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**Impact of Kushan Dynasty on Gandhara Art in Pakistan
(A case study of Taxila)**



This thesis is written in partial fulfilment for the award of Doctor of Philosophy
Degree in Anthropology

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- Fig. 119 Bodhisattva in Meditation from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 47.63 cm and width is 31.75 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.542)
- Fig. 120 Bodhisattva in Meditation form Jaulian Monastery in situ, Taxila.
- Fig. 121 Two Youths Conversing, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 19.05 cm and width is 19.05 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.407)
- Fig. 122 Preaching Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 87.63 cm and width is 47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.306)
- Fig. 123 Head of Bodhisattva Siddhartha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 52.07 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.286)
- Fig. 124 Amorini, Garlands, Youths with Flowers, Peshawar Museum, height is 31.12 cm and width is 119.38 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.378)
- Fig. 125 Amorini, Garlands, Youths with Flowers, Peshawar Museum, height is 31.12 cm and width is 119.38 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.379)
- Fig. 126 Female Donor from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 48.26 cm and width 17.78 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.401)
- Fig. 127 Fragment showing portions of five figures from Lorian Tangai, Calcutta Museum, height is 27.94 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-62, fig.90)

- Fig. 128 The Buddha and Donor, Lahore Museum, height is 27.62 cm and width 32.39 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 187)
- Fig. 129 Bodhisattva Siddhartha in Meditation from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 68.58 cm and width 35.56 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 284)
- Fig. 130 Bodhisattva Siddhartha in Meditation, Donors, and Monk, Lahore Museum, height is 33.97 cm and width 38.74 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 287)
- Fig. 131 Bodhisattva, Peshawar Museum, height is 67.95 cm and width 16.51 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 317)
- Fig. 132 Preaching Bodhisattva, Lahore Museum, height is 83.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 319)
- Fig. 133 Earring Gold from Sirkap-Taxila, length is 12.38 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 491)
- Fig. 134 The Preaching Buddha on Lotus Throne from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 54.29 cm and width 59.37 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 253)
- Fig. 135 Maitreya from Takhat-i-Bahai, height is 208.28 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 289)
- Fig. 136 Maitreya, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 108.27 cm and width 29.85 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 290)
- Fig. 137 Maitreya from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 132.08 cm and width 60.96 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 291)
- Fig. 138 Bodhisattva from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 123.83 cm and width 33.02 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 313)
- Fig. 139 Bodhisattva in Meditation, Lahore Museum, height is 71.12 cm and width 49.21 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 318)
- Fig. 140 Bust of Maitreya from Mohara Moradu, Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 102.87 cm and width 26.67 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 293)
- Fig. 141 Maitreya in Meditation, Lahore Museum, height is 64.77 cm and width 38.1 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 302)
- Fig. 142 Avalokitesvara from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 97.79 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 326)
- Fig. 143 Maitreya from Takhat-i-Bahai, Peshawar Museum, height is 109.22 cm and width 39.05 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 296)

- Fig. 144 Preaching Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 107.95 cm and width is 68.58 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 308)
- Fig. 145 Bodhisattva, Lahore Museum, height is 106.68 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 328)
- Fig. 146 Royal Female Donor from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 160 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 400)
- Fig. 147 Maitreya Bust from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.74 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 311)
- Fig. 148 Bodhisattva Bust from Sanghao, Lahore Museum, height is 28.89 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 324)
- Fig. 149 Maitreya, Lahore Museum, height is 60.96 cm and width is 22.23 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 297)
- Fig. 150 Panchika and Hariti from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 101.6 cm and width is 83.82 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 342)
- Fig. 151 Panchika from Tackal near Peshawar, Lahore Museum, height is 180.34 cm and width is 57.79 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 338)
- Fig. 152 The First Meditation from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, height is 33.02 cm and width is 37.47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 36)
- Fig. 153 Bracket in form of a winged deva from Kunala stupa, Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila length is 19.05 (Marshall, 1960, plate-20, fig.23)
- Fig. 154 Bodhisattva from Dharmarajika stupa, Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 10.16 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 320)
- Fig. 155 Female Deity from Sirkap, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 21.91 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 355)
- Fig. 156 Sleeping Women from Dharmarajika stupa, Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 49.53 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 43)
- Fig. 157 Figurine of Woman. (Copper) from Sirkap-Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 7.94 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 490)
- Fig. 158 Female statuette from Sirkap-Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 18.42 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-17, fig. 19)

- Fig. 159 Interpretation of Maya's Dream from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 13.65 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 12)
- Fig. 160 Siddhartha's Horoscope is explained from Naogram, Lahore Museum, height is 21.27 cm and width is 33.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 21)
- Fig. 161 Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha from Nathu, Calcutta Museum, height is 22.23 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-60, fig. 87)
- Fig. 162 The Buddha and the Naga-rajā Kalika from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 33.02cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-51, fig. 75)
- Fig. 163 The Buddha enthroned with Vajrapani and seven female devotees form Dharmarajika, Taxila, Archaeological Museum Taxila, height is 48.26 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-69, fig. 98)
- Fig. 164 Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 26.67 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-44, fig. 68)
- Fig. 165 The Buddha and a Brahman ascetic from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.1 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-42, fig. 66)
- Fig. 166 Indra and His Harpist Visit the Buddha in the Indrasala Cave, Lahore Museum, height is 18.1 cm and width is 15.56 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 128)
- Fig. 167 Indra and His Harpist Visit the Buddha in the Indrasala Cave from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 33.02 cm and width is 36.2 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 129)
- Fig. 168 Family drinking-scene of five figures form Hadda, South Afghanistan Musee Guimet, Paris height is 16.51 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-31, fig. 49)
- Fig. 169 Unidentified Jataka from Sirkap-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 33.66 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-22, fig. 26)
- Fig. 170 Siddhartha in school from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 16.51 cm and width is 22.86 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 24)
- Fig. 171 Bust of Preaching Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 87.63 cm and width is 47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 307)
- Fig. 172 Head of Maitreya or of Layman from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 29.21 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 312)

- Fig. 173 So-called, Presentation of the Bride to Siddhartha from Takhat-i-Bahi, British Museum, height is 13.97 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-27, fig. 41)
- Fig. 174 Unidentified, Lahore Museum, height is 15.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 174)
- Fig. 175 Bath of the Infant Buddha from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 26.67 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-36, fig. 58)
- Fig. 176 The Interpretation of Maya's dream, from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-34, fig. 54)
- Fig. 177 Adoration of the Bodhisattva's head-dress in the Trayastrimsa Heaven from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.35 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-39, fig. 62)
- Fig. 178 Head of Foreigner from Rokri, Lahore Museum, height is 32.39 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 574)
- Fig. 179 Naga-rajā with musicians and attendants from Kafir Kot, British Museum, length is 57.79 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-56, fig. 82)
- Fig. 180 Musician playing on lute from Mardan-Swat, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.35 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-41, fig. 65)
- Fig. 181 Base ornamented with garland and Erotes from Nathu, Calcutta Museum, height is 19.05 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-62, fig. 91)
- Fig. 182 Orpheus Charming the Animals (Ingholt, 1957, fig. xviii 1)
- Fig. 183 Toilet-tray with crowded drinking-scene from Sirkap, National Museum, New Delhi, Diam. 15.75 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-14, fig. 16)
- Fig. 184 Stair-Riser Relief (Ingholt, 1957, fig. vi)
- Fig. 185 Musicians and Dancers, Lahore Museum, height is 16.19 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 399)
- Fig. 186 Stair-Riser Relief (Ingholt, 1957, fig. x 1)
- Fig. 187 Drinking-party of nine figures from Mardan-Swat, Peshawar Museum, height is 12.07 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-27, fig. 40)
- Fig. 188 Drinking scene of two couples, carved on lion-footed pedestal, Lahore Museum, height is 23.5 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-32, fig. 51)

- Fig. 189 Unidentified from Jamal Garhi, Peshawar Museum, height is 18.42 cm and width is 55.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 175)
- Fig. 190 Man and Two Women Dancing from Sirkap, National Museum of Pakistan, Diam. is 13.34 cm and width is 47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 481)
- Fig. 191 Wrestlers, Peshawar Museum, height is 26.67 cm and width is 40.64 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 445)
- Fig. 192 Marriage of Siddhartha and Yasodhara (right). Bridal Procession from Koi (between Sanghao and Karkai), Lahore Museum, height is 20 cm and width is 34.29 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 34)
- Fig. 193 Death of the Buddha (right)-Cremation of the Buddha, Peshawar Museum, height is 16.19 cm and width is 43.82 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 142)
- Fig. 194 Cremation of the Buddha from Takhat-i-Bahi Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm and width is 20.96 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 146)
- Fig. 195 Cremation of the Buddha (center) Division of the Relics (left) from Sikri Lahore Museum, height is 22.23 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 146)
- Fig. 196 Offering of the Four Bowls to the Buddha (Ingholt, 1957, fig. xx 1)
- Fig. 197 Presentation of the four begging-bowls from Sikri Lahore Museum, height is 33.02 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-53, fig. 77)
- Fig. 198 Drinking scene of Naga-rajā and queen from Kafir Kot, British Museum, height is 61.6 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-56, fig. 83)
- Fig. 199 Kneeling Woman with Bowl from Dharmarajika stupa-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 18.42 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 402)
- Fig. 200 Head of Dionysus from Sirkap-Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 9.53 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-24, fig. 29)
- Fig. 201 Dowager and Man with Bowl from Dharmarajika stupa-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 38.1 cm and width is 13.97 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 422)
- Fig. 202 Silver Parthian goblet from Sirkap-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 13.34 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-28, fig. 42)
- Fig. 203 Visvantara Gives Away the Choice Elephant from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 18.73 cm and width is 40 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 6)

- Fig. 204 Presentation to the Buddha of a mango grove by the courtesan Amrapali from Nathu, Calcutta Museum, (Marshall, 1960, plate-60, fig. 88)
- Fig. 205 Birth of the Buddha, Peshawar Museum, (Marshall, 1960, plate-70, fig. 99)
- Fig. 206 Three scenes from the story of Nanda from Jamal Garhi, Calcutta Museum, height is 60.33 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-81, fig. 116)
- Fig. 207 Bridal Procession from Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 40 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 35)
- Fig. 208 Sumagadha and the naked Ascetic, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 34.29 cm and width is 50.8 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 116)
- Fig. 209 Sleep of the woman from Takhat-i-Bahi, British Museum, height is 60.33 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-63, fig. 92)

ABBREVIATION

A A	Artibus Asiae
A I	Ancient India
A S I A R	Archaeological Survey of Indian Annual Reports
B D	Book of Discipline
B D C R I	Bulletin Deccan College Research Institute
C I I	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
Dh A	Commentary on Dhammapada
E I	Epigraphia Indica
I A	Indian Archaeology-A Review
I C	Indian Culture
J	Jatakas
J A O S	Journal of the American Oriental Society
J A S B	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
J I S O A	Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art
O H R S J	Orissa Historical Research Society Journal
Pk A	Pakistan Archaeology
S A A	South Asian Archaeology

ABSTRACT

The study, based on empirical data collected from various museums and archaeological sites, particularly from excavated areas around Taxila valley, deals with the artefacts, coins, inscriptions, narrative sculptures from Kushan to ascertain its impact on Greco-roman and other Indian influences which in the accumulated form is known as Gandhara Art.

The Study can be distinguished as a special case study of its own nature for being conducted in the geographical boundaries where Kushan and Gandhara art was experimented and practiced which afterwards achieved a status of full scale culture of the area. The special feature of the study includes direct access to the various sources of knowledge which have prime importance in creating another body of knowledge to describe various aspects of Gandhara art which was not only influenced but to a larger extent shaped during the period of Kushans. The study has thoroughly encompassed salient characteristics of Kushan which have provided fundamentals for the social, cultural, religious, economic and political institutions of Gandhara which are effectively and explicitly portrayed in various forms of evidences ranging from script to symbolic and graphic illustrations.

The main aim of the research was to study the socio-cultural aspects of the inhabitants of Kushan period including living patterns of different social classes,

structural design of the buildings, attires and cultural outfits of various segments of the society as well as personal features like ornaments, head dresses, and social rituals in shaping the cultural contours of Gandhara art. During empirical research several influences as well as determining factors of Kushan dynasty captured central attention due to their vital importance in shaping Gandhara art and its various cultural and human features, which expands from birth till death. The pieces of evidence in the form of sculptures, architectural patterns as well as socio-religious characteristics reflected through various archaeological excavations help to decipher the cultural realities of century's old but continuously practiced Gandhara art. In addition, the physical as well as social environment preserved in the form of archaeological evidences also helped in making a collective picture of influences and determinants of Gandhara art. The critical analysis of archaeological evidences also helped to discover a wide range of cultural rituals and religious practices which imitates details of living styles enriched through customs, traditions and important behavioural patterns of Gandharanese.

The empirical results collected from various archaeological sites reflect a special understanding of religious art work during the regime of Kushans supporting a close link with the Kings and Princess during their control of South Asian region. The importance of commerce, trade, and urban life is exclusively reflected in their artefacts which provide a good account of their material culture. The extensiveness of Gandhara art is not limited to the group life rather it has overtly presented the details of individual's social and personal life. The archaeological evidences contain minute

details of cultural items like ornaments, jewellery, dresses, hair styles as well as patterns of private and social interaction. As a conclusion it can be stated that Gandhara art presents a complete spectrum of cultural and social life of the Gandharanese.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The Kushans swept away completely the remnants of the Indo-Greeks and Parthians in the first century CE and established a mighty empire extending into the three great river valleys of Asia—the Oxus in the northwest, the Indus and the Ganges in the northeast of their extents which included many states of Central Asia and countries like Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. Due to violent and disturbed situation on the borders of China, The tribes were fighting with each other for the grazing lands. Because of this situation the Yüeh-chi tribe came towards Pakistan, this branch of the tribes was called Kushans. The Kushan dynasty became the notable empire in this world regarding cultural, commercial, art and religious accomplishment.

The Kushans built a truly Central Asian Empire, with their capital at Peshawar and Kapisa. Kanishka, the supreme ruler of the Kushan dynasty converted into Buddhism and he was the one who gave the importance to the Buddhism religion and the art of Gandhara. The king Kanishka spread the Buddhism religion in whole Central Asia and China. Kanishka's period was most important and respectable in the history of Buddhist art and culture. The Kushans remained in the region of Gandhara more than three hundred years and introduce the excellent work of art both foreign influence and local traditions. Along with the existed socio-cultural system they

patronised and flourished their own culture and traditions and hence developed new complex political and cultural environment. What we wear today in Pakistan as our national dress; *Shalwar Kameez* is given to us by the Kushans.¹ Social divisions, family life, marriage, dress and ornaments, food and household effects, luxuries and social evil can be seen on the sculptures of the Kushans.

1.1 Historical Background of the Kushan

The term Kushans is noticed in several forms in inscriptions—Brahmi and Kharoshthi, as on a dedicatory stone for a Buddhist stupa at Manikiala near Rawalpindi,² and on the coins as a suffix to the individual king's name—for example, SHAO-NANOSHAO KANESHKI KOSHANO (King of Kings, Kanishka the Kushan).³ The Chinese annals refer to Kuei-shuang—the Kushans, the nomadic tribe of Yüeh-chih. In India, the name Kushan as such never appears in the Puranas, Mahabharata, or other historical sources. According to Chinese sources, they were living in the north western border of China. The Yüeh-chih are first mentioned in recorded history as nomads who, early in the second century BCE., "moved along with their herds" in a district between Tun-huang and Mount Ch'i-lien, northwest of the modern Chinese province of Kansu.

In a prolonged series of battles they contested lands with the Hsiung-nu tribe name, Huns or Hephthalites, who finally defeated and drove them westward. The

¹ Dr. Dani strongly argued that the dress of Pakistani society is borrowed from Kushans.

² Sten Konow, CII, p. 67. Van Stäel-Holstein proposed the theory that the national name was actually Kusha and that the -ana was a genitive suffix (JRAS, 1914, pp. 79-88)

³ Rosenfield, J. M. p. 7

migration began about 165 BCE. However, a part of the horde split off from the main body and moved to the southwest, where they settled in the northeast fringe of the Tibetan plateau. Before arriving in the Oxus region, the Yüeh-chih fought with two other tribes. One was the Sai, (Scythians or Saka) a very diverse group, who settled in the Swat Valley and Gandhara in first century CE. The other group was Wu-sun, whom they first defeated but who in turn conquered the Yüeh-chih and drove them from the region further west. This second defeat of the Yüeh-chih occurred about 160 BCE or thereafter.⁴

The mass departure of the Yüeh-chih ended when, having passed through Ferghana, they reached the Oxus region and got control of Bactria. The region had been under the control of Bactrian Greek from mid 3rd century to mid 2nd century BCE. The Chinese General Chang-ch'ien visited the Yüeh-chih in 129 BCE who reported that they dwelled north of the Oxus but held control of Bactria. After hundred years later, the Yüeh-chih came under the domination of one of the other chiefs, the chief of the Kuei-shuang or Kushans tribe attacked and destroyed the other four divisions, became a king, and gave his clan name Kuei-shuang or Kushans.

After the establishment of Kushan Empire by Kujula and Vima Takto, the latter was followed by Vima Kadphises, third ruler of the dynasty and who likewise succeeded by the most famous king Kanishka the Great. It was during the reign of Kanishka that the Kushan empire spread over to Central Asia in the northwest and

⁴ Narain, p. 133

Ganges Valley in the east. In succession, Kanishka was followed by Huvishka and the latter by Vasudeva I. It was during the last years of Vasudeva reign (i.e. first quarter of third century CE) that the Sasanians appeared as a new rising power in Persia and hence became a threat to the western borders of the Kushan Empire. The Sasanians soon started to expand their rule beyond their boundaries, particularly towards the northwest territory of the Great Kushans (north of Hindu-Kush). It was soon after the death of Vasudeva I and perhaps during the reign of Kanishka II that Kushans lost Bactria, an important place of the empire, to the Sasanians from where they had once originated their ruling.

The Kushan Empire under Kanishka II after the loss of Bactria was now reduced that stretching from Kabul valley in the west to Uttar Pradesh in the east. This Kanishka (II) reorganized the Kushan kingdom in a new pattern and also struck his coins in a new style which remain existed until the collapse of Kushan rule in the Mid of 4th century CE. The Post-Vasudeva period of his dynasty is generally known by the scholars as later Kushans. Vasishka who followed Kanishka II couldn't resist more to the Sasanians therefore Kabul valley and Gandhara region were in turn slipped away from their control. After this the said kingdom further reduced to the eastern part, the territory between River Indus (Pakistan) and Uttar Pradesh (India). Vasishka was followed by another Kanishka (III) who ruled in the said reduced territory. The latter was succeeded by Vasudeva II. This ruler managed to recover some of their western territory at least Gandhara once lost to the Sasanians where he

had over struck the coins of Kushano-Sasanian king Hormizd I (the contemporary of Kanishka III and Vasudeva II).

After Vasudeva II, another sequence of the Kushan rulers is known Shaka, Magra or Masra, Mahi, Kipunadha, Gadahara or Gadakhra (Gadagra) whose coins are reported from Gandhara, Punjab. The coins of Shaka and Magra or Masra are also known from the Mathura and western regions. In the west they were completely crushed by the Sasanians and Kidarites and in the east they were dethroned by the eastern rising power, the Guptas. In the east their complete end is uncertain most probably after 340 CE and in the west in 356/57 CE after the decisive invasion of Shapur II.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is to ascertain the impact of Kushans on Gandhara art, particularly, in Taxila valley. The archaeological discoveries at Taxila preserve and present us with a multi-cultural society as far as religious beliefs are concerned. Buddhism and Taxila are generally considered synonymous. The early history of Taxila begins with extension of the Achaemenian rule to Gandhara and Taxila, in the fifth century BCE and extends up to 324 BCE when Alexander the Great arrived at Taxila. We do not know how it affected the socio-religious life of the people. We get

the first glimpses of the society from the writings of Alexander's historians. This picture is of a society with pluralist beliefs and multiple religions.⁵

The art that flourish at Gandhara was not the first to appear on Pakistani soil. Even earlier, the ancient schools of Indian art are represented by the sculptors of this region. The school of Gandhara, though later in date, does not seem to be the natural continuity of these early art schools. It discloses the clear impact of the Hellenistic influences, betrays comparatively evolved technical skill and introduces new foreign motifs. Nevertheless, it is primarily religious in character, serving the Buddhist faith. Thus, the form is strongly Hellenistic, while the matter is yet Indian: consequently, this intimate fusion of the widely divergent elements, unmistakably, dominates the material culture, depicted in the Gandhara sculptures and some foreign elements and indigenous traits have caused permanent impression on the society and the civilisation of the Gandharanes, as visualized in the sculptures.

This study is to describe the contemporary life, reflected in the Gandhara art. The Gandharan narrative sculptures vividly portray architecture, the life-scene of Buddha and jataka stories in the true forms of art expression namely, symbolic, synoptic, and narrative. In executing them, the ancient artists have thoroughly depicted the life of the people of Gandhara region in all its kaleidoscopic variety reflecting intensely on the architecture, mode of dress, coiffure personal ornaments etc. The weapons of war, revealing the high class military life, the civilised mind and

⁵ Dar, 1984. pp. 23-37.

the aesthetic outlook of the people, etc., have all been brought within the range of sculptural art.

Study on Gandhara art have not given sufficient weight to one important consideration when assessing early Gandharan art. An assessment of Gandharan art routinely traces Graeco-Bactrian influences, as well as Roman, Parthian, Scythian, and Indian influences from the Gandhara and Taxila Valley. Hardly anyone questions whether aspects of art indigenous to the region were integrated into Gandhara art. This approach would not deny that influences did indeed come from the sphere of the Indian subcontinent, and from foreign sources to the West; rather it raises the question whether the influences were absorbed into existing arts and crafts preceding, or unrelated to, the arts in service of the Buddhist religion.

The vast kingdom of Kushan passed trade routes joining China, Central Asia, Iran, India, and the eastern Mediterranean littoral. From India came the Hindu and Buddhist faiths, the latter spreading to China, Korea, and Japan. From the Hellenized Middle East came such religious concepts as divine kingship and the syncretic fusion of diverse deities and cult practices, which had profound impact on Iran and India. Within the Kushan empire lived astronomers, mathematicians, theologians, playwrights, poets, grammarians, logicians, and physicians who left indelible marks upon Asian civilization. Images carved in the sculpture workshops of this ancient realm are among the most persuasive and influential in the history of Gandhara art. To study these impacts of Kushan on Gandhara art, I would focus on three variables:

1. Inscriptions (Epigraphy)
2. coins (Numismatic data)
3. Narrative stone sculptures

Gandharan studies in general and studies of Gandhara art in particular have traditionally been, and continue to be, dominated by archaeologists and art historians. In fact, until very recently materials falling within the purview of these fields - mainly artistic and archaeological remains, including inscriptions - were nearly all that we had at our disposal for the study of Gandhara art and Buddhism. The birch bark scroll manuscript in Kharosthi script has been, since its discovery in 1892, virtually the sole known specimen of a Buddhist manuscript written in the language that we now call Gandhari. Moreover, it was not certain whether this unique Gandhari manuscript was in some sense an peculiarity, or even a unique deviation in the cultural tradition of Gandhara, or whether it was, rather, the sole surviving document — the tip of the iceberg, as it were — of a larger but otherwise unknown corpus of Buddhist texts in Gandhari/Kharosthi, perhaps even of something that could be called a "Gandhari canon" of Buddhism.⁶

In light of the discovery in the last few years of large numbers of other similar Gandharan Buddhist manuscripts, the latter interpretation has clearly turned out to be the correct one. Although the study and publication of this new material are still in the

⁶ Richard Salomon, "New Manuscript Sources for the Study of Gandharan Buddhism," in *Gandharan Buddhism: Archaeology, Art, Texts*, ed. Pia Brancaccio and Kurt Behrendt, p. 135.

early stages, and the complete process will take many years, it is already obvious that scholars of Gandharan Buddhism and of Gandharan studies in general, will have a completely new body of material to work with. At this point, while we can only begin to guess in what ways this will reshape and improve our understanding of Buddhism in Gandhara, we can be quite sure that it will have profound effects.

A study of the development of Gandhara art begins with analysis of the numismatic data, which furnish the most widespread and secure chronological indicators. The many coins found at urban and Buddhist sites, especially in *stupa* relic deposits, help us to determine a sequence. Even though the date of a coin's production does not directly correspond to the time of its deposition, a reliable succession emerges.⁷

These archaeological findings are most important tools with the help of one can understand the various aspects of the history. I now expand the inquiry to include elements not previously discussed, together with a sampling of narrative sculptures that appear in Buddhist reliefs from Gandhara. My approach is selective on Gandharan art and crafts than to a focused question relating to the impact of Kushans on Gandhara art. These archaeological variables are most important to ascertain the history of the multi cultural society during the Kushan period.

⁷ M. Alram, "Indo-Parthian and Early Kushan Chronology: The Numismatic Evidence," in *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, ed. M. Alram and D. Klimburg-Salter (Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999).

In addition to the many problems already associated with Gandhara art, another one, a large gap exists between the prehistoric art of the Indus civilization and the historic art of Gandhara. The art from these two cultures cannot be equated. The former consists of small possibly religious, pieces, while pieces from the latter can be monumental and usually are religious. The beginning of the decline of the Indus civilization dates to approximately 1900 BCE, and a Late Indus Phase, during which a new social order developed, lasted until about 1300 BCE. Buddhism in Gandhara probably began in the third century BCE. To date, this insufficient evidence to documents any sustained artistic activity in the great span of time between these two cultures. Therefore, it is natural to wonder who made Gandharan art – just who was it who absorbed all the varied influences? When the need for monastic establishments in Gandhara first arose, and with it the academic, devotional, ritualistic, perhaps aesthetic needs to decorate the sacred centres with sculpture, who were the artisans approached for the tasks? Where did they come from? If local crafts were introduced into the early sculpture, then it is likely that local craftsmen had a role in carving the sculptures. But if local crafts were largely absent, then it is more likely that local craftsmen were not involved, and foreigners – be they from Western or Central Asia and/or the Indian subcontinent – were the predominant creators of incipient Gandharan art. What was the composition of the talent pool creating early Gandharan art? This is the question before us. It is especially significant because, of all the possible outside influences upon Gandharan art, the Indian one would seem a prime

candidate, having produced impressive Buddhist art and architecture prior to that in Gandhara.

In Gandhara, the early phase of Gandhara art may be tied to the earliest appearance of the Buddha image in that region. Recent studies on related points work from the hypothesis that the Buddha image in the Northwest dates to around the beginning of the Christian era, or a few decades earlier.⁸ This conclusion is based on the analyses of some single pieces by Fussman, who showed that quite possibly the earliest standing Buddha appears on a Tilya Tepe token (an archaeological site in northern Afghanistan near Sheberghan) which can be dated roughly between 50 and 1 BCE, and that it is followed by depiction of the Buddha on the gold Bimaran relic casket (Bimaran site, near Jalalabad in eastern Afghanistan), dated within the first half of the first century of the Christian era.⁹ Another's very early Gandharan depiction of the Buddha is the pre- to mid-first-century-CE small Nitta bronze; it too, like the Tilya Tepe token, reveals the coalescing of Western (Hellenistic) and Eastern (Gangetic and Northwestern) modes of depiction.¹⁰ These examples, parenthetically, do not argue for the primacy of the Buddha image in Gandhara, as an equally early Buddha image, dated between 1 and 50 CE, can be assigned to the Mathura school.¹¹

⁸ Gail, "On the Beginning of a Figurative Representation," especially p. 435, also Van Kooij, "Architectural Context of the Early Buddha Image," p. 511.

⁹ Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence," 67ff. For dating of the Bimaran relic casket, see arter, "Reappraisal of the Bimaran Reliquary," 84. See also the entry by N. Kreitman in Errington and Cribb, *Crossroads of Asia*, 189-92. But note that the Bimaran reliquary is dated ca. late first century BCE in Huntington, *Art of Ancient India*, 113.

¹⁰ E.g., See Carter, "Gandharan Bronze Buddha Statuette."

¹¹ See Pal, "Pre-Kushan Buddha Image," 1ff, n. 5. See also Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," 391-93, figs. 22-25.

In sum, on the basis of the generally agreed-upon dating for early Buddhist art in Gandhara, the present study of Gandharan crafts in early Gandharan Buddhist art confines itself to sculpture that can be dated with reasonable assurance between the first century BCE and the first century CE.

The reliefs around the Sikri stupa housed in the Lahore Museum represent the very beginning of Buddhist art in Gandhara. Their antiquity has been recognized by Marshall, Foucher, and Lohuizen-de Leeuw.¹² The material from the archaeological sites in Gandhara, particularly from Taxila, covers much of the geographic extent of the Gandhara region. The sites range from Taxila, situated east of the Indus River in Pakistan, to Hadda, beyond Pakistan, in eastern Afghanistan. Between Taxila and Hadda lie the other sites, all west of the Indus. Sikri probably is in the Paja Hills, north of Mardan in the Peshawar Plains. The others are located in the Lower Swat District of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan. It is helpful to keep in mind the spread of these sites when trying to interpret diversity in the local crafts within Gandhara. Sub-regional diversifications can be due to geographic, ecological, environmental, and anthropological factors. They can also be due to the result of different foreign influences affecting different habitational enclaves in the mountainous stretches of Gandhara.

¹² Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pp. 55-58; Foucher, "Les bas-reliefs du stupa de Sikri"; Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian Period"*, pp.100-101, pp.108-10.

It is credited that the people are sometimes conscious to look at an unfamiliar work of art and give arguments but they actually do not want to stop but wants to know more about the unfamiliar art and try to know about the work. They ask "where did it come from?" "how was it made?" "who made it?" and "what does it mean?" And it is just these kinds of questions that interest anthropologists and art historians. Such questions involve not only specific information about the particular object, but broader questions about the relation of art to all other aspects of human life. Art is something that human beings do in a great many ways, for a great many reasons, and if one is curious about art or about peoples it is natural to ask questions about the whole process and the whole background or context of an art style. One question leads to another, and the more one learns about the background of any work of art, the more it seems related to the whole way of life of the people who made and used it.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

The Gandhara art is very much related to the Buddhism because these stone sculptures represent the life story of the Lord Buddha. These sculptures were symbolically representing the life history of the Bodhisattvas and Buddha himself but the credit goes to the Kushans who represented the Buddha in human form. Gandharan sculptures have been studied by many anthropologist and archaeologist from various countries and it is being studied till now. The stone and stucco sculptures of Gandhara tell the ways in which people understand and interpret their surroundings as well as the actions and expression of the other members of their

society. These interpretations form a shared cultural system of meaning, i.e., understandings shared, to varying degrees, among members of the same society¹³. Art is an expressive culture; it comprises those activities and products judged primarily by aesthetic experience. Both art and aesthetics are cultural universals, but satisfactory cross-cultural definitions have yet to be achieved¹⁴.

Anthropological literature generally support to study the meanings of different symbols and the processes (such as myth and ritual) by which humans assign meanings to these symbols in order to address fundamental questions about human social life¹⁵. According to Geertz, man is in need of symbolic "sources of illumination" to orient himself with respect to the system of meaning that is any particular culture¹⁶. Turner states that symbols instigate social action and are "determinable influences inclining persons and groups to action"¹⁷.

According to Spencer, culture is an independent system of meaning deciphered by interpreting key symbols and rituals¹⁸. Actions are guided by interpretation, allowing symbolism to aid in interpreting ideal as well as material activities of the particular society. Traditionally Gandhara art focused on religion, cosmology, ritual activity, and expressive customs such as mythology and arts. Studying these types of

¹³ Des Chene 1996, p. 1274.

¹⁴ David E Hunter & Phillip Whitten.

¹⁵ Spencer 1996, p. 535.

¹⁶ Geertz, 1973, p. 45.

¹⁷ Turner 1967, p. 36.

¹⁸ Spencer 1996, p. 535.

social forms allows researchers to study the role of symbols in the everyday life of a group of people¹⁹.

The Kushan period is equally important for its contributions in the field of art and architecture as in other fields. In these period two divergent currents from different traditions swept over the two wings of the Kushan empire in the west and in the east. Culture is expressed by the external symbols that a society uses rather than being locked inside people's heads. Geertz believes that culture as an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and their attitudes toward life.²⁰

The present research focus on how people of Gandhara understand and organize the material objects, events, and experiences that make up their world as they perceive it. The narrative sculptures of Gandhara present the religious events, material life and ideas as perceive by the people. It is an approach that stresses how people make sense of reality according to their own indigenous cognitive categories, not those of the others. It represents the logical systems of thought of other people according to criteria, which can be narrated through analysis of the Gandhara art. It provides detailed and reliable descriptions of cultural representations.

¹⁹ Des Chene 1996, p. 1274.

²⁰ Geertz 1973, p.89.

Human populations have ongoing contact with and impact upon the land, climate, plant, and animal species in their vicinities, and these elements of their environment have reciprocal impacts on humans. Anthropology of ecology mainly investigates the ways that a population shapes its environment and the subsequent manners in which these relations form the population's social, economic, and political life²¹. In a general sense, ecological anthropology attempts to provide a materialist explanation of human society and culture as products of adaptation to given environmental conditions²². Julian Steward coined the term *cultural ecology* he looked for the adaptive responses to similar environments that gave rise to cross-cultural similarities²³. Ecological anthropologists believe that populations are not engaged with the total environment around them, but rather with a *habitat* consisting of certain selected aspects and elements. Furthermore, each population has its own adaptations institutionalized in the culture of the group, especially in their technologies²⁴. Anthropological knowledge has the potential to inform and instruct humans about how to construct sustainable ways of life, especially when it has an environmental focus, also demonstrates the importance of preserving cultural diversity. The ideas that drive all human and objects in nature and experience are representations of the mind. Which turn toward the study of the material conditions of the environment, which have the potential to affect ideas.

²¹ Salzman and Attwood 1996.

²² Seymour-Smith 1986.

²³ Netting 1996.

²⁴ Salzman and Attwood 1996

Steward developed the cultural ecology paradigm and introduced the idea of the culture core, the features of a society that are the most closely related to subsistence activities and economic arrangements. Furthermore, the core includes political, religious, and social patterns that are connected to such arrangements²⁵. He demonstrates that lower population densities exist in areas where the tree is thinly distributed, thus illustrating the direct relationship between resource base and population density. He was also interested in the expression of this relationship in regards to water availability and management²⁶. Marvin Harris describes the term cultural materialism, which centres around the notion that technological and economic features of a society have the primary role in shaping its particular characteristics²⁷.

The arts and the standards of taste by which they are judged arise out of cultural conditioning and are specific to a particular cultural tradition. An anthropological definition of art must be broad enough to be used cross-culturally for comparison, but must also take indigenous categories of art and aesthetics into consideration. To understand art as human behaviour, art styles, or aesthetic systems, it is essential to comprehend the principles on which such conceptualizations are based as perceived by the social group which holds them. This underlying organization or meta-structure is as important for understanding art in society as an analysis of the content of the item itself. Only if we understand the principles of organization can we decide

²⁵ Steward 1955

²⁶ Ibid, 1930.

²⁷ Marvin Harris 1979

whether a creation conforms to the standards recognized by the society in which it was made. Such standards cannot be used cross-culturally, for members of different cultures simply do not react in the same ways to the same stimuli. This is well recognized in most social and cultural domains, but art is still too often regarded as a "universal language." The anthropological study of art is essentially an analysis of cultural forms and the social processes which produce them according to the aesthetic precepts of a specific group of people at a specific point in time. When we study art in context, we find that many relationships seem to exist between art forms and all, or nearly all, of the other aspects of human life, and the visual form or style of the arts in a specific society.

Art is an expressive culture, it means that the study of the art as an anthropological study calls for considering art as an aspect of culture, and using the methods and theories that anthropologists have used to study other aspects of culture, taking into consideration it great many things instead of, or in addition to, one's own personal responses to particular art forms. It means that one needs to know where the art was made, who made it, what its use was, what its functions were, and what it meant to the people who made use of it. This is the study of art in its cultural context. Culture in the anthropological sense means much more than the arts; it is conceived as the sum of all the learned, shared behaviour of human beings: how they make a living, produce things, organize their societies, and use language and other symbolic forms. Culture is the distinctively human means of survival. Each and every society has a

more or less consistent way of life, a culture²⁸. The anthropological study of art is not confined to the works of peoples with primitive technologies, but involves all cultures from any time and place.

Figurative similarities of art with language usually propose that art is a semiotic system in which aspects of art refer to ideas or things other than themselves. But it is by no means clear how such images and symbols come to acquire these meanings or how their messages are transmitted and most forms of art promote the religious beliefs and social order of the society. Art expresses messages that words cannot convey. Art is not a phenomenon but a concept; Anthropologists have found it useful to talk in terms of *culture areas*, regions of the world that usually have similar environments and adaptations to those environments in terms of lifestyle, or culture²⁹.

According to the geographically recognize the style in order to know where objects were made and used is necessary to be able to discuss what they may have meant in context. In addition to the basic necessity of knowing the place of origin of art works, geography is importance to do with the travelling or diffusion of styles or elements of style.

The most obvious and direct relationship of art styles with habitat lies in the use of materials. Art is not separated from craftsmanship, and the technology reflects adaptation to the environment. This can be seen very clearly in the sculpture of

²⁸ Hatchre, 1999, pp. 1-2

²⁹ Ibid, p. 22

Gandhara. People living close to nature develop skills in working with materials available to them, and with skill goes the tendency to work the material in aesthetic ways. Another fairly clear relationship that exists between art and environment lies in the content, the images that are represented. Animals especially impress themselves on people's minds and are important in their art forms and in their symbols. As art forms are often expressive of belief systems, and belief systems tend to be concerned with the chief problems and dangers of life, visual symbols are likely to be parts of systems that relate to adaption and survival in a given habitat, although the way the visible forms relate through the belief system to that habitat.

There is a general consensus that archaeology was closely related to both history and anthropology. The product of cultural history is to group sites into distinct "cultures", to determine the geographic spread and time span of these cultures, and to reconstruct the interactions and flow of ideas between them through archaeological findings. Each culture is a set of norms governing human behaviour. Thus, cultures can be distinguished by patterns of craftsmanship; for instance, if one excavated sherd of pottery is decorated with a triangular pattern, and another sherd with a chequered pattern, they likely belong to different cultures. Such an approach naturally leads to a view of the past as a collection of different populations, classified by their differences and by their influences on each other. Changes in behaviour could be explained by diffusion whereby new ideas moved, through social and economic ties, from one culture to another. V Gordon Childe was one of the first to explore and expand this concept of the relationships between cultures especially in the context of prehistoric

Europe. Childe argued that sufficient archaeological material had been excavated and studied to suggest that diffusionism was not the only mechanism through which change occurred.

Another archaeologist, Lewis Binford, rebelled against the paradigms of cultural history. He proposed a "New Archaeology", which would be more "scientific" and "anthropological", who see culture as a set of behavioural processes and traditions. He further believed that an archaeologist should develop one or more hypotheses about a culture under study, and conduct excavations with the intention of testing these hypotheses against fresh evidence. It was becoming clear, largely through the evidence of anthropology, that ethnic groups and their development were not always entirely similar with the cultures in the archaeological record.

An approach to the study of archaeological materials formulated by Michael B. Schiffer that privileged the analysis of human behaviour and individual actions, especially in terms of the making, using, and disposal of material culture. In particular this focused on observing and understanding what people actually did, while refraining from considering people's thoughts and intentions in explaining that behaviour. British archaeologists M Shanks, C Tilley, D Miller and Ian Hodder argued that every archaeologist is in fact biased by his or her personal experience and background, and thus truly scientific archaeological work is difficult or impossible. The different approaches to archaeological evidence which every person brings to his or her interpretation result in different constructs of the past for each individual. The

normative model is often criticized as being mainly descriptive. It does not explain why a certain cultural norm exists, but rather describes that it exists. The normative model fitted well with an archaeology which was largely concerned with simply collecting data.

The goals of archaeology were, in fact, the goals of anthropology, which were to answer questions about humans, and human society, which were to answer questions about humans and human society³⁰. This was a critique of the former period in archaeology, the culture-historical phase in which archaeologists thought that any information which artefacts contained about past people and past ways of life was lost once the items became included in the archaeological record. All that could be done was to catalogue, describe, and create timelines based on the artefacts³¹. Cultural evolutionists argued that they can understand past cultural systems through the remains they left behind.

White argued that culture can be defined as the extra-somatic (outside the body) means of environmental adaptation for humans.³² In other words, they study cultural adaptation to environmental change rather than the bodily response over a generation, which is dealt with by evolutionary biologists. This focus on environmental adaptation is based on the cultural ecology and multi-linear evolution ideas of anthropologists such as Julian Steward. Cultural changes happen in a predictable framework and seek to understand it by the analysis of its components. Moreover,

³⁰ Willey and Phillips, 1958.

³¹ Trigger, 1989.

³² White, 1959.

since that framework is predictable then science is the key to unlocking how those components interacted with the cultural whole³³. Lewis Binford argued that ethno-historical information was necessary to facilitate an understanding of archaeological context³⁴. Ethno-historical (history of peoples) research involves living and studying the life of those who would have used the artefacts - or at least a similar culture.

Alfred L. Kroeber describes the spread of cultural items — such as ideas, styles, religions languages, technologies etc. — between individuals, whether within a single culture or from one culture to another. It is distinct from the diffusion of innovations within a single culture³⁵. Inter-cultural diffusion can happen in many ways. Migrating populations will carry their culture with them. Ideas can be carried by trans-cultural visitors, such as merchants, explorers, soldiers, diplomats, slaves, and hired artisans. Technology diffusion has often occurred by one society tempting skilled workers by payments or other stimulus. It is possible to document archaeologically a series of cultural changes reflecting indigenous cultural developments from prehistoric to historic periods.

The foreign influence is equally strong in sculptures, jewellery, gems, coins, metal ware, ceramics etc., for example, limitation of space forbids us to discuss the precise and ultimate origin of many antiquities and motifs in the Gandharan art of Taxila. Culture generally develops or evolves in a uniform and progressive manner, most of the societies pass through the same series of stages, to arrive ultimately at a common

³³ Trigger, 1989.

³⁴ Binford, 1962.

³⁵ Kroeber, 1940.

end. The sources of culture change were generally assumed to be embedded within the culture from the beginning, and therefore the ultimate course of development was thought to be internally determined³⁶.

According to Tylor the culture evolves from the simple to the complex, and that all societies passed through the three basic stages: from savagery through barbarism to civilization. Cultural traits may spread from one society to another by simple diffusion - the borrowing by one culture of a trait belonging to another as the result of contact between the two. Cultural traits transferred from one society to another, through migration, trade, war, or other contact³⁷.

The independent invention of a culture trait can occur at the same time within widely separated societies where there is limited control of individual members, allowing them freedom to create a unique style, a link such as genetic relationship is still suspected³⁸. Boas emphasized that culture traits should not be viewed casually, but in terms of a relatively unique historical process that proceeds from the first introduction of a trait until its origin becomes obscure. He sought to understand culture traits in terms of two historical processes, diffusion and modification. Lewis Henry Morgan argued that social change involved both independent invention and diffusion.

In spite of the fact that diffusion has its roots in anthropology, archaeology, and cultural geography, in all of these areas, research involves observing societies.

³⁶ E. B. Tylor, 1871.

³⁷ Winthrop, 1991.

³⁸ Boas 1938

how they can be influenced to innovate, and predicting the results of such innovation (Hugill 1996). The most profound changes in Kushan royalty result from direct, aggressive contact with Indian societies. Ecological anthropology investigates the ways that a population shapes its environment and the subsequent manners in which these relations form the population's social, economic, and political life³⁹.

Gandhara art, also called 'Graeco-Buddhist' or 'Graeco-Romano-Buddhist art', received a great impetus when the dynasty of Kushans came into power. But there is no reason to presume, as many have done, that the Kushans were the creators of this art. As a matter of fact, the roots of this art, however flimsy, go back to the days when the Indus-Greeks and the Phil-Hellenistic Scythians and Parthians were ruling in this region from the beginning of the second century BCE to the middle of the first century CE.⁴⁰ Earliest Gandharan sculptures are in the form of a group of small round stone dishes of varied sizes, called toilet trays found from all-over Gandhara. The Kushan rulers were themselves patrons of arts, as is evident from their own statues and galleries of art, and so they were to a great extent responsible for the development and efflorescence of Gandhara art. It is very likely that foreign artists displayed their talents in the north-west at the command of their patrons, though some productions might have been the results of their inner urge consequent to their acceptance of

³⁹ Salzman and Attwood 1996.

⁴⁰ John Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge: 1960, pp. 17-32.

Buddhism. Both Gandhara and Mathura schools of art originated earlier and lingered on even after the end of the Kushans.⁴¹

The statues of Siva and his consort Parvati, Visnu and his consort Laksmi, Brahma, Agni with Ayudhapurusa, Balarama, Svamikarttika and Ganesa. Kubera, as usual, also figures prominently enjoying his *asava* (drink). There are also other female divinities in different forms: Vasundhara, Katyayani, Mahisasuramardini, and Gajalaksmi. Statues of Nagas are also portrayed in the Gandhara art of the Kushan period. One also finds Bacchanalian scenes depicting eroticism and nudity. Nude or semi-nude female figures in the company of their lovers are shown in a sensuous manner with trees and birds like parrots. According to Coomaraswamy these female figures are not girls but Yaksis, devatas. Architectural *pieces-toranas*, friezes, railings, cross-bars, basements, pillar-slabs, door jambs, capitals, *urdhva-pattas* are significant of the once existing structures of the Kushan period. Besides these, the terracotta and stucco pieces of this period also deserve notice. These suggest experimentation with the same motifs in a different idiom. Moulds were prepared and the earthen stuff was baked. These baked toys were meant for children, but are equally important for an appraisal of the cultural life of the Kushan period.

The art of Gandhara is essentially religious. They developed irregularly, changed slowly, and touched vast areas of the Asian continent. Aryan invaders from the Iranian plateau entered the Indus valley in ca. 1500 BCE bringing civilization, the

⁴¹ B. N. Puri, p. 178.

Sanskrit language, and the Vedic religion to sub-continent. Brahmanism, which unified Vedic beliefs in personified, natural phenomena into an abstract religion, became the dominant religious force in Pakistan and India and also gave structure to Indian society. However, the Jain and Buddhist faiths developed in Gandhara in 2nd to 5th century CE as a reaction to the inflexible Brahmanic caste. Buddhism, because it grew to develop two distinctive forms (Theravada, "the Lesser Vehicle"; Mahayana, "the Greater Vehicle") and incorporated the Brahmanic pantheon, had the most influence on art. Archaeologists have uncovered ancient cities of Taxila and a variety of objects and tools made from stone, metal, ivory, and pottery.

1.4 Previous Research on the Kushans and Gandhara art

Archaeologists have made suggestions about the Buddhist art of Gandhara, its geography, culture and other various aspects during different time of period. Cunningham proposed its golden age in the time of the Kushan ruler Kanishka and his successors.⁴² Fergusson placed its flourishing period about 400 CE., and its duration from the 1st century BCE till the 5th century CE.⁴³ V. A. Smith, distinguishing the Hellenistic from the Roman, dated its culmination between 50 CE to 150 CE.⁴⁴ Both Grunwedel and Foucher suggested its beginning in the 1st century BCE., but the former placed its brightest period in the 4th century CE.⁴⁵

⁴² Cunningham, *ASR*, III, p. 39.

⁴³ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, 1876, pp. 181-2.

⁴⁴ V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, 2nd ed., pp. 52-53.

⁴⁵ Grunwedel and Foucher, *Buddhistische Kunst*, 1890, p. XIV, while the latter proposed its efflorescence in the 1st century CE and its decline in the second half of that century *L'art Greco-Bouddhique*, II, p. 496.

Coomaraswamy put the flourishing period of Gandhara art in the time of Kaniska.⁴⁶ Rowland drew stylistic comparisons between Roman art and that of Gandhara, and suggested the beginning of the latter after the middle of the first century CE. and placed its flourishing period between the end of the first till the beginning of the fourth century CE.⁴⁷

According to Marshall, it originated in the last century before the Christian era, but did not attain maturity until the advent of the Kushans in the second half of the first century CE.⁴⁸ It was at its zenith in the second century, declined a little in the reign of Vasudeva, and came to an abrupt end with his death and the eclipse of the Kushan empire in India.⁴⁹ In his work on 'Gandhara Art' he suggests that there were two distinct schools of art in Gandhara, the earlier of which was flourishing in the first and second centuries of the Christian era, and the second in the latter part of the fourth and fifth centuries. These two schools were sharply distinguished not only by the widely different character of their art but also by the different materials which their sculptors employed, namely, stone in the case of the earlier school, lime-stucco in that of the latter. It is with the earlier only of these two schools that we are here concerned.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 53.

⁴⁷ Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 75.

⁴⁸ Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, p. 17.

⁴⁹ Marshall, *JRAS*, April 1947, p. 16.

⁵⁰ Marshall, *Taxila I*, p. xv.

Sir John Marshall began to dig the urban and Buddhist centres in Taxila in a series of excavations between 1913 and 1934.⁵¹ Marshall used a much more scientific approach in his archaeological excavations and kept accurate records of his finds. While Marshall's archaeological methodology might seem inadequate when compared to modern practices, his activities mark a turning point for our understanding of the Gandharan art tradition. His detailed excavation reports of the sites in Taxila remain important for understanding the region.

Ghirshman proposed a very short period for Gandhara art, with its beginning in the first century CE, apex in the second half of the second century CE followed by stabilization, and finally decay in the second half of the third century CE.⁵² Bachhofer had earlier suggested that this school had probably not come into existence in the middle of the first century CE.⁵³ Harold Ingholt suggests that activity in Gandhara art

⁵¹ J. Marshall: *Archaeological Guide to Taxila*, 4th ed. (Jodhpur: Scientific Publishers, 1960; reprint, 1985); *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara: The Story of the Early school, Its Birth, Growth, and Decline* (Cambridge: Dept. of Archaeology in Pakistan, University Press, 1960); "Excavation at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1928-29* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933); "Excavation at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1929-30* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1935); "Excavations at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1912-13* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1916); "Excavations at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1915-16* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1918); *Excavations at Taxila. The Stupas and Monasteries at Jaulian*, vol. 7, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1921); "Exploration at Taxila 1930-34," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the Years 1930-31, 1931-32, 1932-33 & 1933-34* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1936); "Greeks and Sakas in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1947); "Northern Circle: Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1923-24* (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1926); "Northern Circle: Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1924-25* (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1927); "Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1926-27* (Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1930).

⁵² Ghirshman, *Begram*, pp. 153-54.

⁵³ Bachhofer, *J.AOS*, Dec. 1941, quoted by Marshall, *op cit.*, p. 6.

is stressed even after the Sassanian conquest about 250 CE.⁵⁴ Absolute dating of the Gandhara sculptures is seldom possible. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw gave different views on the Gandhara art and its classifications.⁵⁵

Gandhara art in its origin is a mixture of Graeco-Roman and Indian forms that for a period from the second century to the fourth century of the Christian era, gave way to a definitely classical style, and finally it became completely Indian.⁵⁶ It is also proposed that iconographic ally Gandhara art is almost a local phase of Hellenistic and not Roman art, the latter one being only the cousin of the Indian counterpart and not its parent.⁵⁷ It is, therefore, described as an eastern expansion of Hellenistic civilization mixed with Indian elements, or as others would call it, a western expansion of Indian culture in a foreign garb. Hellenistic motifs are no doubt accepted as a part of Gandhara art. Some objects of unquestioned foreign origin, found in the Gandhara region, include the statue of Dionysius from Taxila, and steatite plaques or cosmetic trays found in large number in Taxila. All the sculptures are Buddhist, and the figure of the Buddha dominates every conception. All the scholars who have contributed on Art have noticed foreign influence on Gandhara. Buchthal argue that the creation of the Buddha image stands at the beginning of its development, namely the break-away with the traditional selection, and was the earliest sign of Roman influence in India. Peaceful contact between Rome and the East was one of the foremost aims of Imperial trade policy. From the middle of the first century CE

⁵⁴ H. Ingholt, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, Pantheon, New York: 1957.

⁵⁵ Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, pp. 75 ff.

⁵⁶ Rowland, *Art Bulletin*, XVIII, 1936: p. 387.

⁵⁷ B. N. Puri, *Kusana Bibliography*, 1977: p. 181.

political conditions favoured the use of the overland route from the eastern Mediterranean *via* Palmyra, which was the shortest connection between Rome and India; and as this route gained its importance, the people of the Indus countries became acquainted with the products of Roman art.⁵⁸

The Gandhara School was only a continuation of the artistic tradition of the Dravidian nation, whose first known specimens came from Harappa and Mohenjodaro. The centre of this school seems to have been Hadda in the plains of Jalalabad and not in the Greek possession in the east. It was not even influenced by Greek models or ideals, and it flourished due to the patronage of the Kushan king Kanishka.⁵⁹ Rowland Benjamin suggests on the basis of the stylistic testimony of the objects that the Gandhara School in its origin was a mixture of Graeco-Roman and Indian forms and for a period from the second to the fourth century it gave way to a definitely classic style. This strongly Roman-Palmyrene style is submerged in the last phase of Graeco-Buddhist art, in a completely Indian type of sculpture corresponding to the work of the Gupta period.⁶⁰ Gordon made reference, in his paper, to this principal deity of Gandhara from the third century BCE to a late third century of the Christian era and to figures on all terracotta objects from Taxila and sites in the Peshawar district.⁶¹ Dar interpreted that Gandhara art represents an age and its sculptures represent only one facet of a complex civilization which arose under

⁵⁸ Buchthal, *The Foundations for a Chronology of Gandhara Sculpture*, Transactions of the Oriental Ceramic Society, XIX.

⁵⁹ Heras H. The Origin of the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Gandhara, JBBRAS, XII, pp. 71-97.

⁶⁰ Rowland Benjamin. *A Revised Chronology of Gandhara Sculptures*, The Art Bulletin, XVIII, pp. 387-400 with 20 illustrations.

⁶¹ Gordon D. H.: 'The Mother Goddess of Gandhara', *Antiquity*, XI, pp. 70-80 : 2 illustrations.

different, often diametrically opposed cultural strains emanating from different directions.⁶² Hallade's work is divided into the following parts-Introduction (The Geographical Nature of the Region and its relations with the Exterior), Historical Events and Cultural ties, their influence on Art, the Art of Gandhara, Schist School: The Stucco Schools, Evolution of Indo-Sassanian Art, Relationships between Gandharan or Irano Buddhist Art and other Indian styles, with Appendix.⁶³ A. H. Dani also wrote on Gandhara art, its geography, culture and other aspects.

Cunningham suggested that there was a small body of Bactrian artists who found employment among the wealthy Buddhists at Mathura.⁶⁴ According to Foucher, the Mathura school, far from being a direct and earlier expression of Greek influence, received its classical inspiration indirectly through Gandhara.⁶⁵ Vincent Smith expressed the view that the Mathura sculptures have very little in common with those of Gandhara,⁶⁶ while Coomaraswamy has mentioned that sculptures showing traces of Hellenistic influences, taken together, constitute a very small fraction of the whole production of this school.⁶⁷ According to Tarn, whenever Mathura received Greek artistic influences it is idle to suppose that people did not know what the Greeks were doing.⁶⁸ J. M. Rosenfield has made a study of the Royal portraits, Kushan and Iranian, and also of stylistic and iconographic aspects of the Gandhara Imperial

⁶² Saifur-Rahman Dar, *Taxila & the Western world*, 1998, p. 99.

⁶³ Hallade, M.: *The Gandhara Style and the Evolution of Buddhist Art*, translated from the French by Diane Imber, 1968.

⁶⁴ Cunningham, *ASR*, I, pp. 231-244; III, pp. 13, 146; XVII, pp. 107-112.

⁶⁵ Foucher, *L'art Graeco-Bouddhique*, I, p. 222.

⁶⁶ Vincent Smith, *A History of Fine Art*, p. 43.

⁶⁷ Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 60.

⁶⁸ Tarn, *Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 404.

portraits.⁴² Benjamin Rowland proposed that the Kushan art in Gandhara influence behind the manufacture and installation of portrait statues in Gandhara was due to the Kushans knowledge of the Roman practice of erecting likenesses of the deified Caesars or the Parthian practice of commemorating their sovereigns.⁴³

Vogel narrated that the type cannot be derived from any known class of images in Gandhara. It is a product of the native school and related to the indigenous tradition. The artists were not experimenting with the data supplied from Gandhara.⁴⁴ Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw presumes several stages in the development of Buddhist art in Gandhara on the basis of stylistic development of the Buddha-Bodhisattva from a symmetrical garment to fan-like draperies, from covered feet and legs to uncovered ones, and from indication of the hair by the technique of semi-circular lines to that of snail-shell curls. According to her, the Gandhara sculptures, taken as a whole, have a very small fraction of Hellenistic influence.⁴⁵ The famous scholar A.H. Dani, on the basis of his own researches in Gilgit, opines that the Buddha image originated neither at Gandhara nor at Mathura. The real Buddha image originated out of a stupa shape in Chilas area near Gilgit. The debate still continues though in a low profile. Farid Khan, based on the excavations in Udyana and Gandhara has concluded that the Hellenistic features in Gandhara art need not be taken as its earliest phase.

⁴² Rosenfield, *Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, ch. VII and VIII.

⁴³ Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 92.

⁴⁴ Vogel, *The Mathura School of Sculpture*, ASI, An. Rep., p. 66.

⁴⁵ Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, p. 229.

Pushpa Tiwari has made an analytical survey of the existing specimens found from Gandhara and Mathura so as to make a comparative study of the material found from both the places and then come to a conclusion. She has also presented her views of scholars belonging to two different groups: one favouring Gandhara as the producer of the first Buddha image and the other supporting Mathura as the creator of the first human figure of the Master. Yet, the important point, which has emerged out of the discovery of new material at Chilas, which lies on the Karakoram highway, is that they suggest the pre-Kushan origin of the Buddha image.⁴⁶

1.5 Research Objectives

The narrative stone sculptures, decorative reliefs, or images of Gandhara are an important tool with the help of one can understand the various aspects of the Kushan's multiethnic blend of many culture, history, architecture, and religion. Gandharan studies in general and studies of Gandhara art in particular have traditionally been, and continue to be, dominated by archaeologists and art historians. In fact, until very recently materials falling within the purview of these fields - mainly artistic and archaeological remains, including stone sculpture, inscriptions and coins - were nearly all that we had at our disposal for the study of Gandhara art. Images carved in the sculpture workshops of this ancient realm are among the most expressive and influential in the history of Buddhist art of Gandhara. Scholars have

⁴⁶ Pushpa Tiwari, *The origin of Buddha image: some reflections on the problem*.

often tried to force evidence into orderly configurations that fit their own presumption.

The present study focused mainly on the Gandharan Buddhist tradition as documented in art, archaeology, and epigraphy. Evidence comes mainly from the region around the Taxila. This was once the chief city of the ancient state of Gandhara and, for a while, a centre of Kushan power. Hundreds of sculptures were discovered at ruined Buddhist sanctuaries in and around Taxila; most had been carved in hybrid styles that combined Indian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Parthian elements as evidenced by the results of excavations at Taxila. In fact, men and women in Central Asian dress are often depicted as devotees in Buddhist sculpture found throughout the region. It was during the early reign of Kanishka that traces of Kushans impact over Gandhara art could be seen. It is of course difficult to determine the geographical boundaries of Gandhara as they have always been shifting. Taxila, once the capital of Gandhara kingdom, was famous for higher education and its colourful woollen products. As a trade centre it was connected by trade route to almost all important cities of North India. The art and architecture of Gandhara continued to develop till the 7th century CE.

Keeping in mind the figurative and narrative sculptures, the following research objectives are formulated to achieve:

1. To know the socio-cultural aspects of the people of the Kushan period as gleaned from Gandharan figurative sculptures.

2. To study the architectural pattern of the Gandhara people as they depicted on material remains.

3. To understand the mental picture behind Gandhara art as well as their cultural descriptions.

4. To identify the theme that sculptors supplied the personnel and the background in accordance with the requirements of the texts.

5. To study the life scenes, from amongst their society and environment, as shown on the narrative sculptures.

6. To determine the indigenoussness of the items found in the area of Gandhara and it's surroundings.

7. To identify the socio-religious characteristics portrayed on Gandharan sculptures.

I would discuss those pieces of evidence that come from excavations in the region of Taxila and Gandhara. I have applied integrated approach to address the problem in which the epigraphic, numismatic, and art-historical data may be studied. I think that the Indian connection or similarity of early Gandharan art has generally been underestimated by scholars. I believe that there was an eastern Hellenistic school of art that was characterized by patterns of most likely that spread over Gandhara in pre-Kushan times, lasting in the Northwest during the first century of our era.

The Gandhara region located in the northwest frontier province and Taxila was the centre of a flourishing Buddhist tradition between the 2nd century BCE and the 6th century CE. Inhabitants of this area became wealthy through international trade, as objects were exchanged among India, China, and the Mediterranean. Exchange of luxury goods brought streams of foreign traders into this already culturally diverse region, and it is this mix of different ethnic group and ideas that makes the study of Gandhara both multifaceted and interesting. In this flourishing environment, many large Buddhist complexes were built at the beginning of the Common Era. Works of art, also produced in great quantity, reflect south Asian tastes and religious ideology filled with western characteristics. The people who lived in Gandhara embraced this multicultural blend and over time creatively recontextualized outside forms and ideas to suit their own needs and interests.

The development of Gandhara art and architecture in and around Taxila valley, an extensive range of structures and figurative stone/stucco sculptures, also offer exemplary model for the study of the larger south Asian Buddhist tradition. It was in Gandhara that some of the earliest anthropomorphic images of the Buddha were created as a complement to worship practices centered on relics.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study of the life of the people of the Gandhara and Taxila valley during the historic period, as depicted in the sculptures, tries to bring out the contemporary rich

material culture and finally, tries to corroborate the archaeological data with literary one.

This study is very useful for the student of Ancient history and culture of the region, Art, Archaeology, Anthropology, and Sociology etc. The general reader may find this study as most important part to their knowledge.

Although a lot of literature on Taxila has already been published a lot still is desired to be written about it. Recent discoveries of last three and a half decades already indicate that the whole area needs to be re-explored and the huge material already at our disposal to be re-interpreted.

CHAPTER 2

THE KUSHAN EMPIRE IN CONTEXT

The Kushan Empire in Context

The name Kushan appears regularly on coins as a suffix to the individual king's name. It also appears on inscriptions. Originally, the name was that of either a family or tribe; it became a national designation during the late first century B.C., when the nation of semi-nomads was unified under the rule of a single chieftain who is known in Chinese sources⁴⁷ as the Kuei-shuang-wang (Ruler of the Kuei-shuang [= the

⁴⁷ The most important sources of Chinese records concerning the Kushans is: General Chang-ch'ien (active 140 B.C. until his death 114 B.C.). This fearless officer was sent westward primarily to secure the aid of the Yüeh-chih in defeating the Hsiung-nu, arch-enemies of the Chinese on their western border. He spent 13 years among these and other tribes and in 128 B.C. visited the Yüeh-chih. His reports were incorporated as Chapter 123 in the *Shih-chih* (Historical Records) begun by Ssu-ma T'an (died 110 B.C.) and completed by his son Sse-ma Ch'ien about 110-90 B.C. See Chavannes' translation of the *Shih-chih* as *Les Memoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*; see also Hirth, *JAOS* 1917, pp. 89 ff.

The History of the Former Han (*Ch'ien Han-shu*) was compiled chiefly by Pan-ku (A.D. 32- 92) around A.D. 80. Based on research done by his father Pan-piao, who died A.D. 54, it repeats parts of the western adventures of Chang-ch'ien. See A. Wylie, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, X (1881), XI (1882).

The History of the Later Han (*Hou Han-shu*) was not compiled until the fifth century by Fan-yeh (died A.D. 446). Much of the account of the western region, however, was based on a report by the General Pan-yung to the emperor made about A.D. 125 although some later information was added. This text also ventured to correct mistakes made by the *Ch'ien Han-shu*. Pan-yung's information was derived largely from the adventures of his father Pan-chao, who had been sent in A.D. 74 by the Emperor Hsien-tsung to pacify the tribes hostile to Chinese interests along the trade route through the Tarim basin and beyond the Pamirs. He wrote a memorial to the throne in A.D. 78 which is a priceless document of Chinese *real politik* (*Hou Han-shu* 77 .4a). He remained active until about 100, when he returned to China. His son was in the region from 124-127 but seems not to have had close contact with the Kushans. Pan-ch'ao had the most intimate knowledge of the Kusans of any identifiable source, yet the information coming from him or his son is vague regarding contemporary events outside the Tarim basin; only the treatment of the rise of Kujula and Virna deals specifically with events at the heart of the Kushanshahr. See Chavannes, *T'oung Pao*, VIII (1907), pp. 149-243; also in *T'oung Pao*, VII (1906), pp. 210-269.

Kushans]). The only earlier name by which the nation can be called is the Chinese Yüeh-chih. The Hou Han-shu⁴⁸ remarks that the Chinese continued to call these people the Ta (Great) Yüeh-chih after many other countries called them the Kuei-shuang-wang (King[dom] of the Kushans).

The name Kushan never appears in the Puranas, Mahabharata, or other historical sources. These people must have been denoted by variations of the word Tokhari, such as Tuskara, Tushara, Tukhara, Turushka.⁴⁹ The Puranas uniformly state that the number of Tukhara kings was fourteen, but the combined length of their rule varies widely. Classical Western sources mentioned one tribe of nomads, the Thocari, among the four or five nations, which conquered Bactria in the mid-second century BCE. The Chinese dynastic annals described the Yüeh-chih as entering this region at the same time. Thus it is often assumed that the Yüeh-chih and Thocari were the same people.⁵⁰ The discovery of Buddhist manuscripts of the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian Era, were written in a language now extinct but which scholars have labelled Tokhri or Tokharian.

Memoirs of *the Three Kingdoms* (*San Kuo-chih*) contains the histories of three post-Han states, that of Wei (220-268), Shu-han (221- 263), and Wu (222-280), compiled by Ch'en-shou (A.D. 233-297). Of these, the *Wei-chih* contains two important references to the Yüeh-chih. See Chavannes, T'oung Pao, V (1904), pp. 489 ff.; Frankel, Catalogue of Translations, p.11.

The Summary of Wei (*Wei-tsieh*) was composed between A.D. 239 and 265 by Yu-huan. The original text has been lost, but sections are quoted in P'ei Sung-chih's commentary on the *San Kuo-chih*, published in A.D. 429. See Chavannes, T'oung Pao, VI (1905), pp. 519-571; Levi, *JA*, 1897, pp. 14-20, and also *JA*, 1900, pp.451-468.

Much of the above survey was adapted from the papers of Zürcher and Pulleybank offered to the London Seminar, April, 1960; Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, Chapter VI; Konow, *IHQ*, XII (1933), pp. 1-46, with contributions by Karlgren. Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, fn. p. 281-82.

⁴⁸ Annals of the Later Han Dynasty (118.9a)

⁴⁹ Bailey, H. W., Transactions of the Philological Society, 1952, p. 64; Pargiter, *Purana Text*, pp. 45, 72.

⁵⁰ Maenchen-Helfen. *JAOS* 65 (1945) p. 72

The first lengthy inscription of the Kushans was excavated at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan. Written in cursive Greek script, it dates from probably the early or middle second century of the Christian era. It has been edited and partly translated by the late Andre Maricq, whose analysis has in turn been emended by W. B. Henning. Since the language is largely unknown, a full translation of the text will be a lengthy and difficult task. Maricq called the language of the inscription Etéo-Tokharian chiefly on the grounds, as out-lined above, that it was found in the region called Tukharistan by Muslim and Chinese writers and that classical Western sources described a *Toxaroi* among nomadic invaders of this region in the second century BCE. Henning quickly challenged this nomenclature, saying that there is no evidence that it was the language of the invading *Toxaroi*, and maintained that it is yet impossible to decide whether this was the indigenous language of the area and adopted by the invaders or whether the Yüeh-chih brought it with them. In India, Kushan donatives inscriptions are invariably in an Indian language, usually mixed Sanskrit written in a Brahmi script in Gangetic India and in Kharoshthi to the northwest. Even in official donations, the Kushans did not use their own language in India. In any event, it can now be stated that the language of the Surkh Kotal inscriptions belongs to the Indo-European linguistic family, to the so-called Middle-Iranian group; it is the sixth such language for which a continuous text exists, related to such tongues as the Parthian, Sogdian, Khwarezmian, and the Saka dialects. Certain modern historians have said that racially the Kushans were of Mongolian

extraction,⁵¹ but in coin images and portrait carvings the features of the Indo-Scythians are primarily Caucasoid: narrow heads, prominent noses, abundant and heavy hair and beard, eyes without the Mongolian epicanthic fold, and without high cheek bones. Chinese sources indicate that among the Yüeh-chih there were even persons with red hair and blue eyes.⁵²

2.1 EARLY NOMADIC LIFE OF THE KUSHANS

The Yüeh-chih are first mentioned in recorded history as nomads who, early in the second century BCE., "moved along with their herds" in a district between Tun-huang and Mount Ch'i-lien, northwest of the modern Chinese province of Kansu. They fought with Huns and left the Chinese frontier. The Yüeh-chih then occupied the Sai lands in the valley of the Ili River and on the banks of Lake Issik-Kul. The Sai have been identified by some scholars as the Sakas who settled in the Swat Valley and Gandhara before the beginning of the Christian era.⁵³

The migration of the Yüeh-chih ended when, having passed through Ferghana, they reached the Amu Darya (Oxus River) and the more developed urban states of Central Asia: Bactria, Khwarezm and deep into present-day Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. It was also possibly linked with the mountain kingdom of Kashmir and

⁵¹ Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*. Vol. I, p. 7.

⁵² Phillips, *JA* 61 (1957), p 270

⁵³ Narain, *Indo-Greeks*, p. 135

the city-state of Khotan in the western Tarim Basin.⁵⁴ At no time, however, did that empire resemble a modern nation-state controlling a well-defined domain.⁵⁵ Later, they moved across the river and occupied Bactria itself. The details of this settlement in Bactria are sketchy, but it must have been of the greatest importance in the progressive adoption by the Yüeh-chih of complex modes of commercial and urban civilization established by the Hellenic kingdoms of the Indo-Greeks. The most tangible evidence of this process is the use of the Greek alphabet and possibly the language of the region by the Yüeh-chih, as suggested by the lengthy inscription from Surkh Kotal of the second century A.D.

2.2 The Kushan Kingdom

After having dwelled in Bactria⁵⁶ for about a hundred years, the Yüeh-chih came under the domination of one of the five constituent chiefs, the prince of the Kuei-

⁵⁴ Tarim Basin is lying between the Tien-shan and Kun-lun mountain ranges, this great natural basin, more than 2,400 km. in length, long served as the chief corridor of overland trade and communication between China and the West. More than half its area is impassable desert, but along the northern and southern edges of the desert was a series of flourishing oasis city-states. In the second century A.D., a strong wave of Indian Buddhist civilization swept through the area to the very gates of metropolitan China, coming largely from the areas of Kushan hegemony in northern India, Afghanistan, and Bactria. The city-states were converted largely to Buddhism; a Sanskrit language written in Kharoshthi script was used for official records; and the region exerted marked influence over the development of Buddhist art and religion in China.

⁵⁵ Rosenfield, *Gandharan Buddhism*, 2006, p. 9.

⁵⁶ Bactria (the modern Balkh), Situated between the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Amu Darya (Oxus River), having vast alluvial plains, abundant water, and a relatively moderate climate, Bactria was one of the chief centres of Iranian culture in Toran and important in the history of Zoroastrianism. In the mid-third century BCE it became the seat of the independent Greek kingdom which extended northward into Sogdiana and ultimately deep into the Indian subcontinent. The conquest of Bactria by nomads, including the Yüeh-chih, about 140 BCE. Balkh was one of the basic centres of Kushan polity and an important Buddhist town.

shuang, who attacked and destroyed the other four divisions, became a king, and gave his clan or dynastic name to the nation as a whole.⁵⁷

2.2.1 Kujula Kadphises

The man who engineered the policy of unification is called Qiu-jiu-que named in the Chinese Later Han Chronicle (*Hou Han Shu*)⁵⁸. According to the Chinese source, Qiu-jiu-que, leader of the Kushan clan, conquered and unified the Great Yuezhi tribes and invaded the territory of the Indo-Parthians, the Kabul Valley, Gandhara and Kashmir before dying at the age of eighty.⁵⁹ It is also generally agreed that this must be the person denoted on the early Kushan copper coins as ΚΑΔΑΦΕΣ, ΚΑΔΦΙΖΟΥ. . . in Greek, as Kujula Kadaphasa in Kharoshthi. This was the beginning of Kushan dynastic history as such, the point where numismatic evidence and the Chinese annals supplement and confirm each other.⁶⁰ His coins are important in establishing the character of his rule. Kujula should have apparently issued a joint coin with one of the last known Indo-Greek princes, the final seat of whose power was probably in Kabul, has been a source of much speculation, because this could be a basic junction point in the historical pattern.

