock immediately

above the cave in bold and deeply incised characters. The inscription contains three lines in north south direction, carved high up in the center of the rock face.

This inscription has suffered mostly by weathering.

**Pl. 81**

**Oba Ghat Inscription-II**

Measurement: length 4 metres, 4 lines in north south direction

Material: Granite

Script: Gupta Brahmi

Orientation: facing west

Reference: (Bühler 1979: 135; Stein 1930: 50)

**Reading:**

**Line 1:** vacanurakst

**Line 2:** samvrtah kkayana caivakusalanna kurvan

**Line 3:** tastrayinkarmapathanui sokya araghye

**Line 4:** nmargampippraveditam

**Translation:** “ (Let him be one) who guards his speech, is well restrained in mind, and commits no evil with his body. Keeping these three roads of action clear, one may gain the path taught by the Sages.”

**Inscription-II:** It is carved on lower face of the rock, is a rather free Sanskrit rendering of *Dhammapada*, verse 281(Bühler 1979: 135). It is engraved in bold and deeply incised characters, having four lines, extends over a surface of about four metres in length in north south directions over a rock cut entrance. The lower inscription is carved in the right lower corner of the rock and easily accessible to human activities. It is exposed to both natural and human vandalism.

Both the inscriptions engraved on the western face of the rock, contain verses from the *Dhammapada*. The palaeographic character of the letters, according to Buhler’s analysis, seems to date the inscriptions as from the early Kushan period (Stein 1930: 50). According to Harry Falk (personal

communication in 2006) both these two inscriptions are more or less dynastic and can be dated to 7<sup>th</sup> or 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

**Pl. 82**

**Khazana Ghat Inscription-III**

Measurement: length 2.5 metres, 3 lines in east west direction

Material: Granite

Script: Gupta Brahmi

Orientation: facing west

Reference: (Bühler 1979: 134; Stein 1930: 50)

This inscription is deciphered by Prof. O. V. Hinuber in 2006

**Reading:**       **Line 1:** anitya vava (sic! for vata) samskara utpadavyaya  
                       **Line 2:** dharminah utpadya hi nirud (dh)yante tepa (read tesam)  
                       **Line 3:** vyupasamas sukham

**Translation:** *"the Samskaras are truly subject to originating and decay. For, after originating they disappear. Calming them is happiness"*

This is the famous verse spoken according the *Maha-Parinibbana-Sutta*, vi. 16, by Indra at the time of Sakyani's death or proclaimed by Buddha himself according to the *Maha-Sudassana-Jataka* (Bühler 1979: 134).

**Inscription-III:** The stone, on which the inscription exists, is known as "Khazana Ghat", as some treasure was at one time found near it. Prof. Harry Falk is of the view that this inscription is a plain Buddhist and is earlier than the above two inscriptions. It can be dated to 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D. According to P. O. V. Hinüber, the inscription reveals a well known Buddhist text and well written in spite of two very obvious mistakes as indicated. Palaeographically the inscription can be dated roughly to the 6<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

The surface of rock was cleaned by removing patina and then inscription was carved. All the three are deeply and boldly incised on rough surface. The letters, which are two to four inches in height, resemble in many respects the so



called northwestern Gupta Brahmi characters. Though all three inscriptions unfortunately furnish no date, but they are of importance as follows;

- (a) These inscriptions were possibly engraved by the Buddhist monks who lived in a monastery of ancient Shakhorai (Stein 1930: 50). The Brahmi characters of the inscriptions rendering a *Dhammapada*, verses reveal and testify the fact that Jahanabad once remained an active center of Buddhism.
- (b) Besides these three inscriptions, the extensive ruins exist near the site like the colossal relief of Jahanabad Buddha of 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Salter 1983: 22) and rock relief of seated Padmapani of 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Rahman 1993: 9-12). Both these carved figures are rough and crude yet they appear to belong to the last stage of Buddhism in this region, when Bodhisattva Padmapani had attracted greater attention of the people while the Buddha had become a mere convention. They are attributed to the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries A. D. after the Indian influences had brought in Gupta characteristics in this region.
- (c) The Palaeographers generally believed that Brahmi did not travel towards northwestern regions of subcontinent, but the presence of these inscriptions indicate that during Gupta period Brahmi prevailed as a language of *Dharma* and *Dhammapada*.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SITES OF THE ROCK PAINTINGS

#### 5.1 Introduction

The claim of Upper Palaeolithic paintings is made in Tor Ghar area of Loralai and Sulaiman Ranges of Zhob District of Baluchistan (Kakar 2005: 21-25). At Tor Ghar 20 rock shelters, while in Sulaiman Range 27 rock shelters of paintings were reported. The subject matter paintings is fighting and hunting scenes. They represent animals and human painted in red and black on the undressed surfaces of rock-shelters. A few animals are shown in triangular form, rendering the body by two triangles at one corner. This method is typical for the Neolithic and early Bronze Age periods and is commonly used in the rock-engravings of the Upper Indus Valley (Nasim Khan 2000:2).

Evidence of the early Bronze Age paintings so far known in Pakistan is recorded from the terracotta objects and pot-shreds. Painted pottery of different designs has come down to us from the sites of Mohenjo-Daro (Marshall 1931: 37-38), Harappa (Vats 1940: Pl. LXIII, ), Amri (Casal 1964: Figs. 9-11), Kot Diji (Khan 1965: Pl. IX, X), Rehman Dheri (Durrani 1981, fig. VI), Kuli Gul Mohammad (Bridget and Allchin 1985: 101, fig 5-17), Mundigak (Allchin 1985: 135, fig 6.2, 6.3,6.4), Quetta Valley (Fairservis 1956: 78), Bir-kot Ghundai (Stacul 1985: 348) and Ghalegay (Stacul 2005 : 211). Painted designs on the pottery of these sites are geometrical and floral such as wavy lines, triangles, lozenges, diamonds, loops, intersecting circles, honey combs, pipal-leaf, fish scale, radiating sun, stylized animal figures usually bull and ibex, and very rare

crude human figures (Sardar 1992: 114). The colour they used was monochrome, bichrome and polychrome such as red, black, white and chocolate. The art of sculpturing had progressed where life-like representation of human beings and animals do occur, but these representations are rare in painted forms.

Paterson reported historic engravings on boulders at the site of Mandori, six miles below Attock and Gariala village in Attock District (Paterson and Drummond 1962: 120). Nothing Painted pottery of Iron Age and later periods shows continuity in arts. Only from life of Apollonius of Tyana we learn that a temple in front of the Taxila city was beautifully decorated from inside with paintings in the style of great Greek painters of the fourth century BC. (Dar 1998 : 88).

In 1979 the study of rock paintings in the Upper Indus Valley received special attention of scholars as a heavily painted boulder near Shatial Bridge was reported by Jettmar (Jettmar 1985: 753). He produced figures of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, stupas and other figures (Jettmar 1989b: 407, fig. 2). Most important among them are those coming from Baltistan area of Khaplu, Astor Valley and Mehdi Abad (Jettmar 1990: 801). One of the important site famous for Buddhist paintings is Chaghdo situated 20 kms east of Skardu. It reveals fresco paintings of three stupas in traditional Tibetan style with dark red colour. Chaghdo paintings belong to Medieval period (Nazir Khan 1998: 102, fig. 1). Another important place of paintings is Shigar situated about 35 kms north of

Skardu (Nasim Khan 2000; 6-11). These painted images are normally accompanied with Brahmi inscriptions of 4<sup>th</sup>- 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.

In Gandhara paintings had its own historical development. It falls into three distinct periods separated from each other by a fairly long interval. They are classified into three groups; (i)-Pre-Buddhist paintings (ii) Early Buddhist paintings and (iii) Late Buddhist paintings.

**Pre-Buddhist:** Pre-Buddhist paintings reveal hunting, fighting and ritual representations. At least three rock shelters bearing vestiges of ancient paintings namely Natian, Torai Gata and Swara Gata have so far being documented (Nasim Khan 2000: 15). Natian paintings reveal horse riders, hunting scenes, human and animal figures. The human figures are shown with extended arms. Most of these paintings are executed in red (Nasim Khan 2000: 15). Torai Gata paintings reveal animals, human figures, hunting and fighting scenes. The figures are shown with simple bold outlines. The paintings of Swara Gata show a scenes of human figures riding and moving in different directions. Most of the riders holding banners in their hands.

**Early Buddhist:** Majority of the Gandhara paintings belongs to the early Buddhist period, mostly human representations and sometimes religious structures like stupa and monastery. Early Buddhist paintings sites are Parlai Dab, Kafir-kot, and Kala Tassa paintings. Parlai Dab paintings site is situated about 3 kms northwest of Gidari village in Swabi District. On the surface of shelter a variety of paintings and Kharoshthi and Brahmi inscriptions are painted. Among the figural paintings a *cakras*, geometrical designs, architectural

representations and other unidentified figures are reported (Nasim Khan 2000: 24).

Kafir-kot area locally known as Nokkono Ghwand, near Thana village in the Swat Valley, is famous for early Buddhist painted shelters. Four different shelters namely Kafir-kot, Shamo, Marano Tangai and Hinduano Hatai with paintings of early historic period (Nazir Khan *et al.* 1995: 333). These paintings include stupas, geometrical designs, animal and human figures, etc. Red pigment, reddish-orange, yellow colours are used in painting applied directly to the undressed surfaces of the shelters. These paintings are dated between 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D. (Vidale & Olivieri 2002: 189)

Kala Tassa cave is situated near Peshawri village between Mansehra and Thakot. Paintings are Buddhist in character with Kharoshthi inscriptions. It reveals paintings of two stupas with several monasteries. The stupa is shown with a drum where a seated figure of a Buddha is in meditation. Railing of the stupa is shown with horizontal and vertical beams. The dome is conical in shape filled with red colour, showing an *harmika* supporting a *yasti* with a single umbrella. On both sides of the stupa are two lion capitals. Different animals like rabbit, pig, horse, goat, chicken and birds are identified. A Kharoshthi inscription is painted on both sides of the *chatras*. The inscription reads "Kaniska Maharajasa" (Nasim Khan 2000: 33). Recently a chance discovery of Mural paintings from the Buddhist monastery of Jinan Wali Dheri (Taxila) is stated as unique phenomena in the whole of Gandhara region (Ashraf & Hasan 2004; 20).

**Late Buddhist:** The late Buddhist painted shelters are Patvano Gata and Babuzai. Patvano Gata is located in the mountain range separating Suddham valley from Buner. The paintings are a few yards to the west of Tanure village, accessible from Ambela Police Station on walk. The Patvano Gata paintings are dated between 4<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Nasim Khan 200: 36). It is a group of three images: a *Dhyani* Buddha flanked by two Bodhisattvas. Another most important area of Buddhist period is Babuzai paintings situated in the mountain range separating Suddham valley from Shamozaï and Babuzai, where painted shelters are locally known as Barai-Uba and Ramanrai (Nasim Khan 200: 69).

These shelters are situated near ancient tracks and historic passes which connect Gandhara with the outside countries, especially to the Upper Indus Valley where paintings and carvings show Central Asian, Iranian, Chinese and Indian influences.

## 5.2 Paintings in Uddiyana

In Swat from the site of Butkara-I a fragment was discovered, which is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> century AD. and was considered as the earliest specimen of painting (Faccenna 1981: fig. I & L). In 1990 the existence of cave with paintings was reported in the Kafir-kot area known as Nokkono Ghwand near Thana. It has paintings of eight stupas, human, animal, drawings of men and riders, archers and horsemen (Nazir Khan 1994: 213-14). In 1993 the IsMEO started survey of the Kafir-kot area with collaboration of Pakistani colleagues for detail studies of painted shelters in the area. During survey of the area signs of the paintings

were reported from the sites of Kafir-kot, Hinduanohtai, Shamo and Marano-tangai.

The paintings of Kafir-kot site represent nine human figures, three stupas representation and a horseman with bow (Nazir Khan *et al.* 1995: 336). Marano-tangai shelter reveals a set of abstract symbols, squares intersected by a cross and square filled with a single dot (Nazir Khan *et al.* 1995: fig. 14). Paintings of Hinduanohtai reveal Buddhist Stupas, while paintings of Shamo site shows men with weapons, a horse and a stupa (Vidale & Oliveri 2002: 189). On the bases of Buddhist architectural representations all these sites were dated between 1<sup>st</sup> to 4<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Nazir Khan *et al.* 1995: 350; Oliveri 2005: 215).

Further more in 2000 the Mission discovered three painted rock shelters in Sargah-sar, Kalkai-kandao and Dwolasmannai-patai (Vidale & Olivieri 2002: 173) in Kandag region of Valley. Sargah-sar paintings reveal, human figures carrying weapons, animals and elaborate geometric symbols are clustered (Vidale & Olivieri 2002: 183). Paintings of Kakai-kandao shelter represent crowded designs, vivid composition of animals, humans and geometric patterns (Vidale & Olivieri 2002: 186). Dwolasmannai-patai shelter show complex, irregular geometric pattern and human carrying weapons (Vidale & Olivieri 2002: 188). All these shelters are located far from Buddhist sacred areas, and this differs in respect from those already known near Thana village. They are dated between 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Century A. D. Painted shelters of Kafir-Kot area and Kandag valley so far recorded by the Mission belong to a single cultural framework (Vidale & Olivieri 2002: 189). Kafir-kot was attributed to the historic period

because of the presence of pictograms of Buddhist architecture and mounted horses. While painted shelters of the Kandag region seem to have no relationship with the Buddhist cultural settlements of the valley. These paintings are monochromatic and executed using red ochre oxides, often applied with fingers (Oliveri 2005: 216).

The paintings and drawings of Kafir Kot and Kandag areas, done in brick-red colour can still be seen on the lower part of a huge rock shelters near Thana village. They depict hunters, riders and mostly Buddhist stupas. Few of them are quite parallel to the paintings and drawings of Upper Indus Valley. The discovery of two elaborate painted depictions of hunters in Gurikot (Astor Valley) by the German scholars, provide supplementary evidence for the existence of strong cultural links between Swat and Upper Indus Valley.

My research has shown many new reliefs, Brahmi inscriptions and cave paintings. They show ancient history of Swat and religious activities carried out here. The paintings were discovered in 2001 as follows.

### **5.3 New Discovery of Painting at Kaferi Smasta**

This shelter has paintings in Charoona Dara locality to the south of present Kukrai village, in Murghazar sub-valley of Swat. This shelter is about 3 kms south of Kukrai village situated on the crest of Gishar hill in west of Mt. Ilam. The shelter is accessible through a pedestrian path from Kokrai village and is locally known as Kaferi Smasta (shelter), with paintings of hunters and human figures. It is semi circular in shape, about 1.50m in depth and 5m height open to southeast side. The artistic details of the paintings are as under;



**Pl. 83****Painted shelter of Kaferi Smasta**

Orientation: Facing

Material: Granite

Reference: unpublished

The images are painted on the right side wall of the shelter only, with a mud pigment while the black contour lines are marked by the author to highlight the artistic features of the paintings. On the right side wall where the ceiling begins to slope down reveal seven figures and representation of a monument, most probably a stupa. To facilitate description of the paintings, it may be divided into two groups although they make up a uniform composition. On top is a person standing in front of monument in akimbo position. The stairs like structure/monument, branches out on top, almost like vertical antennae represents a stupa. A vertical monument with a six stages structure and a human figure on top of it reveals close similarity with that of Upper Indus Valley site of Hodar. This monument can be related with the so-called derivative stupa (Jettmar 1985: fig. 13).

Human figures at the bottom are standing frontally in different positions. All figures have opened wide hands and legs, which reveal that they are celebrating a hunting scene. The technique most commonly used for the painting is that of outlined figures, but human figures are more realistic on the wall of the shelter. All the human figures hold a weapon, a tool or attribute: a bow, or a club in their hands. The human figures of Kaferi Smasta reveal resemblance to the painting of Dwolasmane-patai shelter of Kandag Valley and can be dated between 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century A. D. (Oliveri 2005: 220).

All these objects were probably painted with a finger or using white ochre. The original paintings were in white, and faint white line remains visible and round figures are subsequently repainted in yellow. Kaferi Smasta paintings are in a yellowish cream shade, which at times can be made to look pink. However, the shelter's greater exposure to the weather is responsible for fading of many of the paintings. Shepherds have frequently utilized the site for shelter, the fleece of their flocks rubbed paintings from the walls, or smoke from their fires has made the colours light. All these objects were probably painted with a finger or drawn with white mud colour. The mineral pigments, which provided colouring matter, were not applied directly but were used in solution or suspension.

#### 5.4 Chronology and Dating

In the absence of C14 dates, the paintings cannot be dated precisely. But on the basis of other antiquities, surveyed and documented in immediate vicinity, these can be assigned to an approximate date of the Patvano Gata paintings. Among these discoveries, the most important, of course, are the epigraphical records. Paleographically they belong to 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Nasim Khan 2000: 67). The Gupta period inscriptions near Babuzai suggest that all these antiquities might belong to 4<sup>th</sup> - 6<sup>th</sup> century A. D. The art of painting appears to have attained the degree of excellence almost equal to that of stone carvings in the area. It is also clear that the skill of the painter in the region of Gandhara reached its height during 4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

The mixture of Indian and Central Asian influence in these paintings confirms that the region of Gandhara was not only geographically but also

historically and culturally linked by caravan routes and trade relations. In addition to other archaeological discoveries especially in the Upper Indus Valley, these paintings make it clear that apart from the cultural ties as mentioned above this region had close links with China also.

The moisture and exposure of the air did not affect the paintings but it is in fact by the locals who damage most of the paintings in the area. The region of Gandhara needs to be scanned out properly to document all these paintings before antique dealers or human vandalism.

## CHAPTER SIX

### ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

#### 6.1 Descriptive Analysis

Swat Valley has one of the richest rock art traditions in northern Pakistan as presented in chapter three of this dissertation. Charai, Gogdara and Zarkandai Tangai engravings (Pls.41, 48 & 61) of the Valley are of late Bronze and early Iron Age. During my field survey conducted for data collection in the Swat, I came across with three kinds of rock art sites. They are (i) rock engravings or reliefs (ii) rock paintings and (iii) rock inscriptions. For comparative and analytic study the entire data is divided into two groups;

- Prehistoric engravings or petroglyphs
- Buddhist period rock carvings or reliefs.

##### 6.1.1 Prehistoric engravings or petroglyphs

During the survey conducted by the present author in the Valley, discovered two new sites of engravings (petroglyphs) belonging to non-Buddhist culture. Their artistic details and geographical localities are stated below;

**(a) Charai (Madiyan) in Upper Swat Valley (PI. 40).**

**(b) Zarkandai Tangai in lower Swat Valley (PI. 61).**

**(a)** In June 2005, Salim and I conducted a field survey in the Swat Valley. We discovered a site of petroglyphs at Charai Madiyan. The boulder is partially embedded in the ground and recently damaged by the land owner. The exposed portion of the boulder reveals a rough outline of two human bodies, both are in standing position. The human figures reveal rounded heads on top; hands

extended sideways and legs are straight down. The natural form of a man is not portrayed and no details of face are given. Anyhow sufficient details are given to recognize the forms as human, it looks like that the artist was interested in man's action rather than in human form.

(b) The rock art of Zarkandai Tangai has animals on four different boulders but their style is not different from the figurations of Gogdara. They represent a schematic, linear and comb-like frame. These petroglyphs of animal are the major types of the Bronze Age imitative art executed by the artists of agricultural and cattle breeding tribes. Such types of petroglyphs have also been mentioned by Jettmar in the Northern area of Pakistan (Jettmar, 1985: 751). Linear designs depicted with a comb-like style were made by stone hammering.

Similarly petroglyphs and engravings have also been reported in the neighbouring districts of Mardan and Swabi, Bajaur, Malakand Agency and Upper Indus Valley (Bemmann & Hauptmann 1993: 313). These studies have allowed us to establish a frame for the rock art of Swat. At present the oldest complexes in the region seem to be Charai Madiyan, Gogdara and Zarkandai Tangai datable to prehistoric period.

### **6.1.2 Buddhist Period Rock Carvings.**

The rock reliefs and stelae so far described by me are 76 in number. They show Mahayanist subject, represent isolated Bodhisattvas and sometimes triads of Buddhist period as given in chapter three of my dissertation (Pls. 3, 5, 12, 22, 27, 31 & 45). Chronologically and stylistically they belong to the post-Kushan period and are found in the vicinity of sacred areas (stupas and monasteries).

The reliefs are usually hundreds metres away from the sacred areas and they are likely to mark routes towards them. The Buddhist rock reliefs may be divided in the following three categories.

- Buddha images
- Bodhisattva figures
- Brahmanical images

**Buddha Images:** I found many images of Buddha among the rock reliefs of the Swat. The Buddha image in Swat Valley is with both shoulders covered by the monastic robe with folds, curly hair, long ears and haloed head. Rock reliefs of the entire Valley reveals only two images of *Dhyani* Buddha, however they are of high aesthetic quality. The only surviving images of *Dhyani* Buddhas are the colossal Buddha of Ghaligai-I and Jahanabad-I (Pls. 51 & 69). Both are massive in proportion, shown with broad shoulders with chest and heavy arms. Buddha is mostly found seated with crossed legs, hands joined at the lap, eyes are half closed (Pl. 69). It is interesting to note that the figure of Buddha is found in *Dhyani* pose only but rarely in standing or preaching position.

