CULTURAL PROFILE OF GANDHĀRA: AN APPRAISAL

by

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CULTURAL PROFILE OF GANDHĀRA: AN APPRAISAL

Dissertation submitted to the Institute of Archaeology and Social Anthropology, University of Peshawar in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2011
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<td>ASI</td>
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<td>ASR</td>
<td>Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India</td>
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<tr>
<td>BDCRI</td>
<td>Bulletin Deccan College Research Institute</td>
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<tr>
<td>BEFEO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l’Ècole Francaise d’ Extrème</td>
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<tr>
<td>BSOS</td>
<td>Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and Afghānistān) Studies, London</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAH</td>
<td>Cambridge Ancient History</td>
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<tr>
<td>CHI</td>
<td>Cambridge History of India</td>
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<tr>
<td>CII</td>
<td>Corpus Inscriptionum Idicarum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EHI</td>
<td>Early History of India. by V.A. Smith. Oxford 1924</td>
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<tr>
<td>EI</td>
<td>Epigraphia Indica, Delhi</td>
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<tr>
<td>IHQ</td>
<td>Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta</td>
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<tr>
<td>JA</td>
<td>Journal Asiatique, Paris</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td>Journal of the American Oriental Society</td>
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<tr>
<td>JāT.</td>
<td>Jātaka (or Jātakas)</td>
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<tr>
<td>JIH</td>
<td>Journal of the Indian History</td>
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<tr>
<td>JNSI</td>
<td>Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MAIS</td>
<td>Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India</td>
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<tr>
<td>SBE</td>
<td>Sacred Books of the East. Oxford</td>
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It remains for me to thank and gratefully acknowledge the guidance I took from earlier writings on the subject, which are too many to be counted here. My work is no way aimed at minimizing their importance. The bibliography is chiefly a record of works consulted without seeking completeness. Abbreviations are used only where necessary. The most recurrent spellings of proper names are presented to their more correct but pedantic forms.
Chapter 1
Introduction

The tremendous volume of sculptures yielded by the excavations of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshāwar, the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, the Directorate of Archaeology, Government of Khyber Pakhtun Khwa and the Italian Mission in Swāt, in the last three to four decades, resulted in the construction of new museums in Pakistan. Swāt Museum at Saidu Sharif in Swāt, Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at the University of Peshāwar sprang up within a short period of time. The most recent additions in the series are Pushkalāvati Museum at Chārsada and Archaeological Museum at Hund, celebrated capital of the Oḍi Shahis (Hindu Shahis) of Afgānistān, Gandhāra and the Panjāb during the period stretching from the early part of the nineth to the early part of eleventh century AD. This scientifically and systematically excavated material was not avaible to the early writers and, as such, they could not present possible wholistic picture of the Gandhāran culture. In view of the problem, the present author has made an effort to analyse the above mentioned Buddhist reliefs in the light of latest research a fresh cultural profile.

Isao Kuritas’ two volumes on Gandhāra Art in the Ancient Buddhist Art Series and W. Zwalfs’ A Catalogue of the Gandhāran Sculptures in the British Museum were a timely help which extended the horizon of this research (Kurita 1991; Zwalf 1996). While Isao Kurita has been able to bring to light several Gandhāran sculptures hidden in private collections. Zwalfs’ work (2 vols.) presents the whole collection of Gandhāra in the British Museum with well researched comments and references for each item. All this urged the present writer to take up the subject once again for a fresh look.

K. Krishn Murthy (1977) was first to make a substantial contribution to the study of cultural material as reflected in the sculptures of Gandhāra. The material available to him came primarily from the excavations conducted from time to time by the Archaeological Survey of India at various sites, in particular at Taxila, Takht-i-Bāhi, Jamāl Garhi, Sikri, Sahri Bahlol, etc. Marshall and others such as
Alfred Foucher, Hugo Buchthal, James Burgess, Albert Grünwedel studied this material, which consisted mainly of sculptures in stones and stucco from artistic point of view without attempting any kind of an exhaustive cultural survey. The material was scattered in many different museums which must have the task doubly the difficult. No comprehensive record was available.

In 1957 Harald Ingholt brought out a very important volume based on careful selection of significant sculptures exhibited in Pakistani museums including some private collections of which he prepared a set of excellent photographs which he published in his *Gandhāra Art in Pakistan* (Harald Ingholt 1957). Besides, Sir John Marshall’s reports, which appeared in three volumes regarding his excavations at Taxila, and his study of Gandhāra Art entitled *The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* (Sir John Marshall 1951; 1960), *The Gandhāra Sculptures: A Cultural Survey* (K. Krishan Murthy) depended mainly upon Harald Ingholt.

In 1985 (Francine Tissot took up the subject and presented her study in book entitled *Gandhāra* (Francine Tissot :1985). But no fresh excavation on a Buddhist site except those of Italian Mission in Swāt, Pakistan, had been undertaken after Marshall’s work at Taxila and as a result no fresh material was available to her. Her source material was almost the same as that of Murthy. Numerous Gandhāran sites were plundered during this time and material was sold to private collectors.

Fresh materials were brought to light when the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshāwar, launched two successive campaigns first in Dīr and then in Swāt. The excavations revealed a lot of sculptures for - scientific study open to scholars and researchers. Meanwhile the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan opened up several new sites such as Nimogram, which yielded a rich crop of nicely executed sculptures. It is note worthy that fresh material from this and other sites that has prompted a fresh look—a third study aimed at cultural survey of Gandhāra art (K. Krishan Murthy:1977; Francise Tissot: 1985) as no attempt was made by the earlier writers to explain the then known material in the light of information brought about by archaeological discoveries and techniques available at that time. Nor did they try to correlate this material reflecting for instance architecture, to those
remnants of the past which are still available on the countryside in the form of traditional craftsmanship.

Present study comprises of eight chapters. Of these ‘Chapter 1’ deals with the interpretation of the name ‘Gandhāra’, the discovery of Gandhāra art as a result of accelerating European Interest in archaeological activities in the Peshāwar valley. A new interpretation of the name Gandhāra is here presented.

‘Chapter 2’ gives a sketch of physical setup, meaning of the term Gandhāra and an outline of historical background of Peshāwar valley in which Gandhāra took its birth and flourished for centuries as long as patronage from historical actors—rulers and the rich—was available. Historical developments cast their shadows upon contemporary art.

‘Chapter 3’ briefly presents the subject matter of Gandhāra art throwing some light on independent cult images, non-Buddhist deities and relief panels. The problem whether independent images appeared first or relief panels still remained unsolved, though there is evidence to show that relief panel appeared first. It is with the relief panels that we are mainly concerned here.

Architecture reflected in our relief panels on the whole reflect contemporary styles but, in some cases, the reliefs show that architecture was used merely as a decorative element to dramatic scene, particularly when it depicts, for instance a three-centred horse-shoe arch which was not known in Gandhāra at that time. A scheme of tripartite elevations and ground plans was the most favoured among Gandhāran artists. This forms the genesis of ‘Chapter 4’.

‘Chapter 5’ gives an account of the weapons, tools, and implements reflected mainly in our relief panels, though independent images also help in determining the true nature and shape of these objects. Th spear-blade for instance appears to have developed from its stone counterpart.

Gandhāra has been the rendezvous of cultural currents emanating from different parts of the world. This may be seen in the variety of garments which forms focal point of discussion in ‘Chapter 6’, including jewellery and headdresses.

Miscellaneous other aspects of the culture of Gandhāra for which the number of illustrations are limited and cannot be developed into separate chapters, are grouped together in ‘Chapter 7’. They include household vessels,
musical instruments, transport, sport, weighing instruments, royal insignia etc.

‘Chapter 8’ presents a brief summary of the conclusions.

The people of Gandhāra must have enjoyed a prosperous life, but all its vestiges are now extinct. Literary sources do allude to in a limited way to the lively Gandhāran Civilisation yet its ancient cultural profile can not be reconstructed without a detailed study of Buddhist reliefs retrieved from a number of archaeological sites in Gandhāra and its neighbouring regions. Lying in different museums and private collections in and abroad, these reliefs are so overwhelming in a variety of cultural information that cannot be overlooked by any student of archaeology or art history. The reliefs provide enough data to reconstruct the Gandhāran cultural profile by studying diverse decorative styles or motifs, etc., which has been attempted to analyse in succeeding pages.

The correct interpretation of the notices left behind by some Chinese pilgrims and the classical writers helped in finding out that the ancient name of the Peshāwar valley was Gandhāra. But what this name really meant could not be so correctly determined as to inspire our confidence. A commonly accepted explanation is that Gandhāra, consisting of Gandh and hāra, gives the meaning the “land of fragrance”, as gandh in Sanskrit stands for fragrance, perfume, smell, and hāra for land. This rather naïve interpretation has gone unscrutinised so far and leaves much to be desired. Ruth Young’s recent attempt (2009: 57-63) to “explore” the name in different texts throws no new light.

Gandhāra is no doubt a composite name comprising gand (or gandh) and hāra. We are much familiar with the second part of the name, i.e., hāra, pronounced as hār, as it occurs in many other names such as Potohār (Pothohār), Vanhār, Nāgarahāra, Nirahara etc. and definitely means the land or territory. But the first part, i.e. gand/ gandh is problematical. Should we take it as meaning “fragrance”, one may legitimately ask where has that fragrance now? Peshāwar valley is the same, like any other piece of land with no claim of possessing that special quality—the so-called “fragrance”—as a dominant characteristic to stamp its own name upon the entire land.

The most significant geographical feature of the Peshāwar valley is, and has been the huge volume of water brought into it by its rivers from the catchment areas of the Hindukush and the Himalayas. The geographical formation of the
valley showing gravel beds topped by alluvium suggests that it is a gift of the Kābul, Swāt and Indus rivers. The volume of waters brought down by these rivers is gradually decreasing but they are still capable of showing their strength, a terrible demonstration of which was seen last year (i.e. 2010) when the whole valley was turned into an ocean causing immense loss of life and property. The overwhelming impact of water may also be seen in the fact that much of the land now under cultivation was, as late as, in the Mughal period, full of swamps where huge animals like rhinoceros roamed freely and were occasionally killed by the Mughal emperors like Babur, Akbar and Jahangir. This, in fact, is the feature which gave its name to the entire valley.

It is interesting to see that the point where the Kābul joins the Indus is still known as Kund, that is, a bowl or, figurately, a great reservoir of water. The name Kund brings us very close to “gand”, the first part in the name Gandhāra. The vowel u in Kund is easily accounted for. For instance, Qandahār/ Qandhār (in Afghānistān) is usually taken as synonymous with Gandhāra. An early Arab historian tells us that the old people of Qandhār pronounced this name as Qundhār. This obviously means “the land marked by a Kund or water reservoir”.

Discovery

The discovery of Gandhāra art is a by-product of the European quest for ancient coins. European scholarship had always been fascinated by the adventures of Alexander the Great in the east. Accounts of these adventures were supplied by the classical writers but there was nothing on the ground in the form of coins or monuments to substantiate them. Great was the joy when chance discoveries of a few Bactrian Greek coins in the 18th century set the ball rolling in this direction. Footprints of Alexander’s successors in the east were thought to be emerging. The coins were deciphered and published which stimulated the interest of various private collectors. The establishment of the Asiatic society by Sir William Jones on 15th January 1784 facilitated the work of publication. A journal called Asiatic Researches was first issued in 1788.

Encouraged by these developments Col. Jones Tod during his 12 years residence in India collected 20,000 coins of all denominations and published a memoir upon Greek, Parthian and Indian coins in the first volume of the
Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1824. He described the greater number as possessing no interest, but the collection also had a few of entire novelty, and great numismatic and historical values. Of this description were coins of Apollodotus and Menander, now for the first time discovered. Col. Tod’s discovery of these coins, remarks H.H. Wilson constitutes an era in the history of Bactro-Indian numismatics (W. W. Wilson 1841:4). Another enthusiastic coin collector was Charles Masson. “In the July of the present year (1833)”, he states, “I left for the city of Kābul to explore the districts north of it … I soon learned that large number of coins were continually found on the plain (called Begram)”. Masson continued his researches during the four succeeding years and, besides opening a large number of stupas, collected more than 30,000 coins (H. H. Wilson 1841:11).

Meanwhile a French officer of the army of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Panjāb, General JB Ventura opened an ancient monument, actually a Buddhist stupa, near the village Mānikiāla/ Mānkiāla (JB Ventura 1832). It was first reported by M Elphinstone, who on his way back from Kābul in 1808 sent a party to test Col. Wilford’s view that Mānkiāla marked the site of ancient Taxila. Elphinstone’s party found no remains other than the tope, as the stupa was locally called, but twelve years afterwards Moorcroft, crossing the spot, was informed by people that old walls, potsherds, and ancient coins were frequently discovered. Topes were also observed by Moorcroft on the west of the Indus and in Afghānistān (Wilson 1841: 31). The “tope” of Mānkiāla was not a solitary example of its kind on this spot. M. Court who visited the place shortly afterwards found no less than fifteen topes in the neighbourhood which he opened and, luckily, found Roman coins in one of them. An account of Ventura’s discovery, effected in April and May 1830, was forwarded to Calcutta and made known there about the end of the same year. In the beginning of March 1832, Lieutenant (later Sir) Alexander Burnes, then on his way to Bokhāra, visited Mānkiāla and inspected the operations of Ventura. Burnes also made a collection of coins which was published by James Prinsep in the journal of the Society for June 1833 (James Prinsep 1933: ii, 310).

Ventura’s work at Mānkiāla and Masson’s digs in Afghānistān opened up a new field, namely, Buddhist archaeology, which stimulated general interest in
images and paved the way for plundering such monuments. Sir Aurel Stein (1929: 17) just at the outset of his famous Swāt trip bitterly remarks: “My first visit was to Nal, at the foot of the Mora pass, where, above a small village, diggings made for Colonel Deane in 1897 had brought to light a mass of fine Greeco-Buddhist reliefs. These had been excavated from fine stupas or shrines by local Pathans without supervision or guidance; but, at least, they were safely lodged in the Calcutta Museum. Much regrettable damage and loss have been caused, before and since, in tribal territory and elsewhere along the Peshāwar border, by “irresponsible” digging for remains of that Hellenistic sculptural art which once adorned all Buddhist sanctuaries of this region. How destructive such digging usually was and how often much of the spoil, when sold to amateur collectors, was ultimately scattered or destroyed, is a story too sad to be told here”. One of the most evocative descriptions of “stupa-hunting” has been given by Major Herbert B. Edwards (1851) of the 1st Bengal European Fuzilier Regiment, in connection with his notice of Akra mound near Bannu (Herbert B. Edwards 1851: 335-41).

With this a vague outline of a Gandhāra school of sculpture showing Greek as well as local influences started emerging. The first note on this subject is apparently by W. Jackson (1852:511-13) who illustrated two pieces of Gandhāra stucco found near Peshāwar. In the same year E.C. Bayley (1852:606-21) found a detailed note on some sculptures found in the Peshāwar district. These were collected by Colonel Lumsden of the Guides Corpe and Lieutenant Stokes of the Horse Artillery from a site known as Jamāl Garhi. A sketch plan of the Jamāl Garhi stupa and drawings of sculptures and architectural pieces are also given.

The development of archaeological activities which finally resulted in the discovery of Gandhāra School may be divided into three phases. The first phase was dominated by Cunningham, the second by Marshall and the third by the Italian Mission in Swāt, the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshāwar and the Japanese missions.

First Phase

A systematic enquiry into the ancient past of India started with the establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861. Alexander
Cunningham, then in his 48th year and freshly out of the army with the rank of Major General was appointed as its first head (Chakrabarti 1988: 57). Cunningham identified the ancient city of Pushkalāvati with the two large towns of Parang and Chārsada and in the same general area two small stupa sites mentioned by Xuan Zang. The site of Varusha with a cave and a spring was identified with the village, Palodheri, near Shābāzgarhi and ancient Utakhanda with Hund. Salātura, the birth place of Paṇini was identified with the modern town Choṭa Lahore and Rānigat with Aornos of the classical writers. Cunningham’s major achievement in the Panjāb was the identification and description of the ruins of Taxila in which he mentions the ramparts of Kacha-Koṭ and Sīrsukh and the great city of Sirkap each of which being as large as the imperial city of Shāh Jahān at Delhi. But the size and number of the stupas, monasteries and other religious buildings, he remarks, is even more wonderful than the great extent of the city. Hasan Abdal with its Buddhist ruins was identified with the place of the legend of the Nāga Elapatra. In the same general area he laid a trench to a depth of 22 feet at a stupa near Boati Pind while Balar stupa was opened by a local chief. He mentions the stupa of Badarpur as one of the three largest stupas in the Panjāb (the others were Mānkiāla and Shahpur). He also refers to Buddhist remains at Tarnawa, Kurmal and Rawalpindi or Gajipur. He visited Mānkiāla and excavated a large mound (200X180X10-12 feet) north of the stupa opened by Ventura. At Sonalia Pind, near Mānkiāla, he opened a stupa and found, along with coins, a stupa model in its relics’ chamber.

It is not possible to cover all the archaeological activities of Cunningham in this brief note. His initial appointment for two years was extended upto 1864-65 season when the government of India appreciated the results of the surveys carried out by him, but, without recommending further extension. As a result Cunningham left for England on 9th February 1866.

But the need for systematic exploratory activities was soon felt so that in a dispatch dated 11 January 1870 the Duke of Argyll, the then Secretary of State, wrote of the necessity of centralising the archaeological activities under the government and putting them on a secure basis. The government of India under the viceroy Lord Mayo accepted the suggestion and wanted Alexander Cunningham at the head of new central department, the Archaeological Survey of
India. Cunningham was back early in 1871 to take over.

In the introduction to the report of 1872-73 season, Cunningham began with a reference of the increasing number of sculptures coming from the northwestern regions. The ruins which first came under scrutiny during this season were those in Peshāwar valley. At Shāhbazgarhi, Cunningham satisfied himself by taking a fresh copy of the Aśokan inscription and noting the existence of an extensive city in the vicinity. The excavations at Takht-i-Bāhi were superintended by Sergeant F.H. Wilcher of the Sappers and Miners. The stupa of Jamāl Garhi, opened by Colonel Lumsdem, was surveyed and cleared by Sergeant Wilcher. The remains of Sāwal Dheri, Nogrām and Khairabad were briefly mentioned. In 1878-79 he reported the finds of beautiful Gandhāra heads at Rokhari, near Mainwali.

The reports from the northwestern frontier were sporadic. In the third volume of Indian Antiquary (1874) there was a report on the Buddhist ruins at Jamāl Garhi with the plan of the excavated monastic and stupa structures. The excavations were done in March and April 1873 by the 8th Company of Sappers and Miners under the command of Lieutenant Arthur Crompton. There was also a note on the collection of the Gandhāran sculptures by G.W. Leitner in Indian Antiquary of the same year.

Second Phase

Archaeological activities in the next phase filled the museums with sculptures. Clandestine diggings also increased to fill private collections. In fact the arrival of Lord Curzon as the Viceroy of India in 1899 marked the dawn of a new era for Indian archaeology. He reorganized the archaeological survey and recreated the post of the Dīrector General which had been abolished after the retirement of Cunningham. John Marshall was appointed the new Dīrector General. He joined the department on 22 February 1902 and continued to work in this capacity till 1928 (Chakrabarti 1988:128). But he stayed on in various capacities to 1934. All field researches done in this period except the work of M.A. Stein in Central Asia in the early part of the 20th century, were either directly due to his planning and direction or closely linked to the work begun by

Spreading over 25 square miles Taxila was a world by itself. During the 24 years (1912-36) of his work on this site Marshall laid bare all the important monuments that we see there at present. The discovery of the Indus Civilization during this period would seem to have shifted the focus but the work on Taxila and other sites of less importance was not allowed to suffer.

In Gandhāra the mounds of Bālā Hisār, Mīr Ziyārat, Palātu and Ghaz Dheri were partly excavated. The work at Takht-i-Bāhi, done in two seasons, 1907-8 and 1911-12, by D.R. Spooner and H. Hargreaves, was mainly of the nature of clearance to prepare a plan of this monastic complex. Its ground plan had become necessary because, as Spooner (1911: 180) has rightly remarked, “many of the best pieces of Gandhāra sculpture now to be found in the museums of Europe were originally recovered from this site”. The site of Sahri Bahlol possessed, in addition to its main stupa mound, a large number of mounds in the vicinity, including a small town site. The stupa mound was excavated by Spooner in 1909-10, while Aurel Stein (1911-12) investigated another six mounds in this area. Sahri Bahlol yielded a large number of sculptures including the tallest Buddha images now exhibited in the Peshāwar museum. Work on Shāh-ji-ki-dheri, outside the Ganj Gate of Peshāwar city, was undertaken by Spooner in 1907-08. The famous Kanishka casket was found in 1908-09 season. The site was identified with Knishka Vihāra. In 1909-11 Hargreaves undertook complete clearance of this area exposing thereby a cruciform stupa. In 1915-16 Pandit V. Natisa Aiyar (1915-16: 115-16), then superintendent of the Frontier Circle, described with plan and measurement a stupa called Shpola 27 miles from Peshāwar on the road to Landi Kotal in the Khyber pass. In 1920-22 Hargreaves conducted clearance work at Jamāl Garhi and also located stupas at Hāji Bela, Beddādi, Chitti Gāti, Palosa Khpa (near Jamāl Garhi), Asota, Koṭ Sirkap near Mansehra and another Koṭ near Takht-i-Bāhi (see Chakrabarti 1988: 134-35). There was no place to properly preserve all these finds. Therefore a new museum was established at Peshāwar and filled up with sculptures and other finds.

Third Phase:

In the third phase the marginal areas of Gandhāra such as Swāt and Dīr
became major fields of archaeological investigations, while Gandhāra itself was relegated to a secondary position for the simple reason that spoliation of cultural sites had been going for so long and at such a rapid speed that nothing much was left for proper investigation after the middle of the 20th century when the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshāwar, initiated its programme of excavations in lower Dīr, around Chakdara, the crossing point, at which a proper bridge built during the British period, provides access to upper Dīr, Bajaur and Chitral.

The research programme of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshāwar, was carried out in two separate campaigns. In the first campaign, 1963-64 to 1968, the work was started at two ancient cemeteries at Timargarh and a settlement site at Balambat but it went on developing towards the investigation of Buddhist sites in the vicinity of Chakdara. Thus the sites of Damkoṭ, Chatpat, Andan, Ramora and Bambolai were excavated and published in the journal of the Department entitled Ancient Pakistan. It may be remembered that the Department had already carried out excavations at Shaikan Dheri, near Chārsada, bringing to light a number of fine schist sculptures. The materials from the Dīr sites are now on display in the Dīr Museum, Chakdara. In the second campaign, before shifting attention to Swāt, the site of Charg Pati and a few other sites of lesser importance were excavated in Dīr. In Swāt the site of Butkara III and Shnaisha, excavated by Prof Abdur Rahman, yielded a rich crop of sculptures now exhibited in the University museum at Peshāwar.

The main sites of our interest excavated by the Italian Mission in Swāt include Butkara I, Panr I, Gumbat, Saidu Stupa, Bir-Kot-Ghundai (Barikot), and Uḍigrām. Part of the sculptures found from these sites is to be found in the Swāt Museum, Saidu Sharif. Parts of the sculptures found from these, and also from some other sites, is to be found in Pakistan in the Saidu Museum, Swāt and another part in Itlay in the Is MEO Museum at Rome.

The Japanese archaeological team from Kyoto University excavated in the Mardan district between 1959 and 1967, at sites situated within Gandhāra proper. These sites include Kashmir Smast, Chanako Dheri, Tarelli and Mekhasanda. Another Japanese team from the same University brought the great site of Rāṇigat under the excavation and exposed very interesting sculptures. Meanwhile the
Government Department of Archaeology and Museums carried out its research programme at Nimogram in Swāt and more recently at Garh Moriyan, Hāji Shāh Mor and Jinnān Wali Dheri.

Dr. Karl Jettmar’s work in the Karakoram in 1980 opened up a new field in which rock carvings scattered in the whole area spreading over hundred of miles became the focus of attention of successive German teams.

Marshall’s three Volumes on Taxila and his The Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, in addition to the contributions made by Foucher and other art historians, made major portions of this art accessible to the scholarly world. Then Islay Lyons and Harald Ingholt 1957) published a catalogue entitled The Gandhāra art of Pakistan based on a collection of excellent photographs taken by Mr. Lyons of sculptures then available in the Museums of Pakistan. “Whatever be the deficiencies in one or other, the photographs reproduced should make the study of Gandhāran Art easier for future students in this fascinating field” (Ingholt 1957: 8). K. Krishna Murthy used this material for his The Gandhāra Sculptures: A Cultural Study which he compiled in 1977. But Gandhāra art specimens were adding up every day resulting in even larger collections than what Murthy had benefited from. Quick in succession came Francine Tissot’s Gandhāra in 1985. It was based on the study of sculptures exposed till about 1980. This cultural survey is a little more detailed and, just like Murthy’s, is illustrated with drawings and photographs. But Gandhāra art specimens are still pouring in and there seemed to be no end. The materials brought to light by the Department of Archaeology, the Japanese Missions, the Directorate of Archaeology Frontier Government, and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, have not so far been subjected to any such cultural survey. This fresh material necessitated a fresh look. The present writer has therefore taken up the subject once again in the following pages for a reappraisal and re-interpretation where necessary. Fortunately recent works: (1) A catalogue of the Gandhāra Sculptures in the British Museum by W. Zwalf (1996) and (2) Gandhāran Art by Isao Kurita (1990) has made the job a little more handy. As Ingholt, Zwalf and Kurita are easily available most of our illustrations refer to these works.
Chapter 2
Historical Background,

Physical Setup:

In between the Mohmand Hills in the west and Mahāban Range in the east lie high mountains known as Mālākand, Barandu and Chamla, which provide access from the northern side through different passes such as Mālākand, Shāh Koṭ, Mora, etc., into the alluvial plains of the Peshāwar valley (ancient Gandhāra). In fact, this line of high and low mountains running from west (Mohmand Hills) to east (Mahāban Range) separated Gandhāra from the northern valleys, mainly, of Swāt, Dīr and Chitrāl. The western boundary of Gandhāra is similarly marked by mountains running from north to south. These are known as Khyber hills and Koh-e-Sufaid or, put together, as Sulaiman ranges, and extend further southward as far as Baluchistān (a province of Pakistan). The most prominent feature of these hills is the famous Khyber which had been used by invaders as well as traders and merchants in ancient times, and now it has a metal road connecting Peshāwar with Kābul (Afghanistān) (H. W. Bellew 2001:6-19). Ref. ?

The southern side of Gandhāra is covered by high and low hills generally known as Kālā (correctly Karā) Bāgh which separate it from the Bannu Basin. The only open side, the eastern boundary of Gandhāra, is marked by the river Sindh, which is also locally known as Abāsīn (meaning "Father River") (Dani 1995:18). Ref. ?

Within these limits, lies the Kien-to-lo of the Chinese pilgrims (Beal 1969: 145) identified as Gandhāra of the Rigveda and the present valley of Peshāwar (Cunningham 1924: 85). Thus, it appears that Gandhāra was the ancient name of the Peshāwar valley of which both the northern and western limits are occupied by foot hills of the Himālaya and the Hindu Kush, respectively (Dani 1964: 8). The most prominent feature of the country of Gandhāra is its rivers and streams which traverse through the whole length and breadth of this alluvial plain. They include the Kābul, Swāt and Kalapānī, etc. The Kābul originates to the west of the Kābul city and receives the waters of small tributaries on both sides (north and south) such as Ghurbānd coming from the Hindu Kush and Surkhāb and Lamghān
which join it above Jalālābād, while the Kunar and Chapriar empty themselves into it below Jalālābād. Thus, draining a number of fertile valleys the Kābul, having crossed the Mohmand Hills enters into Gandhāra where again it receives waters from a number of small and large streams and is known as Landai. Finally it debouches into the mighty Sindh near Kund. Similarly, the river Swāt (ancient Suvāstu) originating in the upper reaches of the Swāt valley joins the Panjkora near Mālākand and enters into Gandhāra from the north to join the Kābul near Pushkalāvati (Chārsada). Besides this, the Kalapāni, also a perennial river receives rain waters from the adjacent foothills and very often causes great damage to life and property in central Gandhāra. These hills interrupting the alluvial plains of Gandhāra create small fertile valleys which are drained by several small streams serving as feeders for one river or the other (Zwalf 1996: 14).

So far as the geological formation of the Peshāwar valley is concerned its fertile plains are made up of alluvial materials deposited by the rivers and streams in the course of millennia. The natural forces are still at work so that deposition and erosion which has resulted in topographical changes at several places is still going on (Dani 1964: 8). In ancient times, Gandhāra had been connected with its neighbouring countries. Being located on the north-western frontier of South Asia it served as a gateway with its passes (Daras) providing access to the neighbouring countries while the river valleys such as Kābul, Ghurband and Panjshīr facilitated trade-routes between Gandhāra and Central Asia. Through Afghānistān Gandhāra got access to the Silk Road running between China and the Meditarranean. Through the northern valleys such as Gilgit Gandhāra was connected with China. For the Indian plains it served as a trade emporium where trade goods from Central Asia exchanged with those from southern countries. Similarly, it was connected with eastern countries or river valleys as far as the Gangetic plains in the east and Dakkan in the south, by Rāja paths (Shāhrāh). As still we find Aśoka's Rock Edicts at Shāhbāz Garhi and Mānsehra were apparently installed along the trade routes that traversed Gandhāra linking it with the neighbouring counties.
Gandhāra: Meaning:

The word Gandhāra makes its first appearance in the oldest religious literature of South Asia, i.e., Rigveda (Griffith 1968:652), which is generally thought to have approximately been composed between 1500 to 1000 BC (Basham 1963:31). So for as the meanings of the word Gandhāra is concerned it is often translated as ‘the land of fragrance’—taking “gand” as fragrance and “hāra” the land. Thus, the composite form of the word Gandhāra suggests “a country or piece of land the soil of which yielded abundant fragrance and, because of this quality, it apparently, came to be known as Gandhāra ‘the land of fragrance’.