⁵⁷ Hou Han-shu 118.9a

⁵⁸ The story of Qiu-jiu-que and his son was included in the Later Han Chronicle on the basis of the report of the activities in Chinese Turkestan (Xinjiang) AD 73-107 of the Chinese general Ban Chao, as recorded by his son Ban Yong before he also became a general in Central Asia in AD 126. see Zürcher, 1968.

⁵⁹ <http://www.griferrcc.com>

⁶⁰ Pelliot, JA 1914, p. 401.

A few full-length ruler portraits also appear among the coins of the Sakas, the Indo-Scythian predecessors of the Kushans in northern India—those of Maues and Azes I. These coins are symptomatic of revolutionary changes in the concept of kingship which greatly affected the social and artistic life of the region. Seated prince Kujula Kadphises coins are rare type however, seventy-eight specimens were found at Sirkap city in Taxila, where they must have been minted.⁶¹ Bull and camel are imperial epithets on coins positively attributed to Kujula. These animal types are markedly within the coinage tradition of the region. Extremely rare silver coin, bearing Bust of king on obverse and Kharoshthi inscription on the reverse, has been found at Sirkap, Taxila.

2.2.2 Vima Taktu (Soter Megas)

The name Vima Taktu, father of Vima Kadphises, was first time confirmed when a new inscription of fundamental importance was discovered in 1993 by chance at a site named Rabatak, a few miles to the north-west of Surkh Kotal, on the road from Pul-i Khumri to Aybak in Afghanistan. The most startling revelation of the Rabatak inscription is the previously unrecognised Kushan king, Vima I Tak[to], whose position among the early Kushan kings is clearly indicated. Now that we know his name we can recognize his portrait sculpture, and his name in two other stone inscriptions and on several coins which were previously associated with the king identified in this inscription as his son Vima II Kadphises. He can also be recognized

⁶¹ Marshall, Taxila, pp. 78, 840.

as the anonymous issuer of the Kushan "Soter Megas" coins. Their family relationships are also described: great grandfather Kujula Kadphises, grandfather Vima Takto, father Vima Kadphises.⁶²

The coins of the anonymous king Soter Megas "The Great Saviour", which come between Kujula and Vima Kadphises in the numismatic sequence, should also be attributed to this newly-discovered "Vima the First".⁶³ His portrait sculpture is the massive stone figure of a seated king found during the excavations of the Mat sanctuary, near Mathura. It can be identified as his portrait on the basis of its inscription, which calls him *Vima Tak . . .* (in Brahmi). He is also the Vima of the Dasht-e Nawur inscription, where he is named Oohmo Tak... (in Bactrian).⁶⁴

His name appears on three different groups of coins. The first are the bull and camel coins with the name *Vema* (in Kharoshthi).⁶⁵ The second consists of two coins of the "Soter Megas" type, with both Greek and Kharoshthi inscriptions. The Greek has the usual anonymous inscription, but on an example in the Lahore Museum and on another in the British Museum the king's name *Vema* has been added to the end of the Kharoshthi inscription. The third series is represented by a single coin, now in the British Museum, but published almost a hundred years ago.⁶⁶ For the first time we have a firm structure for the history of the early Kushan kings, affirming Kanishka's direct connection to the Kushan kings before him. According to the Chinese source,

⁶² Sims-Williams, *Recent discoveries in the Bactrian language and their historical significance*, 2003.

⁶³ Sim William, 2003.

⁶⁴ Sims-Williams, *Recent discoveries in the Bactrian language and their historical significance*, 2003.

⁶⁵ Joe Cribb, 1981.

⁶⁶ Smith, 1898, no., VII

he succeeded his father Qiu-jiu-que as Kushan king and went on to add India to the Kushan realm.⁶⁷ The role of Vima I Tak[tol the Kushan king who added India to the Kushan realm is supported by his apparent role at Mathura, deep within Indian territory.⁶⁸

2.2.3 Vima Kadphises

The Kushans overthrew the Saka-Parthian princes and established an empire which became one of the world's greatest and most distinguished both from the point of view of territory as well as cultural and religious achievements. The Kushan ruler who Conquered Gandhara was Vima Kadphises. The Kushan rule, however, did not completely eliminate the Sakas from Gandhara. They had permanently settled down in these areas in large numbers and continued to be governed by their princes who simply extended loyalty to the Kushan kings.

The Hou-Han-Shu – 'Annals of the Later Han Dynasty' suggests that Yen-Kao-Chen (Wima Kadphises) again conquered India and appointed a general there for administering it. A hoard of coins discovered at Sirkap,⁶⁹ consisting of coins of Gondo-phernes, Pacores and Kujula Kadphises that Kujula's dominions east of the Indus were lost, and later on were reconquered by Wima Kadphises.⁷⁰ The conquest implied in the Chinese account and attributed to Wima Kadphises seems to be a further extension of his father's empire and not a reconquest of the territory lost of

⁶⁷ Zürcher, 1981.

⁶⁸ Joe Cribb, 1981

⁶⁹ 2nd ancient city of Taxila

⁷⁰ Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, 'The Scythian Period, pp. 375-376.

which there is no evidence.⁷¹ He further suggests that the description of the country given in the Hou-Han-Shu seems to point to the Indus country. Tien-Chu, also called Shen-tu, refers to Sindh, the ancient stronghold of the Saka empire in India.⁷²

It is proposed by several scholars that the reconquest of the Indus region, if the translation is liberal, might be suggestive of the second Saka conquest noticed in the Kalakachrya- kathanaka.⁷³ Although scholars take this point with varying degrees of seriousness, it has been used to demonstrate among other things that a King Kanishka ruled in India before Vima and that the Kushans took India from the Parthians, who had taken it from the Sakas; thus the Kushans and Sakas were such close kinsmen that the Kushans saw this as a reconquest.⁷⁴

Significant innovation occurred during the time of Vima: the introduction of a regular gold coinage into this region. Not since the occasional issues of the Greco-Bactrian kings had gold been minted there, silver being the chief metal for valuable coins.⁷⁵ After Vima the Kushans minted basically in gold and copper. A few pieces of Kushan silver occur-mint trial pieces, experimental issues, or forgeries-but no major issues in that metal at all.⁷⁶ The use of gold gave to the coins of the Kushans the

⁷¹ Sten Konow, *CII*, II(i), p. lxvii.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. lxvii

⁷³ Bhau Daji, *The Inroads of the Scythians into India, and the story of Kalakacharya*, 1872, p. 139.

⁷⁴ Kenddy, *JRAS*, 1913, p. 927; Bachhofer, *JAOS*, 61 (1941), p. 250; Know strongly insisted upon the Saka-Kushan kinship, 1933, pp 34-5.

⁷⁵ Greco-Bactrian kings issuing gold were: Diodotos (?); Euthydemus I, Eukratides I, who minted a unique twenty-stater medallion, the largest gold coin of antiquity; and possibly Menander. See Narain, *Indo-Greek*, p. 62.

⁷⁶ There is a unique small gold coin weighing only 3.4 grains in the Lahore Museum, bearing the Kharoshthi legend Athamasa; it is similar in type to the issues of Azes and Azilises. (Whitehead, *PMC*, p. 145.)

highest possible value and prestige. It was prima-facie proof of the economic power of the throne and a direct product of the great commercial prosperity on which the flowering of the arts in the empire was based.⁷⁷

The weight standard used for these coins has played a vital role in discussions of Kushan history, since it offers important insights into matters of chronology and the economic relations between the Kushan and Roman states.⁷⁸ One argument for an "early" dating of the Kushan dynasty has been the apparent relationship of the Kushan standard to that of Augustus early in his reign.⁷⁹ A similar argument for a "later" dating has been that these gold coins of Vima are said to conform to a weight standard adopted by Titus.⁸⁰ The Kushan standard remained fixed throughout the life of the dynasty at about 123.2 English grains (about 8.0 grams) as a rough average; the Roman standard was rarely stable, but rather followed a descending scale of weights from the gold issues.⁸¹

Much of the prosperity of the Kushan Empire must have rested on its trade with the West, for its merchants served as middlemen taking cargoes coming from China when they entered the Kushanshahr from the Tarim basin. The cargoes were carried through Bactria and overland through Iran, or across the Paropamisadae to the upper Indus, where either they were floated on rafts down to the mouth of the river or they

⁷⁷ R. Gobl, "Die Munzprägung der Kushan von Vima Kadphises bis Bahram IV," p. 174

⁷⁸ Cunningham, NC, 1888, pp. 218-221. The problems of the metrology of Kushan coins are reviewed by J. N. Banerjea in *A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 792-796.

⁷⁹ Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, p. 20.

⁸⁰ E. g., Rapson, *Sources of Indian History: Coins*, p. 18.

⁸¹ Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, p. 20.

continued overland via Mathura and Ujjayini to Barygaza and other ports on the west coast. From there the goods went either to the head of the Persian Gulf to Roman stations in the Red Sea for transshipment to the ultimate consumers in Alexandria, Rome, or other Western centres.⁸² Trade in luxury goods flowed in an easterly direction as well, as shown by the princely treasure of Begram or the finds of Roman pottery, bulk wine vessels, and bronze figurines in South India.⁸³

A diverse characterization emerges on the coins of Vima, aged man with a large nose, a wart on his left cheek, and a spade-shaped beard with mustache—a most formidable person. There is little variation in these portraits, all seeming to be roughly of the same age level in contrast to the apparent aging of the royal features on Huvishka's coins. On the reverses, there is but one deity or his symbols, not labelled but identified by similarity with later Kushan coins as Siva.⁸⁴

The hoards of Roman gold and silver coins from the first century onward found in all parts of India are only remnants of the vast amount of bullion that flowed from Rome to India; embassies often bringing exotic gifts from India and Bactria visited Rome under Augustus⁸⁵, Hadrian⁸⁶, and again under Antoninus.⁸⁷

⁸² Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman empire and India*, pp. 6-34; Wheeler, *op. cit.*, pp. 140 ff.

⁸³ Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, p. 21.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ Augustus (63 BC–AD 14) First Emperor of Rome, born Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus; great-nephew, adopted son and heir of Julius Caesar. With Antony and Lepidus he emerged victorious in the civil war against Brutus and Cassius, after Caesar's murder. He broke with Antony and defeated him at Actium in 31 BC; offered sole command in Rome, he brought peace and prosperity to the empire, over which he effectively ruled from 27 BC until his death.

2.2.4 Kanishka the Great

The greatest ruler of the dynasty, Kanishka, successor of Vima, had adopted Buddhism and it was during his period that both Buddhist religion and Greek art reached their zenith which is known under the nomenclature of Gandhara Civilization. It was again during his regime and because of his efforts that Buddhism spread in Central Asia and China. This period is regarded as the most important in the history of Buddhism. When the great emperor Kanishka actively promoted the cause of Buddhism and essayed to play the part of a second Asoka, the devotion of the adherents of the favoured faith received an impulse which speedily resulted in the profuse production of artistic creations of no small merit. Under Kanishka the Kushan Empire probably reached the height of its power, becoming a mighty force in the world of its day.

Archaeological evidence of the prolonged presence of the Kushans has come from: Mathura, Taxila, Peshawar, Begram, and Surkh Kotal. The presence of the Kushans can also be traced throughout Gandhara, the Swat valley, and the Kabul region. Literary evidence makes their presence in Kashmir and Balkh, Afghanistan.

⁸⁶ Hadrian (AD 76–138) Roman emperor, adopted by Trajan as his son, whom he succeeded in 117. He abandoned the policy of eastern expansion in order to consolidate frontiers and initiated far-reaching military, legal and administrative reforms; his fortifications in Britain and Syria still stand. He travelled widely in the Empire, encouraging the spread of Greco-Roman civilization and culture.

⁸⁷ Marcus Antonius (c. 82–31) best known as Mark Antony. A member of a prominent Roman family, he became joint consul with Julius Caesar in 44 BC; after Antony's defeat of Caesar's assassins, Brutus and Cassius, at Philippi, he controlled the armies of the Eastern Empire; started liaison with Cleopatra; war broke out between him and Octavian, 32 BCE. He committed suicide after naval defeat at Actium.

Beyond this vast area of which one can speak with some confidence, there are important regions where it is not improbable for the Kushans to have ruled but for which the evidence is still questionable. Such areas include: Khwarezm, where Russian archaeological activity has produced an unconfirmed hypothesis of Kushan suzerainty during the first to the third centuries CE.; Ahicchatra, Kausambi, Sanchi, and Sarnath, where Mathura carvings inscribed with the names and/or dates of Kushan kings have been found; Malwa and Maharashtra, for which it has been speculated that the Kushans had an alliance with the Western Kshatrapas; Orissa, where local copper coins of the third to the fifth centuries imitated Kushan types and where substantial numbers of Great Kushan coins have been found; the western Tarim basin, in Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, where literary evidence has indicated cultural connections with the Yüeh-chih.

Kanishka's name not mentioned in the Pali Canon or in the regular Chinese dynastic histories (Chinese information about the king comes from less positive sources).⁸⁸ No mention of the name is to be found in the Puranas, nor has an historical cycle like that of the Asokavadana been preserved. He is mentioned in Tibetan sources in a vague and hazy manner, chiefly as the sponsor of a Buddhist Council in Kashmir; his name appears in a variety of Buddhist Central Asian documents in "Khotanese Saka, Tocharian of Kuci and Agni, Sogdian and Uigur Turkish texts."⁸⁹

⁸⁸ Konow, CII, p. lxxv.

⁸⁹ H.W. Bailey, London Conference, 1960.

Withal, the name has assumed a legendary aura, and it is possible to sense only in broad outline what the impact of his personality may have been in his own time.

Hsüan-tsang tells how the king emitted smoke and flame from his shoulders in order to suppress an evil nagaraja.⁹⁰ The Serpent King dwelled in a lake atop the Great Snowy Mountain 320 km. northwest of the royal city of Kapisa⁹¹ in Afghanistan. Its heart was filled with hatred, and six times it destroyed a monastery and stupa which Kanishka had built at the foot of the mountain. A final test of strength between king and demon proceeded; Kanishka summoned forth the fruits of the merits of his former births by which he had become a cakravartin, conqueror of Jambudvīpa, and from his shoulders came smoke and flames, and the naga fled. This tale has the ring of an authentic myth of regal powers because of the shoulder flames which appear in the coin portraits of the Kushan emperors. This is one of the main elements in the iconography of Kushan kingship.⁹² These jatka stories can be seen in Gandhara sculptures.

The basic form of this tale continued around Kabul at least as late as A.D. 1000. Alberuni recorded how King Kanik, who had built the great Kanik caitya of Purushāvāra (Peshawar), made war on the king of Kanoj because of the same insult, in this instance a footmark on a gift of cloth.⁹³ During this war the clever minister of the Indian king led Kanik's army into certain death in the desert, but miraculously Kanik

⁹⁰ Beal trans., Vol. I, pp. 62-66.

⁹¹ It is situated at the junction of the Panjshir and Ghorband rivers near the village of Begram, forty kilometers northeast of Kabul. It was the chief city of the Kushan.

⁹² Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, pp. 28-29.

⁹³ Alberuni, XLIX: Sachau trans. Vol. II, pp. 11-13.

brought water by striking the earth with his spear and at the same moment the hands and feet of the king of Kanoj were cut off, miles away from the spot.

2.2.5 Vasishka

Kanishka's successor was called Vasishka, possibly meaning "most vigorous, energetic."⁹⁴ Although no coins can be attributed to him and the evidence for his existence comes from but two inscriptions, the circumstances are such that a short reign of this king seems undeniable. He is mentioned with full imperial titles in an inscription in pure Sanskrit on the shaft of a Brahmanical sacrificial pillar erected at Isapur across the Jumna River from Mathura City.⁹⁵¹²¹ It is dated in the year 24 in the fourth month of summer; Kanishka's inscriptions stop in the year 23, the first month of summer.

The next epigraph attributed to Vasishka was found on an inscribed statue of an ornate Bodhisattva exported from Mathura to Sanchi. It bears full imperial epithets—but the name is spelled Vasashka—and is dated in the year 28, the first month of winter. However, on complex stylistic grounds, this statue must be attributed to a much later period.⁹⁶

From the northwest comes the other confirmation of Vasishka's status. It is the puzzling Ara inscription of the year 41, found on a stone inscribed in Kharoshthi

⁹⁴ Bailey, 1960.

⁹⁵ Voge, ASIR, 1910-11, pp. 40-48; Agrawala, Cat., 136-137.

⁹⁶ Rosenfield, 1961, p. 57.

which came to light near the Indus River not far south of Attock.⁹⁷ The stone marked the digging of a well during the reign of a King Kanishka, the son of Vajheshka, The word Vajheshka is interpreted as the Kharoshthi equivalent of Vasishka in Brahmi and of the Jushka in the Rajataramgini, and thus the king is thought to have been the father of a monarch who ruled about the year 41 of the Kanishka epoch.⁹⁸

2.2.6 Huvishkas

Huvishka's name mentioned in the inscriptions found from Mathura—the Huvishka vihara at Jamalpur—was named after him. Huvishka's reign somewhat more than thirty-six years is assured.⁹⁹ Inscription in Kharosthi found from Wardak, near Kabul mentioned the year 51.¹⁰⁰ Historical or literary sources contain only one mention of this king (the Rajataramgini), there are many traces of Huvishka in numismatic and epigraphic reference. According to H. W. Bailey, bore connotations centred in the root "huv." meaning something like "excellence" or "leadership" or "maturity," the suffix "-ishka" giving it the meaning "having the most huv quality." The puzzling Ara inscription dates from the time span of the Huvishka reign, but there is little evidence to indicate in what way the nature or duration of his rule was affected. The existence of Kanishka II might have been a limiting factor in the

⁹⁷ Konow, CII, p. 162.

⁹⁸ Rosenfield, 1961, p. 57.

⁹⁹ Padma Altiker, JNSI, XIV pp. 62-65.

¹⁰⁰ Konow, CII, p. 165.

granting of full imperial epithets to Huvishka.¹⁰¹ Marshall concluded that Huvishka did not start minting until the fortieth year of the Kanishka era.

Huvishka's gold coins give an impression of having been part of actual stream of gold from his mint centres, which must have remained primarily in Balkh. They seem to support the general picture which emerges from the Mathura epigraphs—if the vast number of religious foundations and inscribed carvings there is a safe indication—that this reign, in spite of the irregularities, became a period of great prosperity.

Huvishka discarded the royal portrait type used by Kanishka—that of the king standing frontally sacrificing at an altar. Instead, there was a revival of types previously used by Vima—for example, the royal elephant rider and the royal bust appearing above clouds or rocks. The most common of Huvishka's types is that of the profile bust portrait facing to the left, but this is presented in confusing variations.¹⁰²

The ceremonial insignia worn in the coin portraits of Huvishka indicate a high degree of development of royal majesty. The most noteworthy elements are the helmets, several types of which are found in Huvishka's coins (as well as in Vima's and Kanishka's) but are not reflected in the carvings of the Kushans. The symbolic value of the various parts of these helmets is quite unclear, and in fact their design is not always perfectly clear.

¹⁰¹ Rosenfield, 1961, ff. 59.

¹⁰² *Ibid*

2.2.7 Vasudeva

Vasudeva became a common in later Kushan history, being found on the coins of at least two other kings. The name of Vasudeva was appeared on the Buddhist image, unearthed from Palikhera near Mathura city.¹⁰³ The only evidence comes from Gandhara sculpture bearing the date in the era of Kanishka,¹⁰⁴ his name also mentioned on the inscription found from Mathura. He ruled about twenty four years differs in a number of aspects from his predecessors. . A Kushan period relief shows the legendary King Vasudeva carrying his son across the Jumna. Further, the Kushan Vasudeva's coins numerically emphasize the reverse image of OESHO and bull presumably a reflection of the Indian interests of his empire. The Wei-chih says that in the year 230, a King Po-t'iao (probably Vasudeva) of the Yüeh-chih sent an embassy to China, perhaps to seek assistance against the Sasanians.¹⁰⁵ About the same time, or somewhat earlier, there is record of an alliance between the Armenian King Khosroes I and a Kushan Vehsadjan (also probably Vasudeva) against Ardashir.¹⁰⁶ The history of Kushan empire became unclear in the reign of Vasudeva. On numismatic grounds, the empire seems to have split in two during, or immediately after, the reign of Vasudeva. many coins of Vasudeva have been found from Taxila. Marshall concluded that the Gandharan schools completely stopped with the end of Vasudeva's rule and the invasion of the Sasanians and that they did not recommence until the coming of the Kidara Kushans in the late fourth century. Many scholars

¹⁰³ A Buddha image, Mathura Museum no. 2907. Sircar. EI, XXX (1954), pp. 181-84

¹⁰⁴ Know, p. 171.

¹⁰⁵ Grishman, *Begram*, pp.156-157.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, p. 156

object on this point, and the history of Gandharan sculpture in the second half of the third century and throughout the fourth is an extremely blurred.¹⁰⁷ Coins bearing the name of Vasudeva could not belong to the Vasudeva I of the Mathura inscriptions. Kanishka coinage closely linked in style to those of Vasudeva. The coins of the both kings are not identical, they were produced by separate mint centres (possibly Balkh and Peshawar), but they were both motivated by a similar spirit of minute detail and a disciplined sense of design.¹⁰⁸

2.3 Buddhist Faith and Kanishka

The anthropomorphic image of the Buddha became popular in art during the time of Kanishka. The earlier preference for a symbolic representation of the Buddha's presence was now abandoned in favour of incarnation. Part of the reason lay in changes within the Buddhist religion itself, which no longer visualized the Buddha as an inspired worldly who had found a path to salvation. He had now been blessed, and his followers required a personal focus upon which to pin their devotion. With their far-sighted awareness of cultural differences, the Kushans sponsored the production of two distinct types of Buddha image, one created in the western part of their empire, the other in the plains of India.

From various Chinese sources that Emperor Kanishka entered Buddhist legend as an exemplary Buddhist devotee, second only to Ashoka. Art historians have attributed

¹⁰⁷ Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, p. 107. See Soper's review of this work in *Artibus Asiae*, XXIII (1960), p. 263.

¹⁰⁸ John M. Rosenfiel, *The Dynastic arts of the Kushanas*, (1967), p.110.

much of the flowering of the Mathura and Gandhara schools of Buddhist sculpture to his royal patronage.¹⁰⁹ Upon study of the coins and epigraphs, many scholars have agreed in principle that Kanishka's patronage of the faith must have been essentially politic.¹¹⁰ The Buddhist emblems which appear on his coins are, statistically speaking, rare and far out-numbered by other types. Kanishka may well have been, like Constantine, attracted by a variety of religions and guided as much by the need of politics as by his own spiritual needs. A number of theologians have been associated with him by Church traditions—Asvaghosha, Vasumitra, Parsva, Sarpgharaksha, Dharmatrata, Matriceta, and Nagarjuna—among them some of the most influential figures of the time. Their writings provide much of the literary nucleus of the iconology of Buddhist art of the Kushan epoch.

Kanishka's great political power is attributed to his understanding of Buddhism, according to a tale preserved in the so-called *Sūtrālamkāra*. The king wished to visit Kanishkapura (presumably a town he built in Kashmir). En route he encountered a group of 500 beggars who had all been wealthy kings in their former lives. But because they had failed to give alms, had been avaricious and greedy, they had been reborn in this poverty. Kanishka commented that although he was then the master of men, he wished to avoid such a fate in the future and understood the need for charity. Then his minister praised the king for his penetrating intelligence. The minister went

¹⁰⁹ Coomaraswamy, HIIA. p. 52.

¹¹⁰ Göbl, p. 191.

on to say that in order to be a great king worthy of the name, one must distinguish the deep meaning of the Law of the Buddha.

2.4 The Council in Kashmir

Kanishka, as King of Gandhara, convened a great council of the Buddhist faith in Kashmir "four hundred years after the death of the Buddha," as reported by Hsüan-tsang, and patterned after the tradition of councils at Rajagriha or Vaisali or Asoka's at Pataliputra.¹¹¹ According to the Chinese pilgrim, Kanishka was deeply pious, frequently consulted the Buddhist sutras, had a priest enter his palace daily to preach, and often consulted with his adviser Parsva (or Parsvika), a holy patriarch mentioned occasionally in the Chinese Tripitaka. Being disturbed by conflicting sectarian doctrines, Kanishka had monks of each of the Buddhist schools gather from the four quarters in Kashmir to resolve these conflicts. When their vast numbers had been reduced to 499 arhats. Kanishka said that he was suffering from the heat and humidity and wished to go to his own country or else to Rajagriha, site of the First Council. He was persuaded to remain in Kashmir, and built a special vihara there for the assembly.

The president of the council was a Sarvastivadin doctor, Vasumitra, a name borne by no less than five men of importance in Indian Buddhist history. Not being an arhat, he was at first refused admission, but by a miracle, the devas announced that he would become a Buddha and would actually succeed to Maitreya's throne in the Tushita Paradise. Together the five hundred sages produced commentaries on the

¹¹¹ Hsüan-tsang; Beal trans. Vol. 1, pp. 156 ff.

three pitakas. Kanishka had these engraved on sheets of red copper, enclosed them in a stone container, and built a stupa over it. Then, as he started to return to his capital with his army, he fell to his knees and bestowed the entire kingdom of Kashmir upon the brotherhood of monks. The attribution of a Kashmir council to Kanishka is thought to be a pious fabrication by which Kanishka's biography was given some of the same elements as Asoka's.¹¹²

2.5 Asvaghosha¹¹³ and Caraka¹¹⁴, A Physician of Kanishka

Through evidence from a number of sources Kanishka is linked with Asvaghosha, a playwright and poet who came to be sacred as a Bodhisattva in Eastern Asia. In the Chinese version of the Sampradaya nidana there is the tale that Asvaghosha dwelled at the court of the king of Pataliputra, the suzerain lord of eastern India.¹¹⁵ However, that ruler had been defeated by the Yüeh-chih. Kanishka demanded a ransom of 900,000 pieces of gold, or one for each citizen, to leave the city in peace. The king of Pataliputra counter-offered to let him have the Buddha's begging bowl, a compassionate cockerel that would not drink water which contained any life in it, and finally the learned Asvaghosha. Further, there is testimony that

¹¹² Rājatarāṅginī I. 168-173; Stein trans. I, 30-31.

¹¹³ Asvaghosha, the great Kushan poet was born in Brahman family of Survanaski (his mother's lineage) in Saketa near Sravasti in northern India in the first century of the Christian era. He acquired an in depth knowledge of the four Vedas, the six treatises on the Vedangas, Epics and Darsnas, and a strong grounding in Sanskrit grammar at a young age. This enable him to quickly master the Buddhist Tripitaka of the 18 Schools when he converted to Buddhism.

¹¹⁴ Caraka, the physician in the court of Kanishka, is one of two authors whose compilations of ancient medical lore lie at the root of Ayurvedic practices. Presumably Caraka lived in Taxila during the time of Kanishka, i.e. first or second centuries of the Christian era.

¹¹⁵ Teoh Eng Soon, *The lotus in the Buddhist art of India*, pp. 68.; Levi, *JA*, pp. 449 ff. That he was taken not from Pataliputa but from Saketa and was the sole goal of the invasion, see *JA*, 1908 II, p. 83.

Asvaghosha was converted to Buddhism by Parsva, Kanishka's religious adviser, that Kanishka had sought relief and guidance from him after his bloody war with the Parthian king, and that Asvaghosha received a miraculous sign while viewing the Kanishka stupa at Peshawar.

If these direct connections of the two men seem like pious fabrications, they are impossible to prove or disprove. In any event, Asvaghosha is an important figure for historians of Indian art of the Kushan period.¹¹⁶ To his name have been attributed a great number of Buddhist texts, but two major works whose authorship is securely his—the *Saundarananda* and the *Buddhacarita*—were composed as expressions of the poetic and emotional content of the faith rather than as didactic outlines.¹¹⁷ The *Saundarananda*, for example, treats of the struggle against his sensual passions by Nanda, Sakyamuni's half-brother; its theme was frequently used by the sculptors of Gandhara and Mathura. The *Buddhacarita* is a legendary biography of Sakyamuni, conceived in terms of highly personal responses to the events of the career of the Tathagata and has numerous parallels in the sculpture of Gandhara.

Kanishka's physician Che-le (Caraka), whom Kanishka had summoned to his court to advise him how to moderate his drinking and eating and how to control his senses.¹¹⁸ Caraka is one of the greatest names in the history of Indian medicine. He delivered one of Kanishka's favourite wives of a still born boy, skilfully saving the

¹¹⁶ Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, p. 32.

¹¹⁷ B. C. Law, *Asvaghosha*, p. 3; Levi, *JA*, 1928, pp. 193 ff.

¹¹⁸ Levi, *JA*, 1896, pp.480-44-83.

life of the mother. He advised the king not to favour the bed of this wife any longer; if he did, the same thing would happen. But the fires of lascivious desires in Kanishka were intense, and he tendered his affections on the same wife, who brought another boy into the world with the same fate. Caraka then said that the king did not follow his instructions but surrendered himself to carnal love—a passion which should never be entertained. Those who are wise regard it as a hateful robber. Caraka found it necessary to leave the evil regime of the king and to become a forest hermit.

2.6 The Kanishka Stupa at Peshawar

Most of the major Chinese pilgrim reports dealing with northern India discuss a great stupa built by Kanishka outside Fo-lu-sha-pu-lo (i.e., Purusha-pura, the modern Peshawar). Of all the pagodas of the Western world, this was probably the grandest in the eyes of the Chinese, who reproduced both its name and form in their homeland.¹¹⁹ Even at the time of Alberuni (ca. A.D. 1000) it was still a vivid memory.¹²⁰

The most detailed description of this stupa is that of Hsüan-tsang, which is generally supported in simpler guise by the earlier ones of Sung-yun and Fa-hsien.¹²¹ The stupa was said to have been built as fulfilment of a prediction of the Buddha, who said while in Gandhara that four hundred years after his death a king would erect a stupa to contain many relics of the Buddha's bones and flesh. At the

¹¹⁹ Soper, *Literary Evidence for Early Buddhist Art in China*, pp. 112, 132.

¹²⁰ Alberuni, XLIX; trans. Sachau, Vol. II, pp. 10–13. As late as the Pala period, monks were being trained there; see the Ghosravan prasasti. Benerji, *JBORS*, 1948, pp. 111–116.

¹²¹ Trans. Beal, Vol. I, pp. 98–109; for Sung-yun, see Beal, pp. ciii–cvi; Fa-shien, p. xxxii.

stated time, Kanishka ascended the throne and governed the whole of Jambudvīpa. At first he despised and reviled the Buddha's Law (there were no such derogatory comments in the earlier reports),¹ but while hunting a white hare in wild country, he met a shepherd boy (or boys) building a small stupa of mud three feet high and repeating Buddha's prophecy. According to Fa-hsien, the boy was Sakra (Indra) in disguise. Kanishka ordered a stupa built around the small one in order to prove the power of his religious merit; but however high his stupa rose, the smaller one exceeded it by three feet. Kanishka's stupa eventually reached 229 metres, and the older one was covered. The great king then raised on top twenty-five circlets of gilded copper on a staff, and in the centre of the stupa he placed a number of relics of the Buddha. When the work was finished, the small stupa came through the larger one halfway up the southeast side. The great stupa was then cut down to its second story, whereupon the small one moved back to the centre of the building. Kanishka realized that divine powers were greater than his, and rebuilt it as before.¹²²

Cunningham, at some time before 1875, assumes that a pair of mounds outside the Ganj Gate at Peshawar called Shah-ji-ki-dheri (Royal Mounds) was the remains of the Kanishka stupa and vihara.¹²³ However, in spite of some tentative and inconclusive soundings, it was not until 1908-1910 that the site was cleared by a small-scale, poorly financed excavation,¹²⁴ which succeeded in providing a plan of

¹²² Beal trans., Vol. I, pp. 101-105. In Sung-yun's report, the smaller stupa moved itself four hundred feet away from the new one, which rose thirteen stories to seven hundred feet in height (including an iron pillar at the top with thirteen circlets). Beal trans., Vol. I, p. civ.

¹²³ Cunningham, ASIR, 1908-09, p. 32, n. 2.

¹²⁴ ASIR, 1908-09, pp. 38-59; ASIR, 1910-11, pp. 25-32.

the stupa, the location of the vihara, a few examples of figurative sculpture in stone and in stucco, and of course the celebrated Kanishka reliquary from the heart of the mound. The monument was constructed on a high plinth whose total diameter was 87 metres. The plan of the plinth was basically that of a square with four projections on each side, giving it a cruciform shape with curved projections at each corner of the square. There were probably stairways leading onto the four projecting wings, and the lower courses of the plinth were decorated with stucco images. Nothing of the superstructure was found.¹²⁵

2.7 Kanishka's Death and Afterlife

Kanishka as a cakravartin, a militant universal monarch as described in Chinese text. They describe his wars in India and the capture of Pataliputra; they discuss a victorious war against an unidentified King of Parthia and a frustrated attempt to conquer the East. The war with the Parthians is reported in a Chinese version of the Sridharma-pitaka, in which Kanishka is given a Asokan guise.¹²⁶ The King of An-hsi (Parthia) attacked Kanishka, whereupon Kanishka killed 900,000 Parthians. An arhat saw this deed and to make Kanishka repent this bloodshed, induced in him a vision of the suffering of hell. Thereupon the king regretted and sought spiritual guidance from Asvaghosha, who promised him salvation in the future.

¹²⁵ Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, p. 35 ff.

¹²⁶ Levi, JA, 1896, pp. 447, 472.

Kanishka's war in the East has a similar flavour in the Chinese version of the *Samyukta-ratna-pitaka*,¹²⁷ in which the king had three wise men whom he considered his intimate friends: Asvaghosha Bodhisattva, Mathara his chief minister, and Caraka his celebrated physician. Asvaghosha promised that if the king followed his instructions, he would achieve happiness in the life to come; the minister said that if he performed the counsel of his minister without exposing it, the entire world would fall beneath his empire; the doctor said that if the king followed his advice, he would not die a brutal death or suffer disabilities.

The failure of an Eastern expedition plays a role in the tales of Kanishka's death. In the Chinese Tripitaka (*Sampradaya-nidana*) it is related how, on the advice of his minister Mathara, Kanishka undertook the conquest of the world.¹²⁸ While on the expedition to the north, Kanishka's men learned of his desire for world conquest and took counsel among themselves. They said that the king was greedy and cruel and unreasonable, that his campaigns and conquests were frequent and had fatigued all his servants; that he could not be contented; that he wanted to reign over the four regions; that the garrisons guarded distant frontiers, and the soldiers' families were far from them. They decided to rid themselves of him. Since the king was ill, they put a blanket over him; a man sat on it, and the king died at once.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

¹²⁸ Levi, JA, pp. 482-83.

¹²⁹ Rosenfield, 1961, p. 39.

Kanishka had heard Asvaghosha preach the Law that he was saved from hell and reborn in the great ocean as a fish with a thousand heads.¹³⁰ But in consequence of his deeds, a wheel of knives forever cut off his heads. Thus, in each of his successive rebirths he was constantly decapitated, the wheel continued to turn, and his heads filled the vast ocean.

Then there was an arhat who was the bell ringer for a vihara. To him the king said: "Whenever the bell rings, the wheel stops, and during this moment my sadness and suffering are mitigated a bit. I wish only that the bell ringer take pity on me, that the sound of the bell resound and be prolonged." Filled with compassion, the monk rang the bell in the king's favour. On the summit of this same monastery, for the sake of the king, a bell was continually rung by men in relays.¹³¹

2.8 Taxila and the Kushan Empire

The chief political and cultural centre in the Western Panjab, the Taxila, became the site of three separate ruined cities: the Bhir Mound, which represents the oldest urban settlement; Sirkap, the Greco-Parthian city; and Sirsukh, which is the remains of a Kushan stronghold. Of the three, Sirkap has been the most extensively excavated, and has yielded evidence that the Kushans succeeded the Indo-Parthian dynasty of Gondophares as rulers of the city—probably about 50 CE. One unique type of silver drachma of Kujula was minted there, but some time in the reign of Vima or (more

¹³⁰ Levi, JA, pp. 483-84.

¹³¹ Rosenfield, 1961, p. 39.

likely) Kanishka a new bastion was erected at what is now called the Sirsukh mound, two km. to the northeast.¹³² Measuring around 457 meters by 335 meters, it was built according to a different plan and using a different mode of fortification than those at Sirkap. The bastion walls were more than eighteen feet thick, with semi-circular towers, their form anticipating medieval Islamic and European fortifications.¹³³

It seems likely that upon the construction of this new citadel by the Kushans a series of sanctuaries was begun east of Sirsukh, sanctuaries whose artistic features are notably later than those west of Sirkap, such as the great Dharmarajika stupa, Kalawan, or the Fire Temple at Jandial. These later sites include the stupas and Viharas at Mohra Moradu, Jaulian, Giri and Bhamala, Pippala, and Lalchak and Badalpur; from these have come interesting examples of Indo-Scythian donor portraits.

There is numerous evidence of the presence of the Kushans in other parts of the Western Panjab, particularly the inscriptions at Zeda, Und, Manikiala, and Ara.¹³⁴ Kushan coins have been found in the region in great quantity, most notably later ones inscribed with Brahmi letters indicating Vasu and Chhu, suggesting that the Kushans or rulers claiming their authority held the region until the fourth century, in spite of

¹³² Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 217-222.

¹³³ Rosenfield, 1961, fn. p. 289.

¹³⁴ Konow, CII, for Zeda, p. 145, for Und, p. 171, for Manikiala, p. 67, and for Ara, p. 162.

the mention in the *Ferhista* of Ardashir's conquest of the region as far as Sirhind—a passage of doubtful authenticity.¹³⁵

A highly important inscription was found at Sui Vihar, 26 km. southwest of Bahawalpur, dated in the eleventh year of the reign of Kanishka.¹³⁶ This inscription indicates the extension of Kushan authority south of the Panjab, although it is not clear whether or not the Kushans directly controlled the trading stations at the mouth of the Indus.¹³⁷

¹³⁵ Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 73.

¹³⁶ Konow, *CII*, p. 138.

¹³⁷ Rosenfield, 1961, *fn.*, p. 290.

CHAPTER 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL, ECOLOGICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDY AREA

Between the Indus and the Hydaspes is Taxila, a large city and governed by good laws. The surrounding country is thickly peopled and extremely fertile, as the mountains here begin to subside into the plains. The inhabitants and their king, Taxiles, received Alexander with kindness, and in return came by more than they bestowed, so that the Macedonians were jealous, and said it appeared as if Alexander had found none worthy of his bounty until he had crossed the Indus. Some say that this country was larger than Egypt.¹³⁸ Strabo (b. ca. 63 BC)

3.1 Taxila in Geographical perspective

Taxila is located 30 Km north-west of Islamabad and its exact bearings are: longitude 72° 49' 51" E and latitude 33° 44' 47" N.¹³⁹ It is situated at the open west-end of a valley which is some 20 km east-west and 8 km north-south. The valley itself occupies a picturesque position at the head of Sindh-Sagar Doab between Indus and Jhelum rivers. Average height of the valley is about 549 metres (1,800 ft.) above sea

¹³⁸ McCrindle, *Ancient India as Described in Classical Literature*, 1901, pp. 33-34.

¹³⁹ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 104.

level. The whole area is well watered by the main River Haro as well as numerous small rivulets such as Tamra, Lundi etc., all fed by a number of permanent springs.¹⁴⁰ Here rainfall is abundant and climate pleasant and refreshing as was in ancient times.¹⁴¹ Inhabitants of the valley are of mixed races and speak a dialect of Punjabi language. Administratively, the valley partly belongs to the Punjab and partly to the Khyber Paktunkhwa.

Due to its strategic position, three ancient trade routes, one each from the Western Asia, Central Asia and the mainland India used to meet in the past. These routes not only attract invaders, soldiers and adventurers but along with them travelled merchants, settlers, teachers, pupils as well as commercial commodities and new ideas. These people, commodities and ideas, all of diverse origin, when met and come together at Taxila, gave to this city a cosmopolitan character.¹⁴²

Taxila, as has been explained by Sir John Marshall, was the abbreviated form used by Greeks and Romans, and from them commonly adopted by European writers. Taxila was not only a big city of the Punjab but it stood for an empire as well Plutarch reports that empire of Taxiles (Ruler of Taxila) was as large as Egypt, afforded good pasturage and had a very fertile soil. Hsüan-tsang (629-645 CE) described Takshasila country as above 2000 li in circuit (5 li = 1 mile = 1.6 km) and its capital above 10 li in circuit.¹⁴³ He further describes the country as having fertile soil which bore good

¹⁴⁰ N.M. Pinzer, *The Ocean of Story*: Vol. III, London, 1925, p. 2.

¹⁴¹ Samuel Beal, *Travels of Hsüan-tsang*, London, 1906.

¹⁴² Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, 1998, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁴³ Thomas Watter. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 AD*, (London, 1905), I, p. 240.

crops and had flowing streams, ample vegetation and genial climate.¹⁴⁴ The capital of this empire, the city of Taxila itself, was regarded by the Greeks to be the greatest of all the cities which lay between the river Indus and Jhelum.¹⁴⁵ It was a great educational scientific, religious and commercial centre of whole of central and south Asia. It was esteemed and sacred by all the major religions of the area, namely Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism. But it was the last named religion which gave this city a prominence and status always vied but never equalled by any other city in ancient India.

As far historical record goes, Taxila was introduced in the western world for the first time by the historians of Alexander the Great in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C., and still later by the Indus-Greeks, who lived and ruled here for some time and made this city their one-time capital.¹⁴⁶ During the following periods, and till the end of the Kushan rule, Taxila persistently kept its banner up by maintaining a remarkable high standard of civilization, arts, crafts and even of education and religion. Whatever the other cause or causes might have worked to give Taxila a place of honour during its early history, it was the Buddhism which served as a hub round which the wheel of its life turned so lustrously and successfully during the first four centuries of our era. And it was due to the decline, if not extinction, of Buddhism in this area in the 5th century A.D. that the city of Taxila lost its glamour and consequently the economic basis of its existence. Thus, what was once an international city; it shrank to the status

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Arrian, *Anabasis*, VII.

¹⁴⁶ Dar, op. cit., p. 2.

of a town, then a village, and finally went into complete oblivion. So much so that when in the 19th century archaeological reconnaissance was started in this region, no one knew where precisely Taxila once stood. Local traditions and literature had preserved nothing about this once the glorious city of ancient India.¹⁴⁷

Alexander Cunningham, who re-discovered the ancient Taxila in 1863 and identifying the Dheri Shahan (Mound of Kings) in Rawalpindi District with ancient Takshasila,¹⁴⁸ This identification has been confirmed by the discovery of several inscriptions in this valley. Sir John Marshall, Starting his excavations in this area in 1913 till 1934, he excavated and explored a cluster of sites in and around the city of Taxila. As a result of these prolonged excavations partial remains of three city sites and about two dozen stupas, monasteries and temples and a fortress have come to light, From these sites was unearthed an enormous amount of material i.e. sculptures, utensils, tools, implements, jewellery, coins, inscriptions etc. which helps us in reconstructing the social, economic and religious life of the people of Taxila from the 6th century BCE to the 5th century CE.

In 1944, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, a Romanist in classical archaeology,¹⁴⁹ re-excavated Marshall's first and second city sites, Bhir Mound and Sirkap, with the purpose of re-interpreting earlier levels of both these cities.¹⁵⁰ In 1967, the Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, once again excavated a part of

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

¹⁴⁸ Cunningham, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*. II, pp. 6-11.

¹⁴⁹ Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Still Digging: Adventures in Archaeology*. 3rd ed., (London: 1958), pp. 83ff.

¹⁵⁰ Report of Wheelers excavations at Bhir Mound have never been published.

Bhir Mound in order to know more about the Achaemenian levels of the city.¹⁵¹ In 1964, Elden Johnson of Minnesota University (USA) discovered the Mesolithic period site with micro-lithic blade industry in a cave near Khanpur in the eastern end of the Taxila Valley.¹⁵²

Pre-historic site was discovered during an extensively excavation at Sarai Khola (near existing Lari Adda, Taxila) not far away from Bhir Mound during the period 1968-72.¹⁵³ As a result of these excavations have shown unmistakably that the foundation stone of Taxila city, no doubt, in the form of a small village, was laid at the site of Sarai Khola during the Neolithic period sometime in the middle of 4th Millennium BCE.¹⁵⁴ Once founded, Sarai Khola remained inhabited continuously till about 1000 BCE and even afterwards. At the end of the Neolithic period of 3rd millennium BCE, a new life started at Sarai Khola in the beginning of 3rd millennium BC with Bronze Age cultural traits of Kot Dijian affinities. The last important phase of this site is also significant as it marks the presence of a Grave Culture of about 1000 BCE, usually associated with the coming of Aryans in this region.¹⁵⁵

However, in 1980 a team of archaeologists detected the presence of a Kot Dijian site on the spur of Hathial range within the fortification wall of the Greek City of

¹⁵¹ Muhammad Sharif, *Excavations at Bhir Mound, Taxila*, Pakistan Archaeology, No. 6, 1969, pp. 4-99.

¹⁵² S.A. Dar, *Field Survey Report of Exploration in the Soan*, Paper presented to the First National Seminar on Taxila, at Taxila, from 30th April to 2nd May, 1982.

¹⁵³ M.A. Halim, *Excavations at Sarai Khola*, Pakistan Archaeology, No 7, 1970, pp. 23- 89 and *Ibid*, Pakistan Archaeology, No.8, 1972, pp. 1-112.

¹⁵⁴ Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, (Lahore, 1998), p. 4.

¹⁵⁵ M.A Halim, *Excavations at Sarai Khola*, Pakistan Archaeology, No. 7, pp1-112.

Sirkap and where Marshall had conducted excavation for almost 21 years. Whatever can be known from the limited excavations and so far un-published results¹⁵⁶ shows that like Sarai Khola, the site of Hathial too was first occupied by the people of Kot Dijian culture and later on was inhabited by the invading Aryan hordes, usually identified archaeologically with the so-called Gandhara Grave Culture.¹⁵⁷ For the first time this Grave Culture has been discovered east of the Indus River. It appears that whereas Sarai Khola was the main site of Taxila during the Kot Dijian period. Dani accepts Hathial and Sarai Khola as twin villages both exhibiting a similar pattern of settlement. However, he also opines that out of the two only Hathial became a permanent settlement.¹⁵⁸

Taxila city was existing in the 7th century CE, When Hieun Tsang visited this area.¹⁵⁹ It was also existing at the time of invasion of Mahmood of Ghazna and during the Sultanate period.¹⁶⁰ Similarly, a number of coins of Akbar's period were discovered during excavations by Marshall but have been reported inadequately. A number of earlier Muslim period monuments have also been reported in the vicinity of Taxila such as: a Masjid at Giri, another Masjid in Usman Khattar, a *sarai*, a *bauli* and a Masjid in Sarai Kharbooza, a sizable portion of paved Grand Trunk Road and a road-side inscription both at Margala Pass, another magnificent *bauli* and a Mughal Halting Place at Wah, two tombs and a tank in Hassan Abdal etc.

¹⁵⁶ Gulzar Muhammad Khan. *Hathial Excavations*, Journal of Central Asia Vol., 2, Dec. 1981, pp. 35-44.

¹⁵⁷ Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, (Lahore, 1998), p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ A.H. Dani, *The Historic City of Taxila*, (Paris: 1986), pp. 81.

¹⁵⁹ Thomas Watter, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629-645 AD*, (London, 1905), 1, p. 240.

¹⁶⁰ M.A Chughtai, *Taxila Revisited*, (Lahore, 1975).

3.2 History of Taxila

The present spelling Taxila, as has been explained by Sir John Marshall, was the abbreviated form used by Greeks and Romans, and from them commonly adopted by European writers.¹⁶¹ The name is spelt as *Takhasila*¹⁶² or *Takshasila*¹⁶³ in the Prakrit epigraphs, but in the Besnagar inscription of the Greek ambassador Heliodorus it is spelt as *Takkhasila*. The correct Sanskrit spelling is *Takshasila*. While quoting from the *Vayu Purana*, Alberuni is the only scholar who gives the Persian equivalent of Takshasila. It was also known as Marikala,¹⁶⁴ Babarkhana or Babarkan¹⁶⁵ and Kacha Kot.¹⁶⁶ Apparently, the oldest tradition records that the city was founded by Bharta, the younger brother of Sri Ram Chandara, who made one of his sons Takksha the ruler of this city.¹⁶⁷ As 'sila' in Sanskrit means 'city', the city of Taksha started being called as Takshakasila, i.e. the city of Taksha.¹⁶⁸

Cunningham opines that Takkas belonged to the naga tribe¹⁶⁹ and, according to others, legendary Taksha was a Naga King. There are some strong evidences to show that Takas or Takshan was the real founder of this city. McCrindle,¹⁷⁰ A.B. Keith¹⁷¹

¹⁶¹ Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. I, p. 1 fn.

¹⁶² Konow, see Taxila Copper plate inscription of Patika, p. 28.

¹⁶³ Konow, see Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of Patika, p. 71.

¹⁶⁴ E.C. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, p. 206.

¹⁶⁵ Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p.110.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, pp 4 and 116.

¹⁶⁷ Tamayana, VIII, v.v. 1016.

¹⁶⁸ Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, (Lahore, 1998), p. 13.

¹⁶⁹ Cunningham, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*. II, pp. 6-11.

¹⁷⁰ J.W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great as Described by Arrian, Q. Curtius, Diodorus, Plutarch and Justin*. (Westminster: 1986), pp. 342-343, Note .1: Taxila.

¹⁷¹ A.B. Keith and A.N. Macdonnel, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects* (Rep. Delhi: 1967), I., p. 296.

and Marshall¹⁷² are of the opinion that 'sila' also means a hillock or a rock. According to them the area around the city was once ruled by the Naga king Takshaka who had his abode on one of the rocks of the area named Nshada⁵⁰ and after him it was known as Takshasila or the Rock of Taksha. Saifur Rehman Dar identify the high mountain of Nshada with Sarda (Sarrah) hill in Taxila Valley.¹⁷³ According to others, Takkkas, a powerful Naga tribe, once ruled the territory between the rivers Attock (Indus) and Chenab from their headquarters in the city which was named after the tribe as Takshakasila or the City of Takka tribe.

Takkas were Naga people and Nagas were old people with scripture or tradition of their own. They were named as such because of the serpent being their symbol.¹⁷⁴ Naga cult is very old in Pakistan and India. Its existence is testified by the presence of terra-cotta figurines in the form of serpent-legged deities and representation of serpent deities on sherds and pots discovered from Gumla, Kot Diji, Anjira, Rahman Dheri, Jhang Batar, etc. of about 4th-3rd millennia BCE.¹⁷⁵ It is also known from the cities of Harappan civilisation.¹⁷⁶ There is a mention of snake-worship in *Atharva-veda* and in *Rigveda*. Buddha Parkash has traced deep rooted similarities of serpent symbol among the un-Aryan people of Pakistan and India on the one hand and, on the other hand, the people of Middle East - Turanians, Kurds, Akkadiang, Chaldeans,

¹⁷² Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. I, p. I, n. 1.

¹⁷³ Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, (Lahore, 1998), p. 13.

¹⁷⁴ A. Banerji Sastri, *The Nagas, Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poone, Vol. XVIII, pp. 338- 350.

¹⁷⁵ A.H. Dani, *Pakistan Archaeology*, vol. 5, 1970-71, pp. 65-68, see also F.A. Kahn, Farzand Ali Durrani and Ihsan Ali.

¹⁷⁶ Buddha Parkash, op. cit., p. 46.

Persians etc. This strengthens the view of their having belonged to a common socio-cultural stock. These Nagas soon obtained sufficient power and became assertive. As we are informed in the celebrated Sarpas-Sutra, they were defeated by king Janamejaya who held his courts at Takshasila.¹⁷⁷ Taxila has always been regarded as a strong centre of *naga* worship and was ruled by a Naga king.¹⁷⁸ But it is strange that although Naga king and his queen appear very prominently and frequently on Gandharan reliefs and that a Naga king is believed to have been living in or near Taxila,¹⁷⁹ *naga* figures are least popular amongst the statuary of Taxila.¹⁸⁰

Fa-Hien (Fa Xian), a Chinese traveller who visited Taxila in 400 A.D., mentions the city under the name of Chou-Cha-Shi-Lo and gives its meaning as "Cut-off Head".¹⁸¹ Hieun Tsang mentions the name of the city as Ta-Cha-Shi-Lo which has approximately the same meaning.¹⁸² It appears that, due to some difficulty of phonetics, the Chinese travellers heard 'sila' (city) as 'sira' (head) and thus the original Takkasila sounded as Takkasira, to the pious Buddhist pilgrims, and translated as "Cut-off Head". Fa-Hien interpreted this name with the help of a Buddhist Jataka. According to him Buddha, in one of his previous lives, was born at Taxila as Pusa or Chandraprabha (Moon-faced). In his youth he, as an act of charity, fed a hungry lion or Devadatta, his arch enemy. So, the locality was christened as Takkasira or "Cut-off

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, p.133

¹⁷⁸ Cunningham, *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, II, p. 138.

¹⁷⁹ E.C. Sachau, *Al-Beruni's India*, p. 206.

¹⁸⁰ Marshall, *Taxila*, vol. II, p. 708, No. 69.

¹⁸¹ H.A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.) or Records of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, (Cambridge: 1923), p. 12 Also quoted by Thomas Watters, op. cit. I, pp 240-241

¹⁸² Thomas Watters, loco. cit.

Head". Cunningham¹⁸³ believes that Jandial Stupa (later proved to be a Greek Temple) is the place where Buddha cut-off his throat. Marshall,¹⁸⁴ on the other hand, opines that this *sirshadanam* or *sirdan* (the head-sacrifice took place at the site of Bhallar Supa in the valley of Taxila.

During Muslim period, the area in front of present day Sirkap, was known in the 19th century as Babar Khana or the House of Tiger.¹⁸⁵ In Al-Beruni's *Indica*¹⁸⁶ there is a reference to a Babarhan or Babarkan, situated midway between the Indus and the Jhelum from where takes off the route to Kashmir. This, according to Cunningham, must be identified with Babar Khana to the north of Sirkap. The same name also alludes to the same place in *sirshadanam* story. There is a range of hills called Margala, on the south of the Taxila Valley. Margala also means 'cut-throat' i.e., 'mar' (to cut) and 'gala' (throat). The oldest reference to Margala is in Al-Beruni's *Indica* when he mentions Margala (his Marikala) as an alternate name of Takshasila.¹⁸⁷ Later on, the name 'Margala' reappear in an inscription (dated 1084 A.H. / 1672 A.D.) of Aurangzeb period fixed on a roadside about two kilometres from Sarai Khola.¹⁸⁸ The

¹⁸³ Cunningham. *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 18, 112- 113 and p.117.

¹⁸⁴ Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, p. 178.

¹⁸⁵ Cunningham. *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 116: *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, XIV, pp. 8-9 and Thomas Watters, op. cit., 1, p. 241.

¹⁸⁶ E.C. Sachau, op. cit., 1, p. 302.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 302.

¹⁸⁸ This inscription has since been removed from the site and at present is stored in the office of the Department of Archaeology, Lahore Fort, Lahore. See supra fn. 32.

tradition of 'cut-off head' is also preserved in the form of Sirkap, which also means 'cut-off head', though usually a different story is alluded to this name.¹⁸⁹

Some scholars have tried to interpret meaning of the word Takshasila in accordance with the results of excavation conducted on the site. According to them the name Takshasila was given to this city on account of building material universally in vogue here in all the ages. Sila also means stone and 'tak' or 'tuk' means 'to cut', 'to dress' or 'to give shape'. Since the entire city of Takshasila, and other religious monuments around it, have been built up with dressed stones, the city was named accordingly (or conversely it got its name) Takshasila i.e., 'a city built of cut or dressed stones'.¹⁹⁰ According to literary references, Taxila means city of dressed stones today Taxila is renowned throughout the country for the capability of some of its inhabitants of cutting, dressing, carving and sculpturing stones. It is also a fact that even today the job of cutting and dressing stones, are done by the group of people living in and around Taxila.

The Greek historians have given the name of the city as Taxila. According to them Taxila was the greatest city in whole of India and Pakistan known to them.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹ This story revolves round Raja Rasalu, son of Raja Salivahan of Sialkot, three Rakhsa brothers (Sirkap, Sirkukh and Ambha.) and their four sisters (Kapi, Kalpi, Munda and Mundhi) as well as the facts as to how Raja Rasalu eliminated all of them. According to one legend, Raja Rasalu once bid with Sirkap and it was settled that whosoever loses will have to behead (*sir-kapna*) his opponent. He accepted Sirkap's daughter Kokila in his marriage.

The legend of Raja Rasalu is very common throughout the Punjab. Many sites are associated with him, though Cunningham regards it essentially as belonging to Pothohar area where Taxila is situated. for details see *Report of the Archaeological Survey of India*, II, pp. 153 and 205, fn. and *Taxila*, I, p. 112.

¹⁹⁰ Marshall, *Taxila* I fn. 1.

¹⁹¹ Strabo, XV, 1-28. Arrian, *Anabasis*, V, 82 and v. 3-6.

Pliny spells the name as Taxilla,¹⁹² whereas Ptolemy writes the form Taxiala¹⁹³ which appears to be only a copying mistake. Diodorus,¹⁹⁴ Curtius,¹⁹⁵ Isidorus Characenus,¹⁹⁶ Plutarch,¹⁹⁷ Philostratus,¹⁹⁸ and many other Greek and Latin writers mentioned the name of the city as Taxila. This name is found in Western literature unchanged till today. All Greek historians agree that at the time of Alexander's invasion the ruler of Taxila was Raja Ambhi (also written as Memphi, Amphi, or Omphi with the title Taxiles. Plutarch¹⁹⁹ and Strabo²⁰⁰ mention him only by his title. Curtius,²⁰¹ however, clarifies that 'Taxiles' is indeed a dynastic title. He writes:

Omphis, under Alexander's permission and according to the usage of the realm, assumed the ensign of royalty along with the name which his father has borne. His people called him Taxiles, for such was the

¹⁹² Pliny, V.I. xxi.2.

¹⁹³ Ptolemy, Vol.II.

¹⁹⁴ Diodorus, XVII, 86.

¹⁹⁵ Curtius, VIII. 12. (Curtius Rufus, Quintus, Roman historian of the first century AD who wrote a history of Alexander the Great in ten books, of which the first two are lost. The extant books start in 333 BC with Alexander's march through Phrygia and the cutting of the Gordian knot. The narrative is dramatic and romantic, with vivid detail, but with little critical sense or grasp of Alexander's place in history).

¹⁹⁶ Isidorus, G.G. M. I. (Isidorus Characenus, commonly translated Isidore of Charax, was a geographer of the 1st century BCE/1st century CE. Isidore's best known work is *Parthian stations* (*Mansiones Parthicae*), an itinerary of the overland trade route from Antioch to India, specifically the caravan stations maintained by the Arsacid government. Isidore must have written *Parthian Stations* some time after 26 BCE for it refers to the revolt of Tiridates II against Phraates IV, which occurred in that year).

¹⁹⁷ Plutarch, *Life of Alexander*, LIX. (Plutarch is the most famous biographer of the ancient world and the author of a famous collection now known as *Plutarch's Lives*.)

¹⁹⁸ Philostratus, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, (I.C.I. 1960). (Greek Sophist. From a famous literary family in Lemnos, he settled in Athens in later life. His works include *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* (a philosopher) and *Lives of the Sophists*.)

¹⁹⁹ Plutarch, loco cit.

²⁰⁰ Strabo, loco cit.

²⁰¹ Curtius, VIII, 12.

name which accompanied the sovereignty, on whomsoever it devolved. (Curtius Rufus, Quintus)

According to some other scholars 'Taxiles' was a regional title while a few others maintain that the title was a dynastic one.²⁰² It was a dynastic rather than a regional title.²⁰³ French scholar says that at the time of Alexander's invasion a Kshatri tribe from Ambha race was ruling at Taxila.²⁰⁴ Ambhi got his name from this tribe.

In ancient times Taxila or Takshasila or Takhasila, was a great city renowned as a great centre of trade, education and science. Besides, all ancient religions of South Asia held this city in great esteem. Particularly, the followers of 'Buddhism spread its fame far and wide in Asia. In the Western world fame of Taxila reached because this was the only city where Alexander the Great was received well and which, later on, the Greeks made their capital.

3.3 Prominent Scholars from ancient Taxila

Taxila became a great centre of education, combining the learning of the east and the west, where princes and others from far and near came to receive training in philosophy, medicine, languages, archery, and military science.²⁰⁵ (Buddha Prakash)

²⁰² McCrindle, op. cit. p. 273, fl. 2, pp. 412-413.

²⁰³ Dar, op. cit. p. 19.

²⁰⁴ Buddha Prakash, op. cit., pp. 412-413.

²⁰⁵ Buddha Prakash, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, pp.141-42.

Taxila was one of the two great educational centres in South Asia – the other being Nalinda in Bihar province. The University of Takshasila, however, was famous for its teaching in science subjects, particularly the science of medicine.²⁰⁶ This university produced some of the greatest names in the ancient history of the country. Among them Jivaka, the great physician of Rajagriha, was educated at Taxila.²⁰⁷ Jivaka, son of Raja Bimbisara, was a contemporary and great companion of Buddha. He donated the famous Jetvana Garden in Rajagriha to Buddha. Alexander of Macedon,²⁰⁸ Susima, son of Bindusara and elder brother of Asoka,²⁰⁹ Asoka himself,²¹⁰ and his son Kunala,²¹¹ had lived in Taxila. Among other names associated with Taxila are: Kumaralabha — the founder of Sautrantika School,²¹² Ghosha — a contemporary of Asoka and a great physician and an oculist or a specialist in eye-surgery,²¹³ Brahmadata,²¹⁴ Setaketu,²¹⁵ etc. It is also believed that the famous grammarian Panini²¹⁶ and scholar Patanjali used to teach at Taxila in the 6th or 5th

²⁰⁶ R. N. Mehta, 1939. pp. 299-505.

²⁰⁷ R. R. P. Bigandet, 1919, pp. 195-99.

²⁰⁸ Arrian, *Anabasis*, Vol. 8.2, and Vol. 3.6.

²⁰⁹ Cunningham, op. cit. p. 106.

²¹⁰ Thomas Watters, p. 241. According to a Tibetan tradition, Asoka died at Taxila But, this is not certain. However, he did rule at Taxila as viceroy under his father Bindusara and later on as emperor he built here at least one large stupa enshrining the relics of Buddha. See *Taxila I*, p. 256 and pp. 234-235.

²¹¹ Thomas Watters, op. cit. Kunala was viceroy of Taxila where he lost his eye-sight through the beguile of his step mother. Here, Hieun Tsang saw one stupa consecrated to the memory of this prince: *Taxila I*, pp. 245-246 and *II*, pp. 100 and 295.

²¹² The famous Sastra, master and founder of Sautrantika School whose name in Chinese appears as Kou-mo-lo-lo-to: *Taxila I*, p. 245 or Tung-shou (*Ibid.*, II: pp. 286-89).

²¹³ Probably he is the same Ghosha who restore the Kunala's eye-sight at Taxila: *Ibid.*, I, P. 245. In Buddhist literature he is regarded as an *arhat*.

²¹⁴ According to Rajovada Jataka, Brahmadata was a future Buddha born as a Prince of Benares. At the age of 16, he went to Takshasila for purpose of education and became accomplished in all arts, Rhys Davids. *Buddhist Birth Stories*, Vol. I. London: 1880. pp. xxii.

²¹⁵ An ex-student of Taxila University. See Ratilal N Mehta. op. cit. 305.

²¹⁶ Buddha Prakash op. cit. p. 141: "Panini and Kautilya two master-minds of ancient times, were also brought up in the academic traditions of Takshasila. *Ibid.*, pp. 141 and 179.

cent. BCE; the illustrious Viyas lived in this city and composed his renowned epic poem *Mahabharata* here; Uddalika Aruni — the narrator of *Upanishda* and his son Suvita Keeto were educated at Taxila,²¹⁷ and Jotipala son of Purohit of Raja of Kashi obtained his military education in the same city and later became the commander-in-chief of the king. Even Chandra Gupta Maurya and his Minister Kautilya — the author of *Arthashastra*, and Prasenajit, the enlightened Raja of Koshal, are believed to have been educated in the university of the same city.²¹⁸ Prasenajit was also a contemporary of Buddha.²¹⁹ Somadeva, author of *Katha Sarit "Sagara*, a work dated in 1070 CE, mentions a king named Kalinjadatta, the ruler of Takshasila in ancient times. He was a distinguished Buddhist as were his subjects and his city shining with splendid Buddhist temples densely crowded together. His queen was named Taradatta. The King had a beautiful daughter named Kalingasasena. On her pursuits, Somadeva devotes almost one full volume of his *Katha Sarit Sagara*.²²⁰

3.4 Buddhism and Taxila

When Asoka embraced the Buddhism religion after Kalinga war in c. 262 BCE, it became the dominant religion of the whole Maurya empire and after two years later he became a member of Buddhist Order (*Sangha*). Asoka issued a series of Edicts and caused them to be engraved on the face of conspicuous rocks and on pillars of stone,

²¹⁷ Buddha Prakash op. cit. p.12 and Sibte-e-Hasan, Paksitan main Tahzeeb ka irtiqa. Karachi: 1975. pp. 48, 99, 103, 104 a. Nos. 112 and 120.

²¹⁸ Buddha Prakash op. cit. pp 140-141, 170-172, 182-183 and Sibte-e-Hasan, op. cit., pp. 110-112. We learn from Pali chronicles that Kautilya, also known as Chanakya, was a resident of Takshasila. Buddha Prakash, op. cit., pp. 179-180, 188.

²¹⁹ Ibid., op. cit. p. 141.

²²⁰ N.M. Pinzer, 1925.

setting forth the principles of religion and ethic which he judged most serviceable. For all intents and purposes, it appears to have been introduced here by Asoka (274-232 BCE). Asoka, who according to Tibetan tradition, died at Taxila, was succeeded by his son Kunala (c. 237-229 BCE).²²¹ There are two monuments at Taxila that belong to his period, namely, the Dharmarajika Stupa (Fig.1) and the Aramaic inscription that confirmed that it is a partially preserved text in a word-by-word translation of Asoka's Rock Edict at Shahbazgarhi.²²² The Dharmarajika stupa at Taxila built by Asoka confirms the presence of institutionalized Buddhism in this city. This stupa had been built and rebuilt several times before it was abandoned in the seventh century CE. Permanent monasteries came into existence only in the first and second centuries of Common Era.²²³

The Greek king Menander was converted to Buddhism and became the disciple of a certain elder named Nagasena as mentioned in *Milindapanha*²²⁴. He was the 'Saviour' of the Buddhists and of all who stood for the old Maurya against the usurper Pushyamitra. It is historical fact that Buddha himself never visited this part of the country. However, Taxila became a great centre of Buddhist learning and activities, the area became absolutely holy and Buddhist religion.²²⁵ Many stories

²²¹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, p. 4.

²²² Humbach, 1978, pp. 87-98; Dar, 1984, pp. 199-211.

²²³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 23.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 33.

²²⁵ Dar, 1998, p. 10.

were invented to show Buddha's association with Taxila both in his earlier and historical lives. Many Jataka tales allude to these connections.²²⁶

Numerous inscriptions discovered at Taxila are expected to form an important study for building a Buddhist profile of the people of Taxila. Sten Konow recorded some 96 Kharosthi inscriptions in ancient Gandhara including some from Taxila. The record of Taxila was updated by Marshall in 1951.²²⁷ Suffice it to say that almost every inscription records some donation or a pious act. The texts of these inscriptions record digging of wells, tanks and drinking sheds along the road side, donations of *arama* or groves, construction of enclosures, foundation of a *yasthi* or staff and enclosure, some religious buildings, dedication of stupas and donations of miscellaneous objects such as ladles, lamps, jars, plates, dishes, brackets, images, Buddhist relics, etc. These inscriptions are donated either by individuals or a group of joint-family members and even by some associations. The purpose of these donations was alms-giving and *pūja* (worship) and earning merit (*punya*).²²⁸ Out of 96 Kharoshthi inscriptions listed by Konow, only 21 pertain to the period of Kaniska and afterwards. In this respect we are better informed about epigraphically evidence from Taxila. In general, longer texts are written on birch-bark sheets, longer dedicatory inscriptions are found on silver and copper sheets as well on stone slabs. The greater numbers of inscriptions from Taxila are in Kharoshthi. Almost all important ones

²²⁶ For references of Taxila in *Jataka Tales* see various stories in "*Jataka*" (six volumes edited by V. Fausboll, published in London from 1877 to 1897). E. B. Cowell, *The Jataka*, translated by Robert Chalmer, vol. I, 1st ed. (Cambridge: 1895, rep. London: 1957).

²²⁷ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I, II.

²²⁸ Konow, 1929, p. cxvi.

pertain to Buddhist dedications. The one belonging to the Kushan period is the well-known Silver Scroll Inscription dated to 78 CE for the construction of a Bodhisattva-chapel at Dharmarajika Stupa at Takshasila.

3.5 Taxila under the Achaemenian Empire

Taxila rose into prominence in the first millennium BCE. This rise is linked with the urbanization in the Indo-Gangetic plains, primarily caused by the introduction of iron technology. Greater application of iron techniques in daily life resulted in the improvement of commodities qualitatively as well as quantitatively, which increased to a large extent the chances of overland trade between east and west. The second historical period of Taxila begins with its incorporation into the Achaemenian Empire in 516 BCE, when it shared the advantages of many imperial traditions and truly became a beneficiary of political and commercial contact with the western world. Sir John Marshall²²⁹ sought to document this period of history by his excavations at the Bhir mound but the lowest stratum on that mound yielded nothing more than a few typical coins that could be attributed to the influence of the Achaemenians. The Achaemenians had already adopted the coin currency in their empire. Probably to meet the growing needs of the empire and to cater for expanding trade, it was also necessary to introduce a uniform system of weights and measures and to standardize the currency system of the empire. The evidence from coins, found in Taxila, is highly useful. The two types of coins-the bent bar and the round and concave ones

²²⁹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, I.

found from Bhir mound.²³⁰ The Achaemenian rule was well consolidated in the Indus valley from Darius I onwards.

3.6 Taxila under the Macedonian

The entry of Alexander the Great into Taxila must have been a great occasion. The brief introduction about Alexander's coming and stay in Taxila could have greatly improved our knowledge if we knew the place of his reception and other exercises in and around the city. Failing to discover any building that could be identified with such a place, Sir John Marshall thus commented about the appearance of the city, the houses of the people, or the countless other things that an archaeologist wants to know concerning their material culture, they have next to nothing to say. Their silence, however, about the city and its buildings is not without significance; for had they seen any monument of an imposing or striking character, we may be tolerably sure that we should have heard of it. The fact seems to be that Taxila in the fourth century B.C., although, no doubt, a large and densely populated city.... had no architecture worthy the name. So far as can be judged from the patches of remains uncovered..., the lay-out of the city was haphazard and irregular, its streets crooked, its houses ill-planned and built of rough rubble masonry in mud, which, though neater and more compact than the masonry of the earlier settlement below it, was still relatively crude and primitive.²³¹ Our conclusion is mainly derived from the associated minor antiquities, as recorded in the three excavations of the Bhir mound

²³⁰ Ibid, pp. 751-94.

²³¹ Ibid, pp. 19-20.

by Sir John Marshall (1913-34), Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1944-45), and S. M. Sharif (1966).

Alexander appointed Philip, son of Machatas, as satrap at Taxila with a garrison consisting of Macedonians and mercenaries as well as a number of invalid soldiers.²³² The Greek garrisons in the Punjab did not long survive. Philip was assassinated by his own mercenaries in 324 B.C., and Taxiles received orders from Alexander to carry on the government in conjunction with Eudamus, a Thracian officer, until a successor could be appointed. That appointment, however, was never made.²³³ K. C. Ojha adds, Even while he [Alexander] was present in India, the Brahmanas encouraged the Indians to rise against him.²³⁴ One such Brahmana was the famous teacher of political science in Taxila, Vishnugupta Canakya Kautilya by name, who had trained a young prince, destined to be famed as Chandragupta Maurya, who overthrew Greek domination in this part of the world.