In a triad relief Buddha is sometimes represented in center of the scenes, as reflected at site of Koni-Gat, Rehman Cheena, Garasa, Saman Gul, Shanglow Mera, Jambii and Jangai (Pls.5, 6, 12, 13, 17, 18, 22, 25, 26, 27, 47 & 50). In other cases the image of Buddha even occupies a very small space on the edge of big boulders as shown at site of Rehman Cheena-I, II and IV, Saman Gul-I and Ghaligai-III (Pls. 10,11,13,18 & 53). Observing this phenomenon I can argue that

between 6<sup>th</sup> to 8<sup>th</sup> centuries A. D. the cult of Buddha was declining and that of Bodhisattva was enjoying high status in the Valley.

**Bodhisattvas:** Bodhisattva is a main theme of Swat rock carvings. The reliefs are showing complex scenes and they display diverse iconographic forms. Bodhisattvas wore the dress of princes and were adorned with jewels, necklace garlands, ear-rings, bracelets or a turban and a diadem was placed on an elegant curled coiffure and a robe was draped round their hips (Pls. 7,8, 10, 14, 20, 62, 68 & 79). As carved in the reliefs Bodhisattvas are generally presented in two forms; either seated in *lalitasana* (Pls. 10,11,13,15,17,18,20, 31, 34, 45 & 76) or standing in *varadammudra* and in his left hand he holds a kind of stick (Pls. 3, 12, 16, 22, 27, 28, 30, 32,34 & 41). The most popular Bodhisattvas are Avalokitesvara, Padmapani, Maitreya, Manjusri and Vajrapani, which I have identified in the tributaries of Jambil, Marghzar, Manglaur and lower Swat Valley.

**Avalokitesvara:** In Swat rock carvings Avalokitesvara is generally distinguishable from the Buddha by his headdress, he always holding a full-blown lotus-flower. Avalokitesvara holds a lotus and sometimes bears the effigy of Amitabha (see Appendix-A) in his crown. He is seated on lion throne (see Pl. 13) and sometimes on lotus throne (see Pl. 14). Always dressed in *dhoti* and wearing neckbands and bracelet, his headdress is highly elaborate with crown, bearing Amitabha with cross-legged as reflected at site of Rehman Cheena (see Pl. 14). He is shown as an ascetic or a princely figure in a contemplative mood constantly engaged in finding ways to alleviate human suffering and misery (Pls. 9, 10, 11, 13, 15, 17, 18, 20, 25 & 28 ).

In Swat rock reliefs the highest numerical representation, however, is that of Padmapani and Avalokitesvara (see Table 10). He is usually represented sitting in *ardhaparyankasana*, with his left leg pointing downwards and his right leg folded upon the seat, in the so-called pensive attitude with a long stemmed lotus in his left hand (Pls. 10, 15 & 20).

**Padmapani:** Padmapani is the most important of the Mahayana Buddhist divinities. I have identified several of his images among the Swat reliefs (see Table 9). Lotus is the most distinctive attribute of the Padmapani and hence his name Padmapani or lotus bearer is his characteristic attribute (Pls.1, 7, 10, 12, 20 & 41). Several standing and seated figures of Padmapani have been noticed in various side tributaries as given in 6.3.1, 6.3.2 and 6.3.3 of this chapter. Standing figures are shown on lotus throne holding a lotus stalk, in the left hand, while the right hand is in *varadamudra* (Pls. 3, 12, 16, 22, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34 & 41).

**Maitreya:** The third most important figure after Padmapani is Maitreya (see Table 9). I have identified his images at site of Rehman Cheena, Saman Gul and Shanglow Mera (Pls. 12, 13, 18 & 22 ). He is holding a staff and a conical vase with a semicircular handle, is one of characteristic of being a Maitreya. He carries the vase of immortality and sometimes a stupa in his crown. His right hand with the palm turned towards the *vesmayamudra* (surprise) is frequently encountered in Swat reliefs as given in 6.3.1, 6.3.2, 6.3.3 and 6.3.4. His images are found always standing on a low lotus throne holding a water flask in his left hand, and the right one in *varadmudra* (Pls. 12, 13, 18 & 22).



**Vajrapani:** The presence of the Vajrapani in Swat Valley is given in the accounts of Hsua-Tsang, who mentions Vajrapani as being with Buddha when he subdued the gigantic snake of Uddiyana (Getty 1928: 50). Vajrapani as a constant companion and guardian of Buddha, bears a *vajra*, (thunderbolt) was identified at site of Shanglow Mera-III (see Table 9). Like Maitreya Swat reliefs reveal Vajrapani on a low throne wearing *dhoti*, right hand stretched down in *varadamudra*, while the left one he is holding a thunderbolt. I noticed the image of Vajrapani in Shanglow area of Jambil valley (see Pl. 22).

### 6.1.3 Brahmanical Images in Swat Reliefs

The existence of Brahmanical images in Swat are known from the Hsuan Tsang accounts (Tucci 1958: 327). Most of the reliefs are Buddhist except a few Brahmanical art pieces (see Table 9). Hindu deities Ganesh and Shiva are identified at site of Supalbandai-I, Ghaligai-IV, Banjot-II and Ningriyal-IV. Their presence is important because they are the only relics of Hinduism (Pls. 38, 54, 67 & 75).

I have identified Hindu deities at four places in the Swat Valley. The most important aspect of this discovery is, that they were found among the Buddhist period reliefs. Their distribution is as follow;

**Ganesh:** Ganesh venerated both by the Hindus and Buddhists, is one of the most popular of the Hindu deities. He is immediately recognizable on account of his elephant head joined to a child like human body (Blurton 1992: 103). The Hindus regard him as the symbol of auspiciousness. Like Indra and Brahma, Ganesh was also a Brahmanical god accommodated by the Buddhists

in their religion. Only two sites reveal the image of this divinity in the entire Swat Valley. The representation of Ganesh was found on top of Ghaligai hill and Nangriyal-IV (Pls. 54 & 67). It represents an elephant headed figure with four hands.

**Shiva:** Shiva is the supreme deity of the Hindu mythology. He is associated with the act of destruction or absorption in particular. The earliest figures of Shiva which show him in purely human form come from north western region of Pakistan especially from Gandhara. His figure is recorded from Gandhara sculptures dated to 1<sup>st</sup> century A. D. (Blurton 1992: 84). The followers of Shiva consider him to be associated with the acts of creation and preservation. Shiva is also endowed with the acts of grace and power of concealment. He has numerous manifestations given to him by his worshippers. He has many attributes, but one of the most important is the trident. He may appear in many forms both peaceful and angry.

Three rock art sites reveal Shiva image of Swat (see Table 9). The first is a triad scene on the rock at Supalbandai village (Pl. 38) in Marghazar side valley. The second is the individual image of Shiva on the boulder at Ghaligai-IV (Pl. 54), and the third one is another triad at Banjot Village (Pl. 67) in Manglour valley.

More interesting are the manifestations of two Brahmanical deities of Shiva and Ganesha in a single relief was recorded for the first time in Valley by me. Their representations in spite of their feeble workmanship are very important because they are the only deities of non-Buddhist faith. Their existence in the

Swat Valley is testified from Hsuan-Tsang's accounts also (Beal 1969: 122). It may suggest that in the late Mahayana philosophy, Buddhism adopted Brahmanic divinities, its ideas and practices. The portrait of two Brahmanical divinities (Pl. 54) in a single engraved relief provides evidence, that the then rulers of Uddiyana were tolerant to Hinduism also. It also demonstrate that, with the passage of time the Mahayana beliefs accepted the influence of Hinduism and prepared the way for the ultimate merging of the non-monastic form of Buddhism with Hinduism.

#### 6.1.4 Ornamentation of Bodhisattva's *Asanas* (pedestals)

Ornamented *asanas* and their decoration is another interesting subject of research of the Buddhist period of rock art in the Valley. For an easy understanding the topic of pedestal decoration is divided into three categories on the basis of their appearance on rock reliefs: (a) geometric form, (b) floral form and (c) animal representations.

**(a) Geometric Form:** These kinds of pedestals of geometric form are carved normally in rectangular shape. They are either plain or sometimes decorated with geometrical pattern. The only decorated seat of Bodhisattva with geometrical designs occurs at the site of Kalako Dheri (Pl. 19).

**(b) Floral Form:** The lotus flower decorated pedestals (Pls. 10 & 12) are sometimes formed by two lotus flowers placed back to back. Petals of these flowers are large and pointed and arranged in two whorls as I have observed it at site of Ningriyal Qala (Pl. 79). The Bodhisattva is almost seated in *sukhasana* on

a single petalled lotus seat carried by two rampant lions (Pls. 5, 12, 13, 18, 22, 24 & 25).

© **Animal representations:** There is a scene of lions and elephants, as carrier or *vahana*, and the deity is seated on a throne. Lion is frequently depicted on *asanas* and is executed in frontal pose except for the Shanglow stele where it is shown in a profile (Pls. 5, 22 & 24). These animals are realistically portrayed in Gandhara reliefs. Elephant has also served as a vehicle carved on pedestals for holding the *asanas* of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas. In *visvantara Jatakas*, elephant with richly decoration are in the royal procession scene with transportation of relics. They are depicted in the rock carvings of the Upper Indus region also. I have identified them at site of Koni-Gut, Rehman Cheena, Saman Gul, Shanglow Mera and Jambil village (Pls. 5, 12, 13, 18,22, 24 & 25). There is an *asanas*, which shows a scene of the first sermon (Pl. 5).

#### 6.1.5 Cave's Rock Reliefs

Three Buddhist period reliefs were recorded inside the cave while the remaining eighty rock reliefs are executed over on open natural boulders. The first relief is situated in the locality of Ghaligai. It is inside a small cave which opens on the slope of a hill just at the side of a huge Ghaligai Buddha. The artistic detail of the relief is by now almost illegible. It shows a main figure in dress, the hands against the chest, standing on a base with a row of animal figures on the front, surrounded by minor characters (Pl. 52). This cave was first reported by Stein as a representation of Uttarasena, the legendary king of Uddiyana, possibly bearing a stupa reliquary in his hands (Stein 1929 :51; 1930:

32-33). Later Tucci identified the reliefs and suggested that the image might represent a local deity with his attendants or a king of the Kushan period with his followers (Tucci 1958: 299, Filighezi (2006: 211) examines the preserve profile of the figures and presented her new interpretation that neither Uttarasena nor a local deity or king of the Kushan period is here. But it is a representation of Surya with his assistants and wives accompanied by Ganesh.

The second most important cave relief is situated in the Jambil village (PI.27). The reliefs is carved in a deep recess, with projecting rock above. The reliefs bears seven figures, one among them is standing, while the remaining six are in sitting positions. Starting from the right the first two are *Dhyani* Buddhas on high thrones. Next to them is a standing Maitreya with his characteristic water flask in the right hand and a lotus stem in the left. The three-seated *Bodhisattvas* are on high seats. Their right legs are gently folded over the seats, while their left legs are hanging down. Their right hands rest on their right thighs, while their left hands rest on their left thighs holding lotus stalks. The reliefs are preserved to some extent.

The third rock relief is noted on the hill top of Nangriyal Qila (PI.78). A dislodged boulder has rolled down from the upper terraces. It depicts a beautifully executed panel of four worshippers and a stupa model, one in standing and the remaining three are in sitting positions. *Prabhamandalas* are behind heads of worshippers. The standing *Bodhisattva* has a lotus flower in his left hand. The devotees are busy in stupa worship. The stupa shows two ribbons hanging down from its top *chakra*. The hanging ribbons are similar to those of

Thalpan stupa of the Upper Indus Valley and can be attributed to 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

## 6.2 Comparative Analysis

In Swat Buddhist reliefs reveal *dhyani* Buddhas in typical Gandharan style of the late period as is obvious from the semi-circular fall of the robe in front of their seat. However in the facial cuts of the figure of Jahanabab Buddha, now damaged in October 2007 by Taliban, reveals the high cheekbone of the Buddha (Pl. 68). How far late they should be dated, must be decided on the evidence of the possible time when Buddhism received the last patronage in this region. Apparently this must be before the coming of Hindu Shahi Period. The Buddha figures are putting on the typical Gandharan robe covering both the shoulders. He is the symbol of teaching, the master sitting in meditation. In standing position he is represented in the *abhayamudra*, sometimes accompanied by Bodhisattvas rather than monks.

The second group includes the Bodhisattvas most of them are Avalokitesvara or Padmapani from the sites of Panr, Rehman Cheena, Shanglow Mera and Jambil village. All the Bodhisattvas reveal influence from the Gupta classical type as some of them also show almost transparent dresses. The figure of Padmapani had attracted greater attention of the scholars, and the Buddha had become mere a conventional figure. These figures of Padmapani along with that form district of Dir (Dani 1968-69: 251-257), Buner and Puran areas seems to belong to the same last period. They can be dated to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> century A. D. (Olivieri 1994: 467), when the Indian influences or Gupta classical art traditions reached this region, like the diaphanous garment, head with topknot

and curly hair, elongated ears, lack of ornaments, the prominent incised line below the navel, knots of the scarf, the rigid body with its broad chest and narrow waist indicate a later date. The shadows below the eyes and the lip of the image emphasize the sense of emotion in the full round face and can be dated between 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century A. D. On either side of the main figure appear the standing divinities on separate lotus seats as at site of Rehman Cheena-III. The attending figures are shown smaller in scale and are the characteristics of Gupta Period (see Pl. 12).

These images represent the deity with standing or sitting position. In sitting case the posture is in *lalitasana*. When standing the figure is elongated, the body has a certain gracefulness in the features and finely executed. One can get the impression that with the change of the religious contents the style also was gently modified and one is inclined to see in this style, the influence even if remote, of the aesthetic ideals of which developed in the Indian during the Gupta period.

My explored reliefs in the Valley can be compared with the sculptures of Manai at Dir (Ashraf Khan 1994: 462) and Kafir-dherai at Puran (Olivieri 1994 : 477). At site of Koni-Gut Swat (Pl. 5), where apart from the technique the figure of Buddha and Padmapani are stylistically and ichnographically the same as the one we find at Shanglow Mera in Kokarai village(Pl. 20).

The effect sculptor wanted to convey to the observer was that the image was coming out of the rock itself rather than having been artificially impressed upon it (see Pls. 20 & 80). Reliefs can be impressed upon a portion of rock that

seems to move forward by itself. Sometimes a projecting portion of a rock can be exploited as in a group of figures which seem to leap out like a ray of light, coming out of the darkness of the matter (Pl. 18). Elsewhere the rock strata is exploited, as in the case of a singular relief, carved on a smooth rock at Shanglow, where Padmapāṇi is depicted twice (Pl.20) The same figure, duplicated and enlarged upward, reveals to the observer that Avalokitesvara or Padmapāṇi really is the great master who shows the way to the faithful and accompany them with love.

All these figures have slim body and wearing transparent dress. Tucci has rightly emphasized the *Mahayanic* character of these figures. These rock reliefs show continuity of the Gandhara art in this late period of the 6<sup>th</sup> –7<sup>th</sup> centuries. Several of these images can be related to metal sculptures of Kishmir and Swat (Pal 1975: 73). Both the hairstyle and basket-like seat of this few rock reliefs are also found in bronzes of Kashmiri images of the eighth century (Pal 1975:22). The idea of such an execution might have come from abroad, but it was implanted here at a suitable place like Uddiyana.

### 6.3 Statistical Analysis of Different Tributary Valleys

The rock art sites catalogued by this author are 83 in number, which include 3 prehistoric engravings, 68 Buddhist period reliefs carved on walls or isolated blocks of rock and 8 Buddhist period stelae lying in open hilly terrace and 1 painted shelter and 3 rock inscriptions (see Table 9). Their classification and distribution in different tributaries are given in following table.

These rock reliefs depict mostly *dhyani* Buddha but occasionally are accompanied on both sides by Bodhisattvas, both in standing or sitting poses.



They are frequently found in the middle and lower Swat areas, and only a few sites were noticed on considerable height like the site of Ningriyal VIII. Majority of the rock reliefs are on the left bank of the river Swat, executed both in the Valley plains and in the of the mountains, but amazingly very few are noticed on its right bank. They are mainly found on cliffs of mountains, grazing grounds and tributary valleys of Jambli, Murghazar, Manglaur and Central and Upper Swat .

**Table 9: Rock Art Sites of Swat**

Sub-valley	Prehistoric Engravings	Buddhist Reliefs	Buddhist Stelae	Paintings sites	Inscriptions
<b>Jambli</b>	00	24	07	00	00
<b>Murghazar</b>	00	07	01	01	00
<b>Manglaur</b>	00	18	00	00	03
<b>Central &amp; Upper Swat</b>	03	19	00	00	00
Total	03	68	08	01	03
Grand Total	=	=	=	=	83

### 6.3.1 Tributary of Jambli

My research was initially focused on the previously known sites of the Jambli valley. Several visits were made to the sacred areas of Butkara-1, Panr (Kandou Paté), Rehman Cheena, Kalako Dherai and the site of Shanglow Mera. About 30 rock art sites and stelae were documented in the locality of Panr,

Rasha Gata, Rehman Cheena, Dangram, Gaṛasa (Kaṛ-Patē), Saman Gul, Shanglow Mera and Jambil village (Pl. 21, 24, 28 & 30). The most important are the seven scenes of triads in Jambil valley.

### 6.3.2 Tributary of Murghazar

The most important is the site of Supalbandai, where a four-armed standing figure is present which we can identify as Shiva (Pl. 38). Four-armed divine images are rare in Pakistan at this time. The monastic robe is draped in the heavy folds of the Gandhara style and is covering only left shoulder is usually associated with Buddhist figures.

In this valley I also found a shelter known as Kaferi Smasta with the paintings at Charoona Dara locality, to the south of present Kukrai village. It is about 3 kms south of Kukrai village on the crest of Gishar hill to west of Mount Ilam. It is accessible through a pedestrian path from Kokrai village and is locally famous with name of Kaferi Smasta (shelter), with paintings of human figures (see Pl. 83).

### 6.3.3 Tributary of Manglaur

In Manglaur sub-valley most of the reliefs are concentrated at three localities. Kalkatai has 7 reliefs, including one with thirteen figures. Sangota, Shaldara tangai site is just off the Ugaze valley. Ningrial has ten sites overlying the village of Taligram. This sub-valley is known for many sacred remains and a colossal rock relief of the Buddha at Shakhorai. Banjot has a four-armed haloed standing Shiva (Pl. 67). On the terrace many structures of votive Stupas are visible, while the remains of other structures of impressive size are spread all

around. A figure of Ganesh and 2 images of Gandharavas were documented (Pls. 75 & 76).

### 6.1.1 Central and Upper Swat

The scarcity of Buddhist reliefs which I noticed in the in Lower Swat Valley is worth considering. On the left bank of the river Swat reliefs have vanished as quarries were use for building new villages, but in spite of that most of them have survived.

My sites of the Central and Upper Swat area are given in Table 9 reveals 10 *dhyani* Buddhas, 2 Avalokitesvaras, 7 Padmapanis, 4 Maiteryas, a triad, and a representation of King Ultrasena, (Pl. 52). The most important are the two Hindu deities Ganesha and Shiva found at Ghalegai spur (Pl. 54) along with other figures. It was for the first time that statues of two female in a single rock reliefs were discovered by me (Pl.54).

The lower Swat is not thickly populated as the upper one, but a large number of reliefs and ruins are spread all over the plain. The upper Swat revealed many important relics of the past including the famous relief at Jari and Jahanabad (Pls. 41 & 68). Various new rock reliefs were found in the central stretch of the valley at Fiza-Gut, Udigram, Thindo-dog, Ghaligai, Barikot Ghundai and Kahotang (Pls. 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 53, 54, 55, 56 & 57). Only one new relief on the right bank of the river Swat at Garai village was found (Pl.57).

Table10: Relief Images in different Tributaries of Swat

Images	Jambil Sub-valley	Murghazar Sub-valley	Central and Upper Swat	Manglaur Sub-valley	Total
Dhyani Buddha	23	01	10	10	44
Avalokitesvar as	10	00	02	06	18
Padmapanis	21	09	07	16	53
Maiterya	15	04	04	04	27
Vajrapani	01	00	00	00	01
Triads	07	01	01	00	09
Ganesha	00	00	01	01	02
Śhiva	00	01	01	01	03
Gandharavas	02	00	00	02	04
Female figures	00	00	02	00	02
Unidentified	10	04	06	19	39
Grand Total	89	20	34	59	202

#### 6.4 Purpose of Rock Art

The work is of religious character for Buddhist subjects, being concerned with worship and ritual. Reliefs on rocks and stelae in the Swat Valley display Buddhist subject of Mahayana sect. Most of them show isolated figures of Padmapani. In a few cases Bodhisattva figures flank the Buddha. Another rationale was representation of religious believes and ceremonies. It could also be a way of communication. The reliefs are chiefly found in the sub-valleys on the banks of the river Swat and near *khwars* of different dales. The distributions of my sites suggest they are found away from the main routes in the side valleys.

The Buddhist period rock art discussed in this research studies were produced over a period of about three hundred years 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> century A.D. They do reflect the basic characteristics of a homogenous tradition, and reveal a rich variety of forms and styles. As stated earlier, these sacred images on rocks, boulders and stelae have been carved with specific purpose. The Buddhist zealous artists and those patronizing Buddhist faith, especially the late Mahayana developed this art.