In the Vedic and Puranic literature the Gandhāra is frequently referred to as “Uttara” (northern) country, inhabited by Gandhāras (Raposn 1955:26). Moreover, kien-to-lo of the Chinese pilgrims is also identified as Gandhāra (Cunningham 1924:55). The measurement of its boundaries is however for the first time described only by Xuan Zang (Beal 1969:55). Thus, the country of kien-to-lo measured 1000 li east to west and 800 li from north to west. This measurement corresponds with the present valley of Peshāwar as it is marked by Jalālābād hills (Afghānistān) on its west, and the river Indus on the east, Swāt and Burner hills on the north, and Kālā Bāgh hills on the south (Cunningham 1924:55). It seems that the term Gandhāra is not unusual in the region as we also have other names following the same pattern. These are as Nāgarahāra, Pothohāra, Vanahāra and Nirahāra etc.

From where did these regions get their nomenclature is a question that needs to be addressed. The answer may be looked for in the topographical features of each region. As, Nāgarahāra or Na-kie-lo-ho (Beal 1969:91) (meaning “land marked by a city” ) has given its name to the entire surrounding region, the plateau like tract to the east of river Indus seems to have derived its name from its hump like topographical formation. Infact, the word Pothō is a Prakrit form of the word pusht, i.e 'back'. As this region occupies the back of high hills, it naturally came to be known as ‘Pothohāra’, 'the land at the back'.

This pattern of nomenclature may be noticed even to the south of the Salt Range where a vast tract of land is still known as ‘Vanahāra’, i.e, “wood land”. It seems, therefore, certain that all these regions took their names on account of the
topographical features of the land they represent. Now, the name Gandhāra, if its meaning, “the land of fragrance” is correct does not fall into this pattern. Therefore, doubts are expressed regarding this meaning of the name. The most prominent feature of the topography of the Peshāwar valley, as noted above, is its river system comprising the Kābul and the Swāt which first split up into various branches and then converging a little above Nowshera, form a single stream which ultimately joins the river Indus near a place known as Kunḍ (meaning reservoir or pond). In rainy season this pond swells over a vast area converting the land into a vast reservoir. This Kunḍ or reservoir would seem to have given its name to whole of the Peshāwar valley which must have been in the beginning known as Kundhār “the land marked by a huge sheet of water” (Ahmad 2000:29). It is noteworthy that Qandhār (in Afghanistān) is recorded by early Muslim writers as Qundhāra (Abdur Rahman 1979:14).

The Peshāwar valley played a vital role in the propagation of Buddhism. It is from this region that Buddhism spread as far as central Asia and China etc. As a result Gandhāra enjoyed a very high esteem and reputation as a holy territory in the ancient Buddhist world. Now, if the use of the term Gandhāra had been confined merely to the Buddhist period, its alleged meaning (purporting fragrance) would certainly make some sense. One could easily find a reference to the spiritual fragrance of Buddhism. But the name is much older than the Buddhist period and first occurs in the Rigveda about one thousand years before the advent of Buddhism in Gandhāra (Smith 1964:162). Was Gandhāra a holy place even then to justify the meaning “land of fragrance”, there is no evidence to support it.

The composition of the Rigveda was followed by the Brāhmanas. During this period the centre of religious activities shifted to the adjacent country on the east, i.e., the upper portion of the Doāb between the Jumnā and the Ganges. This was Brahmārshideśa, i.e., ‘the country of the holy sages (Rapson 1965:40). In the Atharvaveda and also in the Śrauta Sutras Gandaris are mentioned as a despised people to whom fever as an illness was wished to be relegated (Majumdar 1951:258). Thus, it appears that Aryans of the Vedic period did not look upon Gandhāra as a sacred place which could inspire the Vedic poets to eulogize its virtues.
Moreover, along with several other tribes *Rigveda* also mentions Gandaris but does not specify the boundaries of their country. In post *Rigvedic* period, however, we learn about new tribes, as several old ones disappeared and got merged into each other under new names. One of them, Druhyus, was once counted amongst the five principle tribes of the Panjāb. But the Druhyus, it seems were pushed during this tribal struggle for grabbing land into the north western corner of the Panjāb (Majumdar 1951:258) between Rāwalpindi and Attock. Angāra, the Druhyu king, was killed in the turmoil and was succeeded by a person named Gandhāra, after whose name the Druhyus settlement in the Panjāb came to be known as such. The traditional history (based on *Puranas*) says that it was due to this that the term Gandhāra came into vogue as the name of a territory. The Druhyus (now Gandhis), after sometimes crossed the borders of India, i.e., Indus, and founded many principalities in the Mleccha territories in the north (i.e., Gandhāra). A certain king Skuni of Gandhāra alongwith several others is also mentioned to have taken part in the Bhārat war. Another ruler of Gandhāra was Pukkusati or Pushkarasarin in the middle of the 6th century BC, who had established diplomatic relations with his contemporary king Bimbisāra of Magadha (Ibid:279).

In brief we have five different options regarding the meaning of the Gandhāra: (1) the land of fragrance, (2) or huge pond of water, (3) Gandhāra a king of Druhyus, (4) Gandhāra as a tribal name mentioned in Aśoka’s rock Edict and (5) Gandarises as mentioned in post *Vedic* literature. Which of these is correct is anybody’s choice. In our view No.2 is more probable. Whatever may be the case it seems certain that the country of Gandhāra existed to the west of river Indus till the Achaemenian invasion (Majumdar et al 1980:41). Moreover, the name is also mentioned by Albīruni early in the 11th century (Sachaul 1992:21).

**History:**

**Achaemenians:**

So far as the history of Gandhāra is concerned its earliest definite reference is found in the Achaemenian inscription of Behistūn (c.520-518 BC) which lists twenty three satrapies including ‘Gadara’ (=Gandhāra) of the
Achaemenian empire of Darius but Sindhu (the Indus region) is omitted (Thripathy1942:15-16). Thus, this epigraph suggests that at the time of installation of Behistūn inscription Indus region did not form part of Persian Empire. However, the other two inscriptions discovered form Persepolis (c.518-515) and Naksh-I-Rustan clearly mention Hi (n) du, taken to be upper Panjāb as a part of Persian realm.

The fourth inscription coming form Hamadān, however, omits Gandhāra and mentions only the name of 'Hindu' satrapy of Achaemenian Empire (Majumdar 1980:41). It may be inferred that by the execution of Hamadān epigraph the whole Sindhu valley including Gandhāra was compositely represented by the term ‘Hindu’ as the Achaemenian satrapy. The Achaemenians kept control over Gandhāra almost for two centuries, but, unfortunately that long span of occupation is nowhere recorded except in stray references.

Apparently, the Achaemenians were on the decline under Xerxes although their control over the far flung regions continued. Persian sway over Gandhāra is proved by the particular call of Darius III to Indian troops in his final encounter at Arbela to repel the Greek invasion of Persia (Rapson 1965:305). Persian defeat at Arbela by the Greek and Macedonian forces ended the Achaemenian political sway over their eastern provinces in which Gandhāra was also included.

Alexander’s invasion:

Alexander’s campaign in the Sindhu valley is documented merely by classical writers whose accounts are not quite as full as one may desire. They do not, for instance, refer to the Persian satrapy of Gandhāra by its own name. However, the capital of Gandhāra, i.e., Peucelaotis (=Pushkalāvati) and its occupation by Alexander is recorded. Hephaestion and Perdiccas were dispatched by Alexander to lay siege of Pushkalāvati (Chārsada). Astes was the king of this small state of Astakenoi (=Aṣṭakarāja) who refused to surrender before the Macedonians (Majumdar et al 1980:43). After subduing the states of Swāt and Buner Alexander also joined his generals at Pushkalāvati. For a month or more Astes resisted Alexander’s army but failed and laid down his life in fighting. The city was occupied and given over to a certain Sangaya or Sanjaya—an enemy of Astes (Rapson 1965:318). Gandhāra was now included in the new satrapy constituted by Alexander, comprising areas west of river Sindhu (Indus) and Nicanor was
made its governor (Majumdar 1960:15) (326 BC). However, the people of Gandhāra, soon after the invasion, stood up in revolt against Alexander's governor and killed him. Shortly afterward this revolt was put down by Philip, the Governor of Taxila (Rapson 1965:331). While Alexander was retreating he divided the conquered territories into seven satrapies. The satrapy to the west of Sindhu included Gandhāra and was put under the governorship of Philip (Majumdar et al 1980:52).

Soon after the departure of Alexander the satrap Philip (or Philippus) was treacherously killed by mercenaries (Majumdar 1960:89). As a result, Pithon, the son of Agenor, was transferred to the northwest or Gandhāra (Ibid: 239). After the retreat of Alexander from the Sindhu Valley the country of Gandhāra went under the control of Pithon with Pushkalāvati as its capital. The news of the death of Alexander in summer 223 BC spread like wild fire. Alexander had no legitimate successor. This led his generals to claim share out of his conquered territories. As a result, Pithon abandoned the northwest and rushed to Western Asia to help his friend (Rapson1965:385). To whom did Pithon entrust the administration of the northwest or Gandhāra, the classical writers do not allude. Nothing is known about the political setup of the county of Gandhāra till it was annexed to the huge Mauryan Empire.

Alexander’s satraps of the Indus valley, in fact, could not survive his death and, consequently, a political vacuum was created which could be taken advantage of by any adventurer. When political anarchy or fermentation or polarization, both in the Indus valley and Western Asia settled down, it paved the way for the rise of Chandragupta Maurya as a dominating force to the east of the river Indus down to the Indian sea, including the whole of northern India. At the same time Seleucus established his hegemony over Western Asia including Iraq, Iran, Afgānistān and the valley of the Oxus and Jaxertes rivers. Having firmly established himself over the eastern provinces of Alexander, Seleucus marched towards his veteran and valiant adversary Chandragupta Maurya. In 305 BC both Greek and Indian armies met each other at the eastern bank of the river Sindh. The classical writers are unanimously silent on the happenings of this significant historical event. They just narrate very simply the terms of the treaty concluded between Chandragupta and Seleucus. The most significant outcome of this treaty
was that Seleucus had to cede vast territories lying between the river Sindhu and Hindu Kush mountain to Chandragupta Maurya (Majumdar etal 1980:60).

Mauryan rule:

After this humiliating defeat of Seleucus, the country of Gandhāra passed on into the hands of the Mauryans. We do not learn about any significant role played by the country of Gandhāra or its people during the rule of Chandragupta Maurya or of his successor Bindusāra. Most probably Gandhāra was administratively included in the viceroyalty of Taxila. During Aśoka's reign, however, Gandhāra received one of the Buddhist missionaries, Madhyantika, for the preaching of Buddhism (Raspson 1965:449). No significant event took place in the subsequent history of Gandhāra other than this Buddhist missionary who left far reaching effects on the history as well as the cultural life of Gandhāra.

Aśoka succeeded his father in about 273 BC and continued the usual aggressive policy of expansionism. However, prolonged war of Kālinga left very depressing effects on Aśoka, and also, according to Buddhist literature, the teaching of Buddha changed his whole outlook of life and made him a pious person from a ferocious and tyrant one, as soon as he was converted to Buddhism (Tripathy 1942:163-64). As a result, he adopted a new state policy well known as 'Dharma Policy' which he also propagated by engraving rock edicts carrying his ‘Dharma Policy’. Aśoka also installed two sets of these edicts in the country of Gandhāra along the ancient Rājapatha (Shāhrāh) which connected the northwestern countries with South Asia. The remains of these rock edicts can be seen at Shāhbaz Garhi and at Mānsehra.

Gandhāra remained a part of Mauryan Empire till its disintegration. We learn from Tāranāth that one of the successors of Aśoka named Virasena set up an independent kingdom in Gandhāra (Tāranāth 1869:48-50).

Moreover Polybius informs us about a certain Sophagaseus or Subhagasena who was an Indian king of northwest frontier (c.206 BC), with whom Antiochus III renewed his ancestral relationship (Rapson 1965:462). It seems that Subhagasena or one of his predecessors was, probably, a viceroy of Mauryan emperor and later on he declared himself independent king of the northwest in which the country of Gandhāra was also included.
Occupation of Bactrian Greeks:

Who followed Suhagasena in the office is nowhere recorded nor is there any reference to the Indian invasion by the Bactrian king Demetrius, although the latter is remembered as ‘king of the Indians’ (Majumdar et al 1980:108). However, it seems that after one hundred years of local rule the fortunes of the Gandhāra once again fell into the foreign hands. In subsequent centuries Gandhāra saw a succession of foreign invaders who followed each in their footsteps. The political domination of the Bactrian Greeks continued almost for two centuries (2nd and 1st centuries BC) as is evidenced by the profuse distribution of coins issued by more than thirty (Bactrian and Indo-Greek) rulers (Ibid:111).

Among the most outstanding kings are included Demetrius, Eucratides Heliocles, Menander, Antialkidas etc. On the basis of numismatic evidence, it is sometimes suggested that the Bactrian Greek rulers belonged to two different houses headed by Euthydemos and Eucratides. In the second half of first century BC the Bactrians of Gandhāra came to face a new threat spearheaded by fresh Central Asian invaders. These invaders were known as Scytho Parthians. On the base of numismatic studies, it has been suggested that the Scythian ruler Azes I deposed the last Greek ruler of Pushkalāvati (the capital of Gandhāra) named Hippostratus (Bopearachchi et al 1995:44-45). The Greek cultural impact on the contemporary Indian society where they ruled almost two centuries is not much evidenced except in stray elements, as it is proved by archaeological excavations, particularly at Taxila and Shaikhan Dheri. However, in the field of numismatics the Greek mint masters showed unprecedented skill, and definitely introduced new mythology, script, devices etc. The real cultural impact of Bactria based on Greeks traditions began to penetrate the northwest after the extinction of Greek political suzerainty, in the succeeding centuries during the Scytho-Parthian and Kushān periods.

Indo-Scytho-Parthians:

Sakas, generally known as Scythians were originally Central Asian nomads who seem to have had been striving with their rival tribes in the second
half of 2nd century BC. They pushed the Greeks out of Bactria down to the Sindh Valley. There were three Saka settlements, namely (1) Saka Tigrā Khauda (with pointed helments), (2) Saka Haumavarga and (3) Saka Taradarya (beyond the sea) (Majumdar et al 1980:120). Saka Haumavarga, however, has been identified by Thomas with Scythians, who afterwards occupied Sakastan (Sijistān or Seistān) which is identified with southern Afghānistān (Thomas 1906:186).

The earliest among the Scythians was Vonones who may have originally been a governor of Drangiana (eastern Iran), but, by taking advantage of the relaxed Parthian control over the eastern frontier regions, declared his independence, as his coins show imperial title ‘the great king of kings’. Further, numismatic evidence informs that his brother Spalirises was a subordinate ruler in relation to the Great king of kings’. Another group of the Scythian coinage treats Spalirises as the ‘Great king of kings’ while Aya (Azes 1) takes a subordinate position. The imperial title ‘the great raja’ appears on the coins of Aya or Azes 1 in kharoṣṭhi legend. About this time the eastern districts comprising the Indus Delta and adjoining regions of the Parthian empire were governed by officials of Scythian origin (Majumdar et al 1980:123-24), who, in the beginning, owed their allegiance to Vonones but later on declared themselves independent rulers. The earliest was Maues (Moa or Moga) whose name is also found on numerous coins issued by him, also discovered by Marshall at Taxila. On the basis of evidence of coins issued by Maues, (known as over-strikes of Maues) it has been suggested that the Greek ruler of Taxila was deposed by Maues, and that it was Maues who started the Vikrama era in 58 BC. But, later on, Maues was ousted from Taxila by a Greek ruler of the house of Eucratides, named Appostratus. Appostratus II was, however, dethroned by Azes I as the later issued over-strikes of the former. Thus, Gandhāra fell into the hands of the Scythians in 55 BC (Bopearachchi et al 1995:44-45). There are other Scythian rulers whose names are known from numismatics such as Azilises (Ayisha) and Azes II (Aya or Aja).

To establish the precise chronology of Scythian rulers it seemed impossible to a great extent. Marshall was the first who attempted to distinguish the coins of Azes I from those of Azes II (Marshall 1951:769). Moreover, Rapson believes that Azes II was succeeded by Gondophares in AD 19 (Rapson 1965:515).
Like Vonones, Gondophares originally was a Parthian governor of Arachosia (Qandahār) under the Greek king of kings, Orthagnes. Various versions of the same name in different texts point out the problems of different prakrits or dialects. Gondophares was certainly the greatest among all the Indo-Scytho-Parthians. So much famous was he that, according to the Christian tradition, the Parthians were allotted to St. Thomas by Christ himself as a special area of missionary activities (Smith 1974:145). The coin types and their distribution show that Gondophares became master of the Saka-Pahlava dominions both in eastern Iran and in Pakistan. The Takht-I-Bāhi inscription of Gondophares leaves no doubt that he was a ruling monarch by his own name (Sircar 1965:245). Gondophares captured Gandhāra and the adjoining areas by defeating the last Scythian ruler Azes II, most probably in AD 19 or some time earlier, as the date of his inscription of Takht-I-Bāhi favours it. However, the precise chronology is one of the most perplexing problems of South Asian history.

The exact date of Gondophares is nowhere recorded. So also is the case of his predecessors namely Pacores (Majumdar et al 1980:131) and Abdagases (Cribb 1985:282-300). From the coins we also learn about other names, sometimes as subordinate to the ‘Great king of kings’ and sometimes with the imperial title. This list includes Aspavarman, Sasa or Sassan, and Satavastra (styled as ‘Great king of kings’), Phraates (sometimes as governor of Gandhāra) etc. The rulers of Scytho-Parthian line held their sway for more than a century (from the 2nd century BC to the 1st century AD) over the eastern region of Iran and the areas corresponding to the present day Pakistan. Moreover, the flow of cultural traits, as compared with earlier period became more rapid from the northwest as archaeological data of the period corroborates.

Kushāns:

The most celebrated and gifted people as rulers in the history of Gandhāra were ‘Yueh-chis’, also known as Kushāns (as abbreviated form of the original word Kuei-shuang). Chinese historical literature brings Yueh-chi in the limelight of history as nomads, who, being ousted by their powerful rival tribe Hiung-nu
from their original abode (Tien-shan range in the Chinese Turkestan), marched towards the west and, having faced many vicissitudes on their way, finally succeeded in setting down in the country of Bactria in the last quarter of 2nd century BC (Puri 1965:3-5). Infact, the Yuch-chi tribe comprised of five major sections, each having its own independent principality with its own ruler at the head in the country of Ta-hia or Bactria. Kuei-shuang section was, however, most outstanding among all which, subsequently, under their wang or king Kiu-Siu-Kio or Kujula kadphises (kadphises 1 AD 15-65) attacked and annihilated the four other His-hou or principalities (Majumdar et al 1980:139).

Later on, Kadphises 1 conquered Kao fu (or Kābul) and Ki-pin (or Kāfirstān) by defeating the Parthians as the overstruck coins of the former tell us (Bopearachchi et al 1995:49). The conquest of Gandhāra by the Kushāns is also attested by the Panjār inscription which has been assigned roughly to the period between AD 15 and 65 (Majumdar 1980: 139). The epigraph clearly refers to a Kushān monarch, although he remains incognito. By that time Gandhāra was under the Pathian control till about AD 56. The Panjār inscription, no doubt, would have been installed by Kujula Kadphises soon after his conquest of Gandhāra. Senavarmas’ inscription supplies further evidence as it clearly mentions both Kujula Kadphises and his son Sadashkano. The inscription, apparently, suggests that Sadashkano was Kujulas’ governor of Gandhāra. The relevant portion of this inscription reads: ‘Honoured is the Great king of kings, Kujula Kadphises’ son Sadashkano, the Devaputa’ (Bailey et al 1980:22-29).

Another inscription of the time of Kanishka was found in Afghānistān in 1993 at a site called Kāfir Qala near Rabātak (Pul-l-Khumri). In the Rabātak inscription the predecessors of Kānishka are thus mentioned: Wima kadphises as father, Wima Takto as grandfather, and Kujula Kadphises as great grandfather, (Cribb 1996:1-2). In the light of the above mentioned inscription it is evident that Kujula Kadphises had two sons, i.e., Wima Takto and Sadashkno. Coins of the Kushān period, however, do not mention their names. The absence of Sadashkno’s name from coins is, to some extent, understandable for Senavarma’s inscription suggests that he served as governor of Gandhāra under his father Kujula Kadphises. But the omission of Wima Takto’s name from the Kushān coinage adds more confusion to the Kushān chronology, as he is explicitly
mentioned as the successor of Kujula Kadphises in the Rabātak inscription. Now, the Chinese historical literature places Yen-kao-chen on Indian throne after the death of his father, Kiu-siu-kio or Kujula Kadphises (Majumdar et al. 1980:136-39). Did Wima Takto survive Kujula, his octogenarian father, or did he ascend the Kushān throne only for a very short period and hence could not issue coins of his own name, remains to be established. Kujula Kadphises died at a ripe age of eighty. It has recently been suggested that the “nameless” king of the coins was in fact Wima Takto.

Nonetheless, numismatic evidence favours Chinese chronicles that Kujula Kadphises was succeeded by Wima Kadphises (or Kadphises II) (AD 65). Wima Kadphises was, in fact, a powerful Kushān ruler who established trade relations with Romans as his gold currency was based upon the weight standard of the Roman aureus (8.035 grammes or 124 grains). Moreover, coins weighting double the weight standard of an aureus were also struck. This gold currency of Wima Kadphises brought prosperity and gave boost and impetus to commercial activities. The Kharoṣṭhi legend maharajasa raja Dīrājasa sarva loga iṣvrasa mahiśvarasa vima kath phiṣasa tratarasa appears on the reverse of the gold coins of Kadphises II. It is said that Wima Kadphises must have been converted to Hinduism (Chattopadhy 1979:37) and that he became a votary of Śiva while his father Kujula was a Buddhist.

Moreover, Soter Megas (the great saviour) group of copper coins, found over an extensive area stretching from Khotan (Chinese Turkestan) to Mahturā, presents a puzzle as to which period precisely they belong to. These coins show particular symbols along with corrupt Greek legend ‘Basileos Basileon Soter Megas’ (the king of the kings, the great Saviour). In some cases these coins display a Kharoṣṭhi legend which reads maharajasa raja Dīrājasa mahatasa tratarasa (of the great king, the king of kings, the great saviour). In fact, the Kharoṣṭhi legend on the reverse side of the Soter Megas group of coins has striking similarities with the Kharoṣṭhi legend found on the coins of Wima Kadphises (or Kadphises II). This may lead one to conclude that they were issued by one and the same ruler i.e. Wima Kadphises. If this explanation is correct, then, why did not Wima Kadphises place his name along with Kharoṣṭhi and Greek legends? This puzzle may be resolved in the light of Senaverma’s
inscription which, no doubt, mentions a certain Sadashkno, son of Kujula, whom the latter may have appointed governor of Gandhāra. But did Sadashkno issue this Soter Megas group of coins? If so, then it seems very strange that he, as a viceroy of Gandhāra, enjoyed such an elevated status, that he took up so glorifying a title as was only reserved for a king. Otherwise, it seems most probable that Soter Megas group of coins, with all probabilities, would have been issued by Kadphises II or more probably Wim Takto.

After the death of Wima Kadphises (or Kadphises II) his son Kanishka (or Kanishka I) ascended the Kushān throne, most probably in AD 78 (Puri 1965:35-36). The genealogy of the Kushāns is a controversial subject among scholars of ancient Indian history. Formerly, it was generally held that Kanishka was not the son of kadphises II and that he belonged to another branch of the Yueh-chis or probably hailed from the little Yueh-chis. Now, the discovery of the Rabātak inscription (Afghanistān) has finally settled this long genealogical dispute as it clearly mentions that Wima Kadphises was succeeded by his son Kanishka (Cribba 1996:1-2), (Kanishka I).

Kānishka I is regarded as the greatest ruler among all the Kushāns. He is generally believed to have elevated Po-lu sha of all the Chinese pilgrims (= Purushapura, present Peshāwar) as capital of the Kushāns (Beal 1969:97). Buddhist tradition tells that Kanishka was converted to Buddhism by the magical influence of Buddha’s teachings. His is also depicted as an impious and cruel person, but like Aśoka, he took refuge in Buddhism owing to the feelings of profound regret over his misdeeds (Ibid: 99-100). Thus Kanishka became a zealous follower of Buddhism. During the reign of Kaniska Gandhāra experienced most glorious period of its history, as it emerged as a great cultural as well as flourishing trade centre where from all directions traders used to come. That is why one modern historian has translated the word Peshāwar as Peshahawar, i.e. full of artisans (Dani 1979:223 fn). Kanishka issued a variety of coins. His gold currency, like that of his father, was of Roman standard, issued to compete the international market. Buddhist art touched its unprecedented height as it displayed a variety of shades and reflected the cosmopolitan nature of Gandhāra. Like Aśoka, Kanishka patronized Buddhism. Buddhist tradition tells us that on the advice of Parśva (or Parśvika) a Buddhist assembly was held to settle
the disputes that had crept into it with the lapse of time. According to a Chinese account the meeting took place in Gandhāra. Kanishka ruled for 23 years till AD 101 or 102, provided his reign started in AD 780 (Majumdar 1980:144). A later date (AD 120) is presently preferred by scholars.

Kanishka met a violent death by his own people and was succeeded by his own son Huvishka (A.D. 104-138). The date of Huvishka’s accession is well attested by inscriptive record. Brāhmi inscriptions from Mathurā fixe his reigning period from the year 26 to 60 of the Kanishka era, well corresponding to the years AD 104-138 (Ibid: 148-149). Among the Kushān rulers Huvishka issued a large number of coins. His gold coins are the most interesting of all the Kushān series and show about thirty different representation of king on the obverse side. On the reverse is the largest number of divinities (Mitterwalner 1986:5-6).

Huvishka was succeeded by Vāsudeva who is regarded as the last in the line of ‘great Kushāns’. In his several Brāhmi inscriptions he is mentioned as maharaja rajatiraja devaputra shahi or simply maharaja Vāsudeva. Vāsudeva’s rule is dated till the year 99 of the Kanishka era. Like his predecessor Huvishka, these epigraphs evidently refer him to the regnal reckoning of Kanishka I (Ibid: 26). Vāsudeva I is regarded as the last representative, of ‘the Great Kushān’ family founded by Kujula Kadphises I. But it does not mean that the Kushāns ceased to rule. Infact, the line of the Kushān emperors who reigned after Vāsudeva I is termed as ‘Later Kushāns’. Alexander Cunningham was the first to coin this term (Cunningham 1962:18).

Various inscriptions, found from Mathurā, Gandhāra and Afghānistān, together with the evidence of coins show that certain Kushān emperors ruled over extensive areas, stretching from Kābul to Bihār even after the fall of the Great Kushāns’ empire. Although, the precise genealogy like the one from Rabātak is not known yet in the light of inscriptive as well as numismatic evidence, the so-called ‘Later Kushān’ period has been approximately arranged in a rough chronological order. The exact period in term of years of these Kushān kings seems hard to establish in the absence of any reliable literary or archaeological data. However, it is generally suggested that Kanishka II was the first Later Kushān emperor who followed Vāsudeva I on the Kushān throne. He is also said to have inaugurated a new regnal era. Kanishka II was succeeded by another
Kushān ruler named Vasishka (or Vajheshka of Āra inscription or Jushka of Kalhaṇa). After Vāṣishka, Kanishka III ascended the kushān throne. According to the Ara inscription Kanishka III was son of Vajheshka. Thus we have another genealogical evidence of the Kushān kings, like that of Rabātak inscription. Kanishka III was followed by Vāsudeva II. Although no inscriptive record has so far come to light to prove the existence of Vāsudeva II, a sizable body of coins both in gold and copper are found which preserve the name Vāsudeva in Bactrian Greek legend. Moreover, there are other Kushān rulers whose names are found on stray coins and who might have succeeded Vāsudeva II. These are Skkinatha, Gadakhra and Kirada (Kidār) (Mitterwalner 1986:27-40).

The last Kushān ruler of Gandhāra and northern Panjāb was first reduced into a subordinate position and then deprived of what authority he had. Thus, it was, in the 4th century AD perhaps that the country of Gandhāra passed into the hands of its new masters, well known as Kidār Kushāns. The most outstanding ruler among the Kidār Kushān was Kidār himself, who founded the Kidār-Kushān line of rulers in the northwest (Gandhāra and northern Panjāb India) (Ibid: 40-44). The Kidār Kushān rule was a short lived phenomenon. No great king like Kujula, Wima or Kanisha sprang up in this new line to give a second lease of life to the Kushāns’ empire. The Kidār rulers could not revive the glory of their ancestors.

Huns or Ephthalites:

In the middle of the 5th century AD Ephthalite or Huns appeared on the political horizon of north-west India and, without evident resistance, swept away the cultural life of Gandhāra. Toramān and Mihiragula were their most powerful leaders, who carved out a huge empire, stretching from the Hindu Kush to Bihār (eastern India). According to the Kura inscription, found in the Salt Range, Toramān enjoyed a high royal status as his title Rājadhirāja Mahārāja Toramān Shāhi Jabul shows. An inscription from Madhya Pradesh also shows that the later had established his rule as far as the Gangetic Valley. Huns were known as enemies of Yueh-chis. They are described by Chinese chronicles as Hsiung-nu and were known to the Sanskrit writers as Hunas. Huns were originally a group of Turkish, Mongolian and other racial elements and were not of homogeneous race. In the 4th century BC Tung-hu, Yueh-chi and Hsiung-nu were important groups of
northern barbarian tribes of Chinese Turkistan. These tribes were often at war with each other on the one hand and on the other raided and looted settled inhabitants of southern China causing great trouble to China’s ruling dynasties. So much so that the king Shih-huang-ti of Ch’in dynasty had to build a Great Wall of China extending from the sea to the farthest western point of Kansu province to check the devastating inroads of these barbarian tribes. On the death of Shih-huang-ti, new king named Mo-tun (209-194 BC) extended northern boundaries by defeating Wu-sun, Tun-hu and Yueh-chi, and other neighbouring tribes in the Mongolia. However, in 140-87 BC Chinese emperor Wu-ti inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hsiung-nu and executed their tribal chiefs in Kansu. In the middle of 2nd century BC Hsiung-nu were overpowered by another rival Mongolian tribe and, being forced, moved westward in pursuit of fresh pasture lands. Now they went through Turkistan and finally split up into two groups or branches. One branch headed towards Volga and finally reached the heart of Europe. Other branch proceeded to the Oxus and succeeded in establishing a dominant political force with the family name Ye-th-i-li or simply Ye-tha—the Ephthalite or White Huns of European writers and Haital, Haftal of Persian and Arab historians. Having captured power in the valley of the Oxus in 5th century AD Ephthalite threw off the yoke of Juan Juan from their shoulders and started to expand their kingdom. They moved across the Hindu Kush into Afghanistān and further down into the plains of Pakistan. However, the real founder of the glory of Huns was Uti—son of Tatam. Uti also fought wars for ten years against the Sāsānians and finally pushed them out of the Oxus valley. Encouraged by this great success Huns quickly crossed Hindu Kush and advanced into Afghanistān and Gandhāra. They continued their expansion and invaded Gupta Empire in AD 460 in the Gangetic plains, where their military progress was checked by Skandagupta. Nevertheless, by the end of 5th century AD they had already carved out a vast empire with Balkh as the capital city. Chinese pilgrim Sung-yun visited Gandhāra in 520 AD. By that time two generations of the Huns had already passed. Lae-lih was Hun king of Gandhāra according to Sung-yun. According to numismatic, literary (Rājatarangini) and inscriptive evidence Lae-lih was succeeded by his son Toramāna on the throne. Kura inscription (Salt Range) mentions him: Rājadhirāja Mahārāja Toramāna Shāhi Javula (or Jabul). The last
word stands for prince and appears to have used as a Hun title.