3.7 Taxila under the Mauryans

The date of Chandragupta's accession to the throne is not definitely known. From the Greek accounts, Mookerji has built up a provisional course of events: Alexander died in 323 BCE and his generals divided his empire among themselves. A second partition took place in 321 BCE. This time no part of India to the east of the Indus was included in it. Peithon, the Greek governor of Sind, was removed and posted to

²³² *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

²³³ *Ibid*, p. 18.

²³⁴ Ojha, *The History of foreign Rule in ancient India*, 1968, p. 43.

the province between the Indus and the Paropamisus. It is therefore assumed that Chandragupta carried on his war of independence during the two years 325-323 BCE that intervened between the death of Philip and that of Philip's master, Alexander. Thus Chandragupta's accession to sovereignty may be dated 323 BCE.²³⁵ The overthrow of the Greeks was the first success of Chandragupta, and it is possible that he succeeded to sovereignty in the city of Taxila itself. His next venture was to overthrow the Nandas in the Gangetic valley with the forces recruited in the Punjab. Plutarch tells us that Chandragupta overran and subdued the whole of India with an army of 600,000 men.²³⁶

Chandragupta fought against Seleucus Nikator while he lived near the Indus River, probably at Taxila. Strabo who writes: Along the Indus are Paropamisadae about whom lies Paroparnisus mountain, then towards the south the Arachoti, then next towards the south the Gedrosini with the other tribes that occupy the seaboard, and the Indus lies latitudinally alongside all these places, and of these places in part, some that lie along the Indus, are held by Indians, although they formerly belonged to the Persians. Alexander took these away from the Arians [Indians] and established settlements of his own but Seleucus Nikator gave them to Sandrokottos [Chandragupta] upon terms of intermarriage (epigamia) and of receiving in exchange 500 elephants.²³⁷ From this evidence Raychaudhuri concluded that the territory ceded by Seleucus included four satrapies: Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia, and the

²³⁵ Nilakhanath Sastri, *A Comparative History of India*, Vol. II, *The Mauryas and Satavahanas 325BC to AD 300*, 1957, p. 5.

²³⁶ Majumdar, *The Classical Accouns of India*, p. 198.

²³⁷ Ojha, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

Paropamisadae, i.e., Herat, Kandahar, Makran, and Kabul.²³⁸ One direct result of this treaty between Seleucus and Chandragupta Maurya was the establishment of diplomatic relations. Megasthenes came to the Chandragupta court in 302 B.C. He was followed by Deimachos and Dionysios, who came to the court of Bindusara (*Amitraghata*) (r. 298-274 BCE) and Asoka (r. 274-232 BCE).

In the time of his son Bindusara, prince Susima was appointed viceroy but when he failed to quell the rebellion of the Taxilans, which was directed against the high-handedness of the local administration, Asoka was sent there twice from Ujjain to control the situation. He not only restored order in Taxila but also led an expedition, against the Svasas or Khasas, living in the northern parts.²³⁹ In the time of Asoka, prince Kunala was appointed viceroy. The story of Kunala's stepmother's jealousy and blinding of his eyes has been told in the Buddhist accounts.²⁴⁰ The successors of Asoka continued to rule in Taxila. Dasaratha and his son Samprati followed one after the other, and then came Salisuka, a name, which is taken to be an Indian form of the Greek Seleucus.²⁴¹

Taxila was certainly one of the important seats of Mauryan administration. On the other hand, the introduction of a money economy by the Achaemenians and its continuation by the Mauryans and even later by the local Taxilan issues speaks of the

²³⁸ Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India, from the Accession of Parikshit to the Extinction of the Gupta Dynasty*, 1953, p. 273.

²³⁹ For detail, see Mookerji, p. 3.

²⁴⁰ Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of Western World, Translated from Chinese of Hiwen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*, 1964, Vol. I, pp. 139-40.

²⁴¹ Nilakhanath Sastri, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

great commercial activity in the city. While the Mauryan punch-marked coins linked the trade of the city with the whole of the Mauryan empire, the local Taxilan coins show the necessity of the currency for meeting the same demand.²⁴² The Mauryan coins were important for two reasons: first, they introduced a definite system of punched symbols, five in number, which, if correctly interpreted, may throw light on the system of issuing coins: second, they were struck according to another system of weight standard, weighing 50-52 grains. Later these silver punch-marked coins were debased so much that silver was seen only as a coating over copper. Actually copper was more in use in Taxila because it was easily available and met the popular demand. The debasement of the silver coins must have taken place either towards the close of the Mauryan period or in the post-Mauryan period, when it was difficult to procure silver.²⁴³ Greek accounts give some more detail about the social life of the people of Taxila and show how that life was rooted in the local traditions and these traditions did not derive from the west but were rooted in the common cultural trends that characterized the Indo-Gangetic plains. They are also confirmed by the Buddhist sources. Strabo records Taxilan sophists and other matters in his Geography.

Aristobulus mentions some novel and unusual customs at Taxila; those who by reason of poverty are unable to marry off their daughters, lead them forth to the market-place in the flower of their age to the sound of both trumpets and drums (precisely the instruments used to signal the call to battle), thus assembled in a crowd;

²⁴² Gupta, *Coins*, 1969, p. 42.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, pp. 17-18.

and to any man who comes forward they first expose her rear parts up to the shoulders and then her front parts, and if she pleases him, and at the same time allows herself to be persuaded, on approved terms, he marries her; and the dead are thrown out to be devoured by vultures; and to have several wives is a custom common also to others. And he further says that he heard that among certain tribes wives were glad to be burned up along with their deceased husbands, and that those who would not submit to it were held in disgrace; and this custom is also mentioned by other writers. Chandragupta Maurya was first crowned king in Taxila and later conquered the Ganges valley with the forces recruited in the Punjab.²⁴⁴

Influences from Persia and the classical west are certainly noted in Taxila but much more important are the Central Asian influences brought by the Scythians, Parthians, Kushans, and Huns. But these influences did not change the character of the culture of Taxila. They were integrated into the traditional life of the city. As a footnote to these cultural trends, Sir John Marshall himself writes: "On the whole, the general culture of Taxila seems fairly well reflected in the speech and writing normally in use there. The popular speech was a Prakrit vernacular, closely akin to other Prakrits and quite intelligible throughout most of Northern India; the writing, on the other hand, was a local development of Aramaic, known as Kharoshthi, which would have been as little understood in Hindustan as the language would have been in Persia. The writing may be taken as typical of the many valuable contributions made by Western Asia and Greece to the culture of the city; the speech-more important than

²⁴⁴ For detail, see Mookerji, *Chandragupta Maurya*.

the writing-as typical of the culture itself, which, like the speech, was fundamentally Indian.²⁴⁵

Taxila became independent soon after the death of Asoka in 232 B.C.²⁴⁶ New series of Taxilan coins were issued by an independent authority, established in Taxila after the downfall of the Mauryans. Sir John Marshall observes, It seems likely that, after severing her connexion with Magadha, Taxila and other cities of the old Taxilan kingdom between the Indus and Jhelum rivers had formed some sort of confederacy of republican states under the leadership of Taxila, each member of which had the right to issue its own coinage.²⁴⁷ The commander-in-chief Pushyamitra Sunga overthrew the last of the Mauryan ruler, Brihadratha. The Bactrian Greeks took advantage of weak administration and attacked. But Pushyamitra Sunga was powerful enough to withstand this first invasion, and if we are to rely on the Buddhist sources, he continued to maintain his hold on the Punjab.²⁴⁸

It is presumed that the punch-marked coins were the legal currency of the Mauryan Empire. We do not know of any coin of Pushyamitra Sunga. It appears that the different regions were allowed to issue their own currency to meet the local trade demand, following the practice of earlier punch-marked coins. Taxilan coins bear inscriptions in Kharoshthi as well as in Brahmi characters. The use of bilingual inscriptions became so common hereafter that even the Greek and later coins

²⁴⁵ Marshall, *op. cit.* p. 22, fn. 1.

²⁴⁶ Vincent Smith, *Asoka*, 1920, p.70.

²⁴⁷ Marshall, *op. cit.*, P. 27.

²⁴⁸ Nilakantha Sastri, *A comprehensive History of India*, vol. 2, *The Mauryas and Satavahanas, 325BC to AD 300*, pp. 94-100.

continued this practice, with the difference that Brahmi was replaced by Greek script.²⁴⁹ It is possible that Kharoshthi was evolved by those who were using Aramaic script just to suit the local language. According to Marshall, the Bhir Mound produced 179 and Sirkap 502 of the local Taxilan coins.²⁵⁰ These coins were found in different strata. In the Bhir mound only 10 coins were found in stratum III, 134 coins in stratum II, and 33 in stratum I. Similarly in Sirkap as many as 312 coins were discovered in strata II and III. John Allan has described the detail of these coins and talked of the characteristic symbols of Taxila—a swastika, a hollow cross, a plant, a *chaitya* (three-arched symbol) surmounted by crescent, lion and elephant, and also a horse.²⁵¹

3.8 Taxila under the Greeks

Raja Ambhi, who ruled Taxila, was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya, who successfully stood up to Seleucus Nikator and won from him some more territories in Afghanistan and Baluchistan in about 306-305 BCE. Thereafter ambassadorial exchanges were made between the Greeks and the Mauryans. Greeks who followed in the wake of the downfall of the Mauryan Empire, in approximately 190-170 BCE, who made a decided impact on the development of culture in Gandhara and particularly in Taxila. But these Greeks came from Bactria after they had revolted against the Seleucidan authority, established in western Asia, and built up their own

²⁴⁹ Dani, *The History of Taxila*, 1986, p. 60.

²⁵⁰ Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 760-61.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 855-86.

independent kingdom in Central Asia. Taxila has produced the coins of Diodotus (rebelled ca. 250 BCE) and Euthydemus (r. ca. 225-190 BCE), the early Bactrian Greek rulers, though in a late context.

Menander or Milinda who is remembered in Indian literary tradition, and he has left behind a Kharoshthi inscription at Shinkot in Bajaur.²⁵² The inscription refers to the deposition of relics in a casket by two feudatories, Viryakamitra and Vijayamitra, whose coins have been found at Sirkap.²⁵³ Menander's interest in Buddhism is well known. There was a profusion of his coins in Sirkap. On the reverse of these coins the Greek deity Pallas has a special place. Taxila witnessed this history as one of the seats of the Indus-Greek power and that seat was located at Sirkap. The Greek level was not so thoroughly excavated at Sirkap as to solve the problems of Greek history. Disconnected history has to be built up on the basis of numismatic evidence. The cultural influence of the Greek rule, as revealed in the excavated material, is quite significant. The excavated area of Sirkap was the home of the elite class and hence it was developed by the ruling class in their own style of a planned and fortified city, most probably by the Greeks themselves. The greatest influence of the Greeks is seen in the technology of arts, crafts, domestic utensils of bronze, iron, stone, and pottery, and in the manufacture of jewellery of various kinds,²⁵⁴ in the use of arms and armoury, in the life style and in the manner in which the elite class was affected in its behaviour and choices. Taxilans continued in their own life pattern and followed their

²⁵² Sircar, *Selected Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, 1942, pp. 102-4.

²⁵³ Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 820, no. 252.

²⁵⁴ Sharif, *Some Gold Ear Pendants from Taxila*, *Journal of Central Asia* 6, no. 2, pp. 87-95.

own social and religious traditions. One great change is seen in the organized religious institutions that found expression in monumental architecture that probably owed a great deal to the technical expertise of the Greek architects.

3.9 Taxila under the Scythians and the Parthians

The Greeks appear to have regained power. It was Azes I, who, advancing from Arachosia, finally inflicted the deathblow to the rule of the Greeks and completed the Parthian city in Taxila. The first phase called the Saka–Parthian period of Taxilan history. This was followed by Parthian II phase, mainly remembered for the name of Gondophares, whose coins and inscriptions are found in a vast belt spreading from Bajaur to Chilas in the upper Indus. The name of Maues occurs as Moga with full imperial titles in the Taxila copper plate of Patika.

The inscription clearly speaks of the established rule of the Scythian ruler Maues in Taxila and in Indus region, where we find his satrap Liaka Kusuluka and the latter's son Patika. The discovery of the inscriptions²⁵⁵ of Moga from Chilas and the carvings of Scythian soldiers there make it quite clear that Moga arrived in Taxila from this direction. His successors may have continued to rule there until they were ousted by Gondophares, as is clear from Chilas inscription. At the same time it is also clear from the inscriptions that Moga was a Buddhist. Most probably Moga established his capital in Taxila.²⁵⁶ His long stay in Taxila must have given time to

²⁵⁵ Dani, *Chilas*, p.99.

²⁵⁶ Dani, *The History of Taxila*, 1986, p. 66.

rebuild the city and it would not be surprising if he started the Saka-Parthian phase of Sirkap. It is at this time that the Scythians extended their conquest from the Indus to Mathura, where the Mathura Lion Capital inscription names several Scythians including Patika and talks of *Sakastana*.²⁵⁷ Bivar thinks that this Mathura inscription records the time when Maues was dead, probably after a long reign.²⁵⁸ The new discovery of Kharoshthi inscriptions all along the upper Indus from Chilas to Hunza opens up a new picture of Scythian migration along this route and of the spread of Buddhism in this part in the first century BCE. Taxila must have played an important role in establishing the connection right up to Khotan.²⁵⁹

Name of Azes I have been found on two inscriptions from Taxila but they give him no imperial titles. His name has been read and it has been explained that the inscriptions are dated after his era. The first is known as the silver scroll inscription, found inside the reliquary casket from chapel G-5 of the Dharmarajika monastery²⁶⁰ and the second is the copper plate, found by the side of the stupa-shaped casket from the Kalwan monastery, shrine A-1.²⁶¹ The Saka-Parthian (Parthian I inclusive) period was a peak period in the development of Buddhism in Taxila. There are several other Buddhist inscriptions from Taxila that are assigned to the Vikrama era. The name Vikrama was assumed much later when it became a national era of the Indians after the defeat of the Scythians in western India by Chandragupta Vikramaditya.

²⁵⁷ Know, *Kharosthi Inscription with the Exception of those of Asoka*, 1929, p. 49.

²⁵⁸ Bivar, *Maues in Taxila: Problems of his Arrival-Routs and Political Allegiance*. *Journal of Central Asia*, 7, no. 1, p. 9.

²⁵⁹ Dani, *The History of Taxila*, 1986, p. 60.

²⁶⁰ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 327.

The important ruler of the Parthian II period, who, on numismatic evidence, is argued to have succeeded Azes II in Taxila, is Gondophares, or Gada, or Guduvharasa, as known from his coins and the Takht-i-Bahi and Chilas inscriptions.²⁶² The important description of Taxila given by Apollonius of Tyana, as recorded in his biography by Philostratus. His account of Taxila is as follows:

The name of Gondophares became very famous, and he is associated in the third century CE with the Christian story of St. Thomas while he was ruler of Taxila.²⁶³ Taxila was about the size of Nineveh, walled like a Greek city, and was the residence of a sovereign who ruled over what of old was the kingdom of Porus. Just outside the walls was a temple of near a hundred feet and in it a shrine, small considering the size of the temple and its many columns, but still very beautiful. Round the shrine were hung pictures on copper tablets, representing the feats of Alexander and Porus. The elephants, horses and soldiers, and armours were portrayed in a mosaic of orichalcum, silver, gold, and oxidised copper, the spears, javelins, and swords in iron; but the several metals were all worked into one another with so nice a gradation of tints, that the pictures they formed, in corrections [*sic*]of drawings, vivacity of expression, and truthfulness of perspective, remind one of the productions of Zeuxis, Polygnotus and Euphranor. They told too of the noble character of Porus, for it was not till after the death of Alexander that he placed them in the temple and this, though

²⁶² Dani, *Chilas*, p. 64.

²⁶³ See Van Lohuizen-De Leeuw. 254-55.

they represented Alexander as a conqueror, and himself as conquered and wounded, and receiving from Alexander the kingdom of India.

In this temple they wait until the king can be apprised of their arrival. . . . While they are thus talking, a messenger and interpreter arrive from the king, with a permit for them to enter the city, and to stay in it three days, beyond which time no strangers are allowed in Taxila.

They are taken to the palace. They found the city divided by narrow streets, well-arranged and reminding them of Athens. From the streets, the houses seemed of only one storey, but they all had an underground floor. They saw the Temple of the Sun and in it statues of Alexander and Porus, the one [of] gold, and the other of bronze; its walls were of red marble, but glittering with gold; the image of the god was of pearls, having, as is usual with the barbarians in sacred things, a symbolical meaning.

The palace was distinguished by no extraordinary magnificence, and was just like the house of any citizen of the better class. There were no sentinels or bodyguards and but few servants about, and perhaps three or four persons who were waiting to talk with the king. The same simplicity was observable in the courts, halls, waiting and inner rooms; and it pleased Apollonius more than all the pomp of Babylon. When admitted to the king's presence, Apollonius, through the interpreter, addressed the king as a philosopher, and complimented him on his moderation. The king, Phraotes, in answer, said that he was moderate because his wants were few, and that as he was wealthy, he employed his wealth in doing good to his friends and in

subsidizing the barbarians, his neighbours, to prevent them from themselves ravaging, or allowing other barbarians to ravage his territories. Here one of his courtiers offered to crown him with a jewelled mitre, but he refused it, as well because all pomp was hateful to him because of Apollonius's presence.²⁶⁴ There is also a description of the dinner served by the king to the guests and a detailed narration of the history of the king and the final leaving ceremony with presents given by the king.²⁶⁵ This description of Apollonius is not without exaggeration.

Remains of Sirkap show, the city life changed considerably from that of the earlier centuries, at least among the elite classes. Not only in architecture but also in domestic furniture, tools and plants, utensils, and decorations, the taste of the noble class shows great indebtedness to western contacts. It is at this time that we find a new school of art gradually taking shape out of the old classical forms, and it is this school that is today remembered as Gandhara art.²⁶⁶ The toilet trays (better described as decorative plates) of the time shows the adoption of many classical themes.²⁶⁷ At the same time the deities that appear on the coins show how iconographic representations of the local gods and goddesses were gradually shaping, probably under the influence of the western model but with all the iconographic details deriving from local traditions. This should not be considered as the marriage of east and west, but rather, presents an expression of the local concepts in the medium of the

²⁶⁴ Majumdar, *The Classic Accounts of India*, 1960, pp. 388-89.

²⁶⁵ Ghosh, *Taxila, Sirkap*, 1944-45, p. 145. *Ancient India*, no. 4, 1947-48, pp. 41-84.

²⁶⁶ Dani, *The History of Taxila*, 1986, p. 70.

²⁶⁷ Francfort and Dar, *Toilet Trays from Gandhara and Beginning of Hellenism in Pakistan*, *Journal of Central Asia* 2, no. 2, Dec. 1980, pp. 141-84.

west-an attempt to represent the local ideas on the basis of western technology and perhaps form Taxila had truly become a meeting ground of east and west, at least in the practical adoption of the two life styles.²⁶⁸

3.10 Taxila under the Kushans

The Kushans swept away completely the remnants of the Greeks and Parthians and built up a mighty empire extending into the three great river valleys of Asia—the Oxus, the Indus, and the Ganges—and set up a new gold standard of currency to meet the demands of expanding trade that flowed through the famous Silk Road, knitting together the peoples of the three regions into close contact and collaboration. This opened new prospect of social and economic development in which we see advances in accelerated urban growth and an encouragement to popular Buddhism that broke the bounds of old, spreading over vaster areas of Asia, and finally extended patronage to art that truly belonged to the Kushans, although manifesting itself in various idioms and deriving inspiration from various sources.²⁶⁹ The Kushans was a truly Central Asian empire, with the capital finally established at Peshawar and Kapisa. As their coins show an amalgam of deities from various religions, so their ruling traditions combined elements from the heritage of the then known world. Their kings bore the titles of *Kaisar*, *Devaputra* (son of god), and *Shao-nao-Shao* (i.e., *Maharajadhiraja* or Great King of Kings). Yet they inaugurated an era of the adoration of kings, represented in the robust manifestation of the king himself in stone statues installed in

²⁶⁸ Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

the royal chapel. Their Central Asian dress, expressed in long baggy trousers that covered long boots at the lower end, and that was topped by a long overcoat, the head glowing in the sphere of the sun's glory, has become a historic attire of a Central Asian man—a robust accoutrement that is the national heritage of the people of the Indus-land. The great shahs left an abiding impression on the generations that followed them, and this can be traced in the rich treasures that still lie buried in the ruinous mounds of Taxila.

According to excavation in Taxila, the city of Sirsukh is attributed to the Kushans as it introduced a Central Asian type of city planning and building in an open area and included features of a rectangular design, semicircular towers, and a fortification wall, which is constructed of rough rubble faced with neatly fitting limestone masonry of the heavy diaper type.... provided at the base, on its outer face, with a heavy roll plinth.²⁷⁰ There is, however, no definite information about the name of the builder. Sir John Marshall wavered between the third Kushan emperor Kanishka and the second emperor Vima Kadphises and opined that an earlier epidemic and later earthquake, about 30 CE, in Sirkap probably persuaded the Kushans to move out to a new site for the purpose of better defence.²⁷¹ But later excavation at Sirkap conducted in 1944-45 led A. K. Ghosh to say that Sirkap continued to be occupied as late as the last years of the reign of Kushan king

²⁷⁰ Marshall, *Taxila I*, pp. 217-18

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, p. 217.

Huvishka, third in succession to Kanishka.²⁷² The purpose of building the new fortified settlement of Sirsukh must therefore be sought in the new defence requirements of the Kushan emperors, as was also the case with the Greeks when they built the new city of Sirkap for their elite population.²⁷³

The construction of the new city at Sirsukh shows the great interest that the Kushans took in the urban development of Taxila although it was not their capital. On the other hand, the enlargement of many Buddhist monasteries at this time with fittings and luxurious provisions of all kinds makes the urban growth of the city a model of development for the time. Whether such a development was the result of the personal interest of the emperors themselves or a necessary consequence of the general enrichment of the populace that found manifestation in monumental creation yet remains to be worked out in detail. The Sassanians started a new venture to strike at the very heart of the Kushan empire and snatch step by step the sources of its power. Taxila, the Peshawar valley, and the Central Punjab appear to have escaped the fury of the first Sassanian invasion, the closing years of the rule of Vasudeva II were not free from troubles.

According to the Chinese sources, the White Huns or the Ephthalites who had conquered the whole of the Oxus valley proceeded to Gandhara. The Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun, who visited this place in 520 CE, writes as follows:

²⁷² Ghosh, *Sirkap*, p145.

²⁷³ Dani, *op. cit.*

During the middle decade of the 4th month of the first year of Ching-Kwong (520) we entered the kingdom of Gandhara. This country closely resembles the territory of U-chang. It was formerly called the country of Ye-po-lo [Apa-lala]. This is the country which the Ye-thas destroyed, and afterwards set up Lae-lih to be king over the country; since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of the king (*or* dynasty) was cruel and malicious, and he practised the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to worship demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brahman caste; they had a great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books, when suddenly this king came into power, who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort.²⁷⁴

The name of the first Hun ruler, who conquered Gandhara in 450 CE, has been corrected as Thujina²⁷⁵ (or Tigin or Tunjina) on the evidence of coins and of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* written in ca. 1148. One of his coin types bears the title of Shahi Jabula or Javula or Jaruka. This type of coin has been found in Taxila.²⁷⁶ The next ruler, Mihirakula in whose reign Sung-Yun arrived, is known to have been a passionate worshipper of Siva. Mihirakula, who made an incursion into the heart of India, was later, in about 530 CE, defeated by the allied forces of Central India but he

²⁷⁴ Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of Western World, Translated from Chinese of Hiwen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*, 1964, Vol. 1, pp. xcix-c.

²⁷⁵ Biswas, *The Political History of Hunas in India on the period from 650 to 325BC*, 1973, pp. 45-55.

²⁷⁶ Dani, *op. cit.* p.76.

continued to hold sway in the Kashmir, Gandhara, and Kabul valleys.²⁷⁷ The last independent Hun ruler is called Yudhishthira.

The history of the Huns, Sir John Marshall adds his own interpretation of the evidence from Taxila: Coins of the White Huns number only thirty-two—all of silver, but they constitute a valuable series in themselves and all the more so because of the circumstances of their finding, which leave no room for doubt that it was the White Huns who were responsible for the wholesale destruction of the Buddhist *sangharamas* of Taxila. All but one of their coins was found on the floors of the burnt-out monasteries, where some of the invaders evidently perished along with the defenders. Twenty of the coins were in the doorway of cell 13, and one in front of cell 8 at the Bhamala monastery, seven in the courtyard of the Lalchak monastery, and three in room 6 of Court J at the Dharmarajika, where several skeletons of those who fell in the fight, including one of a White Hun, were lying.²⁷⁸

According to Sir John Marshall: Court H of Dharmarajika was burnt out and reduced to ruin, probably at the hands of the White Huns, in the latter part of the fifth century A.D., when not only the Dharmarajika but every other Buddhist settlement then standing in the neighbourhood of Taxila was destroyed.²⁷⁹ This conclusion was proved for Sir John Marshall by the discovery of three coins of the White Huns and a burnt birch-bark manuscript in the debris of Court J at the Dharmarajika. Another

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

²⁷⁸ Marshall, op. cit. p. 791.

²⁷⁹ Ibid, P, 285.

"incinerated" Buddhist manuscript was discovered in the Jaulian monastery together with the debased Indo-Sassanian coins.²⁸⁰ The manuscript was written in the Gupta Brahmi script of the fifth century, probably just at the time of the Hun invasion. Sir John Marshall concludes that the destruction of this *Sangharama*, like all the other Buddhist *Sangharamas* in the neighbourhood, took place in the latter part of the fifth century A.D., and was in all probability attributable to the White Huns, who were then sweeping over the north-west of India.²⁸¹

3.11 The Ancient Cities of Taxila

3.11.1 Bhir Mound

According to Alexander Cunningham, The ruins of the ancient city near Shahdheri, (Bhir Mound) which I propose to identify with Taxila, are scattered over a wide space extending about three miles from north to south, and two miles from east to west. The remains of many stupas and monasteries extend for several miles further on all sides, but the actual ruins of the city are confined within the limits above-mentioned. These ruins consist of several distinct portions, which are called by separate names even in the present day.²⁸² The views of Cunningham were before the excavation of 1862-65. Cunningham reports that, according to the belief of the local people, the oldest part of the city was located in the Bhir mound.²⁸³ The ruins of Bhir

²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 387.

²⁸¹ *Ibid*.

²⁸² Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*. Vol. 2, p. 116.

²⁸³ *Ibid*, pp. 116-17.

and Hathial occupying respectively the western and eastern banks of the Tamra rivulet. But it is towards the north of the Hathial spur that the rivulet Tamra twists and bends several times and is also joined by other rivulets, including the Gau and the Lundi nala. The excavations carried out at the Bhir mound and unearthed material specially old coins are found in greater numbers. The excavations of Bhir Mound produced numerous artefacts. Among them were indigenous items such as irregular punch-marked coins, flat punch-marked bent-bar coins, Indian terra-cotta statuettes and jewellery, together with foreign products such as Hellenistic necklaces, silver coins issued by the Greek kings of Bactria, and Achaemenid stamp-seals.

Of the excavated buildings on the Bhir mound, those of Sir John Marshall present a picture of the house plan, city streets and lanes, drainage system, sanitary arrangement, water supply, and shopping centres.²⁸⁴ Sir John Marshall suggested that the Tamra rivulet was the only source of water supply.²⁸⁵ Ring wells and soakage jars for refuse have been discovered in several houses, squares, and streets in Bhir Mound. According to Prof. Dani the picture of city arrangement has been much vitiated by applying modern western notions of block planning of houses—a notion which has no relevance to the local traditional system.²⁸⁶ But in the opinion of Stuart Piggott, the figure of the houses in the Bhir mound, probably of the fourth century BCE, presents

²⁸⁴ Marshall, pp. 89-101.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

²⁸⁶ Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

only a partial picture of this locality as it omits the two east-west lanes that limit this, and as a result the real purpose of this complex was not clear.²⁸⁷

In the excavated area there were main streets 6.7 to 2.7 meters in width running from east to west, with narrow access roads running into them. Houses stood in the sections between these streets and lanes, and were made of limestone, or white stone known locally as 'kanjur', bound with mud. According to Sir John Marshall, the finds made in this area were not later than about 175 B.C. and probably not earlier than 250 BCE.²⁸⁸ The Bhir mound complexes are not a random collection of houses, ill-arranged and ill-conceived, with round clumsy streets and lanes. Although it was not a pre-planned city, yet the street alignments almost all follow a north-south direction while the lanes lie east to west.²⁸⁹ The Bhir mound settlement is a typical example of urban growth in the historical period of the Indus-land, set within its complicated requirements of acting as both an administrative and commercial centre on the international route that connected South Asia with the west over land.²⁹⁰

In plan, the dwelling-houses were irregular. A large open courtyard stood in the centre—as in Mesopotamian court-cantered houses - and 15 to 20 small rooms were arranged about the courtyard. The houses had windows and it seems that the roofs were made of wooden beams arranged side by side and covered with mud. The walls too were plastered with mud. Each house had several wells (cylindrical in shape) and

²⁸⁷ Piggot, *Some Ancient Cities of Indi*, 1945, p. 24.

²⁸⁸ Marshall, p. 101.

²⁸⁹ Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

²⁹⁰ Ghosh, *Irregular plan of the preceding city on Bhir Mound*, p. 44.

polluted water was run into these. Other refuse would seem to have been placed in large communal bins (in size about 2.7 meters by 1.5 meters) provided in the squares or in the streets. From the number of rooms that these houses had, it is presumed that they belonged to members of the wealthy class. In parts of the streets where these residences were found there were drainage gutters made of flat stones, but there was generally no overflow and it appears that rainwater was allowed to run freely on the streets.

The city was surrounded by a rampart, built of such materials as unbaked bricks, mud and wood. The city ruins belonged to four different periods. The oldest was from the 6th and 5th centuries BCE, during the rule of Achaemenian Persia. A new city was built on the first about the 4th century BCE and soon Alexander the Great visited Taxila, and Ambhi (Omphis), the king of Taxila, surrendered to him and offered him a body of soldiers mounted on elephants. The third city belonged to the period when Taxila was included in the territories of the Maurya dynasty, about the 3rd century before Christian era. It is from this time that appeared a Buddhist stupa associated with the story of Prince Kunala, a son of Asoka, who was exiled by his father on a false charge, and the Dharmarajika stupa, which is said to have been built by Asoka, outside the city.

The power of the Maurya Dynasty declined about 200 years BCE and Demetrius, a Macedonian king of the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdom in the north of Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, seized the opportunity to conquer the Taxila regions. The

latest and last city of Bhir Mound belonged to the period after the 2nd century BCE, when Indo-Greek kings held court at Taxila. One of them soon abandoned Bhir Mound, however, and built a new city to the north of Sirkap.

3.11.2 Sirkap

Sirkap, the second fortified city of Taxila, includes the extreme western end of the Hathial Spur and is situated on the east bank of the Tamra rivulet. The city was surrounded by a city wall with a total length of some five kilometres, built of stone and mud, with a thickness of about 50 centimetres and a height of about nine meters.

The northern and eastern sides of the rampart were straight, but the other sides were irregular, as if they paralleled the meandering of the Tamra nala. Philostratus²⁹¹ wrote about the city of Sirkap, "Taxila, they tell us, is about as big as Nineveh, and was fortified fairly well after the manner of Greek cities; and here was the royal residence of the personage who then ruled the empire of Porus." The northern part of the city is built on the plain and the southern part on a hill. It resembles a level ground of a Hellenistic city and an acropolis.

The excavated streets showed a main street running from north to south with a number of lanes running from east to west laid out in schematic chessboard pattern and cantering on it. Sir John Marshall argue that Sirkap was built by Greeks of the

²⁹¹ Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, II, xx, 9-12, p. 169.

Graeco-Bactrian kingdom who had invaded from the north of Afghanistan.²⁹² The Greeks of Graeco-Bactria had in fact built a new fortified city, Shaikhan Dheri, based on the Hippodamian plan on a plain to the east of the old city, Bala Hisar, 6th to 2nd century BCE, in the suburbs of Charsadda to the north of Peshawar. The excavation of Sirkap was, however, carried out only in part—covering about one-eighth of the city. Although a Greek layer was slightly excavated near the north gate, most of the city street sections excavated were structural remains of the later Indo-Parthian period (1st century CE) they were parts of the city dating from the time when Gondophares, King of the Indo-Parthian Kingdom ruled.

Sir John Marshall points out that immediately underneath the foundations of the stone wall, a little to the west of the north gateway, my excavations had disclosed the remains of a small water reservoir and connected channels constructed of rubble stone and faced with plaster, which... were, of course, demonstrably older than the wall.²⁹³ He further concludes that the Bactrian Greeks were the authors of these stone fortifications, which they built at the time when they transferred the city from the Bhir mound to Sirkap.²⁹⁴ According to Marshall the deeper levels inside the western half of the northern city-wall exposed six periods of occupation, of which the lowest two have been ascribed to the Indo-Greeks of the second century B.C. It has been surmised that during this period the fortifications were of mud and embraced a larger area, extending northwards to the earthen ridge locally known as Kachcha Kot, which

²⁹² Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

²⁹³ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

is supposed to represent the remnants of these fortifications. The third and fourth cities have been ascribed to the times of the Sakas, beginning with Azes I (c. 57 BCE) to whom has been ascribed the stone-fortification, which left a northern portion of the older city out of its limits.²⁹⁵

If we examine the fortification wall on the eastern side, the straight line goes right up to the Kunala stupa and then is splayed eastwards either because of the earlier presence of the stupa or because the wall was extended southwards later to include the heights of the Hathial spur. However, there seems to be no reason why the Greek city should not extend at least up to the foot of the Hathial spur, as the whole layout of the city, as far as the excavation has gone, belongs to one Hellenistic pattern.²⁹⁶ The position of the Hathial spur has no relation to the planning of Sirkap city. Similarly, the fortification wall surrounding Sirkap follows the contour of the hill and also of the earlier occupation at the western edge of the Hathial spur. Since the suggestion of Sir John Marshall that the acropolis was located here²⁹⁷, an attempt has been made, in vain, to discover an inner line of fortification and that has been actually shown, though in broken lines, in the map published by Ghosh. If this inner line was there at all, it may have separated the planned city from the buildings on the Hathial spur, all of which relate to the Buddhist settlements and a still earlier occupation on the two Hathial mounds. It is also possible that the top of these mounds and probably their northern front were used by later builders in the same way as the

²⁹⁵ Ghosh A., Taxila (Sirkap). 1944-45, *Ancient India*, no. 4 (1947-48), P. 42.

²⁹⁶ Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

²⁹⁷ Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-18.

Hathial spur was used for Buddhist establishments. In that sense alone, the Hathial spur could be accepted as a possible acropolis.

The Sirkap site today is a plain area, the unexcavated portion still under cultivation lying by the side of the Tamra rivulet. The Gau rivulet has now practically vanished because of the new road construction and the new water channel that has been taken out from Khanpur dam. A bridge at Tamra, north of the north-western corner of the Sirkap fortification, links the Sirkap site with the village of Mohra Maliaran, and a by-road, taking off a little aside from the northern gate of Sirkap, goes northwards to the Jandial sites and beyond to the new premises of the Engineering University. This road dips over a shallow ditch just before the two Jandial Greek temples. The ditch skirts Kachcha Kot on its north. It is exactly at this place that Cunningham shows a small rivulet. Thus this entire area, north of the Sirkap fortification wall, is traversed by a series of water channels that all flow into the Tamra rivulet. It is possible that Kachcha Kot was erected as a possible bund to protect against the flood of the Tamra.²⁹⁸

As far as the fortification wall is concerned, Sir John Marshall's following description holds good even today: The stone wall which surrounded the Sirkap city was approximately 6,000 yards or nearly 5½ km in length, with a thickness varying from 15 to 21 ft. 6 in. Along the western edge of the plateau it has an irregular alignment, broken by various salient and recesses, but on the north and east sides it is

²⁹⁸ Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

quite straight, and from the south-east corner of the plateau proceeds in the same straight line up the steep side of the northern ridge of the Hathial spur, 49 metre in height, then dips down across a depression, traverses a second ridge and depression, and so ascends to the summit of the third and highest ridge towards the south, which is just on 91½ metre above the general level of the plain. From this point it formerly turned in a westerly direction and descended the rocky edge of the ridge to its western corner; after which it took a sharp turn to the north, then bent west again round a prominent bluff above the Tamra rivulet, and so returned north along the western scarp of the plateau. Within its circuit the city wall thus embraced three rocky and precipitous ridges of the Hathial spur, besides an isolated flat-topped hill, which rises in a gradual slope from the bluff above referred to, and the low level plateau to the north.²⁹⁹

Sir John Marshall has further described the way in which the wall was consolidated on the north. On the north side of the city the wall was strengthened on the outside by a raised berm about 7.62 metre in width, and by a series of solid rectangular bastions set at irregular intervals along its face. The berm which was designed especially to protect the foundations of the wall from being undermined, was composed of rubble and mud with a retaining wall of coursed rubble along its front; the projection of the bastions from the curtain is the same as that of the berm (c. 7.62 metre) on the retaining wall of which their fronts are supported; their width averages about 7 metre. On the east side of the city only small sections of the wall

²⁹⁹ Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 113-14.

have been examined, but here it has been found that the bastions are carried down for 2.74 metre and more below the bottom of the wall, and that both wall and bastions are strengthened on the outside with footings, as if intended to be buried to the height of some 1.83 metre or so in the ground.³⁰⁰

Ghosh adds more information regarding to the north-east bastion, The north-eastern corner of the fortified area was uncovered. The city-wall was here 6 metre thick and 4.27 metre high, and contained evidence of repairs near its top. The sides of the solid structure of the bastion were each 11 metre long, the eastern wall being carried downwards in conformity with the sloping ground by means of four basal offsets.³⁰¹ As far as the entrance is concerned, one definite gateway is placed on the northern side but it is "not directly opposite the end of the main street, but a little to the east of it, so that the street itself was masked from view as one entered the gateway."³⁰² The interior of the excavated area at Sirkap makes a complete departure from the pattern of the Bhir settlement. Here we have an example of a pre-planned city, with a regularity maintained throughout, but the local features of not providing refuse drains and water wells are common to Bhir as well. On the other hand, the layout of a regular straight street, running north to south and cutting it at right angles by cross streets, shows the whole arrangement of the houses in a regular block system.³⁰³

³⁰⁰ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

³⁰¹ Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

³⁰² Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

³⁰³ Dani, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

Sir John Marshall has distinguished three types of religious buildings: Buddhist shrines, Jaina stupas, and private chapels, the last as seen in the court of the palace. The only criterion for dividing the stupas between Buddhist and Jaina is the presence or non-presence of votive tanks with terracotta figurines of the mother goddess in them. Such a criterion is hardly acceptable even though they may be absent from stupas as in the Buddhist site of Dharmarajika.³⁰⁴ Many objects are unearthed from the Sirkap city of Taxila. It contained the following objects.³⁰⁵

1. A pair of gold ear rings of the "disk and pendant" pattern
2. Another gold ear ring
3. Five pairs of gold ear pendants of "leech and pendant" type
4. Two pairs of hollow gold ear pendants of heart-shaped pattern
5. A gold necklace containing eighty-nine pieces of "spearhead and drop" pattern
6. A gold necklace containing twenty-three tubular beads
7. Four necklace terminals of gold
8. A gold girdle of fish pattern
9. A gold girdle with triple fish pattern
10. A hairpin of silver with gold head
11. Eight gold bangles
12. A torque of beaten gold
13. Four double-ring anklets of silver

³⁰⁴ Ibid.

³⁰⁵ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

14. Fourteen single-ring anklets of silver
15. Twenty rosettes of gold
16. A plain silver jug with ring handle
17. A silver vase with a handle of knotted wire, with a Kharoshthi inscription, reading "Year 191 (i.e., 36 CE). Of Jihonika, Satrapa of Chukhsa, son of (Manigula, brother) of the Great King." The king at that time was the Parthian ruler Gondophares. .
18. Two *aryballoi* (high-necked globular vessels) of silver with lids
19. Three silver goblets
20. Five shallow bowls of silver, two with Kharosthi inscription, reading "Of Theodorus, the son of Thevara"
21. Three circular bowls of silver
22. Two silver cups
23. A round silver dish, with the owner's name *Mimjukrita* and its value given as 30 staters and 2 drachms
24. Five circular saucers of silver
25. A rectangular plate of silver with the same name *Mimjukrita* in Kharosthi
26. A shovel-shaped spoon of silver
27. A circular strainer of silver
28. A conical strainer of silver
29. Two circular concave lids of silver
30. The broken handle of a silver spoon
31. A seated terracotta figure found in the ruins

Miscellaneous objects made of a number of other materials: pottery, stone, iron, copper, bronze, bone, and ivory also found in this city. Another hoard of a slightly later date also contained twenty-one silver coins of Sasan, Sapedanés, Satavastra, and Kadphises. Other finds included: toilet trays, saucers, copper spoons, a silver bowl and ladle, and five groups of coins. According to the results of this excavation, the city of the present Sirkap lasted from the time of Azes I, an Indo-Scythian king, in the middle of the 1st century BCE, to the time of the Kushan Dynasty in 1st and 2nd century CE.

Chronologically speaking, the city is divided into four periods, that of King Gondophares falling into the second. In view of all this, the extent or size of the Greek city of Sirkap, whose existence was confirmed by Sir John Marshall, though only partly, becomes a question. It is certain from the existence of silver and copper Greek (Indo-Greek) coins dug up at Sirkap and other sites, and from the votive inscription of Heliodorus, a Greek emissary sent by Antialkides, a king of Taxila, which still exists at Besnagar in India, that several Greek king lived in Taxila from the 2nd century to the 1st century BCE., and issued coins.

Mortimer Wheeler assumed that the position of 'Greek Sirkap' was as follows. The city built by the Greek kings included the north wall of the present Sirkap and one third of the inhabited area (at the lowest level) from there to the south, while on the other hand it reached the remains of a rampart (called the Kaccha Kot) about 450

meters north of the north wall and running almost exactly east to west to the south of a bend in the Tamra rivulet.

A royal palace was found in the southernmost part of the excavated area, to the east side of the main street, and occupied a section of the city about 120 meters from east to west and about 105 meters from north to south in size. Each of its buildings was constructed in the same way as were the private houses, employing the court-centered plan; but it is on the whole slightly more complicated. The entrance to the palace faced south on a side road off the main road, which lay to the west of the palace. Sir John Marshall assumed that the palace had chambers for the use of such things as audiences and government affairs, and for guests, court ladies (wives and mistresses), guards, and a treasury.³⁰⁶

These palace remains are lacking entirely in magnificence, and this aspect corresponds with the following description of the palace by Apollonius of Tyana:

And, in the palace they say that no magnificent chambers, nor any bodyguards or sentinels, but considering what is usual in the houses of magnates, only a few servants, and three or four people who wished, so I suppose, to converse with the king. And they say that they admired this arrangement more than they did the pompous splendour of Babylon, and their esteem was enhanced when they went

³⁰⁶ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

within. For the men's chambers and porticoes and the whole of the vestibule were in a very chaste style.³⁰⁷

Structural remains consisting of small rooms similarly arranged about an open courtyard were also excavated at Mahal on the Hathial Spur to the south. As Mahal means 'royal residence', and as its scale (70 meters by 90 meters) and the masonry of the walls resembles those of the royal palace mentioned above, it is assumed to have been a sunny hermitage, a winter royal residence, with a fine, commanding view to the west. From these remains, silver and copper artefacts, such as beakers, bowls, pans with handles, ladles, and mirrors were unearthed together.

3.11.3 Sirsukh

Sirsukh is located on the north bank of the Lundi rivulet and about 1.6 km to the north-east of Sirkap. It is the remains of a fortified city of a slightly irregular rectangular shape measuring about 1.4 km from north to south and about 1 km from east to west. The city walls are about three meters high and wide. They were skilfully built of rubble and heavy-diaper works and had at regular intervals semi-circular bastions, about three meters in diameter. Both the walls and bastions are equipped with loopholes. Sirsukh is generally attributed to the Kushans because of the stone masonry, rectangular planning, and other special features of the defensive wall. To the north-west of this settlement there is again a crescent-shaped line of mounds, called Tredi-Ghar, exactly corresponding to Kachcha Kot in relation to Sirkap. This is

³⁰⁷ Philostratus, *The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, II, xxv, p. 183.

generally supposed to be a suburban settlement. Unfortunately the Sirsukh site has not been much excavated. Therefore not much can be said about the cultural wealth of the people living in this area. However, some work done here shows a regular rectangle of the fort. Of the eastern side of the fortification wall only the south-east corner was exposed. The wall is built of rough rubble faced with neatly fitting limestone masonry of the heavy diaper type. It is 5.6 metre thick and is provided at the base, on its outer face, with a heavy roll plinth, added to strengthen the foundations. The wall has semicircular bastions on the outside, with an opening from inside.

The antiquities were very few. They included a bone mirror handle and coins of Azes II, Kadphises I, debased Indo-Sassanian, and fifty-nine of Akbar, all of copper. Inside the fort the excavation was conducted near Pindora, where a large building area was cleared. It comprised two courts with some rooms. The walls were constructed of semi-ashlar masonry but the foundations were of limestone rubble. Three large earthenware jars were recovered from one room. Other minor objects included: a handled jug and several vessels of pottery, a tablet of clay-stone, a bracket of schist, an iron frying pan, a copper bowl, two bone stili, three bangles of shell, finger rings, and beads. Forty coins of copper, found here, included those of local Taxilan issue, Azes I, Kadphises I, Kadphises II, Kanishka, Huvishka, Vasudeva, later Kushana, and Spalapatideva. These finds suggest that the settlement here lasted for a much longer time.

Sir John Marshall assumed that the city of Sirsukh had been built by Wima Kadphises, a king of the Kushan Dynasty. However, we should assume that the present city wall was not built by him but more probably either by one of his followers in the later period of the Kushan Dynasty (from the late 2nd to the early 3rd century CE) or in the period of the 3rd and 4th century CE, from the existence of the semi-circular bastions quite exceptional in Kushan city fortifications, and also from the fact that on the Gandharan and Bactrian sculptures of the Kushan period, only cities fortified with rectangular bastions are represented.

Furthermore, semi-circular bastions like those of Sirsukh appeared for the first time after the later period of the Arsacid Dynasty in Western Asia (the second half of the 2nd to the first half of the 3rd century CE), e.g. at Hatra in the north of Iraq, at Takht-i Sulaiman in the north-west of Iran, and at Bishapur in the south of Iran, etc. The semi-circular bastions of Sirsukh were constructed after the West-Asiatic (Parthian or Sasanian) or Roman city fortifications method and not by Wima Kadphises after the older Khoresmian or Bactrian fortifications. There is, of course, the probability that Sirsukh itself was established by Wima Kadphises, but fuller explanations will have to be postponed until future excavations have been carried out, as Sirsukh today is occupied by cultivated fields, orchards graves and villages. In 7th century CE, when Hsüan tsang visited Taxila, Sirsukh prospered as the capital of the kingdom of Taxila.

We have taken a general look at the remains of the three great cities of Taxila. A number of Buddhist temples were built on the plain and among the hills or valleys near the cities, and they showed remarkable developments including the creation of the Buddha Image, particularly from the time of the Kushan Dynasty, thanks to the colossal wealth accumulated through intensive international trade with the Roman Empire and Later Han China, and elsewhere, carried on by the Kushans. It was solely because of that wealth concentrated in cities such as Taxila, that the Buddhist art of Gandhara and Taxila which we should call, Kushan Buddhist Art, was created. That is to say, the development of Buddhist culture in these regions was made possible only with the economic development, the stability of the city life and the internal peace given by the Kushan Dynasty, and lastly the devotion and support given to Buddhism by the Kushan and well-to-do families living in the cities. Consequently, the decay of the cities brought the decline of the Buddhist culture in Gandhara and Taxila.

CHAPTER 4

THE ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF TAXILA

The Art and Architecture of Taxila

Taxila was the only big city in ancient India known to the Greeks as many specimens have been unearthed through archaeological excavations. Long-lasting excavations at Taxila, which have revealed three successive city sites and about two dozen other monuments and diverse material which is the best means of studying the nature and level of various dynasties in ancient Pakistan. Architecture of Taxila is most instructive for this purpose. Unfortunately, this aspect of the city has so far been studied only perfunctorily. However, in the present state of our knowledge, 'hellenism' in Pakistan and India begins at Taxila and this is evident in its architecture more than in any other aspect.

The earliest temples of Buddhism were buildings of wood and thatch erected when the demand arose for actual shrines to enclose some cult object, such as a memorial stupa, to concentrate the worship of the Buddha's followers on some material reminder or symbol of his earthly mission. Prior to this, the services had been conducted in the open air, in groves or a forest clearing, such as the Buddha was wont to select for gatherings of his disciples. These earliest structural buildings of Buddhism have, of course, disappeared, but we can get a very clear impression of their appearance from the sculptural replicas of such edifices as began to be carved

from the living rock in various parts of Gandhara as early as the Maurya Period. These are the so-called cave temples of western India. The word 'cave' is actually rather misleading, since it implies a natural grotto that is the home of wild beasts or savages, whereas these entirely manmade recesses are among the most sophisticated examples of religious art in all Indian history. 'Rock-cut sanctuaries' is a better definition for these enormous halls of worship hewn from the rock in imitation of free-standing architectural types. The definition, chaitya-hall, sometimes applied to these monuments, is derived from the word chaitya, which refers to any holy place.

The rock-cut temples are only the most ambitious examples of the development of monumental stone-carving that followed on the invasion of Alexander the Great and the re-establishment of relations with western Asia. In subcontinent there was probably already the idea of preserving the Buddha's Law through the bad times at the end of the *kalpa*. Such grotto/cave sanctuaries appealed to the early Buddhists through their association with caves that even in Vedic times had formed the abodes of hermits and *rishis*. The development of the religion from the isolated practice of asceticism to the formation of a monastic organization required the enlargement of the single rock-cut cell provided for the retreat of holy men by Aśoka to the monumental rock-cut assembly halls that we find in western India.

A number of foreign rulers like Greeks, Bactrians, Scythians or Sakas, Parthians and the then Kushans gained control of the region and contributed to the growth of its art and culture. Gandhara thus became a melting pot of several cultural currents that

resulted in the emergence of a mixed school of sculptural styles, which has come to be known as the Gandhara School of sculpture.

Majority of the scholars argue that the Gandhara art starting in the reign of Kanishka - I i.e., 1st and 2nd centuries CE.³⁰⁸ However, still less clear is the role played by Taxila in the evolution of this art. At first sight, there appears to be a gap at Taxila between the mature phase and the earlier phase of Gandhara art.³⁰⁹ The gap did not exist; the problem is that of lack of proper studies based on styles and techniques, further magnified by lack (rather non-existence) of stratified evidence from other sites, lack of inscribed material and, where such material exists, ambiguity of eras used.³¹⁰ In a study of drapery pattern A. W. Lawrence has clearly shown that such a beautiful figure as the well-known Bodhisattva Maitreya and some colossal stucco statues—all from Mohra Muradu, Taxila, ceased to be produced approximately when the mature Gandhara art began in the mid 2nd century CE. In other words it means that adolescence of Gandhara art at Taxila and elsewhere started earlier than the advent of Kushans.³¹¹ It is the sculptural and purely Buddhist art that goes to the credit of Kushans. Beginning of the art of Gandhara is therefore not a privilege of Kushans alone. At least no archaeological evidence for the same is available. Sufficient studies are now available to show that the Gandhara art made its nascent beginning as a result of Greek rule at Taxila and elsewhere. A group of stucco

³⁰⁸ A. Foucher, *Beginning of Buddhist Art in India*. (London: 1917), p. 128. John Marshall. *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, op. cit. pp. 17-32 and A. H. Dani, "Shaikhhan Dheri Excavation: 1963-64", *Pakistan Archaeology*, II. 1965-66, p. 39.

³⁰⁹ Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 3. 105.

³¹⁰ Dar, *Taxila & the Western World*, p. 45.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*

sculpture from the Apsidal Temple in Sirkap,³¹² is also a product of Gandhara and so is the Jandial Temple. Jewellery, silverware, gem intaglios and host of other objects from Sirkap and Shaikahan Dheri. These are not isolated examples but are actually contemporary with the Bodhisattva Maitreya and other related stucco sculptures from Mohra Muradu and similar other statues from elsewhere. Taxila played a significant role in the continuous development of Gandhara art. Sirkap group of stone statuettes, however, are essentially secular in nature meant for some household use and the earlier period toilet trays are perhaps meant for some domestic cult. On the other hand, Mohra Muradu group of stone and stucco sculptures are essentially communal, religious and Buddhist. The Hellenistic elements, Greek or Roman in the Buddhist art of Gandhara have been treated, briefly indeed, by many scholars³¹³ and thus need not be repeated here. The evidence from Taxila is merely of complimentary nature. The best example from Taxila is a figure in round of a winged Nike wearing a Greek Doric chiton³¹⁴.

The stucco sculptures from various sites in the Taxila Valley are pride of Taxila.³¹⁵ In this area, stucco sculptures, were first made at Ai Khanum in the second century BCE.³¹⁶ At Taxila, stucco was used as plaster as early as the times of Greeks,

³¹² Marshall, *Taxila II*, 1970, pp. 517-20.

³¹³ V. A. Smith, "Graeco-Roman Influence on the Civilization of Ancient India", *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Pl. I, No. III 1898; A. Foucher, *Beginning of Buddhist Art*. Banerjee, *Hellenism in Ancient India*. (Calcutta: 1920); Eileen Roberts, "Greek Deities in the Buddhist Art of India", *Oriental Art*, Vol. 3, 1959, pp. 114-19; A. Soper, *The Roman Style in Gandhara*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, LV. 1951, pp. 301-12, etc.

³¹⁴ Marshall, *Taxila II*, p. 711, No. 89.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 513-32.

³¹⁶ Paul Bernard, p. 91.

but for sculptural purposes the material, as far as our present knowledge goes, was used for the first time in the early first century CE. Hence there is no evidence so far available suggesting that the stucco sculpture at Taxila was introduced from Ai-Khanum. Taxila has yielded specimens of earliest stucco sculptures ever made in Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. It has been presumed that these early stuccos were the work either of some foreign artists or a local artist trained outside Gandhara. But, majority of the sculptures in this group are in, what Marshall names, Bastard Hellenistic Style³¹⁷ and evidently were the work of some local artists trying to copy Hellenistic models without properly grasping the essentials of Hellenistic art.

A great number of the stucco sculptures from Taxila are dated by Marshall in the 4th – 5th century CE. This has led him to advocate his theory of two separate and successive schools of art in Gandhara with a gap of more than one hundred years in between – both distinct from each other in material as well as in distribution in space and time.³¹⁸ The recent archaeological investigation in Dir area has clearly shown that stucco and terracotta sculptures mark the final stage of most of the Buddhist monasteries.³¹⁹ What cannot, as yet, be proved is the time-gap between the two schools as proposed by Sir John Marshall. As a matter of fact both the stone and stucco sculptures always existed side by side though gradually stucco became more and more popular. This is particularly true at Taxila. Over one thousand of these

³¹⁷ Taxila II, p. 518.

³¹⁸ John Marshall, *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, pp 176-80.

³¹⁹ Abdul Rehman, Excavation at Damkot, *Pakistan Archaeology IV, 1968-69*, p. 191.

stucco sculptures came from one single site of Jaulian all ranging from tiny figures to giant statues up to 13 feet high.

4.1 Architectural sequence in Taxila

Religious development in Taxila started in the 2nd century BCE and continuing to the 6th century CE; a fragmentary record extends the pattern to the 8th century CE. International trade indirectly funded continuous construction of new centres of worship and expansion of existing sites in ancient Taxila, whereas in other parts of south Asia gaps in patronage resulted in an incomplete record of Buddhist architectural and sculptural development—two key sources for understanding ideological change. Until recently, only a few inscriptions and text fragments were known from Taxila, so the architectural and sculptural remains were the best sources of evidence concerning this early culture. The recovery of thousands of manuscript fragments (ca. 1st century-8th century C.E.) will undoubtedly transform the way we understand this active Buddhist community.

This chapter characterizes the organization and function of the Buddhist religious architecture in the public sacred areas as well as in the monasteries. While the main focus is on structural features, sculpture is also addressed in terms of its integration and use in these devotional settings. In this sense, the sculpture provides evidence for interpreting how various structures functioned, and it provides insight into how people moved within these sites. Reciprocally, the architectural evidence contributes

greatly to our understanding of how sculpture was used, and it provides clues as to why these patterns changed through time. The two variables taken into consideration are the radical transformations Buddhism underwent between the 2nd century BCE and the 8th century CE and the considerable regional variation that seems to have occurred.

By using architectural evidence, numismatic data, masonry systems, and structural remains, the buildings were constructed on top of or against one another; it is possible to document periodic patterns and to determine a clear sequence for structural types used in Gandhara and Taxila sacred areas and monasteries. The establishment of a chronologic framework based on architecture also provides a means of understanding Gandhara art in its original context. While it is usually impossible to say where a given sculpture might have been located, it is feasible to establish patterns of image placement and to group images into common types. This categorization of the imagery into units that fall into a relative sequence is vital for interpreting architectural data at sites where sculpture was recovered, but numismatic or masonry evidence is not available. The development of iconic Buddhist images generally, located in shrines facing the main stupas in the sacred areas. Careful study of the architectural evidence indicates a relative series for shrine construction, both at single sites and across groups of related sites. This archaeological sequence in turn offers a framework for organizing the body of provenance images of Buddhas and bodhisattvas that can be related to the shrines on the basis of scale, material, and means of attachment.

Sir John Marshall proposed an architectural chronology based on stratigraphic relationships among the distinct masonry patterns present in his excavations at the sites of Taxila, which he dated using coins.³²⁰ The many coins found at urban and Buddhist sites, especially in *stupa* relic deposits, help us to determine a sequence. The dating system he developed at the beginning of the 20th century was a major breakthrough. He recognized four major types of masonry: rubble, diaper, semi-ashlar, and a variety of late semi-ashlar. This relative sequence of masonry types can be applied to at least 15 different sites at Taxila excavated between 1912 and 1937. Because the superimposition of masonry is still preserved at many of his excavation sites, this sequence can be corroborated. Although Marshall's broad sequence is fairly well determined, his identifications of chronologic sub-units based on the quality of the fabric in a single masonry type cannot always be accepted. Since Marshall's excavations at Taxila, considerable progress has been made toward a better understanding of the dynastic history of Taxila. The result is a clearer numismatic chronology and a more precise architectural sequence. Establishing an architectural framework for Gandharan sculpture is the key to understanding the changing use of images.

In Taxila (circa late 2nd century BCE to late 1st century CE) the creation of the early Buddhist sacred areas and temples in and around the city of Sirkap and the earliest remains from the Dharmarajika complex, we can characterize the nature of

³²⁰ Marshall refined this chronological schema throughout his reports on Taxila; his final conclusions appeared in his final site report of 1951 (Marshall, *Taxila. An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Excavations Carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the years 1913 and 1934*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1951))

the early Buddhist tradition in the urban context of Sirkap, and in the public parts of the Dharmarajika complex and within the more restricted confines of the early monasteries. The objects found from urban area of Sirkap, mostly produced before the widespread appearance of Buddhist figural art. These finds include luxury items decorated with non-Buddhist themes and terracotta and stone images of popular goddesses. Some of these objects show stylistic similarity with the Indo-Parthian and Hellenistic traditions. Some Buddhist art was being produced at this time, and we cannot rule out the possibility that some of the earliest Buddhist narrative sculpture belongs to this period; this point is highly controversial, however. In this period coins were issued by the Mauryan, Indo-Greek, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian, and other kings. The Kushan coins of King Kujula Kadphises were also evidenced.

The rubble masonry used in Sirkap and in the Dharmarajika complex in Taxila during the period (circa late 2nd century BCE to late 1st century CE) has large irregular, unfinished stones and smaller stones filling the interstitial areas.³²¹ In contrast to later masonry types, the large stones were not laid in consistent beds, and the small chips placed between larger stones were irregularly organized. The resulting rubble walls were weak and prone to collapse. Marshall postulated that a circa 30 CE earthquake caused extensive damage and led to the adoption of the more stable diaper masonry type, but this assertion cannot be corroborated with other forms of documentation.³²² However, buildings constructed in next period diaper masonry

³²¹ Marshall, *Taxila*. 118-9, 260.

³²² *Ibid.*, 137, 237.

consistently are built on top of rubble structures; diaper was also used to repair rubble walls.

The other important type of masonry is *kanjur*³²³ ashlar. Unlike the rubble masonry, ashlar masonry consists of finely cut rectangular stones that fit tightly together without mortar. It is also found in conjunction with many late monuments, probably because it was the most attractive and expensive type of facing; it may have been used for aesthetic, not structural, reasons.³²⁴ Thus, *kanjur* ashlar masonry indicates patronage as well as time period. Ashlar masonry can generally be used at Taxila because of its association with rubble-core structures and certain stylistic forms. Medium-sized square *stupas* executed in *kanjur* ashlar masonry, such as those found at Sirkap and in the Dharmarajika complex.

The diaper masonry of period (circa late 2nd century BCE to late 1st century CE) was more labour intensive and hence more expensive than the rubble masonry of first period, but apparently the greater stability that it provided warranted the expense. Diaper masonry is laid in beds, the main blocks being faced on the wall surface and the underside so that level courses could be created. Tightly fitted between these faced blocks were thin flat pieces of waste rock. The origin of diaper masonry is not known, but it was used during c. late 2nd century BCE to 5th century CE, outside of the Taxila area. This construction technique can be used to date only monuments in

³²³ A soft calcium carbonate rock more commonly known as travertine.

³²⁴ *Kanjur* ashlar masonry was covered with a thin coat of lime plaster; the finished structure would presumably have been painted.

the Taxila area, where it was used for just a short time before the semi-ashlar masonry techniques became popular, such as those at Jaulian or Mohra Moradu.

Because schist is friable, it was very difficult to shape the upper, lower, and exposed faces of the building blocks. Therefore, the most finished part of the block was typically oriented so that the wall surface would be even, at the expense of having ordered, regular beds. The friable nature of the rock also necessitated the use of blocks of varying size. These material limitations curtailed the use of diaper masonry and completely ruled out using semi-ashlar masonry types. Instead, a sophisticated use of irregular main blocks fitted together with interstitial chips probably paralleled the development of diaper masonry and remained popular until the decline of Buddhism in the area.

The late 1st century CE to early 3rd century CE is the period when many of the existing sacred areas were established. Site such as the Dharmarajika complex was greatly expanded with the addition of *stupas*, shrines for holy relics, and monasteries; to a great extent this site can now be regarded as regional centre for the expanding Buddhist institution. The Gandharan religion, which emphasized the worship of relics and utilized the biography of the Buddha, presented in the form of narrative reliefs. Because so many new structures were made-up, it is possible to characterize trends in patronage and recognize ideological interests, observations that can be extended to both the public sphere and the realm of the monastery. Coins of the Great Kushans,

including kings Vima Takto, Vima I Kadphises, Kaniska I, and Huviska, date this period.

This period is characterized by a large body of Buddhist-themed narrative sculpture, in which the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha is present. This form of Gandhara art developed as a direct outgrowth of an earlier narrative tradition seen in other places on the Indian subcontinent. However, evidence of the Gandharan practice of recounting large sections of the Buddha's life sequentially in multiple relief panels, to be read in the process of circumambulation. Reconstructing the sculptural embellishment of the small *stupas* can shed considerable light on the meaning and specific function of the narrative reliefs. These schist reliefs, which emphasize the Buddha's birth, his life in the palace, his enlightenment, scenes of conversion, the moments surrounding his death, and the establishment of his relics, transcend a simple moralistic function; they have more specific kinds of devotional significance.

A shift from diaper masonry to a more sophisticated semi-ashlar technique in the Taxila area can be approximately dated to circa 200 CE.³²⁵ In the late part double and triple bands of ashlar masonry were sometimes applied to the semi-ashlar constructions. The diaper technique was abandoned in the Taxila area as semi-ashlar came into favour, though a period of overlap must have existed. At Taxila the coins of a single monarch are found in *stupas*, or coins that were in circulation—that is, those

³²⁵ A reassessment of all of the extant numismatic evidence provides a date that is reasonably close to Marshall's initial suggestion of the mid-2nd century C.E. (Marshall, *Taxila*, 261).

of the reigns of successive kings.³²⁶ Although additional reliquaries were often deposited when *stupas* were encased, these are usually clearly recognizable.³²⁷

The numismatic evidence from semi-ashlar *stupa* relic deposits suggests that this new masonry type had come into use by late 2nd century CE. The appearance of coins of Kaniska I and Huviska from Dharmarajika complex might be taken to indicate that this transition took place slightly earlier, possibly as early as circa 150 C.E. In the semi-ashlar G monastery at Dharmarajika, a hoard of 531 coins of Vasudeva and one of Kaniska I were found in cell 16,³²⁸ another indication that by the time of Vasudeva, semi-ashlar was in use. The continuity of this late masonry type is confirmed by the recovery of 15 Shapur II coins (309-79 CE) in the Dharmarajika N11 *stupa* and five Kidara (late 4th century CE) coins in the P7 *stupa*.³²⁹ The latest numismatic evidence that can be associated with the use of semi-ashlar masonry is the extensive coin finds from the Taxila site of Bhamala. This site can be dated on numismatic grounds to at

³²⁶ MacDowall, "The Chronological Evidence of Coins in *Stupa* Deposits," pp. 730-33.

³²⁷ A good example is the multiple relic deposits from the Manikyala *stupa*. In conjunction with successive enlargements of the main *stupa*, new relic deposits were established (see Errington, "Numismatic Evidence for Dating the Buddhist Remains of Gandhara," 196-7; MacDowall, "The Chronological Evidence of Coins in *Stupa* Deposits," 730). In a few rare instances, such as *stupa* VI in the Dharmarajika complex, the *stupa* was restored in a late period and an early relic deposit was re-interred. In this *stupa*, the relic casket contained a coin of Apollodotus II (80-65 BCE), another of Maues (90-80 B.C.E.), one of Vonones (75-65 B.C.E.), and a defaced coin; the *stupa* itself appears to be a restoration constructed in phase III semi-ashlar masonry. See Marshall, *Taxila*, 272.

³²⁸ Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 282.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, 267, 270; see also Kuwayama, "In the time of Late Sirkap and Early Dharmarajika: How Taxila Introduced *Stupa* Architecture."

least the late 5th century CE; 285 coins were found as relic deposits in the main *stupa*, small *stupa* A5, and small *stupa* A15.³³⁰

In the semi-ashlar masonry of Taxila, a layer of large roughly shaped stones was set on a stable course of brick-shaped rectangular ashlar blocks, and small chips of stones were used to fill the interstitial space to create a level surface for the next ashlar block layer. The earliest semi-ashlar seems closely related to late 1st century CE diaper, as the ashlar layers appear gradually.³³¹ For example, at Jaulian the main *stupa* and monastery were constructed using this kind of proto-semi-ashlar masonry, and subsequent repairs were executed in proper semi-ashlar.³³² The main part of development is characterized by the use of well-developed single-course semi-ashlar. The development of stable semi-ashlar masonry can be considered a major technological innovation for this period. Walls could be made thinner and higher, and structures fell less, so repair was needed less often. In addition, because the ashlar courses provided a level surface, the use of larger main blocks became viable. It appears that larger block and smaller block semi-ashlar was applied during the middle part of this period.

³³⁰ Marshall recorded two main *stupa* coin deposits, the first 3.4 m below the top of the mound, where six coins were found, and the second down 4.4 m, where 113 coins were located. He reported that small *stupa* A5 contained a Varhan II coin (276-93 C.E.) and six more coins like those found in the main *stupa*. *Stupa* A15 contained an additional 160 of these small copper coins (Marshall, *Taxila*, pp. 393-4). Errington ("Numismatic Evidence for Dating the Buddhist Remains of Gandhara," 212, 216) has identified these copper coins as late 4th century C.E. Kushan imitations.

³³¹ Fitzsimmons, *Stupa Designs at Taxila*, pp. 46-7.

³³² *Ibid.*, 369.

In early 3rd century CE until the decline in patronage at Taxila sometime late in the 5th century CE, was a period of great prosperity sacred areas were modified, refurbished, and literally engulfed in new structures that reflect religious concerns quite different from those of earlier centuries. Although *stupas* and relic shrines were still being constructed, patrons turned their considerable resources to commissioning devotional icons, and the shrines to house them. A middle and late period can be clearly demarcated in following period: in Taxila there was a shift toward more sophisticated forms of semi-ashlar masonry. The great quantity of architectural evidence dating to this period provides a means to trace how people moved through these sacred areas, and it bears witness to their devotional interests. Without question the shift to iconic imagery is a reflection of changing ideology. However, because the sequence of the sculpture is not easily determined, only the architectural evidence tells us about popular and monastic practices. This structural evidence indicates how these religious changes might have occurred through time.³³³

The beginning of this period marks the introduction of the practice of placing small image shrines suitable for housing iconic images around the main *stupa* in the sacred areas. The small *stupas*, formerly covered with narrative panels, also came to be embellished with rows of Buddhas and bodhisattvas. It is likely that during the middle and late parts of period III, complex devotional images probably depicting Buddhist miracles or heavens acquired importance. Although schist remained an important medium for creating images, sculptors began in this period to use stucco,

³³³ Kurt A. Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara*, p. 8.

clay, and terracotta; many of these images have survived in situ. This period began with the coinage of the Kushan King Vasudeva II and included the later Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian, and many of the Sasanian rulers.

From 5th century CE to 8th century CE, a poorly understood period of Gandharan history, when Buddhism still survived in Taxila and Gandhara, but patronage declined. No characteristic Taxila type of masonry defines this period, and although several cruciform *stupas* and at least two Buddhist complexes in Swat were created, this was generally a time when large parts of the sacred areas were abandoned. Evidence for the nature of Buddhist practice is thus sparse, although we can assume that Buddhism was still being practiced, as indicated by the addition of late coins to pre-existing relic deposits of main *stupas*.³³⁴ The coins of the Alchon Huns indicate the start of this period, and other Hun rulers, the later Sassanian kings Khusrau II and Adashir, and others can be placed in this period with certainty. Determining even approximate dates for the end of this period is also problematic; late coins of the Hindu Shahis, the Umayyad Empire, and late rulers of Kashmir have been found in Gandhara relic deposits.

The patronage declined at this time, and some sites, especially in the Peshawar basin, fell into ruin. In the Taxila region, it seems that a few sites, notably Bhamala, were built using a late form of double semi-ashlar masonry.³³⁵ In the basis of stratigraphy, it appears that dull rubble masonry techniques were also used during this

³³⁴ Errington, *Numismatic Evidence for Dating the Buddhist Remains of Gandhara*, pp. 199-200.

³³⁵ Kuwayama, *The Main Stupa at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri*, P. 92.

period, as can be observed in the Dharmarajika complex. Cruciform stupa was built at the sites of Bhamala in Taxila, at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri.³³⁶

4.2 Architectural Traditions at Religious places

Taxila was the centre of a flourishing Buddhist tradition between the 2nd century BCE and the 6th century CE. People of this area became wealthy through international trade, as objects were exchanged among India, China, and the Mediterranean. Traffic in luxury goods brought streams of foreign traders into this already culturally diverse region, and it is this mix of different people and ideas that makes the study of Taxila both complex and fascinating. In this prosperous setting, many large Buddhist complexes were built at the beginning of the Common Era. Works of art, also produced in great quantity, reflect south Asian tastes and religious ideology filled with western characteristics. The people who lived in Gandhara embraced this multicultural fusion.

The development of Gandhara art and architecture, an extensive range of structures and figurative sculpture, also offers exemplary model for the study of the larger Buddhist architectural tradition. It was in Gandhara that some of the earliest anthropomorphic images of the Buddha were created as a complement to worship practices centred on relics. Alexander the Great conquered large parts of Pakistan around 330 BCE. After Alexander's death, his generals divided the empire, initiating a complex period of political history known primarily through scattered numismatic

³³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

evidence recording rulers with Greek names. In the middle of the 3rd century BCE King Asoka, a powerful Mauryan promoter of Buddhism, directed that several edicts stressing *ahimsa* and *dharma* (nonviolence and duty) be carved on boulders in his empire.