The concept of Bodhisattvas that had found important places in the Buddhist pantheon at a very early stage and got popularity with the passage of time. In the late Mahayana Buddhism, the popularity and number of Bodhisattvas increased manifold in the Valley. It was during this period that the Buddhist turned to carve sacred reliefs on living boulders and rocks. When did it happen first? It is very difficult to answer. However the concept might have come to mind and into practice at an early time. It is certain that the purpose of carving of these

sacred images on rocks at isolated places and sometimes even beyond reach of man to a greater extent was no other than religious. Asoka had carved his edicts on rocks to spread the message with the same purpose and the later Buddhist followed the practice with a difference but with the same purpose.

For prehistoric engravings, it may have been an art or some form of magic or symbol for hunting animals. Later it is the reverence and religious devotion that prompted creation of these figures in stone relief in different parts of Swat Valley. This art continues later into Hindu Shahi's period and during Islamic wood carving or fresco paintings are recorded.

Swat possessed mines of iron at Kalakalai and Khazakhela which may have greatly contributed to the prosperity of the country (Inam-ur-Rahim and Viaro 200:302). We also gather from Sanskrit sources that Swat produced a much appreciated quality of blankets the *Kambalas* of Uddiyana which circulated widely all over India (Agrawala 1953: 232). The quarry of schist stone which supplied the material for the decoration to the monasteries and stupas as well as for sculptures which adorned the shrines and were most probably exported to the neighbouring regions.

Not only artisans and craftsmen were kept busy, but the monks tried their utmost to praise the sanctity of the holy places of Swat linking them with the former lives of the Buddha. Thus by the promise of undoubted acquisition of merits they attracted great numbers of pilgrims and visitors. Roads and tracks were linked with various places of pilgrimage and were marked by stelaes and rock carvings filling the hearts and minds of visitors with expectation and hope.

Under the Kushan dynasty, Swat or Uddiyana is located on the one side or on the edge of the roads that connected Laghman with the Indus, passing through Chakdara and Buner. And to the north link Central Asia with Chitral and the valley of the Indus, profited greatly by the trade that the Kushan Empire established between Central Asia and the Indian regions. The conditions prevailing in Swat were very favourable to the convergence of ideas, situated as it was on the margin of the great thoroughfares which brought the West in contact with the East and with Central Asia and India.

### 6.5 Chronology

The rock art of Swat and its neighbouring regions has been attracting the attention of eminent scholars in the past. But due to lack of datable materials it has always been difficult to put it in a proper chronological framework.

In 1935 Paterson and Drummond while describing rock carvings near Attock attribute them to historic period (Paterson & Drummond 1962:122). Rock engravings found at Malakand Agency are likewise undated (Dani 1968-69 and Ashraf Khan 1994). In fact the only well dated rock carvings have been found in the Northern Areas of Pakistan.

In the present thesis I deal with four different types of rock art scattered in a much wider and diversified area of the Swat valley. We can guess their age with exception of the Buddhist reliefs. I classified them on the basis of comparative study. After a thorough examination and careful study of the entire data I conclude my research as follows;

- Prehistoric engravings (4<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C.).

- Buddhist period reliefs (6<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.).
- Rock inscriptions (6<sup>th</sup> – 8<sup>th</sup> century A.D.).
- Rock paintings (1<sup>st</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> century A.D.).

### 6.5.1 Prehistoric Engravings

The earliest engraving among my findings is Charai site (Pl. 40) with faceless human figures, as at that time art was in the beginning. The engraving of arm or rather one arm making a half circle and hand resting on hip is recognized from the Neolithic carvings of Haro-Indus confluence near Garijala. One boulder with two engravings is displayed at Ghazi-Barotha (Khokhar and Hashmi 1996: 35). Charai engravings both triangular and half circular style can be assigned to a period of 4<sup>th</sup> millennium B. C.

The second oldest category of rock engravings in my research is Zarkandai Tangai (Pl. 61). It reveals the depiction of animals at four different boulders in graffiti form. The engravings reveal a schematic, linear, frequently comb-like style animals belonging to 1<sup>st</sup> millennium B. C. These rock petroglyphs of animal are the major types of the Bronze Age imitative art executed by the artists of agricultural and cattle breeding tribes. Such types of petroglyphs have also been mentioned in the Northern areas of Pakistan (Jettmar 1985: 751-77). Oliveri has recently reported such carvings in the lower Swat at Kandak area (Oliveri 2005: 217).

### 6.5.2 Buddhist Period Carvings or Reliefs

I recorded 76 Buddhist rock reliefs and stelae in the entire Valley (see Table 9). They usually represent *Dhyani* Buddha often together with



Bodhisattvas. The Buddha figure is wearing a typical Gandharan robe covering both the shoulders. Buddha in distinctive style of the late period as is obvious from the semi-circular fall of the robe in front of their seat (see Pl. 68). These rock reliefs bear no inscription, and some of them were created by craftsman as reflected from the site of Ghaligai and Jahanabad Buddhas (Pls. 51 & 68).

All the reliefs clearly belong to Buddhist context attested by the fact that they are situated near sacred areas of the Buddhist sites. The presence of Hindu influence is identified in a few cases only (Pls. 38, 54, 67 & 75). There is a great variety of style, gestures poses, ornaments and dresses. These can be assigned to 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries A. D.

The second group includes the Bodhisattvas most of whom are the figures of Avalokitesvara and Padmapani. Bodhisattvas reveal influence from the Gupta classical type. They show the diaphanous dresses of the Gupta classical art (see 14). The figure of Padmapani had attracted greater attention of the scholars. These figures of Padmapani along with those forms Dir, Buner and Puran areas seem to belong to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> century A. D. when the Indian influences had brought in Gupta artistic characteristics in this region.

Rock reliefs in the Valley somehow were started in the 6<sup>th</sup> century A. D. which continued until 8<sup>th</sup> century A. D. when it finally merged in the art of the Odi Shahi (see Pl.54). Most of the reliefs were found in the vicinity of the sacred areas, which suggest that they might have been dedicated to the sacred areas (stupas and monasteries) and had some sort of close association with those sacred places.

My new finding is the discovery of new reliefs and especially identification of the site of king Uttarasena (see Pl. 54). These reliefs belong to the last stage of Buddhism in Uddiyana, when Bodhisattva Padmapani and Avalokitesvara had attracted greater attention of the people of that time while the Buddha got secondary position. They are attributed to the 7<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup> centuries A. D.

### 6.5.3 Rock Inscriptions

Swat is situated on the cross road of historical trade routes and remained a hub for foreign merchants, traders and religious pilgrims. Kharoshthi, Brahmi, Proto-Sharada, Nagrai, Persian and Arabic inscriptions are reported from the Valley (see chapter-4 section 4.2). The most interesting among them are three Brahmi inscriptions of Jahanabad (see Pls. 80, 81 & 82). They are dated between 6<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> century A. D.

These inscriptions were engraved by the Buddhist monks for propagation of Buddhism. The Brahmi script rendering religious verses testify the fact that Swat once remained an active centre of Buddhism. The Palaeographers generally believed that Brahmi did not travel towards northwestern regions of subcontinent, but the presence of these inscriptions indicate that during Gupta period Brahmi prevailed as a language of *Dharma* in Uddiyana.

### 6.5.4 Rock Paintings

The painted shelter to the south of Kukrai village in Murghazar valley was discovered by me in 2001. The paintings are executed inside a natural shelter. The human figures are seven in numbers with a structure most probably representing a Stupa. Human figures are standing frontally in different position

with opened wide hands and celebrating a hunting party (Pl. 83a). A person is standing in front of structure in akimbo position (Pl. 83b). This vertical structure with a six stages and a human figure on top (Pl. 83) of it reveals close similarity with Hodar site of Upper Indus Valley. The structure revealed close similarity with the so-called derivative stupa described by Jettmar (1985: fig. 13). These paintings are dated between 1<sup>st</sup> to 3<sup>rd</sup> century A. D.

### 6.6 Present State of Preservation of Rock Art

The rock reliefs have been vandalized since early 1970's when *Wali* (ruler) of Swat lost his power over the area. Most of them were found badly disfigured because of neglect, human vandalism and weathering, thereby, creating great difficulty in their scientific analysis. Many of the rock reliefs were found destroyed. Rock carving near Sapalbandai Bridge in Mughazar sub-valley and the one near Slampur areas known as (Baluo) are now completely missing. Similarly the owner of the land has damaged the rock carving and inscription of Teerat area (Madiyan).

Another one in the Manglaur sub-valley at the locality of Shingrai near the stupa remains on the right side of the *Banjot Khwar* was removed by the landowner for the construction and extension of his house. The remains of the stupa and the rock can be seen from the roadside. At Banjot village the reliefs near Bus-Stand were removed for road extensions. Near the main bridge of Manglaur in the locality of Salanda (village) just above the road leading towards Malamjaba there was a rock carving now removed by the local people for construction of a mosque. No different was the story of the rock reliefs in the area

of Kokarai village in the Jambil sub-valley. There are no traces of the rock carvings, formerly reported by me in 1993 (Sardar 2005: 71).

The major threat to the rock art are humans. The best way of protection of the rock art is by not touching it at all. It is highly damaging to spray any liquid on the reliefs. Mostly background of these rock reliefs are obscure and is hard to photograph properly. Most of them have lost the sharpness. Majority of them are unrecognizable. They preserve dark gray patina over the surface. Partially these are covered and or overlapped by engravings of more recent periods. It may be added that modern iconoclasts, who have written over a large surfaces of the rocks, have caused damages (Pls. 23, 26 & 80). Sometimes the jutting portion of some reliefs have been removed and the engravings of the outer sides have largely disappeared (Pls. 3, 4, 25 & 26).

These sculptures are not in a satisfactory state of preservation today. Most of the reliefs have been washed and defaced by the floodwater of the river such as the images at Gogdara-I site. The run off water of the small seasonal ravines has constantly washed them. In a few places they were removed and also fired with guns by the ignorant people such as the site of Kokrai-IV and Nangriyal-VI (Pls. 37 & 77). As a result they are damaged and it is difficult to recognize the figures. Weathering and climatic effects have blackened the surface and camera could hardly catch the lines of the figures. In a few instances, the people have be-headed the images and only the lower parts of the bodies were left which are now surviving as in the case of Padmapani of Nangriyal-IV (Pl. 75). These images were not only damaged by the cruel hands

of man, but also by the climatic conditions, humidity, pollution with foam and lichens, which appear directly on the boulders and penetrate into the surface.

Sometimes a natural crack in the middle of the boulder played vital role in the damaging process of the reliefs (Pl. 38). However, in rare cases the boulders, which are covered by layers of clay through natural and environmental action, are still in a good state of preservation (Pl. 14). The relentless process of erosion, of washing away and re-patination of the rock has by now made many details illegible.

## 6.7 Conclusion

Rock art is the evidence of glorious past, created in the form of engravings, sketches, drawings, petroglyphs, reliefs, paintings and inscriptions on rocks. The '**Rock Art**' is one of the difficult subject lacks of cultural deposits make it more complicated. The present studies mainly focused on the research of Swat Valley. The main focus was on the survey, exploration and documentation of rock engravings, reliefs, paintings and inscriptions found in the Swat Valley of Pakistan. The research discloses many new aspects of rock art, like new discoveries of reliefs, Hindu images, painted shelter and Brahmi inscriptions. However, the main findings of my investigation are concluded as follows:

- Man has been present here since Palaeolithic times, but the earliest rock art in Swat may be attributed to Prehistoric time engravings at Charai (Pl. 40), with faceless human figures and some form of triangular representation. The

next phase of rock engravings is Bronze Age engravings at Zarkandai Tangai (Pl.61).

- Then the Valley art is mainly represented by Buddhist period reliefs, the 76 rock reliefs and stelae mostly reveal the figures of Dhyani Buddha, Bodhisattvas and king Uttarasena (king of Uddiyana).
- I have added more than 48 new rock art sites to the already explored list of the Valley (see chapter-III). I have also recorded three Brahmi inscriptions, which reveal religious verses of Buddhist Dharma ( Pls. 80, 81 & 82) and a painted shelter (Pl. 83) in Marghazar sub-valley for the first time.
- The 2<sup>nd</sup> most interesting aspect of my research is the discovery of new Bramanical images. Three Shiva and two Ganesh figures are the only of non Buddhist relics documented in my dissertation. Their presence indicates that the people of Uddiyana adopted Haindu deities. Therefore, this study proves that the Mahayana beliefs accepted Hindu influences.
- A few of the superior quality reliefs like Rehman Cheena-IV, Shanglow Mera-I and Jahanjabad-I (Pls. 14, 20 & 68) make us to believe that the artists had got some sort of training before commencement of these reliefs. Though it is not possible to recognize works of individual sculptors. The idea of such an execution might have come from India.
- The executions of these reliefs are attributed to skilled craftsmen who received their artistic training in the great monasteries of Uddiyana. They are carved by artisans, who were educated and grown up in the environment of

artistic traditions, which developed under the well established monasteries of Swat.

- These reliefs were carved with specific purpose i.e. a religious duty, guarding the side valleys and the keeping the violent tides in the river Swat under control. Among the documented reliefs Padmapani is so predominant that he might have enjoyed the status of '**guardian**' of the paths and travellers.
- All the Buddhist reliefs bear Gupta period characteristics like diaphanous garment, rigid body, head with topknot, curly hair, elongated ears, ornaments, prominent incised lines, broad chest, narrow waist and full round faces ((Pls. 14, 20 & 68) that can be placed between 7<sup>th</sup> -8<sup>th</sup> century A. D.
- The complex of rock art is spread all over the length and breadth of this Valley and shows continuity from ancient times to historic period in such a way that one can argue in the language of cultural continuity from prehistoric to historic period.
- The rock art of Swat seems to be the predecessor of the rock carvings of Central Asia, the Himalayan and the Tibetan rock art. Thus Swat appears to have played a significant role in disseminating Buddhist art.
- The engravings, carvings, inscriptions and painted shelters reported in the Valley have broadened the horizon of the rock art study in Swat Valley. I hope that it will motivate new researchers and will provide new avenues for further study as well.

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## APPENDIX-A

### Glossary

Meanings of Pushto, Sanskrit and Persian words have already been given in the text. Other names or terms used in this thesis are given below;

#### **Amitabha:**

*Amitabha* means infinite light or boundless splendour and bestowing immortality on the people of his paradise. *Amitabha* is conceived as residing in the Sukhavati Heaven in peaceful meditation. The Nepalese Buddhists regard him as the fourth Dhyani Buddha. The usual representation of *Amitabha* is seated with his legs closely locked. His hands lie on his lap, in *Dhyana* (meditation) *Mudra*, and he has the *ushnisha* and *urna* and long lobed ears. A small image of *Amitabha* is the head dress of Avalokitesvara, or may be held above the ten heads by two of his arms (see Pl. 14).

#### **Bodhisattva:**

Bodhisattva means a living being who has made a promise to achieve enlightenment. Hence a being who is on the way towards Buddha hood, or who, being already worthy of Buddha hood, manifests himself in one of the worlds for the sake of helping other living beings. *Sakkyamuni* is called *Bodhisattva* under both these aspects. Stories of *Bodhisattvas* under the first aspect are told in the *jataka* and *avadana*, while the second aspect is typical of the *Mahayana*.

#### **Dhyani Buddha:**

*Dhyana* is a gesture denoting meditation. The two legs being firmly locked with both the soles apparent—the characteristic sitting attitude of the *Dhyani Buddha*.

#### **Gandhara:**

Gandhara or Gandaria of the Greeks—the ancient name for the tract on the North West Frontier Province of modern Pakistan, which comprised the whole lower Valley of the Kabul river, Kohat range to the south and the borders of the Swat Valley to the north. It thus included the modern

districts of Peshawar, Charsada, Mardan, with part of Kohat, the Mohmand, Bajaur, and Malakand agencies. Once its borders embraced the great city of Taxila, east of the Indus.

**Ganesh:**

A venerated deity both by the Hindus and Buddhists, is one of the most popular Hindu deities. Like Indra and Brahma, Ganesha was also a Brahmanical god accommodated by the Buddhists in their religion. The Hindu regard him as a symbol of auspiciousness. He is also known as Ganapati and both words mean lord of the tribe or people. In Puranic mythology, Ganesha was adopted as the oldest son of Shiva Paravati (Pal, 1975: 50 fig. 1) It represents an elephant headed figure with four hands, but occasionally having six, eight or even more hands and faces.

**Lalitasana:**

*Lalita* means 'easy' *asana*, means 'sitting'. A sitting position known as royal abandon. In *Lalitasana* case one of the leg of the seated figure is always shown in pendent, while the other is bent in the usual position over the seat.

**Hinayana:** Lesser or smaller Vehicle and is the old form of Buddhism.

**Mahayana:**

The "Great Vehicle", which offers the Bodhisattva path towards ultimate Buddhahood to all living beings who are willing to raise their aspirations so high, as opposed to the Hinayana which limits Buddhist aspirations to the goal of Sakyamuni. It is usually assumed that the Mahayana is a comparatively late development; about the beginning of the Christian era, but its main concepts relate to the earliest Buddhological conceptions.

Mahayana is a branch of Buddhism that promotes the Bodhisattva idea. Under Kanishka's sponsorship, the revisionists held a council in Kashmir. There, (great vehicle) Buddhism, which, with its pantheon of saints called Bodhisattvas, and its elaborate metaphysical trappings, celebrated the Buddha as the godly saviour of humanity.

**Painting:**

The art of painting is the expression of ideas and emotions, with the creation of certain aesthetic qualities, in a two dimensions. It is an application of colour, pigment, or paint to a surface. The elements of this language its shapes, lines, colours, tones, and textures are used in various ways to produce sensations of volume, space, movement, and light on a flat surface. These elements are combined into expressive patterns in order to represents real or supernatural phenomena, to interpret a narrative theme, or to create wholly abstract visual relationships. The artist communicates his visual message in terms of the qualities and expressive possibilities and limitations of a particular medium technique and form.

Painting is an art which originated in prehistoric times, painting can be discerned in the caves of the nomadic hunter artists of the Paleolithic Age (25,000-10,000 BC.) in France at sites of Rouffignac, Lascaux, Cosquer and Chauvet and in the lake dwellings and agricultural settlements of their Neolithic successors (10,000-4,000 BC.) The Palaeolithic artist covered the surfaces of caves and rocks with richly coloured, lifelike birds and mammoths. The painting of the Neolithic period shows a trend to severe geometric design.

***Pamasana:*** The word *Padmasana* means the seat of a lotus.

***Padmasambhava:***

The connection of ancient Uddiyana (Swat) with mysterious traditions is well known, both the great Padmasambhava and the king Indrabhuti, celebrated author of Tantric commentaries, had lived in Swat. In this regard the valley became one of the four most famous Tantric centres (Uddiyuanapitha). For many centuries Swat was considered a sort of magic, holy land for Tibetan pilgrims. However, in spite of the literary evidence, no traces of this lively tradition survives in figurative arts, most probably, as Tucci, suggests for the reasons of mystery (Tucci, 1958: 284). Padmasambhava; the wisdom Master who was chiefly insturmental in bringing Buddhist tradions to Tibet. He is regarded as the founder of

Tibetan Buddhism. In Tibet he is known as the Lotus Guru and as a second Buddha (Huntington & S. L. Huntington 1985: 32).

**Relief Sculpture:**

Three-dimensional sculpture or carved figures and other form of images that project from a supporting surface or background. It is also called *relievo*, from the Italian *relievare*, meaning "to raise". Italian terms *basso-rilievo* (low relief), *mezzo-rilievo* (middle relief), and *alto-rilievo* (high relief) are used according to the extent to which the sculpture projects. A type of sculpture in which the forms are raised above the background, but not shaped fully in the round. In low relief (*bas-relief*) the design is hardly raised above the surface, as on a coin, while in high relief the forms may be almost free-standing, as on a Roman sarcophagus, or the pediments of many classical buildings. On the other hand, high relief, figures like those of classical Greek and Indian sculpture in the round, with a projection of more than half the circumference of the figure is made. A variation of relief carving, found almost exclusively in ancient Egyptian sculpture, is *sunken relief* in which the carving is sunk below the level of the surrounding surface and is contained within a sharply incised, vertical contour line that frames it with a powerful line of light and shade.

***Simhasana*:** The word *Simhasana* means the lion-seat or the lion-throne.

**Shiva:**

Śiva is one of the most influential members of the Hindu mythology. He is associated with the act of *samhara* (destruction) or *pralaya* (absorption) in particular. But the limited number of followers of Shiva considers him to be associated with the acts of creation and preservation, the special domains of Brahma and Viśnu. He has numerous manifestations given to him by his worshippers. He has many attributes, but one of the most important is the trident. He may appear in many forms both peaceful and angry. In the mediaeval Brahmanical texts, Shiva is also described as the originator and the best exponent of various arts and accomplishments,

such as those of deep concentration (yoga), expounding the music, dancing etc.

**Stela:**

Also spelled stele (Greek "shaft" or "pillar"), plural Stelae, standing stone slab used in the ancient world primarily as a grave marker, but also for dedication, commemoration and demarcation. The origin of the stela is unknown. In ancient Greece, a carved or inscribed upright rectangular stone which could be used as a gravestone, a boundary marker on property or it is a permanent display board for public laws and documents. A stone slab, either decorated or undecorated, was commonly used as a tombstone, both in the East and West as early as 900-700 BC. The early stelae were tall rectangular shafts carved in relief, topped by capital and a sphinx and usually having a rectangular base. Around 530 BC., a simpler form of gravestone was adopted; a figure was incised into the rock, which was then painted. By the 4<sup>th</sup> century the shaft was low and wide, with a more crowded composition of perhaps several figures carved in almost three dimensional reliefs. In the old Babylonian period Hammurabi's famous law code was engraved on a tall diorite stela.