Though no connected history or records have survived regarding the history of Toramāna, his prowess seems above doubt and is amply evidenced in inscriptive record. The Eran inscription of Sangar district of Madhya Pradesh is very important in this regard. It is thought that at the time of installation of this inscription (Eran), Toramāna enjoyed political hegemony over extensive region extending from Kābul (Afghanistān) to Madhya Pradesh. His rule over Gandhāra, Panjāb, Rājaputana and Kashmīr is shown by his coins. It may also be deduced from coin symbols, i.e., sun-symbol that he was a worshipper of Sun-god. However, Jain literature claims that he was converted to Jainism and lived at Paśvaiya on the bank of the Chandrābhağa in the Panjāb. According to the Kura inscription, found in the Salt Rnage, Toramān enjoyed a high royal status as his title Rājadhirāja Mahārāja Toramān Shāhi Jabula shows. Another inscription which comes from Madhya Pradesh speaks of as Mahārajādhirāja Toramān denoting that he had established his rule as far as the Ganges Valley. Toramān was succeeded by his son Mihiragula, whom Xuan Zang called the king of Shakal, i.e. Sialkot. The evidence of his coins shows that he was a follower of Pashupati, i.e. God Śiva. Mihiragula, probably, died in AD 550 (Qureshi 1967:159-60). With the death of Mihiragula the glorious period of the Hun rule ended. After the disintegration of the Hun power small local states emerged. At this stage there is nothing much in our sources regarding the country of Gandhāra accept that its capital was Po-lu-sha-pu-lo (=or Peshāwar), its royal family was extinct and that it was being governed by deputies from Kāpiśa or Kia-pi-Shi (Beal 1964:92-93).
Chapter 3

Gandhāra Art

With the growth of knowledge in the 19th century concerning the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent, it came to be generally recognised that the valley of Peshāwar in the northwest Frontier Province (abbreviated as NWFP) of which the present official name is Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, was anciently known as Gandhāra as indicated above. Scholars took up this name and, as a matter of convenience extended it to designate the art pieces found there. Thus the term Gandhāra art came into vogue.

From the conquest of the Achaemenian emperor Cyrus, the Great (558-28 BC), to about AD 460 when northwest India was overrun by the Ephthalites, Gandhāra remained under foreign yoke for about one thousand years, excepting a brief interval marked by the Mauryan rule (305-190 BC). The foreign invaders hailed from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and in each case brought new ideas to enrich the local culture. But, inspite of the tremendous pressure which these foreign cultures must have exerted on the local way of life, the bulk of the population of Gandhāra remained faithful to their own language and culture in which Buddhism played a dominant role. The art of Gandhāra is therefore a by-product of Buddhism representing an interesting medley of cultural flavours. Viewed as a whole, it appears to have been the outcome of a kind of religious propaganda which, in the form of sculptures and paintings, brought before the eyes of the worshippers those aspects of the religion which lent themselves to easy representation in pictures. This propaganda was primarily based upon presenting selected events from the actual life of the Buddha and his earlier births as Bodhisattva (i.e. Buddha-to-be) in sitting as well as standing positions. Initially the Buddha was represented merely symbolically and not physically. A turban placed upon his seat, for instance, symbolised his presence. But, whether the panel reliefs with such symbols, or bearing the figure of the Buddha appeared first or the independent image of the Buddha still remains a controversial point. The drum of a stupa from Sikri re-erected in the Lahore Museum gives a good idea of how sculptures were employed to propagate the Buddhist faith. Thus Gandhāra art is, first and foremost, a Buddhist art and must be judged by its
success in fulfilling its purpose as a sacred art, designed to illustrate the history and legends of the Buddhist faith and to glorify the memory of its founder.

Materials chiefly employed by the sculptors consisted of a kind of bluish stone or schist, clay and stucco. The use of wood has also been attested at some places. The stone was evidently quarried from the hills of Swāt and Buner. Of these, schist must have been an object of flourishing trade as selection of huge stone blocks and their transportation to the open country involved considerable effort. Whether the use of stucco and stone went side by side or one after the other, opinions differ. Sir John Marshall (1973: 111) advocates in favour of a later (Indo-Afghan) school of Gandhāra art in which clay and stucco played a significant role. He remarks: “For by this time (AD 140 and the break-up of the Kushān empire) the Buddha and Bodhisattva images had become supreme and ubiquitous as objects of adoration, and were being endlessly multiplied on every imaginable scale, from the tiny figures impressed on clay sealings and buried in the heart of stupas to the colossal cult statues enshrined in chapels, 30 feet, and more in height. And this kind of decoration, with its myriads of duplicated figures, was of course, at once facilitated and encouraged by the use of clay and stucco in place of stone”.

Specimens of Buddhist sculptures have been found in an area much wider than the Peshāwar Valley. The boundaries of this vast area can only be loosely determined. On the northwest it is marked by the Ghorband and Panjshir valleys in Afghānistān with a northward extension in the Qunduz valley along the traditional trade route (Zwalf 1996: 1, 11) North of the Peshāwar valley numerous sites and sculptures have also been found in Swāt, Dīr and Bajaur. On the east Taxila marks the sites of several stupas, monasteries and cities, though sculptures and Buddhist monuments have been reported from areas much further a field such as Mānikiāla and also from Rokhrī near Mianwali. Although the Kābul valley is generally looked upon as the southern limit, sculptures have been found in the excavations of Tapa Sardār near Ghazni as well. Several sites exist in the Kohāt district of which sculptures have recently been illegally excavated and taken away. These territories may be conveniently reffered to as the artistic province of Gandhāra.

Within this artistic province territorial names other than Gandhāra were
also known. The prosperous valley of the river Swāt (ancient Suvāstu) was anciently known as Udyāna, variantly recorded Uḍḍiyāna, Uḍḍyāna and Oḍḍiyāna. This valley was visited by several Chinese Buddhist pilgrims who mention its numerous monasteries and its own government. A Kharoṣṭhī inscription of the early Kushān time (Bailey 1980: 21-29) mentions a certain Senavarma, an Oḍi king. The name closely corresponds with Hoḍi rājā of the folklore, who was defeated by Maḥmūd of Ghāna early in the 11th century AD. Several villages in Bajaur, Dīr, Swāt and the Peshāwar valleys still bear the name Oḍigrām (Oḍi village). The term Uḍdyāna/Oḍḍiyāna may therefore be translated as the ‘Oḍi Land’ instead of ‘garden’ as it is usually translated (Abdur Rahman 2003: 3-9).

Another group of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions mention Apracha kings. This name is almost identical with Piracha/Paracha—the name of an ethnic group now scattered in the Peshāwar valley and the adjoining districts of the Panjāb. The present Chach plain to the east of the river Indus above Attock was known as Chukhsa. The territory of Kapiśa, with a city of the same name, may be identified with the Panjshīr-Ghorband valley in Afghānistān. The name Khavada mentioned in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription is thought to correspond to modern Khāwāk or Wardak about 65 km southwest of Kābul. On the road between Kābul and the Khyber Pass were successively the districts of Lampāka (present Lamghān or Laghmān) and Nāgarahāra (corrupted as Nangarehār), presently known as Jalālābād (Beal 1884, repr. 1969: 91). The district of Hazāra to the east of the Indus in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is mentioned by Xuāng Zāng (Beal 1884 repr. 1969: 111, 147) as Wu–La-Shi. This name has been identified with Uraśa (Cunningham 1871, repr 1990; 87).

No detailed archaeological atlas or gazateer is available for this artistic province. Drawing much upon Chinese sources, Fouche (1901:1, 322-69) carried out a geographical survey of the Peshāwar valley and gave an early account of sites and their locations. Stein’s survey (1930: ASI, Mem. No. 42) of Swāt was the first of its kind in this region; it threw a flood of light on the archaeological and geographical setup of the country. Deydiers’s bibliography (1950) arranged by regions and sites also includes Afghānistān. Tissot (1985) and E Errington (1987) have published more detailed maps. The Surveys of India and Pakistan also give
maps but these are uneven and incomplete.

Gandhāra art is not the only name for the Buddhist art of the Peshāwar valley. Other names such as Greco-Buddhist, Aryans, Indo-Greek and Indo-Bactrian (Grunwedel-Burgess 1901: 75) and Roman-Buddhist (Wheeler 1949: 9-19) have also been suggested. But these names, as Grunwedel has rightly pointed out, “are open to the objection of implying a theory respecting their origin. Gandhāran sculptures are entirely connected with Buddhist iconography, though many of them manifest some western or classical influence. Since they are found almost exclusively, or at least, a great majority of them, in the country which early writers named Gandhāra, they may be very properly characterized by the area of their origin”. Gandhāra art is therefore the most appropriate name for them.

**Sculptures**

Sculptures found in the artistic province of Gandhāra may be broadly divided into three groups:

A. Independent cult images
B. Non-Buddhist deities
C. Relief panels

Which of these groups is earlier in date is difficult to say. But, since stupa worship started earlier than image worship and relief panels were fixed in stupas, the reliefs may be earlier than independent cult images.

**Group-A: Independent Cult Images**

i. Buddha

The cult images, seated or standing, are usually frontal and share certain bOḍily signs called *lakṣaṇas*. A cross-legged meditation pose is very common for seated images of the Buddha, but, in some rare cases, he is also shown seated in a chair with pendent legs in the so-called European fashion (*pralambapadāsana*). With new developments in Buddhism which took expression in the Mahāyāna (i.e. Great Vehicle) philosophy, the figure of the Buddha received a transcendental and cosmic character. This we find remarkably expressed in the art of Gandhāra where the Buddha image gained in height and
even in the reliefs, where he is accompanied by his associates; his personality towers over everything else. A fine example of this tendency may be seen in the Peshāwar Museum. The Buddha stands to a height of 2.64m and is the tallest statue known from Gandhāra. The great Buddhas of 38 to 55 m carved out of rock at Bāmiān (blasted some years ago) in Afghānistān are an exceptional expression of this tendency. The size of available stone blocks and the difficulty of transporting them did put some restraint on the dimension of independent images. But the zealous Buddhist artists found a way out: clay and stucco, the more amenable materials, could address the problem of achieving greater height. Among the thirty chapels at Takht-i-Bāhi in what was called the “court of colossi”, between the main stupa and the monastery, some, when first seen were still from 25 to 30 feet (8.375-10.05m) in height (Cunningham 1875: 29). The Peshāwar Museum has recently acquired a stucco head 52 cm in height (Rhi 2007: 1-6). At the Dharmarājikā at Taxila, now incomplete stucco image housed in a chapel of which the walls were evidently intended to support a considerable weight, would, from its proportions, had reached a height of 10.675m (Marshall 1951; 1, 268).

The images of the Buddha show some special signs or symbols. The signs for a transcendental being or a Universal Monarch as recorded in literary sources are 32 principal and 80 secondary (Foucher 1905-51: 11, 284). But all of these do not appear on the images of the Buddha. The most prominent among those that appear are uṣṇīṣa, ūrṇa and wheel. The uṣṇīṣa is represented as a bun of curly hair on top of the head, while ūrṇa is a tuft of hair between the eyebrows often indicated by a depression meant obviously for a semiprecious stone. The wheel appears on the palms and soles of the Buddha images. Except in the smaller reliefs the Buddha is rarely without a halo which looks like a disc behind the head. A whole-body or aureole which may be round or oval also appears in a few late reliefs and bronzes.

According to the Vinaya (i.e. discipline books) the monastic robes are mainly three. Each one is an unsewn oblong piece of cloth made of a variety of materials. One of these is a lower undergarment round the middle (antaravāsaka). The second is an upper underrobe over the left shoulder (uttarāṅga). The third is an overrobe (saṃghāṭi) to cover only the left shoulder or both. The Buddha as a
cult image wears these monastic robes. But it is difficult to be exactly sure how these robes were worn in Gandhāra. Opinions differ regarding the exact position of these robes.

The term mudrā (pose) is used to designate certain significant gestures performed by the hands. In later Buddhism mudrās were very many but only a few appear in Gandhāra art. The most common is abhyamudrā meaning “without fear”. It is performed by the Buddha by raising the right hand almost to the height of the shoulder. From the situations where it occurs in the narrative reliefs it seems to have a wider range of meanings, not only the offer of security but also instruction and assent (Zwalf 1996: 1,39). Some of the seated figures show the right hand lying above the left, palm upward, in the lap. This is known as dhyānamudrā, i.e. meditation pose. Another pose called dharmacakramudrā, i.e. preaching gesture, is expressed by bringing both the hands before the chest. The bhumisparsamudrā meaning the “earth-touching pose” was performed by the Bodhisattva before the Enlightenment, when he called upon the earth-goddess to bear witness in the context of Māras’ Attack.

The problem concerning the origin of the Buddha image has not yet been convincingly resolved. Assuming western inspiration for the form and origin of the Buddha image, some scholars see it as adapted from the Graeco-Roman Apollo (Grünwedel-Burgess 1901:163-64). Others have suggested late Roman Republican starting or the early imperial toga statue as the possible sources of inspiration (Wheeler 1950:53). Another group of scholars suggest standing Yaksha or seated Yōgin of ancient Indian art as prototypes (Golubew 1924:438-454; CooMāraswamy 1926: 165-70). It has also been argued that there was no need for a European stimulus and that Gandhāra and Mathurā could have evolved the image independently. Coins of Kanishka (c. AD 100 or little later) showing well developed Buddha image are also cited as postulating an earlier and established form.

ii. Bodhisattva

A magnificent group of sculptures in Gandhāra art is represented by the Bodhisattva figures. The Jātaka stories which describe the previous forms of existence of a Buddha naturally led to the creation of a being whose characteristic
(stava, Pali satta) was enlightenment (bodhi) and who, while doing pious actions in the presence of a Buddha expressed his desire to appear in the world in a later incarnation. Gautama did the same before former Buddhas. Thus Bodhisattva is the one who is on the way to Buddhahood. The sum total of his good actions allows him at each re-incarnation to be born as a superior being in a constantly ascending scale of goodness, till, in the Tusita heaven, he resolves to accept another human existence so that he may show the confused and perplexed humanity the way of salvation.

In theory the Bodhisattvas are innumerable and belong only to Mahāyāna or northern school. Except Maitreya—the Buddha of the future—they are unknown in the southern schools. Like the Buddha, the Bodhisattva usually shows a halo, an ūrnā and the three principal gestures, namely the abhya, dhyāna and preaching mudrās. In common with kings and nobles of that time the BhOḍisattvas are elaborately decorated and wear two garments one of which called dhoti (in Sanskrit paridhāna), is draped around the waist so that one of the shorter sides falls on the left in rounded or pointed ends. The other is an upper garment called uttarīya and is worn in various ways.

Some of the Boddhisattvas are turbaned while others are bare-headed. The turbaned show a fantail device forming the crest of the turban, whereas the bare-headed are characterized by abundance of undulating hair on the head. Besides, the Buddhist Messiah, the Maitreya, important Boddhisattvas in Gandhāra art include Siddhārta, Avalokiteśvara (also called Padmmapāni (“lotus-in-hand”)), and Mañjuśrī. Of these Maitreya has been securely recognized. His usual attributes are the right hand in abhaya and the pendent water pot (Kamandalu) held by the neck in the left. Avalokiteśvara has a seated Buddha image in the crest of his turban. But Siddhārta is problematical and is sometimes identified by a ploughing scene. Mañjuśrī holds an oblong palm-leaf manuscript.

Group-B: Non-Buddhist deities

As sculptures, coins and seals reveal non-Buddhist deities and spirits, they must have been widespread in Gandhāra. Senavarma’s inscription (Bailey 1980: 21-29) mentions deities who were honoured by the Buddhists. A number of them are found in sculptures. These are Brahmā and Indra (both high gods of the Hindu
pantheon), the four mahārājas (or lokapālas, i.e. guardians of the cardinal points), the twenty eight generals of the Yakshas or nature spirits, and Hāriti with her retinue. One of the lokapālas, called Vairavaṇa or Kubera, has often been linked with Pañcīka—the only Yaksha general identified on the sculptures, who received an independent cult. The most frequently occurring Yaksha, called Vajrapāni (“vajra in hand”), the Buddha’s protector, is usually found on panel reliefs, and never seems to have been worshipped independently. Another deity Māra occurs in narrative reliefs connected with Renunciation and with his Assault before the Enlightenment. A deity with spear and peacock has been identified with the Hindu god Skanda-Kārttikeya whose classical parent, Śiva was also worshipped in Gandhāra, as he is seen not only on coins but also on panel reliefs and rock-carvings. On the coins again we find a moon and a sun deity. The goddess with cornucopia is generally identified with Iranian Pharro and Ardokhsha, goddess of wealth.

The Yaksha has also been recognized in the amorino of garland bearing freizes of which some nice specimens have been found at Butkara III. Female figures standing against framing pilaster are likewise interpreted as representing yakshis. The human and bird figures may be Kiṃnaras. Indra’s harpist Pañcasikha may be a gandharva, the heavenly musician. Co-existing with these were serpent cults plenty of evidence for which may be found in panel reliefs. On his way to the pipal tree under which the Enlightenment was to take place, Siddhārta passed the abode of Kālika, king of the Nāgas. When Kālika (or Apalāla) and his wife Elapatra saw the effulgence of his body, they prophesized in a hymn his approaching Enlightenment. The serpent killing bird -deity or gāruḍa also finds place in a few reliefs.

Of the deities having foreign origin Herakles may be mentioned first. His influence on the Vajrapāni iconography is very evident. Beside this, a city-goddess identified as Tyche (with turreted headdress), Athena, Dioscuri, Nanā and possibly wind-god also occur on Gandhāran reliefs. There are numerous examples of Atlas, Tritons, Hippocamp, Centaur, ichthyocentaur, marine bull and winged dragon. Of our particular interest are donors and worshippers who display a variety of costumes. Besides Apollo and Daphne, the toilet trays, of which a considerable number was found in Sirkap, represent a non Buddhist element in
Gandhāran sculpture.

**Group-C: Relief Panels**

A considerable Gandhāran sculptures consist of relief panels of various forms and sizes. Very few of them have been found *in situ*, a circumstance which makes it difficult to know the precise place where they were fixed in a stupa or monastery. At Butkara III a number of them were found in position but their arrangement showed no sequential order. It is generally assumed that the curved or flat oblong panels stood in a horizontal arrangement on a stupa drum or base. At Butkara III it was noticed that flat panels could form a harmikā and were also used on chapel walls. One stone relief was found in the body of a much damaged stucco image of a seated Buddha. Another showing garland -bearers was found in front of the folded legs of a stucco image of large size possibly representing Buddha.

The narrative panels illustrate events in the life of the Buddha Śākyamuni. Some show *Jātakas* or stories from his previous existence.
Chapter 4

Architecture

Architecture is primarily the science and art of designing and building structures; painting, sculpture and other associated decorative arts are its children. It is the art with which we interact every day and throughout our lives. From the earliest time when man was overwhelmingly dominated by the forces of the nature, he had been looking for a shelter to protect him from the extremes of weather and his animal and human enemies. Caves and rock shelter for a while supplied this need but they were not very many while human population was rapidly on the increase and needed more of them. As nature failed to meet his needs man was obliged to look for other means and devised shelters on his own. The earliest attempts in this regard must have been taken in the form of primitive huts of mud and tree branches plastered with mud. When such a hut was thought of, designed and built for the first time architecture was born.

The Buddhist art of Gandhāra presents an impressive array of buildings ranging from the most primitive hut to the highly sophisticated palaces and citadels. But a vast majority of these sculptures reveal secular architecture, though religious buildings such as stupas and shrines may also be occasionally noticed. An outstanding feature of this architecture, both secular and religious, is the employment of foreign elements. Hellenistic influence has in fact always been the hallmark of Gandhāran civilization. Its impact on architecture may be noticed, among other things, in the beautiful Indo-Corinthian columns and capitals. Persepolitan capitals showing Iranian influence on the arts of Gandhāra may also be noticed. Architecture therefore may conveniently be divided into two groups: (1) Secular and (2) Religious buildings.

1. Secular

Secular buildings may be divided into following sub-groups:

i. Cities
ii. Forts and citadels
iii. Palaces

i. Cities
The best examples of architecture in Gandhāra art depict gateways of various cities identified as Kapilavastu, Rājagriha, Śravasti, KuśiNāgara etc. It may be interesting to note that none of these is located in Gandhāra.

Why were then these cities depicted in Gandhāra sculptures? The reason is not far to seek. Gandhāra art in spirit revolves around the story of Gautama, alias Siddhārtha, son of Śuddhodana, chief of the Śākya clan which had its capital at the city known as Kapilavastu. It was here that Gautama was born at Lumbinivana (literally Lumbini Forest) in c.563 BC. The site, later marked by the Rummindei Pillar inscription of Aśoka, lies 5 to 6 km in the Nepalese Terai (85° 11´ N. Lat., 25° 58´ E, long) near Padara (Majumdar 1965:87). Having become Buddha (i.e. the enlightened), Gautama went around in the Ganges valley pursuing a rigorous programme of mass conversion to his newly founded Order, leaving behind his memories during the course of his peregrinations in the cities as mentioned above, till he died c.486 BC, aged 80, at KuśiNāgara (Kuśinārā) (ibid:28), modern Kasiā in the Gorakhpur district (India). He never visited Gandhāra. Even his religion did not make much impact on this region before Aśoka (c.268 to 232 BC) who dispatched Madhyantika to Gandhāra for the propagation of Buddhism (Smith 1957:44). And yet we find that Gautama’s life storey and the legends that surround him are meticulously detailed in Gandhāra art.

It seems that in the two centuries preceding the rise of Gandhāra art early in the Kushān period (1st cent. AD), Buddhism struck deeper roots in Gandhāra and came to be looked upon as a native faith. Stories were then invented to show how Buddha himself came flying in the air to this land on certain occasions. This essentially Gandhāran form of Buddhism, dubbed as Mahāyāna by Buddhists, in which, unlike earlier traditions, images of the Buddha could also be produced, paved the way for the creation of a distinctive art, now called Gandhāra art, reflecting contemporary architectural and artistic traditions in typically Gandhāran morphology. It is this morphology that we come across in the stories associated in reality with the Gangetic cities (mentioned above) but preseved in Gandhāra art. Thus “Queen Māyā's Dream”, associated exclusively with Kapilavastu—a Nepalese city, is, in Gandhāran reliefs, given an architectural setting in which nicely carved Corinthian capitals, perhaps unknown at Kapilavastu, play a significant role. Similarly the scenes “The Urn carried into
KuśiNāgara” (Fig.1) and “Distribution of the Relics” (Fig.2) or “Buddha at city-gate” from Shnaisha (Fig.3), all reflect cultural milieu of Gandhāran cities such as Taxila, Pushkalāvati, Peshāwar, Gangudher, etc.

An idea of what a Gandhāran city externally looked like may be obtained from their representations in our panel reliefs. But, unfortunately, the reliefs do not throw much light on the internal lay-out. This deficiency is however amply supplied by references to cities in ancient literature of which Milinda-Paṅha (Questions of Menander) composed in Gandhāra is very pertinent in that it gives a graphic picture of an ancient city: “fine and regular, measured out into quarters, with excavated moats and ramparts about it, with stout gate houses and towers, with market places, cross-roads, street corners and public squares, with clean and even main roads, with regular lines of open shops, well provided with parks, gardens, lakes, lotus ponds and wells, adorned with many kinds of temples of the gods, free from every fault and standing in all its glory.” (Rhys Davids 1890: 208-9).

This description appears to hold good for early Gandhāran cities and, shorn of its superfluities, the standard plan of an early city may be summarised as follows: it is surrounded by a moat or moats and further protected by a wall (prākāra) running all around. The plan is rectangular, usually square, with gate (dvāra) or gatehouses (dvārakoṭṭhaka) in the middle of each side, the gateway being approached by a bridge across the moat. Four main streets from the four gateways led to the centre of the city, which is laid out in quarters.

Ruins of ancient cities abound in Gandhāra; but no city, with the possible exception of Taxila, has been fully exposed. For the requisite information therefore we once again fall back on the sculptures. It may be kept in mind that no Gandhāran sculpture gives a full view of any city, nor was there any need to do so, for the sculptors never aimed at depicting an entire city. Only relevant portions are shown. These include city walls, gateways, palaces, balconies, towers, bastions, etc.

ii. Forts and Citadel

These are in general represented by crenellated walls, towering bastions, and projected gateways. An interesting example of a projected gateway may be
seen in the panel relief “Distribution of the Relics” (Fig. 2). The gateway is flanked by two rectangular tapering towers. A broad horizontal band interrupted only by the actual doorway runs across the whole façade of the gateway complex dividing each of the towers into the upper and lower zones. The band consists of a plain cordon in the middle flanked by notched narrow fillets. The lower has large lotus petals (only three are visible) around the base in the lower zones and three triangular holes (arrow-slits) so placed as to mark the angles of an inverted triangle in the upper.

The doorway stands upon a stepped platform and opens under a projected cornice supported by two semi-circular pilasters. It comprises a double moulded wooden frame and is shut in this case. Each of the two leaves of the doorway is divided in two large panels by a horizontal piece of wood. All this, i.e. the towers and the doorway, is superimposed by a flat roof decorated on the front side with a row of saw-tooth designs. The roof is supported by projected brackets—three upon each of the towers, and twice as much upon the doorway. The overall plan of the gateway shows a tripartite building. This plan became a model for all sculptors.

Fig.1 shows an almost identical concept—a tripartite rendering of a gateway complex. The relief depicts the scene of “The Urn Carried into Kuśināgara”. The concept of one doorway flanked by lofty towers having firing-slits is further elaborated by the inclusion of two portions of the city wall and a balcony overlooking the doorway in this relief. The actual doorway, open and leafless in this case, stands upon a moulded base within a rectangular frame which supports a broad cornice decorated with a row of acanthus leaves. Flanking the doorway are two armed guards.

Each tower, square in section, rises from a lotus base and is divided into three zones by incised pairs of horizontal lines. Of these the lowest zone is plain, the middle one has two triangular slits, while the upper most zone shows traces of a balcony in addition to an arrow-slit. The towers have battlements on the top, similar battlements and triangular slits are visible in the city wall behind the towers. Just behind the gateway, at a higher level, is a projected balcony supported by seven brackets. On the front side the balcony is decorated by a running pattern of diamonds in the lower and a row of sunk triangles in the upper
Fig. 4 shows an even more elaborate form of the tripartite scheme. It has been suggested that the relief is incomplete. “This panel is perhaps to be completed on the right with a city gate, another guard in a niche, followed by a stretch of wall with two towers”, remarks Ingholt (1957:172). But neither is the so-called “guard” holding a lance, as asserted by Ingholt, nor could the niche be as tall as the city wall, taller in fact than even the towers, as the case undoubtedly seems to be. But let us first of all see what the panel has got to tell us.

The panel shows that all the essential features of a tripartite gateway complex—two towers and one gate are present, but the traditional pattern, in which the gate is shown in the middle of two flanking towers, is so changed as to place the towers on the left side and the gate on the right. The Torāṇa type gate is very unusual in Gandhāra and must be the result of contacts with the interior parts of India. Nor is this type of a gate suitable for defense purposes. The man standing in the gate, who appears more like a donor holding a round object—perhaps a flower basket—in both hands, looks inquisitively at somebody (not shown in the panel) standing outside. A similar view may be seen in a panel found at Shnaisha (Fig: 3). The right side of this relief is damaged but the subject matter is quite clear.

On the right is Buddha (head damaged) in abhayamudrā standing close to a round city tower. He is approached by a person wearing princely garments. The posture adopted by this person, with his body slightly bent at knees and with a scarf held in both hands making a loop on his front side (jholī phailānā in Urdu), suggests that, in all humility, he is requesting the Buddha to enter the city. Behind this person another man, probably an attendant stands in the doorway holding in both hands something which looks more like a basket of flowers, to be showered upon the Buddha or to be presented to him.

We can now turn to Fig. 4 and try to complete the scene. We have already got a man scantily clothed in his dhoti holding perhaps a basket in his hand, standing in the Torāṇa type gate. Apparently his position is that of an attendant. He was evidently following his master—the princely figure of the Shnaisha relief. This identification solves the problem regarding the reconstruction of the whole scene. When complete the entire scene consisted of (from left to right) two
towers, *Torāṇa* type gate and two more similar towers, an attendant, and a princely figure making a humble request to the Buddha to enter the city. Thus the addition (in the missing portion) of a suppliant princely figure, a Buddha in *abhayamudrā*, and two towers in the background would complete the scene.

The most characteristic feature of this relief is its ornamentality. Not only the *Torāṇa* type gate can not fulfill the purpose it is required to do, even the chamfered corners of the towers, not to speak of the rest of them and also the city wall, are filled with unnecessary arrow-slits and crosses, weakening thereby the whole structure.

The square towers which were the hallmark of our reliefs so far are, in some cases, found together with their round counterparts. Fig. 5 represents such a case. The relief depicts the story "Ānanda a asks Casteless Girl for Water" and shows a girl drawing water from a well situated outside the city wall. In the background may be seen two towers standing side by side—square in the extreme right—marked with one arrowhead. Similar arrow-heads may be noticed on the heavily crenellated city wall and also on the round tower just behind the right hand of the girl. The cornice above the gate shows a row of split acanthus leaves. Above it and between crenellations are human heads as if watching the incident.

