"ANCIENT PESHAWAR (AN ANALYSIS OF THE HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY)"

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A THESIS

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DECLRATION

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

September 09, 2004.

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To the people of Peshawar

ABSTRACT

Peshawar has various names in history, different from one account to another. There are fourteen different versions in addition to the one; the Chinese Pilgrims give in their diaries since antiquity. The city has played a vital role in various periods of its history in the development of the culture of the area. This research is based on literature review, archaeological excavations found from different areas of Peshawar like Bana Mari, Tahkal, Shah ji ki Dheri and Ali Masjid stupa, which are some of the main sites. However, the recent excavation at Gor Khuttree is the most important one from scientific point of view.

Gor Khuttree, located right in the heart of the city, is also the highest point thus ensuring a long and continuous cultural profile. The excavations at Gor Khuttree have exposed a profile covering about 2600 years, from the Achaemenian dynasty of 6th century B.C. through the Kushanas, Hindu Shahis, Islamic, Sikhs and British periods to date. The antiquity discovered of the ancient past of Peshawar includes buildings, coins, inscriptions, pottery and terracottas etc.

The Achaemenian rule in Peshawar was followed by the invasions of Alexander the Great and then Indo-Greeks. Though the Macedonian rule was short but the valley of Peshawar retained many Hellenistic traditions, which can be seen in the art and architecture of the region. This was followed by the Buddhist Civilization of Gandhara under the Kushanas, which lasted for about five

hundred years; the Buddhists monasteries and stupas were destroyed in the white Huns invasion of Gandhara in the 5th Century A.D.

Peshawar has always been at the crossroads of cultures and civilizations. Many people came and went; some settled, others carried on with their merry ways. Unlike other cities of the region, Peshawar has seen, for centuries, many ups and downs, and has embraced different civilizations. The ancient city of Peshawar gave refuge to many cultures, the impact of which can be seen in the archaeological relics buried in isolated mounds under the city and even in the present day buildings and ways of life of the people of Peshawar and the surrounding region.

Peshawar later became a fortified city and had a total of sixteen gates, of which, unfortunately, only two are there, and those too in a dilapidated condition. Over a period of time, different people migrated from the rural and tribal areas into the city, which has had an adverse impact on the ecology, archaeology and antiquity of Peshawar.

This research highlights the cultural profile of Peshawar based on the archaeological investigations, and thus connects itself with previous research. In the end, the research has put forward some recommendations to preserve and rehabilitate the rare and precious archaeological sites and historical monuments of this amazing city for our future generations.

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INTRODUCTION

The ecological and cultural diversity that Pakistan is gifted with has little parallel in the world. It is a country, which always fascinates and astonishes the visitors and the scholars interested in the cultural beauty of the region. The country is the known heir of many of the most ancient civilizations of the earth. Although the emergence of the Indus Civilization is as remarkable as its stability for nearly a thousand years, the recorded history of the region begins in the middle of the sixth century B.C., when almost the whole of the Indus region gradually became a part of Achaemenian Empire of Persia. It was during this period that new values gave rise to seats of learning as Taxila. The Greeks with Alexander's invasion of the area in 327 B.C followed the Achaemenians rule. Though this Macedonian rule was short-lived, the Indus valley absorbed many Hellenistic traditions, which are to be seen in the famous Gandharan Art[1]. Therefore, the other important civilization, which emerged on the area, is the famous Buddhist Civilization of Gandhara, which lasted for at least seven hundred years and flourished in the lush green Valley of Peshawar, the sacred land of the Buddhist called Gandhara, and in the surroundings as well.

During the one thousand years that elapsed between the conquest of Cyrus and the arrival of White Huns, who are supposedly to have caused destruction to the Buddhist Civilization in Gandhara, Gandhara was under the native sway for only slightly over a hundred years of Mauryan rule (305-190 BC). Otherwise, the area

[1] See for examples: Foucher 1905-1951, Ingholt 1957 and Zwalf 1996.

was subjected to successive foreign invasions: Achaemenians (558-327 BC), Greek (327-05 BC), Bactrian (190-90 BC), Scytho-Parthian (90 BC- AD 64), and Kushana (64 -AD), who founded kingdoms in the region and left ineffaceable memories in Indic's social and political life. The invasion of the region before the arrival of Islam continued and even the remains of the Sassanians, the Kidarites, the Hephthalite, the Hindu Shahis and the Turk Shahis can be seen in form of archaeological evidence coming either through proper scientific excavations, chance discoveries or illegal diggings. These evidences show that the Gandhara region remained an important trade crossroads and cultural meetings took place between India, Central Asia, and the Middle East. Peshawar remained one of the chief cities and cultural centres of ancient Gandhara.

Peshawar, the present capital of the North West Frontier Province, is situated about 12 km east of the Bab-i-Khyber. It is also the head quarter of the central district of the Peshawar division. Geographically speaking the city of Peshawar lies between 33° 55' to 34° 05' north latitude and 71° 20' to 71° 40' east longitude[2]. The city itself is bounded on the east by the river Bara and on the north by the river Budni (see Maps VII and VIII). To the east it is delaminated by the offshoot of the Kabul River and on the west by the Khyber hills.[3] The Pak-Afghan boarder is only 64 km to the west of Peshawar.

[2] Gazetteer of Peshawar District 1897-8:1
[3] Dani 1995 : 17

Situated on an ancient cross route, Peshawar has played a key role in the political, cultural and religious exchanges between China, Central Asia and the Indo-Pak subcontinent. The developments on this part of the land formed and transformed the history of South Asia. It has always been a crossroad and as such many peoples have come and gone, some settled, other carried on their merry way. But unlike the other cities of the region, which have seen, for centuries, many ups and down, and embraced different civilizations, the ancient city of Peshawar also gave refuge to sundry cultures, the impact of which can still be seen even in the present day life of the people of the region.