**Suvastu:**

The appearance of the name *Suvastu*, among the Indian rivers mentioned in the *Rigveda*, represents a new important sources of information in addition to the archaeological data. *Suvastu*, means 'having good dwelling', a name which very probably refers not merely to the natural landscape but also to the works of man. It has generally been observed. It provides place name during Bronze-Iron Ages.

**Tantric or Vajrayana Buddhism:**

Tantra: a category of Indian religions characterize by its texts, deities and practices which were substantially different from the original practice. There is emphasis on deities, mantras visualization, meditation, the female, guru devotion, sexual symbolism and esoteric practice. In ancient Uddiyana it is said to have produced the great tantric Yogi

Padmasambhava of 7<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. who is regarded as the founder of Tibetan Buddhism. This form of Buddhism is some times called Mantrayāna (the path of spells) or, more frequently, Vajrayāna (*Vajra*, meaning "diamond," symbolizes the indestructibility of Buddhist teaching and *Yāna* means "the path"). Vajrayāna is the term used to describe the esoteric form of Buddhism practiced throughout the Himalaya and trans-Himalaya

Tantric or Tantrism and Tantra, or (Esoteric Buddhist art) the origin of the term is obscure and has been variously interpreted. In India these terms are associated with emphasis on the female, sexual symbolism and secret esoteric traditions and practitioners. In ancient Uddiyana it is said to have produced the great tantric Yogi Padmasambhava of 7<sup>th</sup> Century A.D. who is regarded as the founder of Tibetan Buddhism.

Esoteric Buddhist art refers to a form of Buddhism based on a group of texts called *tantras* and characterized by mystical, often "secret" practices transmitted directly from master to pupil. This form of Buddhism is some times called Mantrayana (the path of spells) or, more frequently, Vajrayāna (*Vajra*, meaning "diamond," symbolizes the indestructibility of Buddhist teaching and *Yāna* means "the path"). Vajrayana is the term used to describe the esoteric form of Buddhism practiced throughout the Himalaya and trans-Himalaya.

**Triad:**

A group of three or more than three engraved figures in standing or sitting positions. In Uddiyana reliefs *Dhyani* Buddha is always shown as seated between two standing Bodhisattvas

**Uddiyana or Udiyana:**

A long time ago, in the far northwest corner of present Pakistan, there once was a splendid Kingdom known as Udiyana or Uddiyana. It is a Sanskrit word, which means "garden" appears in the narratives of Hsuan Tsang (600-664) A. D. The kingdom of ancient Uddiyana probably included the present districts of Swat, Dir, Buner, Malakand and Bajaur

agencies. It is surrounded by high, rugged mountain peaks and fertile farms and bustling towns. The location of Uddiyana is of considerable interest to students of Buddhism. "the Tibetan authorities are of the opinion that the Tantric Buddhism originated from Uddiyana. The location of Uddiyana thus is important for the history of the Buddhist Tantric Literature". Here and there, in ages long gone, industrious men had raised towering white cenotaphs, with golden spires; those pyramidal monuments known as Stupas, which honour the remains of some particularly renowned saint.

This was the ancient *Kingdom of Uddiyana*, so beautiful a Kingdom, that its very name means "the royal garden" (from the Skt: *udiyana*). With cascading pure rivers splashing down from ice-bound lakes high in the snowy peaks beyond, and quiet pools stocked with fish, with lush meadows, a variety of wildflowers, Uddiyana truly seemed a paradise on earth. No wonder people from far and wide spoke of it as a magical place, the hidden flower garden of the wise and compassionate Lord Buddha. Hsuan-Tsang like his predecessor- Fa-Hsien travelled from Ch'ang-an (China) through Central China to India between 629 and 654 A. D. returning with scriptures which he spent the rest of his life translating into Chinese.

**Uttarasena:**

According to Hsuan-tsang Uttarasena, was king of 'Wu-Chang-na' or ancient Uddiyana the present day Swat. He received the relics of the Buddha's body in accordance with the Master's own command preceding *Nirvana*. Colonel Deane recognized a statue of king Uttarasena near Galegai log ago, by the position which Hsuan-tsang quite correctly assigns to it .

**Ushar:** A tenth part. According to Islamic law the Muslims are required to pay a portion of the produce of their land to the Islamic State at the rate of ten or five percent, which depends upon the nature of the water given to the fields, which is known as *Ushar*.

**Vajrayana:**

The most cruel aspect of *Tantric* Buddhism, better known as *Vajrayana* was that it introduced a ritualistic worship of female energy or *Sakti* and encouraged sexual practices of every description as a man of devotion and as a kind of physical performance of union with divine. It demonstrated the superiority of the Buddhist gods and goddesses over the Hindu divinities. Thus the number of divinities, especially the Bodhisattvas with their various personification increased manifold.

**Vajrapani:**

Buddha's companion, having divine weapon indicating overwhelming power, as attributed in pre-Buddhist tradition to Indra's thunderbolt. In early Buddhist tradition it is the attribute of a kind of personal guardian of Śakyamui, known as Vajrapani, 'thunderbolt-in hand', who appears on many sculptures of Gandhara region.

**Wesh System:**

Means distribution, Yusufzai society of Swat was based on various segment groups. The conquered territories were distributed among various sections of the Yusufzai tribe by their leader Shaikh Malli. The allotment, however, was not permanent, because the land differed in composition, location, fertility, availability of water, accessibility and so forth. To ensure that all the shareholders share the benefits and losses of the land equally, Shaikh Malli devised the system of land tenure called *Wesh*. *Wesh* system created powerful feudal landlords surrounded by hierarchically ranked and supporting occupational groups and vassals, theoretically equal in ideological belief in an egalitarian religious system, but exhibiting many castes of social hierarchy.

A historical scrutiny of the practice of the system of *Wesh*, however, tends to show that it approximated more to an "ideal" rather than "actual" form of Pukhtun socio-economic organization. The historical reality and frequency of *Wesh* in Swat is presumed and supported with somewhat scanty ethnographic material. For example, it is not clear how long the cycle of



allotment took to revolve; or whether there was a revenue and administration secretariat that recorded allotments according to shares and period of allotment; or who supervised and implemented the blue-print of re-allotments or what institutions dealt with errant or defaulting khans refusing to move out after his allotted time had expired.

## APPENDIX-B

Table 8: Inscriptions of Gandhara

No.	Provenance	Material	Script	Period	Reference
1	Shinkot (Bajaur)	Stone relic casket	Kharoshti	5 <sup>th</sup> year of Menander	Majumdar 1937-38a :1-7
2	Charsadda	Copper relic caskets	Kharoshti	Kushans	Majumdar 1937-38b: 8-10
3	Tochi Valley	Three stone slabs	Arabic/ Sanskrit /Bactrian	243A.H./856- 57A.D. /862A.D.	Dani 1964: 125-35
4	Gandhara	Stone Buddha images	Kharoshti	Kushan	Dobbins, 1968; 281- 88
5	Peshawar	Two stone slabs	Arabic	200 A.H./ 815 A.D.	Ghfoor 1965-66:4-12
6	Bara Bridge	Marble stone	Persian	Mughal (Shahjahan)	Chaghatai 1965-66: 13-16
7	Peshawar District	Pedestal stone	Kharoshti	Kushan	Mukherjee 1972: 227-29
8	Peshawar District	Pedestal stone	Kharoshti	Kushan	Fussman 1985: 143- 52
9	Haji Banda Khyber (Peshawar)	Blue Black schist stele	Kharoshti	Kushan	Faccenna 1985: 93- 104
10	Hund	Marble stone	Sharada	Jayapaladeva(1002 A. D)	Nasim, 1998-99: 77- 83

11	Swabi	Stone	Kharoshti	Kushan	Nasim 1997: 48-52
12	Mir Ali (North Waziristan)	Stone slab	Sharada	Hindu Shahi	Nasim <i>et al.</i> 1999- 2000: 35-39
13	Private collection	Painted on rock	Kharoshti	Later Kushan	Nasim 1999-2000: 1-6
14	Salarzai (Bajaur)	Living rock	Sharada	1019 A.D.	Ashraf Khan <i>et al.</i> 1999-2000: 11-25
15	Spina (South Wairistan)		Brahmi	Year 398 (unspecified era)	Nasim 2001: 111- 115
16	Rani Dab (Orakzai Agency)	copper plates	Sharada	Hindu Shahi	Nasim 2002: 135- 156
17	Mir Ali (North Waziristan)	Stone slab	Sharada	Hindu Shahi	Nasim <i>et al.</i> 1999- 2000:35-39
18	Five donation from Gandhara	Relic stone slab Reliquary Brass bowls Relic casket Stone slab	Kharoshti	Kushan	Falk 2003: 71-86
19	Gandhara	Stone slab	Kharoshti	Asoka	Mukherjee 1960:32- 33
20	Hund	Stone slab	Sharada	Hindu Shahi	Ram 1933-34:97-98
21	Kamra	Stone	Kharosthi	Vasiska	Dobbins 1975:105- 109

22	Hund	Marble slab	Sharada	Jayapaladeva	Rahman 1979: 71-77
23	Kashmir Smast	Rock	Brahmi	Gupta Period	Nasim 2000: 73
24	Kashmir Smast	Copper	Brahmi	Gupta Period	Nasim 2000:73
25	Takht-i-Bahi	Stone	Kharoshti		Nadiem I. H. 1989:209-216
26	Bedadi	Stone	Kharoshti	2 <sup>nd</sup> century A.D.	Shakur 1946: 1-2
27	Dewal	Stone	Sharada	651 A. D.	Shakur 1946: 2-3
28	Hazara	Stone	Sharada	1461 A. D.	Shakur 1946: 7-9
29	Hund	Stone	Kufic	482 A. H.	Shakur 1946: 9-11
30	Hund	Stone	Sharada	10 <sup>th</sup> century A.D.	Shakur 1946:11-12
31	Hund	Stone	Sharada	774-75 A.D.	Shakur 1946: 12-13
32	Jamalgarhi	Stone	Kharoshti	.....	Shakur 1946:13-14
33	Jamalgarhi	Stone	Kharoshti	275 A. D.	Shakur 1946: 14-15
34	Jamalgarhi	Stone	Kharoshti	.....	Shakur 1946: 15-16
35	Jamalgarhi	Stone	Kharoshti	.....	Shakur 1946:16
36	Kazina Dheri	Stone	Kharoshti	2 <sup>nd</sup> century A.D.	Shakur 1946: 16-17
37	Khazana Dheri	Stone	Sharada	.....	Shakur 1946:17-18
38	Khudukhel	Stone	Kharoshti	84 A. D.	Shakur 1946: 21-22
39	Kula Dheri (Charsadda)	Stone Relic Casket	Kharoshti	245 A. D.	Shakur 1946: 24-26
40	Mamane Dheri (Charsadda)	Pedestal of Stone Sculpture	Kharoshti	166 A.D.	Shakur 1946: 29-30
41	Shahji-ki-Dheri	Kanishka Relic Casket	Kharoshti	2 <sup>nd</sup> century A.D.	Shakur 1946:36-38

42	Takht-i-Bahi	Pottery	Kharoshti	1 <sup>st</sup> century A.D.	Shakur 1946:40-41
43	Takht-i-Bahi	Stone Sculpture	Kharoshti	.....	Shakur 1946:41-42
44	Talai	Sandstone	Gupta	654 A. D.	Shakur 1946:42-43
45	Tochi	Stone	Kufic Nagri	243 A.H. (857 AD.)	Shakur 1946:43-45

## Endnotes

<sup>i</sup> Buner region is presently an independent district, once remained part of Swat state, however the region was not included in the mobile land tenure system of the Valley.

<sup>ii</sup> Pathans representing the Yousufzai and their serving class, who came to Swat during the first quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> cent., depends mainly upon arable agriculture/horticulture, where irrigation systems are operated (Bellew, 1994)

<sup>iii</sup> Gujars are pure Aryans in origin though highly defused among Pathans and Kohistanis, exclusively occupy the foothills and high altitude areas. They represent the original tribes of the valley. They practice both agriculture and livestock herding.

<sup>iv</sup> Kohistanis are Dardic in origin, concentrated in the northern mountain gorges of Swat Kohistan. They mainly occupy the monsoon-excluded ecology of the sub-humid to dry temperate in nature. They practice both agriculture and livestock herding. Their occupied area is too cold and one crop in a year is generally cultivated (Barth, 1956: 1079-1089).

<sup>v</sup> After conquering the Swat by the Yousufzais, the territories were distributed among various sections of the Yousufzais tribe by their leader Shaikh Mali. This land tenure system was called Wesh, meaning distribution. The land was previously held in few hands, and later divided among the descendent family groups called *Khels*.

<sup>vi</sup> Descendants of the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) from paternal side (see Inam-ur-Rahim, 2002: 128).

<sup>vii</sup> Descendants of the religious person having exceptional religious knowledge, particularly those possessing due acknowledgement from valid political authority like Nawab or kingdom chiefs.

<sup>viii</sup> Descendants of the religious person with exceptional spiritual power, although leading very simple life. Those specifically employed for cleaning Mosques or Mausoleum of any saint were called Akhund.

<sup>ix</sup> The appearance of the name *Suvastu*, among the Indian rivers mentioned in the *Rigveda*, represents a new important sources of information in addition to the archaeological data. *Suvastu*, means 'having good dwelling', a name which very probably refers not merely to the natural landscape but also to the works of man. It has generally been observed that among the various place-names providing information on periods dating back to before written texts. See *Imperial Gazetteer of India,, North West Frontier Province, Provincial Series, Sang-e-Meel Publication, Lahore, 1979, p.116.*

<sup>x</sup> These streams rise from the Shandur or Mashabar range of Hindukush, where areas of Gilgit, Chitral and Swat Kohistan joins

<sup>xi</sup> This name is given to the river coming form Dir, Jandul and Bajour areas, containing comparatively less water than Swat River.

<sup>xii</sup> A small village, where the Valley of Swat terminates and the river from Dir join the River Swat.

<sup>xiii</sup> Khwazakhela is situated at distance of about 30 km from Mingora on the bank of the river Swat, the road across the Shangla Pass to the Karakoram Highway leaves the Swat Valley. It is a road junction in the north of Mingora, where roads from Shangla, Swat Kohistan, Matta valley and Mingora join together. It is 69 km from Besham, on the Indus.

<sup>xiv</sup> Malam Jaba, is the most promising hilly resort about 46 km north of Mingora. The most modern ski resort with chairlift and mini golf course complex is situated at 2743 metres. Malam Jabba Ski Resort stands on top of a mountain of the Hindukush range, north east of Saidu Sharif. It is surrounded by mighty Karakorams and black mountains. Situated on one of the most important offshoots of the Karakoram Highway, Malam Jabba is 314 km from Islamabad and 51 km from Saidu Sharif Airport on Saidu Sharif-Kalam Road. The road diverts right from Manglor to Malam Jabba. The enchantment of Malam Jabba goes beyond its natural beauty. The Archaeological remains are situated at an altitude of 867metres with two Buddhist stupas and six monasteries; it is over the slope opposite to the main structure of the ski resort, measuring about 310 metres North to South and 500 metres East to West.

<sup>xv</sup> Miandam is one of the hilly resorts, about 56 km to the North of Mingora or one hour drive from Saidu Sharif. The metalled road runs through charming hill side village and terraced fields. The

town of Madiyan is the last open stretch before a pine-clad gorge leads to Swat Kohistan. The surrounding mountainous area offers natural forests, orchards and streams.

<sup>xvi</sup> Madiyan is about 61 km from Saidu Sharif and at 1321 metres. The area south of Madiyan is the richest and most populous of the Valley. Madiyan is the border village between Kohistani people and Pukhtun people. A trout fish hatchery is located here. It is a famous tourist resort on the bank of river Swat.

<sup>xvii</sup> The town of Bahrain is situated about 66 km from Mingora and 10 km from Madiyan is a famous resort on the right side of the river Swat. It is about 1400 metres. It is famous for handicrafts and woodwork. Most of the architecture of mosques, houses and shops is made of local pine wood.

<sup>xviii</sup> Kalam is about 105 km from Mingora and 29 km from Bahrain, inhabited by Kohistani people, having their own Kohistani language and culture. It is a main town of Swat Kohistan famous for its scenic beauty. It is 2073 metres above sea level. The valley opens out into a fertile little plain that was probably once the basin of an ancient lake. The snow capped Falaksair Peak of 6257 metres is clearly visible from the town of Kalam. In upper Swat valley Kalam is a famous town for the unique mosques architecture of wood.

<sup>xix</sup> Ushu is the famous sub-valley, at a distance of 113 km from Saidu Sharif and 2286 metres above sea level.

<sup>xx</sup> It is 16 km up the Utror river to Utror village and about 2225 metres above sea level. It has pines and picnic spots by a rock-strewn stream full of fish.

<sup>xxi</sup> Gabral is 2286 metres above sea level and 128 km from Saidu Sharif to the north of Kalam and is the best trekking areas in Swat. The valley is considered to be the best for trout fishing, and the surrounding thick pine forests are excellent for hiking.

<sup>xxii</sup> The site of Kalakoderay in the Swat valley was excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission of IsMEO new name IsIAO founded by D. Faccenna. The excavation was carried out on the flat top of the Kalakoderay hill, in Kokarai village of the Jambil tributary valley. The earliest occupation consists in pit structures ascribed to Period IV in the Ghaligai sequence of 18<sup>th</sup> –15<sup>th</sup> century BC.

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PI. 2. Kandou Paté-I, Carved niches with outline of defaced figures



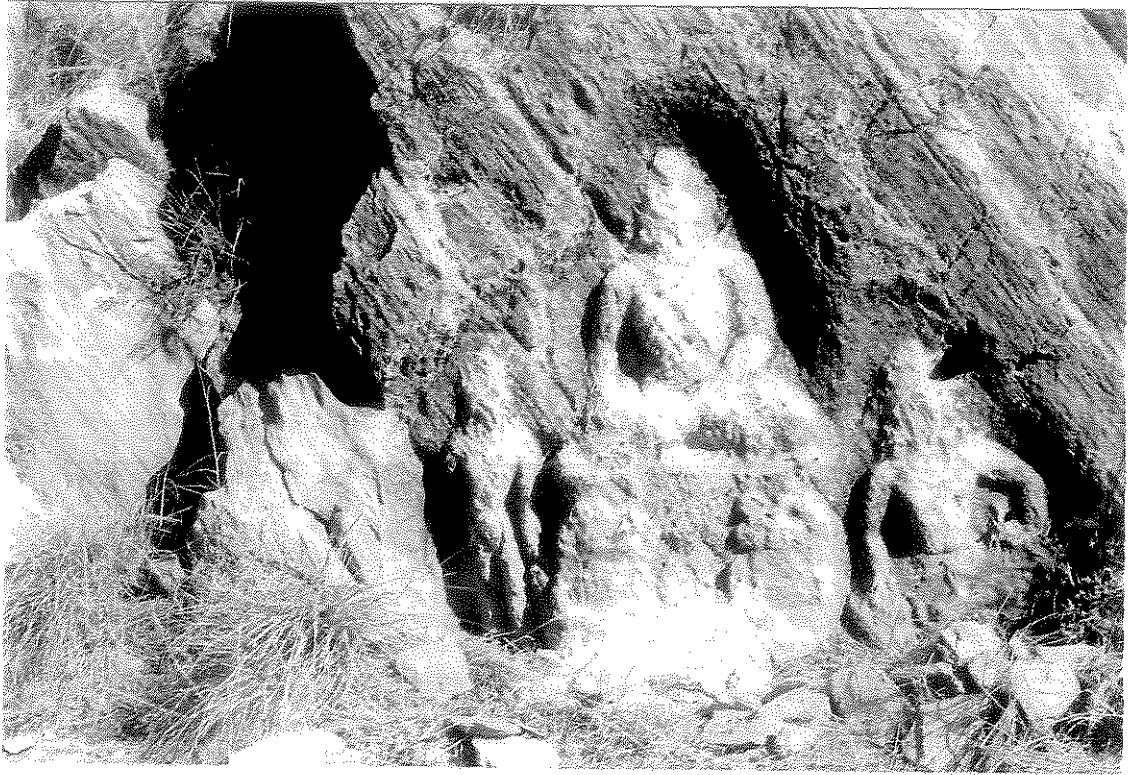
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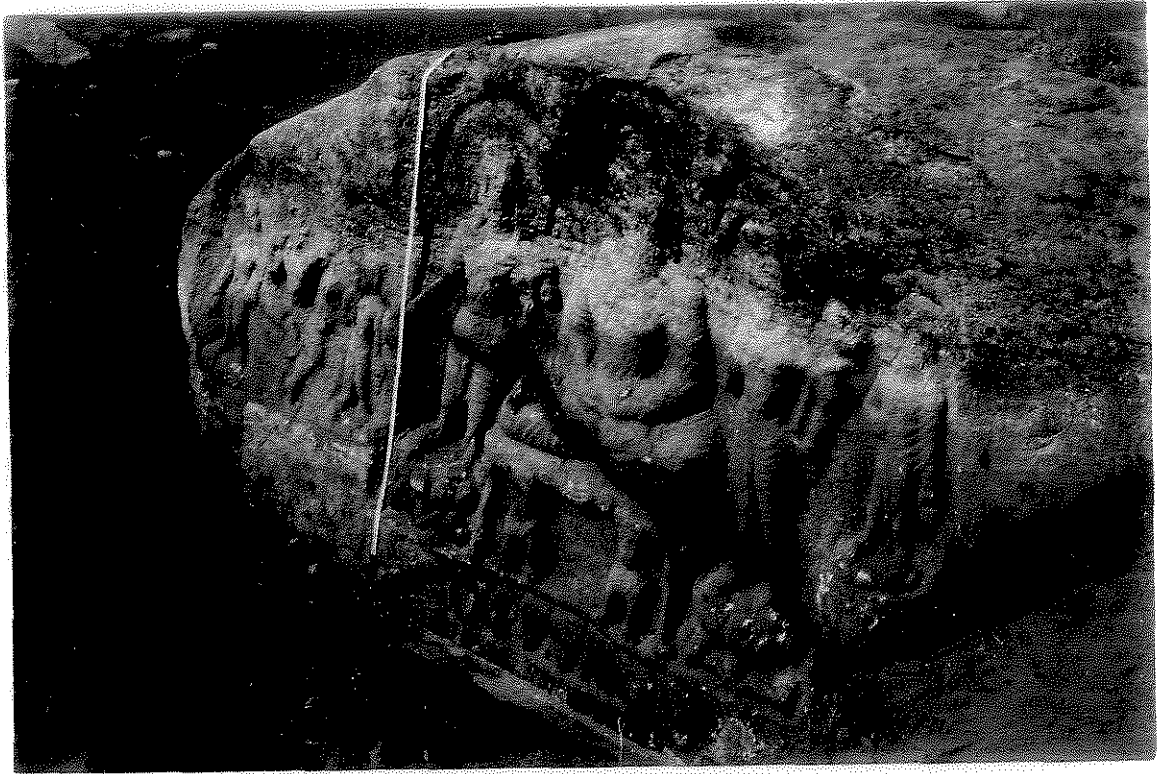