Taxila was repeatedly invaded by different ethnic groups, which sought to control key passes through the Himalayas. In rapid succession the Parthians, Scythians, Indo-Scythians, Indo-Parthians, and others fought over this region before the powerful Kushans began to move toward Afghanistan from the western Chinese borderlands. Bearing the dynastic title of Kushan, the Kushans gradually invaded Gandhara in the 1st century BCE. Their rule culminated under the kings Kaniska and Huviska in the 2nd century CE, by which time the Kushans had established a large kingdom, extending beyond the Hindu Kush to northern India. They established political stability and unified the many cultures and religions within a single political system.³³⁷ The first Buddhist sites were established in Gandhara and Taxila. The two earliest centres, Butkara I in Swat and the Dharmarajika complex in Taxila, share many characteristics with contemporary Buddhist sites in sub-continent. At this time, relics of the Buddha housed in massive hemispherical *stupas* were the focus of worship.

³³⁷ MacDowall and M. Taddei, "The Pre-Muslim Period," in *The Archaeology of Afghanistan from Earliest Times to the Timurid Period*, ed. R. Allchin and N. Hammond, London: 1978, pp. 233-4, and pp. 245-8.

A significant number of Buddhist centres founded in Gandhara.³³⁸ Beginning at 1st and 2nd century CE, sculpture was used to embellish the relic structures. Narrative reliefs recounting the Buddha's life were attached to *stupas*, and they are invaluable to any study of early Gandharan Buddhism. In this early phase, great emphasis was placed on the historic personage of the Buddha (*Sakyamuni*); reliefs depicted his miraculous birth, childhood, rejection of life in the palace, path to enlightenment, and role as the teacher of the Buddhist *dharma*. These depictions also stress his death, focusing on his cremation and how the relics came to be distributed. This emphasis on the Buddha's relics is also seen in the architectural remains where *stupas* and relic shrines were predominant.

Old sites were expanded and many new centres were founded in 3rd century CE. Relic monuments such as *stupas* and shrines were increased with large Buddha and bodhisattva images, placed in chapels enclosing the sacred areas. By the 4th and 5th centuries, these iconic images were produced on a monumental scale. The appearance of iconic images marked a change in Buddhist practices, in contrast to the narrative traditions that characterized the earlier art of Gandhara. Some scholars have seen this as an indication of the doctrinal shift from Hinayana to Mahayana Buddhism,

³³⁸ Errington, "Numismatic Evidence for Dating the Buddhist Remains of Gandhara," 194; G. Fussman, "Numismatic and Epigraphic Evidence for the Chronology of Early Gandharan Art," in *Investigating Indian Art: Proceedings of a Symposium on the Development of Early Buddhist and Hindu Iconography, Held at the Museum of Indian Art Berlin in May 1986*, ed. W. Lobo and M. Yaldiz, 1987.

although recently this has been questioned.³³⁹ The most active period of Buddhist patronage was between the 3rd and 5th centuries CE; the majority of surviving architectural material dates to this period. The increase in patronage probably was not dynastic; the great Kushan Empire was losing power at this time. Only a vague idea of the political landscape of this period can be formed from coins of the Kushans, Kushano-Sasanians, Sasanians, and Kidarites.

In 5th and 7th centuries CE, Chinese Buddhist pilgrims began to visit Gandhara to see famous relics like the Buddha's alms bowl or his skull bone. Short biographies of many of these Chinese monks survive. The extensive travel accounts of Faxian (401 CE) and Xuanzang (630 CE)³⁴⁰ reveal much about the late Buddhist tradition of Gandhara and Taxila. A little evidence of Buddhist activity at some isolated sites in the Peshawar region survives, and a few of these centres seem to have remained active until perhaps the 8th century CE.

The urban and Buddhist remains at Taxila lie beyond the Indus river and became a major centre because of its position at the juncture of two major trade routes: one through the Hunza valley leading over the Karakoram Pass into China and the other running east-west from Afghanistan through the Peshawar plain to India. The earliest urban centre in Taxila is known as Bhir mound active between the 5th and 2nd centuries BCE, in a time that pre-dates the introduction of Buddhism into the

³³⁹ For a full summary of the issues surrounding Hinayana and Mahayana Buddhism see W. Zwalf, *A Catalogue of the Gandhara Sculpture in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London: British Museum Press, 1996), pp. 30-3.

³⁴⁰ Fa-hian, Si-yu-Ki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. S. Beal, (London: 1906); Hsuan-tsang, Si-yu-Ki, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. S. Beal, (London: 1906).

northwest.³⁴¹ The later City of Sirkap includes very early urban sacred areas, some of which are Buddhist.³⁴² Near the walled metropolis of Sirkap is the Dharmarajika complex, founded in the 1st or 2nd century BCE. This was the most important Buddhist centre in Taxila region and the focal hub of more than a dozen smaller sites, including Kalawan, Jaulian, Mohra Moradu, Bhamala, Jandial B and C, Akhauri A, B, and C, Khader Mohra DI and D2, Kunala, Pippala, Lalchak, Ballar, and many other unexcavated sites. Near Taxila is also the large Manikyala *stupa*, which has not been fully excavated. The concentrated architectural evidence from Taxila that can be dated between circa 2nd century BCE and 7th century CE is fundamentally important for understanding the larger Buddhist tradition of Taxila and Gandhara.

4.3 Architectural Features of Buddhist Centres

In Taxila, Buddhist religious centres were usually built outside of urban centres. They were composed of a sacred area for public worship and a more private monastic section with monasteries (*Viharas*) and small devotional structures. The public sacred area and private monastic space were built to serve the religious needs of at least three distinct communities: lay followers, resident monks, and local and long-distance pilgrims. A typical sacred area is composed of a main *stupa* surrounded by small *stupas* and shrines either for relics or for images, as at the site of Jaulian in Taxila.

³⁴¹ G. Erdosy, "Taxila: Political History and Urban Structure," in *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, ed. M. Taddei (Rome: IsMEO, 1990), pp. 662-66.

³⁴² P. Callieri, "Buddhist Presence in the Urban Settlements of Swat, 2nd Cent. B.C.- 4th Cent. A.D.

A relic of the Buddha was the central object of worship, giving power to the site. The sacred area served the needs of the monks and the common people, and its structures were thus for public use. In contrast, shrines found in the monasteries would not have been so readily available to the common people, and they have a very different character.

4.4 Buddhist Stupas and Monasteries at Taxila

The site of Jaulian provides an excellent point of departure for understanding the range of devotional structures at Buddhist sites in Taxila. The first structures built at Jaulian were the main *stupa*, a single adjacent smaller *stupa*, and the monastery, all of which were constructed in diaper masonry. The main *stupa* was believed to contain powerful relics of the Buddha and was always the primary devotional focus for all groups of devotees who used the complex.

In Gandhara, main *stupas* have a high square or rectangular base, which supported a dome or *anda* that could be accessed through a flight of steps placed at the centre of the *stupa's* main facade. The square base marked the sacred space of the *stupa* and gave the monument additional height, making the dome more visible. The domed *anda* would have been surmounted by a square *harmika* from which rose a pole (*yasti*) and a set or stacked umbrellas (*chattravali*) to mark the axis of the *stupa* and the sacred relics of the Buddha in the monument's solid core. People would walk clockwise around the base of the main *stupa* to be in close contact with the relic, a

practice known as *pradakṣiṇā*. This ritualized movement around the *stupa* appears to have dictated the placement of additional devotional structures, as patrons would want their donation to be easily seen and used by all who visited. Because the power of the relic was conceptualized as radiating outward, added religious structures were grouped tightly around the main *stupa* to be in the presence of the Buddha. Thus, a main *stupa* was at the core of every site's public sacred area, and inevitably this *stupa* was one of the first structures erected.

4.4.1 Votive Stupas

Smaller *stupas* in the sacred areas are typically grouped close to the main *stupa*, as in the case of Jaulian. Although most of the diverse additional *stupas* were added over time, usually one of them was constructed at the same time as the main *stupa*. At Jaulian the main *stupa* was constructed at about the same time as a small *stupa* to the east. Twenty eight small *stupas* were built in the sacred area. Some of the subsidiary *stupas*, generally donated by devotees, contained important relics considered worthy of independent veneration. An example is the small *stupa* D6, placed in its own enclosure on the east edge of the sacred area. The function of these small *stupas* remains an mystery. Scholars have suggested that they may represent votive offerings or perhaps may have housed the remains of monastic dead.³⁴³ The site of Jaulian, like others in the region, had for about 300 years a multi-storied monastery (it contained at least 56 residential cells), yet only 28 small *stupas* were constructed throughout the

³⁴³ G. Schopen, "Burial 'Ad Sanctos' and the Physical Presence of the Buddha in Early Indian Buddhism: A Study in the Archaeology of Religions," *Religion* 17 (1987).

life of the site. If the *stupas* contained ashes of the most important monks, they would have been special structures and not ordinary burial units; many more monks would have died at this site in 300 years.

In the early Buddhist tradition, relics were the focus of worship. They were generally deposited in main *stupas*; however, shrines where sacred physical remains could be placed and worshipped became very important in Gandhara. These shrines consist of either chambers containing small masonry *stupas* or structures suitable to openly display relics such as the Buddha's alms bowl or a piece of his skull, both of which we know could have been seen and touched in Gandhara.

The relic shrines housing *stupas* can be found at the site of Kalawan in Taxila, where at least six can be identified. On the basis of evidence from a range of Gandharan sites, it seems certain that this category of shrines was used to openly display relics to be seen and touched by worshippers. This would have been the kind of structure that contained the Buddha's alms bowl or his skull relic, which are described by the Chinese pilgrims who visited Gandhara. At a few sites main *stupas* were constructed in such a way that their room-sized relic chambers could be entered. It appears that such direct-access main *stupas* were built to house relics that were suitable for open veneration. A characteristic example of such an open able *stupa* is the main *stupa* at Kalawan, which had a large, finished relic chamber.

4.4.2 Stupas embellished with Sculptures

Religious art, particularly sculpture, was everywhere in the sacred areas of Gandhara. While some of this material was purely decorative, much of it was central to the religious goals of the community. In the earliest periods, circa 2nd century BCE to 3rd century CE, the sculpture consisted of narrative reliefs illustrating the Buddha's life, affixed to *stupas* so that they could be read during circumambulation. A good idea of how Gandharan small *stupas* would have been embellished can be gleaned from a nearly complete assemblage of sculpture found in a two-celled *stupa* shrine from Marjanai in Swat. A full set of nine life scenes of the Buddha and a larger panel in the shape of a false gable were recovered within the shrine immediately adjacent to the *stupa*.³⁴⁴ The panels, worked in schist, depict scenes of the Buddha's birth, childhood, enlightenment, and death; special emphasis is given to the cremation and distribution of the relics, one of which presumably resided in the *stupa* to which these reliefs were attached.

In the early part of 3rd century CE, shrines designed to contain life-size Buddha images began to appear, as is evident at Jaulian. The first image shrines added to this site were small and functioned to define and enclose the main *stupa* court. In contrast, the late 3rd century CE image shrines on the southern edge of the site were huge and must have contained monumental sculpture. A consistent chronological trend can be observed in Gandhara: small image shrines gradually give way to larger shrines and

³⁴⁴ Khan, "Preliminary Report of Marjanai."

ultimately to massive chapels. At Jaulian nine image shrines were added to the passageway leading to the sacred enclosure of the subsidiary *stupa*, indicating that this particular *stupa* was important enough to warrant ongoing patronage. Small images in stone or clay or stucco were also donated by individual patrons who could not afford to place a *stupa* or image shrine in the sacred area. These small images were placed where space permitted, but they were concentrated at devotionally significant places, especially near important relics housed in *stupa* shrines or close to the main *stupa*. This practice is well illustrated at Mohra Moradu in Taxila, where the primary facade of the main *stupa* was crowded with various images likely given by a host of minor donors.

4.4.3 Monasteries

Gandharan Buddhist monasteries, particularly those at Taxila, are superb examples of planning and execution of monastic architecture. These combine in best form the triangular relationship of man, nature and the creator. Jaulian Monastery and Mohra Muradu Monastery are the best examples. A typical Gandhara monastery is usually a square or oblong plot, repeated once, twice or more with monastic cells, lecture halls, dining rooms, refectories etc. The stupa court usually consists of Main stupa on a square base and votive stupas and chapels arranged on all four sides of it. The cruciform shaped stupa of Bhamala is a rare example.

All the religious complexes in Gandhara have one or more monasteries, or *viharas*; two main varieties are found in this region. Well known are the large, multi-

storied quadrangular structures, like the one at Jaulian in Taxila, which have monastic cells organized around an open courtyard and attached rooms for cooking, storage, etc. When the steep, mountainous terrain disallowed the construction of quadrangular monasteries, clusters of mountain *viharas* were built. They consist of groups of small, multi-storied structures set on the hills adjacent to the sacred area.

Large multi-storied quadrangular monasteries were generally preferred not only because monks could live together, but also probably because these large buildings surrounding a courtyard offered more security from passing bandits. The foundations of tower-like structures can be seen at several sites. A good example is the square solid foundation attached to the exterior of the northern wall of the Dharmarajika monastery in Taxila.

At Jaulian in Taxila and at other sites, the quadrangular monastery was built at the same time as the main *stupa*; building a residence for monks was a fundamental requirement for establishing a new religious centre.³⁴⁵ Inscriptional evidence confirms that kings built *stupas* to establish relics in new locations; to complete the offering, they donated monasteries and made financial provisions to support monks. For the donor, merit was generated only when the offering was used; thus, establishing a residence for the community of monks ensured the ongoing use of the donated *stupa*.

³⁴⁵ 48 Monasteries were founded with main *stupa* in Taxila at Jaulian, Mohra Moradu, Pippala, Kalawan, Kunala, and the Akhaurr-Khader Mohra sites.

The Jaulian quadrangular monastery is a fairly typical medium-size example, having 26 residential cells arranged around a central courtyard. This masonry structure, which has survived in the archaeological record, served as the first floor of a multi-story building, as an extant stone staircase testifies. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan tsang in the 7th century described a monastery in India probably in Taxila; while this cannot be said to apply directly to Gandhara, it does shed light on what these structures might have looked like:

The sangharamas are constructed with extraordinary skill. A three-storied tower is erected at each of the four angles. The beams and the projecting heads are carved with great skill in different shapes. The doors, windows, and the low walls are painted profusely; the monks cells are ornamental on the inside and plain on the outside.³⁴⁶

(Hsüan tsang)

The centre of the rectangular court, accessed from each side by a flight of steps, was sunk about 60 cm in order to catch the rain-water from the veranda, and it was equipped with a drain.³⁴⁷ A small room, accessed by a short flight of steps, is usually found in the open courtyard, but its function is not clear.³⁴⁸ The monasteries were modified over time in response to the needs of the community. At Jaulian, for instance, large chambers were added to the west of the residential area and were

³⁴⁶ Hsüan-tsang, *Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 74.

³⁴⁷ In the case of Jaulian, the drain took the water to the north of the monastery under the wall of cell 21. Marshall's cross section of this monastery shows the slope of this floor.

³⁴⁸ Kurt A. Behrendt, *The Buddhist Architecture of Gandhara*, p. 35.

accessed by a doorway cut into the back wall of cell 15. Probably most of these rooms were used to store and cook food, as the drains found in rooms J, K, and L suggest. The large chamber G has four central pillars supporting the ceiling, so it may have been used as an assembly hall instead. Although no positive evidence exists for this supposition, the presence of similar large halls attached to quadrangular monasteries at many Gandharan sites indicates that they fulfilled some important function.³⁴⁹

The monastic cells all have a niche that might have been used for storage or as a place to set a lamp. However, evidence suggests that sometimes images were placed in these recesses, making private shrines. In cell 2 at Jaulian, a schist panel with a depiction of the Buddha flanked by two worshippers was found in situ in one of these niches. The presence of this image together with a small bronze bodhisattva image from the Jaulian monastery, a copper bodhisattva figure from the Akhauri monastery and a copper Buddha from Shah-ji-ki-Dheri,³⁵⁰ indicates that monks were using personal image shrines.

4.5 Hellenistic Pattern at Taxila

Due to geographical position at the cross-roads of so many ancient trade routes, Taxila, after coming in contact with the Hellenistic world, was destined to play an important role in the diffusion of Hellenistic culture and civilization in South Asia.

³⁴⁹ Ibid.

³⁵⁰ Marshall, *Taxila*, p. 385, pl. 226, no. 197 and no. 424.

This influence is very strong on the architecture of Taxila. However, suffice here to say that the Hellenic lay-out of the Greek city of Sirkap together with its acropolis on the south and a Greek Temple on the north, as also its fortification are standing monuments of Hellenistic contribution towards the architecture of this region. Occurrence of so many other architectural motifs, such as Ionic and Corinthian capitals, pilasters pedimental arches, torus and scotia type of mouldings, dentils, also owe to the Hellenistic influence in the region.

Alexander the Great left his generals where ever he went including Bactria and Taxila. It was these Greeks who laid the foundation of Hellenistic art in this region, who ever after, remained the basic source of Hellenistic influence in this region. The Greek city of Taxila (Sirkap) is partly contemporary with Ai Khanum (excavated Greek site in Afghanistan) and partly has over lived it. Another factor responsible for diffusion of Hellenistic influence was the continuous presence of Philhellenic dynasties of Scythians, Parthians and Kushans at Taxila. All of them were long in contact with Greeks in Bactria and were already impregnated with Hellenistic ideals centuries before they arrived in Pakistan. Hellenism in Pakistan begins at Taxila, certain features of Taxila architecture clearly show that this city must have been receiving cultural inspiration and technical expertise from some nearby Hellenistic centres. The main source of Hellenism in Pakistan is Taxila, though there can be traced out strong Hellenistic elements in a variety of material excavated from various sites of Taxila and Gandhara.

4.6 Urban Planning

The remarkable Hellenistic influence at Taxila is evident in its urban-planning and fortification. A review of the available evidence and a comparative study shows that the chess-board lay-out of Sirkap was introduced by the Greeks.³⁵¹ Sirkap city was built by the Greeks and its Hellenistic features, however, were maintained with remarkable purity and consistency by the Scythians, Parthians and Kushans down to the second century CE. Finally, when the Kushans founded a new city (Sirsukh), they incorporated some features of the Greek city and improved upon many others.

Hellenistic influence on the fortification of Taxila is quite informative and interesting.³⁵² Fortified cities of good qualities did exist earlier than the, invasion of Alexander the Great, but it goes to the credit of Greeks to introduce an entirely new concept of siege craft.³⁵³ The exclusive use of stone masonry in the city walls, bringing acropolis within the city proper, projected main gate of Western origin, apparently protruding round or square towers (hollow or solid) etc. — all go to the credit of the Greeks. They also introduced the system of making use of natural factors, such as the backing of hills, gullies, ravines, rivers etc, for strengthening the defence of cities. Because of the increasing use of siege-machines and rams, the Greeks also introduced raised embankments in between towers to keep the siege-machines away from the walls. The Kushans developed these embankments both

³⁵¹ Marshall, *Taxila I*, pp. 39 and 139 ff; A. Ghosh, *Taxila (Sirkap) 1944-45, Ancient India, 4* (1947-1948), pp. 83-84.

³⁵² Marshall, *Taxila I*, pp. 113-118.

³⁵³ Dar, *Taxila and the Western World*, p. 56.

aesthetically and strategically.³⁵⁴ Fortification pattern of Sirkap has many points common with other Hellenistic cities such as Begram, Ai Khanum, Ctesiphon, Dura Europos, Palmyra, Prienc, Perge etc. There is also enough evidence to show that the stone walls of Sirkap were built by the Greeks and not by the Scythians as maintained by some.³⁵⁵

4.7 Domestic Architecture

The Greeks brought with them not only an improved technique of fortification and scientific town-planning but also spacious and better planed houses.³⁵⁶ They may be held responsible for the introduction of use of stucco in Pakistan, though it was left to the Parthians to use it on some large scale.³⁵⁷

Archaeological evidence shows that the building with a pillared-hall in Bhir Mound is the earliest specimen of a well-to-do Greek house in the sub-continent.³⁵⁸ The building can tentatively be identified as the Palace of Philip the Macedonian Satrap of Alexander the Great at Taxila.³⁵⁹ A fresh study of the two Palaces at Sirkap shows that the plans were borrowed from the Graeco-Babylonian types of palaces as adopted by the Parthians³⁶⁰ at Dura Europos³⁶¹, Nippur³⁶² and Seleucia³⁶³.

³⁵⁴ Marshall, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-118.

³⁵⁵ A Ghosh, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

³⁵⁶ Marshall, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid*, II, p. 51.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid*, I, pp. 98-100.

³⁵⁹ Dar, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

³⁶⁰ Marshall, *Taxila I*, pp. 171-77 and 214-16.

Among numerous religious buildings at Taxila, at least three temples are of Western Asian origin and are unique and without any parallel in whole of Pakistan. In this region and within its cultural periphery, Buddhist sculptures have turned out in such a great profusion and Buddhist monasteries have been excavated in such a great number that scholars have tried to trace out Western (Greek or Roman) influence on the art of this region. No doubt, Taxila and Gandhara region became predominantly Buddhist during and after the reign of Asoka in the third century CE. Buddhism got further momentum when Kanishka transformed this religion into Mahayana creed and made it obvious for Western residents of this region.

There are quite many literary references and monuments, and antiquities as well, which indicate the presence at Taxila of certain dogmas other than Mahayana Buddhism. For example, the historians of Alexander observed at Taxila the rites of exposing dead bodies to vultures³⁶⁴ which pre-supposes the existence of Mazdean religion or fire worshippers. Similarly, Philostratus tells us that Apollonius of Tyana, the Magician-saint from Syria, visited a temple of Sun-worship in Taxila. The king of Taxila at that time (42 CE) was also a sun-worshipper. Fa-hien, the Chinese traveller, visiting Gandhara and Taxila in the early 5th century CE, observed that majority of

³⁶¹ Dure-Europos was a Hellenistic, Parthian and Roman border city built on an escarpment ninety meters above the right bank of the Euphrates river. It is located near the village of Salhiye in Syria.

³⁶² Nippur was situated on both sides of the Shatt-en-Nil canal, one of the earliest courses of the Euphrates, between the present bed of that river and the Tigris, almost 160 km southeast of Baghdad.. It is represented by the great complex of ruin mounds known to the Arabs as *Nuffar*.

³⁶³ Seleucia was one of the great cities of the world during Hellenistic and Roman times. It stood in Mesopotamia, on the west bank of the Tigris River, opposite the smaller town of Opis (later Ctesiphon).

³⁶⁴ Strabo, XV, 1; 714; Aristobulus. Frag. 34 & CIII, I, pp. 415-16.

the monastic establishments professed Hinayana creed.³⁶⁵ Only one among the Greek rulers - Menander by name - claimed to have been converted to Buddhism.³⁶⁶ A great number of terracotta plaques³⁶⁷ discovered from Bhir Mound representing seated or standing male or female deities/couples, as also numerous votive tanks³⁶⁸ obviously belong to Hindu religion and prove the existence of Hindus in this region.

The Jandial Temple located in the neighbourhood of the Graeco-Parthian city of Taxila locally called Sirkap. All the three classical orders of architecture namely, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian were used. Available evidence suggests that use of Ionic order was more popular and persistent at Taxila than anywhere else outside Asia Minor. Here, it came into use in the second cent. BCE and was completely replaced by the Corinthian order only in the 3rd century CE. It can be clearly proved, against generally accepted views, that it was the Greeks and not the Parthians, who introduced this order at Taxila and in the whole of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.

A comparative study of the Ionic capitals from Jandial with all other previously known or recently discovered Seleucid Ionic capitals shows that the Taxila examples are also essentially of Seleucid origin, but better than all of them. The Hellenistic influence was quite extensive, deep and persistent in every walk of life of the city particularly and more expressively in its architecture. Although, comparative study

³⁶⁵ H.A. Giles (Tr.), *The Travels of Fa-Hsien (399-414 AD). Or Records of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, (Cambridge: 1923), pp. 11-12.

³⁶⁶ T.W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of King Milinda, The Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXV & XXXVI (Oxford: 1890).

³⁶⁷ Marshall, *Taxila, I* pp. 98-99, II, p. 440.

³⁶⁸ Marshall, *Taxila, II*, pp. 463-65.

clearly shows that Hellenism at Taxila is not an isolated phenomenon nor did the Greeks of Taxila lived a life of cultural seclusion. Further, it can be maintained that, apart from a few exceptions, whatever Hellenistic elements we have in the architecture of Taxila, owe their existence to the Greeks in Afghanistan and Pakistan. Survival of these traditions and their continuity, centuries after the eclipse of the Greeks, depended upon the philhellenic tendencies of a few dynasties that succeeded them at Taxila in quick succession. There had never been a cultural break. By dint of its geographical location as well as of its being a one-time Greek capital, Taxila played a key role not only in assimilation of Hellenistic traditions but also in their dissemination in the rest of the sub-continent. The monuments of this city offer a very interesting example of Hellenism in its eastern-most form and no account of Hellenism in Asia east of the Tigris can overlook the evidence from Taxila. Gandhara art has so far been studied as an isolated phenomenon *i.e.* without taking into account the cities where it flourished, the buildings which it once embellished and hands which shaped it. Gandhara sculptures were part of Gandhara architecture. Thus, the spirit that pervades this architecture must also be reflected in its art. Fresh study of architecture of Taxila shows Greek hands that remained busy side by side the local hands everywhere. Greeks lived in this region centuries after their political eclipse and their influence can still be felt in this region.

4.8 Toilet Trays

Sixty nine toilet trays have been recorded from Taxila out of which thirty three come from proper stratified excavations. An analytical study of these 33 toilet trays shows that they made their first appearance at Taxila during the Greek period with pure Hellenistic themes and workmanship. During the next Scythian period their repertoire is entirely changed to the animal style for which the Scythian art is well-known.³⁶⁹ These trays enjoyed the greatest popularity during Parthian period when the Hellenistic motifs also reappeared. In this period majority of the scenes are referable to the Dionysius or Aphrodisiac cults. Such tray has never been reported from anywhere else outside Gandhara. These trays closely resemble the Roman period steatite dishes from Egypt.³⁷⁰

These trays are not only the earliest evidence of the Hellenistic influence on the region, but also the figural motifs on them are taken from Greek mythology and contemporary Hellenistic traditions as assimilated by the Bactrian Greeks, Indus-Greeks, Scythians, Parthians and even Kushans. These were introduced by the Greeks but disappeared in the first century A.D., without leaving any successor behind. Their influence on Gandharan art is confined to the tradition of working in stone, carving stone sculpture in high relief and a number of decorative motifs.

³⁶⁹ T.T Rice, *The Scythian Art*, (London: 1957), pp. 12-13.

³⁷⁰ Sir John Evans, *Proc. of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1908, pp. 89-102.

4.9 Jewellery

A wonderful collection of gold and silver jewellery, seals and sealing; coins and other household objects from Taxila. The jewellery from Taxila which displays an array of variety of styles and techniques, It is predominantly Graeco-Roman in character.³⁷¹ However, on the whole the material represents the same makes of Classical, Iranian, Sarmatian and Indian forms and techniques as one witnesses in the sculptural art of Gandhara. These reflect, on the one hand, current trends and taste, and, on the other hand, show the Gandharan types developed out of earlier ones. Commonest types of actual specimens include ear-rings of leech-and-pendent type, necklaces and neckbands, bangles, bracelets and armlets, girdles, hairpins, brooches, decorative miniature figures of cupids, Psyche, animals, birds etc. Many of the gold ornaments have been decorated with exquisite granulation and filigree work which the Gandharan goldsmiths definitely borrowed from Western Asia. On the other hand, the craft of incrustation with gems, which is also found at Taxila, was lent out to the West by the Orient. The gold and silver ornaments were made with dies, hammering, casting and moulding by *cire Perdue* method and *repoussé* technique.

4.10 Pottery

The foreign rulers imported pottery during their respective reigns. These foreign wares are not numerous but still are of great interest. During Mauryan period,

³⁷¹ Marshall, *Taxila II* p 616. and Sharif, pp. 46-47.

Hellenistic influence was confined to Greek pottery, terracotta figurines, coins and gems. Among these specimens of Greek black ware are the earliest coming from the 4th-2nd century BCE layers of Bhir Mound and also from the 2nd century BCE levels of Sirkap. This ware shows grey paste, covered with fine grey or burnt slip with lustrous varnished black paint.³⁷² Hellenistic origin but of Parthian date is a series of lion-masks used to decorate sides of certain vessels. They are made with the help of moulds, one actual mould has been discovered from Taxila. Specimens are known mainly from Sirkap and Dharmarajika Stupa.

Among plain un-decorated wares derived from Greek prototypes are: alabasteran-shaped flasks, handled jugs, beakers and bowls with, deep flared mouths, dishes with raised bosses in the centre, and frying pans with one handle, rectangular or tortoise-shaped lamps, inkpots, incense-burners—most of them making their first appearance during Parthian period.³⁷³ Glazed amphorae of Graeco-Roman form were most probably manufactured in Mesopotamia and were imported here during Parthian period.

4.11 Metal Ware

Metal ware, recovered from Taxila, has been manufactured either by hammering, solid casting or by *cire Perdue* process and decorated by embossing or *repousse* work. Only a small number of vessels have been recovered from the Greek levels of

³⁷² Curtius, II, pp. 432-433.

³⁷³ *ibid*, p. 401.

Sirkap city. However, the establishment of philhellenic rule of Parthian gave an immense impetus with importation as well as local manufacture of this class of objects. Vast majority of the vessels found from Sirkap city were copies from Graeco-Roman origin, whereas those from later period monasteries were local in character with traces of classical influence to be seen here and there. The imported forms include handled jugs and ewers of Graeco-Roman form with a single handle at the side,³⁷⁴ standard drinking goblets and beakers, small flask-like bowls and cups, frying pans, ladles, spoons, incense-burners and bowls, inkpots, and pens. As is clear, many of the forms in pottery are common with, copper, bronze and silver wares. Forty-two pieces of silverware and 350 copper and bronze objects from the Parthian levels of Sirkap all smack of Graeco-Roman culture.

³⁷⁴ *ibid.*, II, pp. 588-89.

CHAPTER 5

GANDHARA: ITS HISTORY, NAME, GEOGRAPHY, ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

5.1 The Name and Origin

The name is found in its various forms in the Vedic Sanskrit literature of the late 2nd millennium BC, the Sanskrit epics, Pali literature and the earlier Indian inscriptions and in the Old Persian Achaemenid inscriptions, Greek accounts and the reports of Chinese pilgrims. But it hardly occurs, if at all, in any local source, nor has it survived into recent use. The latest instances seem to be as Kandahar in earlier Islamic references to the region.³⁷⁵

The earliest literary references to the Gandhara region are in the oldest document of the Indo-Aryans, the *Regveda*, a collection of hymns composed in a diction called Vedic Sanskrit (c. 1200 BC). These hymns mention the Kubha or Kabul and the Suvastu or Swat rivers, the Gandhari and other people such as the Druhyu and the Paktha of what is now the Frontier region and perhaps eastern Afghanistan³⁷⁶ and much tribal warfare. The spell in the *Atharvaveda* (v .22.14) that banishes a fever

³⁷⁵ For the situation of Gandhara see Beal. 1884: 1.98-9 (fn. 54) also for early references; Marshall. 1951; I. II, For Islamic references and Kandahar see Caroe. 1958: pp. 169-71; Rahman. 1979: pp. 14-15; Ball. 1988: 130(2). pp.136-7. Gandhara is rare and only geographical in Cunningham. 1875. (Gandhari) Agrawala. 1953: 37. Furgusson. 1876: pp. 169-84. writes of 'Gandhara monasteries' and 'Gandhara sculptures'.

³⁷⁶ Pusalker. 1951: pp. 251-2.

upon the Gandharis seems to regard them, together with the Mujavants and the eastern Magadhas and Angas, as folk distant from the Aryan centre and beyond the pale, but their position is much more respectable in later Vedic texts where the Gandharis are among the northerners whose dialect was celebrated for its purity and a king of Gandhara is connected with the orthodox Soma cult.³⁷⁷

In Mahabharata, the kingdom of Gandhara clustered among the western kingdoms, It is also mentioned in the Ramayana. Sakuni, the prince of Gandhara, is wholly responsible for the Kurukshetra war because of his conspiracies of Duryodhana against the Pandavas. Gandhari, the sister of Skuni, was the wife of Kuru king Dhritarashtra. Western Gandhara kingdom was located in Kandahar in Afghanistan. Charsadda (*Pushkalavati*), Taxila (*Takshasila*) and Peshawar (*Purushapura*) were the cities of Gandhara kingdom. Bharata, the brother of Raghava Rama, founded Taxila. It was ruled by Sakuni's father Suvala, Sakuni and Sakuni's son during epic period. Sakuni's son was defeated by Arjuna during post-war military campaign for Yudhisthira's Aswamedha Yagna.

Kuru king, Janamejaya, conquered Taxila after that Taxila was ruled by Naga Takshaka. He carried out a mass destruction called *Sarpa Satra* meaning the slaughter of the snakes, in which the Naga race was nearly eliminated. Astika, whose mother was Naga, stopped the massacre. Astika was Brahmin. In Puranas Nagas were treated as super human tribe. The literally meaning of Naga is Serpent or a serpent-god.

³⁷⁷ Ibid.: 262-3, For Vedic references see also Macdonnell and Keith. 1912: I, p. 219.

During epic periods the Nagas were the inhabitants of sub-continent who worshiped snakes.

Gandharavas, the inhabitants of the Gandhara kingdom, were also known as super human tribe. They were very much interested in art and music. Such artistic detail can be seen in Gandhara sculpture and relief. On the banks of Saraswati River, the Yadava chief Bala Rama during his pilgrimage over Saraswati river basin, visited many Gandharva settlements, it is in close proximity to Gandhara. The Gandharva Kali and Dwapara, probably were princes from Gandhara. The Last two Yugas (prehistoric periods) were named after them.³⁷⁸

Gandhara took sides in the great war of the *Mahabharata*, a long epic deriving from conditions ascribed to the first millennium BCE, and by tradition the poem was first recited at Taxila after its conquest from the Indian interior by Janamejaya, son of Pariksit of Hastinapura.³⁷⁹ Buddhist, Jain and Puranic texts and grammatical literature enumerate, in lists recurring in various forms, sixteen great states (*mahajanapada*) which sometimes include Gandhara.³⁸⁰

The area over which Gandhara sculpture is recognized, is not everywhere the same as ancient Gandhara.³⁸¹ It can be identified as the agricultural plains of the Peshawar basin, in northwest Pakistan, that are bounded by low mountains to the

³⁷⁸ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gandhara_Kingdom#References

³⁷⁹ Pargiter, 1922: p. 324. For *Mahabharata* references to Gandhara and derivative forms see Sorensen, 1904: 290-2. For a comment see Dar, 1993: pp. 104.

³⁸⁰ Law, 1954: 42-3, 1968: 1-3, 14-15.

³⁸¹ Foucher, 1942-7: II, 307-9; Deydier, 1950: pp. 6-7.

north and west, by the Indus river to the east, and by arid land to the south. Kurt A. Behrendt used the term 'Peshawar basin' instead of ancient Gandhara. Taxila is the easternmost site of Gandhara sculpture, but between it and the Indus not many sites have so far been found. To the south-east lies Rokhri, near Mianwali, a site with structures also, which has yielded sculptures. Sculpture is barely mentioned at Mohenjo-Daro, site of a *stupa* of late Gandhara type. Foucher provided an early account of sites and excavation along with his geographical survey of the Peshawar valley and lower Swat,³⁸² Stein gives detailed geographical and archaeological information for Swat.³⁸³

5.2 Geographical boundaries

Gandhara and the adjacent territories of the artistic province³⁸⁴ is a mountainous region below the great northerly curve where the Hindu Kush range and the central Himalayan mountain systems meet. West of the Indus, valleys are formed by tributary rivers flowing into a principal waterway, running north-west to south-east, called the Kabul in Afghanistan and Landai after its junction with the Swat river in the Peshawar Basin. In Afghanistan the Kabul river, which also drains uplands to the south, broadens towards Jalalabad and, after traversing gorges into Pakistan, joins the Indus through the much wider Peshawar Basin. With irrigation some of the alluvial valley floors, benefiting additionally from the edge of the Indian monsoon, can

³⁸² Stein, 1929 b: 64-70, figs 25-8.

³⁸³ Stein, 1898, 1905, 1921: pp. 1-20, 1929a, 1930 (with folding map of Swat).

³⁸⁴ W. Zwalf use the term 'artistic province' in his work "A catalogue of the Gandhara Sculpture in the British Museum". P. 11.

sustain a substantial agriculture and urban centres, and the entire region forms a transit zone between the highland massif of central Asia and the Indian plains. Over the Hindu Kush lay an east-west route of great commercial and cultural importance, while a lesser road ran through Swat and Chitral to the north, and both were linked with the Silk Road between China and the Mediterranean and the maritime Arabian and Red Sea trade.³⁸⁵ During most of the period which concerns us the main route must have used the Khyber Pass and, unlike the Great Trunk Road today, ran along a northerly arc above Peshawar through Charsada and Mardan to cross the Indus at Hund.³⁸⁶

While the Kabul river itself rises west of Kabul city and roughly on the same latitude, its tributary the Panjshir, which with the Ghorband forms an important valley floor and section of the trade-route, joins it below Kabul from the Hindu Kush watershed in the north, where heights attain between 3,000 and 4,000 m, and, like some other tributaries to the east, flows into it from north-west to south-east although in the mountains the direction of their upper courses will often run from north-east to south-west. After the Panjshir major tributaries are the Chitral which becomes the Kunar in Afghanistan, and the Swat, whose tributary the Panjkora waters Dir and Bajaur in Pakistan; the Swat forms a substantial cultivated flood-plain which has a correspondingly higher density of population.³⁸⁷ A number of lesser streams draining

³⁸⁵ Foucher, 1942-7: I, pp. 13-53; Wheeler, 1954: 154 ff.; Fussman, 1993C: pp. 84-6.

³⁸⁶ W. Zwalf, *"A catalogue of the Gandhara Sculpture in the British Museum"*, P. 14.

³⁸⁷ Dichter, 1967: 32-4, pp. 52-3; Stacul, 1987: pp. 3-15.

the Peshawar Basin join the river from north and south between the Khyber and the Indus in the east which, after receiving the Landai, continues southwards to the sea.

Except for the valley floors, the whole region is mountainous and the complex mass of the Hindu Kush and the Himalayas in the north throws off in a south-westerly direction long and high spurs which are interrupted west of the Indus by the Kabul river, most notably in the Peshawar Basin, an area of around 6,500 square km.³⁸⁸ These spurs, separating the narrow valleys of the principal tributaries, drop from about 5,500 m to 1,500 m above the Peshawar Basin, but in the west mountains close off the Kabul valley, and run south-wards through the Mohmand hills into the Suleiman range; above the Basin, however, they form a curved barrier running as far as the Indus, beyond which are the Hazara uplands. This barrier is pierced by passes of which the most noted, the Malakand, 870 m high, carries the north-south traffic today, but the Mora and especially the Shahkot passes were also used in antiquity, providing routes into Swat and beyond. Above this barrier on the north-east and defined by the roughly west-east river system of the Barandu and the Chamla, which drains into the Indus, is Buner, a bleak upland between Lower Swat and the Indus; on the south of the Basin a mountain system extending west to east from the Safed Koh through the Khyber, Tirah and Khattak hills forms a barrier with Kohat.³⁸⁹

East of the Indus below the Hazara uplands and opposite the Peshawar Basin are the Chach plain and the Haro river system running into the Indus from the Khanpur

³⁸⁸ See North-West Frontier Province, 1934: pp. 1-39; Spate, 1957: pp. 447-8; Dichter, 1967: pp. 92-3.

³⁸⁹ Zwalf, *op. cit.* p.14.

hills which, with the Margala hills, lie at the end of a spur curving west-wards from Murree; these are south-western outliers of the central Himalayan range. This spur continues to the Indus as the Kala-Chitta range which defines the Chach plain to the south, beyond which the Potwar plateau, drained by the Soan, extends down to the Salt range where the Panjab plains begin. Across the Chach plain ran the high road linking Afghanistan and Gandhara with central India, and north of the Margala hills, near the Margala Pass, where a route from the upper Indus and Kashmir joined it, are the sites of the cities at Taxila.³⁹⁰

5.3 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The recorded history of Gandhara region ushers in only, when Gandhara formed part of the Achaemenian Empire in the 6th Century BCE in the reign of Cyrus, the Great.³⁹¹ In the Behistun inscriptions³⁹² of King Darius (circa 516 BCE), the Gandharians appear among the subject people, distinct from the Indians of the Indus Valley. But little is really known of the history of the Gandhara until Alexander the Great (327-326 BCE) overpowered and succeeded the last Achaemenian King Astes, who had his capital at Puskaravati, the modern Charsada.³⁹³

³⁹⁰ Foucher, 1942-7: I, pp. 40-5; Marshall, 1951: I, pp. 1-4; Dani, 1986; Fussman, 1993c: pp. 84-7.

³⁹¹ Marshall, *Taxila I*, 1951, p. 13.

³⁹² Deydier, 1950, pp. 1-5.

³⁹³ Marshall and Vogel, Excavations at Charsada, the Ancient capital of Gandhara, *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1902-03, pp. 141-184.

To complete his conquest of the Achaemenid empire Alexander the Great invaded India, meeting fierce resistance, especially in Swat and subsequently beyond the Jhelum, and the history of his campaign is full of topographical information. Alexander himself led a flanking assault by the hill route through Swat, while the other branch of his army advanced along the Kabul river, both eventually meeting on the Indus. Resistance was offered at Puskalavati where evidence of the Greek assault has been found at modern Charsada,³⁹⁴ and, in the hills, at Massaga, Andaka, Bazira, Ora and Aornos.³⁹⁵ The Assakenoi who fought there may be linked with the Aspasioi to the east and have been identified with an Indian form of name in Asvayana and Asvakayana, Asmaka or Asvaka.³⁹⁶ Across the Indus the submission of Taxila made easy the advance to the Jhelum but beyond it resistance under Porus had to be subdued; beyond the Chenab Alexander encountered a mixture of resistance and submission as far as the Beas where, as is well known, he was obliged to abandon his advance (326 BCE).³⁹⁷

However, the Greek rule in Gandhara did not last longer than the death of Alexander, which was followed up by internal conflict among his generals. The eastern part of the Empire, which included Indian dominion, fell eventually to

³⁹⁴ Wheeler, 1962: pp. 25-8. For the Greek name see Tarn, 1951: pp. 237-8, pp. 244-5.

³⁹⁵ Stein, 1929a, 1930. For Ora and Bazira see *ibid.*: pp. 28-30, pp. 39-41; Callieri, 1995. For Greek, perhaps Alexander's, fortifications at Bir-kot-ghwandai (Bazira) see also Callieri, 1993.

³⁹⁶ Stein, 1921: I, pp. 4-5; Mookerji, 1951: p. 45; Law, 1953: p. 12, 1954: pp. 66-7; Tucci, 1958b: pp. 324-5, 1963b, 1977: pp. 45-6; Das Gupta, 1972.

³⁹⁷ For accounts of Alexander's Indian campaign see McCrindle, 1896 (for the classical sources); Smith, 1924; Stein, 1930; Foucher, 1942-7: II, pp. 199-208; Tarn, 1948; Mookerji, 1951: pp. 43-53; Lamotte, 1958: pp. 119-29 with references; Majumdar, 1960; Eggermont, 1970, 1975, 1984; Badian, 1985: pp. 463-70; Dani, 1994: pp. 67-88.

Seleucus Nicator, the founder of the dynasty of Seleucid Kings of Syria. It was again, when he attempted to expand his territories, like Alexander the Great, that his progress was impaired by Chandra Gupta Maurya. A treaty was made in Seleucid Kingdom and Gandhara fell to the share of the Mauryan ruler, whose capital was at Pataliputra, the modern Patna. Thus, for the first time, Gandhara became part of an Indian Empire. This fact is borne out by the Rock Edicts of Asoka, preserved at Shahbazgarhi. Interestingly, the Singhalese chronicle, the *Mahavamsa* also records that the Buddhist apostle Madhyantika, sent by Asoka, was responsible for the spread of Buddhism at Gandhara.

Again, with the death of Asoka in 232 BCE the mighty empire of Magadha began to decline. Gandhara, once again, was able to assert its independence but very soon it came under the sway of Bactrian Greek invaders from North-west. The two kingdoms-Bactria under Diodotus and Parthia under Arsaces, rose to power. In 190 BCE, the Bactrian king Diodotus was deposed by Euthydemus and his son Demetrius, who carried their arms across the Hindukush and conquered the upper Kabul valley and Gandhara. These people were later deposed by the house of Eucratides, who, in turn, were expelled from Bactria by the Sakas, a Greek prince Hermacus was succeeded by the Kushans, a branch of a Yeuh-chi tribe circa 50 CE. Thus, the Indo-Greek rule lasted in Gandhara and Kabul valley for nearly a century.³⁹⁸

³⁹⁸ W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1951, p. 79.

The Kushana ruler Kujala Kadphises extended his conquests to Gandhara and his successors to the Punjab and even to the basins of the Ganges. Later, the most powerful ruler of the Kushanas, Kanishka, with his capital Purusapura, the modern Peshawar, extended his conquest from the borders of China to the boundary of Bengal.³⁹⁹ Under Kanishka and his successors Huviska and Vasudeva, Gandhara enjoyed peace and prosperity. We can assign to this era all the ancient monuments of Gandhara, from the Stupas of the Khyber to the ruined walls, still visible on the high banks of the Indus at Hund. The bulk of the sculptures, available in the Peshawar Museum, pertain to this period.

In the Buddhist texts, Kanishka, the Buddhist convert, is hailed as second Asoka and his country Gandhara, a second holy land of Buddhism. Although the Buddha, in all probability, did not travel west of united provinces, we see that before the 5th century, numerous sites in Gandhara were related to the spread of Buddhism and to the events, pertaining to the Buddha in his previous births. The sanctity of Peshawar is all the more heightened with the presence of Kanishka's Great stupa, which contained the relic of the Buddha and by the *patracaitya*, wherein was embedded his *patra* (a begging bowl). Later in 400 CE, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, Fa-hien refers to this stupa in glowing terms.⁴⁰⁰ His statement that the stupa of the 'Eye Gift'⁴⁰¹ was adorned with silver and gold and that about seven hundred priests still served the *patracaitya* at Peshawar, address the flourishing stage of Buddhism at that period. But,

³⁹⁹ Deydier, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5.

⁴⁰⁰ Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, 1953, p. 77.

⁴⁰¹ The Buddha, when he was a Bodhisattva, gave his eyes in charity, is located at Peshawar.

by the time Songyun, another Chinese pilgrim reached Gandhara, the picture was quite different. He records, "this is the country which the Ye-tha destroyed.....Since which event two generations have passed". These Ye-tha or white Huns, a barbarous tribe from central Asia, swept down into India towards the end of the 5th century CE, carrying fire and sword and brought under their sway the Kushana dominions and eventually overthrew the Great Empire of the Guptas. However, song-yun was the last to see the glories of the Buddhist shrines of Gandhara, for some fifteen years later, Mihirakula destroyed sixteen hundreds of its religious establishments, killed 2/3rds of the inhabitants and reduced the rest to slavery.

From this catastrophe, Gandhara never rose. A hundred years later, when Chinese pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang passed through Gandhara, he could see the complete devastations of this desolate land. He records, "There are about one thousand Sangharamas, which are deserted and in ruins. They are filled with wild shrubs and stand solitary to the last degree. The stupas are mostly decayed."⁴⁰²

Their first thrust into India at this time was repulsed by the Gupta emperor Skandagupta, but under Toramana and his son Mihirakula in the early 6th century the Hunas renewed their attacks and briefly held large parts of the Indian interior. From the middle of the century their power was greatly reduced by the Sasanians and Turks in alliance.⁴⁰³ By 630 CE the Indus may have been the western frontier of Kashmir, for Taxila, formerly ruled from Kapisa, was then said to be subject to it; on the west

⁴⁰² Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western world*, vol. I, 1906, p. 93.

⁴⁰³ Bivar, 1983b: pp. 214-15. For the Turks in Central Asia see Sinor, 1990.

was a local *ksatriya* line of rulers of Kapisa⁴⁰⁴ displaced, around 666 CE, by the Turki Sahis who, under Muslim pressure in the 9th century, moved their capital from Kabul to Hund on the Indus and were shortly afterwards replaced by the Hindu Sahis whose dynasty lasted until 1026.⁴⁰⁵

The invasions which destroyed the Sahis and made the North-West Frontier a Muslim land began under the Afghan Ghaznavids; in about 1150 of the Christian era they were superseded by the Afghan Ghorids who successfully continued the advance into India. Between the end of the Ghorids and the beginning of Mughal rule the Frontier was, if not in anarchy, ruled from Kabul, and the migration of Pathans from west of the Khyber Pass into what was Gandhara and the lands to the north and south seems then to have taken place.⁴⁰⁶ The Mughals held Afghanistan as a bastion for their Indian dominions until Nadir Shah (1738) established an Afghan state which, under the subsequent Durrani dynasty, ruled the Frontier from 1747 until the rise of the Sikhs who exercised light control over the Peshawar valley from 1818 and consolidated their hold from 1835. The collapse of their kingdom (1848) brought British power until 1947.

⁴⁰⁴ For Kashmir see Beal, 1884: I, pp. 136-7; Ray, 1957: p. 38. For Kapisa see Beal, 1884: I, pp. 54-5, 90, 91, 98; Rahman, 1986; Kuwayama, 1991b: p. 278.

⁴⁰⁵ For the Turki Sahis see Rahman, 1979: pp. 45-7, 1986; Kuwayama, 1991b: pp. 282-3. For the Chinese pilgrims Hui Chao and Wu Kong of the 8th century on Turki rule and patronage of Buddhism in Gandhara see Levi and Chavannes, 1895: pp. 348-9, pp. 356-7; Fuchs, 1938: pp. 444-7; see also Klimburg-Salter, 1989: 25-42. For the Hindu Sahis see Rahman, 1979: pp. 47-52.

⁴⁰⁶ For accounts see North-West Frontier Province, 1934: 42 ff.; Caroe, 1958: pp. 137-8, 168, 461.

5.4 Ethno-Archaeological aspects of Gandhara

The Gandhara region, an ancient transit zone with no surviving annals, depends largely for its uncertain political history on numismatics, inscriptions and external records; recent archaeology has shown that human activity in it is of great age and much earlier connections than those with cultures to the north and west.

The Potwar plateau has yielded a jaw of the early man called *Ramapithecus* and early stone tool industries are reported in the Soan basin;⁴⁰⁷ in Gandhara the Palaeolithic is represented at the Sanghao Cave site⁴⁰⁸ where upper levels furnish microliths similar to those at caves at Jamalgarhi⁴⁰⁹ and at the Khanpur Cave, near Taxila,⁴¹⁰ and a period of Mesolithic hunters has accordingly been recognised and dated to before 3500 BCE.⁴¹¹ A neolithic period of early agriculturalists is attested at Sarai Khola (Saraikala), south of Taxila, constituting the earliest evidence for settled habitation in its vicinity. With continuities from the Khanpur Cave this culture produced polished celts and burnished hand-made pottery and is put between 3500 and 2700 BCE.⁴¹²

⁴⁰⁷ For early man and the Soan Palaeolithic see Paterson and Drummond, 1962; Allchin and Allchin, 1982: p. 36; Deniel, 1984; Allchin, 1986; Allchin and Deniel, 1989; Salim, 1990.

⁴⁰⁸ Dani, 1964; Allchin and Allchin, 1982: pp. 51-3; Tusa, 1986: pp. 486-95.

⁴⁰⁹ Gordon, 1958: p. 19.

⁴¹⁰ Dani, 1986: p. 19, 1988: p. 10.

⁴¹¹ Dani, 1986: p. 19.

⁴¹² *Ibid.*: pp. 19-28.

Bronze Age culture (2700-2100 BCE) is attested in the Taxila valley from Sarai Khola, Hathial and other nearby sites.⁴¹³ The pottery is wheel-made and its shapes and decorative treatment have parallels farther south at Kot Diji and Gumla, and at Ghalegay in Swat.⁴¹⁴ Here occupation starts from 3000 BCE; hand-made pottery characterises the earliest period, while the second and third periods each exhibit a distinct cultural change, the second showing affinities with the Taxila sites and elsewhere.⁴¹⁵ The fourth period (1700-1500 BCE) and those following are present at other sites and form part of a complex of cemeteries and settlements wide-spread in the North-West Frontier Province which has been variously called Pro-historic Graves, Gandhara Grave or and North-Western Culture and occurs in Swat, Dir, Bajaur, Chitral, Buner, the Peshawar valley and at Taxila (Hathial).⁴¹⁶ This culture underwent a continuous and varied development into the historic period by which time, as Alexander's campaign also bears witness, there were urban settlements among which Charsada and the Bhir Mound of Taxila have been the best known.⁴¹⁷

Early collections, mainly of coins and reliquaries, were put together by various members of the European military, notably the officers Ventura and Court, the fugitive Masson in Afghanistan, and a military unit called the Guides stationed in the town of Mardan in Pakistan.⁴¹⁸ Although some sculpture was collected at this time, these early adventurers primarily collected coins. Often they cut open massive *stupas*

⁴¹³ Ibid.: 28ff.

⁴¹⁴ See Stacul, 1987: 40, pp. 117-18; Dani, 1988: pp. 35-6.

⁴¹⁵ Stacul, 1987: pp. 33-49.

⁴¹⁶ Faccenna, 1980-1: I, pp. 7-10 (iv, 2); IsMEO, 1982: pp. 57-9; Vogelsang, 1988; Dani, 1988.

⁴¹⁷ For Charsada see Wheeler, 1962, and Stacul, 1990.

⁴¹⁸ E. Errington, 1987, pp. 31-214; C. Masson, 1971.

to recover precious reliquaries, which were known to contain coins. General Alexander Cunningham oversaw the first governmental archaeological excavations carried out under the auspices of the newly created Archaeological Survey of India. He dug at the sites of Manikyala, Taxila, and Jamal Garhi and produced reports that represent early attempts to create a scientific record.⁴¹⁹ In 1864, H. W. Bellew published a report, and in 1871 Sergeant R. E. Wilcher surveyed and excavated at the site of Takht-i-Bahi.⁴²⁰ The first excavations of Buddhist centres for which plans were drawn, and from which the recovered sculpture is still known today, were carried out in the 1880s. Lieutenant-Colonel Harold Deane excavated the site of Sikri, and Major H. H. Cole published plans, sketches, and photographs of sculpture from the sites of Sanghao, Tangai, upper and lower Nathou, and Mian Khan.⁴²¹ The photographer Alexander Caddy subsequently documented much of the sculpture found by Deane and Cole. These artworks, added to collections in Europe and India, laid the foundations for the loosely conceived notion of Gandhara art.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the newly established Frontier Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India initiated a series of official excavations at the most important sites in the Peshawar basin of Pakistan. Excavations were undertaken and plans were drawn of the major Buddhist centres of Takht-i-bahi, Jamal Garhi, Sahri-

⁴¹⁹ Alexander Cunningham, 1872-73, "Jamal Garhi," "Manikyala," (1863-64); "Manikyala," (1872-3).

⁴²⁰ H. Bellew, 1977; F. Wilcher, 1871, Punjab Government Gazette, Supplement, 6th August 1874, pp. 528-32," in E. Errington, "The Western Discovery of the Art of Gandhara and the Finds of Jamalgarhi" (Ph.D. thesis, London University, 1987).

⁴²¹ S. R. Dar, 1999-2000, H. H. Cole, 1884-5.

Bahiol, and Shah-ji-ki-Dheri.⁴²² The primary goal of this work was to gather antiquities that could be displayed in the major colonial museums in Calcutta, Bombay, and London. The recovery of several thousand schist and stucco sculptures led to the establishment of the Peshawar and Lahore regional museums to house this material. More than 2,000 unpublished photographs taken by the Archaeological Survey document the excavations and today represent an invaluable source of information for reconstructing the work done and the material recovered at that time. At the peak of British power in south Asia, Sir John Marshall began to dig the urban and Buddhist centres in Taxila in a series of excavations between 1912 and 1937.⁴²³ Unlike his predecessors, Marshall used a much more scientific approach in his archaeological excavations and kept accurate records of his finds. While Marshall's archaeological methodology might seem inadequate when compared to modern practices, his activities mark a turning point for our understanding of the Gandharan

⁴²² H. Hargreaves, 1910-11, 1911-12, 1914, 1920-21, D. Spooner: 1906-10, 1909-10, A. Stein: 1911-12, 1937.

⁴²³ J. Marshall: *Archaeological Guide to Taxila*, 4th ed. 1985. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara: The Story of the Early school, Its Birth, Growth, and Decline* (Cambridge: 1960); "Excavation at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1928-29*, "Excavation at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1929-30*, (Delhi: 1935); "Excavations at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1912-13* (Calcutta: 1916); "Excavations at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1915-16* (Calcutta: 1918); *Excavations at Taxila. The Stupas and Monasteries at Jaulian*, vol. 7, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Calcutta: 1921); "Exploration at Taxila 1930-34," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India for the Years 1930-31, 1931-32, 1932-33 & 1933-34* (Delhi: 1936); "Greeks and Sakas in India," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (1947); "Northern Circle: Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1923-24* (Calcutta: 1926); "Northern Circle: Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1924-25* (Calcutta: 1927); "Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1926-27* (Calcutta: 1930). See also: A. Foucher, "The Decoration of the Stuccoed Stupas," in *Excavation at Taxila. The Stupas and Monasteries at Jaulian, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Calcutta: 1921); A. Siddique, "Excavation at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1934-35* (Delhi: 1937) and "Excavation at Taxila," in *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India 1935-36* (Delhi: 1938).

architectural tradition. His detailed excavation reports of the sites in Taxila remain important for understanding the region.

In the 1950s, after a break because of the political turmoil that led to the partition of south Asia into the modern nations of Pakistan and India, archaeological activities were resumed. Several foreign teams began to work in Pakistan. Giuseppe Tucci initiated an Italian archaeological mission in the Swat valley; major excavations were carried out under Domenico Faccenna at Butkara I, Panr, and Saidu.⁴²⁴ Pierfrancesco Callieri, who began the excavations at the urban site of Barikot in the 1980s, has continued the work.⁴²⁵ This research has proved to be fundamentally important for our understanding of Buddhism in Taxila and its role in Gandharan tradition.

The Japanese archaeological mission started working in Gandhara in the 1960s under the direction of Seiichi Mizuno, who excavated at Mekhasanda, Thareli and Kashmir-Smast.⁴²⁶ In the 1980s Koji Nishikawa excavated Ranigat.⁴²⁷ Photographic

⁴²⁴ P. Callieri, Saidu Sharif I (Swat, Pakistan): The Buddhist Sacred Area. The Monastery, (Rome: 1989); D. Faccenna, Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan) 1956-1962, 5 vols. (Rome: 1980) and Saidu Sharif (Swat, Pakistan), 2. The Buddhist Sacred Area. The Stupa Terrace, 2 vols. (Rome: 1995); D. Faccenna, R. Gobl, and A. Khan, "A Report on the Recent Discovery of a Deposit of Coins in the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan)," *East and West* 43, no. 1-4 (1993); D. Faccenna and G. Gullini, Reports on the Campaigns, 1956-1958 in Swat, Pakistan, Mingora: Site of Butkara I (Rome: 1962); D. Faccenna, A Khan, and I. Nadiem, Panr I (Swat, Pakistan), vol. XXVI, Reports and Memoirs (Rome: 1993); D. Faccenna and M. Taddei, Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan), vol. II, Reports and Memoirs (Rome: 1962-4); Robert Gobl, A Catalogue of Coins from Butkara I (Swat, Pakistan) (Rome: 1976); G. Tucci, "Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat," *East and West* 9, no. 4 (1958).

⁴²⁵ P. Callieri, A. Filigenzi, and G. Staful, "Excavations at Bir-Kot-Ghwandai, Swat: 1987," *Pakistan Archaeology* 25 (1990). P. Callieri et al., "Bir-Kot-Ghwandai 1990-1992.

⁴²⁶ S. Mizuno, ed., Haibak and Kashmir-Smast. Buddhist Cave-Temples in Afghanistan and Pakistan Surveyed in 1960 (Kyoto: 1962) and Mekhasanda: Buddhist Monastery in Pakistan Surveyed in 1962-67 (Kyoto: 1969); S. Mizuno and T. Higuchi, eds., Thareli: Buddhist Site in Pakistan Surveyed in 1963-67 (Kyoto: 1978).

documentation by the Japanese of sculpture found at these sites is fundamental for our understanding of the Gandhara tradition.

The Archaeological Survey of Pakistan and Peshawar University also have conducted important excavations since the 1960s, particularly in the Swat valley. This work has brought to light several important sites, the most significant being Andandheri, Butkara III, Chatpat, Marjanai, Nimogram, Gumbatuna, and Shnaisha.⁴²⁸ With such a history behind them it is not surprising that the people of Gandhara were thoroughly cosmopolitan in their culture and their out-look. Of their physical appearance we get some idea from the old sculptures. Some of the men, with strikingly tall and dignified figures, closely resembled many present-day Pathans, and wore the same distinctive kind of baggy trousers and sleeved coat. Others were characteristically Greek; others just as characteristically Indian.⁴²⁹

The common speech of the people was an Indian Prakrit, but the script they used for the writing of this vernacular was not, as might have been expected, the current Brahmi of Northern India but a script known as Kharosthi—a modified form of the Aramaic of Western Asia, which had been adopted for official use throughout the

⁴²⁷ K. Nishikawa, *Ranigat: A Buddhist Site in Gandhara Pakistan Surveyed 1983-92* (Kyoto: 1994); K. Nishikawa et al., *Gandhara 2: Preliminary Report on the Comprehensive Survey of Gandhara Buddhist Sites* (Kyoto: 1988); K. Nishikawa, N. Odani, and Y. Namba, *Preliminary Report on the Comprehensive Survey of Gandhara Buddhist Sites, 1983, 1984* (Kyoto: 1986).

⁴²⁸ Dani, "Excavation at Chatpat," *Ancient Pakistan* IV (1968-9); A. Dani, "Excavations at Andandheri," *Ancient Pakistan* IV (1968-9); M. A. Khan, *Buddhist Shrines in Swat* (Saidu Sharif: 1993); S. N. Khan, "Preliminary Report of Excavations at Marjanai, Kabal, Swat," *Ancient Pakistan* XI (1995); A. Rahman, "Butkara III: A Preliminary Report," in *South Asian Archaeology*, ed. M. Taddei (Rome: 1990) and "Shnaisha Gumbat: First Preliminary Excavation Report," *Ancient Pakistan* VIII (1993).

⁴²⁹ Marshall, 1960, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, p. 1.

Persian Empire during Achaemenid times. Other languages and other scripts were also employed, on occasion, in Gandhara. The coins, for example, normally had Greek legends on their obverse, Kharoshthi on their reverse; but in rare cases the legends were in Brahmi. Brahmi, too, was the usual script employed in the sacred manuscripts of the Buddhists.⁴³⁰

5.5 Buddhism in Gandhara

The advent of Buddhism in Gandhara dates back to no further than the middle of the third century BCE. The Maurya emperor Asoka began sending his missionaries to the North-West frontier during this time. The efforts of the missionaries can be seen in the fourteen Edicts that are engraved on rocks in Shahbaz-Garhi, 12 km from Mardan. These commandments, outlined by Asoka, highlighted the basic teachings of Buddhism. Other than composing the code of conduct and ethics of this new found faith, Asoka placed great importance to the worship of funeral mounds or stupas. To promulgate the Sakya faith, he gifted each primary city of his state with a Buddha relic. These relics had been obtained by unearthing seven of the eight stupas preserved in the region. Along with these gifts, the emperor also presented a stupa to each city. By so doing, Asoka provided worshippers with tangible objects that would become the subject of their prayers and thoughts. This stupa culture is particularly important because it was due to this that the Buddhists began to esteem their sculpture and stupas, ornately adorning them.

⁴³⁰ Ibid. p.2.

To determine how Buddhism spread among the second century BCE Greek princes of the North-West is merely guesswork. This is because a large number of Buddhist antiquities and monuments that have survived till today hold no relation to the Greek rule in the second century BCE. Of all the existing information about the Greek period, the only positive story is that told in *Milindapanha* about King Menander and his conversion to Buddhism by Nagasena. Although the Greeks were not flexible to matters of religion, they were fascinated by the teachings laid down by the Sakyamuni religion despite the fact that they were relatively pessimistic and subdued than those of their own. From a political perspective, Menander must have associated himself with the Buddhist Church as he shared its struggle against the Sunga King Pushyamitra and the violent Brahmanical reaction which had led to the mass destruction of Buddhist monasteries in Eastern Punjab.

Although there is lack of concrete evidence, it can be concluded with certainty that Buddhism was a thriving religion during the Greek regime and was supported by the state. This is further manifested in the fact that the ruling parties of Sakas, who always followed their Greek predecessors, converted to Buddhism. On the other hand, there are no grounds to deduce that the Greeks fully supported Buddhism just because they erected memorials of the Founder. The case may perhaps be that their bond with Buddhism was mainly due to the doctrines of the great Teacher rather than with the interest of stupa worship or the adoration of a lion-crowned pillar.

Surviving antiquities display that the Saka were not artistic. Most of the ornaments were mere replicas of the dying Greek art while a few displayed attractive Scythic and Smartian designs. When, for example, comparing two coins of two people or the ornamental features of a Saka building, it becomes very difficult to conclude that the Saka employed artificers other than the Greek. The artificers, Greek by origin, for generations, continued to preserve Greek traditions till the end of the Saka rule in the North-West. As time went on, the craftsmanship and traditions of the Greek deteriorated. This, naturally, was inevitable considering that the Parthian empire had disrupted interaction between the Saka and their Greek subjects and the Western world.

Soon after when the Parthians became rulers of the North-West, Greek arts and crafts were revived. The Parthians, like the Sakas, were confirmed philhellenes, taking pride in their Hellenistic culture and with numerous Greek subjects, were in a position to maintain commercial relations with the Mediterranean coasts. Post conquest of Taxila by Gondophares, the Suren of eastern Parthia, the revival of Greek arts and crafts became very noticeable in this region. Evidence derived from sculptures go on to show that the local Gandhara artists were capable of creating pieces of Hellenistic art that formed the basis for Buddhist art of that region by the end of the last century before the Christian era. However, after the Parthian conquest of c. 25 CE, there was a revival of Hellenistic art followed by a positive transformation in Buddhist art. I shall discuss this further in an upcoming chapter. For now, let us focus our attention to artistic influences other than that of the Greeks

which contributed towards the making of Gandhara School. Such influences include that of the Early Buddhist School of Central India.

In the last century BCE and 1st century CE *stupas* were built at Taxila and in Swat⁴³¹ and much has been said of the patronage in the following period of the Kujula dynasty. For this, however, at any rate as regards Buddhist structures and sculptures in Gandhara, there is little independent evidence; the piety of Kaniska I, his summoning of a council and construction of a *stupa* and monastery at Peshawar are barely mentioned outside a very persistent Buddhist tradition. Nevertheless Buddhism, offering perhaps an easier form of cultural naturalisation to foreigners and frontier folk than Hinduism with its caste, system and no strong proselytising character, evidently flourished so much in the Kujula period that the North-west became another Buddhist holy land full of goals of pilgrimage and religious foundations.⁴³²

Tradition also associates Vasumitra and other famous scholars with Kaniska as patron of the Buddhist Council usually placed in Kashmir, a land subsequently famous for Buddhist scholarship. The earlier importance of Gandhara for the Buddhism and Buddhist art transmitted into Central Asia and the Far East is, however, generally admitted, and scholars attribute texts and translators to Gandhara and the rise of Mahayana Buddhism to the North-west. In this connection, a

⁴³¹ Allchin, 1968: 17-22; Faccenna, 1980-1: 1, pp. 74-5, p. 174; Fussman, 1985b.

⁴³² For Kaniska as patron see Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1949: p. 144, pp. 149-50; Mukherjee, 1988: pp. 88-90; Liu, 1988: pp. 118-19; Bivar, 1991.

manuscript discovered in Central Asia, but probably written in Gandhara in the *Kharosthi* script and on the birch-bark characteristic of the North-west, shows that the Middle Indo-Aryan Gandhari had been adapted to Buddhist literature and its canonical use has been proposed for the Sarvastivada and Dharmaguptaka sects.⁴³³

5.6 Gandhara sculpture and Iconography

In Gandhara, a progressive development began with anthropomorphic narratives focusing on the life of the Buddha, typically emphasizing his birth and his relics. Over time, these narrative reliefs took on more iconic characteristics. The religious and aesthetic aspects have been carefully brought within the extent of the sculptural art. The Gandhara sculptures serve as welcome corrective and addition to the Buddhist canonical books, visualising the form of Buddhism in Gandhara. The Gandhara artistic efforts are evidently Buddhistic; the icons, legends and monuments together with their motifs are still Buddhist. The form is strongly Hellenistic, while the matter is yet Indian. Consequently, many of the old motifs of the early school have been retained, while some are modified and a few entirely transformed. Statues serving independent cult images, chiefly Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, stood in niches and chapels, on benches and platforms and against walls of sacred buildings.

The cult involved figures of princely aspect who are taken to be Bodhisattvas, that is, Buddha-to-be, among whom, however, the only one iconographically distinct to us is the commonly found Maitreya; other figures, who wear turbans, remain to be

⁴³³ For Buddhist scholarship in Gandhara see Beal. 1984: I. p. 98, pp. 104-10.

identified as one or several entities. Although he became prominent in the Mahayana with other great Bodhisattvas, Maitreya can be connected with an older scheme of successive Buddha in which the latest is Sakyamuni, whose successor, Maitreya, in the interim reigns in the Tusita heaven, and his messianic character has been seen as reinforced by Iranian influences to which North-western Buddhism may reasonably have been exposed. Aspects of light symbolism, the frequently represented fire-altar, the halo, the flames seen on a Buddha's shoulders and the nature of Amitabha or the transcendental Buddha of Limitless Light, have been connected with Iranian concepts, but interpretations of such features of Buddhism are readily available from Indian ideas and symbolism.⁴³⁴

The iconographies have been connected with the concepts and practice of *yoga* which Buddhism has, shared with other Indian paths to liberation. Two of the Buddha's special marks at the top of the body and between the eyes, the *usnisa* and *urna* respectively, may reflect the bodily centres (*cakra*) of progressively ascending spiritual liberation, both are sources of light and a hole sometimes seen in the *usnisa* has been interpreted in this sense.⁴³⁵ This feature has been particularly noted on the fasting Bodhisattva, a striking Gandhara iconography, found in narrative scenes and

⁴³⁴ See Rowland, 1938: pp. 75-6; Foucher, 1942-7: II, 283ff.; Rosenfield, 1967: p. 25 & 288; Basham, 1981: pp. 38-44.

⁴³⁵ For the linking of concepts developed in the Vajrayana "The Diamond Vehicle" with Gandhara iconographies see also Huntington, 1984: pp. 155-6.

perhaps as a cult image, which might have developed from the prescribed Buddhist contemplation of death and impurity.⁴³⁶

The deities without specific Buddhist connection can be found in Gandhara in Buddhist contexts. Scenes of drinking, dancing, wine and music-making can occur together; they may exhibit degrees of abandon and have an erotic aspect, while others appear solemn and ritualistic and with a processional character. The formal Western appearance of such elements could have come from widespread Dionysian or related themes expressed in Hellenistic forms in the Near East where, as in Gandhara, they may also have been re-valued in terms of local religious concerns. In this connection the Gandhara have been linked with a pre-Buddhist cult of *yaksas*, which, on account of the presence of the vine in the North-west, had a character of ritual celebrations when it came into contact and coexistence with Buddhism. The vine-scrolls⁴³⁷ who are elsewhere drinkers and dancers, riding dragons or lions⁴³⁸ to which they also offer drink perhaps rather than food;⁴³⁹ water spirits or *nagas* also appear in drinking scenes and musical performances,⁴⁴⁰ and tutelary deities carrying drinking cups or bowls may be influenced by the divine couple engaged in ritual celebrations. The abundance of images of Hariti and Pancika, perhaps, meant to satisfy the man's natural desire for offspring and riches. The presence of the numerous monuments and their wealth of sculptures furnish proof of the prosperity of the country and the

⁴³⁶ See Soper, 1950: p. 148.

⁴³⁷ Ingholt, 1957: fig. 380.

⁴³⁸ Ibid, fig. 458.

⁴³⁹ Ibid, 171 and figs 397, 453.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid, fig. 399.

richness of its inhabitants, who were not less mixed in race than sculptures themselves, in style.