Although there is a bulk of material at hand, the imploring situation is that the history of Peshawar still remains shrouded. The leisure pursuit to write the history of the city continued till the last few decades and many interesting research works have so far been produced[4]. But since these research works are mostly based on mere assumptions and deprived of the recent scientific research work, it is the need of the time to go through these recent discoveries, whether in from of literary evidences or archaeological data, and try to reconstruct the cultural profile of Peshawar, the city which deserves it for being one of the most important cities in South Asia in terms of historic, political, ancient cultures and religions. Keeping in view the above, the author has opted for the study with the following main objectives.

[4] Ibid 1995, Gopal Das, 1874, S.M. Jaffer 1946.

The commingle situation of borrowed words in the intricate pattern of languages of the present time indicate how this part of the world absorbed the cultures and traditions of those who happened to pass though this area and encountered those who used different terminologies for the living tongues of the area; in the Peshawar research work the author has tried to investigate on the etymology of the name of the city and has also looked for the different terms used through the long span of time for the said locality.

Besides, being a source of power and trade, Peshawar was considered as a core of religious importance, particularly in the epoch of the Kushanas. Many travelers visited the area and left their imponderable account on different aspects of the city. These information, scattered in different annals, are in the forefront and should be considered the fare most and the earliest references to Peshawar. Another aspect of the project is to unveil how those who visited Peshawar, particularly by the Chinese and Korean travelers and pilgrims, saw Peshawar and analyzed all these ancient records. This part of the subject is supplemented with those contemporary evidences, which help us to put Peshawar in its true historical context.

Whereas the problem of chronology forms the central theme in the Ancient Peshawar, it is only dealt with marginally in the previous research work, namely within the framework of a generally comprehensible overall view. On the basis of the ancient monuments in Peshawar and their antiquities, scientifically studied by

the author, it has been tried to understand for how long the city was a focus of the invading armies and to reconstruct the cultural profile of the city.

These are those aspects of the study related to the Ancient History of Peshawar that are treated here in this work. The author has also tried to answer some of the intricate questions getting help mainly from literary evidences, travelers accounts, and scientific investigations like archaeological excavations either conducted by the author himself or by his supervision and others before after the creation of Pakistan.

To keep the above in sequence the present study titled "Ancient Peshawar" is, therefore, arranged in the following manner.

First is the introduction followed by Nomenclature of this historical city.

Chapter I highlights the historical and Geographical setting of the subject area and its place in Gandharan context.

Chapter 2 divulges different aspects of Peshawar as seen by the Chinese and Korean travelers and pilgrims; the epigraphical record related to the city of Peshawar follows their detailed accounts.

Chapter 3 focuses on a thorough investigation of the archaeological research in the city of Peshawar and its antiquities, before the independence of Pakistan.

Chapter 4 deals with the recent archaeological research done at the city, after the independence (1947).

Chapter 5 accommodates a general conclusion, based on the cultural profile of Peshawar, some flaws and vacuums in the previous researches and recommendations for further research.

To establish the chronology or reconstruct the cultural profile of the city, the conclusion is mainly based on the archaeological excavations and the data retained during field investigation. This work will hopefully provide the framework and the background for future researches into the stated area of interest.

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CHAPTER 1

PESHAWAR GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING WITH HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

1. NOMENCLATURE OF THE CITY.

The Etymology of the name of Peshawar is obscure, as its foundation, in spite of the fact it holds the key to the gateway of the subcontinent of Pakistan and India. From west, Peshawar was the first city that met on way to India, and hence the name is derivable from the Persian "Pesh awardan"[5].

These Persians (both the Achaemenian and Sassanians) exercised long sway over here, who adopted the title of "Lord of Parsa" means king of the Persians and the name "Pesh-awardan" (Peshawar) is due to them[6].

It is also said that the city of Peshawar was founded by a Persian ruler, known as Hoshang grandson of *Kaimurs* of Shahnama[7].

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[5] Das 1879:141
[6] Dani 1995:16
[7] Das 1879:141

This suggests "Parashpur" (the city of the Persians) rather than Sanskrit Purushapura[8].

According to some, the sassanian emperor Shahpur son of Ardeshir reconstructed this city and gave it its name as "Shahpur" but in course of time it became "Bashapur"[9] (Peshawar).

The earliest written record is a Kharoshthi rock inscription at Ara, near Attock, dated 119 AD. referred to it as "Posha-pura" meaning "the City of Flowers"[10].(Fig XIV) A Chinese pilgrim Fa – hian in 400 AD. records it as Fo-lu-sha[11]. In the 7th century AD. Hiuen Tsang mentions it as "Po-lu-sha-pu-lo"[12] . Masudi in 10th century AD spells it as Pershadwar[13]. While Alberuni in 1030 AD recorded it as Purshawar and Purushavar[14]. Babar the founder king of the Mughal used it as Parashawar[15]. He also used Baghram for Peshawar[16]. The Mughal king Akbar's minister Abul Fazal takes four-deffirent forms of the name: Parshapur, Pashawar, Peshawar and Pishawar[17]. Wilson was probably the first who identified Peshawar with these names[18], like Polu-sha-pu-lo of Hiuen Tsang, Purushavar of Alberuni,

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[8] Dani 1995:49
[9] Ibid 1995:49
[10] Konow 1929:162-5
[11] Beal 1981:XXXII
[12] Ibid : 97
[13] Cunningham 1862:12
[14] Sachau E.C 1962:276
[15] Babarnama 1975:393,490
[16] Ibid : 450-1
[17] Abul Fazal 1975 : 368, 381, 408, 434,519 & 523
[18] Foucher 1915:11

Pashawar of Abul Fazal or the Peshawar of the present day[19]. Abul Fazal in the Ain-i-Akbari also mentions it as Bagram or Bigram[20]. While Abul Fida gives the form Farshabur[21]. The old gazetteer of Peshawar records that this is a Hindu name of a king who was known as "Purrus" or "Purrush"[22]. It is also recorded that this city was founded by Bagram a ruler of the time, who had three brothers, one was the ruler of Jamrud, the second of Hashtnagar and the third of Swat[23]. About Bagram, Gopal Das says, "It was the name of a Hindu Raja Vikrama who built this city and gave it its name"[24]. With this Dani disagrees, as the king Vikrama is imaginary[25].