A similar gate with a decorated cornice may be seen in the relief depicting “The Buddha Enters Rājagriha” (Fig: 6). Towers are missing. But the existence of a double story building behind the gate is suggested in the balconies at a higher level than the gate. Another relief “Sumāgadhā and the Naked Ascetic” (Fig: 7) depicts the inner side of the entrance of the house. The roof is supported by slender Corinthian columns. The most ornamental example of a city gate is to be seen in another relief,”Chanḍaka and Kanṭhaka Return” (Fig: 8). Noteworthy is the highly decorated plinth upon which the whole structure of the gate stands. It is so high indeed as to make it inconvenient for the animal to smoothly pass through the gate. Above the gateway is an unproportionately heavy balcony (or balconies), almost half as much high as the door itself. The front side of this structure is decorated by a frieze of four petalled flowers, while the roof, marked by a chain pattern, is supported by five tiny Corinthian columns. A row of rectangles marks the parapet above a wide empty zone. Between the columns are four human busts, inquisitive ladies perhaps watching the incidence. Chanḍaka
has returned bringing back with him the royal umbrella, the turban and the horse, but not Siddhārta.

iii. Palaces

Literary sources speak of two, nine or innumerable storeys (bhūmika) high buildings. But the tallest buildings found in Gandhāra are Buddhist monasteries; and these are merely two-storeys (dvi-bhūmika) in height. Nor does the evidence of the sculptures reveal any thing more than this. Evidently, royal palaces, too, were no exception.

Gandhāran architects had a flair for tripartite designs and, as extant evidences show, amply expressed themselves in trefoil arches, tripartite gateways, tripartite palaces etc. Much later in the history the tripartite pattern found a fuller expression at Mashatta in Western Asia (Creswell 1958:125-27).

In most Gandhāran reliefs architectural design of a palace follows the tripartite pattern, i.e. a large hall flanked by two smaller rooms. But the roofing systems vary greatly. In most cases the roof of the main hall is taller than that of the flanking chambers. In such cases the roof is arcuate or tunnel vaulted. Some examples show a high flat roof supported on sloping sides, often referred to as the “trapezoidal” roof. In a few examples however this pattern is reversed so that the flanking chambers have arcuate and taller roofs while the main hall has a flat one. Very often elaborate balustrades and balconies, with human busts form a significant feature of the roofing systems. Indo-Persepolitan columns with addorsed bull capitals are preferred in such cases. Decorative motifs include saw-tooth design, acanthus leaf patterns, bead-and-reel border, friezes of chequered designs and laurel wreaths. Fluttering parakeets are sometimes shown perhaps to put life in the otherwise lifeless and somber scenes. Some of these structures are briefly described below.

A good example of the tripartite division of a palace is presented by the panel “Life in the Palace” (Fig: 9).The middle portion of the main hall has a lofty arcuate roof supported by simplified Indo-Persepolitan columns, while the flanking chambers have low flat roofs. Above these roofs are galleries of which only the one on left hand side has survived. The decoration consists of chequered pattern on the front face of the galleries and a row of saw-tooth designs on the
curve of the arch.

The hall looks quite spacious and this is precisely what is required by the story depicted therein. Siddhārta, as a young prince, leisurely reclines upon his couch in the company of his wife, and enjoys a lively moments. Musicians (drummer, flutist, harpist and dancers, all around him, are performing to the best of their ability. The placement of most of the musicians in the side chambers indicates that these chambers were not separate units on the ground and in fact formed two ends of the same hall. It may be relevant here to observe that the construction of such a lofty arch (or vault) to cover the whole middle portion of the hall required a different kind of technology—the knowledge of a true three centred arch—from what was known at the time when this relief was carved (2nd to 3rd cent, AD). Did the sculptor take this specimen from contemporary architecture, or, from his own imagination? The extant Buddhist monuments exhibit merely the knowledge of corbelled arch.

The same story, in almost the same setting, is depicted in another panel (Fig: 10). In this relief the middle portion of the hall and the side chambers are of the same height. But, while the middle portion shows the same arch with its characteristic saw-tooth decoration, the side chambers have trapezoidal roofs. The space left vacant on both sides of the arch is filled up by chequered screens. The trapezoidal roof, based probably upon wooden prototype, may be of local origin.

In the next example (Fig: 11) the arch of the middle portion is replaced by a trapezoidal roof. The flat roof of the flanking chambers similarly gives place to corbelled arches. In another example (Fig: 12), the middle portion has a triangular and the flanking chambers flat roofs. The trapeze is turned into a triangle by straightening the two sides which join each other at the top. However, the characteristic saw-tooth ornamentation is still retained.

Ingholt 39 B (Fig: 13) unfolds an even more interesting example of playing with the tripartite design. The middle portion now gets a long flat roof, while the side chambers become arcuate. In other examples the side chambers are represented merely by balconies (Fig: 14).

We have given above a few examples to show how in the sculptor's view a royal palace, at least part of it such as a great hall, would have looked like. It must be remarked that the depiction of architectural details was not the primary
objective of Gandhāran sculptors who employed it only when it helped in the illustration of a story or event. Commenting upon the architectural setting found in the story “Conversion of Nanda” (Fig: 15), Marshall remarks “The employment of architecture as a setting for dramatic scenes was, of course, familiar in earlier Gandhāra art but in Fig. 121 (Conversion of Nanda) the emphasis laid on the setting is out of all proportion to the scene as a whole. . . The architecture is still an integral part of all proportion to the scene, providing an imaginative and fanciful representation of the prince's palace. But it is much overdone in relation to the rest of the picture and is already paving the way for the use of architecture as the principal factor in composition of an outstanding decorative character, countless examples of which are to be seen among the Early Indian sculptures of Bhārhut, Bodh-Gayā, Sāñchi and Mathurā”(Marshall 1973: 94).

As to the question why Indian artists have been using architecture as a principal decorative factor Marshall observes: “Indian artists have an instinctive feelings for decorative which is a hallmark of art at all ages”. This decorative handling, he further remarks, “became increasingly apparent in Gandhāra art in the latter part of the second century AD”.

With regard to interior decoration of the royal palaces nothing much can be collected from panel reliefs except the ample use of Indo-Persepolitan and Corinthian columns, with exquisitely carved capitals, which alone must have provided dignity and grace to the structures. In one case, already referred to (Fig: 13), we find coffered ceilings.

Fig. 15, in this respect, provides us with more information and therefore needs to be described in detail. The relief depicts an indoor scene—an episode of the story of Nanda's conversion of which three episodes are known from different sculptures. Only in one instance all the three episodes are found in one sculpture (Marshall No 116).

As the story goes Nanda was half-brother of the Buddha and custOḍian of the latter’s begging blow. Being a man of this world and disinterested in what the Buddha was preaching, he wanted to hand over the bolw to him. One day he found an opportunity to do so when the Buddha perchance visited his house. The Buddha was still in the doorway when Nanda picked up the bowl from his wife’s
dressing room and humbly presented it to him. But he was peremptorily told to accompany the Buddha to a monastery where, much against his will, the monk’s barber shaved his head, and he was ordained into the Order. Then he was told to stay in the monastery and close all the doors before going out. This he tried to do, but, to his great surprise, had no sooner shut one door than another flew open. At last he gave up trying and set out to his home. But in vain; for, as he made his way stealthily through a wood, the Buddha suddenly appeared, advancing towards him; and when Nanda tried to hide behind a tree, the tree arose up in the air, leaving him face to face with the Master, who promptly marched him back to the monastery.

In the relief under discussion Nanda is shown twice: first, departing from his lovely wife, Sundari, and then requesting the Buddha to take back the bowl from him. Sundari is sitting in a high legged chair facing a table. The legs of the chair seem to be nicely turned over a lathe. Wealthy people in Gandhāra still like such chairs. The table has a pedestalled mirror and a covered unguent box. Sundari is attended upon by other ladies—a practice still in vogue among the rich. Within the dressing room, at the back side wall hangs a wreath enclosing something indistinct. Similar wreath may be seen in Zwałf No 170.

The superstructure of the palace (or the main hall) is supported by square Corinthian columns, each marked on the shaft with recessed oblong panels. The trapezoidal roof of the middle portion of the hall sits upon worn out lion headed corbels. The flanking chambers have corbelled arches supporting a gallery with four human heads, as if watching the event. The characteristic saw-tooth decoration runs along the edge of the trapezoidal roof and also under the coping of the galleries. A projected doorway on the left, in which Nanda is shown kneeling before the Buddha, clearly suggests that the episode took place inside the room with the doorway being the only entry and exit point. The doorway frame is decorated with a running scroll and above the door frame are two capped battlements with triangular loopholes.

Architectural setting in the relief and also in the others depicting dramatic scenes such as “Māyā’s Dream” (Zwałf: No. 141), “Interpretation of the Dream” (Ingholt: No. 11), “Life in the Palace” (Fig 10), ”Renunciation or Flight of Buddhisattva from Kapilavastu” (Ingholt: No. 39B), “Miracle of Śravasti”
(Marshall: No.122) and other of this nature cannot be taken to represent real architectural models. These are merely imaginative and fanciful representations of palaces, courts, or sleeping rooms. Preference for a trapezoidal roof in the rendering of stories related to Māyā or other ladies may be due to a common idiosyncracy of the sculptors suggesting perhaps no more than a delicate handling of a delicate subject. For the individual features of an architectural design such as balconies, columns, capitals, shrine models, there is plenty of archaeological evidence to show that these were taken from real life.

I. Roofing Systems

Roofing systems in the Gandhāran reliefs may be divided into four categories: (1) Trabeate; (2) Arcuate; (3) Domical; (4) Trapezoidal.

1. Trabeate

Trabeation (from Latin trabs, “beam”, or “timber”) characterized by the use of horizontal beams in an architectural construction, results in a flat roof. Of all the systems, this is the simplest and, as it is still practiced, one can see that it consists of beams and rafters. The beams cover the whole width of a room from wall to wall and are placed parallel to each other leaving some space in between. This space locally called ‘gavān’ is filled up by transverse rafters visible in the reliefs projecting on the front side at the roof level. The projected ends of the rafters support an eave (chhajja) to save the wall from rain water. In some cases the rafter ends are replaced by brackets or mOdillions serving the same function. According to Ingholt (1957:37) “the employment of mOdillion [was] the regular bracket feature of the Corinthian cornice”.

The panel illustrating “the Distribution of Relics” (Fig. 2) shows the city gate of KuśiNāgara. Looking from outside, the distribution scene seems to have taken place on the city wall. But it would be difficult to accommodate a fairly large table having eight relic caskets on the top facing Droṇa’s seat and leave enough space for the nine chiefs (only seven are visible) to comfortably move around without the fear of falling down. We must therefore necessarily assume that the scene took place upon the flat roof. Infact, a flat roof supported by mOdillions and tapering square towers is clearly visible. It is interesting to note that, inspite
of Ingholt’s remarks (given above) the mOdillions in this case are not associated with the Corinthian columns. This shows that use of brackets is older than the arrival of such foreign elements as Corinthian, Doric or Persepolitan capitals.

2. Arcuate

The arched or vaulted roofs, although not very many in our reliefs, are, in general, seen in combination with trapezoidal and flat roofs supported by Indo-Corinthian or Indo-Persepolitan columns. The decorative nature of this type of roof has already been pointed out. But the fact that the architectural settings in which they occur help in illustrating the subject matter of relief makes them integral part of the picture. However the particular shape they take is misleading as they look more like three-centred true arch which they certainly are not. The technique of a true arch, we know it for certain, reached Gandhāra much later in history. Nor it is borne out by archaeological evidence. Numerous examples of corbelled arches are known, but not a single example of a true arch has been reported so far.

Arches of purely decorative nature with no story to illustrate are the chaitya arches. They occur frequently in sculptures and their function seems to be just filling up empty spaces for the sake of ornamentation.

3. Domical

Domical structures such as stupas are amply known not only from sculptures (see Marshall 1973: pl.68; Rahman 1990:704), but also from a galaxy of extant remains and countless rock carvings. But the domes of these stupas are solid structures entirely different from the dome, in the sense of a rounded vault, forming the roof of a building or structure, typically with a circular base. Such domes are found only in a very few instances. The panel relief depicting the “Miracle of Śrāvati” shows two domed shrines on the top (Fig: 16; Ingholt 1957: Nos, 254-57). In both the cases the dome is constricted at the neck and shows a pinnacle. Examples of such corbelled domes have survived in Gandhāra at several places. The constricted neck, it is noteworthy, is not a decorative feature of the dome; it is rather a constructural expedient. The wall of the dome, just above the constriction, is externally thickened to provide a strong base for corbelling the upper part of the dome. It is certainly not a “thatched roof”.

4. Trapezoidal

The word trapezoidal is derived from the Greek Trapeze meaning “table” which sounds more like the Urdu word Tepai/ Trepai. In architecture the term is used for a roof resembling quadrilateral with no sides parallel. A trapezoidal roof is generally found together with flat or arched roofs. The sculptures reveal that this type of a roof, generally supported by exquisitely carved Indo-Corinthian columns, is associated with palace scenes, be it “Māyā's Dream”, “Interpretation of Māyā’s Dream” or “Nanda's Conversion”, etc. In some cases it is also associated with the Buddha (see Fig 16). Its model may be based upon a wooden canopy.

II. Balcony

The balcony, as an architectural feature appears in different settings. Certain actions of Bodhisattva Siddhārta and the Buddha so excited the wonder of the gods and men alike that they wished to watch them from a vantage point. Balconies or roof tops served this purpose. There are three main types:

1. Short cubical (Type 1)

It is not very common but may be seen in the relief “The Buddha Enters Rājagriha” (Fig 6). The relief shows two projected balconies, separated from each other by a blank space, each having two human busts, just above but placed at a higher level than the door cornice. The bust may represent citizens of Rājagriha or the gods looking with surprise at the marvellous event—entry into Rājagriha—that was going to happen at the gateway.

2. Long balustrated (Type 2)

It is more common and is represented by several examples. The balcony now takes the form of a long gallery usually fronted by a vedikā. It is spacious enough to accommodate more than two human busts and may be divided into following varieties:

a) Balcony still divided into two parts, rests directly upon the roof. Unlike type one, it is not projected (Fig: 9).
b) Long balustrated with two persons and resting upon the cavetto cornice of the door way (Fig: 17).

c) Projected balcony flanked by three similar but receding examples on each side (Fig: 18). All faced with a balustrade of vertical sloping uprights.

d) Balustraded balcony draped in a textile (Fig: 19)

e) Long balcony with vedikā railing. Looks more like a gallery (Fig: 13).

3. Roofed (type 3)

It is represented by a few examples. It is a roofed structure more sophisticated than the rest. The roof is supported by tiny little Corinthian columns (see Ingholt: No, 7 and fig. 6 above, and Kurita: No, 10).

Regarding the role of images found in these balconies, variety “e” is a solitary example showing five divinities peering over the balustrade: in the centre is the head of a bull, flanked on the left by the bust of the sun-god and on the right by the bust of the moon-god. The bull probably symbolizes the zodiacal sign Taurus and all five images no doubt indicate the position of heavenly bodies when—in the artist’s view—the flight (i.e. Renunciation) took place. (Ingholt 1957: 59)

III. Columns and Capitals

A cylindrical upright or column supporting an arch, entablature or other structure, or standing free, plays an important role in architecture. The Gandhāran panel reliefs abound with different varieties of columns. In the ancient past (Mauryan period) free-standing column were amply known in the subcontinent, but no such example has so far been found in Gandhāra. The panel reliefs however have countless examples of free-standing columns in a narrow sense of the word. In these cases the columns are not actually absolutely free, for, although they do not support any structure, they are employed as terminating or framing elements, and thus become an integral part of the picture. Moreover, as terminating elements, they are always encased, i.e. placed within a rectangular frame—a circumstance which puts constraints on their position as absolutely free-standing columns. In our reliefs two main varieties are noteworthy: (1) Persepolitan Columns; (2) Corinthian Columns
A cursory glance at the published material shows that out of 260 panels (there are many more but this is the total size of our sample), 50 (19.2%) show Persepolitan and 210 (i.e. 80%) Corinthian columns. As their names indicate both of these varieties have foreign origins. As a matter of fact neither the Persepolitan, nor the Corinthian columns, or their capitals, hundred percent correspond to their prototypes in Iran and Greece and are therefore generally referred to as Indo-Persepolitan and Indo-Corinthian columns. Only for the sake of brevity we have preferred to use, Persepolitan, for instance, instead of Indo-Persepolitan, but it should be taken to mean the same thing, i.e. a modified form of the original Persepolitan column.

1. Persepolitan Columns

The Persepolitan columns, in detail, show numerous variant forms. A good example may be seen in Fig.20. It shows a stupa drum framing element containing an encased Persepolitan column, slightly overdone, but illustrating all the essential parts of such a column. The bell-shaped part of the column in this case is decorated with acanthus leaves spreading down to its projected portion. The two hemispheres above it, separated by a plain cable, are enriched by centrally grooved lotus petals. Addorsed humped bulls, and a rectangular lion’s head die (cubical block) support a valuted double bracket showing saw-tooth decoration. The pot base, with an everted rim and lotus petal enrichment under an undulating border round the middle, rests on a stepped plinth. Against the shaft and standing on the cover of the pot, a male musician in girt knee-length tunic, collar and earring strikes a circular drum with both hands and, in a curious twisted stance, he turns to his left above the waist, but below it, he turns in the opposite direction and is seen partly from behind. The appearance of a person—be it musician, devotee, amorino or Buddha—very common to Corinthian square column, is not very usual in the case of a round Persepolitan column. (For other similar but more ornate examples see Figs. 21-22)

Thus, from the bottom pedestal to the top double bracket, with the pot-base, shaft, ring, hemisphere, bulls and lion’s head, cubical block in between, we have all the essential features of a Persepolitan column (Ghirshman 1954:No.62). But all the Persepolitan columns found in our panels are not like this. In most
instances, due perhaps to the narrowness of space, either the bulls or the stepped pedestal is missed out entirely or is presented in a summary form.

The term “Persepolitan” is well known, but, for the sake of clarity, a brief comment may not be out of place here. Persepolis (meaning Persian city or capital) was the name given by the Greek invaders who destroyed it during Alexander’s campaign in the east. The actual name is *Istakhr*—an ancient city situated to the north-east of Shiraz in Iran. It was founded in the late 6th century BC by Darius I as the ceremonial capital of Persia under the Achaemenid dynasty (ibid: 231). The city’s impressive ruins include functional and ceremonial buildings and cuneiform inscriptions in Old Persian, Elamite and Akkadian. It is here that addorsed bulls were first noticed.

2. **Corinthian Columns**

Corinth was the name of an ancient city on the north coast of the Peloponnese (literally “island of Pelops”) the mountainous southern peninsula of Greece. It was here that a particular type of column, different from the Dorian and Ionian types, was first developed. The term Corinthian, therefore, means relating to or denoting the lightest and more ornate of the classical orders of architecture (used specially by the Romans), characterized by flared capitals with rows of acanthus leaves. The vast majority of our panels show Corinthian columns. Their number is almost equal. For the sake of clarity these may be classified into two sub-groups:

(A) Round

(B) Square

(A) Round

Numerically round Corinthian Columns have a slight edge over the square Corinthian columns. Out of 210, the round variety is presented by 106 examples vis-a-vis the square having 104 specimens. Fig 23 is a stupa drum framing element containing a column having two tiered Corinthian capital with pronounced (but damaged) volutes and abacus above an astragal—a convex moulding typically semi-circular in cross-section. The lower tier is represented as circular, while the upper one is recessed and shows a slightly damaged
rectangular central projection between volutes overlapping onto the frame within which the column stands. The shaft tapers slightly and the base moulding has two fillets above the torus—a large convex moulding—of the base. Fig-24 is a better preserved example and shows a Corinthian capital in distinct upper and lower parts, while the base mouldings are, as usual, of Attic type with a scotia, i.e. a concave moulding (Gk Skotia from skottos meaning darkness). An ornate example may be seen in Fig 25. The Corinthian capital with outer and inner volutes is in two sections above an astragal and a fillet and with a lobe of acanthus rising above the abacus—flat plate on top of a capital supporting the architrave. The ends of this lobe meet four reels of bead-and-reel border of outer frame. The base of the column has a plinth, torus, fillet and cavetto, while the circular shaft is bound diagonally by two beaded bands crossing each other. In one case (Fig 17) the shaft is decorated with a wreath (or garland).

(B) **Square**

The most impressive examples of the Corinthian columns belong to this group. The square columns, or pilasters, may be divided into two sub-groups: (1) plain and (2) decorated. Square columns with plain shafts are not very many. Fig 26 shows a damaged example with Corinthian capital in distinct upper and lower parts, and the usual base mouldings. The decorated columns may be divided into three varieties. Those having:

a) Geometrical design

b) Human figures

c) Columns garlands

a) Geometrical design

It shows a recessed oblong panel with curved top and bottom on the column shaft carved or incised in outline (Fig: 27). No change occurs in this design except in a few cases where it becomes narrow and elongated. It appears to be a very common and popular device and therefore must be having some long forgotten hidden meanings. In Fig. 28, it is replaced by a closely resembling vertical floral band but without curved ends.
b) Shaft figures

Seated Buddha in *dhyanmudrā* (literally meditation pose) usually one for one column (Fig 29). But, although it is very common, it does not appear to have been the rule, for, we also have occasional examples showing two seated Buddhas in *dhyanmudrā* on one column, or a standing Buddha (hands damaged) probably in *abhayamudrā* (literally ‘no fear pose’), i.e. ‘reassurance pose’ (Fig: 30). In this case the Buddha is flanked by two devotees. Other examples show:

i. Worshipping *amorino*, very often one for every column but two for one column is also known (Fig: 31).

ii. Standing female holding a cauri or fly-wisk (Fig: 32).

iii. Standing female devotee with offering (Fig: 33).

iv. Standing male figure with long sleeves (Fig: 34).

C. Columns with garland

No less interesting are the columns decorated with garlands. Fig. 19 shows two garland bearing pilasters. In both the cases the garlands have narrow ends and they vertically hang in the middle of the shaft without any visible attachment. Similar garlands may be seen suspended from a tree (Fig: 35) and canopies (Fig: 36). In another example (Fig: 37) they are suspended from the panel top. In the relief depicting “Conversion of Nanda” a similar garland or wreath hangs on the back wall of the chamber (Fig: 15). In Fig. 11, not only we find a garland hanging on the back wall of the chamber where the Boddhisattva Siddhrāta is reclining upon his couch, the Boddhisattva himself holds a garland in his left hand. An ornamental example of this garland may be seen in Fig. 38.

The best examples of Corinthian capitals belong to stupa pilasters. A number of these were found in excavations at Shnaisha, (see Rahman 1993:XXV111 b), although scattered examples were also known even earlier. These are made of yellowish soapstone and some were found in a very good state of preservation. The example illustrated on the frontispiece of *Ancient Pakistan*, Vol. V111 (1993) (Fig: 39) shows distinct upper and lower tiers, although four drooping lobes of acanthus arranged in two successive rows subdivide the lower tier into two smaller parts. Originally there were three lobes with pointed ends in the upper
row, but, the one on the left hand side is missing. The central part of the capital is slightly projected and is entirely occupied by a seated Buddha in abhayamudrā against the background of a large acanthus leaf. The two complete angles have volutes and buds. The moulded abacus is relieved by a prominent fillet and one full blown lotus on undulating stalk on each side of the central projection which probably had rosettes hidden behind the acanthus leaves. There are three holes in the capital to fix it on the top of a pilaster. An even more ornate example comes from Jamālgarhi (Fig: 40).

**Secular-11**

Panels depicting any form of architecture of the country side, particularly of the grāms (present gāon) or village, are hard to come by in the entire range of Gandhāra art, except for huts, good enough for hermits but unsuitable for families. The existence of numerous mounds, i.e. heaps of soil with cultural debris, shows that mud or mud bricks was the main building material for walled structures; wood being used for roofing. The process of building, destruction, and rebuilding, over the centuries, every time adding thousand of tons of mud to the already existing heaps, gave the mounds their present heights.

Reed huts are particularly associated with hermits, who give up every comfort of worldly life in the course of their search for the ultimate truth, offer only temporary shelter and in some parts of Pakistan are still raised by farmers whenever there is need to stay near the field to look after a particular crop. The technique they used is almost the same as we find in our panels.

A hut is generally built in two parts: lower and upper. The lower part consists of thick stalks of leaf reed, though in some cases leaves are retained. These are vertically fixed in a circle leaving some space for the entrance on the front side. The upper portion, domical in shape, comprises overlapping wide circular bands of reed leaves (or tree branches), cut to size, with a pinnacle, often showing a parakeet on the top. Fig. 41 shows an interesting variant form fixed in a split bamboo frame. Fig. 42 depicts another variant form—a straw covered domed hut. Fig. 43 reveals a pair of huts which are identical in appearance and shape.

A more ornate example Fig. 44 shows the disc-shaped element on top of a leafy dome resting upon wooden frame decorated on the outer face with two rows, one
above the other, of four incised squares each subdivided into two triangles marked in the centre by a triangular aperture—eight in all. In an even more elaborate form (Fig: 45), the lower part is balustrated while the double thatched roof is supported by square Corinthian columns.

Brackets

The primary function of a bracket—a right-angled support attached to and projecting from a wall—is supporting the cornice above. But the love for the stylization of from, so amply shown by the artists of Gandhāra, soon made the bracket fully or partly disfunctional, replacing it with artistic forms even more pleasing to the eye. The plain prototype wooden rafter-end projecting on the front, and evidenced in Chaitya façades, were turned into a variety of forms as mentioned below.

The rafter-end first took the form of a plain voluted bracket externally decorated with a pair of incised parallel lines (Fig: 47). Zwalf: No 442 is a corner bracket of the same design. The upper end of the bracket was then changed into a Corinthian capital. Fig 48 shows a fragment of the harmikā cornice of this kind. Below the chequered pattern and a fillet is a row of vertically grooved s-shaped brackets with Corinthian capitals. They rise from a platform with carved soffits, alternately showing an acanthus motif and panels bisected into triangular pattern each containing an indented triangle.

More interesting in this context are the architectural members variously referred to as brackets (Marshall 1951, 111: 702; Dani 1968: 79); false, that is, non-supporting brackets (Faccenna-Taddei 1962, 2: 163-5; Ingholt1957-175); and Nāgadanta or stupa peg (Zwalf, 1; 282). A similar bracket is also shown by Jane Gaston Mahler (1966: 81). A number of such so-called brackets were found during excavations at Taxila and Chatpat and show human figures in different postures and activities. In these cases the delineation of different features reveals a close study of the subject from actual life. The present example (Fig: 49) shows a male figure with full fleshy face, open eyes and damaged nose. His turban has broad twisted bands meeting at the front centre. He wears a large disc earring but, curiously, the ear is missing. Below the middle of the figure is an acanthus with
drooping side lobes. Zwalf No. 431 shows a figure emerging from the waist upwards out of acanthus leaves. Ingholt has illustrated three examples:

i. False bracket with female bust
ii. False brackets with head of a princely figure
iii. False bracket with winged male figure

These examples show only one individual to every one bracket, but in some cases in Kurita (Fig: 50) two individual—male and female—are also found. Marshall (iii, Pl. 213, No. 19) shows a standing figure rising from the knees behind the forepart of a bull. Fig. 51 has a Brāhmaṇ figure with the characteristic hair, sacred thread and Kamaṇḍalu. We have mentioned a few examples but there are many more. Brackets with lion and elephant figures have also been found (Dani 1968, pl 39, no 74; pl. 50, no: 97 and Zwalf: 436-37).

Public Well

The relief "Ānanda Asks a Castless Girl for Water" (Fig: 5) shows three courses high square platform made of rectangular stone blocks having a well in the centre. No other architectural feature of the well is visible.

(2) Religious Buildings

Religious buildings found in the panel reliefs may be divided into:

(A) Stupas,
(B) Vihāras and shrines,
(C) Chaityas
(D) Altars

The most prominent among these is stupa—a domical structure worshipped by Buddhists. These are briefly mentioned below.

A. Stupas

The stupa played a highly significant and pivotal role in the Buddhist faith. Having been cremated, the ashes of the body of a Buddha were not to be thrown to the winds, but deposited in a sepulchral or memorial monument which at the earliest stage must have looked like a prominent mound. In the panel reliefs we
have several examples illustrating the events following the death of the Buddha. For a while it seemed that the death of the Buddha was heading towards a deadly clash. The Mallas of KuśiNāgara, who were in possession of the corporeal remains of the Buddha, refused to share them with other tribes, among them were the Sākyas of Kapilavastu and Licchavis of Vaisāli. Thereupon, these tribes, seven in all marched against KuśiNāgara and war seemed imminent. It was however wisely avoided by the timely intervention of a Brāhman named Droṇa, who suggested that the Mallas agreed to a division of the relics into eight equal parts. The proposal was accepted.

After the distribution the relics were taken to their final resting places in the stupas especially built for them by the tribes. But with the spread of Buddhism in different regions, demand for such relics increased enormously so that by the time of Aśoka (c. 272 BC) the emperor was obliged to take some serious steps to meet this challenge. As the legend goes, Aśoka opened seven out of the eight earliest stupas in which the ashes of the Buddha had been enshrined, and redistributed the relics amongst 8400 cities after mixing them with more ashes.

In making these gifts the emperor may have recognized the value of providing the worshippers with some visible and tangible objects on which to focus their thoughts and prayers. Whatever his purpose, the effect of these relics was profound and lasting. Not only did the presence of the relics make them cult objects of worship, but in after days the stupa itself, whether it contained a relic or not, came to be regarded as a special symbol of Buddhism, worthy to be worshipped for its own sake; so that the mere erection of the stupa, large or small and in whatever material, became an act of merit, bringing its author a step nearer salvation. The vast galaxy of ruined stupas in Gandhāra show how, with utmost devotion, their authors tried to achieve this goal.

From that time onward, there was some kind of trade of supposed corporeal relics of the Buddha. Even if they were not sold, they had to be procured at the cost of much money: the monk or king supposed to possess such relics and willing to part them freely, received a big gift in return. The relics had to be conveyed home with proper care and honour, to be encased in a casket, sometimes of gold, and put, with gold, silver and other precious offerings in a stupa very often specially built for them. In one of our reliefs, a recipient of the
relics is shown carrying the relics casket riding on a horse, another on a camel and a third on an elephant (Figs. 52, 53). The panel reliefs show two main types of the stupas: (1) plain, and (2) ornate.

Type 1.