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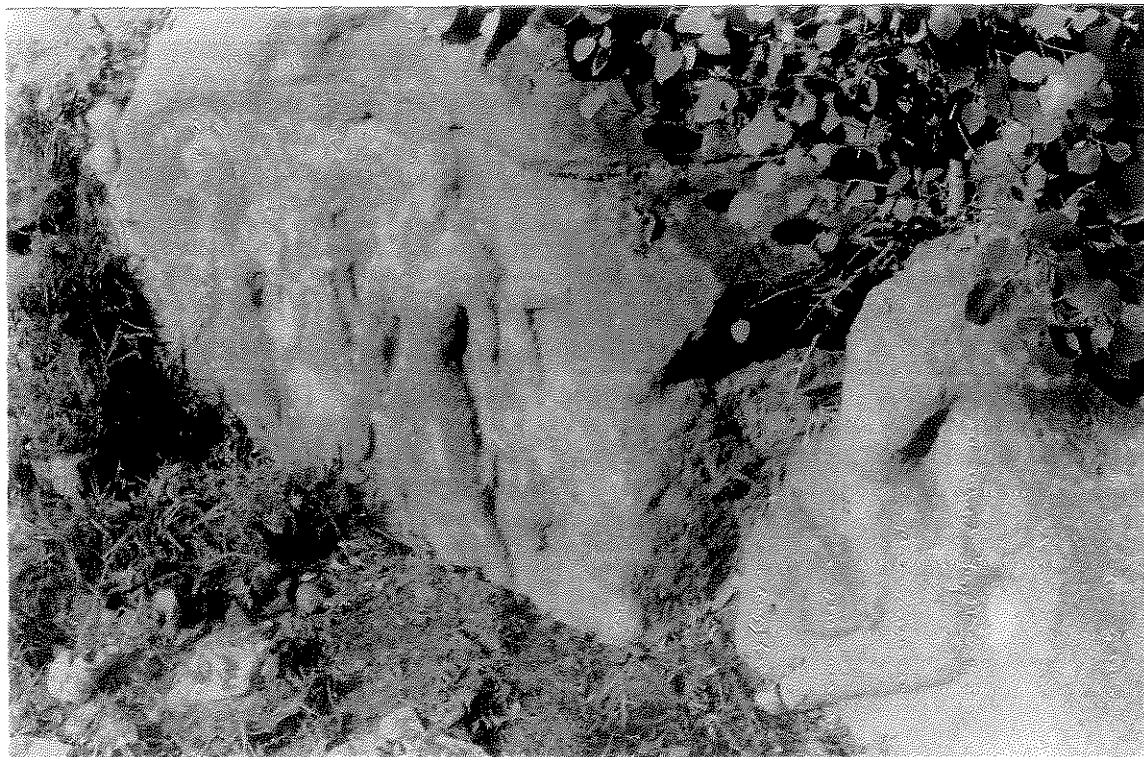
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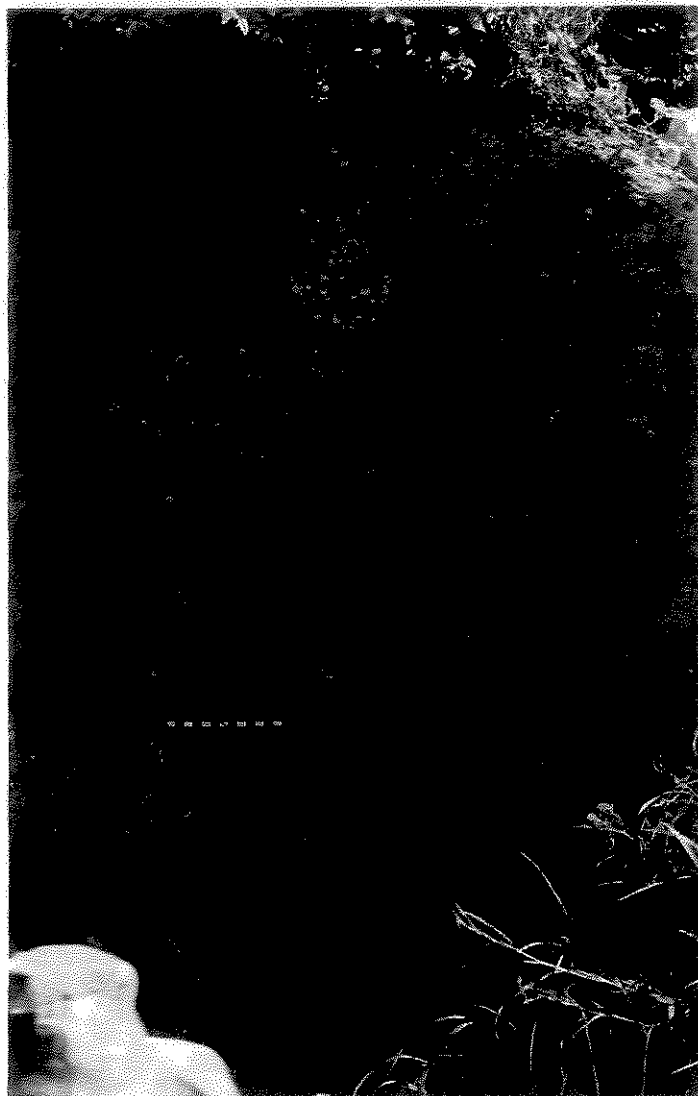
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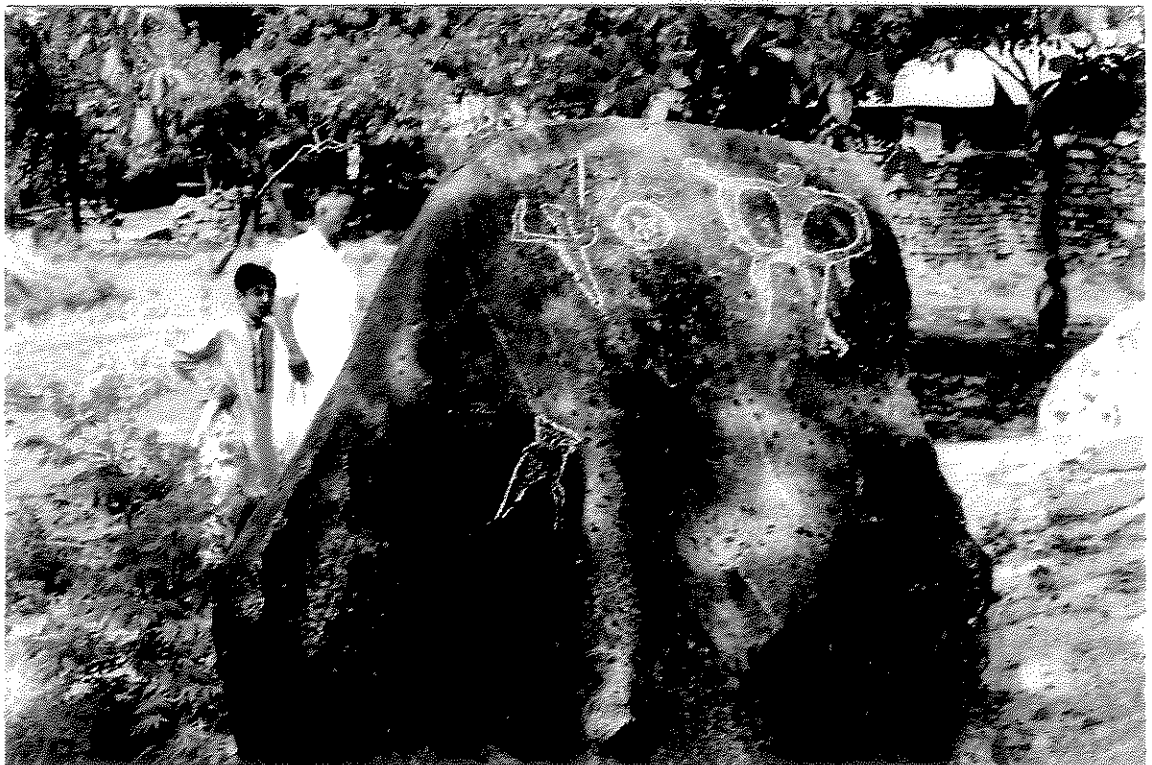
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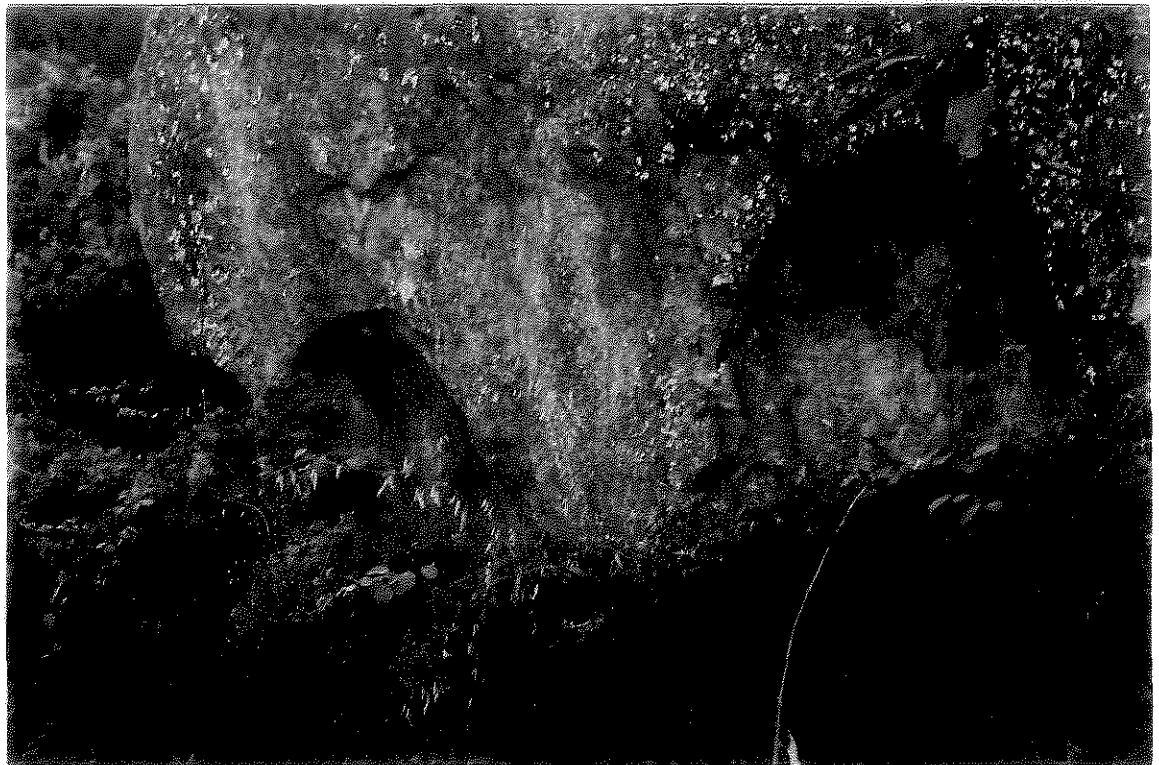
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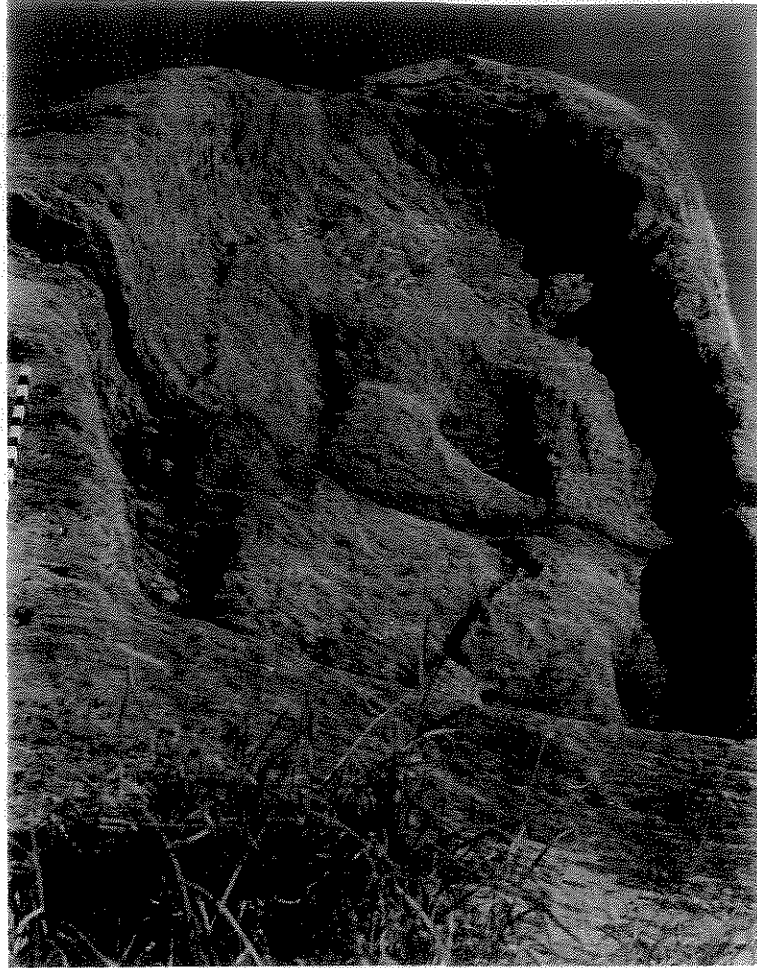