In old Pushto literature the name of Peshawar is mentioned as Bagram, by Rehman Baba[26], Khushal Khan Khattak[27], Kazim Khan Shieda[28] and Ali Khan Baba[29].

To Cunningham the word Peshawar means "the city Par excellence and traces it from the Sanskrit Vi and Grama"30. Charles Masson derives the word from the Turkic language "Bi or Be" which means the chief place31.

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[19] Ibid : 4
[20] Abul Fazal 1975 : 434 , 488n
[21] Dani 1995:16
[22] Gazetteer of Peshawar District 1897-8:44
[23] Ibid : 369
[24] Das 1879:141
[25] Dani 1995:17
[26] Rehman 1990:141
[27] Khushal 1952:557
[28] Kazim 1965:84
[29] Ali Khan 1988:66
[30] Cunningham 1971:29
[31] Masson Vol. III: 165 cited by Dani 1995:17

Caroe recorded that at least three of the Mughal kings, mention "Bagram" which means Peshawar. He says, after forcing the Khyber, Baber arrived at Peshawar and calls it Bagram[32]. He also added that King Humayun wanted to take control of Bagram (Peshawar). In Bagram Fort a Kazak Genral Sikandar was left with strong force[33]. Humayun adopted Bangash route in 1552 and had only been able to save Bagram, from the tribal attack in the nick of time[34]. About Akbar part, he says; once Akbar was in Kabul the tribel staged an attack on the citadel at bagram and killed the commandant, Sayyed Hamid[35]. It is also, interesting to note that close (8km to the East) to the Peshawar there is a village nemed Peshungru, a name which might have been derived from the word Peshawar or old Peshawar located there as Babar mentioned Parashawar near "Nelab"[36] which is river Kabul[37], while in my opinion it is Indus, because Kabul is always muddy yellowish in colour.

Kamal says, "Of the three areas or localities mentioned above, in brief one was the ancient seat of Government and centered upon the present Bala Hisar. This was probably the Bigram – Bagram of the Mughal times. The area of Jahangirpura marks later additions as shown above. The most ancient part of the city is thus represented by Gor Khuttree and adjoining areas. The Bala Hisar locality was known as Bigram / Bagram and the areas between the kohati darwaza channel

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[32] Caroe 1988:156
[33] Ibid :195
[34] Ibid :196
[35] Ibid :213
[36] Babarnama 1975:450-1
[37] Personal Communication with Dr. Taj Ali

and Qissa Khwani channel was called Jahangirpura from at least the time of the emperor Jahangir, we are left with no alternative but to believe that the remaining locality (i.e. Gor Khattree) was known under the name of Porushpur or Porushwar. As the governments changed frequently and the name Bigram was lost, the name of the actual town, i.e. Peshawar persisted and was later applied to the whole town"[38].

1.1 Background.

Peshawar city was one of the most important places because the old invaders or traders passed through it, as it linked central Asia with ancient India. This place was jointly owned by the Bara and Budni rivers in terms of agriculture and Horticulture. This also beautified the city with natural resources[39].

In the course of time in ancient Peshawar men exploited these natural resources for their livelihood. Both these natural and artificial activities combinely made this area an object of attraction, therefore in the course of history many hawks' eyes were focused on it. Then the peaceful population movements as well as invading armies from central Asia since remote antiquity, have turned Peshawar into a melting pot of human cultures[40].

In the Achaemenian texts, it indicates a region on the North-West Frontier of India[41]. It was a part of the Achaemenian Empire in the time of Cyrus the Great

[38] Kamal 1993:183
[39] Durrani 1997:185
[40] Ibid.
[41] Ingholt 1957:13

Gandhara are mentioned among the subject nations[43] and as soldiers of the great king, participating in the disastrous campaigns of Xerxes, the Iranian king of the Achaemenion dynasty, against the Greeks in 480 BC and 479 BC. Gandhara remained under Persian domination until it was conquered by Alexander the Great in 326-7 B.C.

At the greatest extent under Darius the Persian Empire included 20 provinces or Satrapies among which Gandhara enjoyed an important position, where the Persian court life, values, art and architecture were introduced in this area. King Aśoka, later on adopted their art in the form of rock edicts and Kanishka borrowed it for Buddhist Art and Architecture[44]. In the Regvedic period the people of area were called Gandharas[45], and then in the third century B.C. they were mentioned as the inhabitants of Gandhara[46]. Gandhara thus was a distinct geographical region[47].

A detailed geographical definition has been provided by one of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang, who described Gandhara as the modern Peshawar Valley, including the hilly district of Swat and Buner to the north and extending on the east to the Indus River[48]. But the Regveda (verse 1.126.7) confines it to the Kabul Valley

[43] Deydier 1950:10,50
[44] Kent 1950: 117
[45] Law 1954:76
[46] Ibid
[47] Ibid
[48] Beal 1981:97

down to the right bank of the Indus[49]. The Mahabharata and Ramayana include Taxila[50], while Wilson extends the boundary further east to the river Jehlum[51].

It was a country with rich, well watered valleys, clear cut hills and a pleasant climate, where a Greek might well dream of being back in his homeland[52]. Since the beginning of historic period onward Peshawar became an important center for all kinds of cultural, social, political, trade and commercial activities. The archaeological profile of the Peshawar city has shown its continuous occupation. The excavation at Gorkhuttree revealed the occupation of the site from the Indo Greek up to the British period i.e. from 2nd century B.C. down to the 20th century A.D[53].

History of a city cannot be studied separately. There are certain factors, which contributes to the development and destruction of a city. These factors can be geographical, economic, political, social, cultural and religious. Historical geography is a great corrective of historical narration. It is in the wide expanse of geography that people and their activities, kings and their wars,

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[49] Bhatta charyya 1991:130-1
[50] Ibid
[51] Wilson 1839:117
[52] Marshall 1960: 1
[53] Durrani 1997:185-212

movement of armies and migration of tribes are properly understood.