5.7 Archaeological Remains of Gandhara

The large number of existing sculpture and archaeological sites be a sign of religious enthusiasm in Gandhara. The Kushan Empire possessed the commercial significance and subsequent wealth for generous donations. Patronage was lavished on *stupa* complexes which might also be important goals of pilgrimage. The literary evidence for them, in Chinese pilgrim's accounts of their locations, legends and the worship they received, dates mostly from the 4th century onwards, but the information, like the foundations, must be older. Fa Hiyān in 400 CE tells of the four great *stupas*, each marking an act of self-sacrifice by the future Sakyamuni as a Bodhisattva, and other such traditions - with their commemorative shrines—are situated by Chinese pilgrims in or near Gandhara. Many relics are also reported: at Nagarāhara and Hadda shrines contained the Buddha's skull-bone or *usnisa*, his teeth, eyeball, staff and robe, hair and nail-parings, and his bowl was enshrined at Purusapura (Peshawar). Although quite unhistorical, visits by the Buddha were also commemorated: at Nagarāhara, where a cave preserved the Buddha's shadow,⁴⁴¹ at Purusapura,⁴⁴² at the Hariti *stupa* north-west of Pushkalavati (Charsada)⁴⁴³ and along

⁴⁴¹ Beal, 1884: I, xxxv-xxxvi. 93. pp. 94-5. Kuwayama, 1987: p. 713, 1989: pp. 102-4.

⁴⁴² Beal, 1884: I, ciii, p. 99.

⁴⁴³ *Ibid.*: I, pp. 110-11. For this site see Foucher, 1901: pp. 341-4.

the Swat river.⁴⁴⁴ Other records, in the form of prediction by the Buddha, admire the Buddhist glories of Gandhara. The Chinese pilgrim Hsüan Tsang, writing in the 7th century, constantly attributes *stupas* to the emperor Asoka (272-232 BCE), in legend author of their miraculous multiplication to house relics of the Buddha.

The characteristic religious foundation consisted of a main *stupa* and monastery, usually found together,⁴⁴⁵ but the merit gained by building *stupas* ensured that there were often many at one site. At large foundations the main *stupa* was surrounded with lesser *stupas*, some of which might have been covered in carved stone reliefs, like the stucco figures and compositions, as at Jaulian, Taxila, while rows of chapels, niches and benches housing images of stone, stucco and clay formed enclosures.⁴⁴⁶ Although the climb to one such monastery, at Takht-i-Bahi,⁴⁴⁷ where some buildings appear almost complete, still makes a dramatic impact, in the almost total lack of sculpture in situ it is difficult, except at the Jaulian complex,⁴⁴⁸ to imagine today the effect on the pilgrim and worshipper, enhanced as it must have been by colour on plastered surfaces and statuary, of complexes densely provided with sculpture, for a time at least, by sustained devotion and the religious duty of constant renewal.⁴⁴⁹ At Takht-i-Bahi the combination of the monastic quadrangle lined with residential cells and of the quadrangle with principal *stupa* lined with image chapels forms a north-south

⁴⁴⁴ For places where the Buddha dried his clothes, left his footprints and tamed Apalala at the river's source see Stein, 1930: pp. 56-9; Beal, 1884: I, xcvi, pp. 122-3.

⁴⁴⁵ Foucher, 1905-51: I, p. 7.

⁴⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁴⁴⁷ Errington, 1987a: p. 333.

⁴⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 363-7.

⁴⁴⁹ Marshall: 1951: I, p. 231; Pugachenkova, 1982: p. 171.

alignment, with an enclosure in between lying on a lower level and given over to minor *stupas* and very high image chapels, the latter presumably for large clay and stucco figures.⁴⁵⁰ Similar and compact alignments⁴⁵¹ are found at Jaulian and elsewhere in the neighbour-hood of Taxila.

5.8 Gandhara Art

The practice of consciously organizing elements in a way that appeals to the senses or emotions is termed as Art. It covers a various sequence of human being's activities, conception, and mode of expression. Art is an action of expressing our feelings, thoughts, and observations. Buddhist art reached its apex due to introducing Mahayana Buddhism by Kushan king, Kanishka, during the 1st Century BCE to 1st Century CE. In this period the anthropomorphic representation of the Lord Buddha or the figure art was introduced. In the 1st century to 2nd century of the Christian era, under the Kushan rulers a new school of art prospered in the region of Gandhara. Taxila and Peshawar, including its neighbouring districts, were the main centres where the specimen of this art can be seen. Due to ecological and geographical location of the region turned into a meeting place of several races and cultures. As a consequence of this, the assimilation of both foreign ideas and Indian cultural motifs can be observed in the art of Gandhara. This art is amalgamation of various cultures, the Buddhist in theme it is Graeco-Roman in technique and style. It is evident form physiognomy and drapery of the images of Buddha and other personalities. The

⁴⁵⁰ see Spooner, 1911; Hargreaves, 1914b; Shakur, 1936; Sehrai, 1982.

⁴⁵¹ Marshall, 1951: I, pp. 233-4; Kuwayama, 1984: pp. 218-19; Dar, 1989; Callieri, 1989a: pp. 113-16.

sculptors and artists of this region have shaped a huge quantity of Buddha and Bodhisattva images along with other Buddhist deities. The image of Buddha and Bodhisattva, in Central Asian archaeological sites, shows the resemblance with the Gandhara style. Taxila and Peshawar were the main centres of Gandhara art. Afghanistan was also the main centre of Gandhara art as the archaeologists have excavated many archaeological sites and found excellent specimen of sculptures, stupas, and Buddhist monasteries.

The Art of Gandhara came into being in the last century before the Christian era, when the Sakas were ruling in the North-West and when the widespread Hellenistic art which they had inherited from their Greek predecessors had already reached a decadent state. The Gandhara sculptures were produced between outside limits of the 1st century BCE and the 6th century CE, the character of this art and the way in which it declined under the Sakas and was subsequently given a new lease of life after the Parthian conquest is clearly apparent, although on a small scale, in a series of ornamental toilet-trays of Gandharan workmanship which were unearthed in the Sirkap city at Taxila. Greek arts and crafts achieved incentive during the reign of the Parthians when Gondophares, the Suren of Eastern Parthia conquered Taxila. These specimen can be seen in artefacts exhibited in Taxila museum.

The art of Gandhara possesses both autonomy and originality; its unresolved relationship with Graeco-Roman art and the effect of this relationship on its uncertain chronology and development have always exerted a particularly strong interest.

Foucher believed that the earliest Western source was Hellenistic.⁴⁵² The very strength of the art in the Peshawar valley, the broadest and most fertile expanse along the great trade route from the Oxus to Taxila, he believed that fresh settlers coming southwards when nomads took Bactria (*c.* 130 BCE) strengthened the hold of these elements between then and the political extinction of the Greeks in Gandhara (*c.* 75 CE), for without Greek rule on Buddhist soil there could have been no Graeco-Buddhist art, but once implanted the impulse maintained itself and revived with the recovery of Gandhara after the Saka and Parthian conquests.⁴⁵³

Foucher proposed instead an eastward cultural movement taking Hellenistic art across Iran in Graeco-Iranian form, so that Taxila and Puskalavati in a sense paralleled Palmyra and Dura-Europos in the west.⁴⁵⁴ In 1889, Vincent Smith declared the 'art of Gandhara essentially Roman in style',⁴⁵⁵ its models 'Graeco-Roman, and not pure Greek',⁴⁵⁶ developed by artists of Peshawar⁴⁵⁷ adopting the 'Roman system of design and decoration',⁴⁵⁸ and probably belonging to a foreign colony resulting from trade connections.⁴⁵⁹ As evidence he cited the diffusion of the Roman form of

⁴⁵² Foucher, 1942-7: II, pp. 306-54; for earlier and fuller discussion see 1905-51: II, 401 ff. pp. 866-7

⁴⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 321-3 and pp. 333-5.

⁴⁵⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 324-5.

⁴⁵⁵ Smith, 1889: pp. 118-19.

⁴⁵⁶ *Idid.* p. 126.

⁴⁵⁷ *Idid.* p. 156.

⁴⁵⁸ *Idid.* p. 160.

⁴⁵⁹ *Idid.* p. 172 & 157.

Corinthian capital with its use of the human figure,⁴⁶⁰ resemblances with Christian work and sarcophagi,⁴⁶¹ vine-scroll and garland motifs and Bacchic subjects.⁴⁶²

According to Marshall, the style in the earlier 1st century CE to a revived Western taste favoured in the period of brief eastern Parthian rule in Gandhara.⁴⁶³ But the term Parthian has also been comprehensively given to work produced at different centres both within and outside Parthian political control between the 3rd centuries BCE and 1st century CE in Iran proper, in Mesopotamia and the Syrian desert, varying greatly in scale and integration of Hellenistic and local traditions; the early Parthian capital of Nisa⁴⁶⁴ attracted or produced still strongly Hellenising works around the 2nd century BCE,⁴⁶⁵ but the most abundant art, for which the term Parthian is generally preferred, is found later, in western Parthia or outside, in caravan cities like Palmyra, where the commercial prosperity of the early centuries CE resulted in a rich Hellenised art and architecture with what might be termed an Iranian character particularly prominent in the painting and sculpture.⁴⁶⁶ Since works from Shami, Hatra and most notably Palmyra show resemblances with Gandhara in respect of frontality, simplified volumes and drapery, dress and ornaments. Foucher used the term Graeco-Iranian, combined with Graeco-Syrian, to indicate the early eastward

⁴⁶⁰ *Idid*, pp. 160-3.

⁴⁶¹ *Idid*, pp. 165-6.

⁴⁶² *Idid*, pp. 167-70.

⁴⁶³ Marshall, 1960: p. 6 and pp. 26-32.

⁴⁶⁴ Nisa was an ancient city, located near modern-day Bagir village, 18 km southwest of Ashgabat, Turkmenistan.

⁴⁶⁵ Schlumberger, 1970: pp. 34-9.

⁴⁶⁶ For the Parthian and related arts see Ingholt, 1954; Schlumberger, 1960: 253ff., Ghirshman, 1959-68: pp. 279-86; Kawami, 1987.

transformation of Hellenistic art and stressed that, besides Alexandria, the Syrian and Mesopotamian monuments offer the best agreements of detail with Gandhara.⁴⁶⁷ Schlumberger has expressed as Graeco-Iranian the hybrid productions at the courts of rulers between eastern Anatolia and Bactria as forming a common source from which Buddhist Gandhara developed its art in the east and later Parthian art grew in the west.⁴⁶⁸

Ingholt in his work, referred the early influences on Gandhara to what he called the Graeco-Parthian civilisation of Mesopotamia and, quoting parallels from Rome, Palestine, Palmyra, Hatra and Shami, dated the first period of the art with the accession of Kaniska to 144-240 CE.⁴⁶⁹ Pugachenkova in his summary conclude that Gandhara images and motifs were due to widespread Hellenistic culture which, in differing degrees and local conditions, also governed Roman and Parthian art. Passing into Gandhara chiefly through a Bactrian and eastern Iranian filter, Graeco-Roman motifs like the Corinthian capital, with its altered proportions and details, took a secondary and modified place in a sculpture with altogether different themes. Western elements were due perhaps partly to early Greek settlers, but also to the patronage, during the Graeco-Bactrian and Saka-Parthian periods, of Greek culture at royal courts, where Greek gods were worshipped and the Greek alphabet was used, and it may have been diffused by the large circulation of coins figuring Greek deities, by their worship in temples and perhaps at festivals with Dionysian or similar themes,

⁴⁶⁷ Foucher, 1905-51: II, 540, pp. 779-80, 1942-7: II, pp. 324-5; Rowland, 1953: p. 90 (n. 7).

⁴⁶⁸ Schlumberger, 1960: 305ff., 1961: p. 91, 1970.

⁴⁶⁹ Ingholt, 1957: pp. 22-41.

even if their religious symbolism had been revalued in local terms. The prosperity of Kushan rule too must subsequently have encouraged the import of artefacts from Syria and Alexandria.⁴⁷⁰

In the last century BCE and first century CE, Gandhara tradition took shape, when the Buddhists had been established in Gandhara, adopted for sculpture, besides the clay and stucco characteristic of Bactria, an abundant local stone, and combined Indian elements, supplied by geography and religious content, with traditions which must previously have served Hellenised courts and an urbanised, perhaps mercantile patronage in a region long exposed to Hellenism.⁴⁷¹ The craftsmen, whether indigenous, from Bactria or farther west, must also have been active in the Indo-Greek states and in their former territories after their fall. In the east Punjab the last Greeks ruled until the beginning of the Common Era and, whoever their builders may have been, the town-plan at Sirkap, the nearby Jandial temple and, west of the Indus, the urban layout at Shaikhan Dheri and a variety of indications in Swat suggest that a local Hellenism may have been sufficient to influence the Indian Buddhist sculpture brought to Gandhara.⁴⁷²

The growth of Buddhist foundations may have reflected a new prosperity after a period of invasions and the attractions of an accessible religion with its altruistic

⁴⁷⁰ Pugachenkova, 1982: pp. 159-65; see also *ibid.*: 192ff. (summary).

⁴⁷¹ For Indian elements see Foucher, 1942-7: II, p. 333; Nehru, 1989: pp. 91-100. For Hellenistic patronage see Rosenfield, 1967: p. 73.

⁴⁷² Cribb, 1992: p. 14; Rowland, 1935; Bernard, 1969: 350-2. For Western mouldings of around 100 BC at Butkara I see Faccenna, 1980-1: 1, 37, 39 (fn. 2), 45; Callieri, 1992: pp. 344-5, 1993: pp. 344-5; Callieri et al., 1992: p. 5; Pugachenkova et al., 1994: 359.

concept of pious acts. Such Indian elements as the image of the Buddha, the concern with his life, aspects of dress and ornament and architectural forms⁴⁷³ must have undergone rapid standardisation in the service of the cult. It is hard to judge the part played here by the Kusana conquests; there is little evidence that the dynasty, as against individual Kusana donors, directly patronised Buddhism (page 30). The evidence at Taxila and particularly at Butkara-I points to earlier beginnings⁴⁷⁴ and finds from Sirkap and Shaikhan Dheri indicate a contributory taste for imported Western forms and artefacts which local workshops, presumed to be familiar with a Hellenising tradition, might already have acknowledged as models before Kusana rule united Gandhara with Bactria and the Silk Road and promoted the economic conditions which appear so greatly to have favoured Buddhist patronage and its artistic direction.⁴⁷⁵

Alfred Foucher argued that in Gandhara art the scheme combined stylistic with iconographic criteria;⁴⁷⁶ Lohuizen-de Leeuw, who admitted only a brief initial influence of imitated or imported Hellenistic models on Indian composition and iconography, also gave some consideration to the development of the Gandhara school of art;⁴⁷⁷ John Marshall, using his recognition of early work at Taxila as a starting point, arranged by style a sequence of stone carving from beginnings under

⁴⁷³ Foucher, 1905-51: I, pp. 206-29, 1942-7: II, p. 333; Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1949: pp. 80-2, 109.

⁴⁷⁴ For the shrines of Saka-Parthian Sirkap see Marshall, 1918: pp. 65-82. For proto-Gandhara sculpture at Sirkap dated on the assumption that the Kusana conquest led to its abandonment after c. CE 60 see Marshall, 1960: pp. 17-32.

⁴⁷⁵ Nehru, 1989: pp. 94-7.

⁴⁷⁶ Foucher, 1942-7: II, pp. 340-4, and previously 1905-51: II, pp. 469-596.

⁴⁷⁷ Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1949: pp. 80-144.

the Sakas and Parthians until what he considered the end of stone sculpture after the destructions by the Sasanians in the 3rd century. In respect of sculpture the most instructive excavations have been at Taxila, including the urban site of Sirkap, at Shaikhhan Dheri and at Butkara I.⁴⁷⁸

The earliest Gandhara production as described by Marshall during his Taxila excavations to distinguish work in stone, clay and stucco from Sirkap of the Saka-Parthian period and related work from the Dharmarajika site, and this material has been analysed by Nehru in conjunction with that from Butkara I to show how, during the 1st century AD, Indian, Parthian and Hellenistic elements became amalgamated into the distinct style of the following early Kushana period.⁴⁷⁹ The usually distinctive material from Butkara I is a much larger quantity from the great yield of sculpture provided by the Italian excavations.⁴⁸⁰ The excavator distinguishes three main groups by style and the earliest, work of this group has been recognised also in fragments of a large relief ascribed to Great Building at Butkara I and from the drum frieze, dated to the middle of the 1st century CE, on the Main Stupa at Saidu Sharif I and elsewhere.⁴⁸¹ There are many features which must represent developments in the mature period, but their distribution in time and space is hard to determine. The hands held before the breast in a characteristic Gandhara manner by seated preaching Buddhas form a mudra which is not recognised in early work and occurs very often

⁴⁷⁸ Marshall, 1951, and for successive masonry types at the monasteries *ibid.*: I, pp. 260-1.

⁴⁷⁹ Marshall, 1960: pp. 17-39; Nehru, 1989: pp. 68-94.

⁴⁸⁰ At Butkara I some 10,000 items were found (IsMEO, 1977: A4). Faccenna, 1980-1, and for the archaeological contexts of the sculpture surveyed *ibid.*: III, pp. 699-701.

⁴⁸¹ Faccenna, 1984, 1985a, b, 1993b.

with the robe draped to leave the right shoulder bare.⁴⁸² Other such features are the snail-shell curls and stylised bands from side to side forming the Buddha's hairstyles,⁴⁸³ the paired grooves for drapery folds, found usually on reliefs⁴⁸⁴ and various forms of lotus base.⁴⁸⁵

John Marshall recognised that the great variety of work in stucco might indicate diversity of dates, he settled for one in the late 4th-5th centuries, that of the semi-ashlar masonry-type at Taxila associated with comparable stucco sculpture still in position and, he judged the stucco at other sites in Gandhara and of Hadda to accord in style and date with his later Taxila material as part of a distinct school separated by an interval from the stone sculpture.⁴⁸⁶ At Taxila Marshall himself found archaeological grounds for recognising work of different and earlier periods, starting with heads of the Saka-Parthian period from Sirkap; stucco figures are reported in the last phase of the house of Naradakna at Shaikhan Dheri ascribed to the time of Vasudeva I. A wider range of dates is thus appropriate for the stucco and clay production which was part of a continuous output but became preponderant at a later stage when it absorbed changes already mentioned in respect of stone.⁴⁸⁷ In the mature work, besides close agreements between stone and stucco in general iconography and architectural

⁴⁸² Foucher used the Kanishka reliquary to make the preaching Buddhas later than Kanishka and noted the popularity of the preaching gesture on late work (1905-51: II, p. 328, 550). Lohuizen-de Leeuw, who originally suggested an early 4th-century introduction (1949: pp. 124-31), later concluded that this *mudra* was 'a truly [sic] Gandharan invention' (1972: p. 43).

⁴⁸³ Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1968: pp. 130-1, 1986: p. 2.

⁴⁸⁴ Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1949: p. 130, and Ingholt, 1957: pp. 38-9.

⁴⁸⁵ Dani, 1968-9b: p. 67.

⁴⁸⁶ Marshall, 1951: I, pp. 75-6, II, pp. 514-16, 1960: pp. 107-12.

⁴⁸⁷ Faccenna, 1962: p. 62, 1980-1: III, p. 693. See also Lohuizen-de Leeuw, 1949: pp. 140-2; Wheeler, 1949: pp. 17-18; Rowland, 1953: p. 91 (n. 23).

motifs,⁴⁸⁸ figural sculpture shares such characteristics as the sharp thin edges of brows and eyelids, the lowered eyelids and effect of slits, hairstyles, and many forms of dress and personal ornament, besides differences which may seem matters of fashion or of medium.

Marshall believed on the Taxila evidence that what he called the second Gandharan or Indo-Afghan school had come to an end at the hands of the Hephthalites not later than the opening of the 6th century, for although the Dharmarajika site was in occupation later, no clearly associated Buddhist sculpture is reported. Destruction marks some Taxila monasteries, but the evidence elsewhere generally suggests abandonment. Where possible, traditional Buddhist piety would have prompted repairs and a continued production, however diminished, and surviving monuments could have remained influential.⁴⁸⁹ Besides these larger sculptures a series of small or miniature stone pieces of uncertain source may owe their production to conditions of economic decline, reduced patronage and a need for easy circulation among a more scattered faithful. There are many examples of what have been called portable shrines, carved on both sides and formerly made up of connected panels with several framed narrative scenes, and of small plaques that may also have served for domestic or travelling shrines or as amulets. Many of these are Buddhist and, despite post-Gandhara details, such as the very dense treatment of drapery folds, mechanical hatching of the Buddha's hair and apparently always a

⁴⁸⁸ Foucher, 1942-7: II, p. 346.

⁴⁸⁹ Marshall, 1951: I, p. 76; for later occupation of the Dharmarajika site see *ibid.*: I, pp. 286-7.

different type of stone, still appear, with their frames sometimes of stylised brackets, close to the older narrative tradition in stone.⁴⁹⁰ In stucco and in clay, the medium which replaces stucco entirely in post-Gandhara work, the style develops, perhaps, as in stone, under influences from or shared with the Indian interior.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁹⁰ Stein, 1907: I, pp. 219-22.

⁴⁹¹ Marshall, 1951: III, pls 152, 153, and 154.

CHAPTER 6

SOCIO-CULTURAL LIFE OF THE PEOPLE OF GANDHARA AS GLEANED ON SCULPTURES

INTRODUCTION

The study of the material culture defined in the Gandhara sculptures is based on the hypothesis that the sculptors of Gandhara, as they depicted the Buddhist themes, had in their mind the contemporary persons and things around them. By using of skill and imagination in the creation of aesthetic objects, the sculptors supplied the personnel and the background in accordance with the requirements of the texts. In carving the Buddhist themes, on stone, the artists were fully aware of their limitations. However, they took that much liberty as would not come into conflict with the general trend of the text. It is quite possible that they have supplied the exact parallels with those occurring in the Jatakas and life scenes from amongst their society and environment. Thus, many of the items found in the sculptures, may have been indigenous to the country of which Gandhara region and its surrounding formed part.

This study describes the cultural life of Gandharanes as depicted in Gandhara sculptures and brings out the facets or contemporary rich material culture. An attempt has been made to locate the contemporary plastic parallels, to corroborate the material

culture with the literary descriptions and finally to confirm the rich material culture from the archaeological evidence. The sculptures recovered during the exploration and excavations⁴⁹² and housed in the museum of Taxila have been taken into consideration for the cultural survey of the people portrayed in Gandhara reliefs.

The importance of the existence and scope of the Buddhist edifices such as Stupas, Viharas, monasteries, etc. in the Gandhara region, laid bare by the archaeologist's spade stand testimony to the flourishing stage of Buddhism during the period under review. The rich assemblage of sculptures of Gandhara came from these excavated monuments. Several pillars, railings, casings and sculptures portraying Buddhist themes were the part and parcel of this establishment. Many of these carved slabs reveal symbols such as *triratna*, wheel of the Law, Bodhi tree and the life scenes of Buddha. It is these sculptures that form the data of our study.

Expression of people's way of life has shown in Gandharan narrative sculptures, it is also shown the thought familiar with the environmental background and its socio-religious habits. Its general tone, technique, style and mode of expression has nothing to do with specific religion but Indian traditions, designs and symbols were used to elaborate the socio-cultural life of the peoples. Buddhist, Jaina and Hindu art is dominant on the architectural monuments, paintings and stone relief. The main purpose of this material culture is to teach and popularize Buddhist religion in the

⁴⁹² John Marshall and Dr. Vogel "Excavations at Charsada (Puskaravati), the ancient capital of Gandhara", *ASIAR*. 1902-03; Spooner, D.B, "Excavations at Sahri Bahlol near Mardan," *ASIAR*. 1906.-10; *Excavations at Takti-Bhahi und Shah ji-kj-dheri*, *ASIAR*. 1908-11; Hargreaves, H., *Excavations at Takti-i-Bhahi*. *ASIAR*. 1910-11; *Excavations at Shah-ji-ki dheri*. *ASIAR*, 1910-11; *Excavatlons at Jamalgarhi*. *ASIAR*., 1920-21 and other Excavations conducted at various times.

particular area of the Kushan Empire. In Gandhara art one can visualize the trend of Buddhist art through the ages within Pakistan, India and Afghanistan.

In Buddhist Mythology and legends, the Buddha has been represented as superior than popular cult divinities of the area, such as Yaksas, nagas, Indra, Brahma and others of the earlier Brahmanical pantheon. Buddhist religion has been reflected faithfully in Gandhara art. In early Buddhism, no anthropomorphic image has been found but the Buddha was regarded as idea human being. In primitive Buddhism there is only symbolic representation of Buddha, such as empty throne, Budhi tree, pair of foot prints, wheel of Law (Dharma-chakra), lotus flower or the other aspect of his life.

Emperor Kanishka is the one who is known as the founder of Gandhara art due to his personal interest in Buddhism and artistic wisdom. Kushan Empire had commercial relationship with the Roman empires that is why the artist from Rome came to his empire and contributed to the art of Gandhara. The archaeological evidences show that the Graeco-Roman features from Taxila and other area of Kushan Empire. Many artefacts have been exhibited in various museums particularly in Taxila.

The Yüeh chi tribe were nomadic and do not know the tradition of monumental art and architecture, they invited skilled artisans from different areas to fulfil the requirement of artistic taste of the Emperor and to construct Buddhist monuments and

sculptures. Most of the Gandharan sculptures are produced by the local craftsmen with amalgamation of foreign influences.

The craftsmen used local material, such as soft local schist stone in varied colour from light to dark gray with shining mica particles. Some of these sculptures were coated with gold leaf to give them shine in gloomy interiors. They had used the popular media for making a sculpture and other artefacts, such as stucco and terracotta. These sculptures were fragile and mostly attached with the stupa walls to give them three dimensional appearances. The images of Buddha were represented in various ethnic type and expression. Bodhisattvas were also shown on the walls of stupa with rich jewellery and ornaments.

6.1 Structural Design of the Buildings

The sculptors of the Gandhara Sculptures have depicted a variety of architecture details which includes almost everything from a modest hut to a magnificent palace. They give fair idea of the material structures of those times. The diversity of sub-continent culture is represented in its architecture. The available material form Taxila is sufficient to understand them in greater detail. The foreign impact in the architecture, depicted in the Gandhara sculptures, is prominent and is exposed clearly in the Corinthian pillars, pilasters and Persepolitan columns which are seen in the sculptures supporting flat, trapezoidal roofs of the palaces and palace-interiors. In many places, we see Corinthian columns supporting the Indian arched roofs. The

simplified Persepolitan columns are often seen taking the load of the Indian arches. Evidently, the architecture of the buildings, depicted in the reliefs, in majority of the cases, betrays mixture of the techniques of the local Indian schools, influenced by Hellenistic artists. Thus, in respect of the architecture shown in the sculptures, we get pleasing variety of the buildings, standing testimony to the architectural skill of the Gandhara art.

6.1.1 Gateways and Walls of Metropolis

Each city in which the royal residence was situated was surrounded by an outer wall having gates on four sides. The cities of Sirkap and Sirsukh, the Kushan city, had walls and gateways. (Fig. 5 Sirsukh) There is a graphic description of the gateway in the *Arthasastra* which is also met with in the Pali texts and the Ramayana. Some of Gandhara Sculptures expose city walls and gateways. Thus, the sculpture depicting panel, (Fig. 6) the city with its high towers and a balconied-gate is shown, being guarded by two men with spears. A full view of the city wall and the city gate of the Kusinagara can be had in the sculpture, (Fig. 7) illustrating, Distribution of the Relics. The city wall, with its projected towers and closed gate can be seen clearly.

Further, in the panel, (Fig. 8) depicting 'Ananda asks the casteless girl for water', reveals the city wall of Sravasti with its high tower and gateway. Nearby can be seen a well such type of well can be seen outside the fortification wall of Sirkap city, Taxila. An elaborate city wall (Fig. 9) with its two high towers and arched gates depicted in the sculpture in the panel is very imposing. We find a realistic

representation of the city gate in the panel depicting, the Great departure. (Fig. 10) The Prince Siddhartha is shown on the horse-back passing through the city-gate. Another gateway with a projected balcony gets depicted in the sculpture illustrating, Chandaka and Kanthaka. Another city gate is depicted in the panel, (Fig. 11) illustrating, Buddha enters Rajagrha. According to the context of the story, the structure represents the city gate of Rajagrha through which Buddha was to pass. The gate is closed. The doors of the gate are clearly visible.

6.1.2 Pillars and Pilasters shown in Palaces

In Greek architecture, there were three orders of columns: the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian. Those that figure in our reliefs are Corinthian columns. The base and the shaft are identical with Ionic, but the capital has taken the form of an open *Calix*, formed of acanthus leaves. Above this, is another set of leaves through which grow stalks with small leaves rounded into the form of volutes. On this rests a small abacus, widening towards the top and on this again the entablature, which is borrowed from the Ionic order.⁴⁹³ The human figures like Atlas, Caryatides are seen generally employed instead of the columns to support the entablature.⁴⁹⁴

In the art of the building, the conception of Pillar seems to be older than the dwelling itself. In a palace, the ground-floor appears to have had a number of pillars whose number varied with the magnificence of the structures and the number of

⁴⁹³ Oskar Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities; Mythology-Religious literature and Art-* (London, 1891), p. 58

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 83 and 116

storeys to be supported. In Gandharan stone reliefs, we find double-storey building. The panels, (Fig. 12, 13) revealing, Buddha-to-be throws flowers at Diparikara-Buddha and Chandaka and Kanthaka Return, depict double-storey buildings.

However, in the reliefs, we see, invariably Corinthian Pillars, Pilasters, Indo-Persepolitan columns, supporting the buildings. In one panel, (Fig. 14) illustrating, the preaching Buddha on inverted throne, an arched opening of a domed-shrine is supported by two Indo-Corinthian columns, the shafts decorated by incised lines. The high entablature with rosette on the frieze is interrupted⁴⁹⁵ by the opening of the shrine. Sometimes (Fig. 15), the pillars are shown supporting the trepezoidal and arched roofs alternately in a palace. Sometimes, they are seen supporting the simple Indian-arches.

In one unidentified panel (Fig. 16), a simple Indo-Corinthian pilaster is shown supporting an interrupted architrave and modillion cornice. The Pilaster is further decorated by a standing Amorini. Precisely, similar example occurs in the panel (Fig. 17) illustrating, the Buddha in meditation flanked by Indra and Brahma. Similarly, the depiction of the building supported by Indo-Persepolitan Bull Capitals are many. Again, in one panel (Fig. 18) illustrating, Miracle of Sravasti, an Indo-Persepolitan column having an Atlas as bases are shown supporting a trepezoidal and arche roofs alternately. Invariably, in the reliefs, the buildings are seen supported by Indo-

⁴⁹⁵ Hereafter, this architectural detail is explained under the term *interrupted architrave*.

Corinthian pillars (Fig. 14,19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26) or pilasters (Fig. 27) or Indo-Persepolitan columns. (Fig. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32)

6.1.3 Interior of Palace

There are many Gandharan Sculptures which reflect representations of the palace interior, which provide information regarding the dwelling places of the kings and the other royal personages. These royal buildings present the richest form of the civil architecture of the period of which they are the creation. The sculptures, however, do not expose the exterior view of the whole palace. It is possible that the royal palace had several sizeable halls or rooms supported by various pillars as it would appear from the illustration of numerous palace interiors in the sculptures.

The Gandhara sculptures portray many palace interiors of which some are the court halls of king Suddhodana, the father of Lord Buddha. The panel (Fig. 28), demonstrating, Dream of Maya, reveals the court hall of King Suddhodana. It is a spacious hall with flat roof, supported by Corinthian Pillars. Again, the court of King Suddhodana depicted in the panel (Fig. 33), illustrating, Interpretation of Maya's dream, is of a different type. Here, the room has a trepezoidal roof, supported by Corinthian pillars. The exterior of the trepezoidal roofs is decorated with wavy line.

6.1.4 Majestic Bedroom and other Pavilion

The illustrations of the royal bedroom repeatedly occur in the reliefs. Thus, the bedroom of queen Maya is depicted several times in the sculptures. The panel, (Fig. 34) illustrating 'Dream of Queen Maya', reveals the bedroom (*Sayanagara*) of the queen Maya. The room has a trepezoidal roof, supported by Indo-Corinthian pillars. Again, the bedroom of Queen Maya, depicted in the panel (Fig. 35) "Maya's dream," reveals a different architectural detail. The room is very cosy with a balcony, supported by Persepolitan Bull Capital.

The best example of the regal bedroom of Princess Yosodhara, the wife of the Lord Buddha, occurs in the panel, (Fig. 29a) illustrating Life in the Palace. In the upper scene, the room is having an interrupted architrave supported by Persepolitan columns. The balcony with latticed decoration is also visible. In the lower panel, the room is spacious with flat roof, supported by the Persepolitan column and with arched entrances which are having Persepolitan Bull Capitals as their support. The arch is having coffered ceiling. The balustraded balcony in between the arches is clearly seen. The architectural frame-work of the bedroom is carved with great care, the simplified Indo-Persepolitan columns in the upper section and below them their orthodox counterparts with Bull-Capitals, also coffered ceilings in the niches.

The panel (Fig. 36), depicting the bath of Siddhartha, gives the idea of a bathroom in the palace. It is a spacious room with a flat roof, supported by *Indo-*

Corinthian Columns. It is said that the bathroom of Harsa⁴⁹⁶ was located on the ground floor of the palace at the back in the right corner and was provided with a water-basin. The panel, (Fig. 37) depicting "Marriage of Siddhartha and Yasodhara," reveals a huge royal pavilion with flat roof, supported by Corinthian columns.

The panel, (Fig. 38) depicting Birth of Siddhartha's groom, Chandaka and of his horse, Kanthaka, reveals a royal horse-stable. In the sculpture, a number of horses are peering over a wall in a royal stable. In literature, references to the royal horse-stables are in plenty. Kautilya in his *Arthashastra*,⁴⁹⁷ specify the duties of the superintendents-in-charge of the royal horse stable. Strabo⁴⁹⁸ testifies to the existence of the excellent stalls for royal horses and other beasts in the palaces. In Harsa's palace, his royal horse-stable was located to the right of the entrance inside the palace,

6.1.5 Abode of the General Public

Huts are depicted more than once (Fig. 39, 40, 41,42,43) in the panels, (Fig. 43) depicting son of a blind ascetic is killed by the king, First meeting with the brahmanas, and Hermit inside his hut without door. The roofs appear to have been made of palm leaves. The walls, probably, were of split bamboos, pleated horizontally and vertically. The dome is having a finial at the apex. The another panel, (Fig. 42) depicting Brahmana novice and three brahmanas, reveal two huts with domical roof with finial at the top. These huts do not have any doors. As can be

⁴⁹⁶ Harsha or Harshavardhana, the sovereign of India who ruled northern India for 41 years.

⁴⁹⁷ *Arthashastra*, P. 54

⁴⁹⁸ R. C. Majumder, *Classical Accounts of India*, P. 269.

seen, these huts are of single cell. The Jatakas mention such single cells, made of leaves and *Kusa* grass. Evidently, the common residence of the poor section of people consisted of a simple wattle and daub hut with roof, made of thatch and walls of the branches of trees and grass.

6.1.6 Roofs of the buildings

The roofs of the buildings, both secular and religious, illustrated in the reliefs, are varied and appealing. The Gandhara Sculptures offer four type of roofs namely, trepezoidal, (Fig. 33, 34, 44) arched or vaulted, (Fig. 30, 45) flat (Fig. 28, 37, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52) and domical. (Fig. 39, 40, 42, 43, 53) Apart from these, the sculptures also reveal interrupted architrave (Fig. 54, 55) and roofs in combination of arched and trepezoidal ones. (Fig. 14, 15) As for the trepezoidal roofs, they are seen in the sculptures, invariably, supported by Indo-Corinthian Pillars. (Fig. 33, 34, 44) The arched or vaulted roofs are generally seen with the supports of Indo-Corinthian pilasters (Fig. 45) or Persepolitan Bull Capitals. (Fig. 30) In some instances, the sculptures reveal Indian arches with simplified Persepolitan columns. (Fig. 10, 28, 56, 57) Regarding the flat roofs, they are mostly supported by Indo-Corinthian pillars (Fig. 28, 46, 47, 48) or pilasters. (Fig. 37, 49, 50, 51, 52) As for the domical roofs, they are usually of the huts and shrines. (Fig. 14, 15) The sculptures depict arched entrances supported either by Corinthian pillars (Fig. 14, 39, 40, 42, 43, 53) or Persepolitan columns. (Fig. 29)

6.1.7 Balconies

The panel (Fig. 12) illustrating, Buddha to-be throws flowers at Dipankara Buddha, exposes a balcony, balustraded with a flat roof supported by the Persepolitan columns. A person is watching the proceedings on the road from the balconied window. In another panel, (Fig. 29) illustrating Life in the Palace, a balustraded balcony in between the arches of the entrances, supported by the Persepolitan Bull Capitals, is revealed.

6.1.8 Doors and Door-jambs

In the panel, (Fig. 7) illustrating Distribution of Relics, the closed doors of the city-gate can be seen. The door consists of two rectangular door leaves, fixed vertically to the door-frame with a facility to open secretly.

In two instances, door-jambs can be made out from the sculptural representations. The one depicting (Fig. 58) Yaksa with grape vine-scroll appears to be the lowest block of a jamb, belonging to a false niche. The Greek-vine-scrolls and the bead-and reel and imbricated leaf-moulding seen on the exterior of the jamb are purely Greek patterns but palmette-like lotus plant at the base of the outer vine-scroll on the left and the male figure Yaksa at the base of the larger vine-scroll, betray indigenous traits.

6.2 Costumes of the Nobility and Others

6.2.1 Kings, Princes and Queens

The costume of the kings and other nobility on Gandhara sculptures are very little. It is indeed difficult to see, in the matter of dress, any difference between the royalty and the commoners, either in the articles of dress or in the way of wearing them. If, at all, there existed any difference, it could have been in the material. It is quite possible that the higher class of people must have used finer fabrics while the commoners used simpler variety.

However, among the aristocratic persons, depicted in the Gandhara reliefs, the king is shown wearing a few items of dress. It includes generally, an *antariya* (dhoti) and an *uttariya* (a piece of dress used to drape the top half of the body). Thus, the king Suddhodana depicted in the panel, (Fig. 59) illustrating the interpretation of Maya's dream, is shown as wearing a long *dhoti* falling to the ankle in graceful folds. An *uttariya* passing over the shoulders, rolls round the left arm.

The Prince Siddhartha, invariably, appears in the sculptures with a *dhoti* reaching to the ankles. (Fig. 29, 46, 60, 61) The pleats and the graceful folds of the *dhoti* are quite clearly sculptured. As for the *Uttariya* either it is rolled round the left arm or it is covering both the hands. However, in one panel, (Fig. 62) illustrating distribution of the Relics, prince is revealed in a new type of dress. His dress consists of a long tunic, with a belt around and a pyjama.

The dress of a queen, depicted in the Gandhara reliefs, can be ascertained from queen Maya, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 49, 63) illustrating birth of Siddhartha and the seven steps. She is shown wearing a *Sari*, part of which is wrapped round the waist and a part pleated and tucked in behind. In another instance, (Fig. 64) she appears in a lower garment, leaving the upper portion completely bare. Sometimes, the free end of the *Sari* is passed over the chest, transversely leaving the right breast uncovered, as seen in the representation of queen Maya, in the panel, (Fig. 28) illustrating interpretation of dream.

6.2.2 Gods, Semi-Gods and Celestials

In Buddhist mythology the gods occupied a position subordinate to the Master. A different mode of wearing the garment can be seen in the dress of gods, represented in the panel, (Fig. 65, 66) illustrating 'The Gods entreat of Buddha to preach'. In this case, the upper garment passing over the shoulders is rolled round the left arm and then thrown back in stiff folds, its stiffness being maintained by the weight of a heavy tassel. The god Indra is frequently represented in different costumes in the sculptures, Indian and Hellenistic dresses. In some panels, (Fig. 64, 65, 67, 68) he is illustrated as wearing a long *dhoti* reaching up to ankles. The *Uttariya* is worn precisely in the similar manner. Indra offers a different type of dress in the panels, (Fig. 69, 70, 71) illustrating Grass cutter offers Grass for the seat of the Enlightened one, Ascetics try to extinguish the symbolical blaze of the fire temple, and the Buddha in unidentified scene. Indra wears a short *dhoti*, which ends well over the knees. In some other panel

(Fig. 21, 40, 72, 73), Indra appears altogether in Hellenistic dress. His dress consists of a short doric tunic with scalloped turn over edge. Again, the panel, (Fig.74) depicting the death of the Buddha (*Mahaparinirvana*), Indra appears in different type of dress. He is with underwear resembling the modern one.

In regard to Brahma, (Fig. 68) depicted in the reliefs, the dress consists of a *long dhoti* reaching up to the ankles and an upper garment as with Indra and other kings described above. The same is the dress (Fig. 75) of Mara, depicted in the panel, illustrating attack by Mara and his host. In one panel, (Fig. 76) Yaksha appears in a full sleeved tunic and a pyjama, evidently a persian dress. This full sleeved coat or tunic is essentially a central Asian garment.

On the other hand, the river deities, depicted in the reliefs, (Fig. 77) reveal an interesting type of dress. They are shown wearing around their waist with acanthus leaves, which appear growing out of the body itself. Invariably, the Bodhisattva Siddhartha is sculptured as wearing a long *dhoti*, reaching up to ankles in graceful folds. (Fig. 78, 79, 80) The upper garment, usually passing over the shoulders, rolled round the left arm.

An image (Fig. 81) of Hariti reveals clearly her dress. She wears a *Sari*, a costume made from a single piece of cloth. The transparent drapery reveals the shape of her body. The folds of the *Sari* are shown by an alternation of more and less emphasized fold, with occasional forked folds. In another case, (Fig. 82) she wears a

sleeveless long chiton⁴⁹⁹, reaching up to her feet and secured by means of a twisted belt around the waist. A shawl, covering the back of the head and hanging down in a graceful curve between the upper hands, completes her dress.

The dress of the Yaksinis,⁵⁰⁰ which occur in the Gandhara sculptures, usually comprised of a lower garment, reaching up to the ankles, which was worn freely, allowing it to dangle from both the shoulders. (Fig. 83, 84) However, an interesting type of dress is shown in the sculpture of another Yaksi. (Fig. 85) She is wearing, in addition to her lower garment, a long-sleeved jacket and scarf.

6.2.3 Male and Female Guards

The male guard, represented in the sculpture, (Fig. 86) illustrating adventures and Punishment of Maitrakanya, is shown as wearing a lower garment, *adhovastra*. Except for this garment, he is completely bare. In another instance, (Fig. 6) the male guards appear in different type of dress. In this case, they wear a long *dhoti*, while the upper portion is left bare.

The female guards, *yavanis*, depicted in the sculptures, appear always, with Ionic chiton and himation. (Fig. 87) At times, they also wore a full sleeved tunic as seen in the sculpture, (Fig. 28) representing, Dream of Maya and interpretation of dream. In some other instance, (Fig. 88) a female guard appears in Parthian dress. Her dress

⁴⁹⁹ A form of clothing with or without sleeve worn by both sexes in ancient Greece (c. 750-c. 500 BCE) to the Hellenistic period (323-30 BCE). Two kinds of chitons were commonly distinguished, the short Doric Chiton of wool and the long Ionic tunic of linen. In the beginning, chiton was merely an oblong piece of cloth, wrapped round the body without any sleeves. Subsequently, sleeves were added.

⁵⁰⁰ Yaksinis are mythical beings of Buddhist, Jain and Hindu mythology.

comprises of a loose baggy trouser and a tunic with a waist-band around the waist. Again, the female attendants of queen Maya appear in the reliefs with long chiton. (Fig. 19, 49, 63, 64)

6.2.4 Soldiers

The soldiers, depicted in one panel, (Fig. 89) reveal Parthian dress. All wear loose baggy trousers tied at the ankles, with loosely fitting long sleeved tunics. This type of dress is still a common feature among Pathans of Khyber Pakhtoonkha. Again, Mara, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 90) illustrating Great Departure, reveals a different dress. He is dressed in scale armour over what appears to be a *dhoti*. The soldiers, illustrated in the panel, depicting 'The attack by Mara and his hosts' appear again in scale armours. Similar is the dress worn by the warriors, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 91) illustrating Host of Mara.

6.2.5 Common People

To begin with brahmanas, we get a representation of them in the panel, (Fig. 92) illustrating 'Brahmin Novice and Brahmin'. The older of the two with bald and beared head wears a short skirt apparently of twisted and knotted fibres from the inner bark of tree. The novice Brahmin is seen wearing a short skirt. In another instance, (Fig. 93) a novice Brahmin is seen wearing a dhoti as his lower garment, while the upper portion is covered partially with an *uttariya*. In this case, the *yagnopavita* is clearly visible. In another panel, (Fig. 42) illustrating 'Brahmin novice and three Brahmanas',

we get the representation of a group of Brahmins, who appear with an *ardhoruka*. In two cases, an *uttariya* covering left shoulder can be made out. Thus, it can be seen that the dress of Brahmanas, depicted in the Gandhara relief, consisted of a lower garment, *ardhoruka*, at times, accompanied with an *uttariya*.

Again, the dress of a school teacher can be gathered from the panel, (Fig. 94) illustrating 'Siddhartha in School'. The teacher Visvamitra is shown wearing a long *dhoti*, reaching his feet while an *uttariya* covers partially his left shoulder. Such simple dress can be seen in some part of India. Similarly, the dress of the school fellows can be seen in the panel. (Fig. 95) illustrating 'The child Bodhisattva going to school in a ram-cart'. Nearly, seven school boys, carrying writing boards and ink pots are seen in this panel. They are shown wearing long sleeveless tunics.

The dress of the grooms, depicted in the Gandhara sculptures, can be known from the dress of Chandaka, depicted in the panels, (Fig. 13, 96) illustrating 'Chandaka receives turban and jewels' and 'Chandaka and Kanthaka return'. He is shown wearing a *dhoti*, reaching ankles and an *uttariya* in *upavita* fashion. The wrestlers, depicted in Gandhara reliefs, (Fig. 97) wear tight shorts or *Janghia*, the dress worn by the sakyas in their tournaments. Such tight shorts are still being used during wrestling in Punjab in Indo-Pak.

A merchant's daughter Sumagadha, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 208) illustrating, Sumagadha and the naked Ascetic, wears a chiton, the upper part of which is shown as slipped. Again, the casteless girl, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 8) illustrating,

Ananda asks casteless girl for water, wears chiton while her himation⁵⁰¹ is thrown back on her right arm. It is, again, the female worshippers that appear invariably with an Ionic chiton and himation. (Fig. 51, 98, 99)

However, at times, they reveal different type of dress, as seen in the panel, (Fig. 100) illustrating the Buddha with four female worshippers. All the three women in the front row have veils over their heads. The two younger women, at the right, wear diadems. The former head dress, perhaps, indicates the married, the latter the unmarried state. But, all the four worshippers wear chiton and himation alike. Female donors, usually, appear in the reliefs with chiton and himation. (Fig. 26, 101, 102) But the one, with bowl, appears slightly in different dress. Her costume is evidently made up of pleated lower part and a transparent upper part that reaches to the middle of thighs and through which, the patterned under garment is revealed. A shawl covers her shoulders and back, the ends hanging down inside the elbow.

6.2.6 Ascetics

In depicting the ascetics, the Gandhara sculptors have showed remarkable uniformity as regards their clothes, in strict conformity with the injunction, enjoined in the Buddhist scriptures. The Buddhist texts prescribe three garments, the *Samghati*,

⁵⁰¹ A garment consisting of a rectangular piece of cloth thrown over the left shoulder and wrapped about the body.

*antaravasaka*⁵⁰² and *uttarasanga*⁵⁰³ to the bhiksus or monks.⁵⁰⁴ The *uttarasanga*, we find in the case of the monks, depicted in the Gandhara reliefs.

The costume of Buddha, depicted in the Gandhara sculptures, constitutes a *Samghati* and *Uttarasanga* (Fig. 103, 104, 105, 106) The *Uttariya*, in most cases, covered both the shoulders, (Fig. 107, 108, 109, 103,110, 111, 112) However, the instances, where the *uttarasanga* covered only left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder bare, are not wanting. (Fig. 113) At times, *uttarasanga* is even wrapped in such a fashion that only right hand is made visible. (Fig. 106, 114, 115) As for the attire of the monks, it usually comprised of *Samghati* and an *Uttariya*. The *Uttariya*, in most cases, as seen in the cases of Buddha, covered both the shoulders. In some cases, the *Uttarasanga* is allowed to cover the left shoulder, leaving the right shoulder bare.

6.3 Personal Ornaments

Every human being in this world has love for personal ornamentation which is inborn in mankind. The people of Gandhara could not have been an exception. The Gandhara sculptures depict males and females, irrespective of the position they held in society, wearing ornaments. However, from the Gandharan sculptures, it would be difficult to know the difference between the ornaments used by the aristocratic persons and those by the commoners. It could have differed, presumably, in the

⁵⁰² It is a part of Buddhist monastic garment, a sort of waist coat, worn as a substitute to the shirt.

⁵⁰³ The monastic garment which was worn on the upper body, so as to cover one or both shoulders.

⁵⁰⁴ *Mahavagga*, VIII. 13,4-5

material of which they were made. The best of all places where ornaments naturally fitted in the Gandhara sculptures were generally, forehead, ear, nose, arm, wrist, fingers, thigh, hips and legs.

6.3.1 Head Ornaments

Among the head ornaments, head band and other ornaments are commonly portrayed in Gandhara sculptures, the head-band as an integral part of the head-dress. It is a strip of thin material either of cloth or metal, was decorated with one or two or three of gems or pearls or beads. In the primitive head-dress, the head-band was very important. The head-band which occurs in Gandhara sculptures has both utilitarian and decorative value. Thus, the panel, (Fig. 116) illustrating "Flight of the Bodhisattva from Kapilavastu", reveals Prince Siddhartha with a head-band as an integral part of the head-dress. The head-band consists one row of beads, decorating the lower fringe or skirt of the head-dress.

In Gandhara, the head-band, as a detached ornament, can be seen repeatedly. In this capacity, this ornament consisted of one or more strings of pearls, gems or simple beads. Thus, a head-band as a detached ornament and consisting only of a row of strings of small beads (Fig. VI, 3) is to be met with in the case of female attendants, depicted in the panels, (Fig. 29a, 117) illustrating, life in the palace and an unidentified pane. However, a fine example of a head-band, consisting of three strings of pearls and used as a detached ornament, can be seen in Hariti. (Fig, 81) She

wears a pearl diadem on her head, consisting of three rows of pearls, issued from the clasp, containing floral design.

6.3.2 Forehead-Ornament

As it can be seen from tile sculpture, the forehead-ornament, generally, consisted of a disc, suspended from the parting of the hair by means of a chain which, however, is not seen in many cases because of the elaborate head-dress. Thus, a figure of Hariti (Ingholt. 81) reveals a forehead-ornament. A small rosette, suspended by means of a thin triad, can be seen on the fore-head of Hariti. Similarly, a lotus medallion, used as a forehead-ornament, can be seen again in the case of a Yaksi, depicted in the panel, (fig. 85) illustrating Yaksi standing beneath a sal-tree.

6.3.3 Ear-Ornament

The following ear-ornaments, in various forms, found in the Gandhara sculptures:

- i. A spherical metal ring studded with gems or pearls.
- ii. A crescent-shaped ear-ring.
- iii. An ear-ornament of a string of pearls or beads.
- iv. A metal ball or big gem.
- v. A square-shaped ear-ornament with a lotus design.
- vi. Bud or leaf shaped ear- ornament with a pearl or bead-drop.
- vii. A tulip-shaped or tubular-shaped ear- ornament.

- viii. Disc-shaped ear-ornament,
- ix. A spiral-like metal ring.
- x. A half-blown flower of metal.
- xi. An ear-ornament resembling the inverted pericarp of the lotus.
- xii. A metal ring with group of pearls or bead-strings dangling.
- xiii. An ear-ornament with lion-motif.

i. This type of ear-ornament can be seen in the sculptures, adorning the ear of Pancika. (Fig. 118) He wears a spherical metal-ring studded or decked with gems or pearls in the hole bored in the ear-lobe.

ii. This type of ear-ornament is seen worn by many people in the sculptures, The best example of this is shown in the ears of Bodhisattva (Fig. 119, 120) in meditation.

iii. A female worshipper depicted in the panel, (Fig. 100) illustrating The Buddha with female worshippers offers this type of ear-ornament. Her ear-ornament comprises a string of beads or pearl worn in the ear-lobe.

iv. In the panel, (Fig. 121) illustrating the two youths, they are shown wearing this type of ornament. It comprises metal ball set with gems. (Fig. 122) Elsewhere, Maitreya reveals a similar ball, studded with *ratnas* as his ear-ornament. Again, it is Bodhisattva Siddhartha, (Fig. 123) who appears in the sculptures with this kind of ornament.

v. A square-shaped ear-ornament, probably, of gold is shown adorning the ears. The figures of Hariti (Fig. 82) and a female donor (Fig. 102) reveal this kind of ear-ornament), with their exterior carved with lotus design.

vi. This ear-ornament in the relief (Fig. 100) a female worshipper, illustrating Buddha with the female worshipper, wears a similar kind of ear-ornament. Such kind of ear-ornament is very popular in Indo-Pak.

vii. A fine example of this fashion of ear-ornament is seen adorning the ears of Hariti. (Fig. 84) She wears a long tubular ear-ornament. Some youths, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 124, 125) illustrating Amorini, garlands, youths with flowers, appear with this kind of ear-ornament.

viii. The female attendants, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 64) revealing, 'Birth of Siddhartha and the seven steps', illustrate fine variety of this type. It is circular in shape with lotus design. A female musician, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 60) illustrating 'Life *in* the palace', offers similar kind of ear-ornament.

ix. In the panel (Fig. 126) of this spiral-like metal ring can be seen adorning the ear-lobe of a female donor. Precisely, similar example is again found, adorning the ears of a male depicted in the panel, (Fig. 127) illustrating portion of *Five Figures* (Gods).

x. This kind of ear- ornament is seen suspended from the ear-lobes of some of the figures in the Gandhara sculptures. Some of the gods represented in the panel, (Fig. 64) illustrating 'Birth of Siddhartha and the seven steps', wear this type of ear-ornament.

xi. An excellent example of this ear-ornament can be seen adorning the ears of a female worshipper, depicted in the panel (Fig. 100) illustrating, Buddha with the female worshipper.

xii. The most popular ear-ornament appears to be a large ring of some metal from which are suspended a group of pearls or beads. A fine example of this fashion of ear-ornament can be seen adorning the ears of Bodhisattva. (Fig. 128) Again, a similar ornament is seen adorning the ears of a woman, depicted in the sculpture. (Fig. 129, 130, 131, 132)

xiii. A new type of ear-ornament is found in the excavations at Sirkap, Taxila. (Fig. 133) This ear-ring could be attached, by means of an elaborate, double leach clasp. In the centre of this contrivance was a female bust superimposed on a lotus rosette, with a cinque-foil lotus with heart-shaped-petals above and at the bottom of a beaded circle. From the lower part of the ear-ring hangs an even more elaborate ear-ornament, consisting of a ring and a pendant.

6.3.4 Neck Ornaments

There are plentiful neck ornaments exhibited with the males and females but two categories of neck ornaments seen in Gandhara sculptures, explicitly, the necklaces which are worn loosely and freely around the neck and necklets which fit the neck very closely. However, the necklaces in the reliefs range from a simple string of bead to the most elaborate ones. composed of lockets, probably of gold with a collet in the centre, encasing gem. In some cases, group of chains with terminals are seen adorning the necks. In a few other cases, metallic necklaces are found, worn by the people belonging to the different sections of the society. The necklets are found on the necks of both males and females. As regards the material with which the neck ornaments

were made, it is difficult to know from the sculptures. But as for the beads or pearls or gems found in the necklaces, they are of spherical, egg-shaped, globular shapes. In the case of metallic necklaces, the plaques seem to be curved or cornered.

The early Greek and Roman jewellery is very rich in necklaces. In the Hellenistic period (330-27 BCE) the strap-necklaces and chain-necklaces were very popular. In the Roman period (27 BCE - 400 CE), the necklaces were varied. However, most of the necklaces, illustrated in the reliefs, appear to be of indigenous origin and conception.

6.3.5 Necklace

A fine example of this fashion of the necklace can be seen adorning the neck of a female musician, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 60) illustrating, Life in the palace. In this case, the necklace is long and extends up to the breast. The globular beads or pearls were probably bored in the middle and threaded closely. In another illustration, (Fig. 85) a Yaksi offers still a different variety of necklace. She is shown wearing a necklace of egg-shaped beads or pearls. The beads or pearls are all of uniform size with a bigger one in the centre. The Indra represented in the panel, (Fig. 134) illustrating, the preaching Buddha on lotus throne, has different necklace to expose. In this case, the necklace consists of two strings of beads or pearls with central gem.

Maitreya and Bodhisattva that appear with the type of necklace embellished with one or two or three strings of pearls with spacers and are seen loosely falling on the

right arm. Maitreya revealed in the sculptures offers the necklace of this kind, which ranges from one to three strings of pearls with square or rectangular or circular spacers. (Fig. 135, 136, 137) But the Bodhisattva comes into view in the sculptures having a necklace of three strings, falling loosely on the right arm. In his case, the necklace is invariably composed of three strings. (Fig. 131, 138, 139) The figure of Hariti, (Fig. 81) revealed in the sculptures, offers a necklace of twisted cord having bird-terminal.

6.3.6 Necklets

The necklets, sculptured in the reliefs, invariably comprise of metallic tablets, decorated with floral design and with central locket either square (Fig. 79, 82, 135, 136, 139, 140, 141, 142) or rectangular (Fig. 135, 137, 143, 144, 145, 146) or of circular (Fig. 149, 118) shape, encasing a gem.

The design seen on the necklets, usually, includes a row of lotus design (Fig. 81, 139, 142, 147,) or wavy line, (Fig. 148) flanked by row of studs or simple vertical slashes (Fig. 132) etc. Sometimes, the necklets are seen bedecked with gems. (Fig. 82, 118, 135, 147, 149, 150) The central locket is seen containing gem of lotus flower (Fig. 151) design. In one instance, (Fig. 146) the metallic neck-let having rectangular central locket is shown with a circular pendant, slinging from the fringe of the metallic plaque, in the centre, probably, by means of a hook. Both men and women, belonging to the different sections of society, wear necklets. However, it is Maitreya,

Bodhisattva Siddhartha. Pancika and Hariti appear in the reliefs, invariably, with necklets around their necks.

6.3.7 Arm Ornaments

The arm ornaments comprise those worn on the upper arm, fore-arm, and the wrist. Under the arm ornaments three categories of armlets as under:

- i. Upper arm ornaments or armlets.
- ii. Bangles on the fore-arm.
- iii. Wristlets

Prince Siddhartha depicted in the panel, (Fig. 152) illustrating, The First Meditation, wears an armlet with beaded pattern and edged in by one rim.

An Armlet having a large round disc, fringed with small pearls or lotus design. (Fig. 129) This armlet occurs more than once in the reliefs. Thus, Bodhisattva Siddhartha, Maitreya, Avalokitesvara, Pancika, is shown in the reliefs wearing this kind of ornament. Its frequent depiction in the sculptures bespeaks its popularity among the people of the Gandhara region.

6.3.8 Bangles on the Forearm

A female worshipper, depicted in the panel, illustrating, The Buddha and the worshipper, is shown wearing eight simple *valayas* on the fore-arm. Again, a Yaksi, (Fig. 85) revealed in the panel, depicting, Yaksi standing beneath a Sal-tree, is seen

wearing four *valayas* on fore-arm. In the early Gandhara art, the occurrence of the bangles, exclusively on the hands of both males and the females, can be seen in the sculptures and reliefs.

6.3.9 Wristlets

A considerable variety of this ornament is represented in the reliefs. They appear on the wrists of both males and females. Sometimes, especially in the case of males, the wristlet was worn singly, but in the case of females, it was worn invariably as a support for pile of bangles. The varieties of wristlets, revealed in the reliefs, include:

- i. Wristlet of beaded pattern.
- ii. Plain hallow wristlet.
- iii. Wristlet with lotus design.
- iv. Wristlet with beaded pattern and leaf-design.
- v. Wristlet with beaded pattern and wavy line.
- vi. Wristlet with beaded pattern

In the Gandhara sculptures, wristlets of beaded pattern are seen worn by gods, Bodhisattva Siddhartha, Maitreya and some of the females. Thus, the God Brahma, represented in the panel, (Fig. 134) depicting, the preaching Buddha on the lotus throne, illustrates Brahma with two wristlets of beaded pattern. Again, a winged Deva of a bracket figure, (Fig. 153) reveals this type of wristlet. But in this case, he is seen wearing three wristlets of beaded pattern.

Plain hallow wristlets very much akin to the above type, except for its beaded pattern. In this case, it was probably plain and hallow and had, probably, a clasp by means of which it was fitted round the wrist. This kind of wristlet is seen worn by Maitreya (Fig. 141) and Bodhisattva (Fig. 154) in the sculptures.

A fine example of wristlet with lotus design is seen in the sculptures, adorning the wrist of Bodhisattva. (Fig. 139) A female royal donor, (Fig. 146) again occurs with this type of wristlets.

It is Maitreya (Fig. 135) that occurs in the sculptures with this pattern of wristlet with Beaded Pattern with Leaf-design.

The wristlet with beaded pattern and wavy lines, in this combination of decoration, can be seen in the wristlet (Fig. 148) adorning the hand of Bodhisattva Padmapani.

6.3.10 Waist Ornaments or Girdles

The Gandhara reliefs depict a few varieties of waist ornaments they include, (i) beaded-belt with clasp and (ii) beaded-belt without clasp. The earlier is a belt composed of a number of strands of beads with a clasp, provided in the centre, as can be seen from the Gandhara sculptures. When this type of ornament was worn, generally, the waist-band was not used. The clasp in the centre of the belt, besides its decorative value gives a firm grip to the girdle. As for the material, with which they

were made, it might be said that it was either of gold or silver or of some other metal and fashioned in the same way as necklaces and wristlets.

6.3.11 Beaded-belt with Clasp

A female deity (Fig. 155) offers a fine example of the beaded-belt with clasp. In this case, it is comprised of three strands of beads with a clasp, decorated with lotus design. Again, a sleeping woman, (Fig. 156) depicted in the sculpture, reveals a beaded-belt with a clasp. But, in this case, the belt is composed of four strands of beads. However, an excellent and elaborate bead-belt, with clasp, occurs on the girdle of Yaksi (Fig. 85) depicted in the panel, illustrating, Yaksi standing beneath a sala tree. The waist-ornament is elaborate and it is comprised of four strands of beads, issued from a clasp from which slings a leaf-pendant. An example of the beaded-belt of plain variety, devoid of any clasp and consisting of two rows of beads, is offered by a female figurine. (Fig. 157)

6.3.12 Leg Ornaments

The variety of leg ornaments, represented in Gandhara reliefs, is limited. The Gandhara sculptures offer three varieties of leg ornaments, namely, (i) a plain anklet (ii) an anklet with beaded-pattern, (iii) an anklet with a gemset circular projection.

(i) This is a very simple type of anklet. As it would appear, it was a hollow tube of some metal and bent to a circular shape. Hariti, (Fig. 150) depicted in the panel, illustrating, Pancika and Hariti, wears similar type of anklet on her leg.

(ii) This fashion of the leg ornament can be seen, adorning the leg of Yashodhara depicted in the panel⁵⁰⁵, illustrating, Royal chaplain introduces Yashodhara. Precisely, similar ornament is, again, met with on the leg of a female deity. (Fig. 158) It is an anklet with beaded pattern.

(iii) This type of anklet is seen in the sculptures, adorning the leg of Yakshi. (Fig. 85) In her case, the gemset circular projection of the anklet is distinct.

6.4 Hair-Style and Head-Dresses

In Gandhara sculptures most of the people appear with the covered heads, they have not much to tell us in respect of their coiffures, certainly, the people who showed remarkable taste for variety and fashion as regards their head-dress are naturally expected to have shown same artistic skill and careful attention in the arrangement of their hair style.

6.4.1 Kings and Princes

The Kings, as can be seen from the Gandhara sculptures, arranged their hair very neatly. Even though, much of the hair was covered with their head-dress, as their head-dresses have slipped to the side or perhaps worn aslant, a part of their hair is seen, disclosing the mode of their hair-do. The King Suddhodana, (Fig. 28, 33, 159, 160) depicted in the panels, appear with their hair neatly combed so as to facilitate neat wearing of the head-dress. The hair-style of the prince Siddhartha can be

⁵⁰⁵ 3 *Ibid.*, 31

gathered from the panel⁵⁰⁶, illustrating, The Child Bodhisattva going to school in a ram cart. He is represented with the hair, dressed into an egg-shaped ball.

6.4.2 Gods and Commoners

The Indra appears in the reliefs (Fig. 161, 162, 163) with different types of hair-styles. Invariably, he is shown with curly hair, which has the appearance of a wig. The curly hair is the characteristic feature of the Gandhara art, while it is rare or almost absent in other schools of early Indian art. A different type of coiffure is to be seen with Indra, represented in the panel, (Fig. 72, 164) illustrating, the gift of the bundle of grass. In this case, he has combed back his long hair from the forehead. Similar type of hair-style again, is met with in the panel, (Fig. 165) depicting, the Buddha and the brahmin ascetic.

The hair-style adopted by the commoners, can be observed from the depictions of the musicians, anchorites, attendants, wrestlers, grass-cutters, brahmins, soldiers, donors, worshippers, merchants, etc. Thus, the flute-player (Fig. 64), a harpist, (Fig. 166, 167) and a tambourine player, (Fig. 168) are shown with wig-like coiffures. The anchorites. (Fig. 169) have arranged their long hair with curled side-locks and a top knot at the crown. The school boys appear in the sculptures (Fig. 170) with their hair gathered in a top knot. Sometimes, they allowed curled locks to fall on the forehead. In some other cases, the top-knot is seen at the front instead of at the top of the crown. The hair-style is quite an Indian and appears to be of Greek Origin.

⁵⁰⁶ 7 Marshall, *op. cit.*, Pl. 66, fig. 95

6.4.3 The Buddha

The Buddha has his hair represented in two ways, in the reliefs.⁵⁰⁷ His hair is shown either with wavy lines and a protuberance (*Usnisa*) or with a hair of ringlets, resembling honey-comb, and an *Usnisa*. The *usnisa* is either low or high or flat. A solitary instance of Buddha's hair-style, devoid of *Usnisa* at the top of the crown is also available. In this case, however, a slight indication of the protuberance is noticeable near the forehead, unlike, the one usually seen at the top of the crown. (Fig. 106)

6.4.4 The Bodhisattva Siddhartha and Maitreya

The Bodhisattva Siddhartha appears, generally, in sculptures (Fig. 80, 123) with a high *usnisa* and curly tresses flowing down over the shoulder. As for the hair style of Maitreya, the arrangement of the top of head, in two loops forming a horizontal figure and resembling bow-knot, seems to be the characteristic feature of Maitreya. This bow-knot is secured either in the centre (Fig. 136, 142, 143) or in the front (Fig. 171, 172) of the head.

6.4.5 Women

The women portrayed in the Gandhara sculptures betray variety of hair-style reflecting their dexterity in the hair-do. The coiffures, exhibited by them, are elegant and fashionable. The coiffure can be seen in female deity (Fig. 155) as depicted, the

⁵⁰⁷ 7 Iogholt, *op. cit.*. 196 to 212, 214 to 218, 221 to 232; 201, 204, 205, 221, 219

hair, which is treated like a wig in front, is taken back from the forehead, falls in a long double plait down the back almost up to the hip, with an unbound lock on each shoulder. In few cases, the ladies depicted in Gandhara reliefs have their hair plaited in a simple pig-tail and allowed to fall on the back or braided into a loop-knot. This pig-tail was often decorated with a net, made of pearls and rosettes.

A lady, depicted in the panel, (Fig. 173) illustrating, presentation of bride to Siddhartha, reveals that a lady has combed her hair back and secured in a roundish bun, on her occiput. Her hair-style and the dress worn by her, all reveal Greek origin. This type of hair-style is very much favoured by the ladies of Gandhara region, can be known from its frequent sculptural depictions. In the panels, lady musicians⁵⁰⁸ (Fig. 29b) and basket-carrier (Fig. 174) reveal similar type of hair-dress. The bun which makes its appearance at Gandhara is evidently of Hellenistic origin. The Greek and Roman ladies showed great aptitude in combing their hair into a bun.

The female attendants depicted in the panel, (Fig. 175) illustrating, bath of the infant Buddha Her hair is arranged in a top-knot. Similar coiffure is also met with in the hair-style of a Yaksi. (Fig. 85) The chaplet on her head is quite visible. As it can be noticed from the sculptural representation, it is the female attendants that had favoured this hair-style. The hair-style in the female attendant is depicted in the panel, illustrating, birth of Siddhartha and the seven steps. She has arranged her hair in such

⁵⁰⁸ 3 Ingholt, *op. cit.*, 39-B

a way that only a lock of hair is allowed to dangle on the forehead, while the remaining portion of the hair is

6.4.6 Head-Dresses

In Gandhara sculptures, head-dress is a quite interesting feature of personal dress. In majority of the cases, people appear in the Gandhara reliefs with some sort of head-dress. The variety of head-dresses that occur in the sculptures are many and range from a most simple head-dress, comprising only a group of fillets to the most complex turbans, decorated with jewels and other various devices. Generally, three categories of head-dresses are noticed in the male figures sculpted on Gandhara reliefs.

- i. A turban, resembling the *Pagri* like used in villages of Punjab in Indo-Pak.
- ii. A turban made by winding round the head a long rolled scarf so as to cover the hair wholly or partly.
- iii. A cap which is to be found in a very few cases.

As regards the head-dress of women, sometimes we find a turban similar to that worn by men. (Fig. 159, 176) There are also light head-dresses, like a thin piece of cloth which covered the hair and hair-knot, over which sometimes is tied a fillet on the forehead and a band round the hair-knot.

6.4.7 Head-Dress of Kings, Princes and gods

The Kings appear in the reliefs mostly with readymade head-dresses. The King, Suddhodana's head-dress, depicted in the panel (Fig. 28) illustrating, the interpretation of Maya's dream, is readymade and lightly ornate. The central ornament, which is shaped like a segment of a circle, is fixed in the top-member and the head-dress consists of a knot on the middle of the chord. In another panel, (Fig. 59) illustrating, Interpretation of dream, the King Suddhodana is shown with a new type of head-dress. The turban in this figure is simple and has an egg-shaped ornament, tied in the centre.

The Prince Siddhartha revealed in the panel, (Fig. 116) illustrating, flight of Bodhisattva from Kapilvastu, wears a head dress having an egg-shaped ornament tied in the centre, presumably by means of strings.

In majority of cases, gods appear in the reliefs with the head-dresses, either ready-made or obtained by winding round the head a rolled scarf. The gods, represented in the panel, (Fig. 177) illustrating, Adoration of the Bodhisattva's head-dress in the Trayastrunsa Heaven, wear similar type of head-dress noticed in the case of the Suddhodana above. The Head-dress is highly ornate. The central ornament which is shaped like a segment of a circle is fixed in the top-member and the head-dress consists of knot on the middle of the chord. In the same panel, an excellent example of a readymade turban however, can be seen in Bodhisattva's head-dress.

An interesting type of bead-dress is again met with in the head-dress of one of the gods, represented in the panel, (Fig. 116) illustrating, Flight of the Bodhisattva from Kapilvastu. There, the readymade turban consists of a blossomed flower-like design fixed in the centre of the turban.

6.4.8 Caps and Helmets

The description of caps and helmets in the sculptures is very little as compared to the other type of headdresses. On the other hand, the specimens available are significant and give the idea of the various kinds of caps and helmets that were in fashion during the period of Gandhara people.

A head of a foreigner (Fig. 178) is shown in the reliefs wearing a tall conical, pointed cap. Again, the donor depicted in the panel, (Fig. 130) illustrating, Bodhisattva Siddhartha in meditation, donors, and monks, wears tall conical, pointed cap. A fine example of the helmet comes from the panel, (Fig. 91) depicting, Host of Mara. He wears a helmet, rendered tall and decorated with studs along the fringes.

6.4.9 Women's Head-Dress

The head-dresses of women, as sculptured in the Gandhara reliefs, are generally decorated by fixing in them ornamental devices like discs, flowers, and leaves, presumably made of metal or of string of beads, gems or pearls. Invariably, chaplets are seen decorating the head of women.