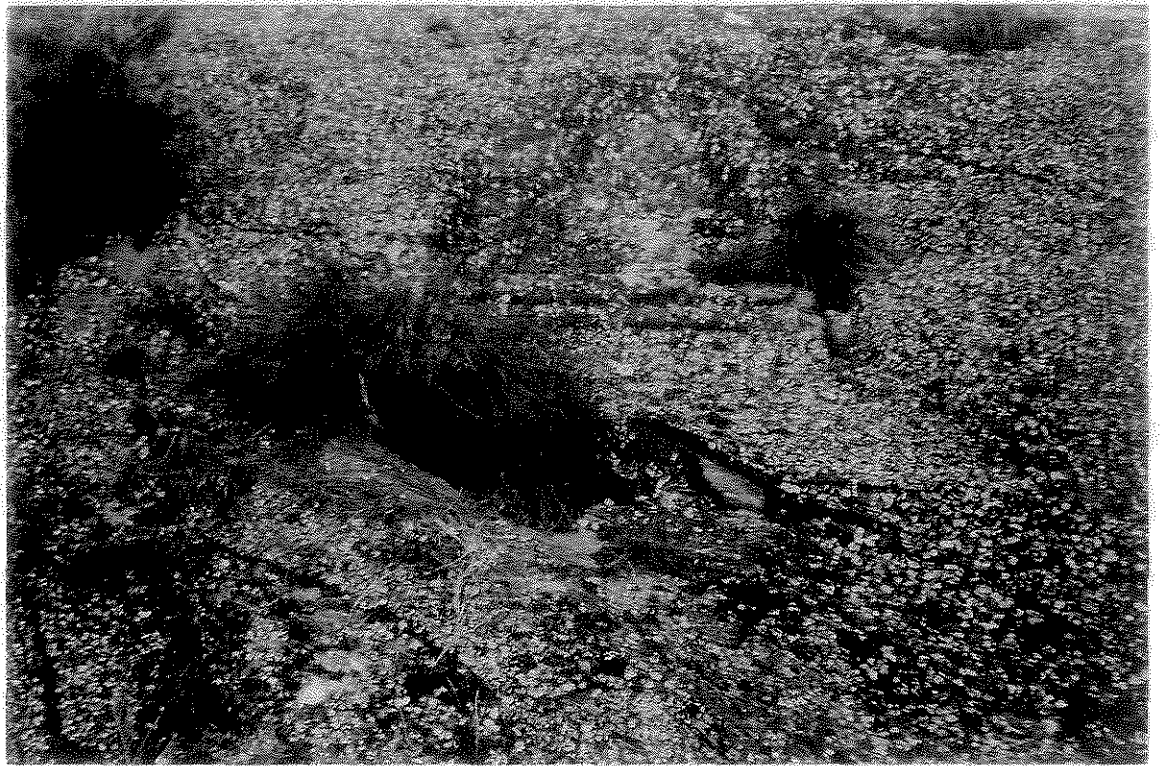
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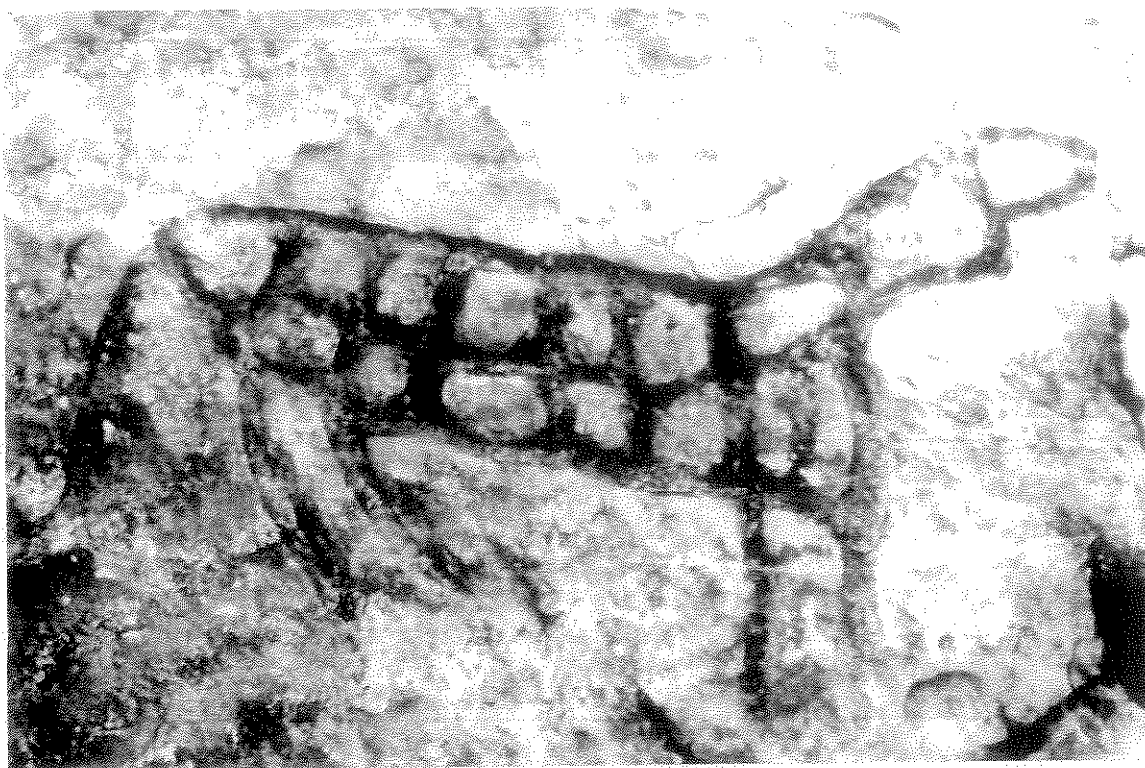
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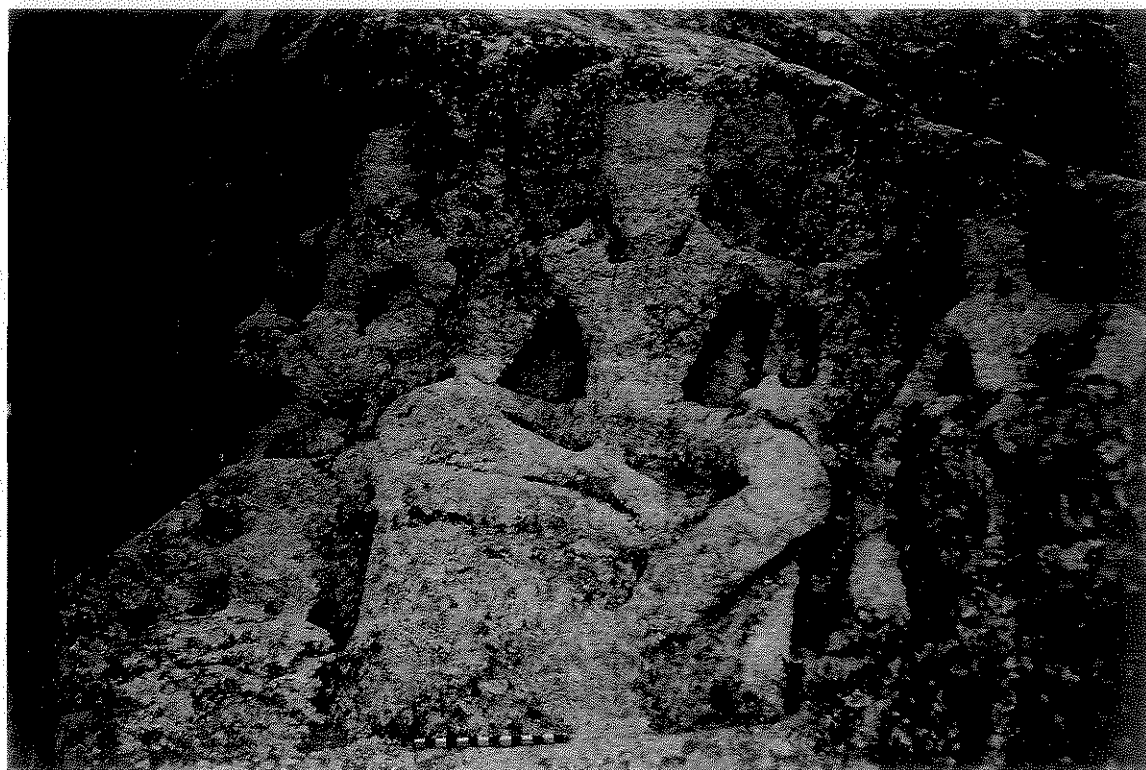
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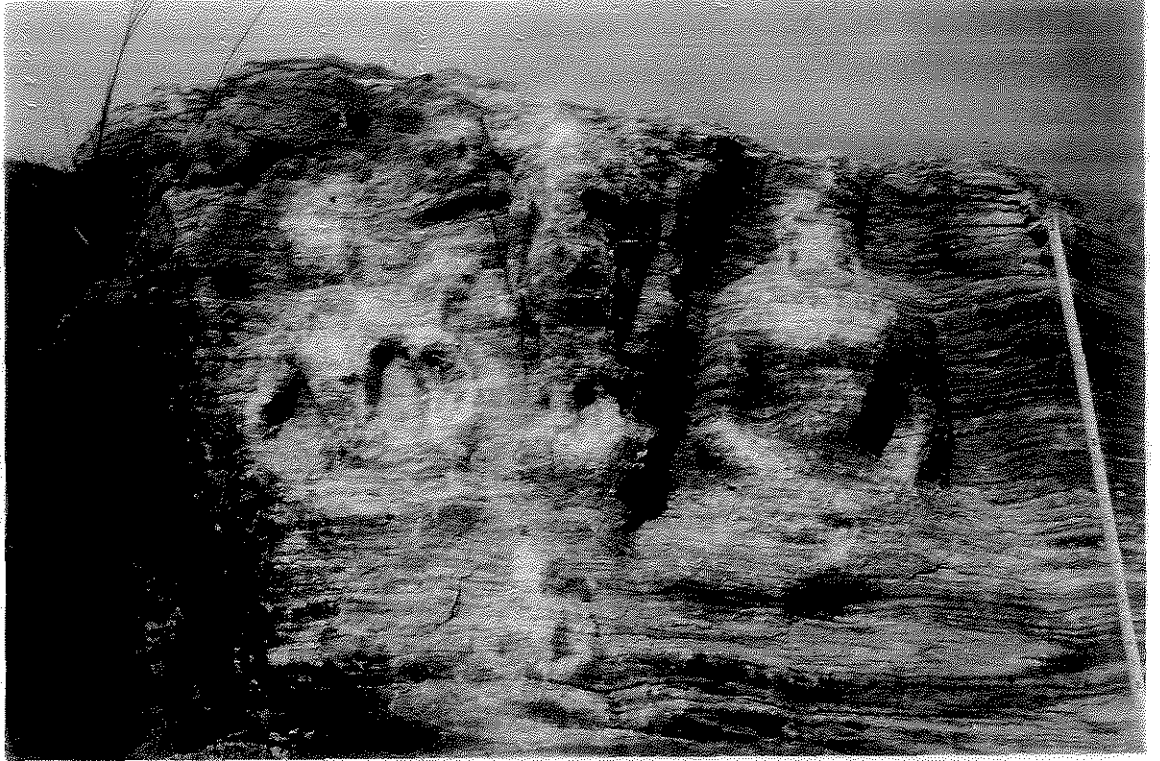
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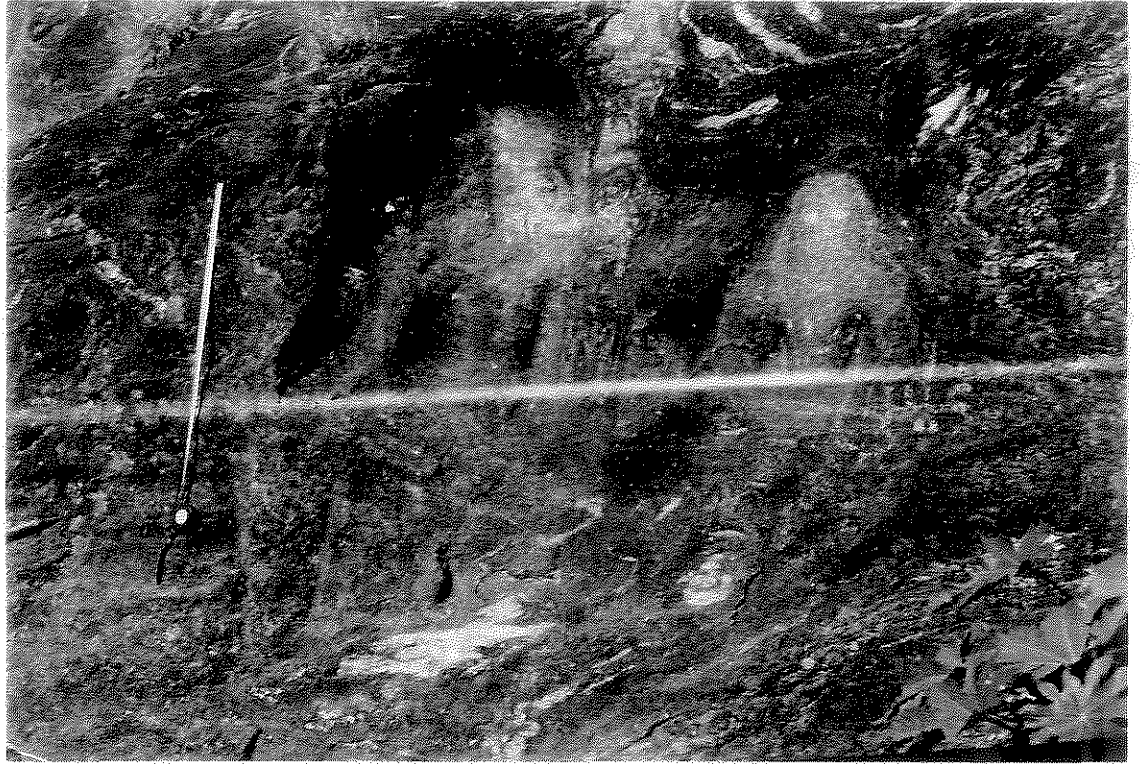


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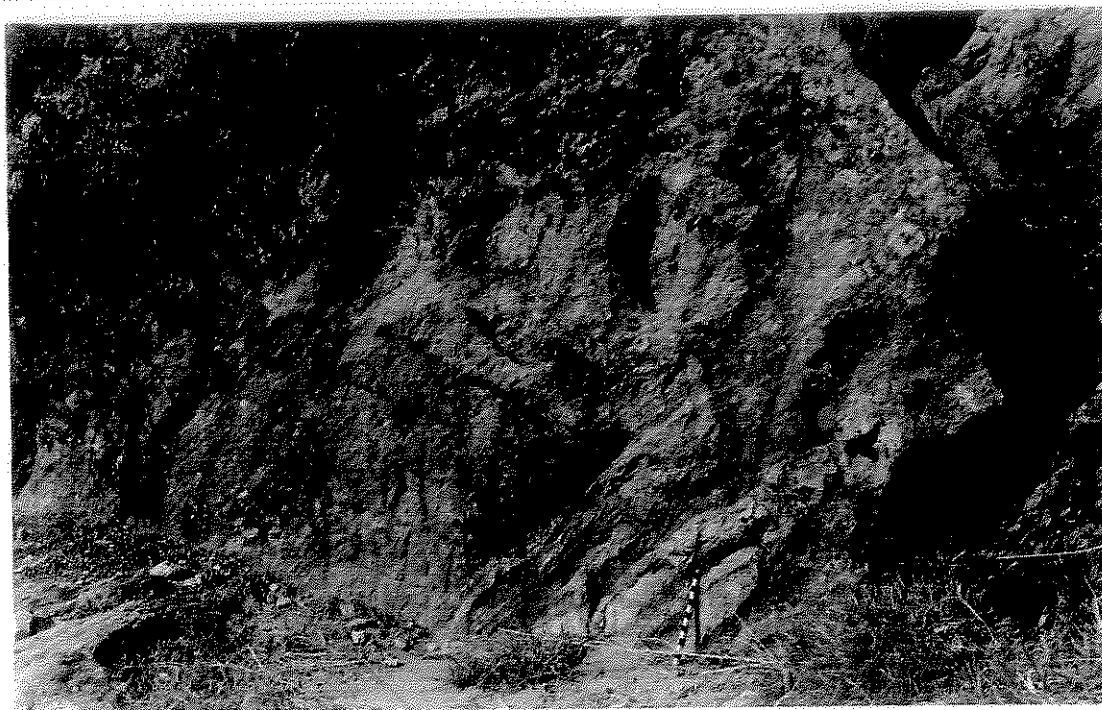
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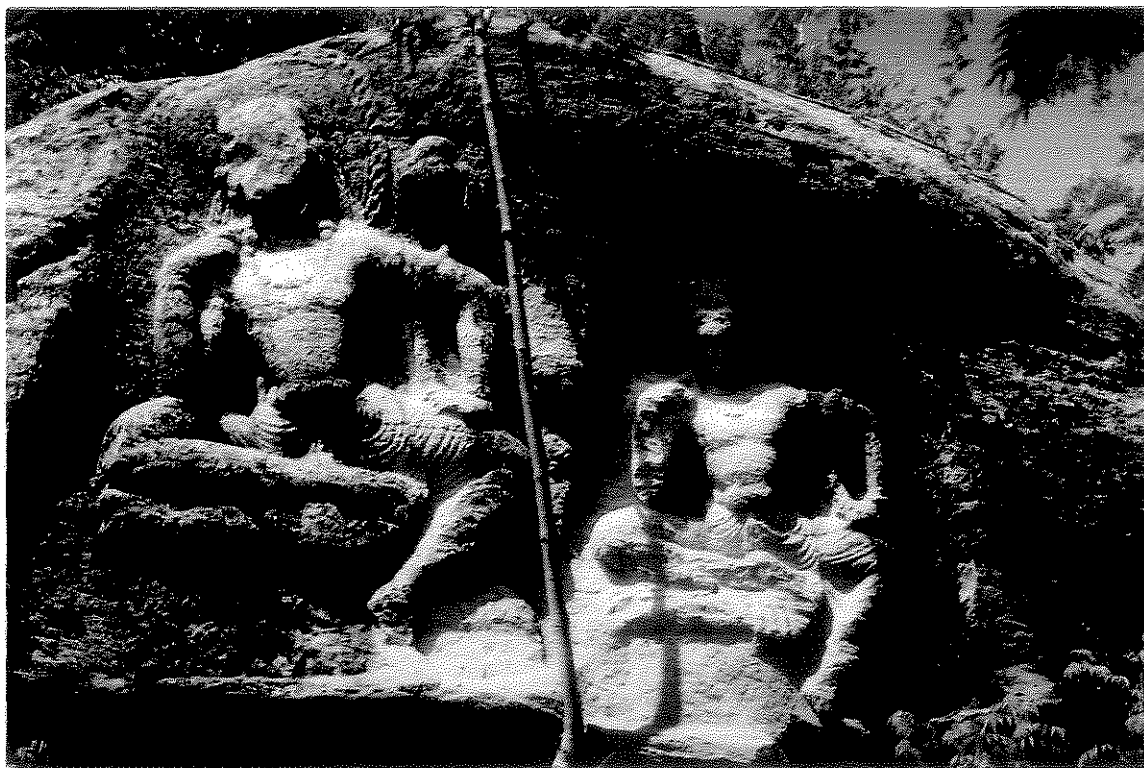
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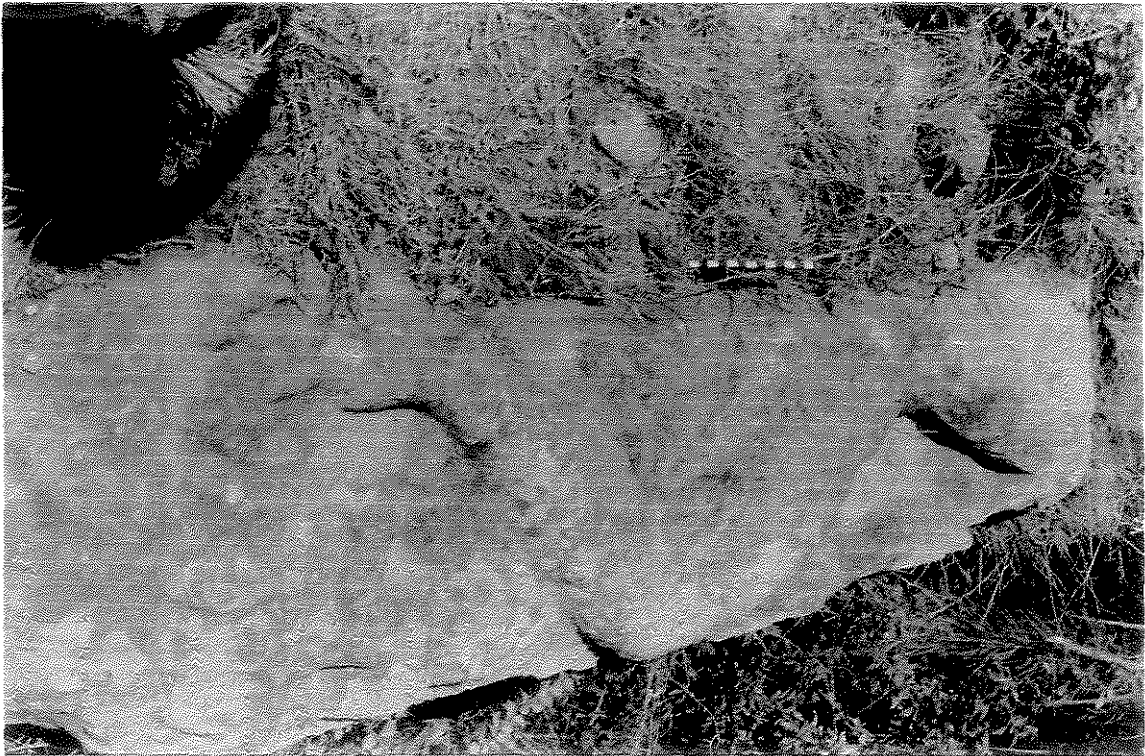
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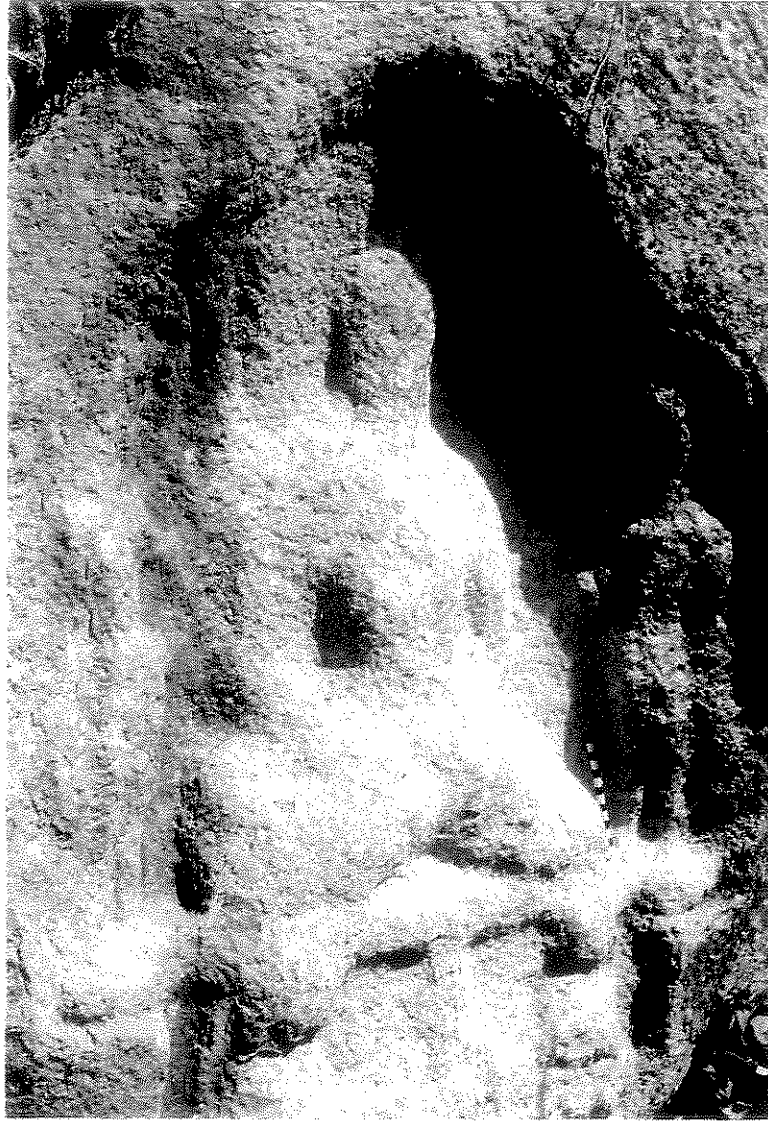