Peshawar city has to be studied in proper contexts of the geographical situation and historical position of the whole region. Without the study of regional archaeological sites and historical monuments along with cultural heritage, one cannot reach to the logical result about the history of this old city. Of course they played a vital role in the development of the city in terms; of socio-economic, religious and cultural etc. politically we have historical invasions. Many dramas were played to get the control of this city. This political destiny of the area was established from the period of its annexation by the Achaemenids, under the Cyrus in (558-530 B.C.) they were followed by the Greeks, Mauryan, Indo Greeks, Scytho-parthian, Kushans, Hunas and Hindu Shahis. Beside Peshawar, Taxila, Charsadda and Hund were the important administrative units and political centers of Gandhara, and were situated on the junctions of long distance trade routs.

In modern time, the history of Peshawar can be divided into four different stages each leading to a different political developments. The first and formative stage is the coming of the British at the end of the 19th century. The British were mainly concerned with the evolution of a Frontier policy and their relation with the tribes and the Amir of Afghanistan. The second stage relates to the period from 1901 to the end of the First World War. The third stage begins with 1914 and ends in 1947. The fourth stage is the history from 1947 onwards[54].

[54] Dani 1995 : 145-6

1.2 Peshawar in the Historical Perspective

Peshawar Valley was called Gandhara and was famous for its fine sheep wool.[55] This name is said to be derived from that one of the particles of Aryan colonization in India, an early invader of the area. He was a descendant of Druhya, fourth son of Yayati, who was the founder of the Chandravans, or Lunar race. In the same Ptolemy places the Gandhara, whose country he describes as including both banks of the Kabul immediately above its junction with the river of Indus. Similarly Arrian describe them, the people who held the valley against Alexander under the leadership of Asaceni. The political history of Peshawar starts with its annexation to the Achaemenid Empire. The Indus Valley was included in the historical forces emanating from the various parts of such a large Empire. The primary historical sources of the Achaemenid kings themselves and the account of the Greek historian Herodotus who mentions, among other things, the presence of Indian soldiers in the Achaemenid army, when it invaded Greece.[56]

India, according to the early Buddhist and Jaina sources was divided into sixteen major principalities from the northwest to the Deccan, and Gandhara was one of them. The Buddhist source tells, there was a Gandharan king named as Pukkusati, and he sent an emissary to the king of Magadha in eastern India.[57]

In the Behistun inscription of the Achaemenind king Darius .I; Gandhara is specifically mentioned as a satrapy (province) of the Achaemenind Empire. There

[55] Majumdar and Pusalkar 1960: 248 & Rigveda 1: 126-7
[56] Olof Caroe 1962: 28-9
[57] Chakrabarti, 2000: 375-391

was no archeological proof for the presence of Persian/Achaemenids in Gandhara.[58] Now recently from Akra at Bannu some potshards are assigned to be of Achaemenids.[59]

1.2.1 Achaemenians, Alexander and Mauryans in Peshawar. (Fig: I-II).

The Achaemenians are responsible for an organized govt. and Satrapal system in Gandhara.[60] When Alexander made a sweeping dash into this far-flung region of the Achaemenian Empire, he had just the time to reorganize the administrative machinery by appointing his own governors but he died soon.[61] Chandra Gupta Maurya defeated his general Selucus Nekator and the Achaemenian heritage became the legacy of the Mauryas. One of the Mauryan famous king Aśoka left Rock Edits at Shahbaz Garhi in Mardan District.[62] This tells of the new gigantic influence that was then penetrating into this region in the wake of Mauryan cultural re-organization.

The details are not enough but as Aśoka was infact enjoying good relations with the Hellenistic rulers of West Asia, Greece and Egypt, it may be sure that the site Peshawar Plain during that period remained open to interaction with those regions.[63] The Central Asia lay only across the Hindukush, and if one can infer something geographical from the location of Shahbazgarhi

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[58] Vogelsang 1992: 96-146
[59] Khan 2002: 18, 108 & 116
[60] Olmstead 1948: 59
[61] Dani 1995: 58
[62] Dani 1995: 58
[63] Ammernan 1981: 10, 63, 88

where a set of Aśoka rock edicts was engraved, one can state that the very location of Shahbazgarhi points a finger at Central Asia through the Swat Valley and along the modern Karakoram Highway.

1.2.2 The Indo-Greeks (Fig III). Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians (Fig: IV)

Mauryan empire came to an end at c. 187 BC and their successors in the Peshawar Plain are the indo-Greeks. After Alexander's death, Bactria (Afghanistan) went to the share of the Seleucid (Salukus Nikatar dynasty) who inherited Alexander's[64] Empire in the east. Bactria became strong and eventually independent around 250 BC. The man who achieved Bactria independence was Diodotus. It appears that under Euthydenus who came after Diodotus the area up to the Kabul Valley was annexed to the Bactria territory Euthydenus' successor of Demetriusn was the first Bactria king to invade India. According to an Indian source of the second century BC. He advanced as far as Sakera (Modern Ayodhya in Utter Pardesh) and Madhamika (modern Nagari near Chitor in Rajasthan). It was assumed that Demetrius also possessed Peshawar Plain, which lies adjacent to the Kabul Valley. This period initiated the Bactria Greek expansion in the Indus valley and its adjacent areas in large scale, and the existence of a number of kings has been deduced in this region on the basis of their Greece- inspired sliver, copper and occasional gold coins. Some of them are well known. Agathocles, Pantleonm Eukratides, Heliocles, Applodotus,

[64] Bernard 1994: 99-130

Indo-Greek king, whose reign reached the first century BC. The Indo-Scythians, who were political power in Punjab and Sindh, belonged to the first century BC and were initially based in Sestina in southeast Iran and Afghanistan. Their existence was also primarily known from their inscribed coin types.[65] Maues was one of their early Kings. After Maues many other kings like Vonones, Azes, and Azilises etc. had ruled the Punjab and Sind alternatively. So, it was not sure whether they ruled over the Peshawar Plain or not. But some coins[66] of the Scytho-Parthians were known and recovered form the Peshawar Plain. However, the kings of the succeeding Indo-Parthian dynasty certainly ruled over the Peshawar Plain. Because most famous king Gondophares (early first century AD) was mentioned in an inscription recovered from Takth-I-Bhai near Mardan in the Peshawar Plain. Basically Parthian means northeastern Iranian and the Indo-Parathins were related to a power group form that area.[67] The post Mauryan polilitical scenario in the northwest thus, dominated by a political power, constantly, with their origins in the north of Afghanistan- northeast Iran-southeast Afghanistan belt. The Kushan Empire, which lasted form the early 1st century AD to the 3rd century AD and included a large stretch of territory from Central Asia to the Gangetic valley, became most powerful on the basis of that Geo-political foundation.[68]

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[65] Allan 1936: 33-4
[66] Ibid: 52
[67] Bhattachariya 1967: 67-8
[68] Carter 1968: 7, 46, 121.