It looks more like a solid dome-like (see Ingholt: No. 145) mass of masonry raised on a square or circular plinth. A more evolved form may be seen in Fig 54. It shows three stupas in a row. Three of them vary but little; one may note that the base of the one on the extreme left shows an all-over pattern of discs only, whereas the others two are decorated by single rosettes in panels. It is to be seen that all the essential parts of a stupa—plinth, base, two-tiered drum, dome, harmikā, spacers and parasols—had already been worked out before the carving of this panel was complete.

Type 2.

Fig. 55 represents the second ornate type mentioned above. The plain rectangular base of this stupa stands upon a moulded stupa plinth. Above it is a dentil and drop cornice. The lower part of the two-tiered drum has a diaper of open flower. Above the plain upper tier is a moulded cornice supporting a vedikā. The lower part of the dome shows an undulating garland with rosettes in the dips. The top of the dome is decorated with grooved lotus petals. Each side of the square harmikā, marked by the Corinthian pilasters—one in each corner—contains an open flower under a bracket cornice of cyma reversa type. Above the harmikā is chattrāvalī consisting of three parasols. This stupa panel has been the subject of discussion since its discovery and is described in detail by several scholars. We have entered into this detail just to show that it marks a developmental stage in stupa architecture. Another example (Fig: 56) shows not only an ornate stupa as seen above, but also new additions to its decoration such as a false gable panel on the front side of its dome, columns—one at each corner of its square base with plain shafts and horizontally grooved globular capitals, and fluttering banners. In another interesting relief panel found in the excavations of
Shnaisha (Fig: 57) each of the column has loin on top of the capitals and on the front side the stupa a flight of steps which are very rare in our reliefs. The addition of columns was probably inspired by Aśokan examples. Aśoka is known to have erected tall pillars of stone crowned by lions or other symbolical animals which, in the course of time, came to be looked upon as characteristic emblems of the Buddhist Church (Brown 1959:7-12) and are frequently met with in early Gandhāra art.

Although a staircase, in the sense of a set of stairs and its surrounding structures, is hard to come by in our reliefs—even as great an event as the descent of the Buddha from the *Trayastrimsa* heaven is indicated by a plain undecorated ladder—yet stair–riser reliefs and other related relief panels found in the excavations of actual stupas, are very well known. Another set of interesting panels depicted a variety of subjects such as *ichthyocentaur*, winged triton, marine bull, marine horse, winged monsters, winged monster with ram’s head, winged monster with ducks head etc, has also been reported from various sites. According to Marshall (1960: 37) the position held by these triangular panels was under a raking cornice at the side of the steps leading up to a small stupa base. Zwalf (I: Pl 251) refers to them as “string panels of a stair”.

1. Vihāras and Shrines

The vihāra or monastery (from the GK monazein, ‘live alone’; from monos ‘alone’), residential building for a community of monks, is, on the ground, represented by countless examples in Gandhāra but it is hard to come by in the panel reliefs. Ingholt has however shown three examples (Nos, 468, 469, 471) which, in his view, represents Vihāras. Now, monasteries or vihāras of Gandhāra are all square or quadrangular in plan with an open courtyard in the centre and living cells all around; none of them is domical.

The examples given by Ingholt all represent domical structures. His No. 471 (Fig. 58) shows merely the top of a dome with no evidence to determine the kind of building it belonged to, whereas No. 469 (Fig. 59) has a tiny little, but complete structure on the base of the statue. The most elaborately decorated of all is No. 468 (Fig. 60) which, according to Ingholt, depicts the upper portion of a
"monastery" in full detail, but we shall mention here only its salient features in as much as they help in determining the true nature of this building.

The most prominent feature of this building is its two domes—one above the other. The lower dome—the ovolo of Ingholt—is larger in size and supports the smaller dome above. Both the domes show brackets and vedikā motif at their bases. The upper dome has an additional frieze of garland bearing amorini. Standing upon the ovolo on each side of the base of the dome are two standing devotees. At the front side of the upper dome are two niches—one above the other—each having an enthroned Buddha in meditation. The main “entrance” of the building is flanked by engaged Corinthian columns. The entrance itself is missing and may in fact have merely been an opening.

Another similar building may be seen in Fig. 61. In this relief we find the same overall concept—an opening flanked by Corinthian columns, two elaborately decorated domes of which the lower has a vedikā motif at the base. The upper dome supported on the brackets has two birds, instead of human figures, perched—one on each side of the dome. The swollen surfaces on the top may be intended to represent banners. In the opening sits a preaching Buddha.

A simplified version of this design may be seen in Zwalf No. 110 (Fig: 62). In this relief we find a preaching Buddha sitting upon a large gynoecium of an inverted lotus. Fortunately the seat of the Buddha, missing in the above example, has survived in this relief. The salient features of the building in the panel, such as the seated Buddha, Corinthian columns, two domes, fluttering banners, are the same as in the above mentioned reliefs. It is noteworthy that the horror vacui, the dislike for empty spaces, is common to all. Zwalf names these building as chapel or shrines.

The same, above mentioned design, with all the essential features may also be seen in the upper portion of the relief, “Miracle of Śrāvasti” in Fig. 16 above. Besides this, at least one example of this kind of a structure has survived in Gandhāra. It is the Balo Kile Gumbat (Rehman 1984:123-32) in the Kandāk-Jahāṅgir valley near Barikot in lower Swāt (Fig: 63). This building was first reported by A. Stein (1975: 32-33) in 1928 and excavated in 1938 by Barger and Wright (Bargar at al 1941: 16) who refer to it as “a shrine with a high dome”. A. Stein, who gives the very first photographs of the building, has more details:
“An architecturally interesting structure known appropriately as Gumbat, ‘the dome’ which rises on the hill-side near a spring some six miles from Bīr-Kot had fortunately fared better. It consists of a cella nearly twelve feet square within, surrounded on all sides by a narrow passage intended for the circumambulation of sacred images that Buddhist worship, like Hindu cult to this day, prescribes. Small windows piercing the massive walls for both cella and passage gave light to the interior. This probably once contained a colossal standing image of the Buddha; for it would be difficult otherwise to account for the great height, close on fifty feet of the dome surrounding the cella” (Stein1975: 31-32).

Thus, there are reason to believe that Ingholts’ No. 468 shows nothing but a shrine (from Latin schrinium, ‘chest for book’), that is, a place regarded as holy because of its association with a divinity or a sacred person or relic, typically marked by a building or other construction. Ingholt No. 469 gives a complete example of the shrine. Similar shrine models of terracotta were very popular during the Kushāna times, for, a number of them have been found in excavations at Taxila and Gangudher. There is one at display at Taxila Museum, another in the Peshāwar Museum and quite a few in the custody of the Directorate of Archaeology, NWFP. Ingholt No. 433, Hermit in Front of Fire Temple”, depicts the same overall shrine.

(C) Chaityas

Chaitya (from chita, originally a tumulus, ‘burial mound’ but subsequently a monastery) was a favourite decorative motif with the Gandhāran sculptors. But the complete picture of a chaitya does not appear anywhere in the reliefs; it is represented nearly in all cases by its façade (front face) comprising a pointed arch with voluted ends, each having a pendant cone or pot. Within this arch a tapering door (often occupied by standing human figures) of which the jambs show different decorative motifs such as running vine-scroll, horizontal rows of conjoined diamond patterns, four or five petalled flowers etc. (Fig: 64). One example of chaitya hall of which the ruins have survived is known from the excavated part of Sirkap (Taxila) (Marshall 1951: I, pl (a), 26). It has an apse (from Greek apsis, ‘means arch or dome) at one end comparable to a semi-circular or polygonal recess in church, or a Roman basilica (from Greek basilikos
means ‘royal’, from basilius ‘king’) — a large oblong hall with double colonnades and a semi-circular apse at one end.

(D) Altar

Fire-altar is not an infrequent motif in the panel reliefs. It is very often found on the front face of pedestals of large statues. Like the fire-altar found on Sásānian coins, it consists of three main parts: base, shaft and top. It is in the moulding of these three features that variation can be clearly seen. On the Sásānian coins, where it occurs more profusely than anywhere else, it has, in general a stepped base and a similarly stepped but broad, or round top from which flames spring. In the reliefs the base in some cases (Fig: 65) is three pointed; in others (Fig: 66), it looks more like a square Corinthian columns with a recessed oblong panel on the shaft. The more elaborate form may be seen in Fig. 67. We have columnar fire-altar with a crowing bowl ringed with a pair of grooves showing flames rising in the cornice. Beneath the bowl are two roughly domed members likewise ringed with a pair of grooved lines. The shaft is also similarly ringed. Forming the base is a plinth, a torus moulding and a fillet.

The fire-altar is very often flanked by worshippers including men and women of high ranks and, curiously, also centaurs, one of whom is carrying a fire-altar in his left hand (Fig: 68). Upon the coins of the Sásānian ruler Varahrān II (AD 275-92), the fire-altar is attended by the king, on the left hand side, wearing a globed diadem, and, on the right, by the queen who offers a chaplet (Smith 1906: 222; Paruck 1924:331, No. 147; Göbl 1968: pl. 3, Nos. 48-53). Regarding the general nature of this ritual object Ingholt remarks:

“The fire-altar before which…worshippers kneel in adoration…probably is to be explained by the syncretism ripe at Gandhāra at this time. The usual design on Sásānian coins portrayed the fire-altar emblem of the chief Zoroastrian deity, Ahuramazda—being worshipped by the reigning monarch. Here he may well represent the Buddha, who in the minds of worshippers was the equal to Ahuramazda” (Ingholt 1942:36).
Chapter 5

Weapons, Tools, Implements and Garments:

Weapons, tools, implements and garments are human inventions and are as
told as mans’ first effort to exploit nature to his own benefit. Extremely plain and
simple in the beginning and greatly improved over the centuries, they have played
a significant role in quickening the pace of progress in every field of human
activity—be it peaceful or violent. Besides ideology it is indeed sophistication
brought about in weapons and tools that has often been a determining factor in
deciding the fate of nations.

In Pakistan the earliest examples of weapons and tools, besides the stone-
age hand-axes, come from Harpapa and Mohenjodaro (2600-1700 B C) (Mark
Kenoyer 1997: 25)—the well known twin capitals of the Indus Valley Civilization
(Piggot 1961:136). The major forms include spears, knives, leaf-shaped
spearheads, flat axes (without shaft hole) etc. Sir Mortimer Wheeler (1959: 58:
61) has drawn attention to two examples of axes having shaft holes on the pottery
of Mohenjodaro. Allchin (2003: 193) maintains that most of these forms set the
pattern for later Indian types for centuries to come. These weapons and tools were
made of copper and bronze with the occasional use of chert.

The discovery of chert blades on several Indus Valley sites shows that the
use of stone as a material for manufacturing weapons and tools continued side by
side with metals as the latter was a rare commOđity and costly as well. Therefore,
the use of stone, particularly on the countryside, continued long after the
introduction of metal weapons. As a matter of fact, outside the main urban
centres, many people in Pakistan still had their bows and arrows as late as the
beginning of the 20th century. Keeping a gun, for instance, was looked upon as a
luxury which only the rich could afford. This is why we find occasional
representations of stone weapons in Gandhāran reliefs as well.

A. Weapons

A weapon is a thing or object designed or used for inflicting bOđily harm
or physical damage such as, in modern terminology, a nuclear weapon. A weapon
may be used for crushing (or beating), piercing, throwing and cutting. The
simplest form of a weapon, when used for the purpose of crushing or beating had traditionally been that of a long bamboo stick now called dāṅg. On the country side where people often come across snakes, it is still a very effective weapon. Besides this, it is widely used by the elderly as a supporting stick and is abundantly depicted as such in Gandhāran reliefs.

Another form of this weapon is a heavy’ stick or club (called Gorz in Persian, and Bugdar in Prakrit), looking more like a mace with a thick end often used as a tool in athletic exercises or as a weapon in war. Two varieties are found in the reliefs.

Variety 1 (still in use) is a plain heavy piece of wood tapering to one end for easy grasp. Ingholt (Nos. 2 and 3) has two examples. In these reliefs (Fig:69) an athletic human figure is shown with a club in his right hand not unlike the Heracles, except that the club found on the Bactrian Greeks coins, where it occurs most profusely, has projected knobs all over.

Variety 2 is represented by two examples in Kurita (Nos. 627,629; Ingholt: No.64). Fig.7o shows one of these. This example has a knobbed globular bottom end, while the upper portion is decorated with circular bands in low relief.

a. Offensive weapons

Of the offensive weapons the most important are spear, sword and dagger. These are amply depicted in Gandhāran reliefs. Bow and arrows and a kind of battle-axe were also in use.

1. Spear (Sanskrit. Prāse; Prakrit. Barcchā)

It is a composite weapon consisting of a long wooden stick or shaft with a pointed blade fixed or tied at one end; the other end is also pointed in some cases. It is undoubted one of the oldest weapons invented by man. Spearheads of bone have been found amongst the early remains of mans’ life (Harrison 1929: 30).

The discovery of a number of ‘spearheads’ in the Indus cities is very significant. Unlike the stone spearheads of Egypt or Sumer, there are all metallic specimens and are invariably tanged. “Most of them are thin, flat, leaf-shaped blades which would buckle on impact and must have been stiffened by being set back between the split ends of the shaft, which would serve as a mid-rib …
Rarely, the blade has a slight median thickening, the section being diamond shaped” (Wheeler 1993: 73). Such re-inforced blades are upto eighteen and a half inches in length and may rather represent short swords or Dirks. According to the Wheeler (op, cit) spear-heads found in the Indus cities are invariably tanged and cannot be clearly distinguished from knives. It is interesting to note that no barbed blade has been found there, although, there is a clear illustration of a barbed spear on a Mohenjodaro seal. Sir Mortimer Wheeler rejects the simple chert blades, which occur abundantly on all Harappan sites, as implements of war and says that chert and flint weapons are almost unknown in the Indus Valley: exceptions are from Kot Diji (Khan 1956: ) and from Periano Ghundai (Fair Service 1971: 148-49 ) in northern Baluchistan.

Gandhāran reliefs show three main varieties of spearheads:

(1) Leaf-shaped with mid-rib
(2) Conical
(3) Concave sided blade with conical tip

From their illustrations in the sculptures it is difficult to precisely tell the materials they are made of, although from their shape and size one may make a reasonable guess. Some of the examples, for instance, (Kurita: No, 470) show disproportionately heavy blades, while others (Ingholt 1957: Nos. 10, 39, 40) have long thin blade. Those having thick and heavy blades—thicker indeed even than the shaft which supports them—in our view follow the tradition of stone spearheads, whereas the lighter blades represent their counterpart in metals.

Spears with leaf-shaped heads (var.1) are in general held by Yavani guards associated with palace scenes such as the Dream of Māyā (Fig: 71), Life in the Palace, The Renunciation, The Great Departure etc. Male guards holding this kind of spear may be seen in the reliefs’ Mārās’ Attack (Ingholt: 63), the Urn Carried into KuśiNāgara (Fig: 1). Spears with conical heads are generally held by warriors with or without scale armour (Figs: 72-73).

A good example of var.3 may be seen in Fig.74 showing seated Pāncika—the semidivine war-lord of the yakshas—holding in his left hand a spear with a bell attached near the top. The spearhead shows concave sides under a triangular point. The bottom end of the spear in this case is hidden behind Pāncikas’ left
foot, but in Fig. 75, showing a standing Kāttīkeya, the spear shows a lightly pointed mount at the end. There are many other examples which, following the Greek pattern, show a sharply pointed mount.

A sub-variety of the conical spearhead variety appears in a relief (Zwalf: No: 315) showing a hunting scene. One of the hunters on the left hand side holds a hafted spear with a short shaft. This obviously is meant for throwing at the animal from a distance like a dart. In the left hand side top corner of the panel showing the submission of Apalāla (Fig: 76), a half-length male figure holds a similar short spear or javelin.

1. Triśūla

The Triśūla was probably another offensive weapon or a symbol of peaceful authority. In Greek art it is held by Bacchus (Hope 1962: Pl. 50) and Jupiter (Ibid: Pl. 115). It is one of the attributes of the Indian god Śiva and, in this position it has countless illustrations on coins and sculptures.

Fig. 77 shows a standing Hāriṇī, originally a yakshi, and the personification of the most dreaded of all infantile diseases, smallpox, holding a triśūla in her left hand. Like the spear, it is also pointed at the nether end.

2. Swords

Swords and spears, amply illustrated in our reliefs, were favourite weapon of the Kushāns. Typically Iranians are both the straight hilt of the sword and the way it is attached to the body by its special sword-belt or baldric (Pope 1938-9: pl. 155; Roger 1962: pl.100). Characteristic of Iranian or Iranizing tribes is also the manner in which the sword-belt passes through a loop or bridges half way down the scabbard.

The sword is found mainly in the panels illustrating the hostile actions of Māra, personification of the evil, against the Bodhisattva Siddhārta. The evil Māra realized that his power in the world would be seriously jeopardized if Siddhārta should obtain the supreme knowledge and subsequently lead other people to salvation. He therefore used all possible means to persuade Siddhārta to give up the quest. He first tempted him with promises of power and pleasure. But,
when he saw that neither offer of power, nor feminine charms could change the mind of Siddhārta he resorted to force and brought out an army of demons and human warriors. These warriors were equipped with all sorts of weapons with Māra himself carrying the sword.

Except in two cases (Ingholt: Nos. 64,118) where the sword is naked and the blade can very well be seen, it is difficult to tell its precise shape when it happens to be within a sheath, as is the case with the rest of our examples. However, taking clue from the naked examples and the straight scabbards, one may say for certain that the sword had a straight blade.

The scabbard shows three variant forms: (1) Rectangular, (2) with the bottom end round off, (3) with the bottom end pointed. These varieties may represent different but concurrent cultural traditions regarding the model of a scabbard; in some cases (Kurita: Nos. 620-21) all the three occur together in one and the same panel. In most cases the scabbard shows a margin fillet on all the four sides. The area thus enclosed accommodates a loop or bridge for the baldric to pass through, and is occasionally decorated.

Fig. 78 shows Māra ready to draw his sword from a rectangular scabbard which hangs by a short, straight baldric from his left shoulder. A scabbard with the bottom end rounded off may be seen in Fig. 79 which shows the figure of a standing moustached Vajrapāṇī holding the pommel of his sword. A naked pointed sword may be found illustrated in the panel “Host of Māra”. On the extreme left, almost in the middle, is a demon holding a naked sword (Fig. 8o). It is a short, double-edged and straight weapon with a clearly visible mid-rib. There is a projection looking like a herring bone at the base of the hilt suggesting a rudimentary form of a cross-guard. Similar iron swords are reported from Taxila referred by Marshall (1951: 1, PL. 544) to the first century AD. The sword more usually depicted in the carvings as well as Gandhāra reliefs is a short weapon like the Roman gladius (op, cit).

3. Dagger

The dagger has a very distinctive shape in our reliefs and can easily be distinguished from the sword. It has a short and broad blade almost triangular at
the apex. This type of dagger has not been reported from Taxila. Except in the matter of length, the daggers found at Taxila closely resemble the swords (Marshall 1951: I, 545) and might well have answered to the term *semispathium*, applied to the Roman *pugio* in later Imperial times. But the two examples found in Gandhāra art (see Kurita: Nos. 624,871) look more like their Etruscan counterparts (comp. Hope; Pl. 41). In both the cases the shape of the blade may only be guessed from the shape of their sheaths (Fig. 81).

4. Archery

Archery was a favourite art of the nobility. Jotipāla, son of the royal chaplain of Brahmādatta, king of Benares, was advised by his father to go to Taxila to learn archery besides other arts. On his return to Benares he excelled at an archery competition and was appointed commander-in-chief (*Jātaka* No. 522). *Mahāvastu* relates the story how Siddhārata proved his excellence in martial arts, archery in particular, in an open contest held at Kapilavastu. The contest was prompted by the refusal of Mahānāma, Yośodhara’s father, to give the hand of his daughter in marriage to Siddhārata on the ground that the latter was brought up amongst women and therefore lacked manly qualities. To show the strength of his arms Siddhārata brought out an extremely heavy bow of the time of his grandfather and challenged others to string it; no body could perform this feat. He then pierced all the targets with his arrows.

The archery kit consisted of three items: (1) Bow, (2) Arrow, and (3) Quiver. The bow in a drawn position is abundantly depicted particularly in the hunting scenes and a *Jātaka* story. But the arrow is very often missing and its existence is suggested by the position of the archers’ flexed right arm. The bow consists of a short but a straight middle portion held by the archer to keep the bow in correct position, and curved sides (Fig: 82). Both ends are connected by a tight string. The arrowhead looks barbed (Fig: 83) in some cases and conical in others. Fig. 84 shows a three headed much damaged deity with a bow flung across his body. A complete archery kit is visible in Fig. 85 in which a standing figure on the extreme left of the panel holds a bow flung across his neck with his left hand and an arrow in the outstretched right and, while the upper end of the quiver is
visible at his back.

Accounts of the Bodhisattvas’ display of the skills to prove his fitness for marriage agree on his superiority in archery and tell how only he could string an ancestral and hugely difficult bow and pierce all the targets. Fig. 86 shows the archery contest just outside the city gate of Kapilavastu. In the first scene (on the right) is a projecting gateway with sloping jambs in a crenellated wall with oblong loopholes, a farther line of crenellation behind, and on the left hand side two archers draw thick bows at a target fixed on a branch of tree. No arrows are visible but behind the second archer there exists a compound quiver suggesting arrows.

Ancient Indian literature refers to arrow-head of many shapes, e.g. *ardhacandra* (‘half-moon’), *Kshurapra* (with a razor edge), *sūcīmukha* (needle-shaped), *vats-danta* (like a calfs’ tooth) (cf.J.A.O.S.X111: 275-81). At Taxila in the Śaka-Parthian period (first century BC to first century AD) the conical and ‘three bladed’ varieties make their first appearance (Marshall 1951:11, 547). Strabo refers to arrows made of wood and hardened in fire (Majumdar 1960:96) and Curtius to ‘two cubits long’ arrows (Ibid: 105).

5. Battle-axe

As with other arms and armour, the battle-axes is also associated with the reliefs showing Māra’s Attack. But this weapons, it seems, was not very common. We have only two examples in the entire range of our panels. A very clear example may be seen in Fig. 78. It shows a warrior on the extreme right with armour like that of Māra holding a battle-axe below its head, the end of the shaft is resting on the ground. In the second relief (Ingholt: No. X3) Māra himself is shown wielding an axe with both hands.

**B: Defence armour**

The defensive armour of Gandhāra consisted of a helmet, breast plate, greaves, shield and scale armour. In the defensive equipment the helmet must have played a very significant role in protecting the warrior against head injuries. But, contrarily, its representation in Gandhāra art is scanty. Similarly meager is
the evidence found at Taxila. Marshall (1951: II, 550) uncovered only one iron specimen in Sirkap (stratum 11). It is a “helmet with cheek piece on one side, attached seemingly by pivot, enabling it to be raised or lowered. The other side of the helmet is missing… the crown is of one piece beaten out like an oval bowl and afterwards deepened by horizontal bands hammered on to it. It is large enough to admit of a thick padded cap underneath, even on a big head. On the summit is a boss intended for the attachment of a ring, spike, or crest. Grecian helmets appear to be comparatively more developed. Of these there were two principal types: that with an immovable visor, projecting from it like mast; and that with a movable visor sliding over it in the shape of a mere slip of metal. In order to protect the cheeks, two leather flaps were attached, which when not used, were tucked up inwards (see Hope 1962: XXXVI).

Of the meager number of representations in the panel reliefs, one example may be seen in Ingholt: No.64 (Fig. 79). Two of the warriors in the first row wear scale armour. The warrior to the right shows a helmet on the head, recalling, according to Ingholt, the so-called morion from Spain (1957:66), supposedly brought from the East. The other example is to be seen in Zwalf: No. 186 (Fig. 87). On the right hand in this relief is a half length armed figure above the figure of the discomfited Māra trying to steal away. He wears a helmet with a curved brim rising to a point above the forehead.

The breast-plate as a separate piece of defensive equipment is equally rare in archaeological remains as well as in panel reliefs. This may perhaps be due to the use of cuirass which protected the breast as well as the back. Even the eighteen armour plates along with three links of an iron chain found in Sirkap (Taxila) are so heavy that they were unsuitable for a human warrior. The size and weight of these plates, says Marshall (1951: 549), suggests that they served as armour for horses or even for camels or elephants rather than men. Marshall also refers to the Parthian camelry, which was also heavily armed and may have been copied from the Roman dromedarii. Horses and riders clad in mail or plate armour were from early times a feature of the Persian, Seleucid, Parthian and Sarmatian armies.
We have several examples of horses with breast plate in Gandhāra art but they appear more like a decorative rather than a defensive feature. The horse mounted by Siddhārtha, for instance, (Fig. 85) at the time of the Great Departure, shows a breast plate. But it was a time of peace, not war. Therefore the breast-plate in this case may be a defensive equipment whose use in peaceful times would be unnecessary.

Greave—a piece of armour used to protect the shin—was commonly used by the nobility and is abundantly depicted in the panel reliefs. Fig. 88 shows standing figure wearing greaves. (See also Kurita: 620; Ingholt: 420, 64, and 65). In some cases it may be confused with the long boots of Kushān emperors (Rosenfield 1993:Fig.63).

The shield shows two main varieties: (1) round, and (2) rectangular. No complete shield came to light in the Taxila excavation but its existence is amply suggested by the discovery of a number of iron, copper and silver shield bosses (see Marshall 1951: 111, PL. 177, No. 388-89; PL. 187, No.22). But representations of complete shields may abundantly be seen in the panel reliefs. Variety (1) has two sub-varieties: (a) Decorated with floral or other designs (see Kurita: No. 624; Ingholt: No.63) and (b) Receding steps winding up to a central boss (Ingholt: 64 and Kurita: 623). Fig. 89 shows a warrior with a dagger in the right and a shield with lotus design, in the left hand. Variety 2 is represented by a solitary example in Kurita: No. 627. The shield has grooved parallel lines on the outer side and is slightly curved.

A curious type of shield looking like the numeral 8 appears in a panel depicting a warrior wearing a double skirted cuirass (Fig. 90). In another panel (Fig. 91), illustrating the story of “Conversion of Angulimāla”, Angulimāla is depicted twice: first in the pose of attacking his mother and then the Buddha, his sword being in the right and shield in the left hand. The shield he is holding has the upper part like a cone or semi-circle and the lower part rectangular. The way it is presented makes it difficult to determine its real shape. But its comparison with the shield held by the figure standing in the middle in the bottom row in Fig. 83 makes the real form of the shield absolutely clear. This is the second case in which we have a figure with sword in one hand and shield in the other.
Armour

The metal coverings (i.e. armour) worn by soldiers or warriors to protect the body in battle may be amply witnessed in Gandhāra art, particularly in the scenes representing Māra and hosts. Fig. 80 in this context successfully portray the terrifying and frightening effect that Māra wanted to create by the use of the popularized figures of demons in frightful poses and human warriors to drive Siddhārta from the ‘diamond seat’. Two of the standing warriors in the bottom row wear armour comprising a half-sleeved jacket (coat of mail) covered with scales with round ends upwards to protect the upper half of the body, and a skirt of pendent plates of metal with the foundation fabric rolled at the bottom just above the knees, perhaps to prevent metal chafing on the body. A similar pattern but better delineated appears in Fig. 92 which also shows how the skirt was secured round the waist overlapping the lowest part of the jacket. Fig. 75 has a slightly different pattern in that the jacket, perhaps quilted, has a cross-hatched design marking perhaps sewing lines. In another relief (Fig: 84) the jacket leaves the abdomen naked. A yet another example (Fig: 93) shows each strip of the skirt marked by a dimple in the centre. We have mentioned here just a few representative examples, there are many others (see Kurita: Nos. 476-78,623,520; Ingholt: Nos. 47, 63, 64, 561; Zwalf: Nos. 102,104,434 etc).

C: Tools and Implements

Although a fairly large variety of iron tools and implements was found in the Taxila excavations which give a precise picture of the nature of these equipments, there is not much in the panel reliefs except a few representations of the plough (Ingholt: Nos. 36,284) and hoe (Ibid: No. 172). It is interesting to note that exactly the same wooden plough with iron blade drawn by a pair of oxen is still in use not only in Gandhāra but also all over of Pakistan and is now in the process of being replaced by the more sophisticated devices such as tractors and other agricultural machinery. In Gandhāra art the plough (Fig: 94) is the symbol of the “First Sermon”.
Garments

With a long history of foreign occupation behind them it is not surprising that the people of Gandhāra were thoroughly cosmopolitan in their culture and their outlook. This intimate fusion of largely divergent elements was as much apparent in their religious life as in their clothing. Thus we have Indian *dhoti*, Greek *chiton* and *himation*, Iranian *caftan* and Parthian *pyjama*, going together in a harmonious blend.

As the founder of a religion which inspired the origin and growth of Gandhāra art, the Buddha and his robes need to be mentioned first of all. According to the *Vinaya* (the discipline books) the Buddhās’ robe consisted of three unsewn pieces (i.e. sheets) of cloth made of a variety of materials, that is, patches of different cloths sewn in one sheet. The same prescription applied to the monks as well. A three piece robe may amply be witnessed in Gandhāra art on standing images of the Buddha but it is in general free from patches as required by the *Vinaya*. Indeed robes made of patches are exceedingly rare not commonly represented in Indian art anywhere and exceptions are very few. In Mathurā art the whole of the garment is so shown (Arawala 1936:14, pl. 1V, 9). In Gandhāra a sculpture from Butkara No. 2524 (Faccenn-Taddei 1962-4:1, pl.CCXXX111b) shows a patchy robe. Nos. 128 and 512 in Zwalf also show patches but these are very few and do not appear to be an outstanding feature of these robes. Each of these sheets was probably an oblong piece and draped lengthways. As a lower under robe round the middle it is called *antaravasaka*, as an upper under robe over the left shoulder it is *uttarāsāṅga*, and as an overrobe it is *saṅghāti*. Ingholts’ remarks (1957:19) in this context add more information: “The costume of the Buddha which his monks adopted likewise includes a *dhoti*, but it is of wool, as are also the other two garments worn instead of shawl. One is the *uttarāsāṅga*, corresponding to the sleeveless shirt or chiton, generally reaching down to just above the knees, the other is a robe, the Indian *saṅghāti*”.