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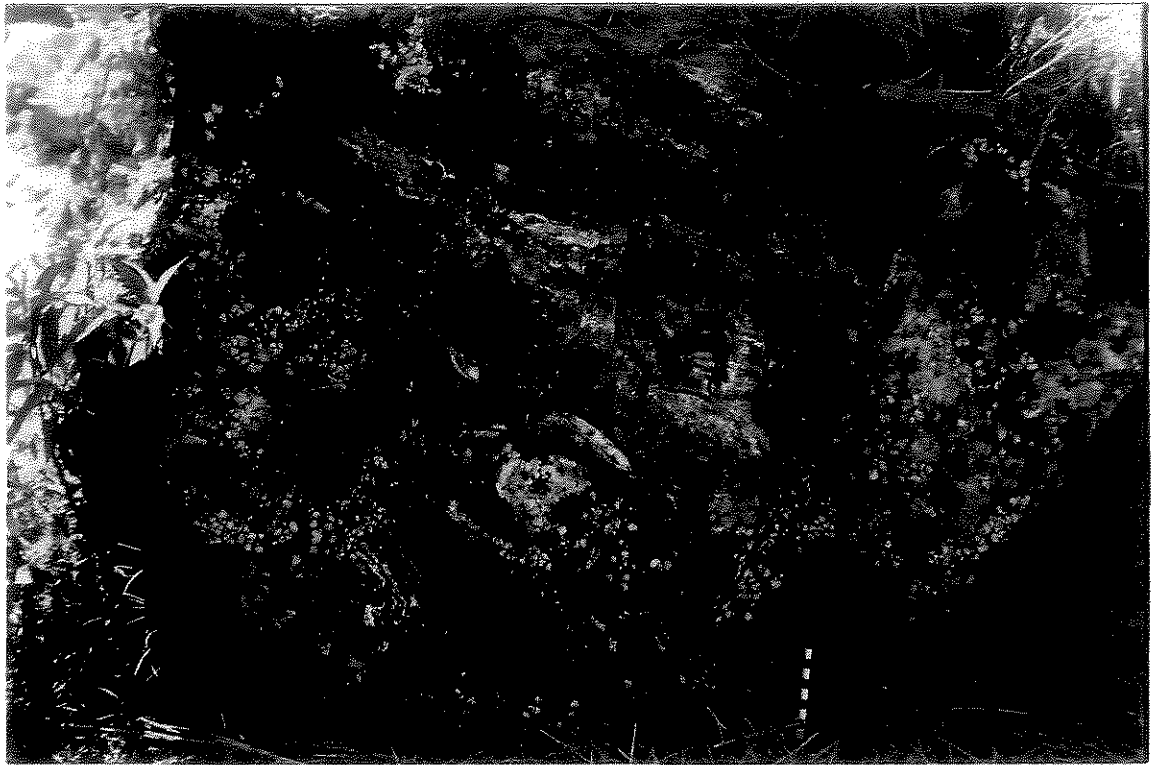
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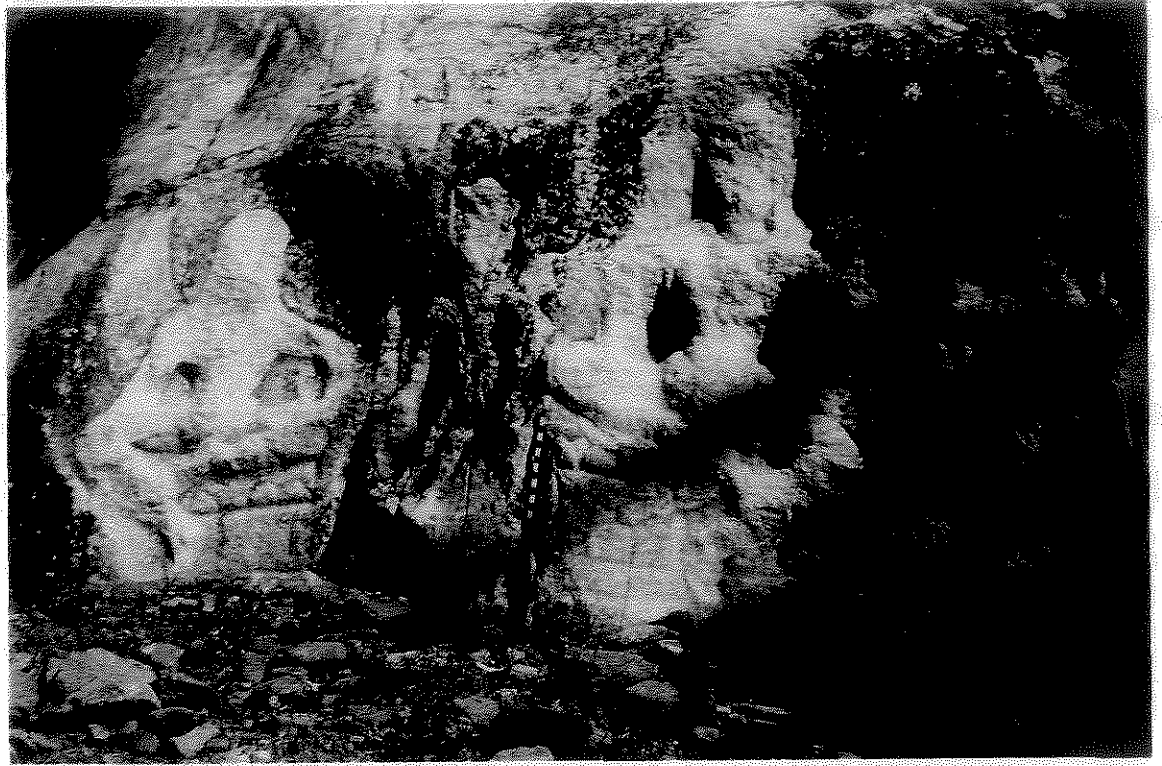
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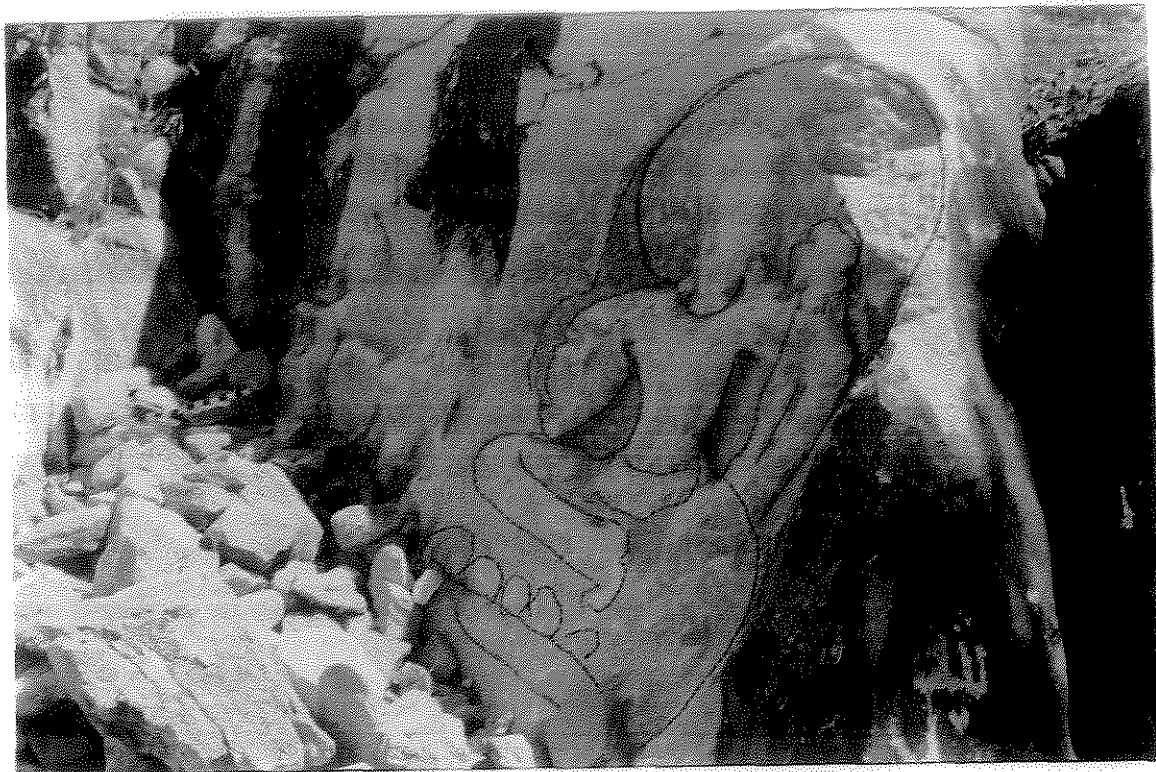


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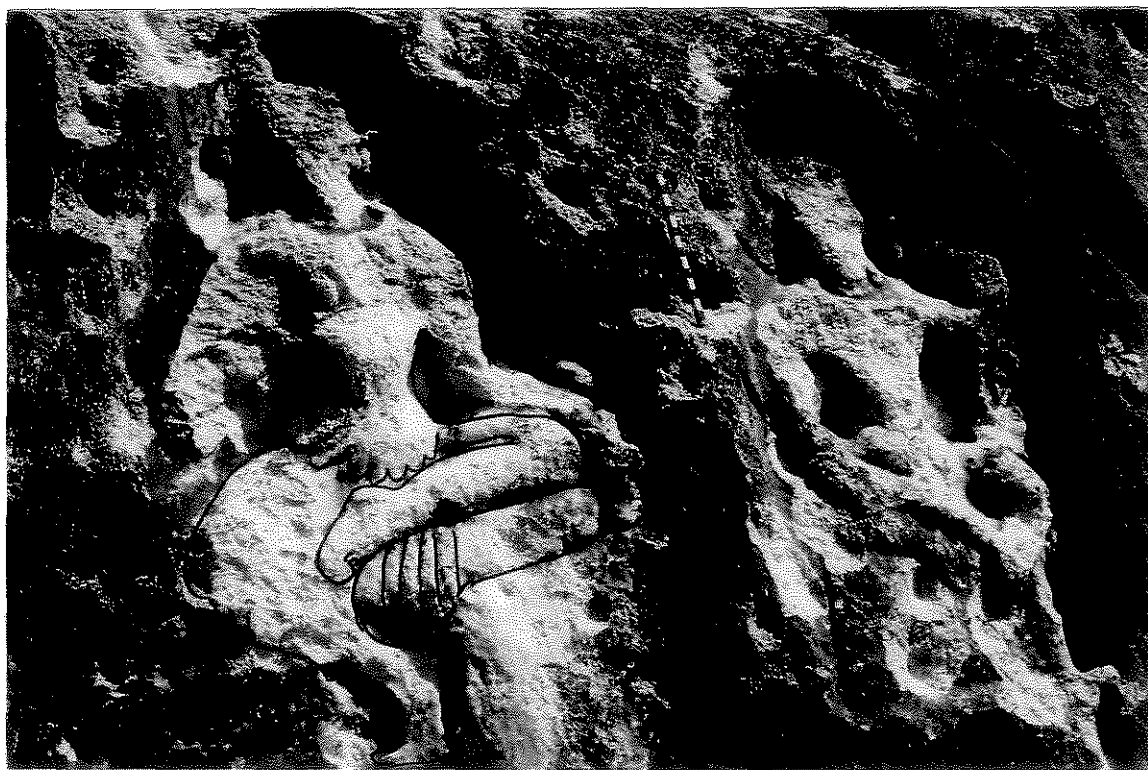


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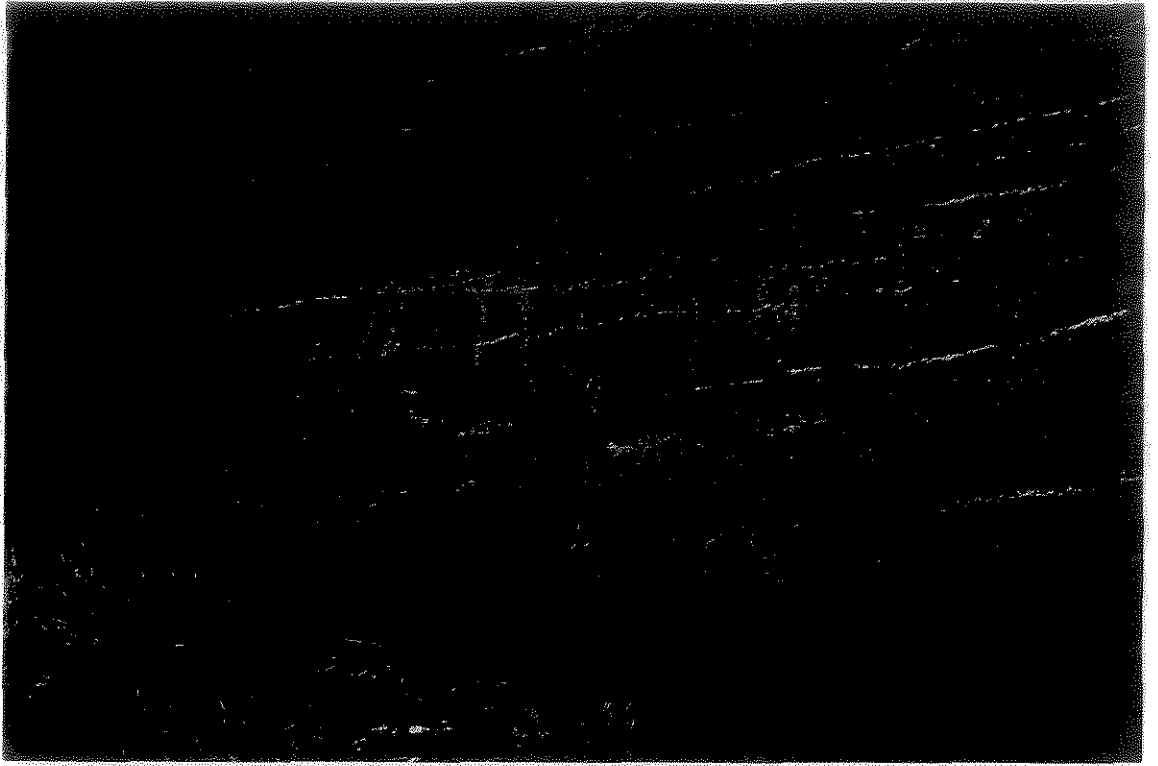
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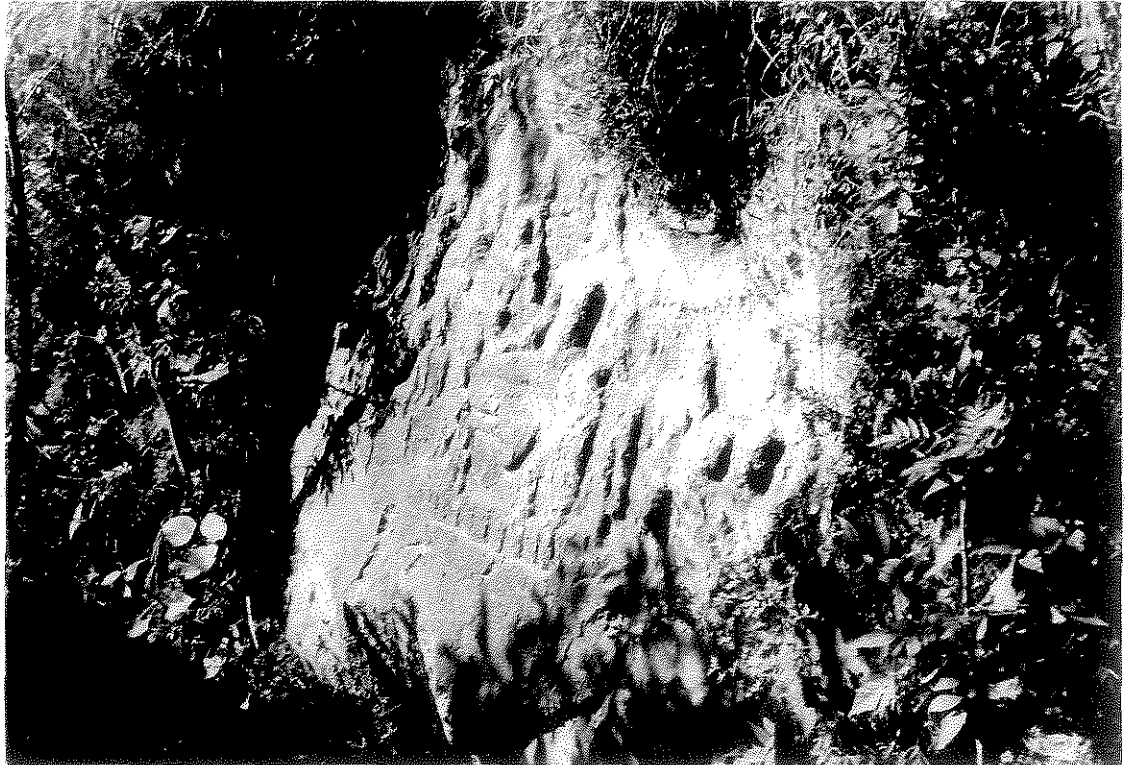