1.2.3 The Kushan or the Yuezhi (Fig: V)

The Chinese official historians called Yuezhi, whose, departure from North West China is c. 175 BC and their arrival in Bactria is c. 145 BC and their expansion in to Gandhara is definitely later. They came under the leadership of Kajula Kadphises, lord of the Kushan clan, who brought an end to the Parthian rule in the area. Once Kajula had come to power the Yuezli came to be known as the Kushan[69]. Kajula created the Kushan Empire and expanded under the leadership of the third Kushan king Kanishka I who upgraded Peshawar as a Capital.[70]

Kushan Empire brought integrity stability and prosperity to the whole area, until the rise of the Sassanian empire of Iran, the Sassanian king Ardashir (AD224-40) son Shapur I included Peshawar in his dominion.[71]

Sassanians adopted the title of Kushan king. They issued coins, mixing Kushan and Sassanian designs, which show them ruling Bactria, the Kabul region and Gandhara (Peshawar) c. AD 230-360.[72] They were succeeded by the Huns, the first Hun group to appear seems to have been the Kidarites c AD 370s[73] in this time a second group of Hun, known as Chionites or Hepthalites moved Bactria probably to Peshawar too. The theme of the art is the life of the Buddha, which is cleverly represented in the light of his biographies composed during the era of

[69] Cribb 1992: 6.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Bivar 1979 & Cribb 1990.
[72] Cribb 1992: 6
[73] Ibid: 8

Mahayana Buddhism in Gandhara. The art started declining after the death of Kanishka.[74]

1.2.4 The Huns and Sassanians.

The nomadic tribe known as Huns were from China[75] who were responsible to have finished off Kidar Kushana in Gandhara in fifth century AD. Another Chinese pilgrim Sung-Yun came to Peshawar during their time, "From a passage in the Chinese chronicles it would appear that they commenced their career of conquest in this region by the invasion and capture of Gandhara in North West India about AD 465. This conquest of course at the expanse of the Kushans, ruled over either by Kidar or one of Kidar" successors, who had been expelled from Bactria at the time of the Ephthalites first swept eastern Turkestan. We are further told that the Ephthalites appointed a special official, Tegin or Precially Viceroy, to rule over their Indian domain.[76] Actually the Buddha brought reveloution against the Hindism in ancient Iindia. Fortunatually Buddhism received Royal patronage two times. One in the form of Aśoka the grand son of Chandar Gupta Mauraya and another by Kanishka, but the Hinduism spirt was very much there. McGovern remarks,

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[74] Zwalf 1979: 45-6.
[75] Dani 1995: 67.
[76] Ibid.

"Their ruler was especially relentless in his persecution of Buddhism and Buddhist monks".[77] They were the worshipper of the Hindu god Siva[78]. What we learn from Sung Yun diaries is the following "This (Gandhara) is the country which the Yethas (i.e. Huns) destroyed and afterwards set up Lailih to be king over the country; since which events two generations have passed. The disposition of this king (or dynasty) was cruel and vindictive, and he practiced the most barbarous atrocities. He did not believe the law of Buddha, but loved to ownership demons. The people of the country belonged entirely to the Brahman caste; they had great respect for the law of Buddha, and loved to read the sacred books when suddenly this king came into power, who was strongly opposed to anything of the sort.[79]

The great Empire, which the Huns built, shattered at the hand of the Sassanians and the Turks who divided the territories between them. South of Hinukush fell to the Sassanians and north west to the Turks.[80]

Turks in alliance with the Sassanias of Iran finally broke the Hun control of Bactria c. AD560[81] and Peshawar valley (Gandhara), and ruled until the arrival of Islam.

1.2.5 The Kidar Kushans

After the satrapal system[82] the second contribution of the Achaemenian for this area is the creation and implementation of the Kharoshti writing on the basis of

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[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Beal 1963: 68.
[80] Dani 1995: 70.
[81] Sinor 1990: 301.
[82] Dani 1995: 57.

the Aramaic.[83] This common medium of exchange continued up to the advent of Kidar Kushans. It was in the fourth century AD, when they occupied Gandhara with their capital at Peshawar[84] Here the use of Kharosthi on the coins are given up and an Indian script Gupta Brahmi take its place.

They are also known as little Kushanas. Kidar and his son piro, tried to make themselves independent but met with a defeat at the hands of Shahpur III. They were finally overthrown by the white Huns.[85] It is astonishing to note that the Chinses traveller Fa-hian visited Peshawar during their tenure but not a word to say about the Kidaras. Kidaras were probably not Buddhist[86] and responsible for the decline of Buddhism. There is no doubt that the Gandhara art continued to flourish on the support of the people[87].

1.2.6 Kushan Age of Gandhara

Dani again described in this way "Whether Peshawar became the Kushan capital or not, we know for certain that the first Kushan conqueror, Kajula Kadphises, laid the foundation of a stupa and a monastery at Peshawar. It may not be unreasonable to suggest that this religious act on his part persuaded him to assume the tile 'Sachadhramthida' (Firm in the true Faith) as is known from his coins. Since this humble beginning, the fortune of Peshawar gradually increased.