It is difficult to be exactly sure how the robes were worn in Gandhāra and modern explanations slightly diverge. According to one opinion the *antaravasāka* is the garment ending in a more or less horizontal edge above the ankles on standing figures. The *uttarāsāṅga* is taken to be the upper garment revealed to
more or less knee level, whereas the saṅghāti forms the prominent outer garments. In Figs. 99-101, all the robes are distinctly visible in the standing as well as the seated image of the Buddha. As the practice of using a long upper garment in winter is still alive in Gandhāra, it is not difficult to tell how it was draped in ancient times. The only difference that has taken place is in the shape of the upper garment which is generally believed to have been oblong; at present it is rectangular. A folded rectangular sheet is horizontally thrown across the back with one shorter end in the left hand held in such a way that it passes under the forearm and over the upper left arm. The sheet is then unfolded and thrown across the body front with the right hand. In this way it covers both the shoulders and its end falls over the left shoulder at the back. In case the sheet is too long and unwieldy, the extra length is folded and placed at the left shoulder before spreading the rest on the front side.

Bodhisattva

The Bodhisattvas, just like the chiefs, nobles, kings of Kapilavastu and some gods wear two garments. One of these an oblong piece of cloth—is so draped round the waist that one of its shorter ends falls on the left in the form of round or sometimes pointed ends. Following the modern use of this piece, it is generally referred to as the dhoti (Sanskrit. Paridhāna). It is kept in place by one or two girdles covered in some cases but visible and decorated in others. The garment called uttarīya, is an upper garment and consists of a long and wide rectangular piece of cloth. It is worn in various ways. In general, it is first thrown across the back with one end passing over the left upper arm where it entersthe armpit and is held tight; the other, passing over the right forearm makes a wide loop just under the waist before rising to the left shoulder where it is wound in one or two loops round the arm pit. Fig. 98 shows the uttarīya in much the same way as described above. The drapery on the left arm runs with a thicker lower edge under the shoulder loop while a taselled end hangs behind. The paridhāna is held in place by a twisted, ornamented and knotted girdle with ends hanging between the legs on the front side.
The Royalty

The panel “Interpretation of Māyās’ Dream” (Fig: 98) shows king Śuddhodana and Māyā seated on a high rectangular draped seat marked on the front by a row of herring fish bone design. Māyā shows the typical costume worn by the ladies of high rank. In the present relief she wears a long tunic—a garment worn next the skin known as chiton in Greek—made of a light tissue or wool reaching down her feet, under a long overgarment which, draped from the left shoulder, makes a wide loop in her lap. In another example (Zwalf: No. 302) the lady standing in the middle of the relief wears a chiton lying spread over her feet and tightened just under the breast by a girdle, and a mantle or himation. Two other female figures similarly dressed are more tightly wrapped in their mantle.

Śuddhodana’s costume may likewise be taken to represent drapery of the nobility of Kapilavastu. In the present context he wears his uttariya in such a way as to leave much of his muscular chest bare, but his paridhāna is worn in the usual way as discussed above. Exceptions to this may be seen in the reliefs “Distribution of the Relics” and “Transportation of Relics” in which the paridhāna is replaced by a Partho-Scythian skirt. In the former case (Ingholt: No.153) the prince standing to the right of the Brāhman Drona is clad in the Partho-Scythian nomadic dress. Similarly the chiefs carrying relics on camels in the latter case (Ingholt: No. 150) wear the Partho-Scythian costume comprising trousers and caftan. This costume is eminently suited to riding, the caftan being equally a forerunner of European redingote, originally ’riding coat’ (cf.Ingholt: 1957:97).

Priests, Ascetics, Monks

To the right of Śuddhodana in Fig. 98 sits the Brāhman Āsita upon a draped round cane stool wearing just an uttariya; nothing else is visible on his body at least in this relief. Behind him stands a similarly dressed young Brāhman who may be Āsitas’ nephew Naradatta. Fig. 55 shows how the shaven headed monks were dressed. On the left hand side in this relief are two monks, seen from the back, with hands joined in adoration as they are about to walk round the back of the stupa. Each one of them wears a long robe falling down to below the knees,
leaving the right shoulder bare. If they had any loin cloth or any other undergarment, it is not visible. Incidentally, the way the monks are going to go around the stupa illustrates that in the course of circumambulation one has to keep the right hand side towards the stupa.

The ascetics were the most meagerly dressed of all. In the panel relief showing the Buddha performing a miracle before ascetics (Fig: 99), three ascetics stands on the left hand of the Buddha beside a figure of the Vajrapāni. One of these, with his back to the viewer, wears a short girt tunic over the left shoulder; another, of emaciated appearance, wears only a short lower garment. On the Buddha's right are two more bearded and similarly dressed ascetics.

Deities

By the time of the rise of Gandhāra art, Buddhism had come to terms with the more ancient religious beliefs and practices otherwise not directly linked with its quest for salvation. Chief among these Brahmā, Indra, the four lokapālas, the twenty eight generals of the Yakshas or nature gods and Hāritī with her retinue. Brahmā and Indra, chief gods of the Hindu pantheon are mainly found in narrative reliefs, not in their own individual capacity, symbolizing perhaps their subordination to the Buddha. Nor are they shown in the costume peculiar to the Buddha and can only be distinguished from the nobility by their headgear: Indra's cap in particular. In the relief (Fig. 100) showing the birth of Siddhartha, the god Indra, wearing an uttarīya and a cylindrical cap may be seen approaching Māyā with a long swaddled cloth to receive the baby. Māyā and her attendant, who is her sister, Mahāprajāpati, represents women of high status and the costumes they are wearing are therefore equally interesting. Māyā wears a draped garment from the left shoulder, a paridhāna round it, a scarf which passes behind the back and hangs from both upper arms. Mahāprajāpati wears a sleeved tunic over a paridhāna. Another female figure behind her is dressed like Māyā.

The Buddha seated in the middle of the relief in Fig. 101 is flanked by the guardians (Mahārājas or Lokapālas) of the four cardinal points. Two on each side of the Buddha, they hold four bowls and wear, in each case, an uttarīya and paridhāna illustrating the costume of the divinities of their class.

The most frequently occurring yaksha, Vajrapāni, the Buddha's protector
acolyte usually found in narrative reliefs, is variously dressed. In Fig. 99 he appears with long, bearded face, modelled muscles, genitals, a long draped-overgarment from his left shoulder passing across the legs. A bare-backed Vajrapāṇi with the uttariya falling below the hips appears in Fig. 76.

A less frequent deity, Māra, is variously shown as an armoured figure (Fig. 78) or in the dress of a nobleman (Fig. 87). Another armoured deity (Fig. 98) with spear or bird—a form perhaps of the Hindu god Skanda-Kārttikeya—wears a paridhāna under his armour skirt and sleeved tunic under a cross-hatched quilted shirt.

Miscellaneous

Incidentally represented in Gandhāra art are hunters, wrestlers, acrobats, male and female worshippers, donors, grooms, palanquin-bearers, school boys, teachers, farmers etc. None of these needed special care in the delineation of their physical features for they appear merely as supporting characters or agents to illustrate certain stories related to the previous lives or the last (i.e. worldly) life of the Buddha. Nevertheless, one can have a good idea of the garments used by the miscellaneous communities they belong to. The hunter shown in the relief illustrating ‘Siddhārtha exchanges clothes with the hunter’ wears merely a langoti (see Ingholt: No. 46). In another example (Ibid: No. 1) a hunter is shown sawing off the tusks of an elephant. He seems to be a little better off in the matter of garment as, instead of langoti, he wears a long dhoti (paridhāna). The tight shorts which the wrestlers wear, as represented in various reliefs, (Ingholt: Nos. 27, 28, 445) is the present Jānghia. A shorter form of this Jānghia is to be seen in the Jamāl Garhi relief depicting a wrestling match (Marshall 1973: Fig. 105). In this case the width of the Jānghia is just good enough to cover the genitals. A kind of athletic undergarment of acrobats (see Ingholt: No. 427) looks more like a short dhoti tucked behind and held in place round the waist by a band.

There was no particular dress for worshippers, both male and female, as they hailed from different segments of the society and represented in each case the segment they belonged to. Thus we have worshippers, in most cases, wearing uttariya (chādar) and paridhāna (dhoti) (see Zwalf: Nos. 266; Inghlot: 304-05), in some cases caftan (sleeved tunic) and trousers (Fig. 101). The Scytho-Parthian
costume, also termed as Iranian, comprising nearly close-fitting trousers (present *shalwâr*) and riding caftan was eminently suited to riding; the caftan being actually a forerunner of the European redingote—originally 'riding coat' (cf. Ibid: 97). In another variety (Fig. 102) the caftan is longer at the sides than at the centre and has a beaded decoration around the neck down the front to the waist, and down the front of the trouser legs. Around the waist (but visible only on the front) is a nicely decorated belt of which the ends tied in the front terminate in a pendant pommel. The two extant worshippers in a fragmentary panel (Fig. 103) wear unusual costumes. The one on the left has a costume showing beaded decoration as seen above, but instead of trousers, he wears a skirt, reaching to just above the knee like a Scotsman combining the kilt with knee-length stockings. The skirt is decorated with vertical rows of horizontal, curved lines. The other (standing on the right hand side) is clad in a *dhoti* only; a floral garland draped over the shoulder passes between the arms and the body and hangs down in front to the knees. The donor standing to the Bodhisattva's right (see Ingholt; No. 287) also wears caftan and trousers but his headdress appears to be an emblem of royalty and resembles the crown of the Pharaoh of Upper Egypt (see Breasted 1944: Fig. 37). The pattern of lines decorating the tiara suggests a jewelled decoration.

The four female worshippers of Fig. 104 all show trailing robes. Of these the two in the centre present a very significant stance. The weight of the body on the right foot, the right hip thrusts forward, the trunk sways back, and the head inclines slightly forward. Both costume and bearing, as Ingholt suggests, seem to point to the tribes northeast of Gandhāra and may be compared to the frescoes from Qizil in East Turkestan in which the ladies show the same posture. In Chinese art the noble ladies are represented in a similar manner at least as early as the Tang period (cf. Ingholt: 139-40).

The representations of grooms are not very many in Gandhāra art and we depend merely on the representations of Siddhārta's groom, Chanḍaka, found in stories of Sidddhārtha's departure from his ancestral home to a nearby forest and his exchange of clothes. In the penal relief No. 48 in Ingholt Chanḍaka can be seen clad in *uttariya* and *paridhâna* (*dhoti*). This may be the dress of the grooms in general.

The farmer, (Ibid: No. 36), grass-cutter (Ibid: No. 59) and male servants
(Ibid: No. 146) are meagerly dressed in a short dhoti which covers merely the middle portion of the body from waist to just above the knees. The two litter bearers (Ibid: No. 35) are also similarly dressed.

The dress of a teacher can be known from the relief (Ibid: No. 25) illustrating 'Siddhārta in School'. The schoolmaster Viśvamitra clad in uttarīya and dhoti is shown sitting on a wicker chair and writing on a board held in his lap. In another relief (Ibid: No. 24) haloed Siddhārta is accompanied by three school fellows standing to the right of the seated Viśvamitra. All are shown wearing dhoti and uttarīya. Nearly seven of Siddhārta's school fellows are shown in the panel 'the child Bodhisattva going to school in a ram cart'. Except for the Bodhisattva, all are clad in sleeveless long tunics (Fig. 105).

An interesting example of the ultra-smart and fashionable dress is to be seen in the dress of a Yakshī standing under the śāla tree (Fig. 106). The wreath on her head was of course fashionable among the upper classes of Graeco-Parthian society, but in other respects her dress and ornaments are Indian in origin. The dress consists of a dhoti reaching down to the ankles, long sleeved jacket or coat or scarf (visible on the right shoulder), while the ornaments she is wearing comprise a forehead medallion, ear-rings, two necklaces, crossed breast-chain (of which only the top is visible) hip-girdle of four pearl strings, wrist bangles and anklets.
Chapter 6
Jewellery and Headresses

The principal items of jewellery in gold and silver found by Marshall at Taxila include ear-pendants of many different shapes, necklaces, girdles, breast chains, belts, amulets, broaches, hair pins, bangles, bracelets, torques, anklets, and finger rings ((see Marshall 1951:11, 616 ff). This contemporary material is very significant and can help us in the identification of their very often clumsy renderings in stone as found in Gandhāra art. The majority of the items of jewelry (180 out of the total 213) found at Taxila comes from the later strata in the city of Sirkap and belong with few exceptions to the first century AD. In style, Marshall remarks “the jewellery is, for the most part, distinctly Greek, Graeco-Roman or Scytho-Persian in character and fundamentally different from the contemporary Indian jewellery, as we see it depicted in the reliefs of Sāñchi, Bhārhut and other monuments of the Early Indian School”.

Much of the jewellery from Taxila was made with the help of moulds or dies. An inherent disadvantage of an impression made in a mould is that only the thinnest sheet-metal (gold or silver) can be used for pressing it into cavities of the design. Even then it is not finally finished off, as it needs to be further retouched with punches and engraver in order to be able to produce the desired effect. To overcome this difficulty the jewellers of Taxila had recourse to copper or bronze dies. It is significant also, Marshall says, that the technical process employed in the manufacture of this Taxila jewellery is identical with those employed throughout the Greek and Graeco-Roman world. The technique of granulation, that is, the decoration of a gold surface with fine granules (Lat. Pulvisculus aureus) was known in Greece and the Near East almost from time immemorial (Ibid) Another method of decorating gold and silver ornaments which India learnt from the Graeco-Roman world, was that known as filigree (Ibid: 618). This was effected by soldering fine wire to the surface of the metal, the wire being either plain, twisted into a chain, or beaded.

If the art of granulation and filigree was a western one, it is certain that the art of incrusting jewellery and other objects with gems was of eastern origin and
it was rarely practiced in the Mediterranean area until the conquest of Alexander opened up the Orient (Ibid: 619). What ever the source of origin, the design of jewellery found at Taxila and the manner in which the design are applied show that the vogue for incrustation which arose at Taxila in the first century AD was the Direct outcome of the Parthian occupation (Ibid.). In the Taxila jewellery the incrustation is of two kinds. In one, the gems or paste are enclosed in small compartments or cloisons, contiguous to one another and covering the whole surface; in the other they are studded here and there about the design either in cloisons or in box-settings (Ibid.). The semi-precious stones used in jewellery at Taxila were: carnelian or sard, chalcedony, agate, onyx, garnet, jasper, lapis-lazuli, rock-crystal, turquoise paste, black marble and white orthoclase felspar. These are much the same as used by Greeks, Graeco-Roman or Graeco-Scythic jewellers.

A: Jewellery

The principal items of jewellery reflected in Gandhāra art comprises: (1) head (2) ear (3) nose (4) arm (5) waist and (6) legs ornaments. From their representations in stone it is not possible to tell the material or materials of which they were made but their counterparts founds in Taxila indicate that the materials much in use for jewellery were gold and silver.

Of all the parts of a human body the head seems to have received the best attention, for, the head ornament, besides its role as an object of beautification also served a very important utilitarian function, viz, holding the hair in position. In its most simple form the head ornament consists of a single strip, band or fillet of cloths or metal worn much like a diadem as depicted on Bactrian Greek coins where it appears as a symbol of royalty. A good example of it may be seen in Fig. 107 showing a tutelary couple. The bands of curly hairs radiating perhaps from a lost chignon and forming coxcomb points on the forehead of the god sitting on the left hand side pass under a plain single fillet. But representations of this kind of a fillet are not very many. The most recurrent form in Gandhāra art is a string of jewels or beads worn in the hair above the forehead in many different ways.

The head-bands may consist of one, two (Zwalf 1996: No. 70) or three strings (Ingholt 1957: No. 296)—all issuing from a clasp over the forehead (see
The clasp is very often a square/rectangular block or ring. Endless are the ways in which the head-band is applied to the hair. In some cases the strings are joined together forming a thick band (Fig. 108). In Fig. 109 the head-band consists of two strings emanating from a ring above the forehead, but the strings instead of forming one thick band, fan out separately, while a third winds round the top-knot apparently unconnected with the others. In the head dress of Māyā the string of Jewels winds round the head with each turn of the turban (see Fig. 110). Fig. 111 shows a sumptuously jewelled headdress of which the outer diadem, passing horizontally just above the forehead locks, is connected to the beaded band at the base of the usniṣā by strings of pearls that continue over the top of the head. Of the three visible strings, the middle one issues from a rectangular and the flanking ones from a round clasp provided in the diadem. It may be parenthetically noted that the head under discussion is taken to be a good example of the meeting of Eastern and Western influences in Gandhāra: the superb decoration of the head being South Asian in spirit, while its precise modelling reflects Greek influence. An even more ornate headdress may be witnessed in Fig. 112. In this case the diadem and strings of pearls occur together with an additional item: a round medallion showing a tapering tenon. Another variety in this context may be seen in the headdress of the donor standing on Siddhārta’s right in Fig. 113, which resembles the Pharaonic crown of Upper Egypt (Breasted 1944: Fig. 37) and was no doubt an emblem of royalty. The pattern of lines decorating the tiara suggests a jewelled ornamentation.

The proper placement of such items of jewellery as ear-pendants, amulets, necklaces, bangles etc. on human body and the manner in which they were displayed, is best illustrated in Bodhisattva images of which a large number of complete examples has survived and is available for study so that we don’t have to depend merely upon surmise and imaginary view points. Fig. 114 shows a standing Maitreya wearing, in addition to a torque or collar, three bead necklaces of varying size and thickness. The torque is decorated with engraved round and square motifs placed within beaded borders. Each square is divided into two triangles by a diagonal line connecting the two opposite angles.
i. Necklaces

Of the three necklaces, the principal one is thicker than the rest. It consists of three to four strands and falls in front of the chest. The terminals of this necklace show cross-hatched cylinders ending in confronted horned monster heads holding a globular bead in between. Necklaces terminating in monster heads appear to have been fairly popular but, quite on the contrary, we also have numerous examples which show no such device (see, for example, Zwalf 1996: Nos. 55-58). The second necklace, again of multiple strands but smaller in size, issues from under the collar, and passes under the principal necklace and over the right upper arm. It is marked by metal sleeves at intervals. The third is an amulet carrier chain which, in addition to metal sleeves, holds cylindrical boxes containing amulets.

The number of necklaces was not fixed and may vary from merely one (see Zwalf 1996: No. 62, 70, 71) to two (Zwalf: No. 61) or four (see Ingholt: No. 293; Zwalf: No. 64). The amulet carrier or talisman cord, although very popular with Bodhisattva images, is missing in a number of cases (see Zwalf: No. 70, 71).

ii. Earrings and Ear-pendants

The earrings with thick beaded (or plain) and rounded hoops, sometimes having a small pendant, were fairly common. In some cases the hoop is set with a band of stones (see Zwalf: No. 64). In a few cases the earrings are comparatively large and globular (see Ibid: No. 60). In Fig. 114 the thick beaded and rounded hoops of the earrings also have a small pendant. An exceedingly small number of cases show large and heavy earrings having a lion’s head ornament at the pierced lobe (Ingholt: No. 293; Fig. 108 above). Fig. 115 illustrates earrings having winged lion protomes with short strings of beads falling from the head and the paws of the animal. Similarly the lion protome earrings may in each case have a swag of strung beads (zwalf: No. 76). Sir John Marshall (1951: ii, 621) says that one end of the ‘ring-type’ earrings, very favourite in Hellenistic times, usually terminated in an ornamental head (of a lion, bear, tiger etc.). Later examples, he further remarks, are commonly without this ornament.
iii. Armlets

Fig. 116 shows a seated Maitreya wearing armlets of which the one on the left upper arm is completely, while the other, on the right upper arm, is only partly hidden under the uttariya. The armlet consists of a trilobed design—oval in the centre and leaf-shaped at the sides. The trilobed design was very favourite and is met with in most cases. Variations are there but these occur mostly in decoration. Thus one may come across a three-lobed plate with cross hatched pattern (Zwalf: No. 62), or set with round and rectangular stones below a round floral ornament (Ibid: No. 57), or with a beaded semicircular plate enclosing an inlaid floral motif (Ibid: No. 62), or it may look like a medallion of beaded outline set with flat stones in a floral pattern (Ibid: No. 63). An unusual form (Fig. 115) shows a three-lobed plate with beaded outline containing a damaged figure in relief seated with spread legs on a lion and holding a spear or club.

In another variety of the armlet we have a disc, instead of a three-lobed plate, with beaded edge and set with stones forming a flower. In Fig. 117 the armlet worn by a sitting Boddhisattva is a double band supporting a floral disc with a beaded edge.

In some cases the three-lobed device is replaced by a rectangular plate. The visible armlet in Fig. 118 has a rectangular plate surmounted by a disc, both set with an open flower motif and with beaded outline. The vertical sides of this plate are very often curved in.

iv. Bracelet

The word ‘brace’ in bracelet is derived from the Greek ‘brakhion’ meaning arm. It is the same as the Panjäbi word ‘Bänhan’ and the Urdu word (derived from Persian) Bāzu. The bracelet therefore must have originally stood for an arm ornament. Literally it is closer to the Urdu ‘Bāzu-band’ (arm band) but the later at present stands for an armlet. The bracelet in its present use is an ornamental band, hoop or chain worn particularly on the wrist. In this sense it is synonymous with the Panjäbi word ‘Kara’.

The bracelet was a popular ornament both for men and women alike. The
Bodhisattvas, in general, wear double while the *Hārīti*, in a number of cases, shows multiple bracelets on her wrist (Kurita: No. 487-95). Ordinary people, as shown in panel reliefs, are depicted with one bracelet only, which looks more like a bangle (Fig. 119). Fig. 114 shows a standing Maitreya wearing double bracelets of which one ring or bangle is set with rectangular stones, some to a low point, while other appears faceted. In Fig. 120 is illustrated the broken off hand of a Bodhisattva wearing two bracelets. In this case the bracelets are not joined together.

The double bracelet shows several forms and a variety of decorative motifs all of which need not be considered here. Fig. 121 and 122 show different varieties of the multiple bracelets. Female musicians wearing multiple bangles may be seen in Zwalf: No. 174.

v. Anklet (Urdu Pāzeb)

This ornament is worn round an ankle and is particularly associated with ladies, Queen Māyā and her attendant ladies (Zwalf: NoS. 1145-47), *Yakṣis* standing under trees (Ibid: No. 349-353), *Hārītī* (Ibid: no. 93) winged Atlas (Ibid: No., 355), garland bearing amorini (Ibid; No. 424-26), performing ladies (i.e. female musicians) (Ibid: No. 522)—all are shown as wearing anklets. Fig. 121 shows a standing *Hārītī* wearing an extraordinarily heavy double anklet.

**B: Headdresses**

Except for the shaven headed monks, men and women with long hair overwhelmingly predominate in Gandhāran imagery. Unwashed for years and unkempt disheveled hair have always been associated in the Indian society with meditation and ascetic practices that are considered to be essential prerequisites for the attainment of Supreme Knowledge capable of unfolding the secret of the much desired *nirvāṇa* (i.e. Eternal Bliss). According to J. M. Banerjea (*IHQ* 2: 510-12), the wearing of long hair was a common custom among Indo-Aryan males and it was a reflection of that custom that they endowed their gods with this feature. The top-knots and coiled hair of various deities, in the view of some early writers such as Coomaraswamy (1928: 828), Agrawala (1984: 37) etc., may be
connected with the Vedic terms Kaparda and Opaśa. Kapardin is the term used to designate an ascetic coiffeur in which long matted tresses are wrapped layer upon layer over the head. Images of ascetics from Sāñchi and Buddhas from Mathurā region amply show this kind of headdress. But, in Gandhāra, it could not achieve any significant degree of success, for, except for the images of Brahmā and other ascetic types, the most predominant number of Gandhāran imagery comprising images of Buddha and Bodhisattvas remained out of the sphere of its influence. In Gandhāra jaṭā (matted locks) and jaṭāmukuta, indicating hair styles of ascetic people, have been important since the second century BC (Schmidt 1990: 219).

i. Buddha

Image of Śākyamuni and Brahmā are the earliest sculptures to show the jaṭāmukuta type of headdress. Of these, the images of Śākyamuni are no doubt the most prevalent in Gandhāra art. But there is evidence to show that all these do not represent Śākyamuni alone. Other Buddhas of the past such as Dīpamkara, Amitābh and Maitreya have also been depicted. Whatever the nature of these images the hair style follows one basic pattern: the hair is gathered on the head into a bun (uṣṇīṣa) which covers merely the top, not the whole head. The space left vacant by the bun is occupied by hair showing simple or snail-shell curls.

Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1979: 377-400) in her study finds four evolutionary stages in hair styles of Buddha images in the north-western and eastern Afghanistān. These are:

a. The hair is drawn into a low flat bun or jaṭāmukuta tied by a band at the base.

b. With the lapse of time this fashion developed into a high rising bulbous topknot.

c. Subsequent development favoured a less prominent chignon fashioned from a full head of wavy hair.

d. The less prominent bun (or uṣṇīṣa) of wavy hair remained the primary mode throughout the periods of florescence and decline although snail-curl, introduced from Mathurā probably no later than the reign of Huvinshka, was also used for images of the Buddha during these periods. For Buddha images of Mathurā, this simple fashion was superceded by the
Kapardin style *jaṭāmukuta* or *usnīṣa*, marking a new development in the iconography of the Buddha image. But in Gandhāra this new development took an altogether different course, as there is no evidence to show that the Kapardin style was ever used for the images of the Buddha. The images of Brahmā however present a different case.

**ii. Brahmā**

Another group of images showing ascetics fashion in the headdress as well as facial features comprises images of Brahmā who, although a great god of the Aryan pantheon, appears as an attendant deity in relief carvings that depict events in the life of Śākyamuni. This may be seen in Fig. 123 which depicts bath scene of the newborn Siddhārtha. Standing on a tripod under a canopy, the divine child is held by two kneeling women while Indra and Brahmā, behind them, pour water over him from two small globular flasks held in their right hands.

Brahmā’s hair styles are inherently archetypical of the *jaṭāmukuta* type (Fig. 124). Like an ascetic he wears a *dhoti* and *jaṭāmukuta* and very often carries a flask. In what appears to be the earliest phase Brahmā is adorned with the kapardin type *Jaṭāmukuta* (Fig. 125, 126). The next stage of development is very similar to the Buddha images sculpted in the early Kushān period. It is characterized by a full and high rounded top-knot (Fig. 127). In the course of time Brahmā is transformed from a wizened sage into a youthful beardless Brähman type (Fig. 128). In this example Brahmā is shown with free flowing locks and a smaller bun. Later representations show him with free flowing locks both with and without a bun (Fig. 129). In the present relief Brahmā, standing on the right of the Buddha, with hands joined, has long hair under a chignon and a single-loop *jaṭāmukuta*, i.e. a horizontal length of hair looped at one end. Fig. 130 shows Brahmā and Maitreya wearing a single-loop *jaṭāmukuta* attesting the close association of these types. In this relief Śākyamuni is shown seated on a lotus beneath a leafy canopy. Of the four attending figures the pair at the back is to be identified clearly as Indra and Brahmā, Indra by his high hat and the *vajra* he is carrying; Brahmā by his headdress (single-loop *jaṭāmukuta*) and the flask in his left hand. The Bodhisattva (apparenty Maitreya) on the Buddha’s left carrying a flask also shows a similar hair style.
iii. Bodhisattvas

The Buddha by example had stressed the importance of concentrating on the individual’s own salvation by renouncing family and worldly ties in order to obtain nirvāṇa (Eternal Bliss). The ideal was gradually abandoned in favour of the Bodhisattva concept: men are to continue to strive for the bodhi, the enlightenment, but instead of renouncing the world and seeking one’s personal nirvāṇa only, the individual is urged to stay in the world and work for the salvation of the whole humanity.

The word Bodhisattva literally means ‘the one whose essence is bodhi or knowledge. A Bodhisattva possesses both wisdom (prajnā) and compassion (karunā) developed through compassionate views and deeds. In the visual arts a Bodhisattva was presented as either a Kṣatriya (princely figure) or Brāhmaṇ (a member of the priestly class). In both the cases he is adorned with jewellery that distinguishes him from the images of Buddha. A large number of the Bodhisattva images have not been identified. It is difficult therefore to give names to such figures. Given this identification problem, the Bodhisattva images for our purpose may be grouped into those:

1. Wearing a turban and
2. Wearing a jaṭāmukuta.

We shall take up the turban type first.

1. The Turbaned Bodhisattvas

The turban, an aristocratic headdress of Indian origin, was incorporated by the Buddhist school in Gandhāra at an early stage and it remained in use throughout the period of its decline. In Vedic usage, this type of headdress was worn by the king of Vājapeya and Rājasūya investiture ceremonies (CooMāraswamy 1928: 818, 830). Investiture with the turban also marked the successful completion of Vedic studies by Brāhmaṇ students as well as the transferal of authority from a deceased religious leader to his successor (Yusuf Ali1900: 77). It may be noted that in spite of the lapse of centuries these two traditions survived intact under the designation Rasm-i-dastar Bandi, i.e.
ceremony of wearing the Turban. In a similar way the Buddhist literary traditions emphasized the role of a turban in the society contemporary with the compilation of the *Jātaka* stories. Myths developed around the earthly life of Śākyamuni (*Jātaka* stories) mention him as divine young prince with a turbaned head (CooMāraswamy 1928: 829-30). It is also probably that the turban headdress held an important place in meditatio

nal cycles such as those recorded in the *Amitāyar-dhyāna-sūtra* when it is stated that:

> Whosoever will meditate on Bodhisattva Avalokiśvara should first meditate on the turban of his head, and then on his heavenly crown.

(Max Muller 1985: 183-184).

As shown by numerous Gandhāran images, the turban was wrapped round the head in a manner that creates a tripartite symmetrical appearance at the front of the head just above the hairline where the layers of wrapping crisscrossed. It was secured either by the manner of wrapping or more typically by the addition of three restraining bands (Fig.131). Carolyn W. Schmidt’s observation in this regard is worth quoting:

> “Beginning with the early phase of development, Gandhāran turbans are characterized by a high, symmetrically positioned frontal unit, usually composed of pleated fabric, in front of which is shown some type of fabric roll, loop or possibly an ornate emblem device. As the tradition developed, the ornamentation of the restraining bands, the side portions and the crest increased with the addition of a hairline jewel and restraining band receptacles, the application of cut and set stones, bead tassels and of plaques in the form of fantastic animals, devas and seated Buddhas” (Schmidt 1990: 140).