6.5 Musical Instruments

According to Harrison, any instrument made or used for producing sounds, whether pleasing to the ears or not, may be classed as a musical Instrument.⁵⁰⁹ Traditionally, the musical instruments have been categorised under four main groups which Gandhara sculptures depict as under:

- i. Stringed Instruments
- ii. Percussion (beating instruments)
- iii. Wind Instruments
- iv. Solid Instruments

6.5.1 Stringed Instruments

There are four types of stringed instruments, namely, (a) the harp-shaped or bow-shaped Vina⁵¹⁰, (b) the guitar and (c) the *lyra* (lyre)⁵¹¹ (d) *Sambuca*⁵¹² type appear in the reliefs.

⁵⁰⁹ H. S. Harrison, *Guide to the Collections in the Horniman Museum and Library*, London County Council Publication, London, 1936, p. 25.

⁵¹⁰ A stringed musical instrument of India, prepared with rosewood or ebony, a long hollow fretted stick to which one, two, or more gourds are attached to increase the resonance.

⁵¹¹ A musical instrument used in ancient time in Greece composed of sound box made typically from a turtle shell, with two curved arms connected by a yoke from which strings are stretched to the body, used esp. to accompany singing and recitation.

⁵¹² An ancient stringed musical instrument used in Greece and the Near East.

6.5.2 Bow-shaped or Harp-shaped Vina

In the main line of evolution of stringed instruments, says Harrison, there can be little doubt that the musical bow must be given a prominent position and that this, in less, had its origin in the tawning of the string of hunter's bow⁵¹³. This type of bow-shaped vina occurs in the Gandhara sculptures more than once. It appears in the reliefs either as a solo instrument or an accompaniment to dancing or song or music party. (Fig. 179) Generally, it is seen being played by lady attendants, Naginis, celestials and pancasikha, the renowned harpist of India, either by fingernails or by means of plectrum. In one instance, (Fig. 167) the harpist pancasikha is shown with a harp, held in a slanting position on his right thigh. The plectrum, held in his right hand, is lifted suggesting his action, while his left hand fingers are gently playing on the strings. The harp is used as an accompaniment to a song.

6.5.3 Guitar type of Vina

This kind of Vina is less represented, as compared to the harp type. In the reliefs, the guitar appears invariably either as an accompaniment to the other instruments in a musical entertainment (Fig. 168) or as a solo instrument. (Fig. 180, 181) Generally, lady musicians, nymphs, and celestials occur in the sculptures as guitar-players. In the panel, (Fig. 168) illustrating, family drinking-scene of five figures, reveals a lady musician playing upon a guitar in a musical entertainment. In majority of the cases,

⁵¹³ Harrison, P. 31 In Africa and in parts of Asia musical bows, which are of the same form and construction as the shooting bow, are still in use. In many African musical bows, a gourd is permanently attached to the bow stave. The use of more than one bow, attached to a resonator, is a step in the direction of the harp.

the guitar appears as a solo instrument. In one instance, a celestial is represented with a guitar but having a different type of resonator. (Fig. 181)

6.5.3 Lyre (Lyra)

The Lyre is rarely appeared in the Gandhara reliefs. In a panel, (Fig. 182) Orpheus is shown playing with the lyre. Distinct from the above types, this instrument betrays a foreign origin. The strings of the lyre are usually attached to the sound box at one end. In a harp, the other ends of the harp-string are connected with a neck arising out of the sounding box but in this case, there are two arms with a cross-piece connecting them.

This is instrument of Greek origin, seemed to have been invented by Hermes who stretched four strings across the shell of a tortoise. In historical times, the whole tortoise-shell was used for the sounding bottom. Thus, the Greek impact in the matter of musical instruments is apparent in the Gandhara reliefs. Probably, the lyre was introduced to the Gandharians somewhere in Hellenistic period.

6.5.5 Sambuca-A Triangular-Stringed Instrument

Apart from harp, guitar and lyre, the sculptures (Fig. 183) represent another variety of instrument. A toilet tray, revealing, crowded drinking scene, delineates a woman playing upon a triangular stringed instrument, resembling a harp. In this case, it has a pointed end and while playing, this pointed end stands downward. This instrument may be identified as *sambuca*, a triangular stringed instrument which is

again of foreign origin. The woman, sculptured in the relief, is evidently a foreigner, wearing a foreign dress and holding a foreign instrument. The style is typical of Hellenistic art.

6.5.6 Concert Drums

The concert drums are to be those, generally, played to the accompaniment of other musical instruments in musical entertainments or in processions.

In one panel, (Fig. 29b) revealing 'Renunciation', are represented two lady attendants embracing the drum *mrdangas*.⁵¹⁴ The *mrdangas* are kept in vertical position. The vertical and horizontal straps, presumably made of leather, are clearly visible. The panel, (Fig. 60) illustrating, the Life in the Palace, reveals two drums, *mrdangas*, being played upon simultaneously by a lady attendant. Of them one is kept in vertical position and the other is kept on her lap. Generally, these two types are seen in the reliefs together played upon by the drummers.

The sculpture, depicting, (Fig. 209) Sleep of the women, reveals a *mrdangas* kept in vertical position. Apparently, it had a single mouth on top side. A female attendant is shown placing her head on it. The horizontal and vertical bands, probably of leather, are clearly visible. Another type of drum is represented in the panel, (Fig. 179) revealing, nagaraja with musicians and attendants. A Nagaraja is shown playing

⁵¹⁴ *mrdanga*, it is a classical drum of India, literally means, made of clay.

upon it with his hands. The *mrdanga* is made to dangle by means of a strap, probably made of leather.

Yet another variety of drum comes from the Stair-Riser Relief. (Fig. 184) In this, a male drummer is shown playing a *mrdanga* with his fingers. The *mrdanga* is kept *slinging* from his left shoulder by means of a strap. The *mrdanga* is being played *in* the accompaniment of dancing. In another panel, (Fig. 185) illustrating, Musicians and dancers, are to be seen as many as three *mrdanga*, being played upon by male drummers. Since the sculpture is worn out, the *mrdanga* represented are not clearly visible. However, they can be seen *slinging* from the shoulders of the musicians by means of straps.

6.5.7 Wind Instrument

The flutes, shown in the reliefs, are tubular having their sound-hole in the side of the tube near the proximal end, which is closed. The number of holes of the flute cannot be known. In the reliefs, generally, it is seen played in the accompaniment of the other musical instruments in musical entertainment. Male or female musicians, palace attendants, celestials, naginis are seen in the reliefs playing upon this type of instrument. However, the best example of the horizontal flute can be seen in the stair-riser relief. (Fig. 186) A male musician appears with this type of flute. In another panel, (Fig. 60) illustrating, Life in the palace, a lady attendant is seen with a flute. From the foreign dress she wears and the foreign hair-style she exhibits, she appears

to be a foreigner, probably a Greek, in that case, the horizontal flute which she is shown playing, may also be a flute of foreign origin.

6.6 Amusements

The amusements, as can be visualised from the Gandhara reliefs, include drinking and dancing. The sculptures, (Fig. 168, 187, 188) revealing, drinking party scenes and those depicting (Fig. 183, 189) the wine vats and modes of wine preparation, obviously, reveal fondness of the people for drinking. On a steatite tray, (Fig. 190) a dancing scene is depicted. A man flanked by two women, all in Hellenistic dress, is revealed as engaged in dancing, hand-in-hand and keeping pace methodically. Again, the toilet-tray (Fig. 97) illustrating, 'crowded drinking scene', depicts wine preparation method.

Another item of amusement, depicted in the reliefs, is the wrestling. On a rectangular slab, two wrestlers are depicted. (Fig. 191) Both wear tight-shorts or *Janghia* and each has one hand on his opponent's shoulder, the other at his belt. The wrestlers are robust. In another instance, (Fig. 94) two wrestlers are shown in action. As the one held the thigh of the other with both hands, the opponent took him by the neck.

In one panel, (Fig. 97) three acrobats are illustrated. Two of them stand side by side, each dressed in short *dhoti*. Besides, they also wear bracelets and have top-knots on their heads. A third man, seated on the shoulders of the man on the right, also

wears a top-knot and is similarly be-jewelled. Even to this day, in rural areas, such acrobatic shows are of common sight.

Again, in the panel, illustrating, (Fig. 95) the child Bodhisattva going to school in a ram-cart, are depicted school fellows in Greek dress, carrying writing boards and ink-pots. Presumably, the materials carrying with them may also be of Greek origin. The writing boards have handles by which they are held.

6.7 Social Rituals

6.7.1 Marriage Customs

An idea of the marriage customs prevailed among the Gandharanes during the period can be gathered from the panel, (Fig. 37, 192) depicting, marriage of Siddhartha and Yashodhara. In this, they are shown joining hands over the holy fire. According to the Indian ritual, bride is given away by her father in his house. The water pot in front of Yashodhara contained probably water with which her father had sealed the transfer of his daughter to the royal house of Sakyas. Even in the present day marriage customs of South India, father-in-law will wash the feet of son-in-law before he gives away his daughter to him

6.7.2 Funerary customs

An idea of the funerary customs existed during period can be visualized in the panel, (Fig. 193, 194) depicting, cremation of the Buddha. In the lower left is the cremation scene, conducted by the Mallas with the same ceremonies, as were observed at the death of the universal monarch. Two men in princely costumes are seen pouring water or milk on the blazing pyre from small vessels, tied upside down to the ends of long poles. According to the tradition, all the work connected with the cremation of the Buddha was done by the Mallas themselves, not by the usual 'undertake', members of a low and despised caste. Again, in another, panel (Fig. 195) depicting, cremation of the Buddha Division of the Relics, Mallas are shown performing the extinguishing of the flame of the pyre. In the scene of "distribution of relics" on a long table are seen eight spherical objects. These balls probably of clay contained the relics.

6.8 House-Hold Objects

The household utensils, depicted in the Gandhara reliefs are varied; they include bowls, saucers, wine-cups, goblets, Spouted Vessels, and mirror etc.

6.8.1 Bowls

In the Gandhara reliefs, the bowls are depicted abundantly. In the panels, (Fig. 196, 197) representing, offering of the Four-bowls to the Buddha and conversion of Nanda, the bowls, probably containing rice soup or similar other edibles, are illustrated as being offered to the Buddha by the princes and Nanda. The bowls have incurved featureless rim and round base.

6.8.2 Saucers

The toilet tray, (Fig. 183) illustrating the crowded drinking-scene, represents saucer evidently of Greek origin. A man is shown drinking wine in it. The saucer with incurved sides, sharpened rim and flat base. In another instance, a nagini appears with a different variety of bowl. (Fig. 198) The bowl is bigger in size with frilled rim. It has wide mouth and pedestal base with a luted slender handle, reaching from the rim to the foot on either side. A kneeling woman from Taxila (Fig. 199) offers a hemispherical bowl. It has featureless and externally grooved rim and round base.

6.8.3 Wine-cups

The wine-cups, depicted in the Gandhara reliefs, are of Greek or Graeco-Parthian origin. Thus in two panels, representing drinking scene on toilet-trays, can be seen a cup with a single handle, presumably, raising high above the rim. The panels, (Fig. 200, 201) illustrating, Head of Dionysus and Dowager and Man with bowl, represent

another variety of wine-cup. They have two handles with or without carinated profile and pedestal or ring-base.

6.8.4 Goblets

Goblets, found in the Gandhara reliefs, are typical of the Parthian period. They have carinated bodies, deeply flared mouths, horizontal flutings or bands and pedestal bases. Thus, a few panels (Fig. 187, 198, 202) represent these Parthian goblets, evidently used as wine-cups. These goblets have close resemblance to the Greek goblet.

6.8.5 Spouted Vessels

In art, the depictions of spouted vessels are in plenty those, found in the Gandhara reliefs. Spouted vessels occur in the reliefs more than once. (Fig. 63, 64, 203) They have vertical necks, globular bodies and pedestal or ring bases. A spout is luted to the body. A handle is also provided, in order to facilitate hold. It is luted to the rim and the body.

Sometimes, the spouted vessels have handles on the top (Fig. 64, 204, 205, 206, 207) instead at the sides, as seen above. This type of spouted vessel, with the handle on the top, may be identified as *Kamandala*, the survival of which can be seen in the *Kamandalas*, used by the ascetics or fakirs of Sub-continent. In Buddhist literature it is referred to as *Dhammakaraka*.¹⁴ In art, the depictions of the spouted vessels with

handles, either on the side or on the top, is profuse and appear in the sculptures of Gandhara.

6.8.6 Mirror

The panel (Fig. 54) illustrating, conversion of Nanda, the temptation scene reveals the toilet scene of the bride of Nanda. She is shown being toileted. The *prasadika* is arranging her coiffure, while her self adjusting it by looking in the mirror. A mirror and a small casket, probably containing scented oil, are seen kept on the tripod. The mirror has a round disc mounted on a handle which has a pedestal base.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

The Study of art is considered as an essential part for better understanding the political, socio-cultural and religious history of ruling dynasty of the historic period. Therefore, the history of ancient Gandhara is equally based on the study of rich material culture unearthed in the region of Gandhara. But, despite several efforts already made by the Indologists, certain areas of the political and cultural profile of Gandhara still remain obscure and disputed e.g. the chronology of the Kushan kings particularly that of the later rulers of mentioned dynasty. After a detailed examination of the Gandhara sculpture of the Kushan regime many flaws and vacuums that were existed before can be partially resolved and fulfilled.

The Kushans established most fascinating political empire in the region of Gandhara and lasted more than three hundred years, starting from first century before Christian era to its submission to the Sassanian Empire in the third century of Common Era. The Kushans reached at its peak and included the large region from Central Asia down to Sub-continent. The researchers, who already have studied various aspects of the Kushan culture, have met many overwhelming problems to establish a historical frame for the Kushan dynasty, geographically as well as

chronologically. All the way from the steppe to Bactria, the Kushan people met with many people from different languages, religions, and cultures. Therefore, the Gandharanese shows all type of features of the society on the sculptures of Gandhara, in the shape of Gandhara art.

The religious art works was flourished during the regime of Kushans, the most famous were stone sculpture of Gandhara and Mathura. The sculptures of various kings and princes of the Kushan dynasty were also unearthed from various religious establishments. It is obvious that the dynastic art was a part of religious art. A number of cults and gods were recorded on the various coins of the Kushans which were found from Taxila and other Gandharan archaeological sites in the region. When the Kushan took over the control of the South Asia region, they come across Buddhism and Brahmanism; the both religious cults were emerged on the Kushan coins and sculptures. Hellenistic style on Gandharan Buddhist art was also seen on the sculptures. The Kushan rulers called themselves the 'Son of God' or the 'Son of the Heaven'.

The Inscriptions found from various archaeological sites experienced the donations and patronage of religious institutions i.e. Buddhism and Jainism by the Kushan kings and aristocrats. The Kushan rulers promoted and flourished commerce, trades and urban life in the region where ever they went. The figures sculpted on Gandhara narrative reliefs and sculptures during the Kushan regime depicted the

beginning of the sari and garment to cover the breasts. The mixer of local and foreign elements can be seen on the Gandhara sculptures.

The aforesaid account of the wealthy material culture, marked out on the Gandhara reliefs, endeavours to present graphically, some aspects of the pattern of life lived by the Gandharanese during 2nd Century BCE to 4th -5th Century CE. Religion, indigenous traits and a large measure of foreign elements have played a significant role in shaping the society and civilization that thrived during the period of the Kushan dynasty.

It was a determining period in the history of Indo-Pak. The people of Gandhara enjoyed peace and serenity. This flourishing society, which was the resultant of the economic prosperity, coupled with political peace and religious fervour, was readily fit to assimilate the new trends as also to transform the older ones. However, that the inclination is more towards the Hellenistic influence in some aspects of the material culture is unmistakable. Hence, we notice in Gandhara the emergence of many innovations, besides the retrieval of older traditions.

The most significant feature of the Kushan religion is the construction of royal temples. The various epigraphic references and different archaeological excavations attest that the Kushan kings particularly the early Kings erected temple or sanctuary or shrine for the images of Kushan gods who granted them kingship and images of the Kushan kings. From different sources it is known that various religious structures in different regions were built by the Kushan kings like the Mat (Mathura) Temple of

Vima-I Takto, Oesho sanctuary of Vima Takto, Surkh Kotal temple of Kanishka I and Kanishka I sanctuary of Rabatak inscription.

The religious structures that get portraiture in the Gandhara reliefs include stupas with all their components, domed-shrines and Fire-temples. Thus one notices the fusion of foreign and native traits obvious in the portraiture of architecture in the Gandhara Sculptures.

The sculptors of the Gandhara narrative reliefs have perfectly portrayed the architectural details which include everything from a modest but to a magnificent palace. The architecture revealed here betrays indigenous traits and distinctive foreign impact. Obviously therefore, the buildings reveal the happy blending of the two techniques of the native and Hellenistic artists. The palace interiors, city walls and city-gates illustrated in the reliefs, were of the highest form of civil architecture all of urban type. The palace interiors had private chambers, bedrooms, baths, dressing rooms, royal horse-stables, etc. These buildings were, invariably, supported by Indo-Corinthian Pilasters or Persepolitan columns. The city-roads were broad and could accomodate huge processions.

Nonetheless, little is known of the lodging of the common people in the sculptures. The homes of the poor and the ascetics consisted of hut with the roof made of thatch. They had no doors. Perhaps the doors were detachable and used only when necessary. The roofs of the building generally were trepezoidal, vaulted, flat or domical, invariably, supported by Indo-Corinthian pillars or Pilasters or Persepolitan

columns. Sometimes the Persepolitan columns were simplified and supported the Indian arched roofs. The buildings had balconies from which the people watched the proceedings on the road. Such kind of balconies can be seen in various cities of Pakistan particularly in Peshawar region, which was once the capital of Kushan Empire. The door-jambes were usually embellished and the designs included Greek vine-scrolls, bead and reel, and imbricated leaf mouldings, besides indigenous palmette like lotus plant.

In the matter of dress, as can be known from the Gandhara sculptural representation there appeared to be no difference between monarchs and masses either in the articles of dress or in the mode of wearing them. If at all, there existed any difference in the dress of these two classes, it could have been in the material. Amongst the aristocratic persons, depicted in the Gandhara reliefs, the king's dress included generally an *antariya* and an *uttariya*. Sometimes, the *dhoti*, the lower garment extended up to the ankle in graceful folds. *Dhoti* is very common in the Punjabi villages of Pakistan. Some of the dresses, depicted in the Gandhara reliefs, do reveal significant foreign impact. The lovers of the romantic couple wore the Greek dress *tribon*, a garment worn in Doric states by men in ancient period. Indra, appear in reliefs, both in local and foreign dresses. The native dress includes generally, a *dhoti*, along with upper garment.

The queens wore the saree in different ways. Sometimes, one part of the saree is wrapped round the waist and the other part pleated and tucked in behind. In some

other cases, the free end of the saree is passed over the chest transversely leaving the right breast uncovered as seen in the case of queen Maya. Amorous ladies, generally, appear in the reliefs with chiton and himation. Among the common people, the Brahmin, the school teachers, etc. appear with a lower garment, consisting of a short or long *dhoti* and in upper garment. The female donors, usually, appear in the reliefs with chiton and himation.

The Gandharanese had great love for personal ornaments, is evident from the multiple depictions of the ornaments in the narrative reliefs. Some of these ornaments were of local origin while a few others had foreign influence. The forehead ornaments, generally, included jewelled fillets or circular pendants. The very existence of so many varieties of ear-ornament indicates the high aesthetic sense of the people of Gandhara during the Kushan dynasty. Many of them have their survivals at present. Among the variety of necklaces and necklets, found from Taxila during archaeological excavations, are very common even in these days in Pakistan and still very popular among the ladies. The specimen that occurs in Gandhara reliefs is evidently of Greek Origin. However, most of the necklaces, illustrated in the reliefs appear to be of indigenous origin and conception. The decoration on some of the armlets was elaborate and often consisted of circular or tall crests.

The hair-style known to the people, the Gandhara Sculptures offer many varieties revealing native and foreign origins. Generally, men, as is evident from the sculptures, had long hair and invariably, the curly hair. The curly hair is a hair style of

Greek Origin, introduced into Gandhara in the 4th Century BCE. It gained its popularity in 2nd, 3rd Century of Christian era. The monks had clean-shaven heads. The Buddha gets his depiction in the sculptures with a hair style either combed into a wavy line or ringlets but with *Usnisa* on the top of the head. The Bodhisattva Siddhartha and Maitreya, appear in the sculptures with a combed hair ending with a bow-knot on the top of the crown. The beards and moustache seemed to be a universal feature during the Kushan Empire.

The women showed remarkable dexterity in exhibiting their hair-style. The coiffures do reveal foreign impact as also the indigenous traits. Thus, in a plaited or braided hair-style which was allowed to dangle almost to the hip, decorated at times with tassels at the ends and the *polos* on the top of the head one can see Kushano-Indian features. Many women irrespective of their status they held in society, appear with this type of coiffure.

The head-dresses, known to the people of Gandhara region included a readymade turban, a turban made by winding round the head a long rolled scarf and a cap or helmet. These head-dresses were worn both by men and women and generally, embellished by fixing ornamental devices like discs, floral designs, strings of beads, gems or pearls. This kind of turban can be seen in various villages of Pakistan.

The study of the weapons depicted in the Gandhara Sculptures gives us the fair idea of the weapons used by the people of Gandhara. It appears during the period, weapons were used mostly by men. Only in exceptional cases, like the female guards,

the women used weapons like spears. It is noteworthy that much of the flora and fauna known to the Gandharanese still survives in and around Gandhara region. Thus, the life of Gandharanese during the period of Kushan, it is obvious from Gandhara sculptures the emergence of many innovations and the retrieval of ancient tradition.

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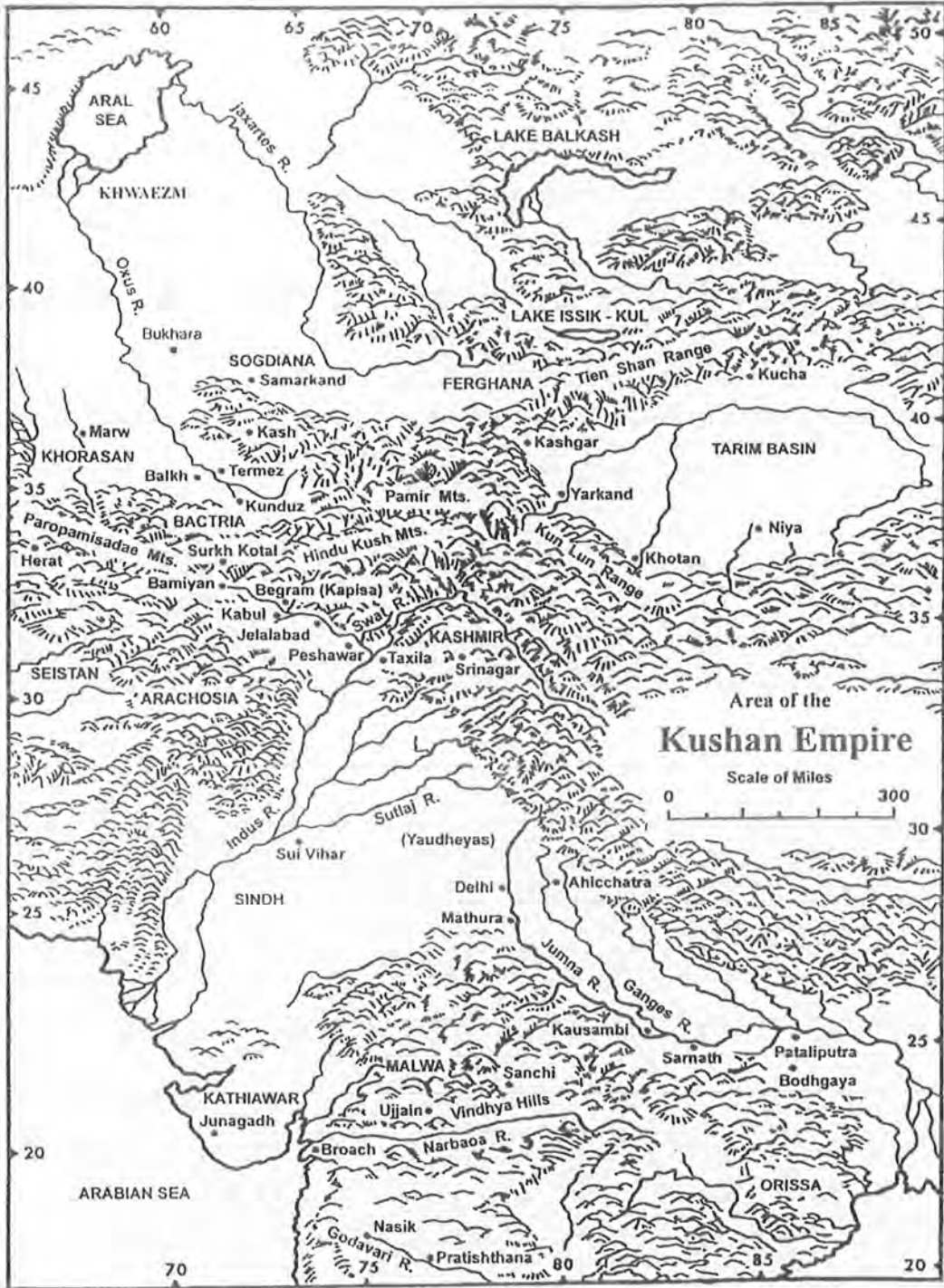
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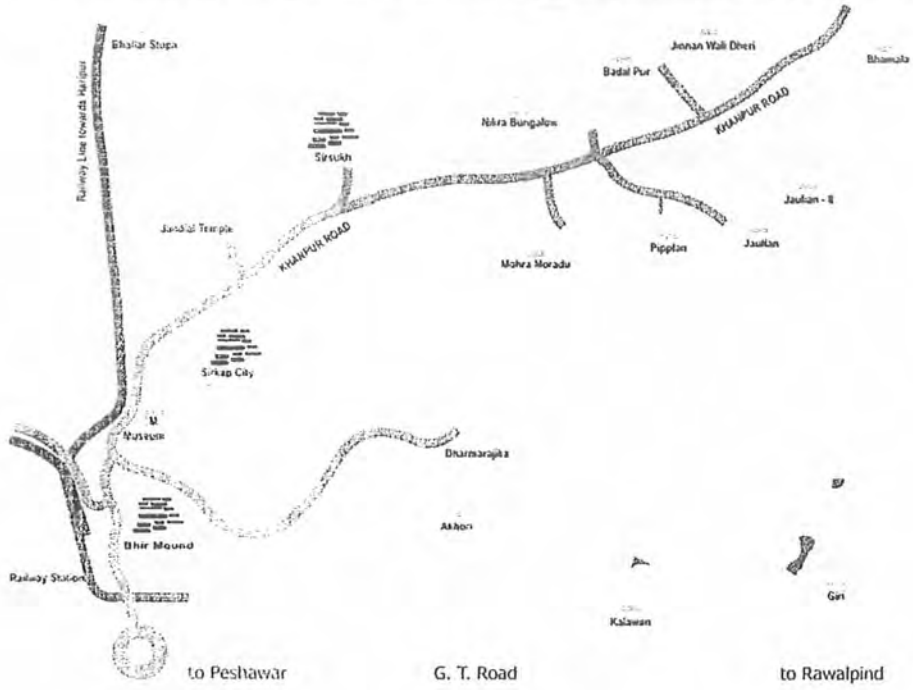
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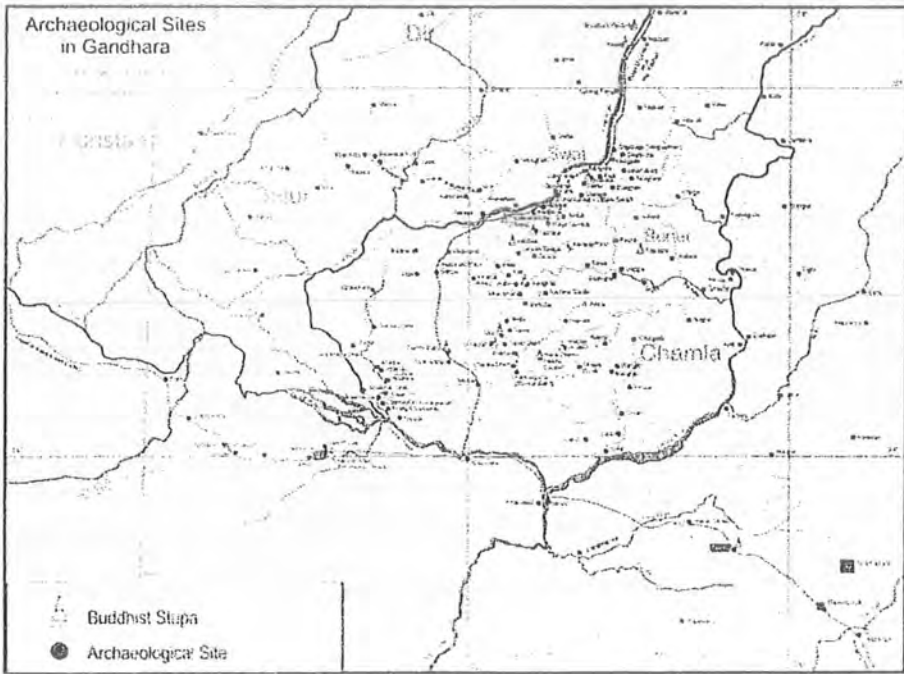


Map1. The Kushan Empire (modified form Rosenfield, 1967, p. xlv)

MAP OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN TAXILA VALLEY



Map2. Map of Archaeological sites in Taxila



Map3. Map of Archaeological sites in Gandhara



Fig. 1-A View of fortification wall, Sirkap-Taxila.

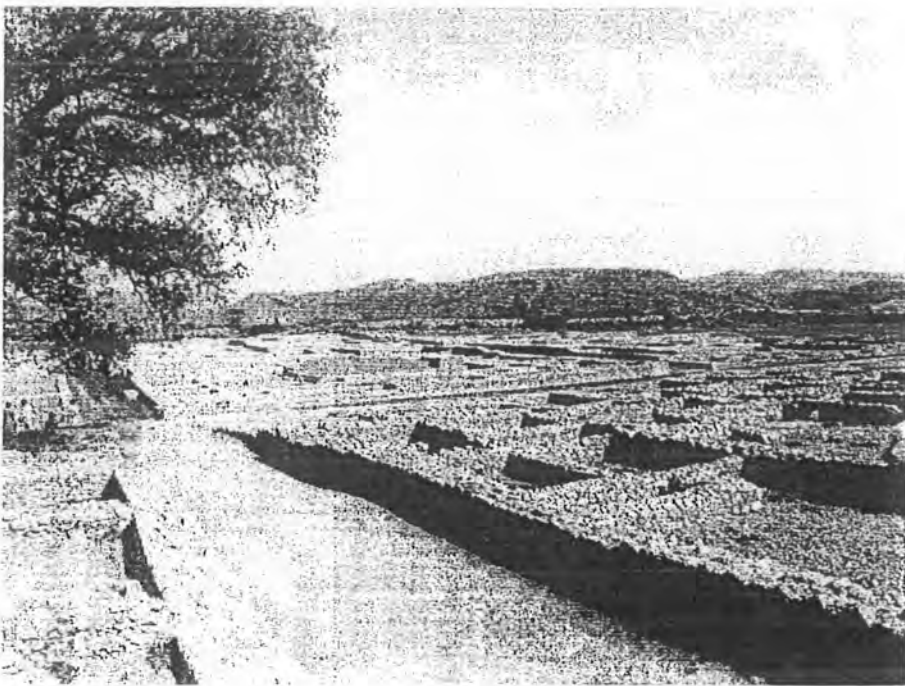


Fig. 1-B View of Sirkap city, Taxila.

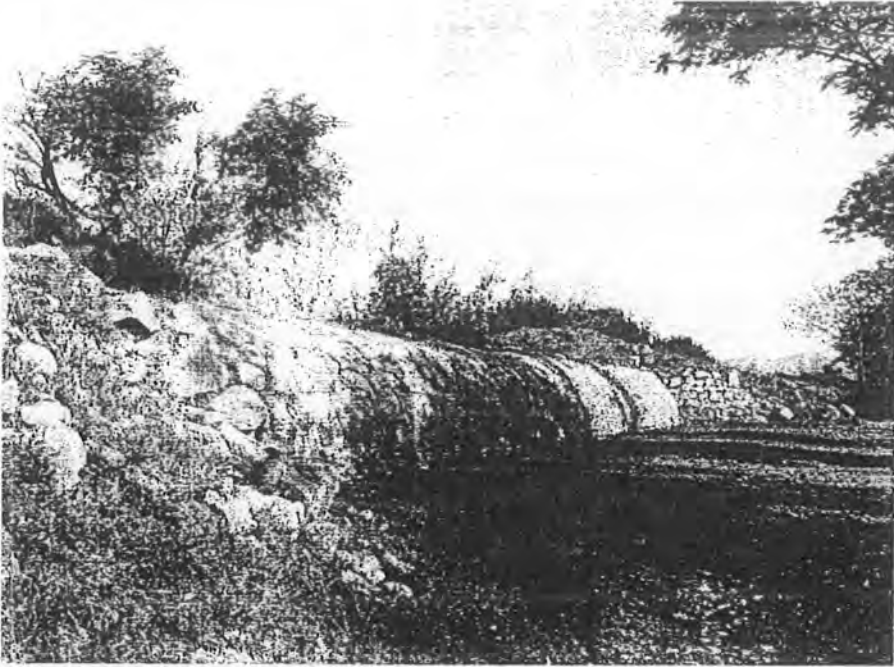


Fig. 2 View of fortification wall, Sirsukh-Taxila.

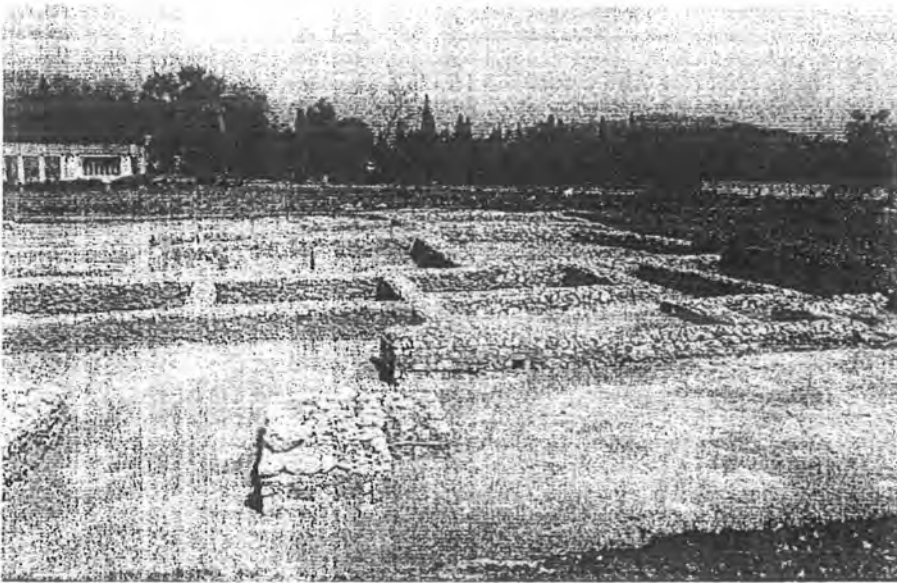


Fig.3 View of Bhir Mound city, Taxila.

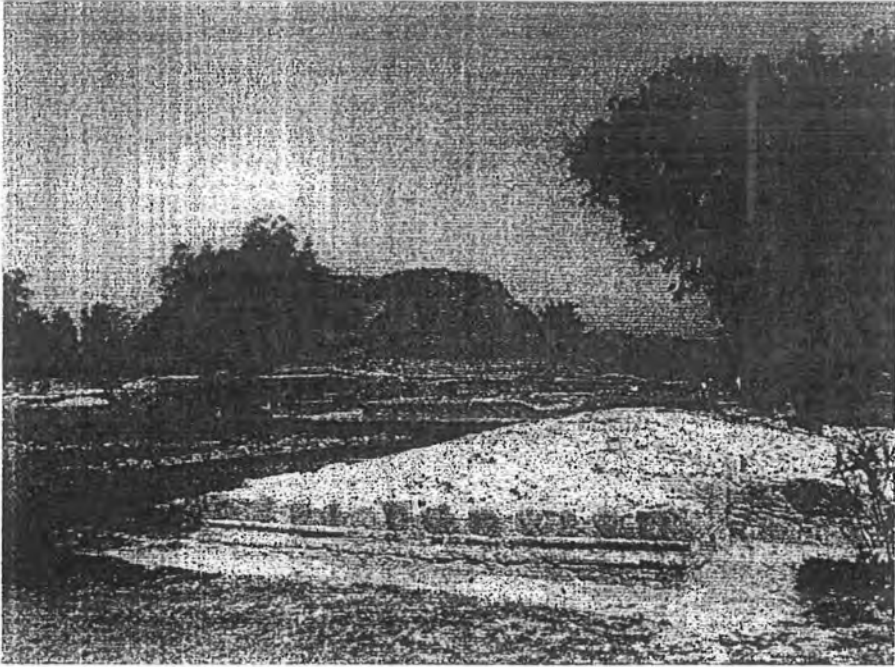


Fig. 4 View of Dharmarajika Stupa, Taxila.

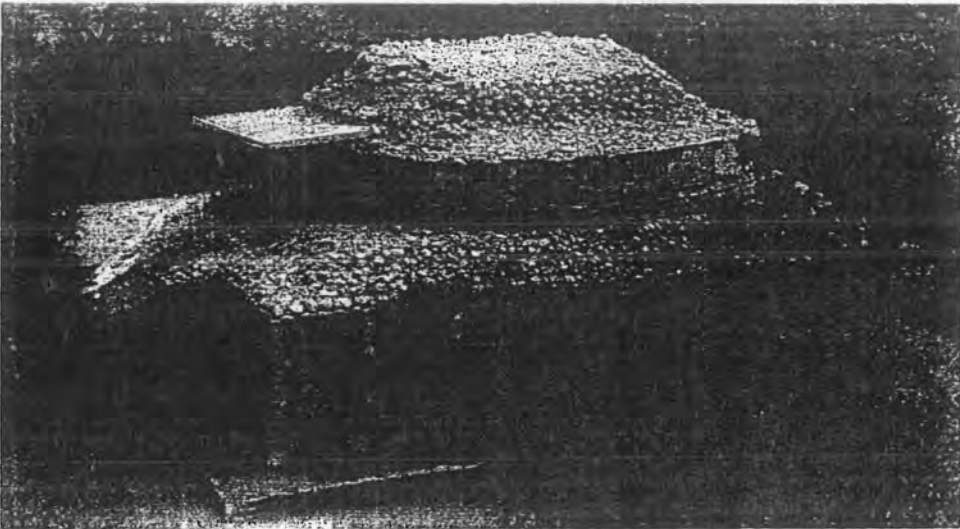


Fig. 5 View of Mohra Moradu Stupa, Taxila.

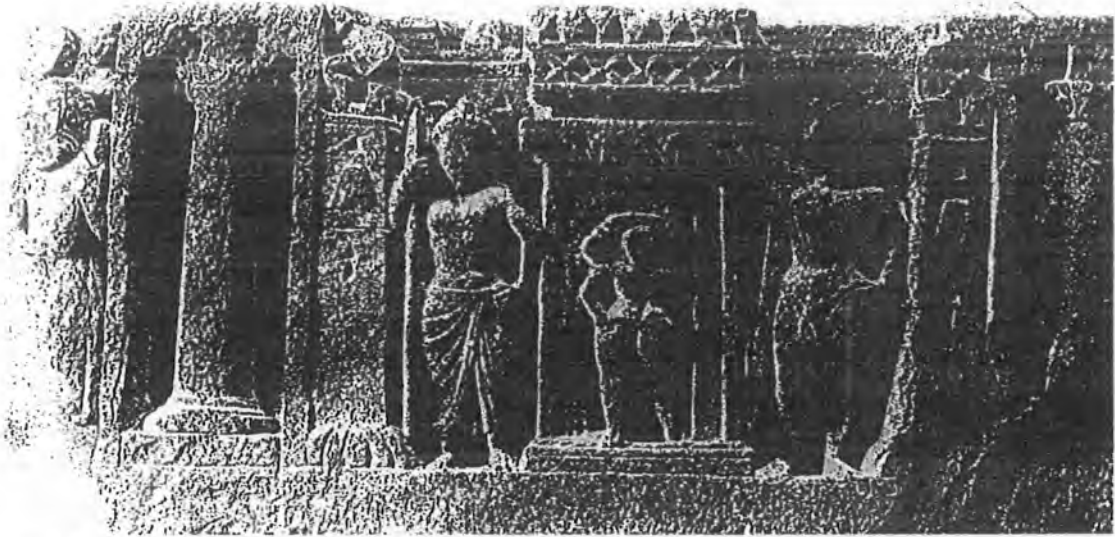


Fig. 6 The Urn Carried into Kusinagara, Lahore Museum, height is 20.64 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 151)

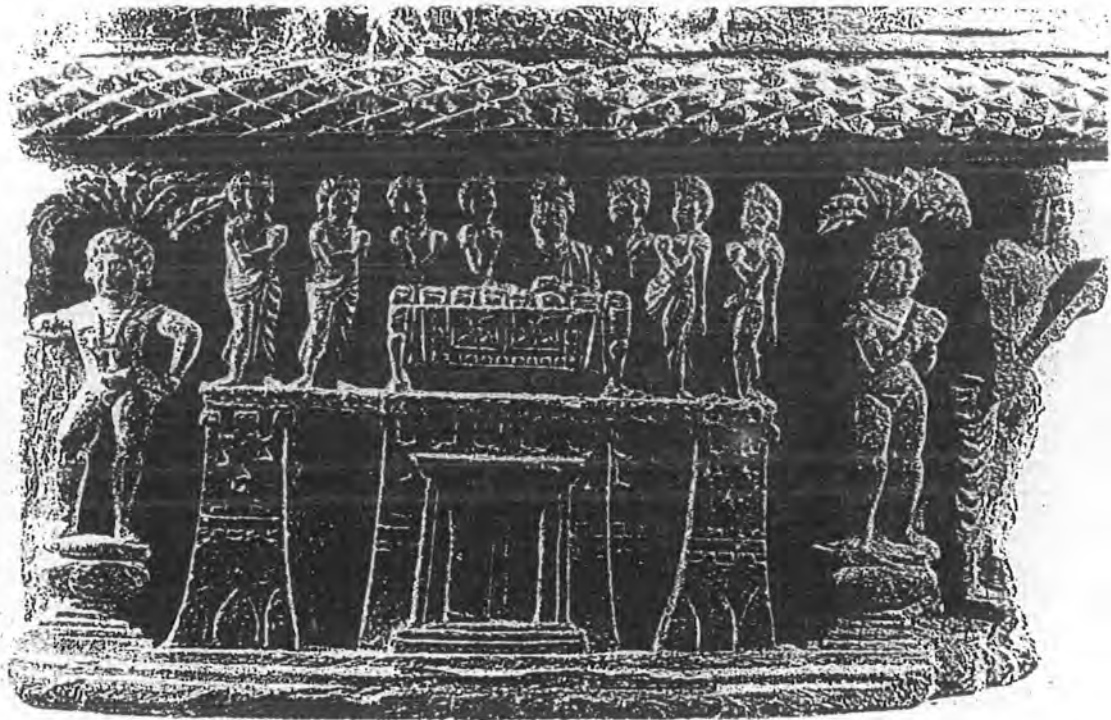


Fig. 7 Distribution of the Relics, Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm, width is 23.18 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 152)

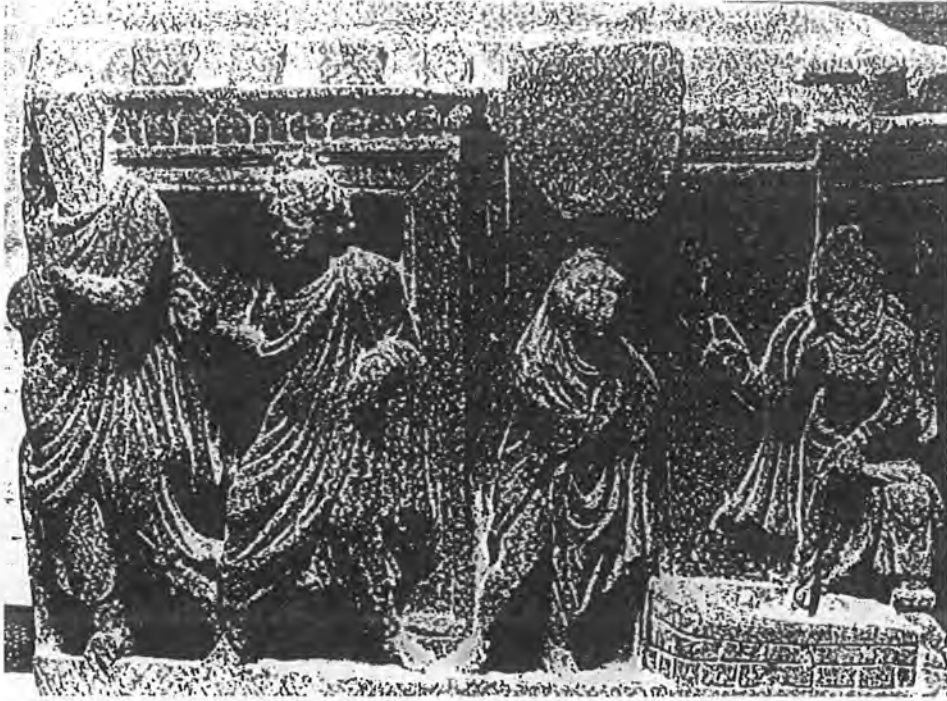


Fig. 8 Ananda Asks a Casteless Girl for Water from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 14 cm and width is 17.78 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 103)



Fig. 9 City Wall. On the left can be seen a city wall with two projecting towers, and human heads peering out between them from Peshawar valley, Lahore Museum, height is 17.78 cm and width is 15.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 464)

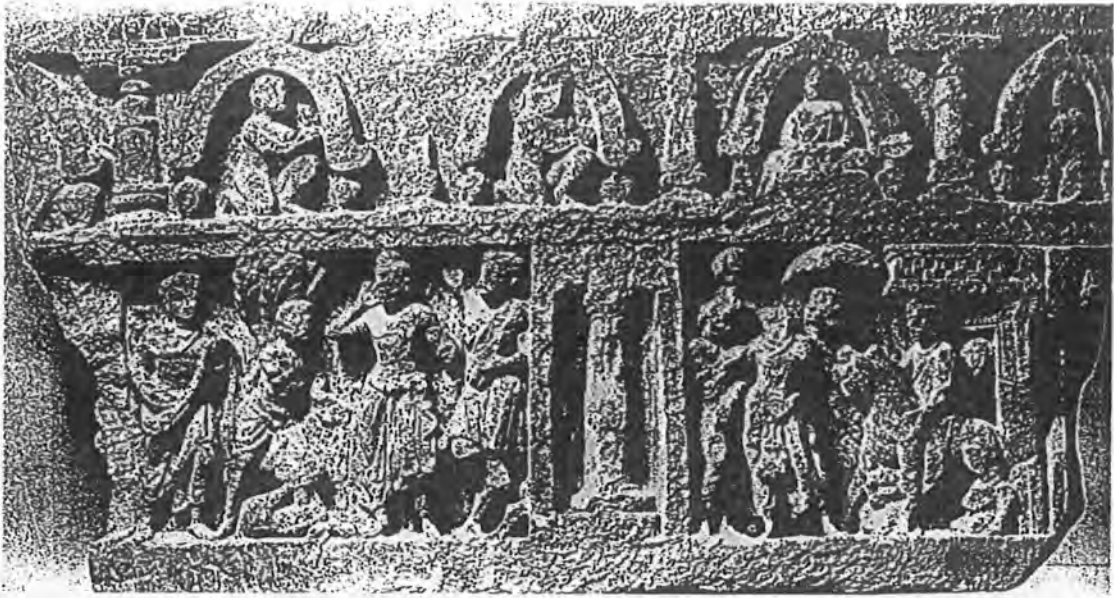


Fig. 10 The Great Departure (right). Exchange of Clothes, Lahore Museum, height is 26.67 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 48)

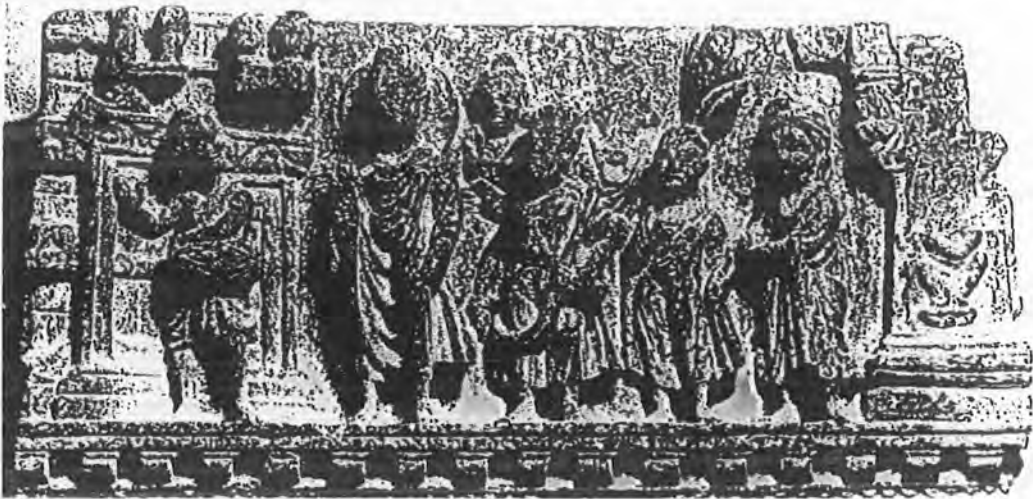


Fig. 11 The Buddha Enters Rajagriha, Lahore Museum, height is 15.24 cm and width is 31.75 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.91)

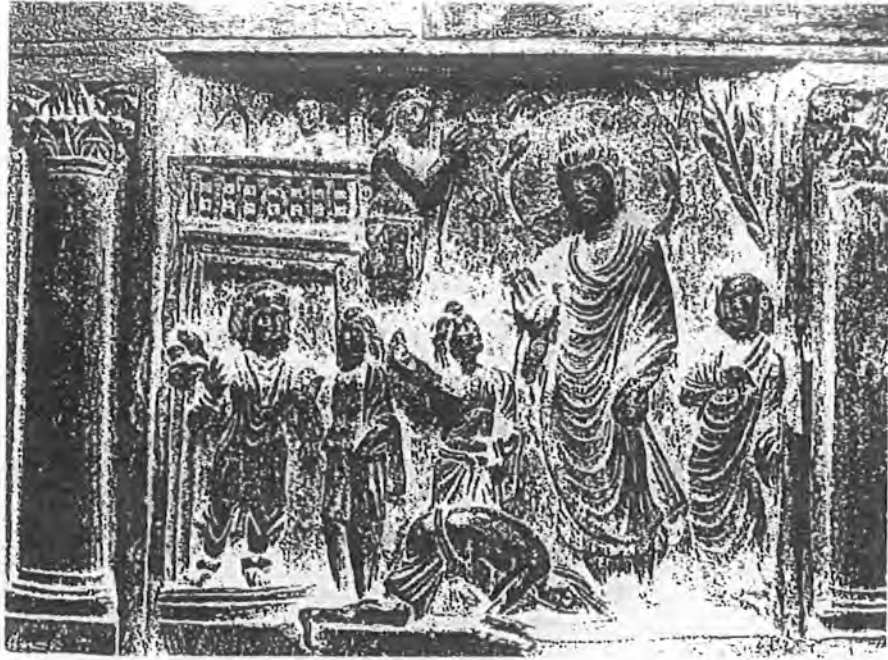


Fig. 12 Buddha-to-be Throws Flowers at Dipankara Buddha from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, height is 33 cm and width is 33.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 7)

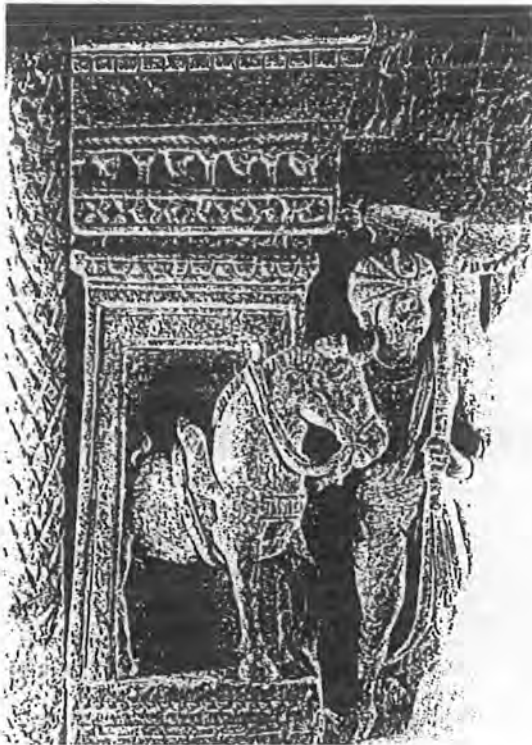


Fig. 13 Chandaka and Kanthaka Return, Lahore Museum, height is 36.20 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 51)



Fig. 14 The Preaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne, Gai Collection, Peshawer, height is 23.18 cm and width is 15.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 259)

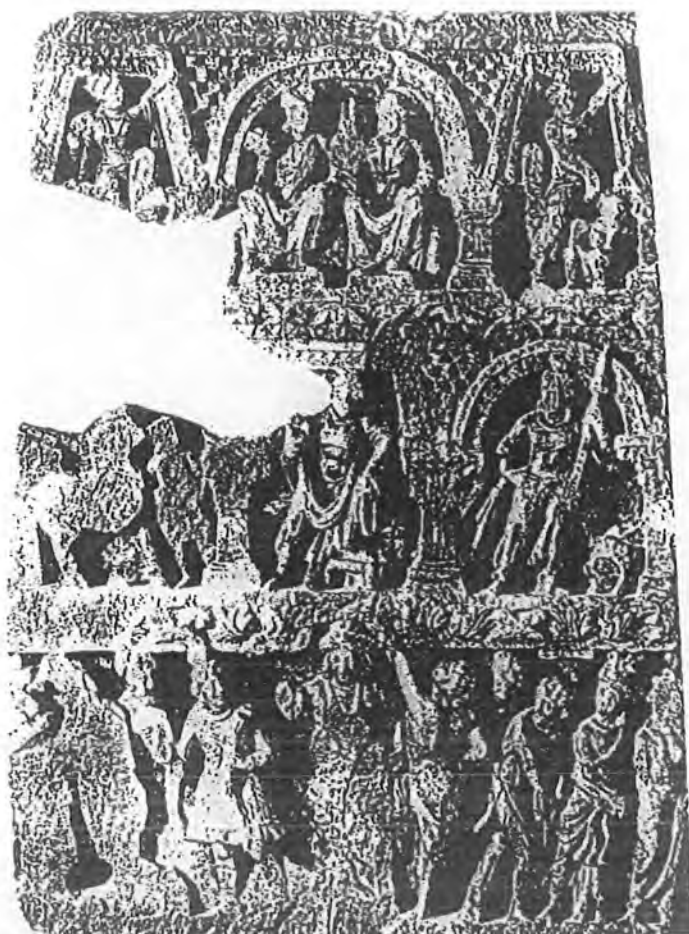


Fig. 15 Life in the Palace. The Renunciation, the Great Departure, Lahore Museum, height is 62.23 cm and width is 43.18 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 40)

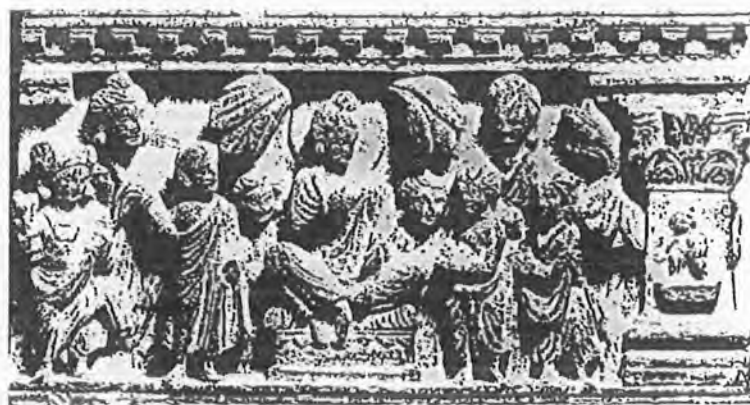


Fig. 16 Unidentified, Lahore Museum, 16.51 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 177)

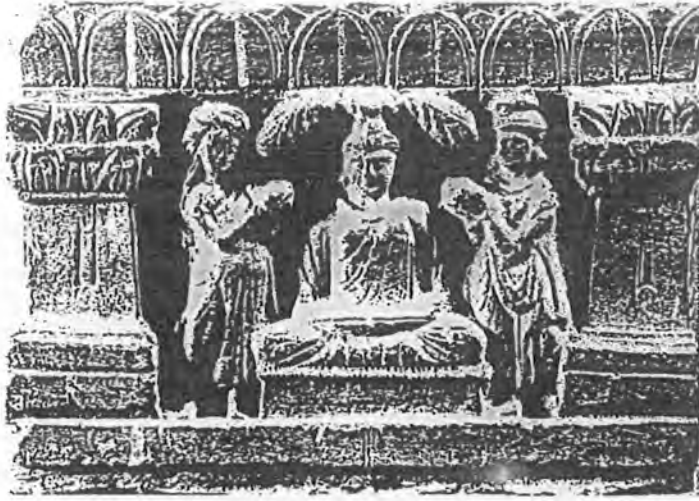


Fig. 17 The Buddha in Meditation Flanked by Indra and Brahma from Takhat-i-Bahi, Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm and width is 20.96 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 243)

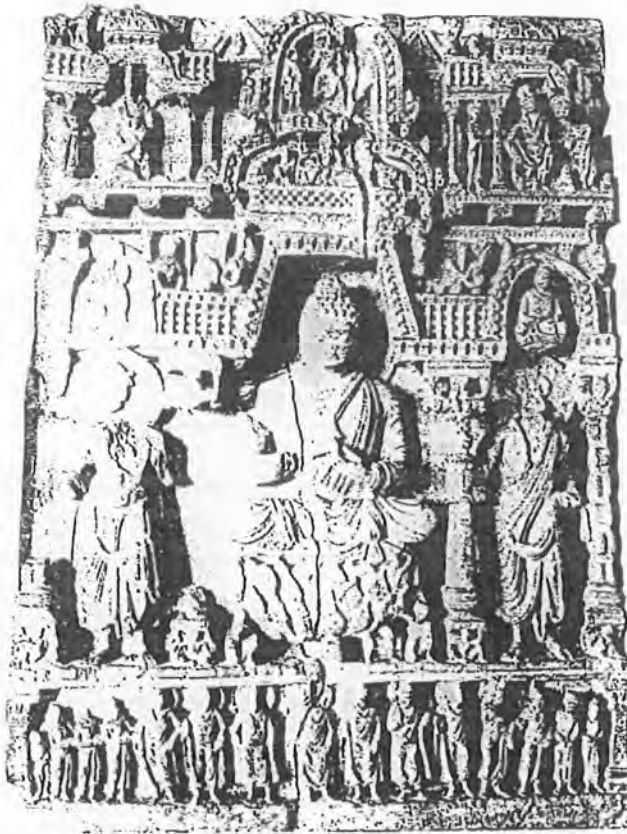


Fig. 18 Miracle of Sravasti from Muhammad Nari, Lahore Museum, height is 104.14 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 88, fig. 123)



Fig. 19 Bath of the Newborn Child from Mardan, Peshawer Museum, height is 25.72 cm and width is 40.64 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 16)



Fig. 20 The Buddha among His Monks from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, height is 33 cm and width is 36.83 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 96)



Fig. 21 The Buddha, Vajrapani, and Worshippers from Jamal Garhi, Lahore Museum, height is 30.80 cm and width is 47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 99)

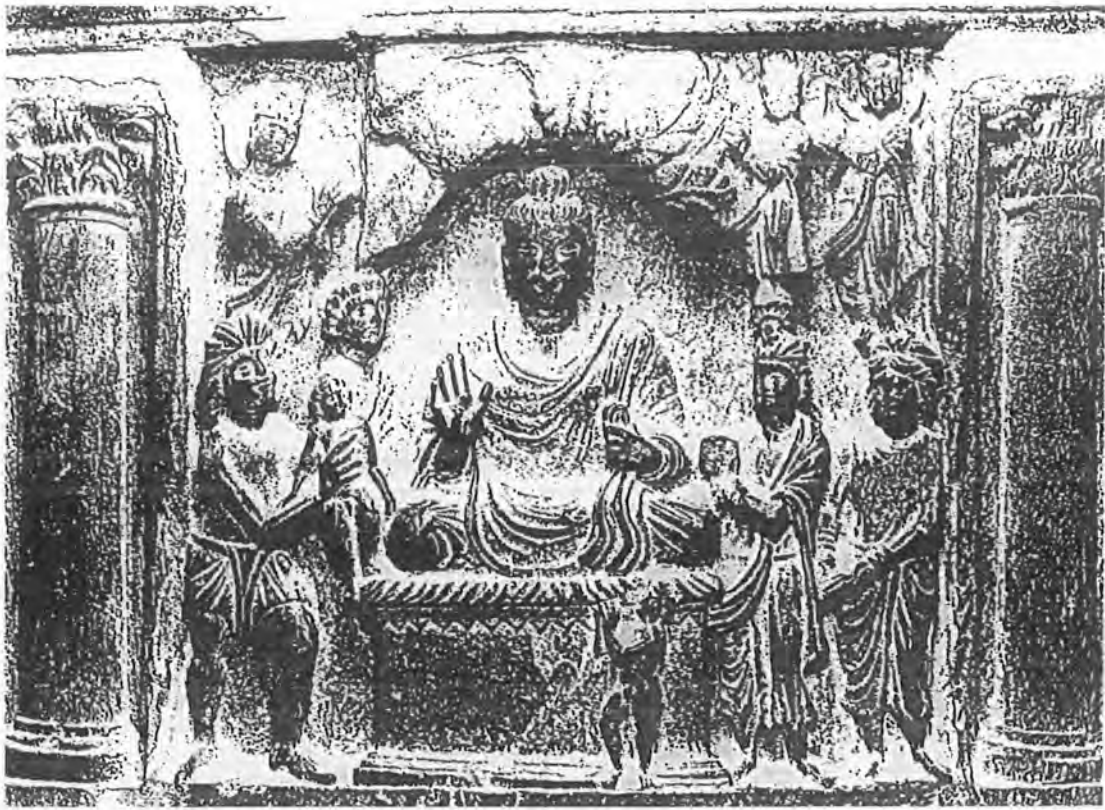


Fig. 22 Conversion of the Yaksha Atavika from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, height is 33 cm and width is 33.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 126)



Fig. 23 Two Amoris from Nuttu, Lahore Museum, height is 16.19 cm and width is 7.94 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 372)



Fig. 24 Two Amoris from Nuttu, Lahore Museum, height is 16.51 cm and width is 7.62 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 373)



Fig. 25 Donors. Stair-Riser Relief, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.15 cm and width is 41.91 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 413)



Fig. 26 Donors. Stair-Riser Relief, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.46 cm and width is 48.26 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 414)

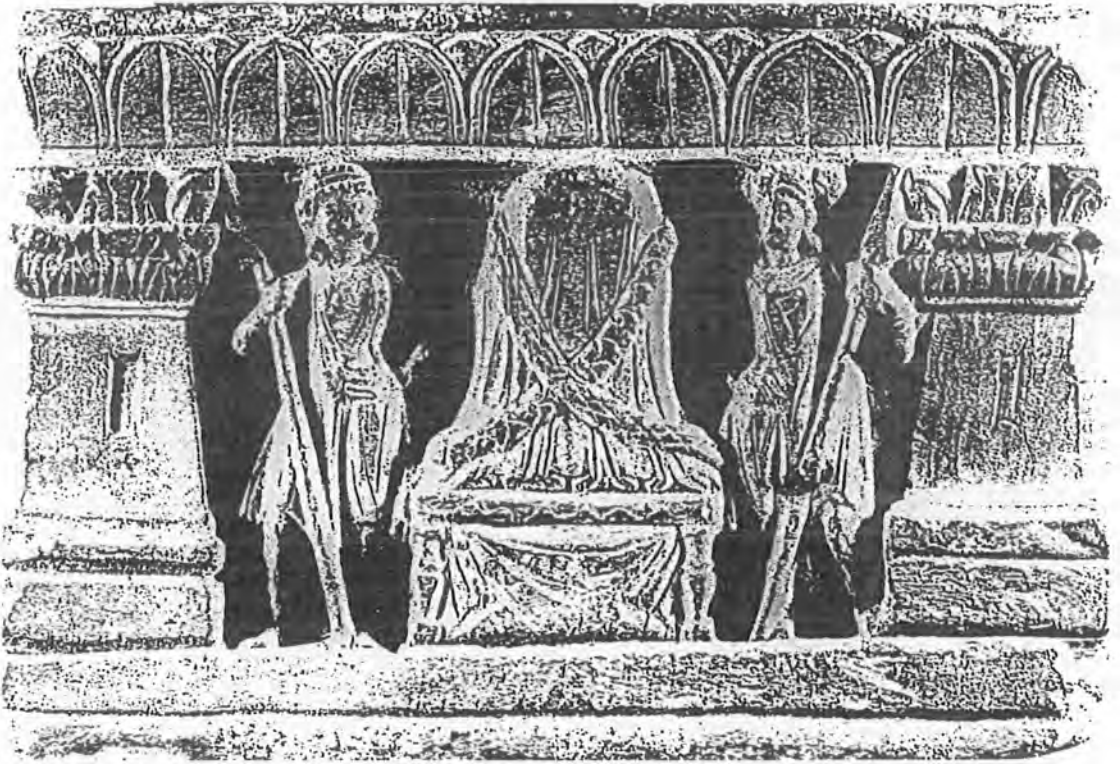


Fig. 27 Guarding the Urn from Takhat-i-Bahai, Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 158)

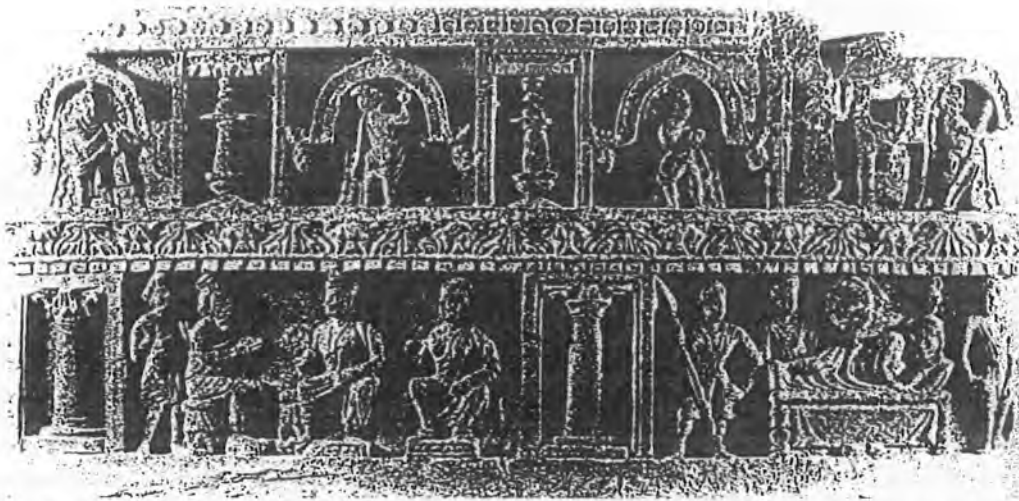


Fig. 28 Dream of Maya (right). Interpretation of Dream, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.78 cm and width is 35.56 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 10)

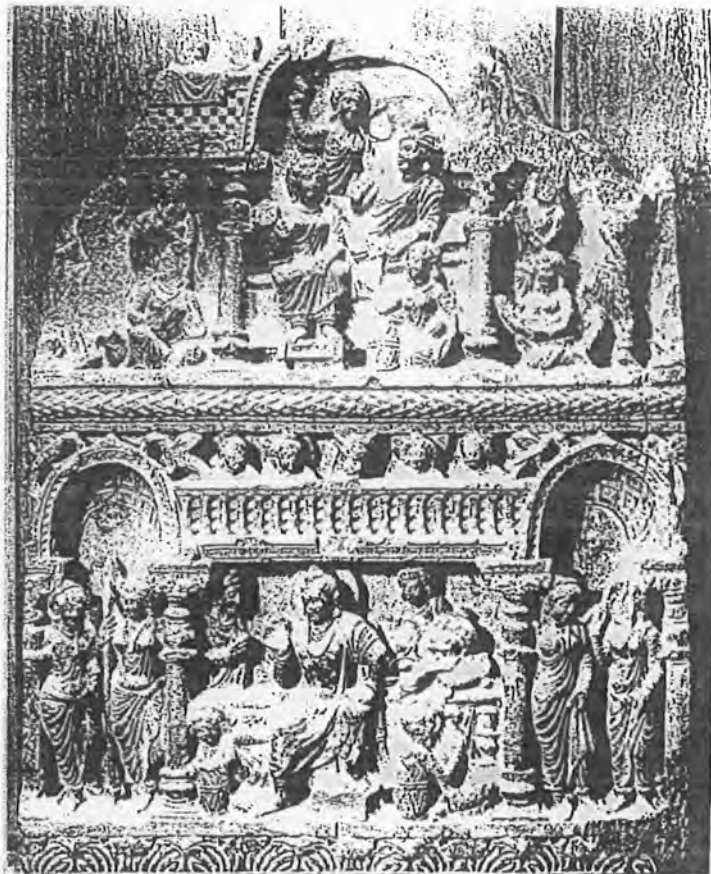


Fig. 29 Life in the Palace (A), The Renunciation (B) from Jamrud, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, height is 61.91 cm and width is 52 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 39)



Fig. 30 The Preaching Buddha on Inverted-Lotus Throne, Lahore Museum, 49.53 cm and width is 45.72 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 258)



Fig. 31 Yakshini with Lotus and Parakeet from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 34.61 cm and width is 15.24 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 362)

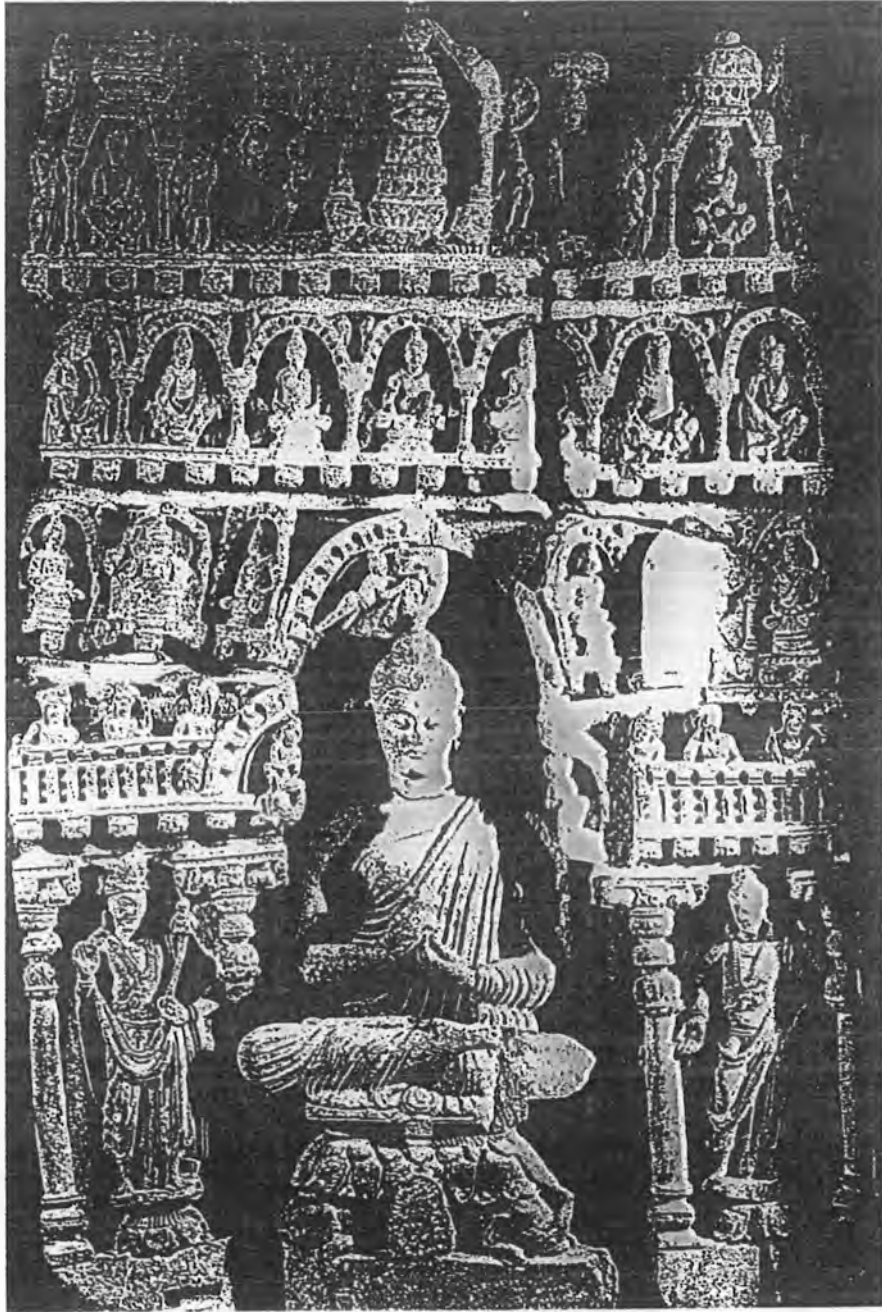


Fig. 32 The preaching Buddha on inverted lotus throne from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 115.57 cm and width is 68.58 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 257)