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[83] Dani 1963: 225-260
[84] Dani 1995: 66.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.: 67

And along with it dawned the age of prosperity for Gandhara and the Golden Era of Buddhist culture in this region. After the first generation of conquest and re-organization, the Kushan built up a mighty empire that extended from the Oxus to the Ganges and from Pamir to the mouths of the Indus.[88] Of prime importance was the change of the seat of their government from Bactria to Gandhara. This change was a historic decision, which revitalized the foundation of Gandhara culture, gave a new incentive and firm support to its progress and maturity, and finally facilitated its outward movement in the whole of Central Asia. This was possible because of the riches from the three great valleys-the Oxus, the Indus and Ganges which followed into this new home province of the Kushans. This was due to the diversion of the famous world trade routes which now began to toe their lines down the river Kabul and the Indus, thus opening new avenue for the Gandhara tribals for the first time in history to look eastwards at the Indian plains, to raise their heads over the walls of China in order to view the "Good Earth", and finally to turn westward to profit by the fast approaching Roman trade and commerce. It is along these routes and byroads that new market, towns administrative centers Buddhist monasteries and grand stupas cropped up their heads. The building activity is the hall mark of the Kushan age, which put an end to the earlier period of conflicts and internecine feuds and made way for an atmosphere of peace, in which Buddhism could flourish and bring about a revolutionary change in the general pattern of the socio-religious life, resulting the large scale co-operative efforts, expressed in the erection of grand monasteries.

[88] Dani 1995: 59-61

The bubbling activity, which was earlier wasted in wars, was now directed in search of the Buddhist way of salvation for life. No wonder the whole of Gandhara became a second home of Buddhism and a prime source of the new Buddhist spirit that characterized this region hereafter. The great Kushan monarch Kanishka rose up, as a second Aśoka, to carry forward the culture of this neo-Buddhism into the innermost hearts of Asia. The social change, resulting from this new atmosphere, bred a new spirit, which became extremely productive and found expression in the creative art and architecture of Gandhara. The soul-stirring message of Buddha fired the imagination of the people and the rugged hills of schist and granite rocks humbled low to yield to human creation by the artist, who twisted and turned, chiseled and smoothed, and modeled and sculptured the dead stones to embody the life that had enraptured the masses of the time. The sweet melody of life was expressed in beautiful figures that today lie entombed in several mounds. In these derelict settlement sites we probe the ruins of old towns and look for tracks to determine the ancient routes that connected them[89]".

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

With such a history behind them it is not surprising that the people of Gandhara were thoroughly cosmopolitan in their culture and their outlook. Then each

[89] Dani 1995: 60.

number and variety went on growing. The Kushana dynasty coins exhibit an amazing gallery of gods and goddess. The first of these two merit our notice; most nuermous are the Iranian type, including among other the sun (Mioro), the moon (Mao), the wind (Oado), fire (Athsho), war (Orlagno), victory (Oanindo) Anahita, Nana, Mithra etc. were also adopted.[90]

Later on the Ardashir I (c. AD 224-42) of the fire alter which is the symbol of Zorastranianism also adopted.

1.2.7 Back History to the age of Kushans in Peshawar

According to Dani[91], one has to go a long way to reach the full light of the Kushan age. Whose picture, remoter in age, gets darker and is shrouded but one thing comes out boldly that the Peshawar valley, even in those early days, was called Gandhara and was famous for its fine sheep wool. It is about this name Gandhara that the Hindu traditions weave a historical narrative, which converges in the older city of Pushkalavati. Dani considered Pushkalavati, no doubt, the chief city of the eight tribes and probably the capital of the Peshawar valley, Sten Kow: reference reads as "The Ma-Miny-P'-sa-chaun, the biography of Asvaghosha, which was translated into Chinese before AD 412, expressly states that Asvaghosha's Patron, i.e. Kanishka, was king of Siao Yeu-chi, and in its description of the little Yue-Chi kingdom of its own time the Wei-shu gives the information that its capital was Purushapura, i.e. Peshawar.[92] It means Peshawar was the Capital of the little Yue-

[90] Marshell 1960: 2
[91] Dani 1995: 44-5
[92] Konow 1929: LXXVI

chi kingdom in the days of Wei-shu but the latter flourished centuries after the time of Kanishka when the old Kushan dynasty had been overthrown by the Sassanians, and a new line of kings, called the little Kushans, came to power. This idea has taken no support that Peshawar was the capital in the time of the earlier Kushan kings. The records of the later Chinese travelers speak of the construction of stupa and monasteries by the Kushan king in the vicinity of this city, though not a conclusive evidence it, has led all the historians to assume that Peshawar was the Kushan Capital.[93]

1.2.8 King Kanishka and Peshawar the capital of Kushan

Kanishka (c. AD. 200) was the most important king of the Kushana dynasty who created the greatest empire after Aśoka, which stretched from the Oxus in Central Asia to Ganges in India and from the Caspian to the Arabian Sea. Aśoka had ruled his vast empire from Pataliputra in the east of India while Kanishka administered his own from Peshawar (the City of Flowers)[94] which was the most central place at that time. His region is considered to be the golden age of ancient history of Pakistan in which tremendous progress was made is almost all the fields. His contribution to the Buddhist religion was so great that he is known as second Aśoka and some of the scholars call him greater than him.

Prof. H. C. Raichaudhury[95] has justly observed: "That the Kushana age was a period of great literacy activity is proved by the works of Asvaghosha, Nagarjuna

[93] Dani 1995: 50
[94] Sehrai 1982: 10
[95] Cited by Sehrai 1982: 8-9

and other. It was also a period of religious ferment and missionary activity – and it saw the introduction of Buddhism into China by Kasyapa matanga (c. AD. 61-67)".

Dr. D.C Sircar writes, "India was thus brought into close contact with the outside world. The period also witnessed important developments in religion, literature and sculpture, especially the rise of Mahayana Buddhism, Gandhara art, and the appearance of the Buddha figure".[96]

Kanishka adorned his capital with[97] Buddhist monasteries and built the tallest stupa over the relics of the Buddha, which was the wonder of the Buddhist world. It is presumed that before his conversion to Buddhism, he believed in a large number of gods whom we find on his coins while some of the writers think that the followers of different religions lived in his vast empire whom he showed great toleration. Probably it was Asvaghosha who was responsible for his conversion. He did a lot for the spread of Buddhism and repaired the old monasteries and built new ones. A lot of money was distributed among the monks for their maintenance and innumerable stupas were built in the memory of the Buddha. The missionaries were also sent to foreign countries and their efforts resulted into the spread of Buddhism in China, Central Asia, Mongolia, and Tibet.