Using the securing and restraining methods and the modes of ornamentation of the turban, Carolyn Schmidt has divided the turbans into seven categories. These are as follows:

{Style i: Secured with restraining bands} Saka-Parthian
{Style ii: Unbanded self sustaining } 50 BC—A D 100
{Style iii: Restraining bands with Jewels—Late Parthian
{Style iv: Flower receptacles with cut Jewels (Early Kushān)
{Style v: Jewel and small lotus-flower receptacle (Middle Kushān)
Style vi: Plain weave with ornamental plaques

Style vii: Jewel and plaque ornamentation

Turban Style i: Secured With Restraining Bands

In this style the wrapped fabric of the turban was secured by two to three unornamented bands crossing over the upper, middle and lower sections of the headdress (Fig. 131). The bands were simply criss-crossed (Fig. 132) or very often knotted (Fig. 133) just above the hairline. This handling of the frontal portion gave rise to a variety of conventions distinguished from each other by a different treatment of the knots. In Fig. 134 the twisted bands pass through a pair of knots. Fig. 135 shows three horizontal bands over the hairline on the forehead. There are many other varieties in which the knots are substituted by a drilled and faceted stone at the hairline or by a pair of receptacles through which the bands pass.

Style ii: Unbanded Self-Sustaining

In this style the turban is secured without the help of restraining bands. The fabric bound around the head with successive wrappings crossed over the centre front of the head just over the hairline creating a bilaterally symmetrical appearance (Fig. 136). In the present example the turban consists of three plain bands, one almost horizontal and two crossing each other just above the centre forehead. In the back is a fantail with a tapering tenon in the centre.

Style iii: Resraining Bands with Jewels

The third style shows that the fabric of the wrapped turban is held in place by three restraining bands but the bands appears to pass behind or originate from the ends of a drilled or faceted jewel without the ornamental terminals or receptacles. The pattern is generally completed by a frontal element comprising a pleated crest and a gourd-like object ornamented by a string of jewels (Fig. 137).

Style vi: Flower Receptacles with Cut Jewels

The fabric of the turban in this style is also held by three restraining bands,
but in this case they appear to originate from a pair of open-faced flowers positioned to either side of a faceted jewel. This type of headdress shows a pleated cockade with a crest ornament in the form of a conical fabric loop (Fig. 138). The addition of flower terminals appears to represent an initial step in the developmental process that eventually led to the fully ornamented style of the mature phase.

**Style v: A Jewel and Small Lotus-Flower Receptacles**

In this group of turbans the fabric is again held in place by the restraining bands. The ends of the fabric used for this purpose are tucked up beneath the middle restraining band. The bands in general appear to originate from a cut jewel positioned between a pair of lotus-cup receptacles (Fig. 139). On the top of the head in this illustration is a large fantail shaped cockade supported by a fabric wrapped base resembling a lotus base. This frontal element is adorned with a crest ornament in the form of tassel, faceted jewel or simha-mukha (Lions’ face). In many cases the side of the head shows open-faced flower ornaments. Many of the images adorned with this type of headdress appear to have been created during the period of florescence (ca. 2nd half of the 2nd cent. through 3rd century AD (Schmidt 1990:174)).

Most images in this group are representations of Avalokiteśvara/Padmapani and come from the Swāt region. It seems probable that there was a cult of Avalokiteśvara in this region, although Fig. 140, displaying the same features, was found at Taxila.

**Style iv: Plain Weave with Ornamental Plaque**

Images in this group are not only unusual but also very rare. The finely woven fabric of their headdresses do not have the elaborate jewel ornamentation which characterizes the period of time (ca. 2nd half of the 2nd or 3rd cent.AD) into this group falls. Of the two sculptures assigned to this category, one is very fragmentary. The other figure which is relatively undamaged, displays a pair of ornaments, of known material, positioned to either side of a cut jewel above which rises a high cockade (Fig. 141). Unusual also are the two broad
ribbons with floating ends, secured under a restraining band, on either side of the head.

**Style vii: Jewel and plaque Ornamented**

The headdresses in this large grouping are characterized by a jewel positioned between a pair of ornaments formed as lotus-flower and open-mouthed-lion-headed terminals reminiscent of the repoussé, cast plaque or the appliqué-like emblems (Schmidt: 189). Sculptures exhibiting ‘the style V11 turbans are mainly Bodhisattva images created during the period of florescence (2nd to 3rd cent. AD). The turbans worn by images in this group are adorned with elaborate jewel and plaque ornaments and emblems. The fabric matrix is wrapped in the conventional symmetrical manner with the ends of the headdress looped and apparently secured at the sides beneath the middle restraining band. Most of the turbans show a wrapping style that creates a serpentine pattern running from front to back across the top of the headdress at either side of a cockade which, in a number of cases, is bound at the base by a wrapping of the fabric. In some cases the wrapping is replaced by a lotus dais which supports either a faceted, tapering jewel or an image of a seated Buddha (Fig. 142). Other crest emblems include a *garuḍa* with nāga. In addition to the crest emblem and the set jewel embellishments, the sides are frequently further enriched with appliqués or plaques in the form of prancing winged lions. In Fig 109, the crest of the turban, a thin, pleated and circular confection, has a round central motif of an undulating line enclosing a worn lion’s head spewing out two diverging strands. Two restraining bands go around the sides from well behind the ears to form knots beside the large central faceted bead: the upper band also passes on each side over a winged four legged monster in prominent relief whose jaws receive a strand falling from a smaller and rectangular bead below the central crest and whose long thin body, ribbed along the back to represent a spiky crest, curves upwards to the hauches so that its hind legs are over the vertical loop of cloth with its pendant pleated end at the sides (Zwalf 1996: 112). There are many other varieties of the headdress in this style, which cannot be all included in this brief discussion. The images in this group, evidently created during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, mark the full flowering of the Buddhist School in Gandhāra and related regions.
The artistic evidence, as aptly remarked by Schmidt (1990: 200), attests not only to the varieties of Mahāyāna Buddhism but to the vitality of the society as a whole, which, through its wealth and patronage, must have contributed greatly to the achievement of the high level of productivity and fine quality of the craftsmanship characteristic of the Style V11 images.

2. *Jaṭāmukūṭa* Fashions

In Gandhāra art both turbaned and *jaṭāmukūṭa* wearing Bodhisattva are more frequently shown with princely accoutrements and garments. This distinguishes them from the images of Buddha. The jewellery worn by both turbaned and *Jaṭāmukūṭa*-type Bodhisattvas is identical in detail. However, headdresses, hair fashions and other identifying attributes distinguish the two types.

Several *jaṭāmukūṭa* styles were used. Schmidt (1990: 235) has classified these styles into the following four conventions:

*Jaṭāmukūṭa* Convention I: The Rondure Style

In this style the hair was fashioned into a rounded bun-like top-knot similar to the *uṣṇīṣa* worn by Śākyamuni (see above Figs. 111, 136).

*Jaṭāmukūṭa* Convention II: The Double-looped Style

The top-knot in this style was formed by a pair of tresses looped and symmetrically positioned to either side of centre (Fig. 142).

*Jaṭāmukūṭa* Convention III: The Single-looped Style

The chignon in this style was formed by a single loop of hair with a circular-knot (Fig. 109).

*Jaṭāmukūṭa* Convention IV: The Kapardin Style

The Kapardin *jaṭmukūṭa* is composed of long straight tresses twisted and wrapped layer upon layer on the crown of the head. It was one of the earliest styles preferred for images of Brahmā. Only a few Bodhisattva images are adorned with a Kapardin *jaṭāmukūṭa* (Fig. 143).
Chapter: 7

Miscellaneous

The cultural traits which occur only sparingly and cannot be expounded into chapters are grouped here under this heading.

1. Household Vessels etc.

Among the house-hold vessels the bowl occurs in the panel reliefs representing “Offering of the Four-bowls to the Buddha” (Fig. 144), “Coversion of Nanda” (Fig. 15 above), “Offering of the monkey” (Fig. 145), “Buutta and Monks at the House of Srīgupta” (Fig. 146) and “Offering of the Dust” (Fig. 19 above).

The bowl is hemispherical in shape and devoid of any kind of decorative features in most cases. In a late example (Fig. 147) however it is a little taller in height and looks more like a beaker. In Fig. 148 the bowl held by the Buddha in his lap has three while the two bowls being offered to him have one and two grooves below the rim. The bowl held by the Buddha seems to be more in accord with what was required by the following story. After the seven week’s meditation and fasting that followed the Enlightenment, a caravan headed by the merchant Trapusha and Bhallika, happen to pass close by the groove of trees under which the Buddha had taken his seat. The bullock’s pulling the carts at the head of the caravan suddenly refused to advance and the wheels stuck mysteriously in the ground. The genius of the groove then appeared and told the merchants to bring food to the Buddha. Merchants did so but the Buddha had no bowl of his own to put the food offered by the merchants. Having realized the difficulty the four lokapālas, the Guardians of the Heavenly Quarters, each brought a golden bowl. But, that material was unacceptable to the Buddha, so the bowls were first transformed into various other precious metals and finally into stone. Only these last could the Buddha accept. At the same time he miraculously transformed them into one bowl so that no individual lokapāla would be chagrined at having his bowl rejected. As the Buddha caused the four bowls to become one, grooved lines below the rim appeared showing that there had been more than one bowl. But examples of bowls having no obvious connection with this event and yet showing
grooved line blow the rim are also known. Fig. 149 shows an earthen plain example of this kind of a bowl with a ring base.

Drinking vessels found in the reliefs, mostly associated with drinking scenes as they are, comprise goblets, rhyton, mug and wine-cups. The goblets found in the reliefs are of a peculiar distinctive shape, numerous specimens of which were found by Marshall at Taxila in deposits dating from the Parthian period alone. Some were of earthen ware, others of copper or bronze. An example of the silver ones is shown in Fig. 150. This Parthian period goblet is characterized by its carinated body, deeply flared mouth, horizontal grooves on the lower half and disproportionately small flared base, which was evidently meant to support it only when empty. Its association with dignified sedate drinking parties (Fig. 151 and 152), very different from the boisterous orgy depicted on some toilet trays (Fig. 152) is noteworthy. Of the four men and two women composing Fig. 151, the one on the extreme right carries a wine-skin while the figure standing next to him is holding a pedestalled wine jar or crater. The third from right is a female who, in an act of dancing, is trying to make a fine move in consonance with the sound of the drum which is being played by the frontally inclined male standing next to her. The female next to the drummer is shown drinking wine from a goblet of the type (Fig. 150) mentioned above while the male figure on the extreme left carries a wine jug and is standing poised to refill the goblet.

Another good illustration of such scenes of a purely Hellenistic character is afforded by Fig. 152. In this relief (from right to left) a nāgī holds a large vessel, its rim marked by a groove; beside her a similar nāgī holds a bowl in her left hand and a rather straight and plain rhyton in her right hand. To her right another nāgī holds an almost similar bowl having a grooved rim. In the centre sits a royal nāga couple consisting of a male and female figure. The male holds a bowl in his palm and turns towards his consort who has a beaker in her right hand. To the royal nāga’s right another nāgī offers a beaker to the couple; a male carrying a wine-skin on his shoulders, stands beside a Krater (pedestalled wine jar) as noticed above (Fig. 151). On the extreme left is an almost frontal nāgī having a bunch of lotuses in her right hand.

Fig. 153 is the most elaborate of all. Although crowded, a characteristic
typical of early Indian art, it is full of activity and shows a drinking scene. On the
top a man and woman are seated on a bench. The man is clasping his companion
with his left arm and holding a scepter with his right, while she offers him a cup
of wine. To the left of them is a draped woman, seated and playing on a triangular
musical instrument, and behind her a youth playing on the pan-pipes. To the right
a standing male figure is holding a staff in his left hand. In the middle register, to
the right, is a large *winevat*, rising from acanthus leaves, in which two men, one
on the back of the other, are treading grapes, while a lad in the centre draws off
the juice in a tall *flagon*. To the left another man is carrying a wineskin on his
back and emptying its contents into a *Krater*, while his companion on the left of
the vase is raising his bowl to his lips. Below, in the bottom register, two figures
are lying drunk. The style is typical of Hellenistic art of the first century AD.

Among other vessels associated with drinks mention must be made of a
tankard (or mug) of a very rare type which Marshall (1973: 34) thought was quite
familiar in Kashmir and north-west frontier, and a two-handled wine cup held by
Dionysus. The former may be seen in Fig. 154 which illustrates a drinking scene
in which some of the figures hold goblets, while the fifth from the right has a tall
handled mug. It is the only example of its kind in the entire range of Gandhāran
reliefs. The two-handled wine cup held by Dionysus is illutarated in Fig. 150. The
head of the god found in excavtions at Sirkap is in the silver repoussé. In his right
hand he holds a two-handled wine-cup (*kantharos*). A similar example appears in
the famous reliefs from Takht-i-Bāhi representing a Tutelary Couple (see above
Fig. 107).

All the three varieties of drinking vessels, except for the mug mentioned
above, appear together in Fig. 156. Reading from left to right, a bearded male
figure carries a plain bowl; the female figure standing next to him has a goblet.
The third figure, again a male, offers wine to the lady standing next to him in a
cup which, except that its handles are not visible, looks similar to the two-handled
wine cup held by Dionysus. Another variety may be seen in Fig. 157. In this relief
the bowl held by the elderly standing figure (third from right) is distinguished by
a scalloped turn-over rim. Its two vertical handles are the same as seen above in
Fig. 156.

Another vessel associated with drinking scene (Fig. 157) is known as
amphora—a tall ancient Greek jar with two handles and narrow neck. It could have served the purpose of a jug for pouring wine into bowls, goblets or rhytons. In Gandhāra art it is very rare.

Spouted vessels found in the reliefs have two types. One of these (Fig. 158) has a globular body with a high neck and ring base. The hand is joined to the body on one end and to the rim on the other. Type 11 (Fig. 159) has a squat carinated body with the handle, in some cases, fixed on top of the rim and in other caess on the side as in type 1. Both the types have survived in metal and are still in use. Type 1 is generally made of iron sheet and type 2 of brass. Their present name is kūza. The relief showing kūza type 1 presents a very popular Jātaka story: “Viśvantra Gives Away the Choice Elephant”. The wonderful elephant can be seen in the relief at the left, and in front of it are Viśvantra and Brāhmaṇ; the former is about to pour from the Kūza on the Brāhmaṇ’s hand. This old Indian ritual was necessary in every act of property transfer to make it irrevocable (see Ingholt 1957: 50). In the other example a woman standing behind Queen Māyā’s sister Mahāprajāpati holds in one hand a plam branch and, in the other, a waterpot, “indispensable on all occasions where consecrated water was needed” (Ibid: 52) Kuza type11 (see above Fig. 78) may be seen in another property transfer case: “Presentation of a mango groove by the Courtesan Āmrapālī” (see above Fig. 30). Holding the ceremonial water vessel with handle on top of the rim, Āmrapāli stands to the Buddha’s right in the act of making a gift. This type of spouted vessel with handle on the top is at present used by Indian ascetics and is called Kamaṇḍalu (Murthy 1977; 65). Brass Karamaṇḍala is now going out of use in the Panjāb because of the sudden influx of the much cheaper plastic crockery. It is characterized by incurved rims, tapering body, flat base and open mouth. Placed upside down on the top of milk jars, it is very often serves the function of a lid. On the countryside where crows lose no opportunity in lifting lids of milk-pots and putting their Dīrty beaks in to steal a mouthful of cream, Karamaṇḍal, a lot more heavier than anything a crow can lift, effectively serve to ward off this menace.

A conical type of water-pot, sometimes profusely decorated with lotus petals (Fig. 160), very often accompanies ascetics, Brāhmans, Bodhisattva Maitreya and god Brahmā. This apparently is a symbolic vessel indicating a high
spirited. It is merely a water-pot containing perhaps some consecrated water. The name given to it in modern literature, *Kamandalu*, in the light of the information given above; appears to be a misnomer. It may be anything, perhaps merely a water-pot, the real name of which we don’t know, but it is unlikely to be a *Kamandalu*.

Among other domestic vessels may be mentioned a curious winecup held by Hārītī (Fig. 77), pitcher (Fig. 161), trough or basin (Fig. 162), wineskin (Fig. 152-53), winevat (Fig. 153).

The winecup held by the famous Hārītī of Sahri Bahlol “Mound C” in her upper right hand, looks more like a tall tumbler having a disproportionately small solid pedestal base and lotus-petal decoration at the bottom-end. The body is decorated by a framed and countersunk diamond band in the middle and by a pair of simple grooves just under the rim. Fig. 161 shows a narrow-necked pitcher with a globular body and externally grooved straight rim amply found in kushān levels of archaeological sites. The trough for feeding the horse is an open-mouthed vessel with slightly tapering plain sides and a clubbed rim. Under the rim is a deep groove while the heavy base shows a rope design. The wineskin made of the skin of an animal, most probably goat or ram, is still in abundant use except that its function has changed. Instead of carrying wine it is now used for carrying water. The winevat—a large tank or tub—is round in shape and shows slightly tapering sides provided with a hole or spout for the juice to flow out. In one case a man, carrying another man at his back to increase his weight, stands in the middle of the tub crushing grapes under his feet (Fig. 153). In another case (Fig. 163) a man on the extreme right is ready to jump into a vat externally decorated by horizontal grooves at two places.

Among other household objects the reliefs also show baskets (Fig. 164-69), toilet trays (Fig. 167-169), fan (Fig. 170), toilet objects such as mirror (Fig. 15), unguent casket (Fig. 15), razor (Fig. 171), fly whisks and incense altars (Fig. 172).

**II. Musical Instruments**

Musical instruments as depicted in the reliefs fall under the following three categories:
(1) Percussion Instruments
(2) Stringed Instruments
(3) Wind Instruments

1. Percussion instruments

Musical instruments played by striking with the hand or with a hand-held stick or beater, or by shaking such as drums, cymbals, gongs, bells, and rattles are placed under this category. Chief amongst there is the drum.

a: Drum

The frequency with which it found a place in the reliefs clearly shows that the drum held a very important place amongst at laest the percussion instruments. It has not changed much over the years, as its comparison with the modern counterpart would leave us in no doubt. Typically, it is barrel-shaped with a wooden hollow body and a taught membrane over one or both ends. The membrane is tied to the body with strings that can be pulled further to keep it taught. In a few cases the strings joining the membrane at both ends are straight, but in others they make interesting patterns as they pass over the wooden frame of the barrel.

The drum is sounded by being struck with the hands (see below) or with sticks (Fig. 173). In the former case it is smaller in size and is now called dholak (literally small drum). An even smaller form is called Tabla—a percussion instruments which has become an essential element in all kinds of musical concerts. It is the dholak or the Tabla which seems to have been depicted in all palace scenes, although its size is incorrectly exaggerated. The drum in general is played in comparatively larger gatherings such as festivals, sports, harversts etc. and very often serves as an item of mass communication. In the reliefs it has three main varieties; (I) Cylindrical, (II) barrel-shaped and (III) bowl-shaped. In variety I, it has straight parallel sides and a circular section (Fig. 174). In variety II, the body bulges out in the middle (Fig. 175). Variety III has membrane only on one side and looks more like a large size carinated bowl held between the hights while playing (see above Fig. 151).
The drum is hung with a strap in front of the body of the player. The same is also the case with the dholak, but the Tabla always appears in sets of two, like a pair, one of which stands almost vertically while the other is shown lying horizontally on the ground or in the lap of the player.

A small hand-drum, now called Duff, is very rare. The only example known to the present writer comes from a family drinking scene (see above Fig. 157).

b. Cymbal

The cymbal consists of a slightly concave round brass plate which is either struck against another or struck with a stick to make a ringing or clashing sound. A good example of the instrument is found in Fig. 176 which illustrates a dance scene accompanied by musicians. The figure standing second from right is a cymbalist.

c. Gong

It is a metal disc with turned rim, giving a resonant note when struck. No clear example of this instrument exists in our reliefs. For a doubtful example see Fig. 176. The man standing at the extreme right holds a disc in both hands which may represent a gong.

d. Bell

Typically made of copper, it looks like a deep inverted cup widening at the lip. Inside the cup is a metal clapper. Only one example is known to the present writer (see Fig. 173). In the illustration of Māra’s attack, the figure standing in the right upper corner holds a bell.

2. Stringed Instruments

Stringed musical instruments are in general associated with scenes depicting Indra’s visit to the Indraśāla cave and with merry-making scenes such as wine drinking and dancing parties. Some solo examples also exist but these must have had been originally part of some bigger compositions. Morphologically
the stringed instruments may roughly be grouped under three heads: (a) harp, (b) lyre and (c) lute. A stringed musical instrument was called veena (presently been) in South Asia.

a. Harp

Nearly bow-shaped it consists of a frame supporting a graduated series of parallel strings played by plucking with the fingers or plectrum. The number of strings varies from three to five (Figs. 177-179). In one case it has ten strings (Fig. 180), but, in this case, the bow is changed into an L-shaped instrument. This necessitated a change in the position of the instrument as well. Thus, while the bow-shaped harp has its strings towards the harpist, the L-shaped harp has its strings towards the audience.

Fig. 179 shows a good example of the bow-shaped harp here carried by Pancaśīkh (‘literally 5-crested’)—the harpist who accompanied the god Indra at the occasion of his visit to the Indraśāla cave. It consists of a slightly curved board having an upstanding curved arm marked at regular intervals by keys meant for tightening the strings which join them separately. From the board hangs a leather strap apparently for suspending the instrument on a wall. Fig. 178 shows that the curved arm terminates into a round thickened head. The board in this case looks more like a gourd of abnormal size. In both examples, Pancaśikha holds the harp with left hand; in the right hand, he has the plectrum.

b. Lyre

Typically, it is a stringed instrument like a small U-shaped harp with strings fixed to a crossbar. A good but rare example may be seen in Fig. 181. It is perhaps the only example in Gandhāra art that closely corresponds to the description given above. Fig. 182 seems to be a variant form, unless of course it does not represent something that in the ancient past went under a totally different name. Similar is the case with another instrument (Figs. 176, 180) which occurs twice in panel reliefs of distinctively Hellenistic style. Francine Tissot (1985: 234, No. 4), with a question mark, calls it “psalterion” (psaltery, according to the New Oxford Dictionary (2001: 1495) was an ancient and medieval instrument like a
dulcimer but played by plucking the strings with the fingers or a plectrum). We have already referred to a woman playing on a triangular instrument in our description of Fig. 153 (see Supra). Sir John Marshall names this instrument as lyre.

According to K. k. Murthy (1977: 84) “the lyre is twice represented in Gandhāra reliefs”. In support of this view he has cited two examples from Ingholt (XVII, 1-2). In both the cases Orpheus is charming the animals with music. Apparently these examples do not belong to Gandhāra art. Ingholt (1957: 34) refers to them as “two early Byzantine versions of this theme”, viz, charming the animals with music.

C: Lute or Guitar

The word lute, derived from the Arabic al-‘ud (Oxford Dict.: 1102) is a stringed instrument with a pear-shaped (Fig. 183) or scalloped resonator (Fig. 184), a long straight neck having pegs and two to three strings. The pegs are meant for fine tuning the instrument by loosening or tightening the strings to produce the required tunes. The guitar like the harp is amply attested in our reliefs but, quite interestingly, while the harp has totally disappeared, the guitar, in a simple form locally called ektārā when it is one-stringed and dotārā when two-stringed, has survived the ravages of time and is still popular on the countryside where remnants of the ancient culture are presently fighting a losing battle against the onslaught of modernism. The dotārā or two-stringed lute is referred to by Sir John Marshall (1973: 38) as mandoline.

The piriformed (or pear-shaped) and the scalloped (or shouldered) varieties are almost identical except for a small difference in the shape of the resonator. The evidence of the reliefs shows that the lute was played mostly by female musicians.

3. Wind Instruments

The wind instruments are very simple devices and mainly comprise conch-shell, flute and trumpet or shawn. The conch, now called nād, is the most simple of all and is used by ascetics (faqirs) alone for giving a deep penetrating call to
show their presence. The conch is picked up from nature and is played without changing its shape. The shrill noise it produces makes it unfit for use in musical concerts or entertainment parties. Its depiction in Gandhāra art seems to be confined to reliefs showing Māra’s attack and his host (Fig. 173). In the upper right hand corner of this relief in the second row, just in front of the upraised trunk of an elephant, stands a young man with curly hair holding a conch in both hands ready to blow. Fig. 185 shows a fragment of a similar relief depicting two men standing in two rows, one behind the other. The young man standing in the upper row holds a conch in both hands ready to produce a frightening noise. With this evidence at hand it can be seen that K. K. Murthy’s statement (1977: 88) that “the conch is conspicuously absent” from Gandhāra art is unfortunate.

The flute has two main varieties: (1) transverse or horizontal and (2) vertical or slanting. In both the cases it is made from a bamboo tube having holes that are stopped by finger tips. Bamboo is locally known as bāns. The transverse variety is therefore called bānsrī or bānsurī. At present the bānsrī has seven to eight holes in alignment with the sound holes provided separately at one end. It is at this sound hole that wind is blown into the instrument from the mouth of the player (Fig. 186) with the purpose of producing a sound. The wind escapes through the holes and is regulated by the fingers to change the sound into a required tune. According to K. K. Murthy (1977: 89) this variety of the flute occurs merely five times in the reliefs. But the material now available was not known to him. In fact we have many more examples.

Variety 2 is represented by several specimens. The real difference between this and variety 1 is the position of the sound-hole. In variety 1 the sound-hole is placed upon the lower tip, in variety 2 the entire end of the bamboo tube is turned into a kind of mouthpiece which is placed between both the lips (see Fig. 187). Variety 2 may be divided into two sub-varieties: (i) small sized and (ii) large sized. Sub-variety i, in some cases, consist of only one tube (Fig. 187). In this form it is now known as Murli. In some other cases it has two tubes (Fig. 188), presently called Jori which literally means “a pair”. In sub-variety ii, the tube is elongated and widened at the extreme end (Fig. 182). In this form it looks more like a trumpet or shawn.
III. Transport

Means of transport as evidenced in the reliefs may be grouped under the following heads.

1. Land transport
2. Water Transport

1. Land Transport

This includes (a) beasts of burden like donkeys, bulls, horses, elephants, camels and, most curiously, lions and rams, and (b) wheeled vehicles such as carts, carriages and wagons.

a. Beasts of Burden

A packed onager (wild ass), along with a packed bull appears in a much damaged relief (Fig. 189). But such cases are not very many. The most abundant amongst the beasts of burden are horses (Fig. 190) and horse-riders (Fig. 191). Siddhārta used a horse at the occasion of the Great departure; having reached the forest the same horse was sent back home; after the Buddha’s death and the cremation of his bOḍily remains, tribal chiefs came in riding horses to collect their share of the relics—these and some other stories related to the life of the Buddha gave the sculptors such topics as could be translated into stone, showing at the same time their skill in portraying the horse and its habiliments (Fig. 85, 192-198).

Similarly the elephant was also connected with the Buddha story at some points. Firstly, there is the story of an elephant who appeared in Māyā’s dream. Secondly, the Buddha in a previous life as prince Viśvantra gave away the choicest elephant to an ascetic. Thirdly, when Siddhārta had won all the athletic competitions, a state elephant was sent to bring him back. Fourthly, when a dead elephant blocked his way, Siddhārta got hold of the dead animal and hurled it out of the city wall. Fifthly, when a wild and raging elephant was let loose towards the Buddha, he tamed him just by putting his hand on his forehead. These and other stories must have given the Gandhāran sculptors sufficient inspiration and food for thought to focus their attention on this animal. Ample presence of the
elephant in our reliefs is the result. In some cases the elephant appears with a howdah and mahout, in others it shows merely a riding outfit (Fig. 199-203). Fig. 53, in the lower section, shows an elephant rider carrying relics escorted by two horsemen.

Two humped Barctrian camels were also used for the transportation of the relics as may be evidenced in the following two reliefs. Fig. 52 in the central panel of the bottom row shows a camel rider followed by a horseman, both carrying relic caskets in their hands. The same subject is illustrated in Fig. 204 where two camel riders are shown with relic caskets.

Some of the panels exhibit amorini sitting at the back of the lion. In one case an amorini, while sitting at the back of the lion, is feeding him (Fig., 205). In another case, he is not only riding but also teasing a lion (Fig. 206).

‘Siddhārta going to school’ was also a favourite subject which could be illustrated in different ways. In Fig. 207, the child Siddhārta is going to school riding a ram. In this case the ram is portrayed more realistically and looks like a real male sheep. But in the next relief (Fig. 208) it looks, except for the head, more like a horse. Siddhārta is also shown going to school in a ram-cart (see infra).

In the present context mention may also be made of the palanquin, a very popular means of transport for ladies (Fig. 209). It was carried by two to four men and was considered to be a very effective means of transport for short distances. At present it has gone out of use. In the present relief two men support the palanquin by a pole resting on their shoulders and held by one hand; strangely no corresponding pair is indicated for the other side.

**II. Wheeled Vehicles**

Wheeled vehicles, mainly carts, are very simple devices. The cart was employed both for transporting goods and passengers. It has low, in some cases undulating sides, made by fixing vertical wooden planks in the frame along its edges. The cart in Fig. 210 contains two seated figures, one behind trailing his arm over the side and one in front who rests his feet on a short platform in front. Pulling the cart by the pole or between shafts is a naked figure seen in three quarters view from the back. All the figures look more like amorini.
The two-wheeled covered timber wagon drawn by bullocks in Fig. 211, designed evidently to transport merchandise, has a ribbed plain roof open on the front. In another case (Fig. 212), with the same subject matter, the roof is all over decorated by rosettes articulated in dense rows.

Chariots were drawn by horses. Fig. 213 in the third shows Māyā setting out for the Lumbinī Garden in a chariot drawn by two horses. A woman with wreath headdress sits between the two high lobes of its side, which are decorated with honey-suckle palmettes. A guard in front carries a spear and a patterned shield. Fig. 214 shows another variety of a chariot with decorated side and densely spoked wheel. The decorative pattern consists of diapers of square panels each containing a blown flower. In another illustration of the same scene (Fig. 215) the chariot has disappeared but the wheels, horses and charioteer are quite intact. A similar chariot with complete body but different decoration may be seen in Fig. 216. In the next two illustrations (Fig. 217-18) the subject is the same as above, but the chariot is drawn by lions. In another interesting scene (Fig. 219) the child Bodhisattva Siddhārta is shown going to school in a cart drawn by a pair of rams. It is a small cart with disproportionately heavy wheels. In this relief the Bodhisattva is accompanied by his school-fellows carrying their writing boards and inkpots.

The Sūrya chariot is drawn by horses, but, most curiously, a chariot could also be drawn and pushed by birds (Fig. 220). Elephants were also used for the same purpose (Fig. 221).