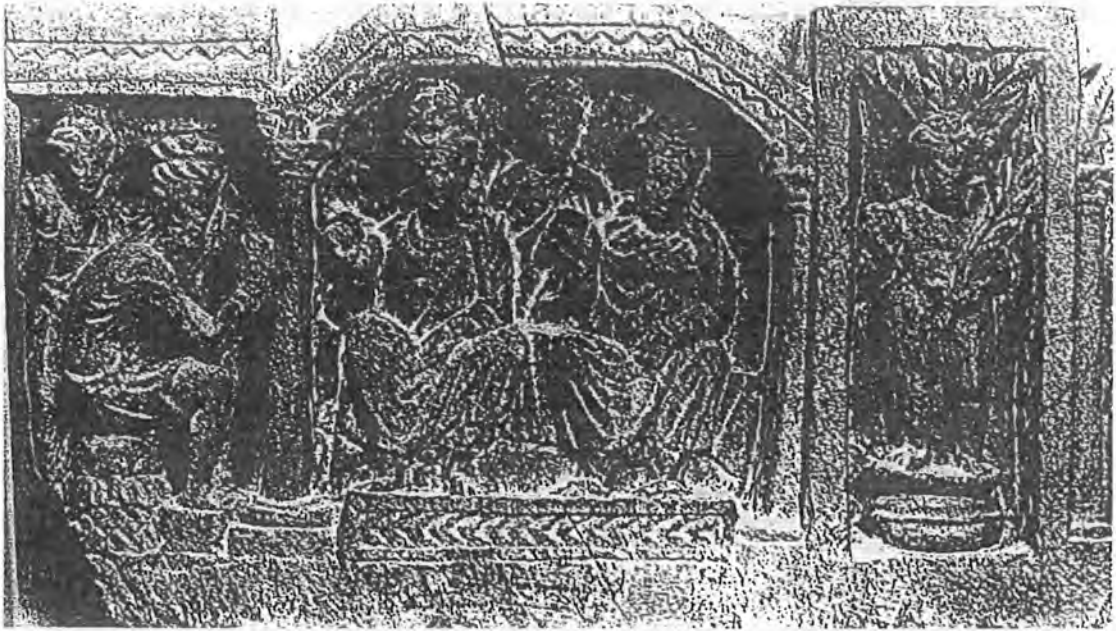


Fig. 33 Interpretation of Maya's Dream from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 16.83 cm and width is 30.16 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 11)



Fig. 34 Dream of Queen Maya from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 18.73 cm and width is 25.72 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 9)

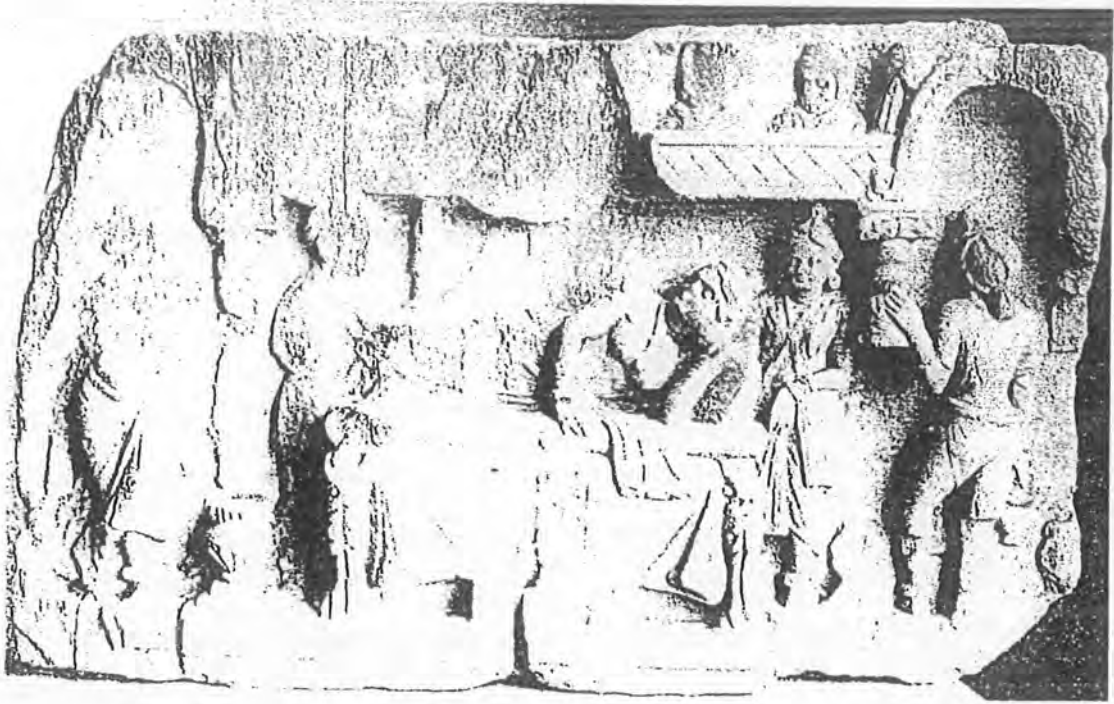


Fig. 35 Maya's dream from Kalawan monastery, Taxila, National Museum, New Delhi, width is 39.63 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 65, fig. 94)

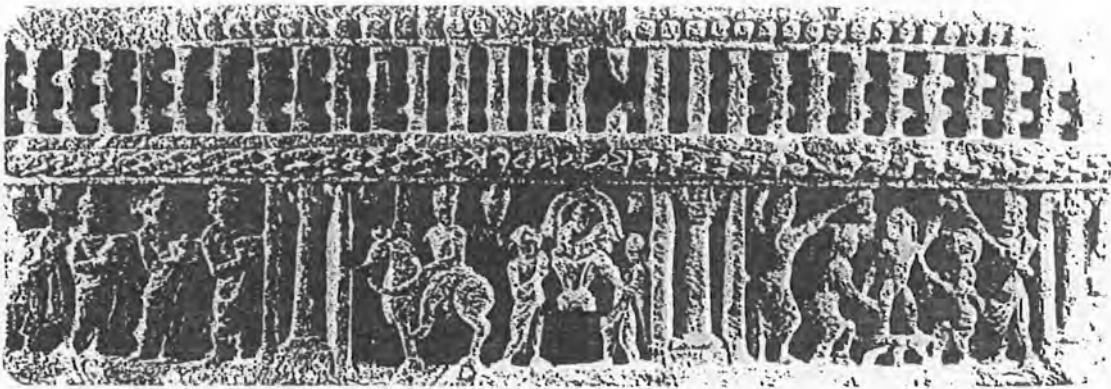


Fig. 36 Bath of Siddhartha (right). Return to Kapilavastu. Procession of Citizens from Jamal Garhi, Lahore Museum height is 15.24 cm and width is 44.45 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 18)

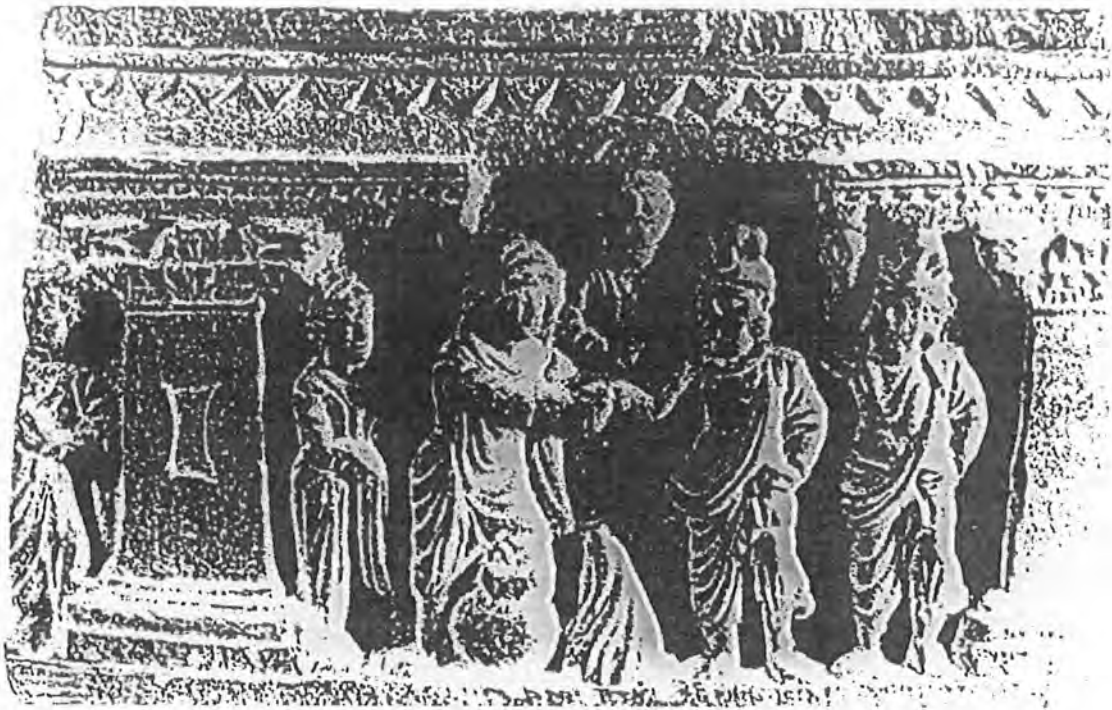


Fig. 37 Marriage of Siddhartha and Yashodhara from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 13.97 cm and width is 18.10 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 33)

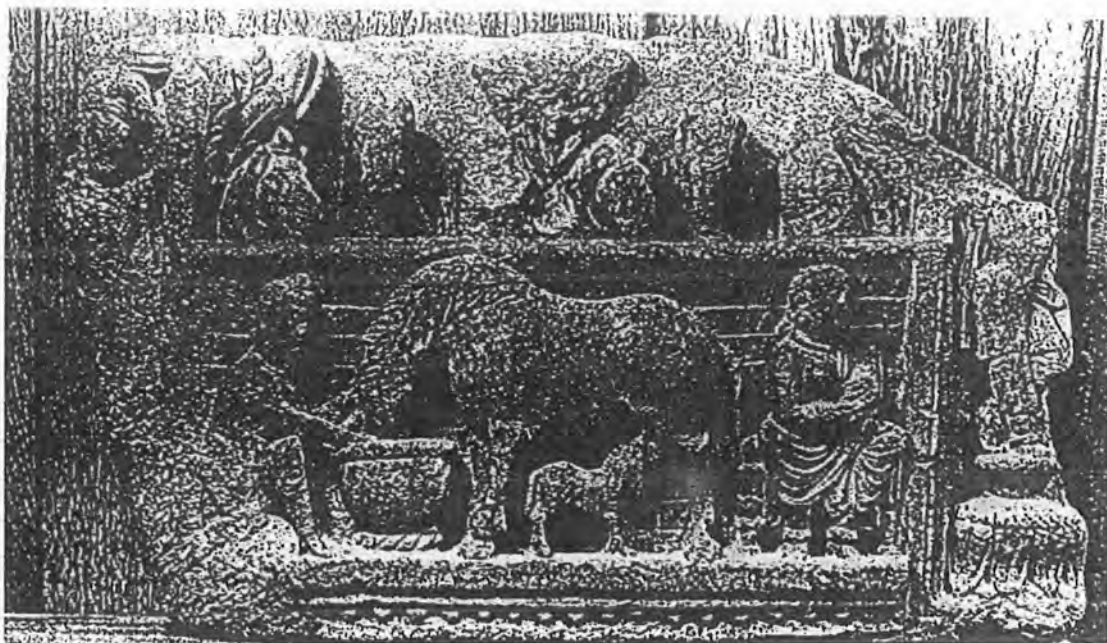


Fig. 38 Birth of Siddhartha's Groom Chandaka and of His Horse Kanthaka, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, height is 21.91 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 19)



Fig. 39 Son of Blind Ascetics is Killed by the King from Kot, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.78 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 5)



Fig. 40 First Meeting with the Brahmins, Peshawar Museum, height is 39.37 cm and width is 49.53 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 54)

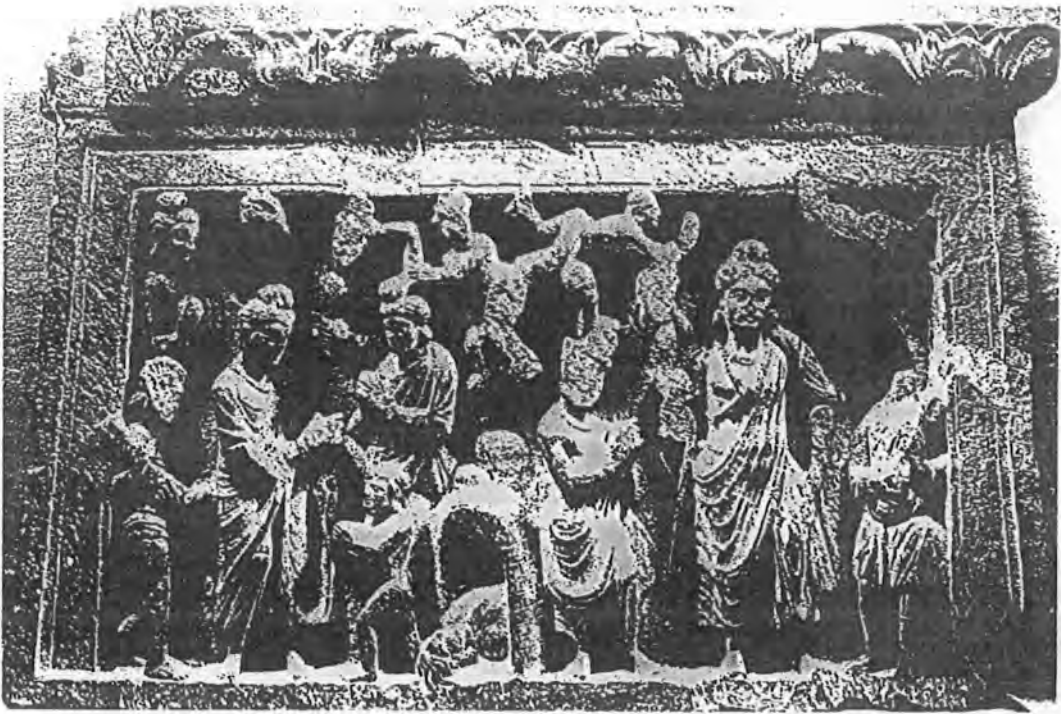


Fig. 41 The Buddha and the Nursling of the Dead Woman. Bodhisattva and Worshippers from Jamal Garhi, height is 40 cm and width is 53.34 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 121)

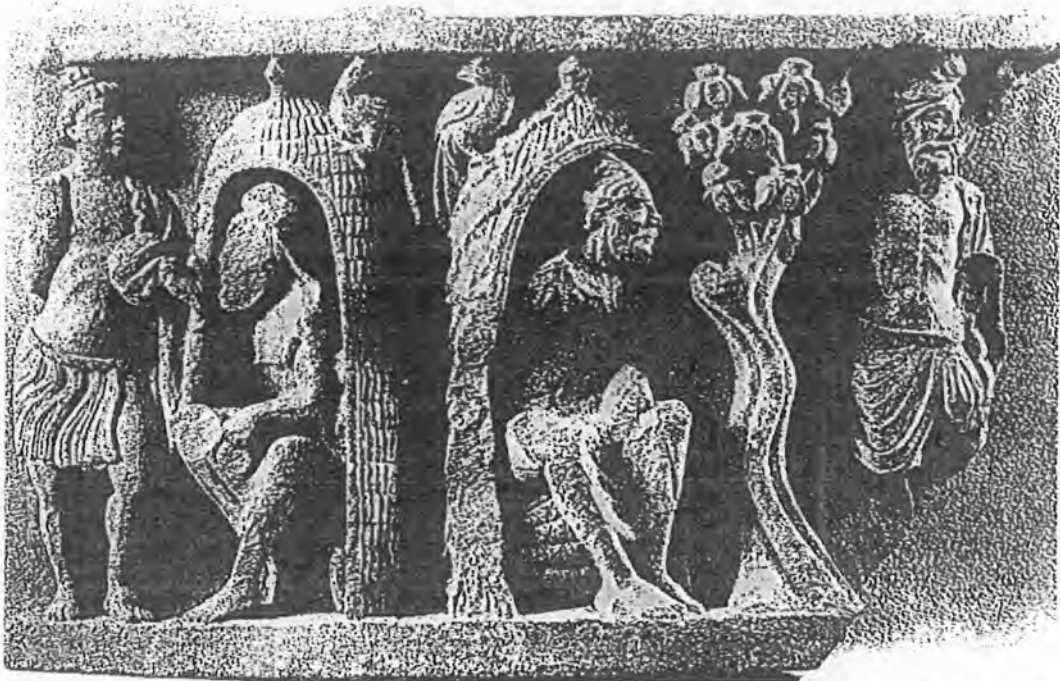


Fig. 42 Brahman Novice and Three Brahmins, Peshawar Museum, height is 25.4 cm and width is 42.25 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 431)



Fig. 43 Hermit inside His Hut from Kalawan, Archaeological Museum, Taxila, height is 22.54 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 432)

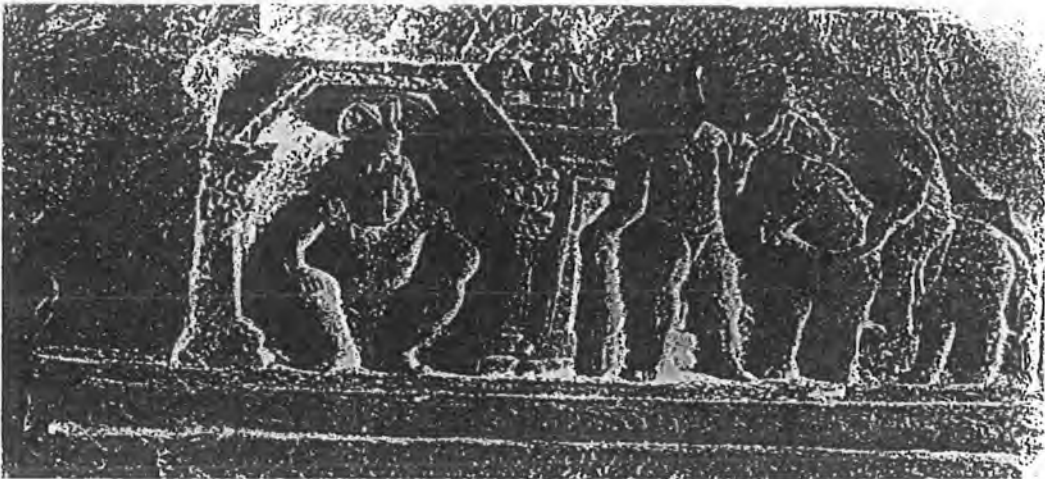


Fig. 44 Adventure and Punishment of Maitrakanyaka from Karamar, Lahore Museum, height is 19.69 cm and width is 37.47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 2)

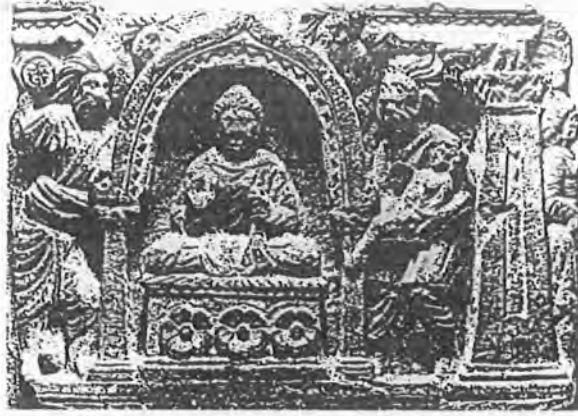


Fig. 45 Conversion of the Yaksha Atavika from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.78 cm and width is 24.13 cm, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.78 cm and width is 24.13 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 127)



Fig. 46 The Renunciation from Sahrai Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 20.32 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 44)



Fig. 47 The Temptation by Mara and His Daughters from Bau Darra Kharki, Peshawar Museum, height is 19 cm and width is 36.83 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 61)



Fig. 48 Conversion of Ugrasena from Sahrai Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 12.7 cm and width is 24.13 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 117)

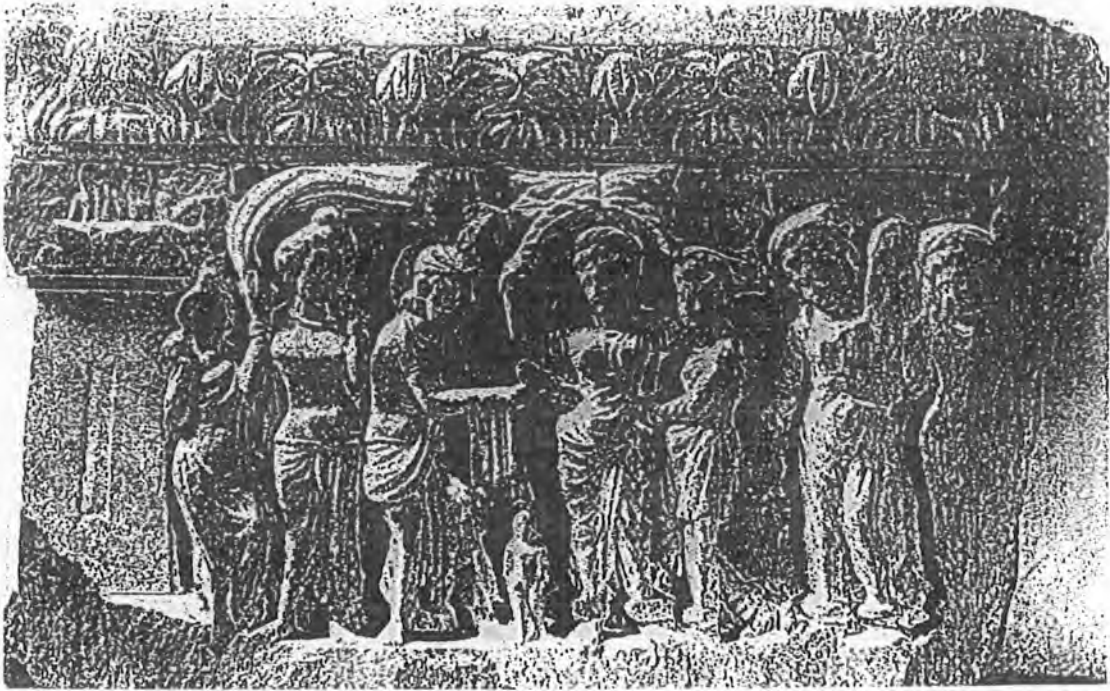


Fig. 49 Birth of Siddhartha and the Seven Steps, Lahore Museum, height is 19 cm and width is 31.12 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 15)

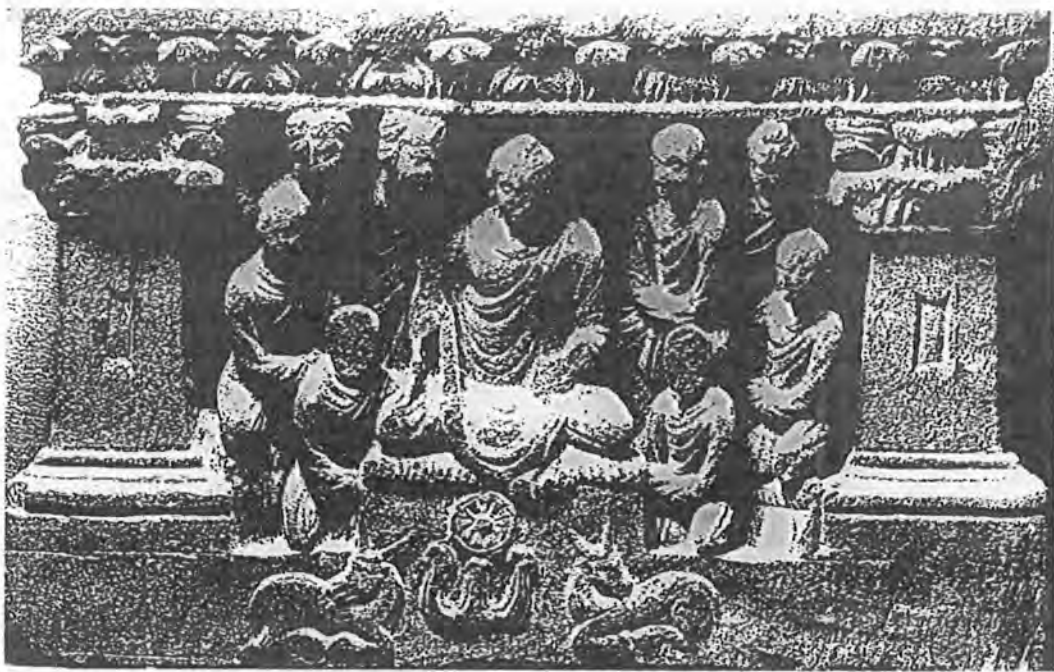


Fig. 50 The First Sermon, The Buddha is seating in the reassuring pose together with his disciples, Lahore Museum, height is 16.51 cm and width is 26 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.76)

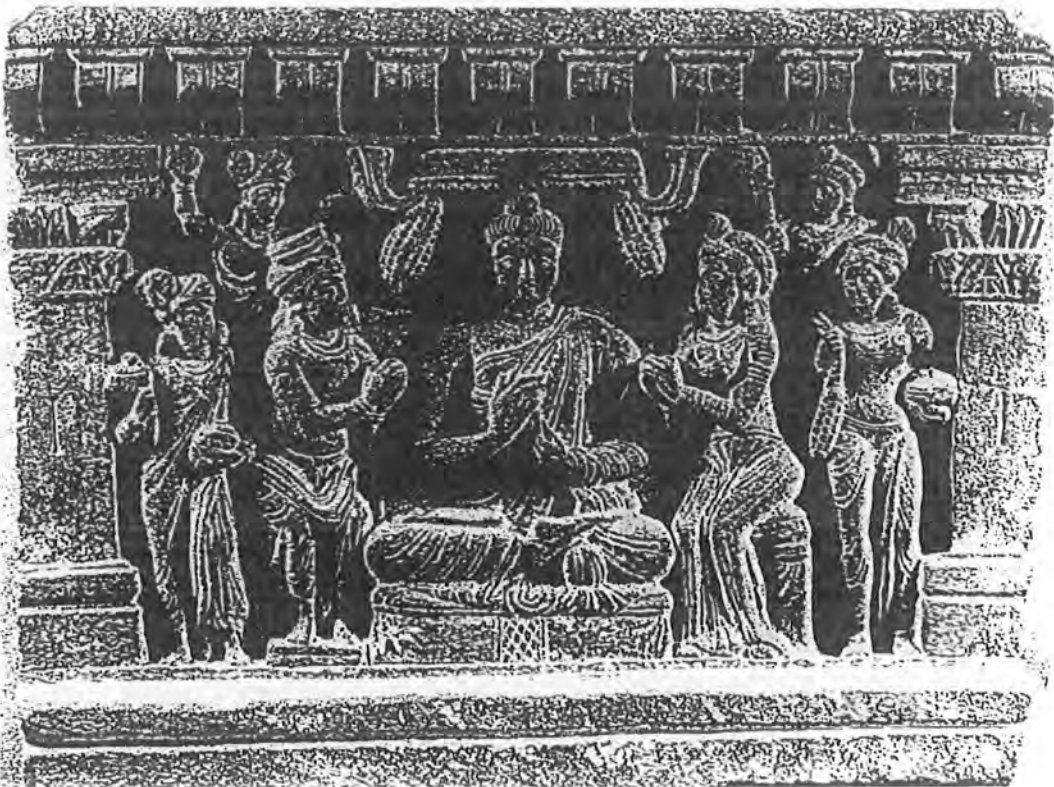


Fig. 51 The Buddha and Worshippers from Sherai Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 37.54 cm and width is 48.26 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.76)

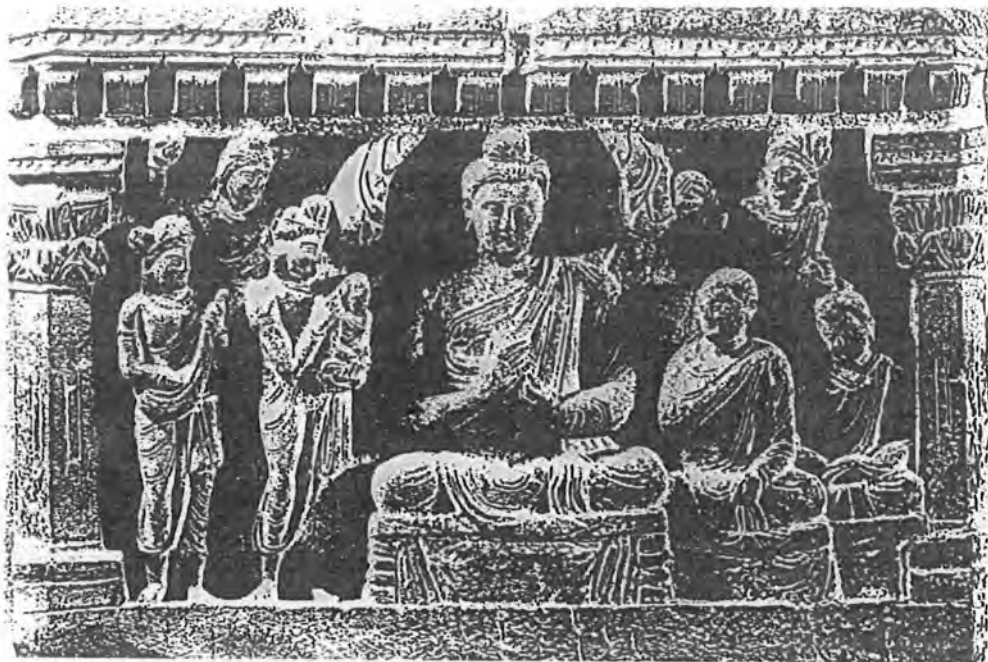


Fig. 52 King Udayana Presents the Buddha Image to the Buddha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 30.48 cm and width is 42.55 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.125)

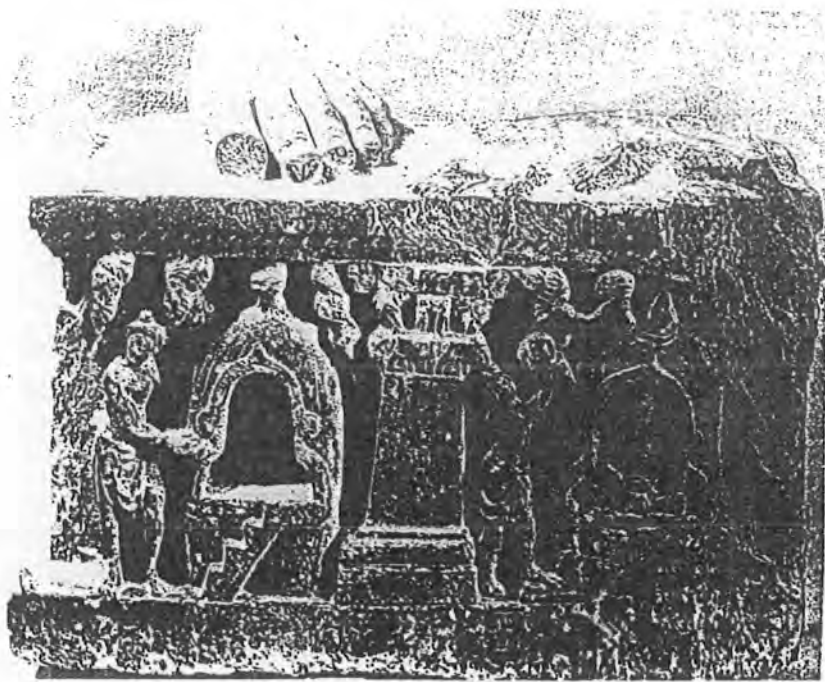


Fig. 53 The Buddha in the Fire Temple at Uruvilva from Takhat-i-Bahai, Peshawar Museum, height is 25.4 cm and width is 31.12 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.84)



Fig. 55 Miracle of Sravasti from Loriyan Tangai, Calcutta Museum, height is 139.33 cm (Marshall, 1960 plate 87, fig. 122)

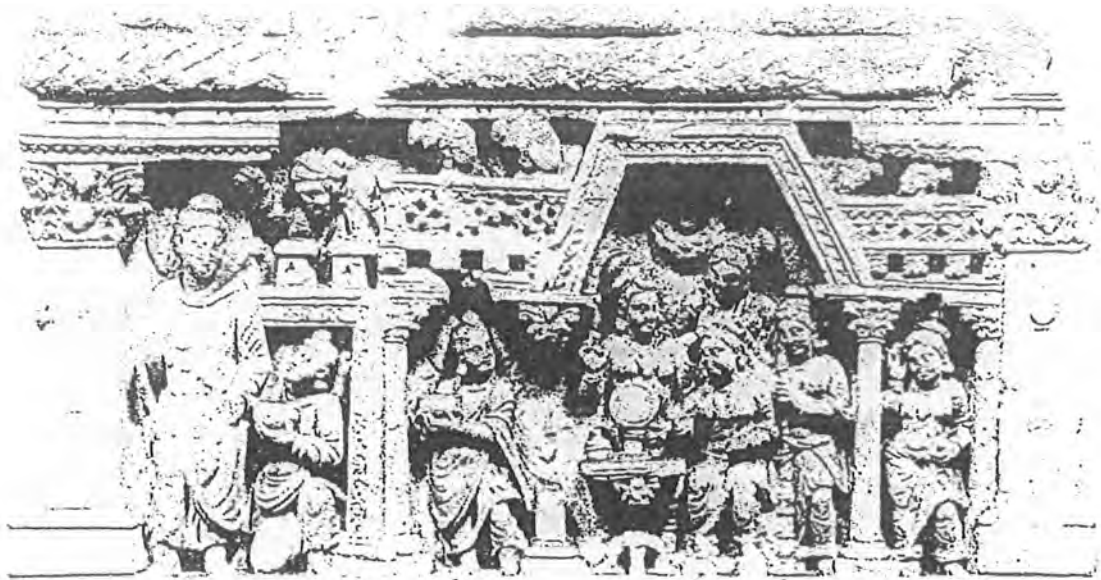


Fig. 54 Conversion of Nanda, The enticement scene from Hadda, South Afghanistan, British Museum, height is 29.85 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 86, fig.121)



Fig. 56 Symbolic Representation of the First Sermon, Peshawar Museum, height is 12.38 cm and width is 30.48 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.78)



Fig. 57 Cult of a Reliquary from the Peshawar valley, Lahore Museum, height is 9.84 cm and width is 49.21 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.156)

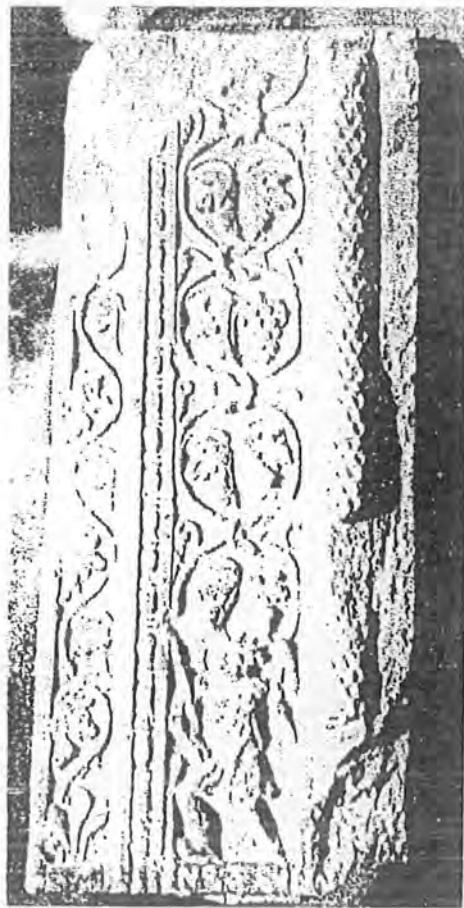


Fig. 58 Yaksha with grape-vine scroll, Peshawar Museum, (Marshall, 1960, plate 54, fig.78)

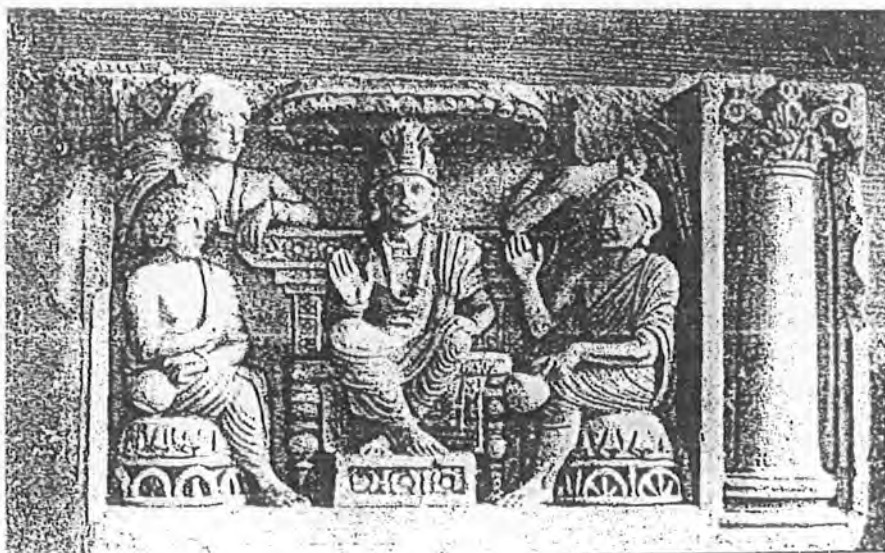


Fig. 59 The Interpretation of Maya's dream from Swat-Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 34, fig.54)

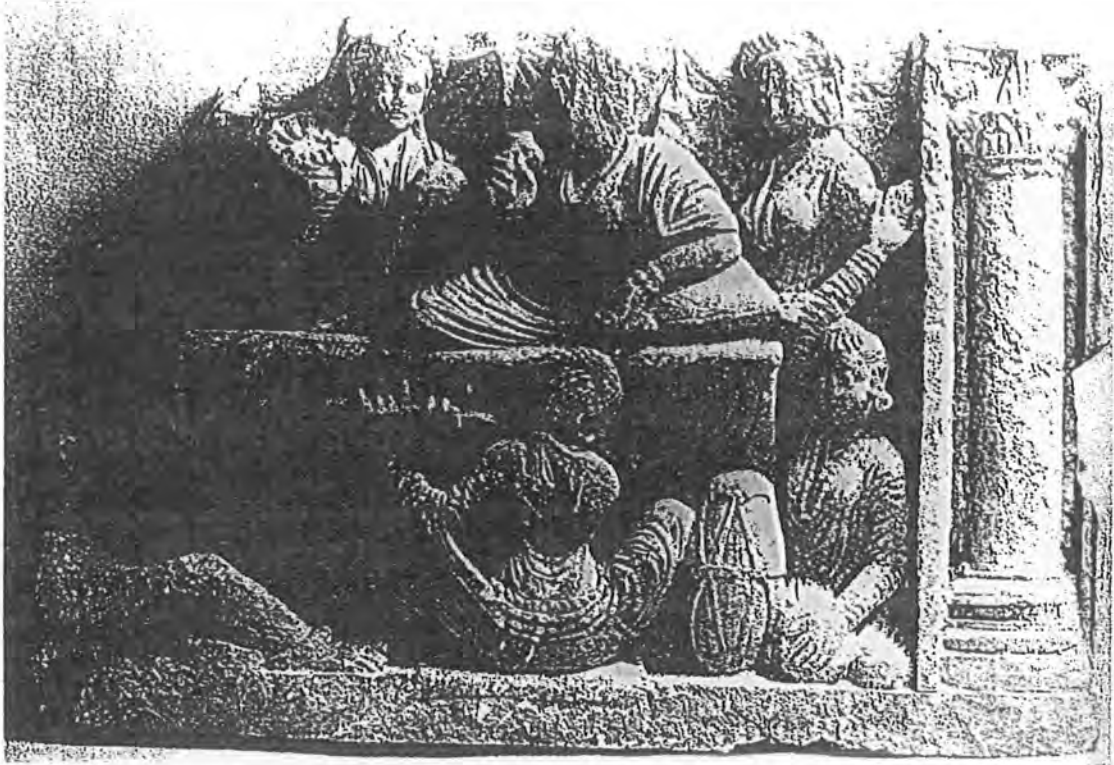


Fig. 60 Life in the Palace, Peshawar Museum, height is 26.67 cm and width is 38.1 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.38)

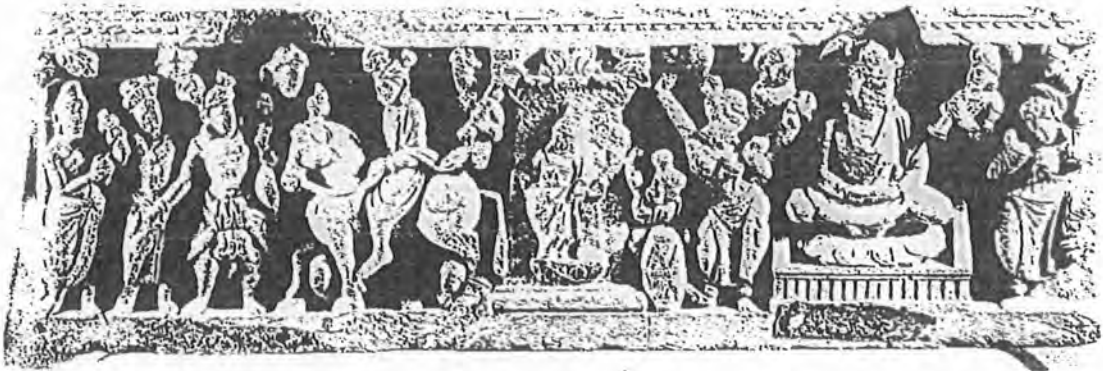


Fig. 61 Life in the Palace (right). The Great Departure, Peshawar Museum, height is 22.23 cm and width is 67.95 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.45)

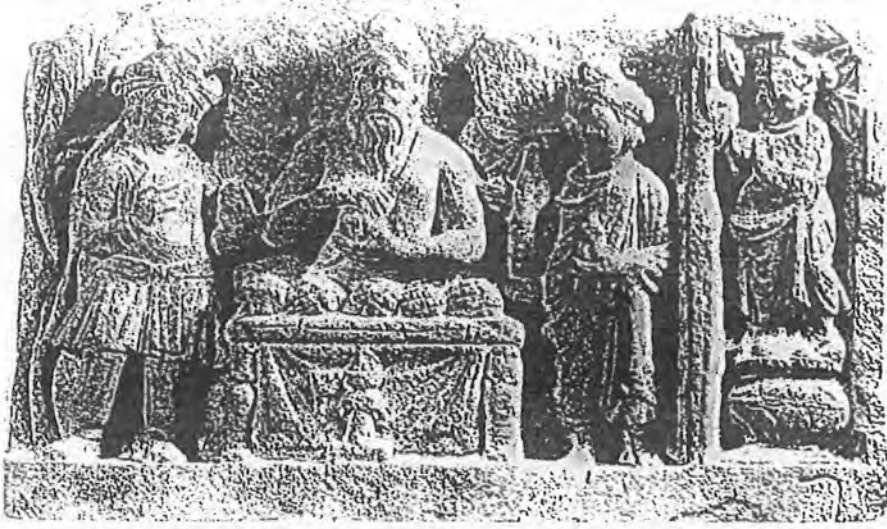


Fig. 62 Distribution of the Relics form Ranigat, Lahore Museum, height is 21.91 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.153)



Fig. 63 Maya Gives Birth to Siddhartha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 26 cm and width is 39.37 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.13)



Fig. 64 Birth of Siddhartha and the Seven Steps, National Museum of Karachi, height is 66 cm and width is 73.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.14)



Fig. 65 The Gods Entreat the Buddha to Preach, Peshawar Museum, height is 39.69 cm and width is 49.85 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.72)

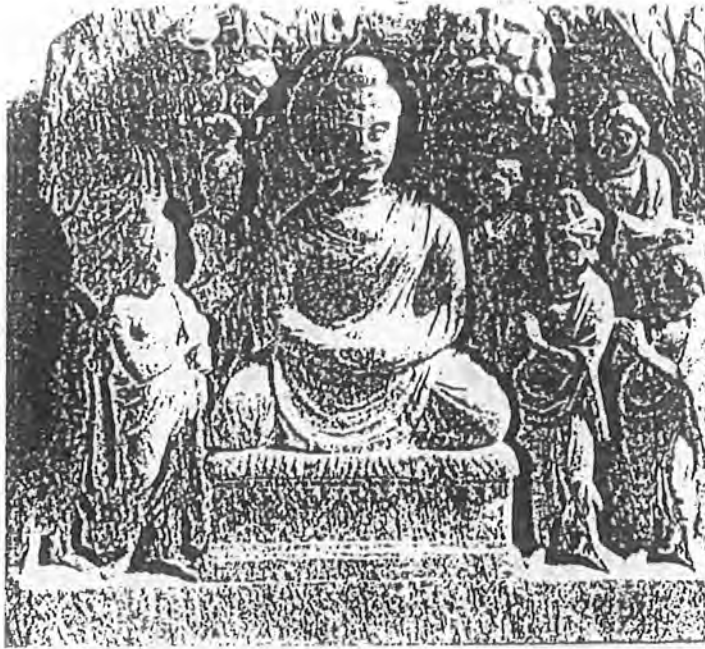


Fig. 66 The Gods Entreat the Buddha to Preach from Nathu Monastery, Lahore Museum, height is 22.86 cm and width is 24.77 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.73)

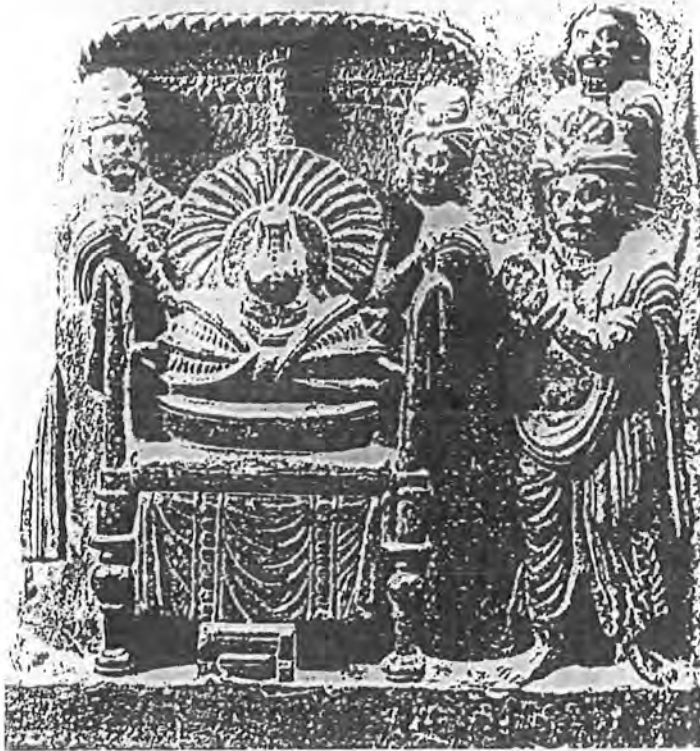


Fig. 67 Cult of the Turban from Mardan-Swat, Peshawar Museum, height is 40.96 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.50)



Fig. 68 Indra and Brahma Entreat the Buddha to Preach, Lahore Museum, height is 25.4 cm and width is 38 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.71)

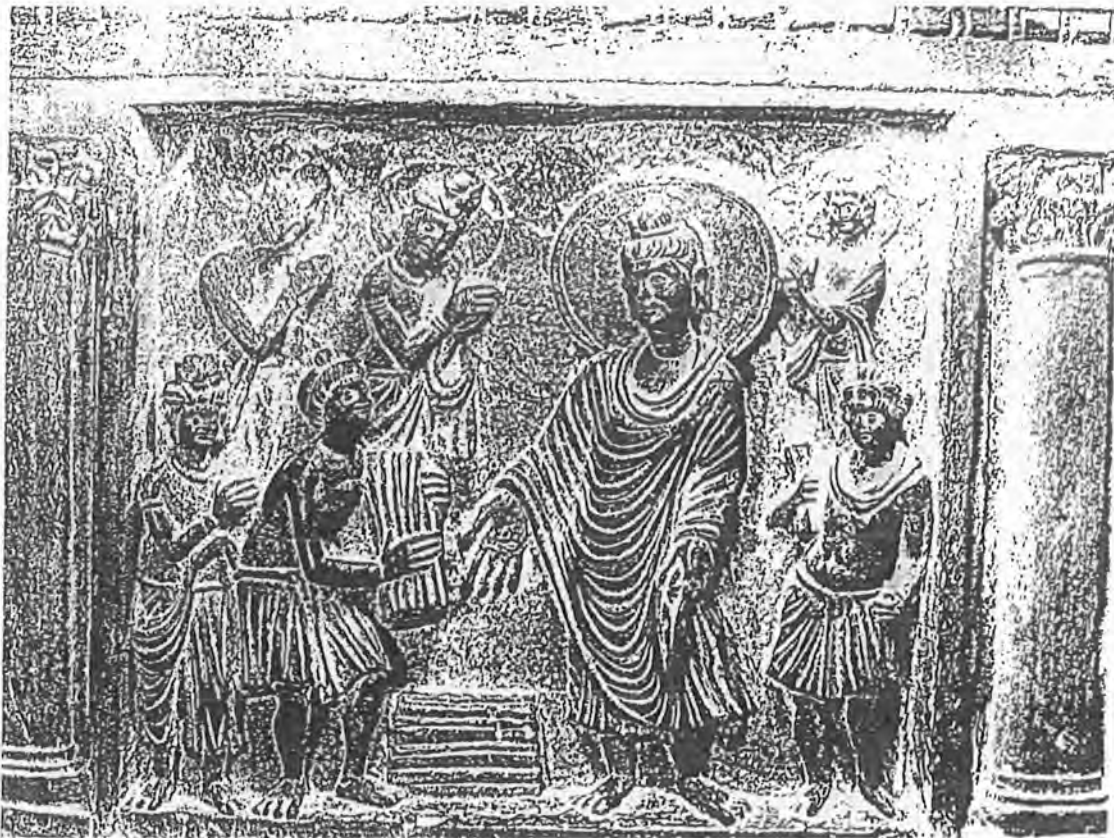


Fig. 69 Glasscutter Offers Grass for the Seat of the Enlightenment from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, height is 33 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.60)

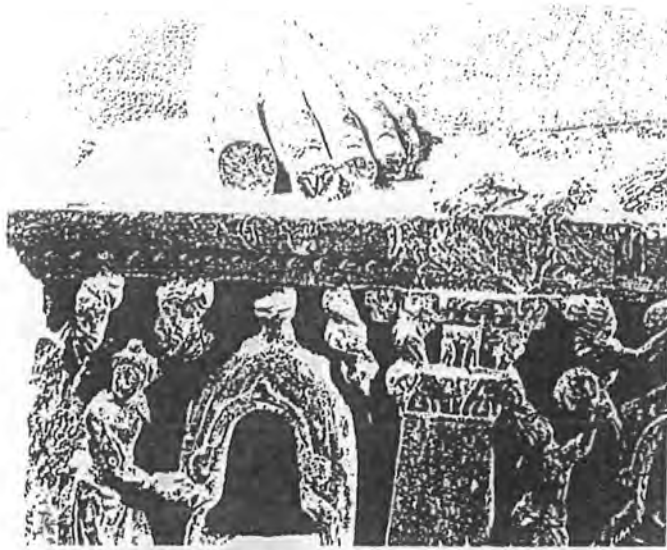


Fig. 70 Ascetics Try to Extinguish the Supposed Conflagration of the Fire Temple, Lahore Museum, height is 59.69 cm and width is 42.57 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.83)

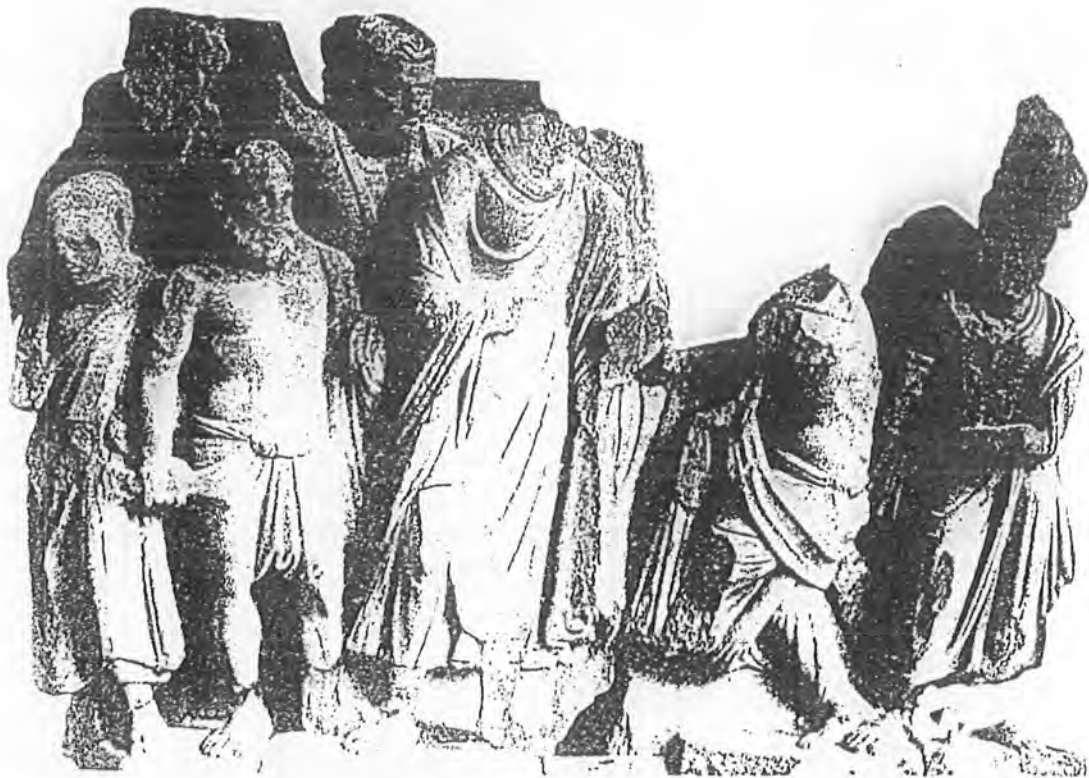


Fig. 71 The Buddha in unidentified scene from Palatu Dheri, Charsada, Peshawar Museum, height is 35.56 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 67, fig.96)



Fig. 72 The gift of the bundle of grass from Mardan, Peshawr Museum, height is 39.62 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 38, fig.61)



Fig. 73 The Buddha and Vajrapani, Berlin Museum, height is 40 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 40, fig.63)

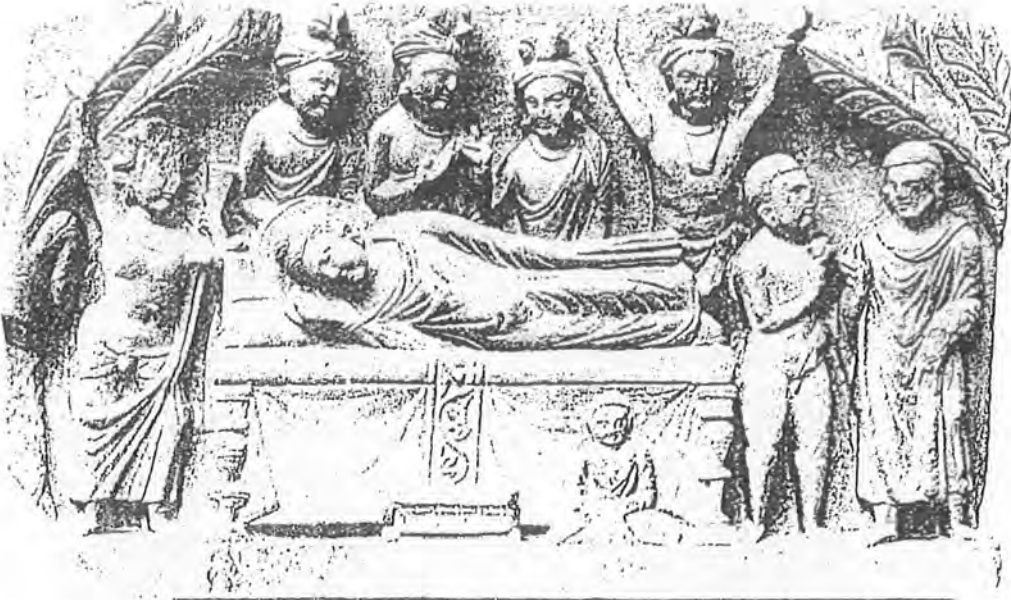


Fig. 74 The death of the Buddha (mahaparinirvana) from Takhat-i-Bahi, British Museum, height is 6.67 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 93, fig.129)



Fig. 75 Attack by Mara and His Host from Mardan-Swat, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.74 cm and width is 50.8 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.66)



Fig. 76 Lion Fed by Yaksha from Sehri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 22.54 cm and width is 10.16 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.453)



Fig. 78 Bodhisattva Siddhartha from Takhat-i-Bahai, Peshawar Museum, height is 62.23 cm and width is 27 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.280)

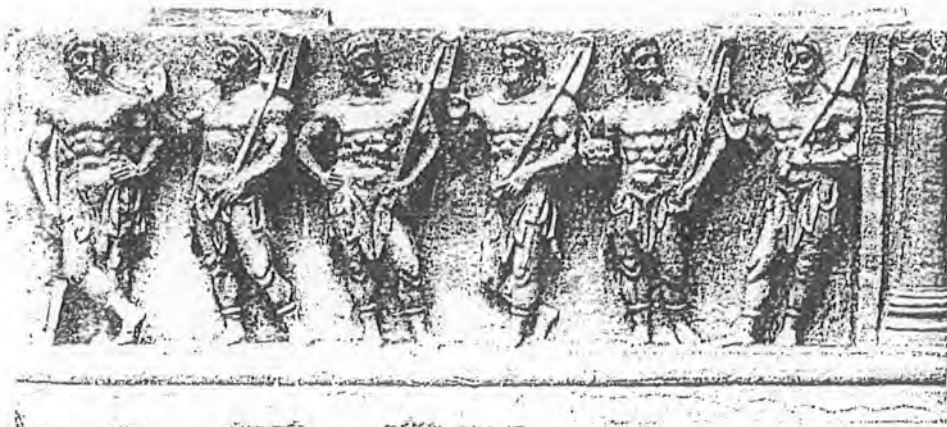


Fig. 77 Sea or river deities, British Museum, height is 17.15 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate 30, fig.47)



Fig. 79 Bodhisattva Siddhartha.
Lahore Museum, height is
72.39 cm (Ingholt, 1957,
fig.281)



Fig. 80 Bodhisattva
Siddhartha from Sahri
Bahlol, Lahore
Museum, height is
45.72 cm (Ingholt,
1957, fig.282)



Fig. 81 Hariti from Sikri, Lahore
Museum, height is 90.81 cm
(Ingholt, 1957, fig.340)



Fig. 82 Hariti from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum. height is 121.92 cm and width is 54 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.341)



Fig. 83 Yakshini and Palm Tree from Kalawan-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila, height is 180 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.359)



Fig. 84 Yakshini and Palm Tree, Lahore Museum, height is 50.17 cm and width is 15.56 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.360)



Fig. 85 Yakshi standing beneath a sala tree from Nathu, Calcutta Museum, height is 34.29 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-61, fig.89)



Fig. 86 Adventures and Punishment of Maitrakanyaka, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.15 cm and width is 38.74 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.3)

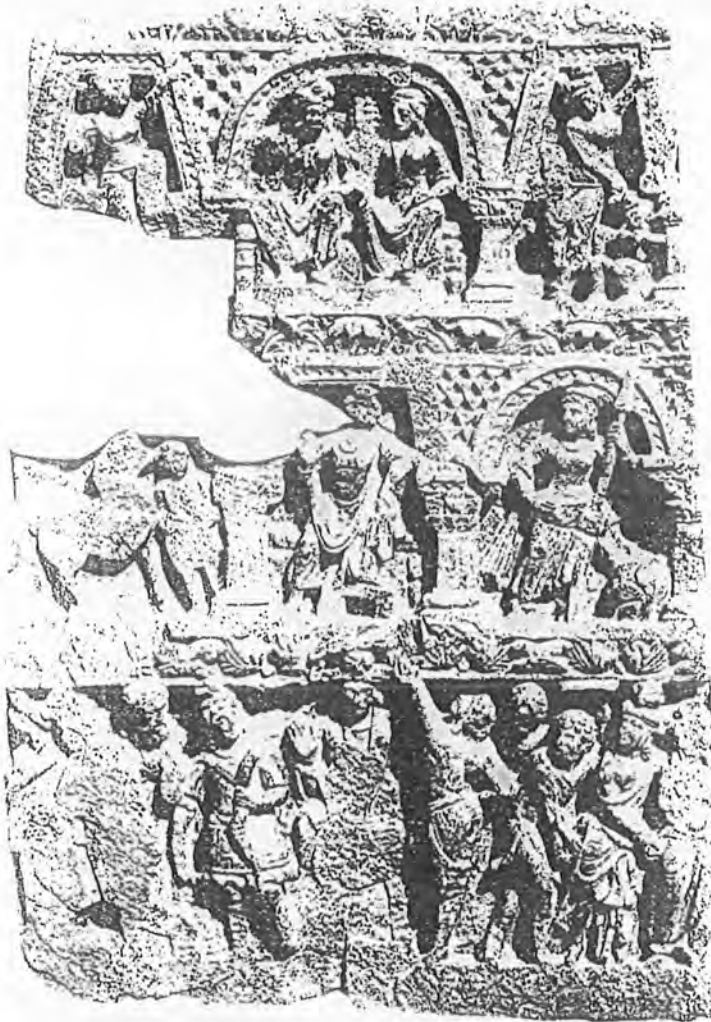


Fig. 87 The Buddha's Flight from the City and connected scenes, Lahore Museum, height is 62.23 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-79, fig.114)



Fig. 88 Female guard, with shield and spear from Mardan-Swat, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.1 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-41, fig.65)



Fig. 89 Relief, Peshawar Museum (Marshall, 1960, plate-29, fig.45)



Fig. 91 Host of Mara, in his attempt to dislodge Siddhartha, Lahore Museum, height is 56.83 cm and width is 25.72 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.64)

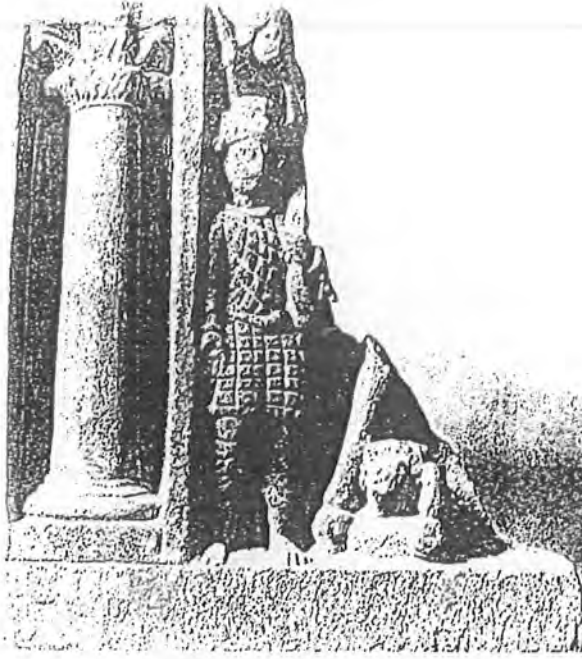


Fig. 90 The Great Departure, Lahore Museum, height is 20.32 cm and width is 18.42 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.3)



Fig. 93 Brahman Novice from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 36.83 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.429)



Fig. 92 Brahman Novice and Brahman from Kalawan-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila, height is 16.19 cm and width is 9.84 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.428)



Fig. 94 Siddhartha in School, Peshawar Museum, height is 18.1 cm and width is 15.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.25)

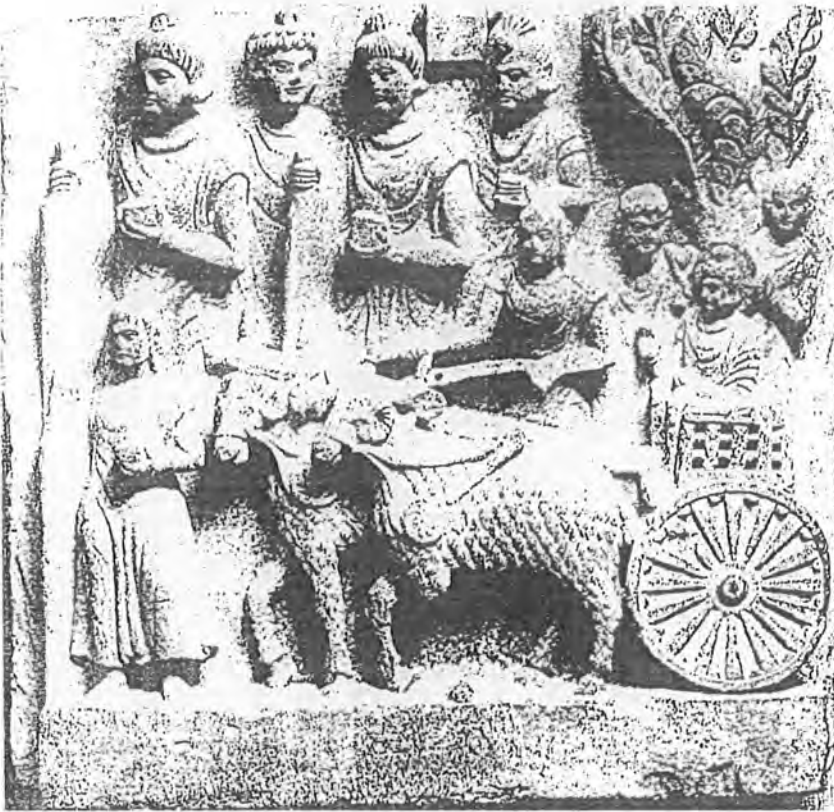


Fig. 95 The child Bodhisattva going to school in a ram-cart from Charsada, Victoria and Albert Museum, London height is 35.56 cm (Marshall. 1960, plate-66, fig.95)

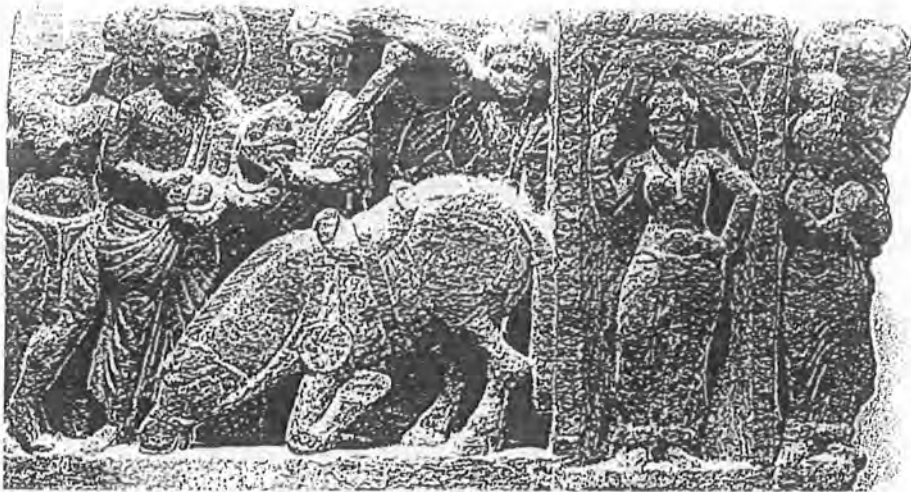


Fig. 96 Chandaka Receives Turban and Jewels. Farewell of Kanthaka from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 15.56 cm and width is 29.85 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.49)

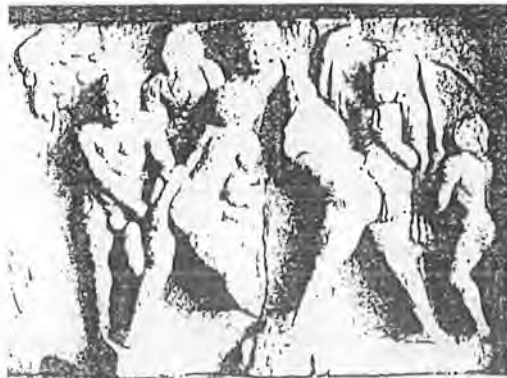


Fig. 97 Wrestling match from Jamal Garhi, Calcutta Museum, height is 27.94 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-72, fig.105)



Fig. 99 Maitrya Flanked by Female Worshippers from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 17.78 cm and width is 28.1 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.310)



Fig. 98 The Buddha, Female Worshippers, and Monks from Nathu Monastery, Lahore Museum, height is 23 cm and width is 25.72 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.190)



Fig. 100 The Buddha with Female Worshippers from Dharmarajika stupa-Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 48.9 cm and width is 45 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.189)



Fig. 101 Donors. Stair-Riser Relief from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 13.97 cm and width is 44.77 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.411)



Fig. 102 Female Donor form Sahri Bahlol, Lahore Museum, height is 37.47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.416)



Fig. 103 The Standing Buddha form Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 125.73 cm and width is 13.48 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.206)



Fig. 104 The Buddha in the Attitude of Preaching, Peshawar Museum, height is 71.12 cm and width is 47.63 cm (Ingholt. 1957, fig.245)



Fig. 105 Head of the Buddha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 36.2 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.270)

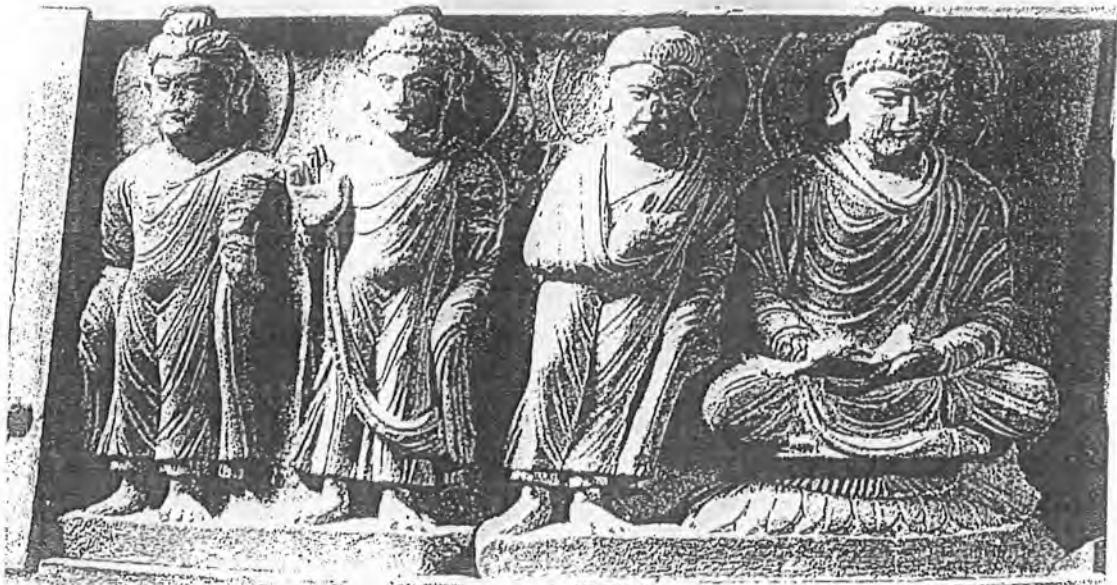


Fig. 106 Three Buddha Standing, One Seated on Inverted-Lotus Throne, Lahore Museum, height is 22.23 cm and width is 40.64 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.227)