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[96] Ibid
[97] Ibid

They yielded fruitful results several centuries later when Mahayanism of Gandhara landed from Korea into Japan, the Land of the Rising Sun. He summoned the Fourth Buddhist Council, which was attended by five hundred monks including Vasumitra, Asvaghosa, Nagarjuna and Parsva who were the luminaries of this court. Its purpose was to settle the disputed points in Buddhism of that time. The entire Buddhist literature was thoroughly examined and voluminous commentaries on the three Pitakas were also prepared. They were embodies in a book known as Mahavibhasha which is the greatest work on the Buddhist philosophy. The decisions of the council were inscribed on sheets of copper and enshrined in a stupa specially built for this purpose, which still await the spade of archaeologist.

The death of Kanishka, who was the patron of Buddhism, resulted in its gradual decline in this region. His successors did not show that much enthusiasm and patronage to this religion and art. The monasteries, which were full of monks, nuns and students, became deserted, as there was no patron after Kanishka who could feed them. The economic prosperity, which prevailed in Gandhara during his reign due to foreign trade and commerce gradually, dwindled. The people did not show that much support and aid to those religious establishments and their residents. They used to feed them who had devoted their life to the study of the Buddhist scriptures in those monasteries away from the village and city life when Buddhism was a striving force. They slowly descended from them one by one in search of food and absorbed themselves with the people down below. Thus they adopted a secular life and discarded the religious. The Sangha (Monastic Order), which was the backbone of the Buddhist religion collapsed. A few remained behind

in the monasteries to continue their studies and mediations. Thus with Kanishka ends the golden chapter of ancient history of Pakistan in general and Gandhara (Peshawar) in particular.

Kanishka transformed the Orthodox Buddhism of India into a cosmopolitan Buddhism. The old Buddhism was known as Hianayanism in which much emphasis was laid on the teaching of Buddha and his worship was in the form of Symbolism in the ancient Buddhist art of Sanchi and Baharut in India. Kanishka introduced Mahayanism, in which the Buddha was deified and his worship started anthropomorphic form. The first Buddha image was created in Gandhara on the pattern of the Greek god Apollo. It is this image which traveled to distant lands. The Mahayanists introduced a new cult of Bodhisattvas who were to act as intermediaries between the Buddha and his worshippers. Pali was used as the language of writing for the Buddhist scriptures in ancient times. Kanishka adopted Sanskrit for writing the texts of Mahayana Buddhism. It is Mahayanism, which originated in the Peshawar Valley to which the majority of the Buddhists of the World subscribe.[98]

Kanishka was the greatest pattern of Gandhara art, which is known as Greeco-Buddhist and Romano-Buddhist art. Although the origin of the art is supposed to lie in the 1st century BC, before his accession to the throne, it received the greatest impetus in his times, after he became a Buddhist. It was the most forceful media for the propagation of his Mahayana Buddhism, in which the Buddha was defied, the Buddha image appears in his coins for the first time and dominates

[98] Gafurove 1974-5: 105-7

Bodhisattva, gods, goddess and other deities in Gandhara art. He patronized the sculptors who worked day and night to produce thousands of images for workshop and sale, which the followers purchased in order to donate them to the stupa and monasteries. One can see the ruins of these religious establishments from Bajaur, Dir and Swat to the Indus, which were once embellished with Gandhara.

1.3 Geo-Strategical Position

Being situated in the shadow of the Khyber Pass the strategic position of Peshawar remained important. As Khyber deserves a notable place in the list because of its strategic, military and historical position, in the course of history, Khyber is an object of interest to the visitors and travelers of Peshawar[99]. As a major pass between India and Central Asia, its military importance alongwith trade and commerce was there. It is studded with signs of importance as the strategic key to the region. The Mughal King Hamayun regarded the holding of Peshawar as a real beginning to the conquest of India[100]. Being an immediate neighbour of the Khyber Pass it has seen the activities and exploits of the Persians, Buddhist, Greek, Scytho-parthian, Kushan, Afghan, Mughal, Sikh and British.

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[99] Jaffer 1946: 6
[100] Abul Fazal 1877:248

It has seen the rise and falls of many powers and bore the brunt of many invasions. Its strategic and sensitive position can be judged from the fact, that in recent history the British upgraded its military positions. But they actually established military oriented spots at Nowshera and Kohat, as a supportive military points for the protection of Peshawar[101].

1.4 Geo-Political Importance of Peshawar.

The core area of Ancient Gandhara included the entire Peshawar valley, presently divided into the Peshawar, Charsadda, Swabi, Mardan & Nawshera districts bounded on the north and south by the Malakand and the Kalabagh ranges, west by the Khyber hills and east by the Indus River, which divides it from the Chach plains in the Rawalpindi and Hazara district[102] It is a natural basin measuring some 75 Kilometers in diameter. It is transected by the Kabul, Swat, Kalpani, Bara, Budni Rivers and their tributaries, which annually enrich this region with their fertile silts. Although clearly defined by these imposing natural features the Vale of Peshawar is by no means impervious and has, since time immemorial, functioned as one of the major caravan centres at this – the crossroads of Asia. Its political boundaries however, expanded and contracted at different times with different political powers, therefore the boundaries of Peshawar are different at different periods of its history[103]. Peshawar is also mentioned as part of Gandhara[104].

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[101] Anwar Khan 1962:280-205
[102] Ihsan Ali: 2000.
[103] Law 1943:10
[104] Encyclopedia Dair-e-Marefe Islamia 1971:603

Here of course hills open high ways and routes shooting out to the heart of Asia and Abaseen (the father Indus) and Arabian Sea has greatly contributed in the development of Peshawar and terms of Economic social, political events etc[105].