2. Water Transport

I have not come across a real boat in the published material under my study. But I faintly remember to have seen one in Gandhāra collection of the Lahore Museum. In any case, from the existence of paddles held by six watermen (Fig. 222) it transpires that boats must have been there. Gandhāra is a riverine country in which boats are a necessity.

IV. Sports

The reliefs depicting sports such as wrestling, archery and ‘tug-of-war’ are
not very many. Nor do they indicate any professional interest in such games. The athletic contests depicted in the reliefs are in fact the events in which Siddhārta had to take part to prove his superiority in martial and other arts over other suitors for the hand of Yaśodhrā. Of these games wrestling and ‘tug-of-war’ are still alive but archery has gone out of use because of the introduction of guns in the last century. Starting from the right to left Fig. 223 shows three events: (i) hurling the Elephant, (ii) archery, (iii) wrestling in the lower register of the relief. Fig. 224 adds one more, i.e. ‘tug-of-war’.

As Siddhārta grew up and the time came for him to marry, he chose for wife the beautiful Yaśodhrā a kinswoman, but her father refused his consent on account of Siddhārta’s notorious lack of interest in any athletic exercise. In order to meet the challenge Siddhārta declared himself willing to compete with any opponent in any athletic sport, and to the great surprise of all he easily defeated all contestants. His father Śuddhodana then ordered the great elephant of state to bring back the prince from the field.

But, as the elephant emerged from the city gate, Siddhārta’s jealous cousin, Devadatta, struck the animal with one blow of his fist (Fig. 225), demonstrating his great strength of the arms. In another show of strength (2nd panel of the same relief) Devadatta’s half-brother Sundarānanda or Nanda, getting hold of the animal by the tail, dragged it away. Then came Siddhārta who picked up the dead body of the elephant and hurled it out of the city wall. Our Fig. 223, in the panel on the extreme right, depicts this last event.

This was the concluding event. Before this the Bodhisattva had to show his skill in archery. The second panel of the same relief (Fig. 223) illustrates this event. Fig. 226 gives more details. The Bodhisattva, one leg flexed forward, draws back the string while the bow appears to touch a large, funnel shaped target attached to a tree. A plump youth or boy with a small head holds a large guiver.

Another event in the Bodhisattvas trial of skills, having several illustrations, was a wrestling match depicted in the third panel (on the extreme left) of Fig. 223. Somewhat better representations of the wrestlers may be seen in fig. 227-228.
V. Balance

As a simple weighing instrument, the balance depicted in our reliefs has two types: (i) with one scale pan, and (ii) with two scale pans. Only one example, even that relating to our type (i), was known to Murthy (1977: 93); now there are three. Of these three one is represented by our type (ii).

Type (i) consists of a suspended bar with a pan attached by means of three strings to one end. This kind of scale is found in illustrations of the ŚibiJātaka (Fig. 229, 230). Type (ii) may also be related to the same Jātaka story but the subject is not quite as clear as in type (i) (Fig. 231). Under what name or names these balances went in Gandhāra is not known. According to Murthy (op. cit.) “one-scaled balance is still in use in many parts of India and in Orissa, it is known as Najrī”. Fouche called it steelyard. It no longer exists in Gandhāra, but type (ii) still continues and is known as Talāḥ (Pashtu) and Trākrī (Hindko).

As the story goes the Bodhisattva, in one of his previous births, appeared as king Śibi and vowed to protect all creatures. The god Indra wanted to test the resolve of the king and therefore, disguised as a hawk, got hold of a pigeon putting its life in danger. As the king came to know that a hawk was going to devour a pigeon, he, in order to ransom the poor bird, offered his own flesh the equivalent of the pigeon’s weight. Then, parts of the king’s body were one after the other cut off and heaped into the pan of a balance, but the pigeon proved still too heavy until the king, with what was left of himself, got into the pan.

Type (i) shows that flesh is being cut off from the king’s leg to be weighed in the scale. Some flesh is already there in the pan which looks more like a leather bag.

VI. Royal Insignia

The most important symbols of royalty included (i) Chhatra or chatra, (ii) Throne, (iii) Fly-whisk, (iv) crown and (v) scepter. Each one of them had initially a useful function to perform.

(i). Chhatra or chatra

Chhatra (sanskrit.) and Chatra (Persian.) means a large umbrella or
parasol. Among the ancient peoples of Iran and South Asia, it seems, it was originally held over the king’s head to protect him from rain and sun, but, because of its association with the king or with those who under the king wielded authority, it came to be looked upon as a symbol of power. This may be seen in the fact that its derivative forms such as Chatrapati (wielder of state power) and Chaudhari (corrupted form of Chatradhari -meaning ‘Keeper of Chatra’, i.e. state authority) are still very much in use as popular epithets for people having landholdings in a vast area stretching from Panjāb to Bengal. At present some of the people who do not even own any landed property add the title Chaudhari with their name just because it implies respect and honour.

The parasol is copiously represented in our reliefs. Mostly convex in shape, though a small number of flat topped examples also exist, it is supported by a long wooden pole very often plain but also decorated in a few cases. In Fig. 232 the parasol is almost flat and shows a series of small festoons at the lower edge and beaded border above. Fig. 36 shows that the convex top of the parasols has small festoons at the edges linked by large garland festoons, except at the end of the row where, instead, a garland is suspended. The parasol in Fig. 233 shows a cross-hatched pattern above and a valance of tassels or bell-shaped pendants unlikely to be confused with the festoons seen above. In another variety (Fig. 229) the parasol above the king’s head is decorated with a trellised motif.

(ii) Throne

The throne as a ceremonial seat for a sovereign is, in the reliefs, clearly distinguished from the Buddha’s seat, sofa and chair. The Buddha’s seat is in general a rectangular platform very often strewn with grass on the top and occasionally decorated with rosettes or lotuses (Fig. 234-226) or a variety of other motifs (Figs. 237-238) on the front side. The Buddha’s seat in fact is no match for the exquisitely decorated seat or throne of a monarch an excellent example of which exists in the Peshāwar Museum (Fig. 239). Such a seat—a real throne—would have been unacceptable to the Buddha because of the high level austerity he practiced throughout his life, and is therefore never depicted in art. Another good example of a throne may be seen in fig. 237.

Fig. 248 shows a worldly king—Śuddhodana—seated upon throne under a
round canopy. The throne with elaborately decorated back and sides has a textile drapery over the front side. With upper side tucked under the cushion upon which the King is seated, it flows down to the footstool and is decorated on the margin with a band of scroll design. The legs of the throne are nicely turned upon a lathe. The footstool upon which the King's feet are resting is also decorated on the front side with three rosettes in a row. The sage Asita and his nephew Naradatta, each holding a flask characteristic of the Brāhmans, are seated upon basketry stools showing an inferior status. In the background, leaning against the back of the throne, two female attendants hold in their outer hands fly whisks, another symbol of royalty.
Chapter 8
Conclusion

It is generally thought that geographical location and physical set-up of a country or a region plays a very vital role in the lives of its inhabitants. With this view in mind it may well be perceived that, physical location of Gandhāra greatly contributed toward the growth and development of the life pattern of its people. In addition to it the natural potential of the land, which it still possesses, equally shared in the evolution of its society. The land of Gandhāra marks the site of a huge water reservoir (silted up in the course of centuries) with fortifications thrown on three sides by low and high mountains, leaving only the eastern side open, now demarcated by the river Sindhu, the Indus, as its natural boundary. These mountains and rivers are its natural barriers as well as its limits which separate it from neighbouring regions on the one hand and provide access to them through darras (passes) on the other. Geographically, this fortified valley is traversed by a number of rivers and perennial streams with a tendency to converging on a point before debouching themselves into Sindhu near a place called Kund. In the course of millennia, obviously, these rivers greatly contributed to the formation of alluvial plains of the valley and refreshed its fertility after the exhaustion of seasonal cultivation.

This huge valley was remembered as Gandhāra (=the present valley of Peshāwar) in ancient times. The name occurs in the native as well as foreign sources. It literally means a great reservoir of water. At the time of the composition of the earliest literature of South Asia (i.e. Rigveda) the country of Gandhāra did exist and it was located in the north to the west of Sindhu. The classical writers and Chinese pilgrims put the country of Gandhāra to the west of Sindhu, particularly, in the lower valley of the river Kābul.

No connected account of the occupation of Gandhāra by Aryans has survived to us. However, some of the later literary sources mention the names of certain kings who ruled over Gandhāra before the Achaemenian occupation in the sixth century BC Pushkarasarin seems to have been the last independent ruler who had established diplomatic relation with distant states on the one hand, while, on the other, he also waged war on the country like Avanti and defeated it.
Nonetheless, it appears that he would not have survived the Achaemenian invasion.

Achaemenians maintained their political hegemony over Gandhāra and the Sindhu valley for about two centuries (c. 515 to 330 BC). Though, they exacted a lot of revenue during this period they also left great cultural impact on this land. For instance they introduced the first semi alphabetic script, now known as Kharoṣṭhī and the coined money. In the field of art and architecture new devices and techniques also began to appear. Long after the disintegration of Harappan Civilization new urban centres such as Pushkalavati (modern Chārsada) and Taxila emerged for the first time. Due to the network of roads Gandhāra was connected not only to other provinces of the Iranian empire but it also got access to other countries of Southern Europe, i.e., Greece and Rome. In the 2nd half of 4th century BC the tide of Macedonian and Greek swept away whole of the Achamenian Empire and their subject nations in which Gandhāra was also included. Consequently, Gandhāra passed on into the hands of Alexander in 326 BC and remained under his governor’s control for about two years. During this period no significant event happened.

After the departure of Alexander, Chandragupta Maurya (c. 322 BC) cleared the Sindhu Valley of the Greek governors and laid down the foundation of the Mauryan Empire. In 305 BC Seleucus Nikator, in vain, attempted to recover the Sindhu Valley but he suffered a humiliating defeat. As a result, he had to concede large territories from Sindhu to Hindu Kush to Chandragupta Maurya. From one of the rock edicts of Aśoka we learn that a Buddhist monk was despatched to Gandhāra for the propagation of the teachings of the Buddha. This event transformed the whole outlook of the cultural life of Gandhāra in the succeeding centuries. With the lapse of time Gandhāra emerged as a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism which thrived here for centuries and also left far reaching impact on the religion of neighbouring regions such as Afghānistān, Central Asia, Tibet and China as well.

It was under the patronage of Aśoka that Buddhist artistic activities started as he is claimed to have built stupas almost everywhere in Gandhāra. These stupas may be regarded as the earliest religious buildings ever built in Gandhāra, which, in the course of time became centres of religious activities.
The decline of the Mauryans once again invited Greeks, but this time from Central Asia (ancient Bactria) instead of Greece and Macedonia. Discovery of large number of coins of Bactrian Greek rulers in the length and breath of Gandhāra certainly speak of their domination over it. Their first encroachment started in the first decade of the 2nd century BC. In the field of numismatics they introduced stylistic elements and new devices which were continued in subsequent periods.

In the 2nd half of 1st century BC, the Scythians overpowered the Bactrian Greeks (now Indo-Greeks) in Gandhāra and were in turn replaced by new invaders from the northwest who are generally known as Parthians. The Parthians ruled over Gandhāra till the invasion of the Yueh-chis (c. 50 AD). Thus, it seems that both these tribes held political hegemony over Gandhāra for about one hundred years. Sometimes, they are jointly termed as Scytho-Parthians. It was during this period that real artistic activities under the auspices of Mahāyāna Buddhism were initiated. It is generally believed that during this period (50 BC to 50 AD) the sculptors of Gandhāra had prepared the first image of the Buddha besides carving the prominent events of his life in stone. Thus, the Buddhist art of Gandhāra took its roots but it was destined to pass through many developmental stages.

In the mid of first century AD the Kushāns established their rule in Gandhāra and the rest of northwestern parts of South Asia. Under the Kushāns, Gandhāra particularly enjoyed a great status of being the capital seat which was fixed at Peshāwar (ancient Purushpura). It became the capital of their vast empire for centuries. It was here that a great centre of Mahāyāna Buddhism flourished under the patronage of the Kushān rulers. They kept their control over Gandhāra for about four centuries, i.e., from the middle of 1st century to the mid 5th century AD. These four countries witnessed artistic as well as cultural activities that filled Gandhāra to its brims. Gandhāra art was a product of this period. Besides being an object of art it carries a lot of information regarding the society in which it took impression. Gandhāra art primarily served the cause of Buddhism. But it is the only undeniable source of information regarding the society for about one thousand years. During these one thousand years (c. 6th BC to 5th AD) Gandhāra was repeatedly invaded by foreign powers who not only conquered it but also
ruled it and greatly influenced its culture. This whole story of adoption and assimilation of cultural norms and values of invading peoples is reflected in Buddhist reliefs and sculptures. It is interesting to see that certain elements of that Gandhāran culture still exist and may be observed even at present times. The most prevalent among the glimpses of cultural traditions in Gandhāran reliefs is architecture.

Architecture is defined as a “matrix of civilization” that has been evolved and developed by man from crude shelters like skin tents and reed huts to the highly sophisticated and complex buildings. It is fundamentally a science like other disciplines and represents an expression of human aesthetics as well.

So far as the architecture of Gandhāra Civilization is concerned, it has not survived the ravages of the time; for the remains of its urban centres are found in the form of huge mounds such as marking the site of and others. But the relief panels in stone present an impressive array of buildings—including the most primitive huts and the sophisticated palaces and citadels. For the sake of convenience architecture may be divided into two groups: (1) secular and (2) religious buildings. The secular architecture mainly consists of cities, forts, citadels and palaces. It is interesting to note that the cities depicted in our reliefs represent Kapilavastu, Rājagriha, Śrārasvati and Kuśināgara that do not belong to Gandhāra. The presence of these cities in Gandhāra art is understandable for they had been associated with the Buddha from his birth to the death. Though Gandhāra art revolves around the life of Buddha, it reflects the contemporary architectural and artistic traditions in typically Gandhāran morphology.

What seems more surprising is that Gangetic cities, originally associated with the Buddha, are shown in Gandhāran setting. For example, the finely carved Corinthian capitals, perhaps unknown to the sculptors of Kapilavastu, play a significant role. Gandhāran panel reliefs were not aimed to depict the full view of the layout of a city. Nonetheless, an idea of its exterior may be obtained from the panels. This deficiency may be supplied with literary evidence such as Milindapanha which was composed in Gandhāra. Among the ruins of Gandhāran cities, Taxila may be the possible exception that provides layout of a contemporary city to some extent.

It appears that among the most important features of the lay-out of a city
were forts and citadels which are represented by imposing gateways and crenellated fortification walls in the panel reliefs (Figs. 1, 2). The depictions of gateways reveal that they consisted of projected structures and their most interesting feature is the scheme of tripartite complex, i.e., two towers and one gateway. In most cases the towers are square in shape, however, circular ones also occur. Thus, the whole building of a gateway shows a traditional pattern in which the gateway is placed in the middle flanked on either side by square or circular towers. The concept of tripartite division is predominantly maintained in all the panels. The monotony of the plain surface of the gateway is generally broken by providing different decorative schemes at various levels such as pairs of horizontal lines, arrow-slits, and cross running pattern of diamonds, rows of sunk triangles, lines of acanthus leaves, friezes of four-petalled flowers, etc. The gateways were meant for defensive purposes and reflect the architecture of Gandhāra. However, the torana in our panel reliefs indicates borrowing from Indian morphology (Fig. 3).

The structural remains and sculptural evidence do not show more than two-story buildings. In contrast, literary sources speak of two, nine or innumerable stories. Similarly, the concept of tripartite division may be seen in the palace buildings depicted in the panel reliefs (Fig. 9). According to this arrangement the main hall of the palace structure is taller than that of the flanking chambers and the roof is arcuate or tunnel vaulted. In certain cases this setting is reversed as the flanking chambers have taller arcuate roofs while the main hall has a flat one. The palace building is elaborated with balustrades, balconies and Indo-Persepolitan columns with bull capitals. Along with this, numerous decorative designs and motifs may be observed, which enhance the beauty of a palace building. These include saw-tooth design, acanthus leaf pattern, bead and reel border, friezes of chequered and laurel wreaths (Fig.15).

The most important feature of the palace structure is its lofty arch or vault which technically may be termed as a true three centred arch. In the extant architecture of South Asia, before the arrival of Muslims, corbelling technique was predominantly applied in the building constructions both secular and religious. So what was the source of this three centred true arch. It seems this design was imaginary and was invented by Gandhāran sculptors. In one case, at
least, the same setting is presented with equal height, i.e., the hall and the side chambers are of same height. Now, the middle portion shows the same arch while the side chambers have trapezoidal roofs. The description of palaces, courts or sleeping rooms in our reliefs seems to be fanciful, imaginative works of the Gandhāran sculptors. Nonetheless, individual architectural features and designs such as balconies, columns, capitals, and shrine models are supported by archaeological evidence and must have been taken from contemporary architectural traditions (Figs. 11-14).

Among the roofing systems the trabeate, consisting of beam and rafters, seems to be the simplest form depicted in the panels and is still practiced as such. The arcuate or vaulted roofs are frequently illustrated by Gandhāran sculptors. The depiction of arcuate form looks more like a three centred true arch and is shown in combination with trapezoidal or flat roof. The matter of fact is that, the technique of true arch, as an architectural device became known in Gandhāra much later in history. Even its archaeological evidence is not found. For the domical structures, we are amply supplied with archaeological evidences in the form of solid stupas. The domes in our panel reliefs are constricted at the neck, which appears as a constructional device rather than a decorative feature. Above the constriction of the neck the walls of the dome are externally thickened to provide a strong base for corbelling the upper part of the dome.

Another form of roofing system is termed as trapezoidal which may be defined as a quadrilateral having no sides parallel (Fig.16). In panel reliefs it occurs together with flat or arched roofs. So far as the origin of this particular roofing is concerned it seems to have been based upon the model of a wooden canopy. Gadhāran architecture depicted in panel reliefs also shows balconies as a structural element which was added to buildings intended to serve some special purposes. They are not of the same form and may therefore be divided into three main types. What precisely was the cause of its origin is not known for certain. But, it seems to have become an essential feature which lingered on long after the extinction of Gandhāra art.

The earliest evidence of a free standing column of stone comes from the Mauryan period. No such column has been found in Gandhāra. But columns of many different forms are—supporting an arch, entablature or other structures or
standing free—are abundantly depicted in our reliefs. They may be divided into two groups: (1) Persepolitan and (2) Corinthian. The designations merely indicate the places of their origin, i.e., Iran and Greece respectively. Some of the columns depicted in the panel reliefs do not support any structure. These free standing columns are generally placed within a rectangular frame and are absolutely fixed in their positions. In their appearance both types do not hundred percent correspond to their proto types in Iran and Greece and are therefore generally referred to as Indo-Persopolitan and Indo-Corinthian columns (Fig. 20-24).

The humblest abode ever illustrated in the extant panel reliefs appears to be a hut, made of reeds and leaves. By all means the hut represents a secular architecture in nature, but, in the reliefs it is always depicted in association with hermits instead of denoting a living unit in a gram or village (Fig. 41-43).

The bracket as an architectural device to support a structural element above it—appears as an integral feature of Gandhāran architecture. From the simplest form consisting of rafter ends projected on the front the brackets were developed to highly stylized forms by the artists of Gandhāra. The rafter ends assumed the form of plain voluted brackets which were externally decorated with a pair of incised parallel lines. These brackets, however, in the course of time were replaced by Corinthian capitals. Moreover the figural representations, both of human and animal, representing a subject of actual life, were also used as brackets (Fig. 50).

The depiction of a few domical structures is taken to indicate monasteries or vihāras, although they differ from the typical ground plan of the Gandhāran monasteries or vihāras. Such domical structures it seems, may represent a shrine rather than a vihāra. Except for frontal representation, nowhere in the panel reliefs appears the complete structure of a chaitya building. Fire altars, with rising flames, surrounding by worshippers indicating foreign influence, repeatedly occur on the reliefs (Figs. 54, 55).

In the course of millennia a variety of weapons and tools were invented by people in Pakistan. They ranged from crude stone hand axes to sophisticated copper, bronze and iron axes which certainly had great bearing on the cultural as well as political life. Much earlier before the emergence of Gandhāran Civilization a variety of weapons and tools were invented and developed by
Harappan people in Pakistan. They mainly include spears, knives, leaf-shaped spearheads, flat axes, etc. Gandhāran reliefs illustrate various forms of weapons and tools such as a long bamboo stick called *daṇḍa* continued to be used side by side with the metal weapons and tools. Functionally the tools and weapons may be divided into two main groups: (1) offensive and (2) defensive weapons. Among the offensive weapons depicted in the panel reliefs are included spears, *trīśūla*, swords, daggers, bows and arrows, battle axes, while defensive tools include helmets, breastplate, shields, cuirass, etc. Undoubtedly, the spears are the oldest weapons consisting of a long wooden shaft with a pointed blade of bone or of some metal which was fixed at one end. Three main varieties of the spears occur in the reliefs. Some of spearheads are quite distinctive and were originally perhaps meant for particular occasions or purposes. The spears are held mainly by females (*yavani*) and male guards in the palaces, hunters, warriors and war-lords or semi-divine or yakshas. Some of the spears clearly show Greek influence, they were maintained by Gandhāran craftsmen. As an offensive weapon *trīśūla* was equally important. It probably had multiple functions as it was also held by gods both of local and foreign origin. Elsewhere Greek gods such as Bacchus and Jupiter are shown holding it (Figs. 70, 71).

Another offensive weapon amply shown in the reliefs is sword which was a favourite weapon of the Kushāns. The style of its depiction and the way in which it is attached to the human body in many cases, speaks of its Iranian origin. In the panel reliefs Māra is in general shown wearing or holding it during hostile actions. The blade of the sword is often shown hidden in scabbard, therefore, it is difficult to tell its precise shape. Three variant forms or varieties occur which may represent different but concurrent cultural traditions. The sword in our reliefs may be compared with the Roman gladius. The dagger has a distinctive shape and can easily be distinguished from the sword. Similarly, bow as a traditional weapon is shown in the carvings. The popularity of the art of archery is attested by literary sources. It was also taught as a discipline in the educational institutions of Taxila. In addition to arms and armour the battle-axe is also seen in the panels but, as compared to other weapons it is rare. In the defensive equipment are included helmet, breast plate, greaves, shields and scale armour (Figs. 78-80).

It appears from the reliefs that the divergent cultural traditions were
amalgamated in the cultural life of Gandhāra. The vast variety of garments depicted in the reliefs speaks of the existence of a cosmopolitan society.

The standing Buddha is shown wearing a three-piece robe, namely antaravāsaka, uttarasāṅga and saṅghāti which were sanctioned by the Buddhist canonical texts. The long upper garment is still worn by the old people on the countryside and seems to have continued from ancient times. Along with the typical Indian dhoti and uttarīya shawl, some of the royal figures such as Mahāmāyā is shown wearing Greek chiton. Likewise some of the princes are clad in the Partho-Sythian nomadic dress. Similarly, some of the chiefs wear Partho-Sythian dresses such as trousers and caftans, suitable to riding. Partho-Sythian caftan is sometimes regarded as a forerunner of the European redingote. The dresses of the priests, ascetics and monks shown in the panel reliefs are comparatively meager consisting of just uttrīya, a long robe, a short girt tunic or only a short lower garment etc. Apart from the upper classes, the garments worn by other members of the community such as hunters, wrestlers, acrobats, male and female worshippers, donors, grooms, palanquin-bearers, school-boys, teachers and farmers are occasionally illustrated. For instance, a hunter is shown wearing merely a langotī while the wrestler is clad in a tight short which may be compared with present jāngia. The worshippers are, however, presented in special dresses as they belonged to different segments of the society. In most cases they are wearing uttrīya (chādar) and paridhāna (dhoti). However, some of them are seen in caftan and trousers. This Sytho-Parthian dress is also termed as Iranian and seems to have been a forerunner of our shalwar (Figs. 95-97).

Besides garments human figures portrayed in the panel reliefs are decorated with a variety of jewellery items. The prominent parts of the human body suitable for ornamentation, includes head, ears, neck, arms, waist and legs. The depiction of jewellery in Gandhāra art does not help in finding out the material employed for its manufacture. However, the discovery of jewellery in the Taxila excavations throws much useful light on this problem. Thus the Taxila evidence tells that the jewellery in vogue in Gandhāra was of gold and silver. Moreover, a variety of semi-precious stones were also exploited for ornamentations. Similarly, the jewellery from Taxila throws much light on the manufacturing technique as it seems that much of the jewellery was made with
the help of moulds and dies. So far as the technical process employed in the manufacturing of Taxila jewellery is concerned, it is identical with that employed throughout the Greek and Graeco-Roman worlds. These techniques are termed as ‘granulation’ and ‘filigree’. The art of encrusting jewellery and other objects originated in the East and was rarely practiced in the Mediterranean area until the conquests of Alexander opened up the Orient (Figs. 107-110).

Among the parts of a human body the head received much attention to be beautified, as is depicted in the panel reliefs. A more significant feature of the jewellery is the fusion of foreign and local cultural traits. Thus, an amalgamation of the eastern and western decorative traits are witnessed in Gandhāran panel reliefs. Likewise, the headdress of one of the donors strikingly resembles Pharaonic crown of the Upper Egypt. The necklace was equally appreciated by Gandhāran people as a decorative element. Usually, necklaces consisted of three strings. Of these the principal string is thicker than the others. These necklaces show different devices. Those which reveal monster heads as terminating element appear to have been fairly popular. Similarly, earrings and ear-pendants were also used by the people of Gandhāra. These items show Hellenistic influences. In addition to necklaces and earrings, a variety of armlets carrying various designs and settings are depicted including a tri-lobed plate with cross-hatched pattern. Tri-lobed design—oval in the centre and leaf-shaped at the sides—is repeadtedly depicted which speaks of its popularity among the masses. The bracelet was a popular ornament both for men and women alike. The bracelet seems to have been a forerunner of the present ‘bāzu band’ or karā. In the reliefs it appears consisting of one, two, three, or multiple rings and is still used by the people. Anklet is another decorative ornament but it seems to have been confined to ladies only (Figs. 111-113).

The tradition or fashion of wearing long hair, irrespective of sex, is regarded to have always been popular in Indian society since at least from Indo-Aryans days. The same fashion must have been popular with the people of Gandhāra where men and women, except for monks, are depicted with various hairstyles. These variations in hairstyles are designated by different terms such as Kapardin, Coiffeur, jaṭā and jattāmukuta, top-knot and coiled hair, bun or usniṣa, chignon, curly snail and wavy hair etc. Even the images of the Buddha show a
variety of hairstyles. Besides the Buddha imagery, Brahmā, the great god of Indian pantheon sculpted in Gandhāra art as a subordinate deity, is also illustrated with a variety of headdresses. In certain cases Brahmā also shares hairstyle with the Buddha and Bodhisattva. The variety of hairstyles in which the god Brahmā appears mainly comprises of archetypical jaṭāmukūṭa, Kapardin type of jaṭāmukūṭa, rounded topknot, free flowing locks both with bun and without bun, long hair under a chignon, etc (Figs.131-135).

Unlike the Buddha, the images of Bodhisattva are portrayed with turbans, a typical Indian element in its origin. The turban was not confined only to aristocratic or princely class, it was also known as a symbol of authority by the religious people and a sign of the completion of educational tenure. Interestingly, it still continues to be celebrated under the designation of Rasm-i-dastār Bandi. Among the elderly turban still forms a popular headdress, particularly on the country side.

Among the household objects the most predominant are drinking vessels both of native and foreign origin. In some of the carvings, the Buddha is shown with bowls of hemispherical shape which are devoid of any decorative schemes. However, variants of bowls comprising tall, instead of hemispherical, beakers with grooves below the rim also occur. Besides this, bowls with ring-base are also seen. All these types represent native tradition. Some of the household vessels depicted in the panel reliefs are of foreign origin such as goblet with carinated body which appears to be the result of Parthian influence. Other foreign vessels found in the reliefs are wine-jar, wine vat, flagon, tankard, handled-mug, kantharos, amphora, etc. Their counterparts are found in both Greek and Roman arts. The types of vessels, definitely indigenous, which are still in use, include kūza, karamandala or kamandalu, pitcher, tumbler, etc. The presence of this variety of vessels point to the existence of different ethnic groups of people living together at peace with each others.
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Fig. 1 The Urn Carried into KuśiNāgar

Fig. 2 Distribution of Relics
Fig. 3 Buddha at City gate

Fig. 4 City wall
Fig. 5 Ānand Askes a Casteless Girl for water

Fig. 6 The Buddha Enters Rājagriha
Fig. 7 Sumāgādha and the Naked Ascetic

Fig. 8 Chanḍaka and Kaṇṭhaka Return
Fig. 9 Life in the Palace

Fig. 10 Life in the Palace
Fig. 11 Life in the Palace

Fig. 12 Seated Buddha
Fig. 13 The Renunciation

Fig. 14 Seated Buddha
Fig. 15 Conversion of Nanda

Fig. 16 Miracle of Śrāvasti
Fig. 17 The Dīpankara Jātaka

Fig. 18 Fragment of a false-gable
Fig. 19 Offering of the Dust

Fig. 20 Persepolitan Column
Fig. 21 Pesepolitan Column

Fig. 22 Persepolitan Column
Fig. 23 Corinthian Column

Fig. 24 The Great Renunciation and Corinthian Columns
Fig. 25 Corinthian Columns bound by bands

Fig. 26 Buddha and Worshippers
Fig. 27 Square Column with long device.

Fig. 28 Square Column with vertical band
Fig. 29 Viśvantara Jātaka: Two Buddha Figures—one for each column

Fig. 30 Presentation of mango groves
Fig. 31 Corner panel

Fig. 32 Square Corinthian column with standing female
Fig. 33 Standing male devotee with offering

Fig. 34 Standing male figure with long sleeves
Fig. 35 Hanging garlands

Fig. 36 Hanging garlands
Fig. 37. Hanging garland

Fig. 38 Ornamental garland
Fig. 39 Corinthian capital

Fig. 40 Corinthian Capital
Fig. 41 Reed hut

Fig. 42 Reed hut
Fig. 43. Pair of huts

Fig. 44 Reed hut
Fig. 45 Hut with Parakeet

Fig. 46 Hut with double thatched roof
Fig. 47 Brackets.

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Fig. 50 False bracket
Fig. 51 False bracket

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Fig. 178 Indra and his Harpist visit the Buddha in the Indraśāla Cave
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