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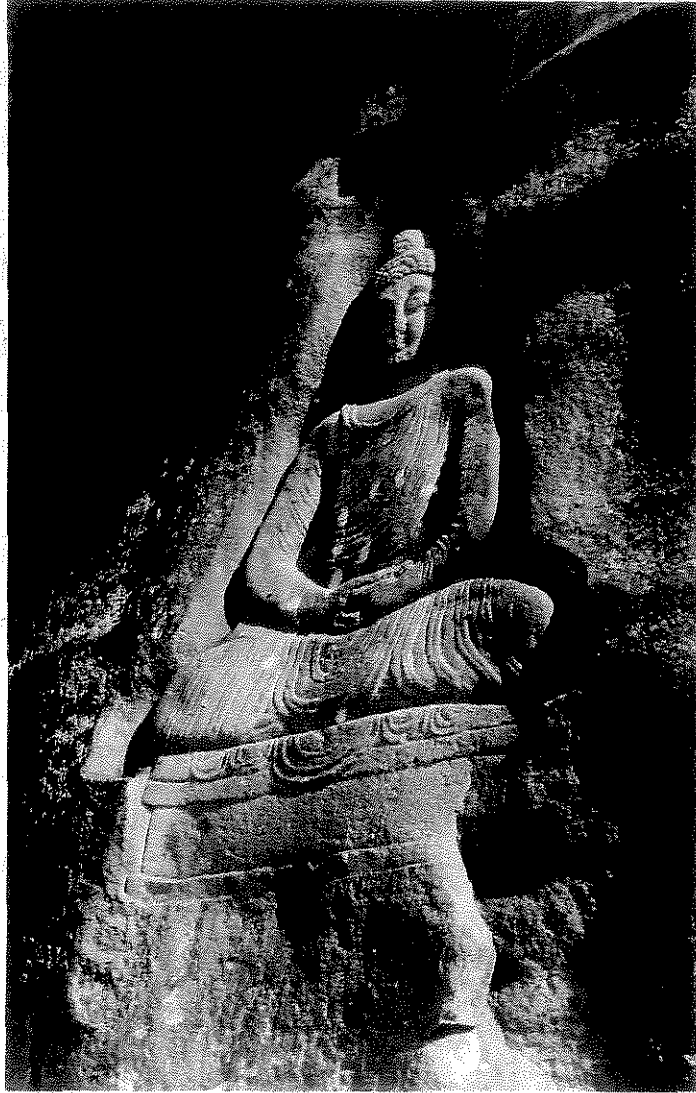
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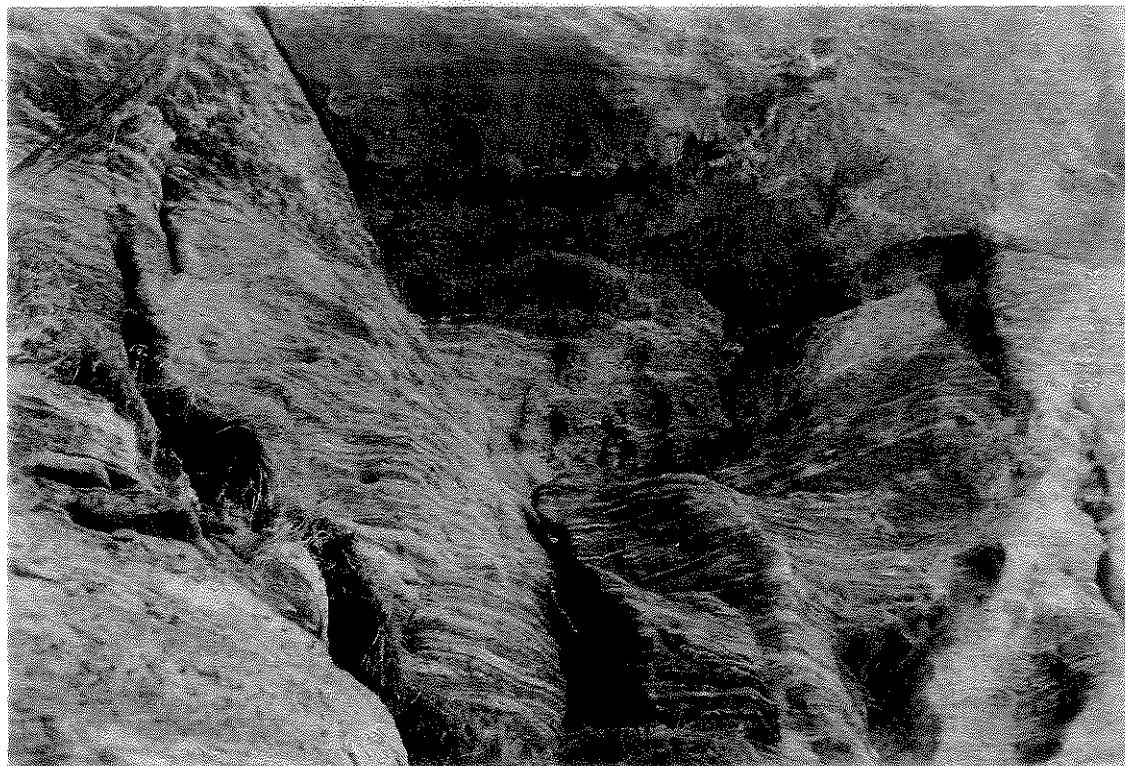
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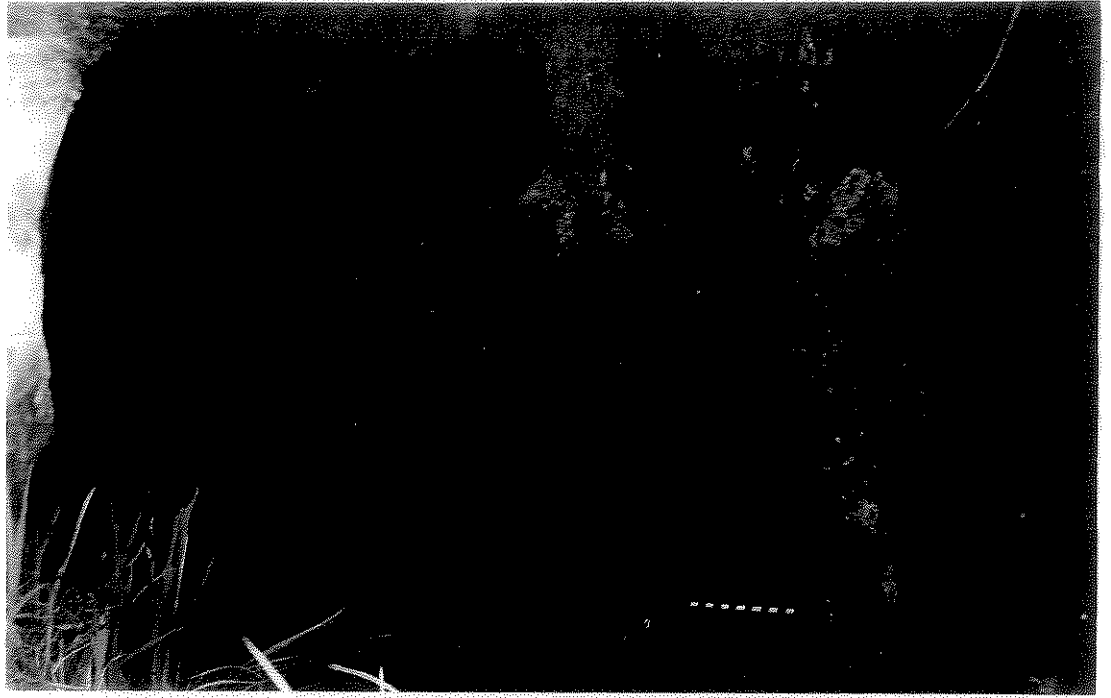
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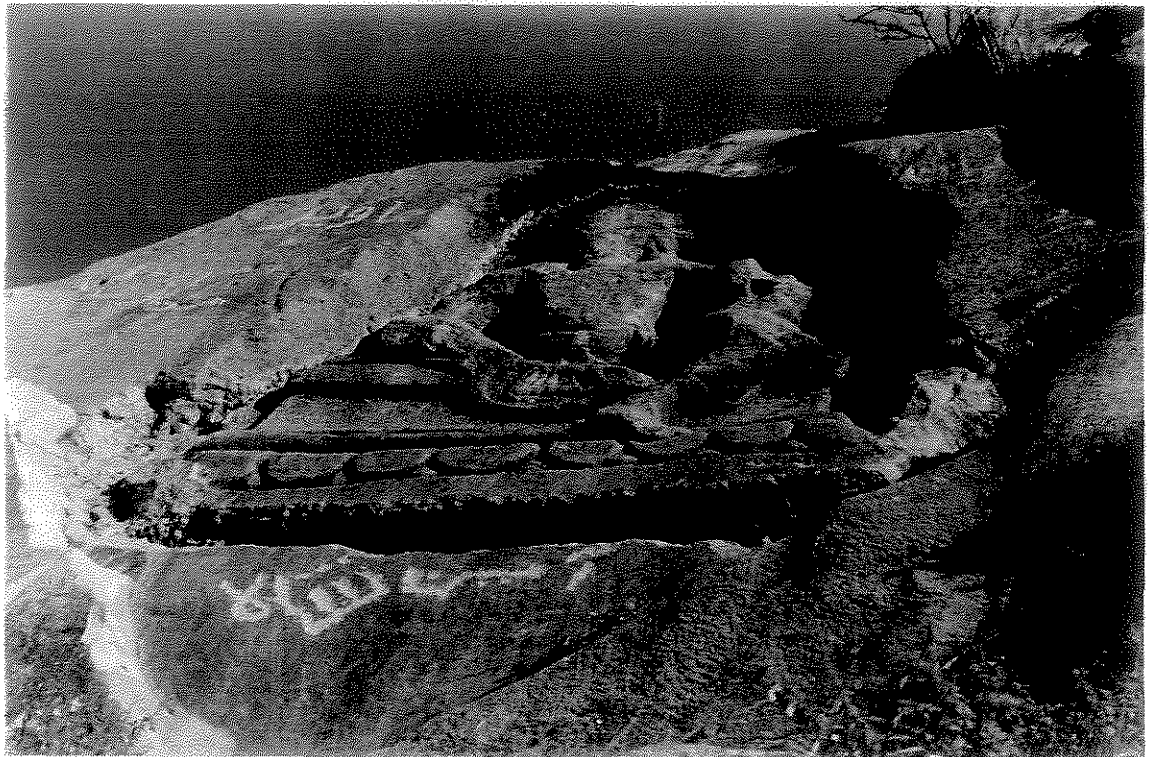
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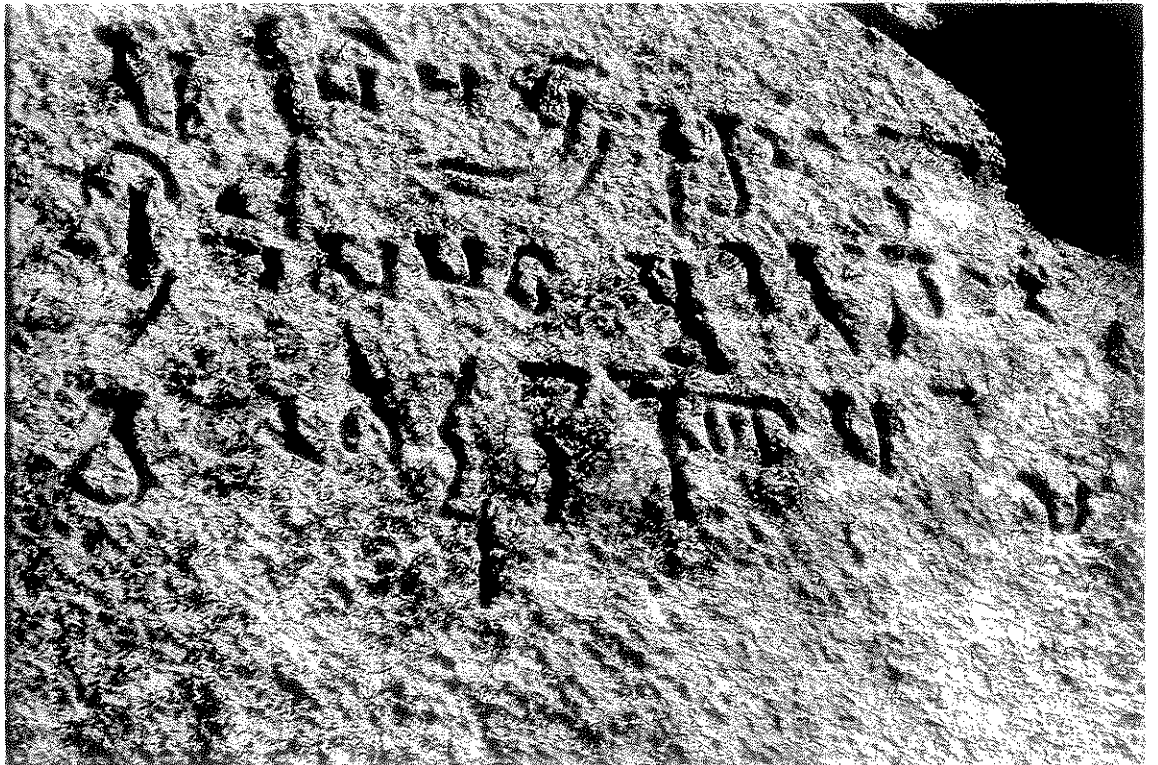
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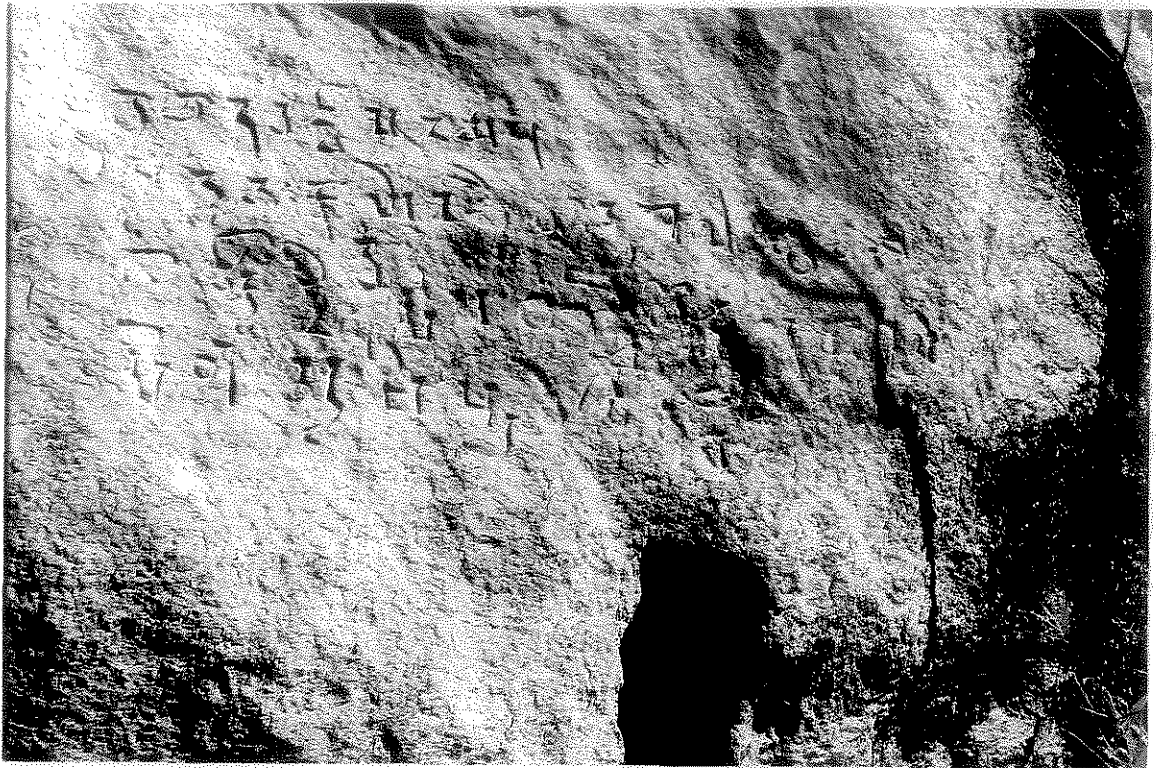


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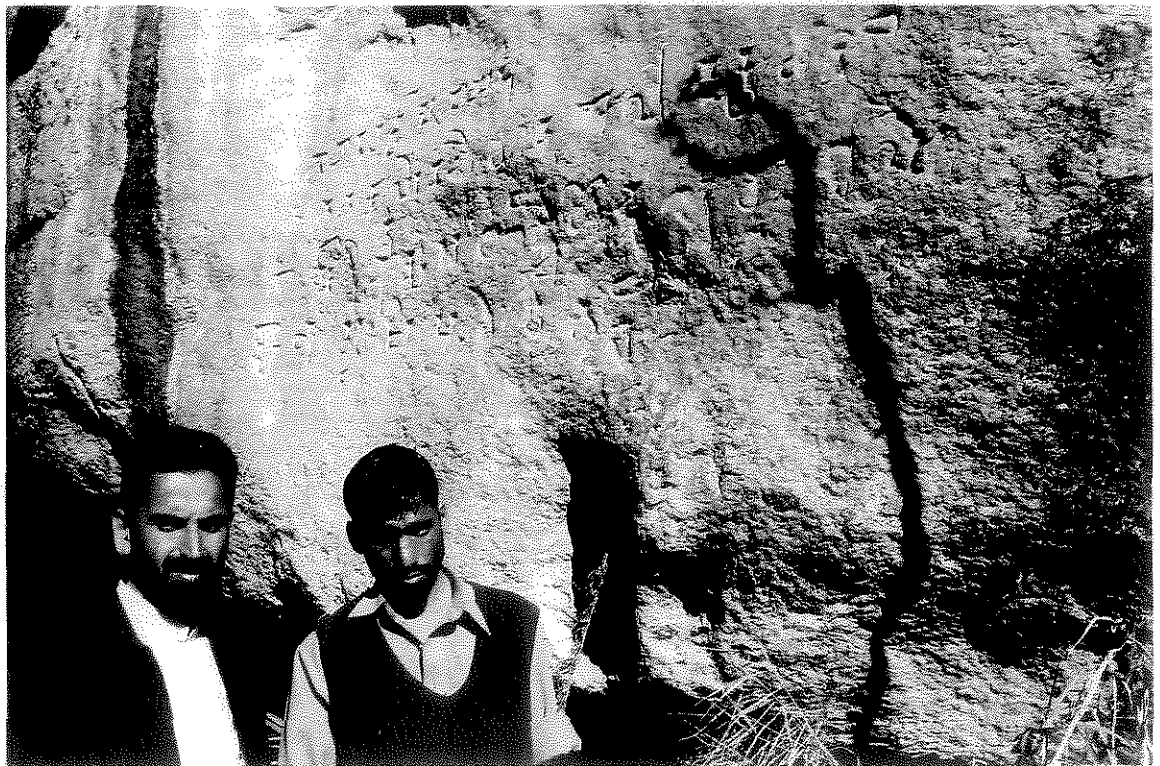


Pl. 80. Oba Ghat (Jahanabad), Brahmi inscription-I.

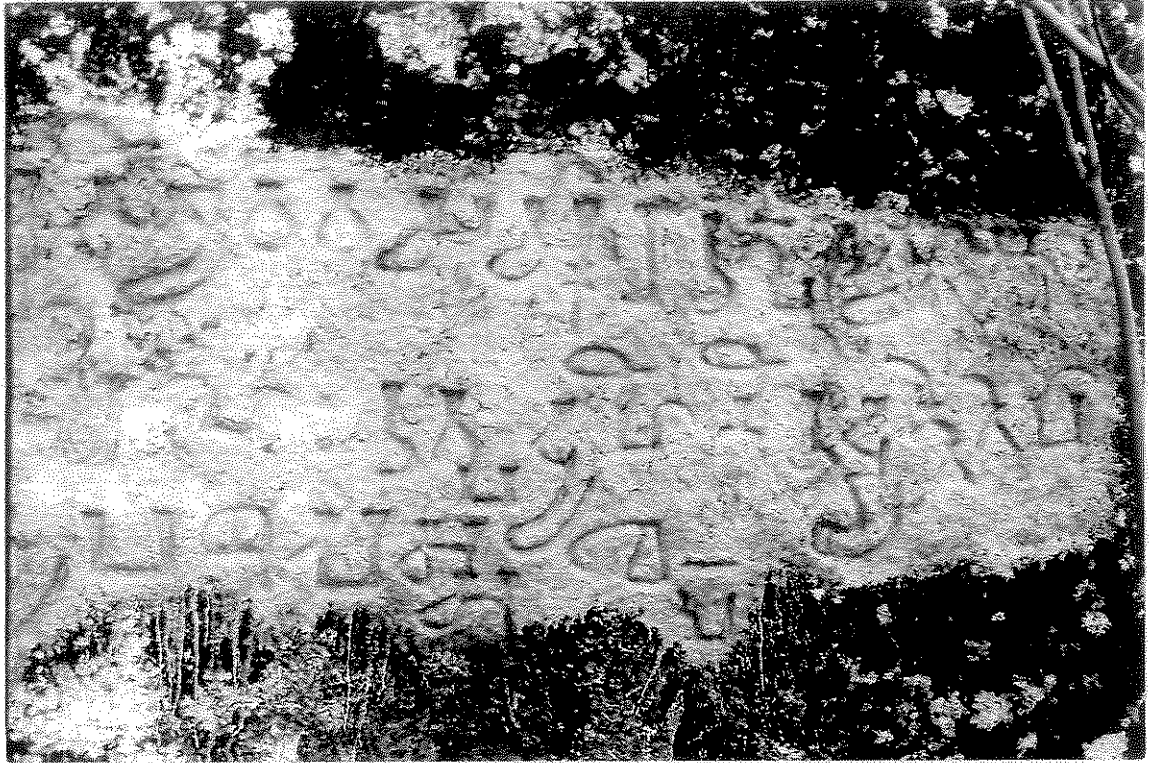




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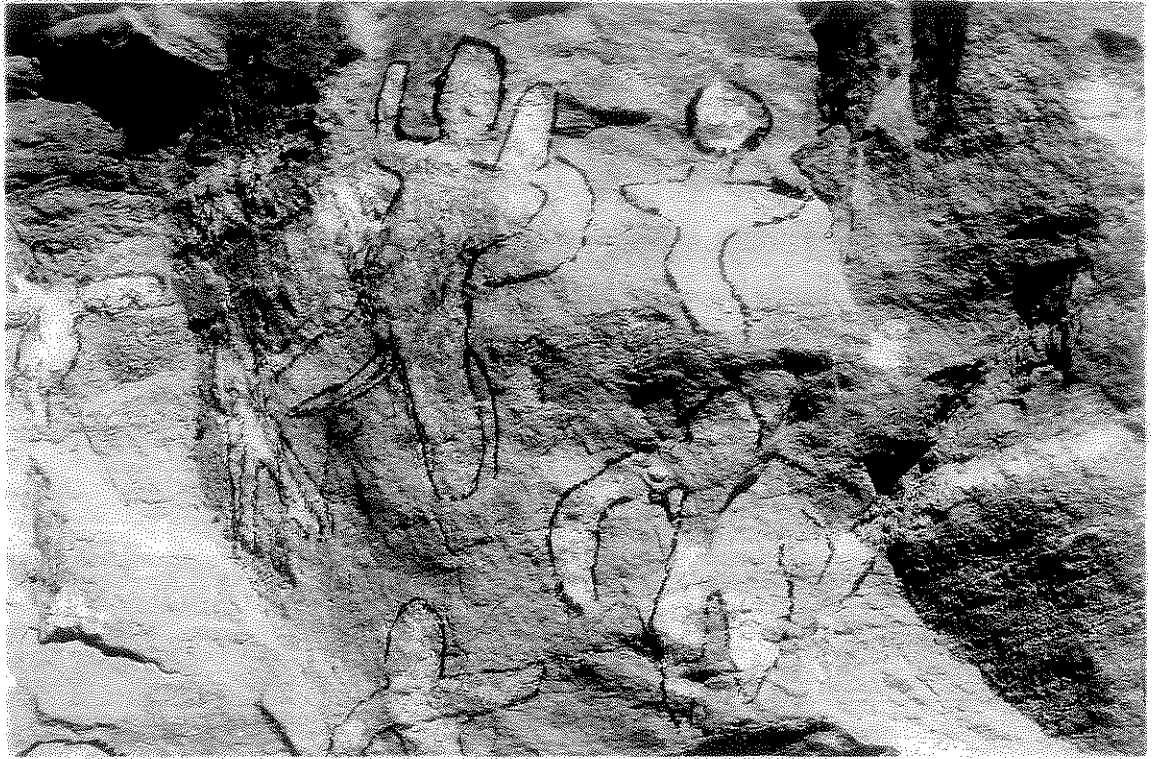




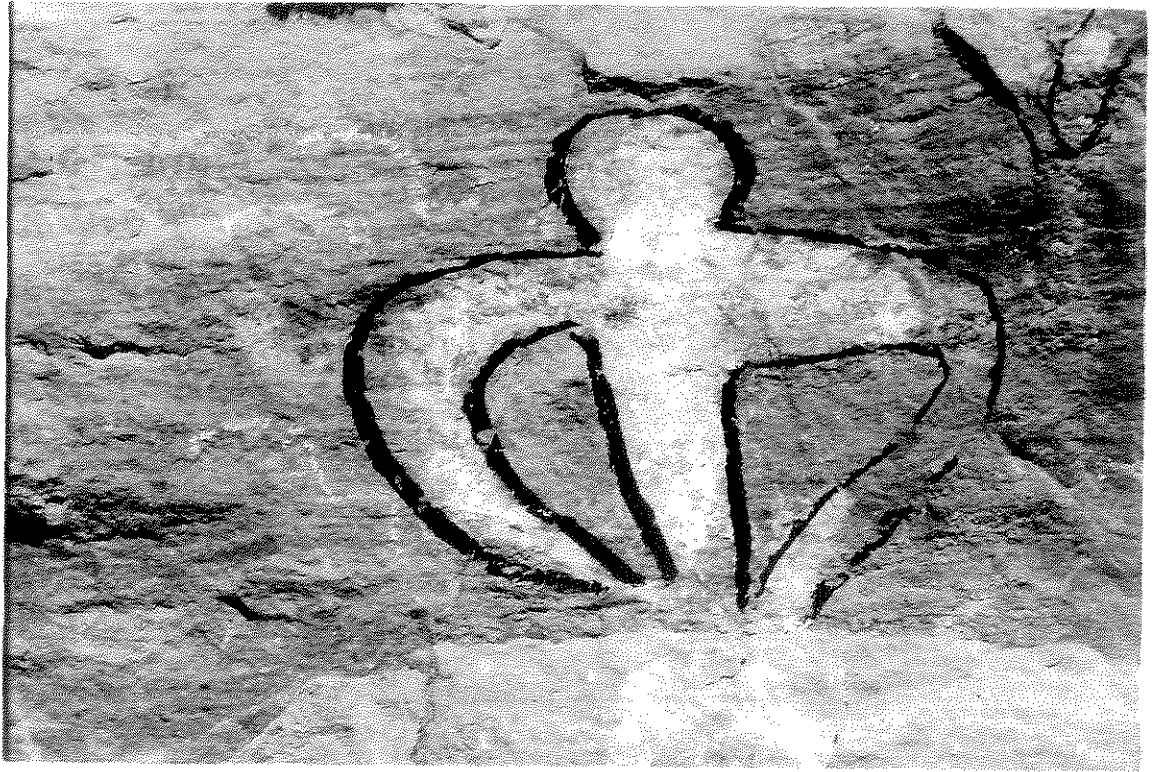


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