Fig. 107 The Buddha Presents the Serpent to the Kasyapas from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 53.34 cm and width is 21.91 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.87)



Fig. 108 The Buddha Presents the Serpent to the Kasyapas from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 52.07 cm and width is 28.58 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.88)



Fig. 109 The Buddha Presents the Serpent to the Kasyapas from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 67 cm and width is 27.94 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.89)



Fig. 110 The Standing Buddha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 264.16 cm and width is 96.52 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.210)



Fig. 111 The Standing Buddha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 167.64 cm and width is 55.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.212)



Fig 112The Bust of Buddha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 97.79 cm and width is 56.52 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.223)



Fig. 113 The Buddha Preaching from Jaulian Monastery-Taxila in situ height is 58.42 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.523)



Fig. 114 The Standing Buddha form Shah ji ki Dheri, Lahore Museum. height is 58.42 cm and width is 16.51 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.211)



Fig. 118 Pancika from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 71.12 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.339)

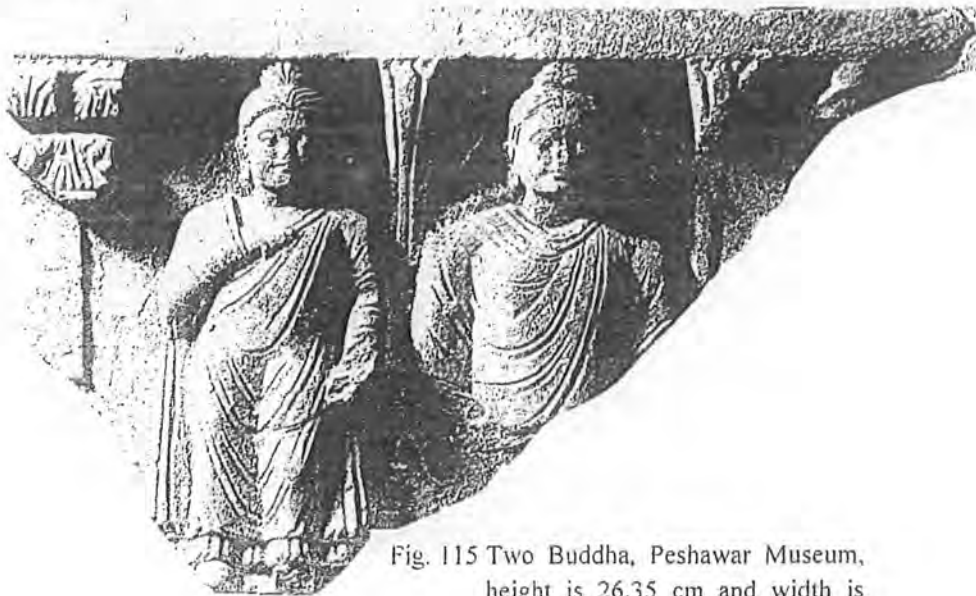


Fig. 115 Two Buddha, Peshawar Museum, height is 26.35 cm and width is 43.18 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.228)

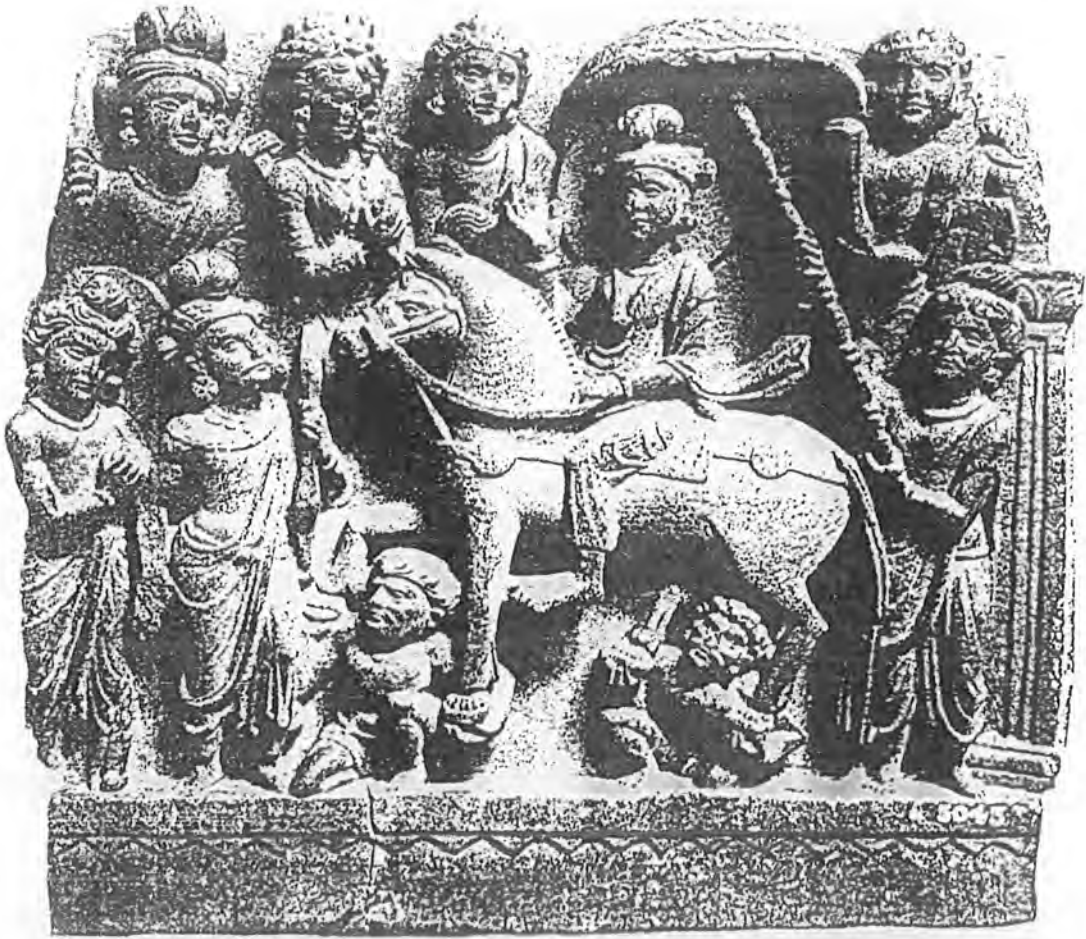


Fig. 116 Flight of the Bodhisattva from Kapilavastu from Loriyan Tangai, Calcutta Museum, height is 32.26 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-84, fig.119)



Fig. 117 Unidentified. The two men at the right of the Buddha are here clearly dressed in princely costume from Takhat-i-Bahai, Peshawar Museum, height is 11.43 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.182)



Fig. 119 Bodhisattva in Meditation from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 47.63 cm and width is 31.75 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.542)



Fig. 120 Bodhisattva in Meditation form Jaulian Monastery in situ, Taxila. (Ingholt, 1957, fig.543)



Fig. 121 Two Youths Conversing, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 19.05 cm and width is 19.05 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.407)



Fig. 122 Preaching Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 87.63 cm and width is 47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.306)



Fig. 123 Head of Bodhisattva Siddhartha from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 52.07 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.286)



Fig. 124 Amorini, Garlands, Youths with Flowers, Peshawar Museum, height is 31.12 cm and width is 119.38 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.378)



Fig. 125 Amorini, Garlands, Youths with Flowers, Peshawar Museum, height is 31.12 cm and width is 119.38 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.379)



Fig. 126 Female Donor from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 48.26 cm and width 17.78 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.401)



Fig. 127 Fragment showing portions of five figures from Loriyan Tangai, Calcutta Museum, height is 27.94 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-62, fig.90)



Fig. 128 The Buddha and Donor, Lahore Museum, height is 27.62 cm and width 32.39 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig.187)



Fig. 129 Bodhisattva Siddhartha in Meditation from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 68.58 cm and width 35.56 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 284)



Fig. 132 Preaching Bodhisattva, Lahore Museum, height is 83.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 319)



Fig. 131 Bodhisattva. Peshawar Museum, height is 67.95 cm and width 16.51 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 317)



Fig. 130 Bodhisattva Siddhartha in Meditation, Donors, and Monk, Lahore Museum, height is 33.97 cm and width 38.74 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 287)



Fig. 133 Earring Gold from Sirkap-Taxila, length is 12.38 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 491)



Fig. 136 Maitreya, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 108.27 cm and width 29.85 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 290) →



Fig. 134 The Preaching Buddha on Lotus Throne from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 54.29 cm and width 59.37 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 253)



Fig. 135 Maitreya from Takhat-i-Bahai, height is 208.28 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 289)



Fig. 137 Maitreya from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 132.08 cm and width 60.96 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 291)



Fig. 138 Bodhisattva from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 123.83 cm and width 33.02 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 313)



Fig. 139 Bodhisattva in Meditation, Lahore Museum, height is 71.12 cm and width 49.21 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 318)



Fig. 142 Avalokitesvara from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 97.79 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 326)



Fig. 141 Maitreya in Meditation, Lahore Museum, height is 64.77 cm and width 38.1 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 302)



Fig. 140 Bust of Maitreya from Mohara Moradu, Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 102.87 cm and width 26.67 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 293)



Fig. 143 Maitreya from Takhat-i-Bahai, Peshawar Museum, height is 109.22 cm and width 39.05 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 296)



Fig. 144 Preaching Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 107.95 cm and width is 68.58 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 308)



Fig. 147 Maitreya Bust from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.74 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 311)



Fig. 145 Bodhisattva, Lahore Museum, height is 106.68 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 328)



Fig. 146 Royal Female Donor from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 160 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 400)



Fig. 148 Bodhisattva Bust from Sanghao, Lahore Museum, height is 28.89 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 324)



Fig. 149 Maitreya, Lahore Museum, height is 60.96 cm and width is 22.23 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 297)

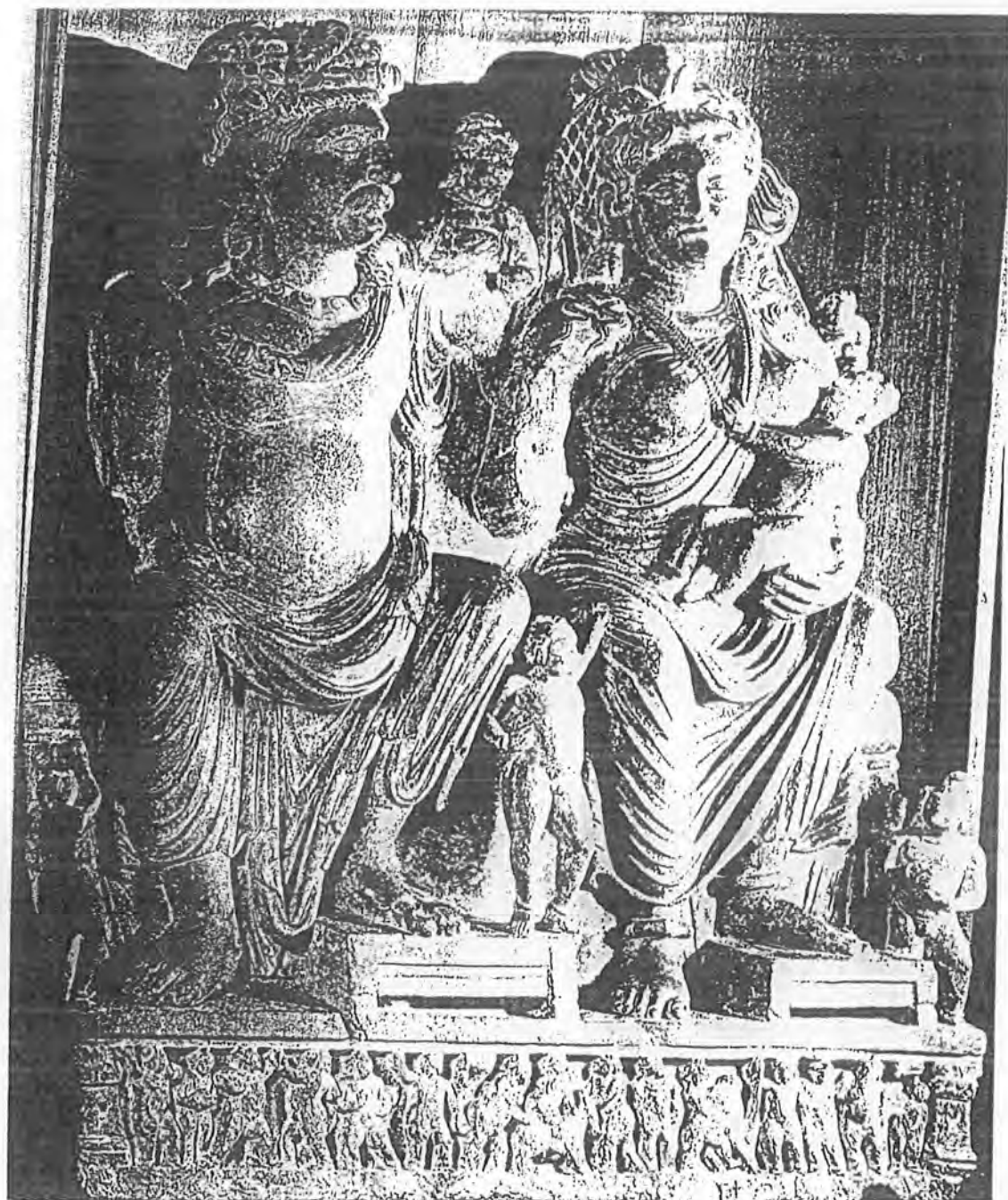


Fig. 150 Panchika and Hariti from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 101.6 cm and width is 83.82 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 342)



Fig. 151 Panchika from Tackal near Peshawar, Lahore Museum, height is 180.34 cm and width is 57.79 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 338)



Fig. 153 Bracket in form of a winged deva from Kunala stupa, Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila length is 19.05 (Marshall, 1960, plate-20, fig.23)

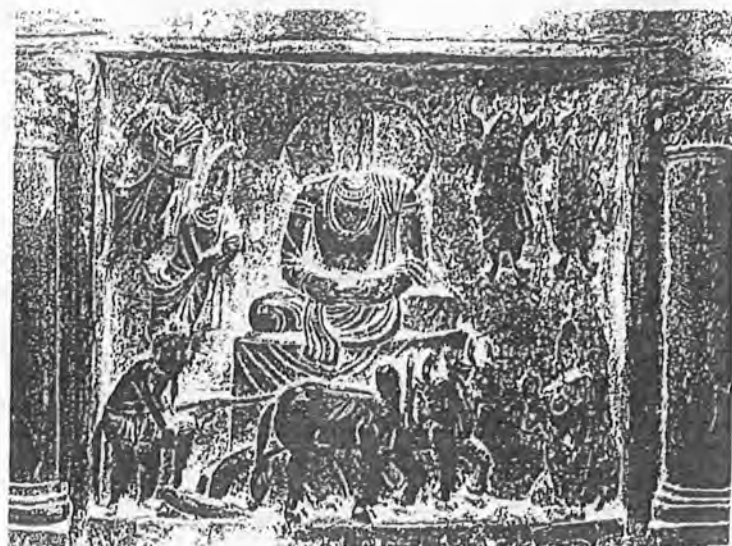


Fig. 152 The First Meditation from Sikri stupa, Lahore Museum, height is 33.02 cm and width is 37.47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 36)



Fig. 154 Bodhisattva from Dharmarajika stupa, Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 10.16 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 320)



Fig. 155 Female Deity from Sirkap, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 21.91 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 355)



Fig. 156 Sleeping Women from Dharmarajika stupa, Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 49.53 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 43)



Fig. 157 Figurine of Woman. (Copper) from Sirkap-Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 7.94 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 490)

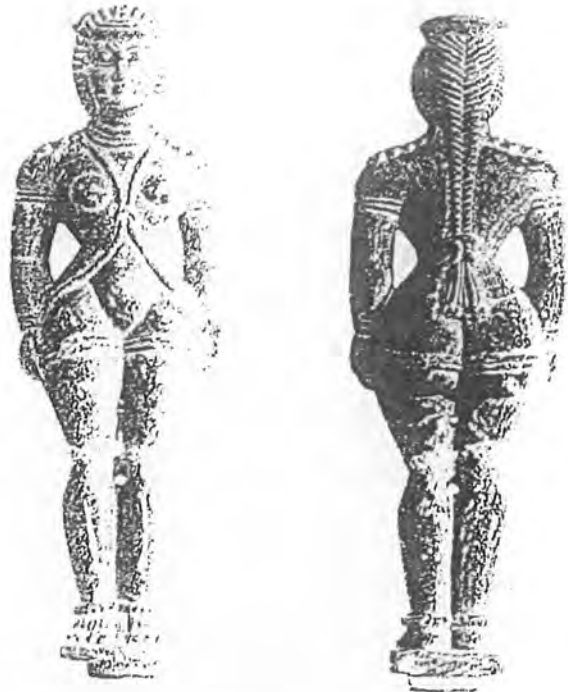


Fig. 158 Female statuette from Sirkap-Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 18.42 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-17, fig. 19)

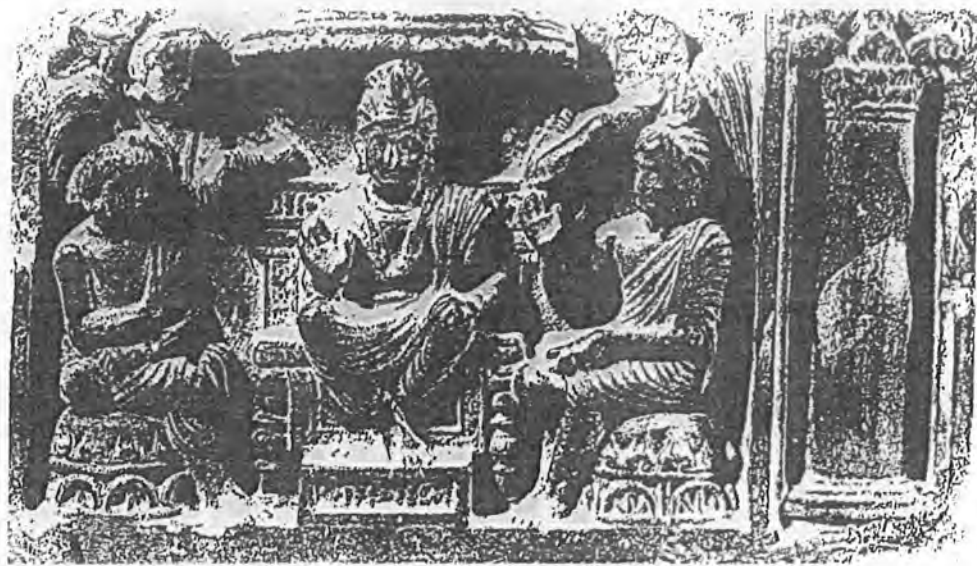


Fig. 159 Interpretation of Maya's Dream from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 13.65 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 12)

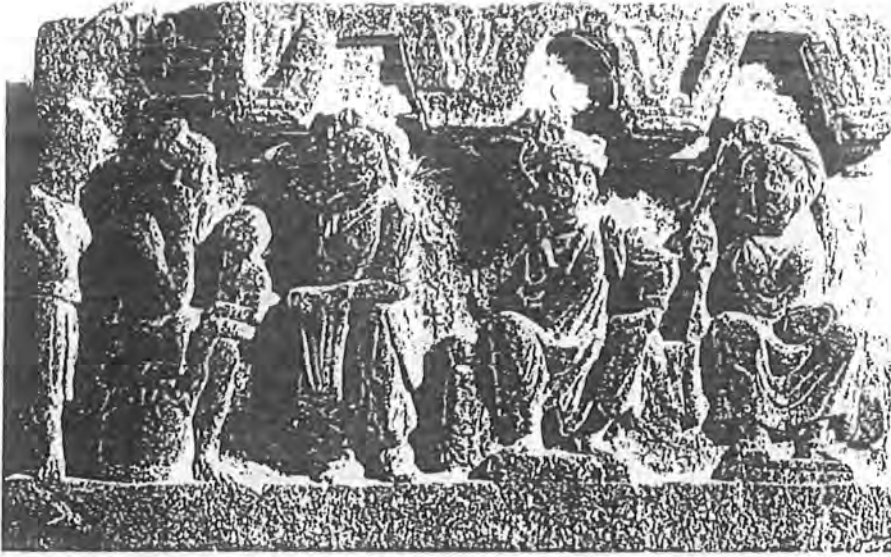


Fig. 160 Siddhartha's Horoscope is explained from Naogram, Lahore Museum, height is 21.27 cm and width is 33.66 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 21)

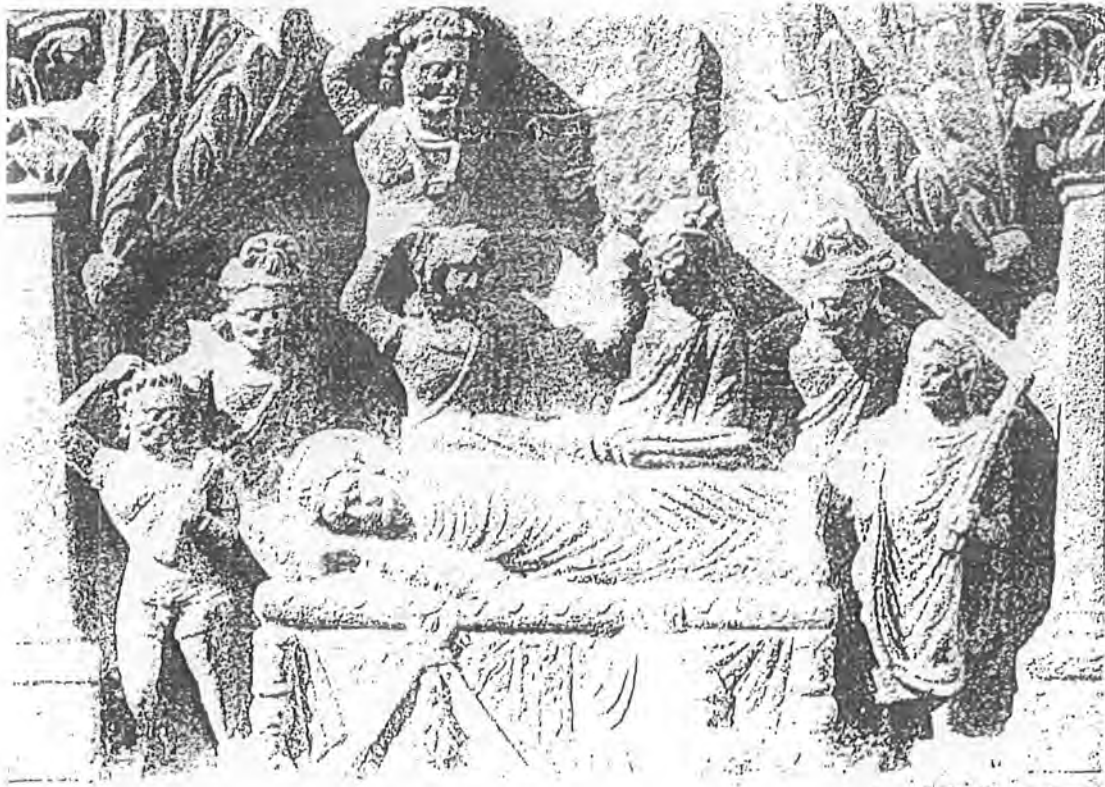


Fig. 161 Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha from Nathu, Calcutta Museum, height is 22.23 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-60, fig. 87)

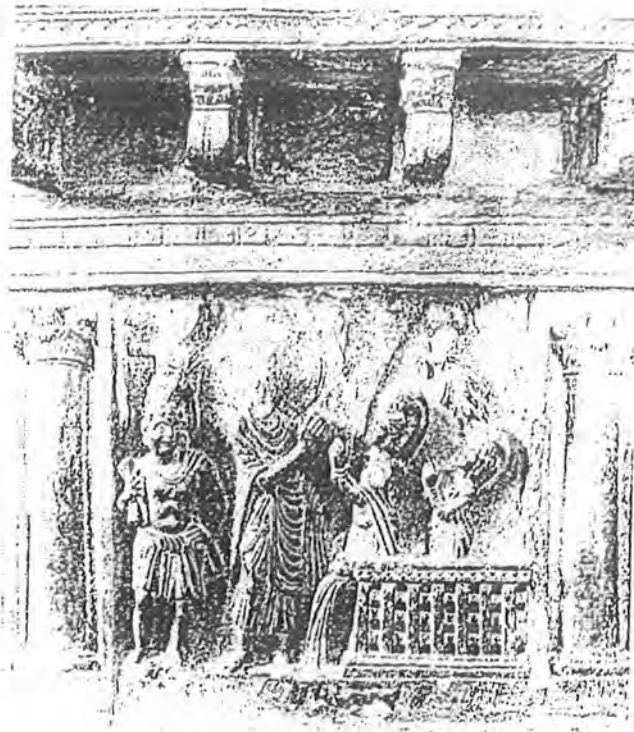


Fig. 162 The Buddha and the Naga-king Kalika from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 33.02cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-51, fig. 75)



Fig. 163 The Buddha enthroned with Vajrapani and seven female devotees from Dharmarajika, Taxila, Archaeological Museum Taxila, height is 48.26 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-69, fig. 98)

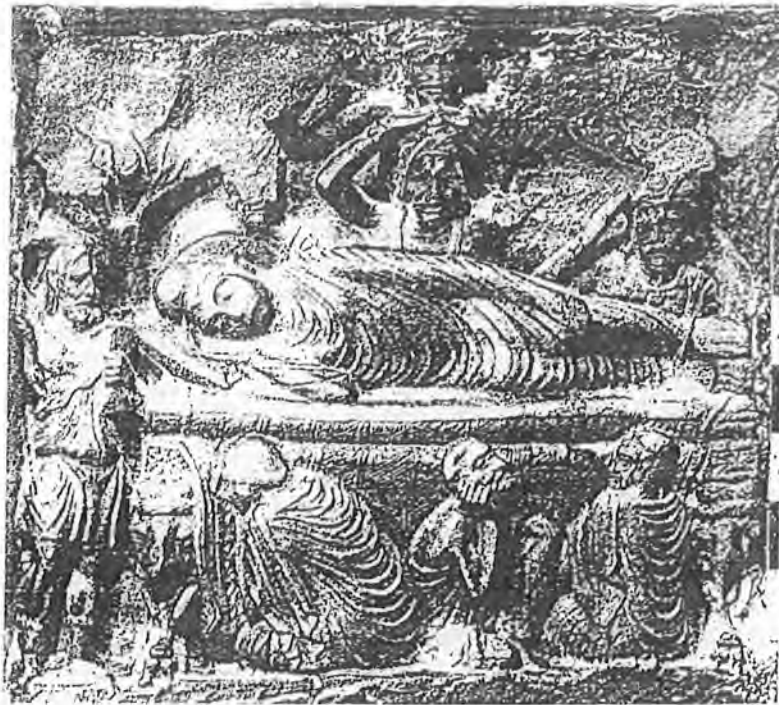


Fig. 164 Mahaparinirvana of the Buddha from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 26.67 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-44, fig. 68)



Fig. 165 The Buddha and a Brahman ascetic from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.1 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-42, fig. 66)

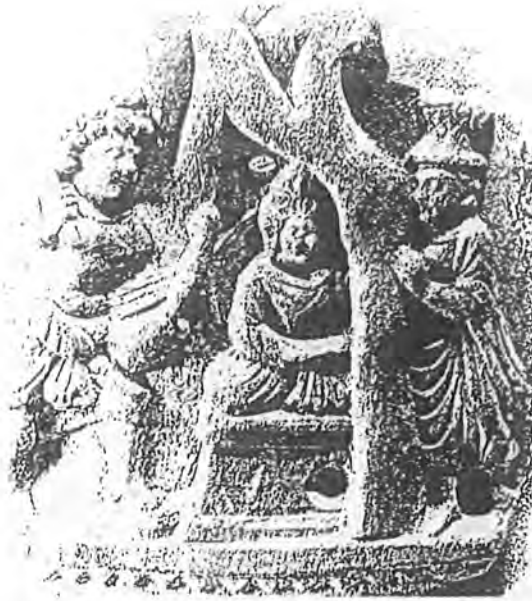


Fig. 166 Indra and His Harpist Visit the Buddha in the Indrasala Cave, Lahore Museum, height is 18.1 cm and width is 15.56 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 128)

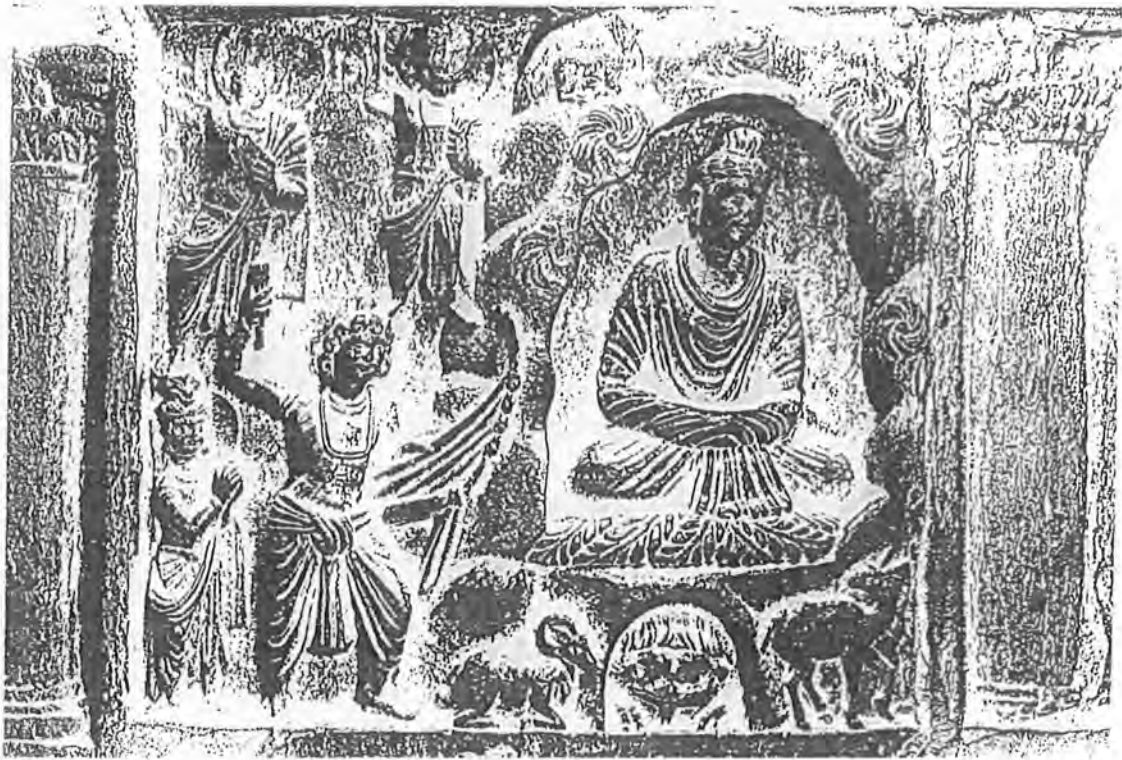


Fig. 167 Indra and His Harpist Visit the Buddha in the Indrasala Cave from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 33.02 cm and width is 36.2 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 129)

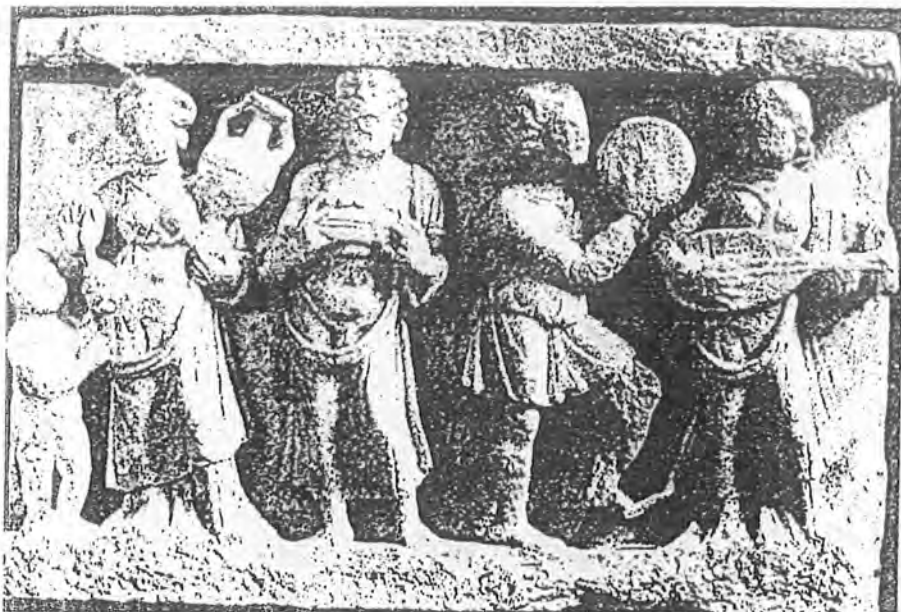


Fig. 168 Family drinking-scene of five figures form Hadda, South Afghanistan Musee Guimet, Paris height is 16.51 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-31, fig. 49)



Fig. 169 Unidentified Jataka from Sirkap-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 33.66 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-22, fig. 26)

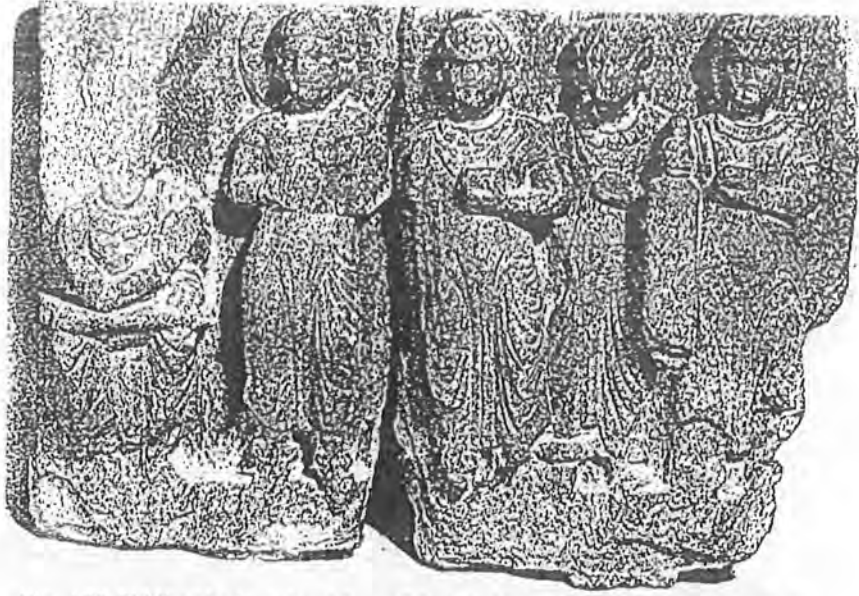


Fig. 170 Siddhartha in school from Sikri, Lahore Museum, height is 16.51 cm and width is 22.86 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 24)



Fig. 171 Bust of Preaching Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum. height is 87.63 cm and width is 47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 307)



Fig. 172 Head of Maitreya or of Layman from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 29.21 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 312)

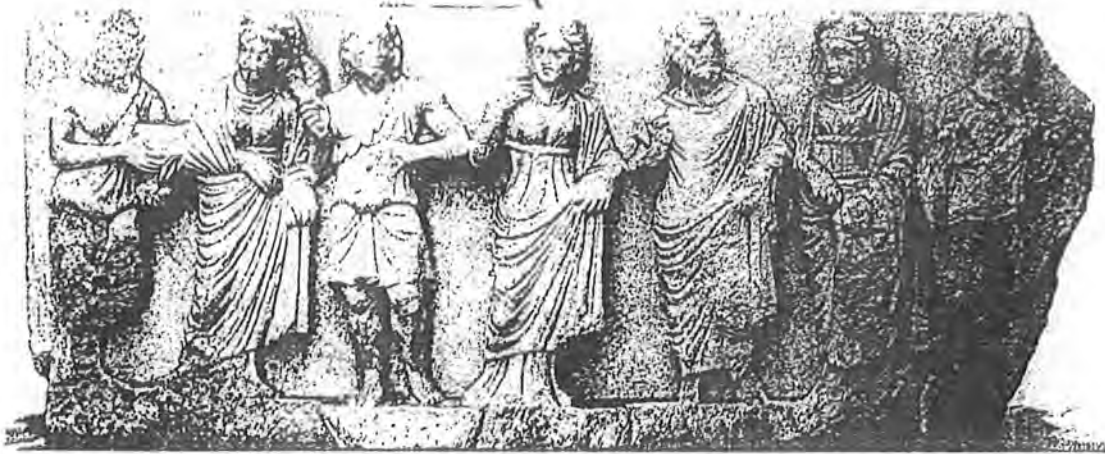


Fig. 173 So-called, Presentation of the Bride to Siddhartha from Takhat-i-Bahi, British Museum, height is 13.97 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-27, fig. 41)

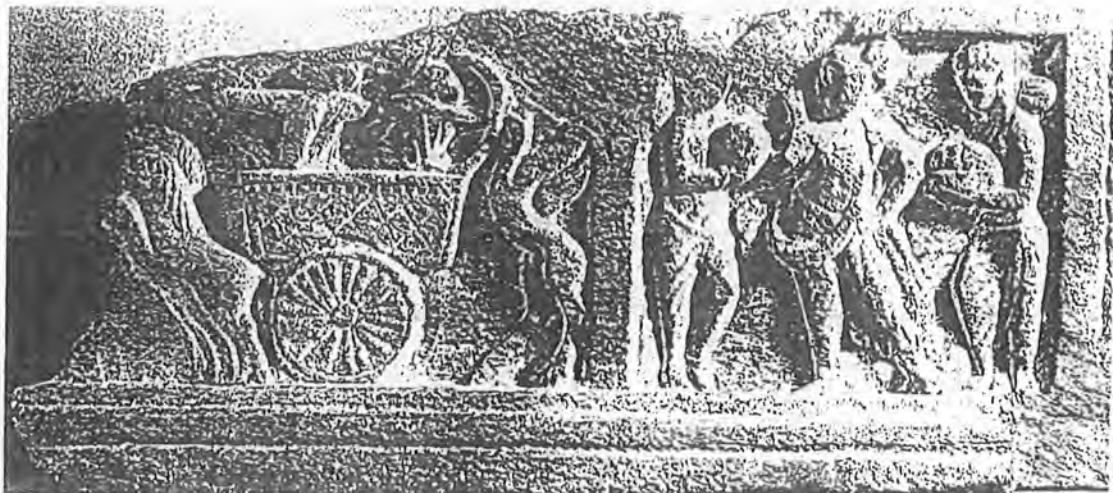


Fig. 174 Unidentified, Lahore Museum, height is 15.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 174)



Fig. 175 Bath of the Infant Buddha from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 26.67 cm
(Marshall, 1960, plate-36, fig. 58)

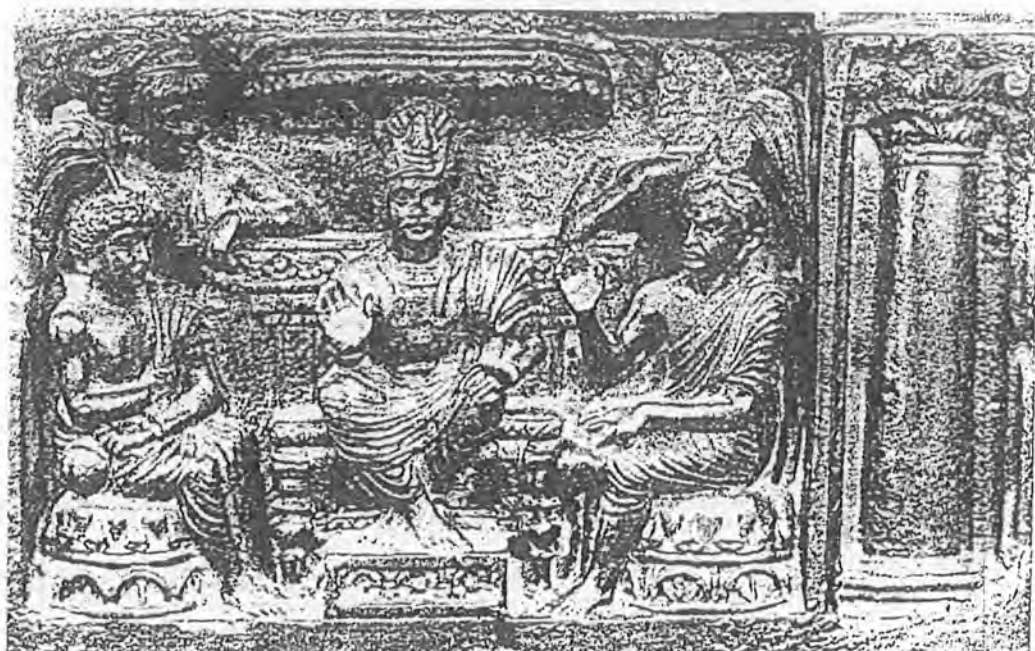


Fig. 176 The Interpretation of Maya's dream, from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is
15.24 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-34, fig. 54)

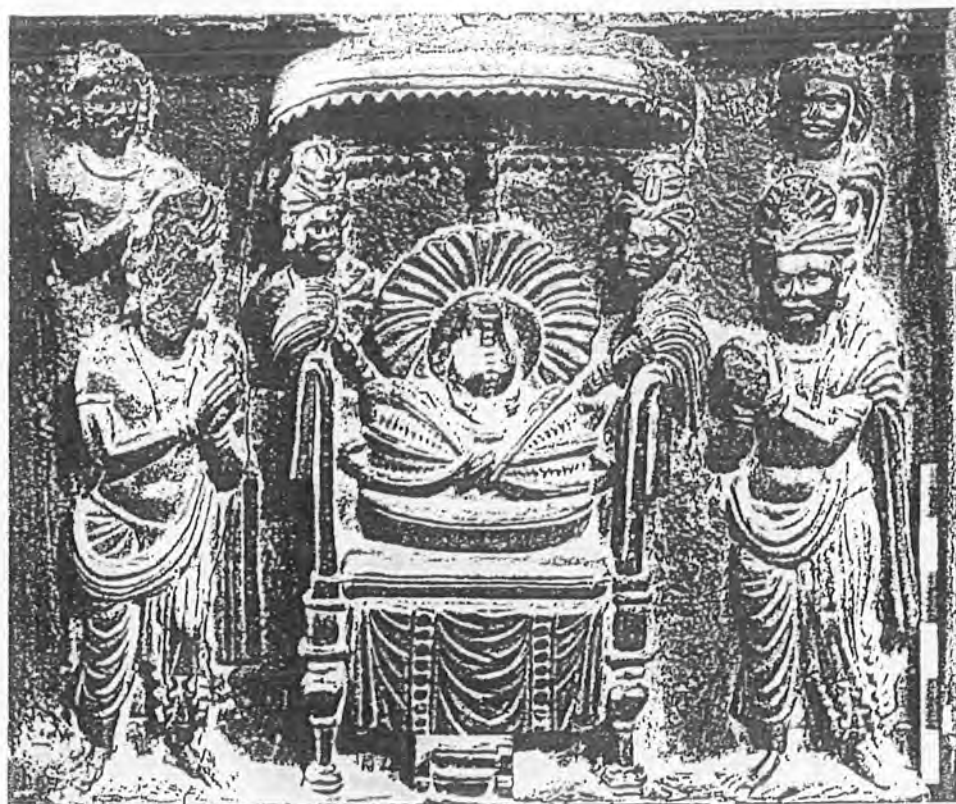


Fig. 177 Adoration of the Bodhisattva's head-dress in the Trayastrimsa Heaven from Mardan, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.35 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-39, fig. 62)



Fig. 178 Head of Foreigner from Rokri, Lahore Museum, height is 32.39 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 574)



Fig. 179 Naga-raj with musicians and attendants from Kafir Kot, British Museum, length is 57.79 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-56, fig. 82)



Fig. 180 Musician playing on lute from Mardan-Swat, Peshawar Museum, height is 38.35 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-41, fig. 65)



Fig. 182 Orpheus Charming the Animals (Ingholt, 1957, fig. xviii 1)



Fig. 183 Toilet-tray with crowded drinking-scene from Sirkap, National Museum, New Delhi, Diam. 15.75 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-14, fig. 16)

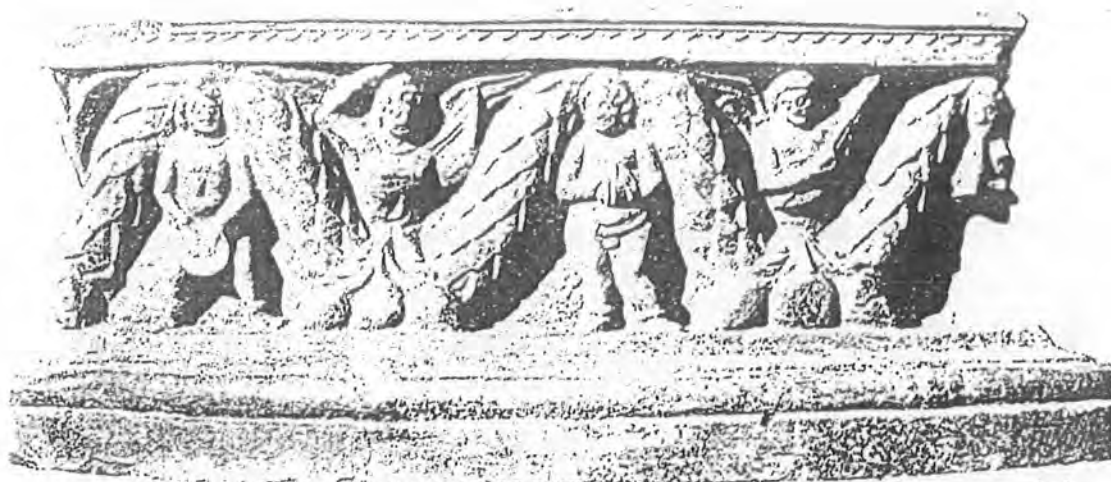


Fig. 181 Base ornamented with garland and Eroses form Nathu, Calcutta Museum, height is 19.05 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-62, fig. 91)



Fig. 184 Stair-Riser Relief (Ingholt, 1957, fig. vi)



Fig. 185 Musicians and Dancers, Lahore Museum, height is 16.19 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 399)



Fig. 186 Stair-Riser Relief (Ingholt, 1957, fig. x 1)



(Marshall, 1960, plate-27, fig. 40)



Fig. 188 Drinking scene of two couples, carved on lion-footed pedestal, Lahore Museum, height is 23.5 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-32, fig. 51)

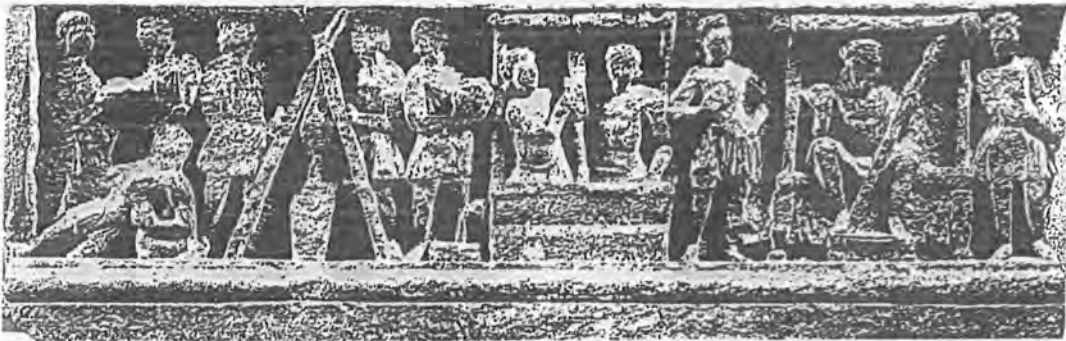


Fig. 189 Unidentified from Jamal Garhi, Peshawar Museum, height is 18.42 cm and width is 55.88 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 175)



Fig. 190 Man and Two Women Dancing from Sirkap, National Museum of Pakistan, Diam. is 13.34 cm and width is 47 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 481)

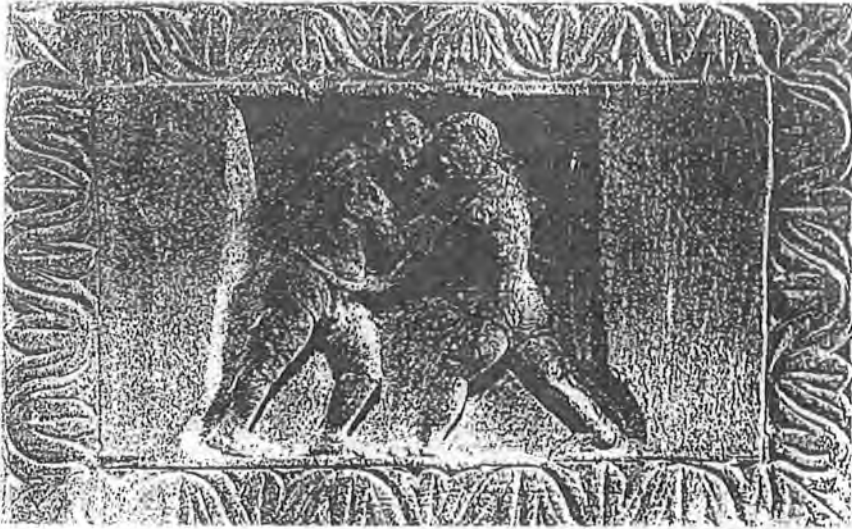


Fig. 191 Wrestlers, Peshawar Museum, height is 26.67 cm and width is 40.64 cm (Ingholt 1957 fig. 445)

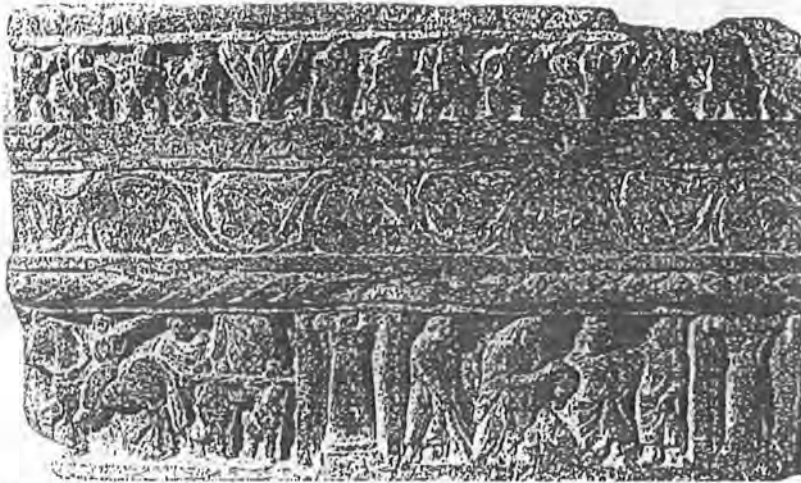


Fig. 192 Marriage of Siddhartha and Yasodhara (right). Bridal Procession from Koi (between Sanghao and Karkai), Lahore Museum, height is 20 cm and width is 34.29 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 34)

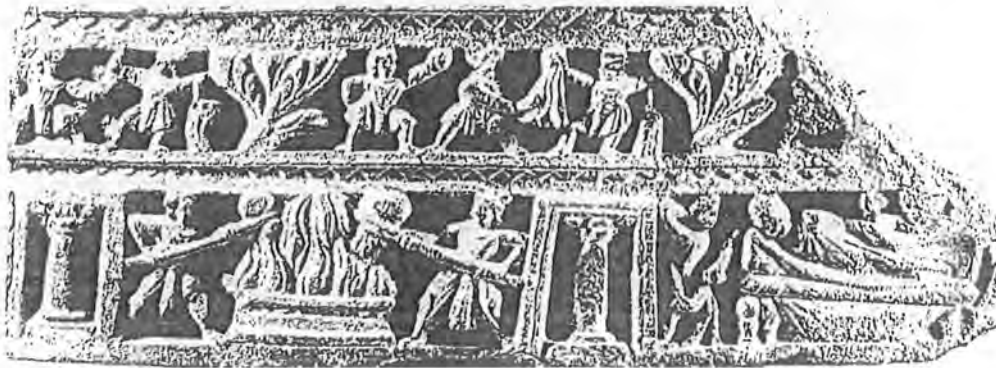


Fig. 193 Death of the Buddha (right)-Cremation of the Buddha, Peshawar Museum, height is 16.19 cm and width is 43.82 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 142)

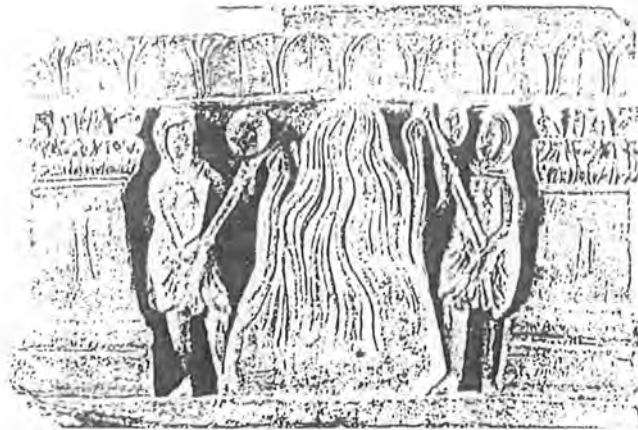


Fig. 194 Cremation of the Buddha from Takhat-i-Bahi Peshawar Museum, height is 15.24 cm and width is 20.96 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 146)

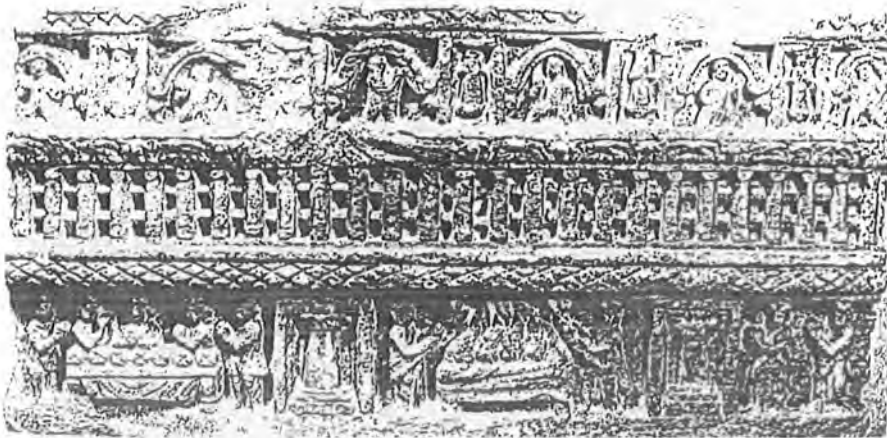


Fig. 195 Cremation of the Buddha (center) Division of the Relics (left) from Sikri Lahore Museum, height is 22.23 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 146)



Fig. 196 Offering of the Four Bowls to the Buddha (Ingholt, 1957, fig. xx 1)

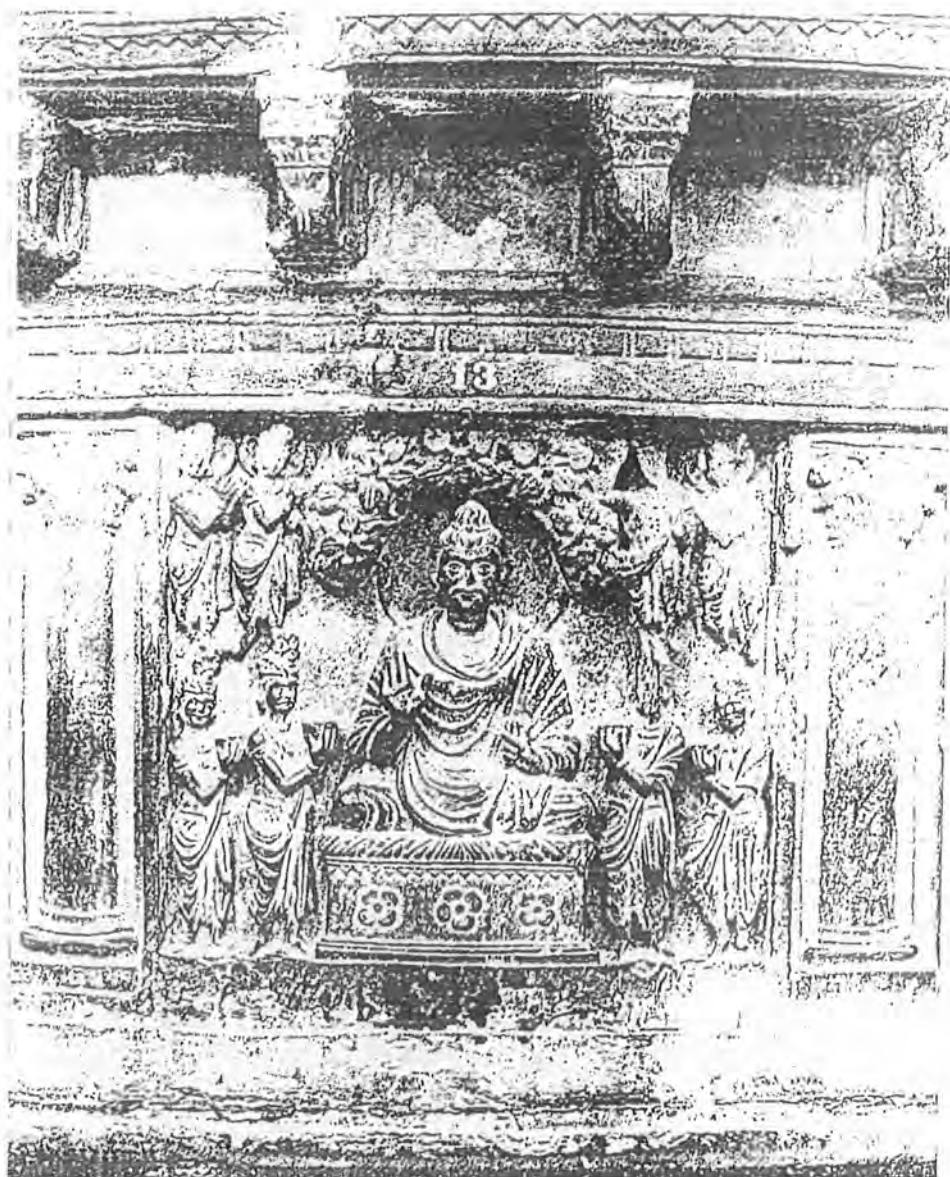


Fig. 197 Presentation of the four begging-bowls from Sikri Lahore Museum, height is 33.02 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-53, fig. 77)



Fig. 198 Drinking scene of Naga-*raja* and queen from Kafir Kot, British Museum, height is 61.6 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-56, fig. 83)

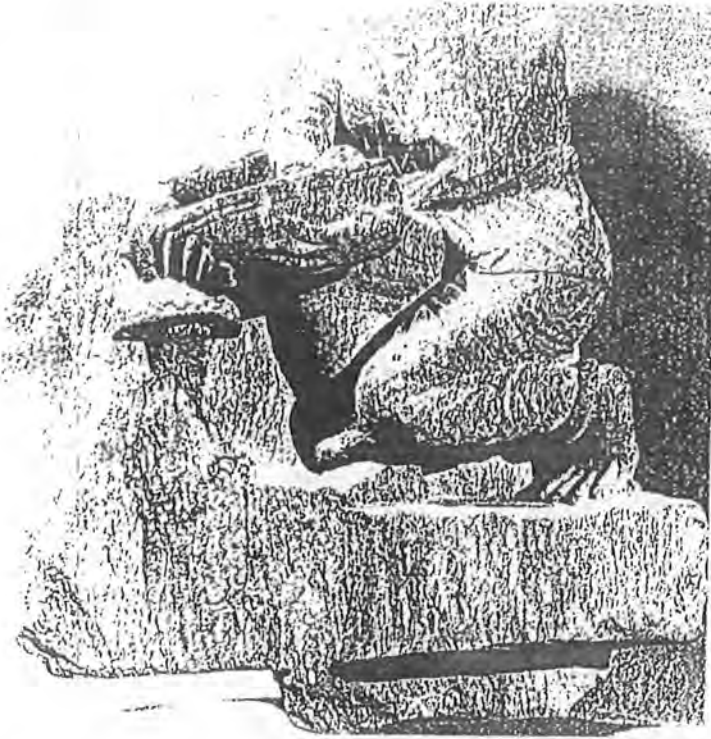


Fig. 199 Kneeling Woman with Bowl from Dharmarajika stupa-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 18.42 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 402)



Fig. 201 Dowager and Man with Bowl from Dharmarajika stupa-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 38.1 cm and width is 13.97 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 422)



Fig. 200 Head of Dionysus form Sirkap-Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 9.53 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-24, fig. 29)



Fig. 202 Silver Parthian goblet from Sirkap-Taxila, Archaeological Museum, Taxila height is 13.34 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-28, fig. 42)

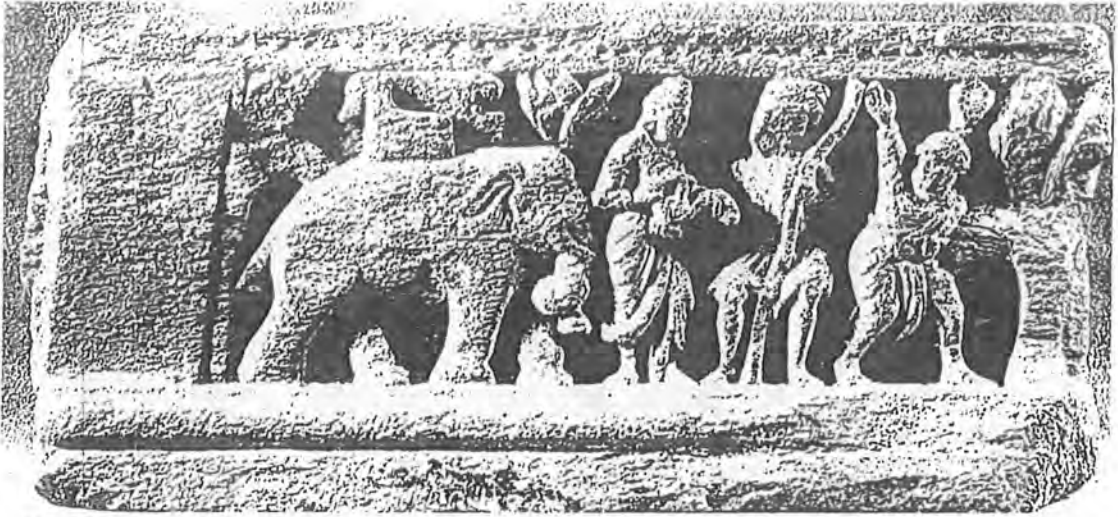


Fig. 203 Visvantara Gives Away the Choice Elephant from Sahri Bahlol, Peshawar Museum, height is 18.73 cm and width is 40 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 6)

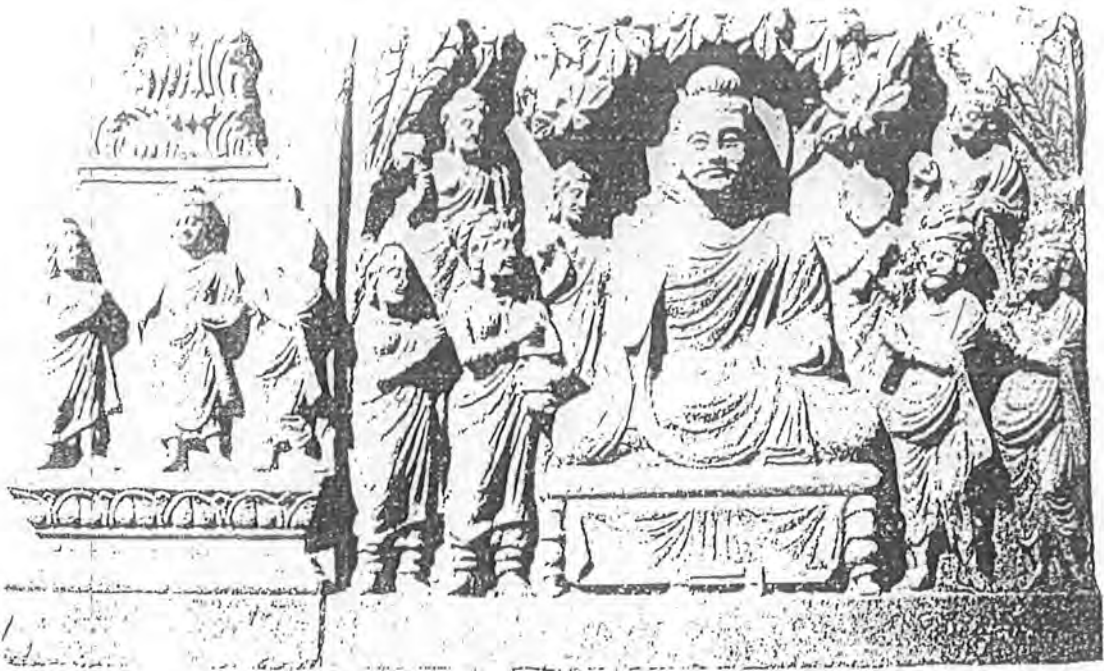


Fig. 204 Presentation to the Buddha of a mango grove by the courtesan Amrapali from Nathu, Calcutta Museum, (Marshall, 1960, plate-60, fig. 88)

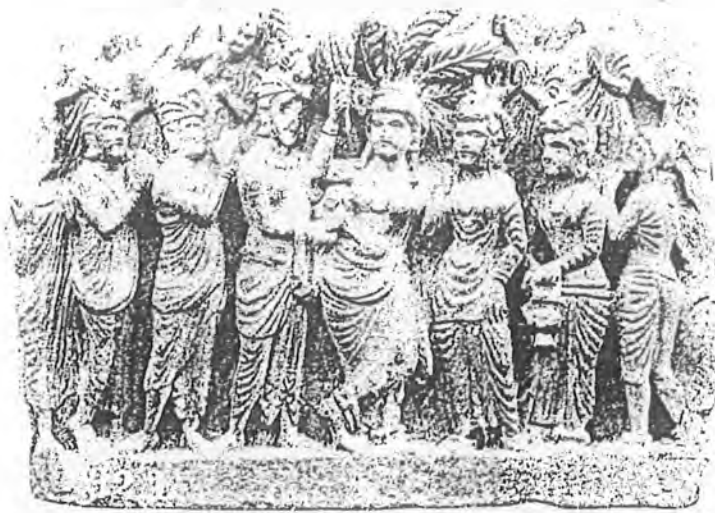


Fig. 205 Birth of the Buddha, Peshawar Museum, (Marshall, 1960, plate-70, fig. 99)

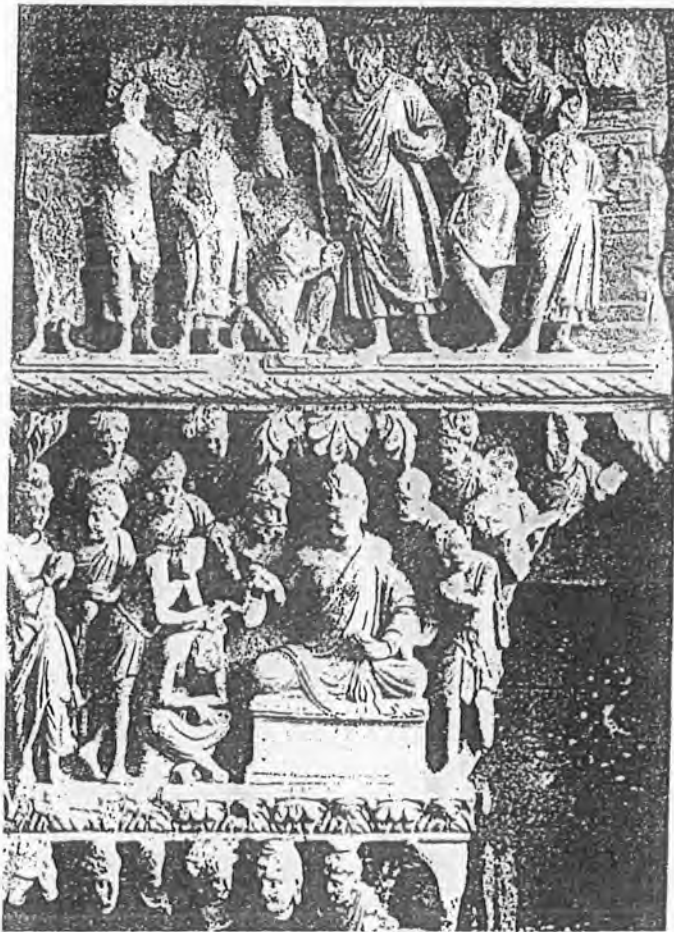


Fig. 206 Three scenes from the story of Nanda from Jamal Garhi, Calcutta Museum, height is 60.33 cm (Marshall, 1960, plate-81, fig. 116)



Fig. 207 Bridal Procession from Taxila, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 40 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 35)



Fig. 208 Sumagadha and the naked Ascetic, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi height is 34.29 cm and width is 50.8 cm (Ingholt, 1957, fig. 116)

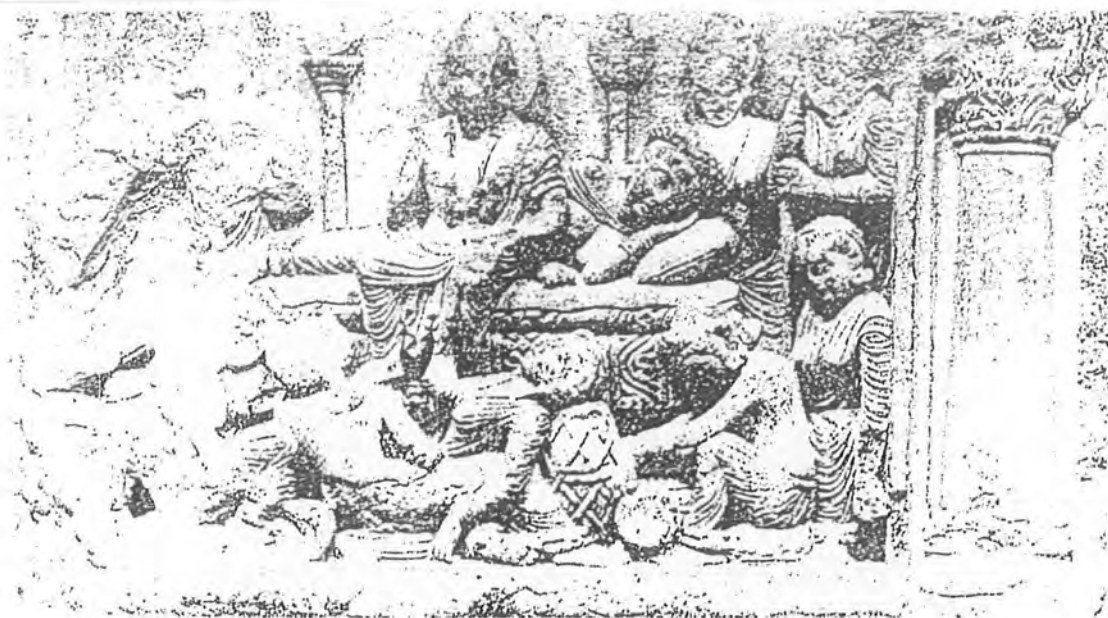


Fig. 209 Sleep of the woman from Takhat-i-Bahi, British Museum, height is 60.33 cm (Marshall, 1960. plate-63, fig. 92)