The geographical position of Gandhara also makes Peshawar as geopolitically important, in this regard Dani says: "The Pamir knot along the Hindukush making valleys after valleys, full of snow and green grow landscapes. These provide the home of the virile Pathan tribes. It is here that the intervening land separates the plain of the Indus from that of the Oxus. It is very much on the rugged hills and through the channels by river torrents that the historic marches have came down for centuries. Tribes of the people exploited the environment, for their economy and livelihood for the stay of their off springs"[106].

1.5 The Rivers Nourishment: (Fig: VI)

The Bara River rises out of springs in the Bara Valley to the south of Khyber hills. The greatest change effected in the city is in its relation to the river Bara. Both Elphinstone[107] and Mohan Lal[108] recorded that, two or three brooks run through the different parts of the town, and even these are skirted with willows and mulberry trees. They are crossed by bridges. But today these brooks are no longer seen.

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[105] Dani 1995:17
[106] Ibid : 18
[107] Elphinstone 1972: 89
[108] Lal 1846 : 42

The flow of the Bara river into the city has stopped, because the city had been victimized by a flood in July 1860 from the Bara River due to which a great loss to public and private buildings in the city occurred; but the managements have constructed some dams outside the Kohat and Edwardes gates at considerable cost to turn the flood water in the outer drain of the city and the tendency of the river to run into its old channel has been checked by a large dam[109] at Landi Akhund Ahmad, some 5 Kilometers up-stream and the river turn its flow near a village Deh- Bahadur towards east and as long as this holds the city is fairly safe. During the rainy season Peshawar faces the big problem of flooding. Even today the old channels of the water are traceable in two great gutters, the one running through the Kabuli Darwaza along the Qissa Khwani Bazar and the other coming from Kohati Darwaza, both meeting just behind the Qissa Khwani Bazar and advancing together toward Chowk Yadgar on way to Shahi Bagh.

The river made Peshawar a city of attraction in term of fertile soil and favourable atmosphere for its inhabitants. According to Ali, the Swat River enters to Peshawar plain above Abazai charsadda and joins the Kabul river at Nisatta, who added most of the arcealogical sites in this area found along the eastern bank of river Jendai[110]. Presently river Bara and Budni both are flowing separately near Peshawar to Shah Alam a branch of the River Kabul. Beside this Budni river was very much important not only for the nourishment of its inhabitants but religiously important for the Hindus. Ablution is the integral part of Hindu religion. Hindus

[109] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-8: 369
[110] Ali 1994: 103

used to visit Budni river for bath and they also selected a spot where they constructed a temple[111]. Mohan Lal during his travel to Peshawar, visited one Sunday morning the temple called Gorakh Nath at Budni. To him, it was a fine place, where a large number of Hindu families, assembled on Sundays for taking bath. Its clear and crystalline water, which washes the northern side of Peshawar, from a narrow rivulet noted by him[112]. During the visit of Babur[113] there was a great lake feed by the water of Budni and Bara rivers[114]. Due to the joint activities of the river Bara and Budni the area was converted into a thick jungle and muddy patches where rhinoceros could be hunted, as was done by Babur[115]. According to Mohan Lal Peshawar in the north India is the city of attraction and beauty for the human health at all times and every season[116].

1.6 Temperature and Rainfall: (Fig: VII, VIII, IX)

Peshawar had four main climatic seasons, which consists of (i) winter, (ii) spring (iii) summer and (iv) autumn. Winter falls between December and March and has an average temperature in the lower 60°s F (15.55 °C) with occasional light, drizzling, rain and Hailstorms[117]. The average rainfall within this period is between 3 to 4 inches (76-100mm). Spring falls between April and June. During this time the temperature slowly rises and reaches 116 °F (46.44°C) or more. Whilst humidity is normally low, dust storms are common during this period, when the

[111] Dani 1995 : 23
[112] Lal 1846 : 51-2
[113] Dani 1995 : 23
[114] Ibid
[115] Ibid
[116] Lal 1846:58
[117] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-8 : 25-8

humidity is normally low, dust storms are common during this period, when the temperature slowly rises and reaches 115°F (46.44°C) or more. Whilst humidity is normally low, dust storms are common during this period. Summer is between July and September, when the temperature slowly drops with occasional rains. Humidity increases, as the season becomes cloudy. The air is densely hazy, with frequent dust storms, especially in July and partly in the last half of June. Autumn falls between October and November and represents the most settled time of the year with clear skies, light rain and mild winds. The temperature falls quickly and reaches the 39°F and 7.74 °C) in the early mornings. The temperature and air cold bracing table of Peshawar[118] is as under:

	Spring	**Sun's Rays**		**Open Air**		**Daily**	
	Range						
		Max	Min	Max	Min	Max	Min
	February	116	75	63	17	44	22
	March	130	92	82	29	38	21
	April	145	127	98	31	92	40
(ii)	**Summer**						
	May	165	121	139	35	88	56
	June	165	153	130	38	77	59
	July	165	152	137	58	72	49
(iii)	**Autumn**						
	August	161	140	129	50	72	56
	September	152	140	123	40	78	56
	October	140	120	102	30	70	57
(iv)	**Winter**						

[118] Ibid : 26

November	132	112	96	25	64	20
December	112	69	35	24	33	19
January	119	88	65	22	43	19

According to the 1990 data about the temperature and precipitation of Peshawar is as follows:

Month	***T°C***	***Prec. (mm)***
January	10.7	38.6
February	13.1	41.1
March	17.4	64.8
April	22.9	41.9
May	29.1	14.5
June	32.9	6.6
July	32.6	33.8
August	31.0	40.6
September	28.9	14.2
October	23.7	9.9
November	17.4	9.9
December	12.5	15.2

This data is taken from Pakistan Meterological Department Karachi. 1990: Table No. 5-

1.7 Contribution of Irrigation System:

The existence of archaeological sites of the Buddhist period in this area is a clue to the fact that the irrigation practice was long known in this area. The location of Charsadda, the first capital of Gandhara, also in this sector, is a confirmation of the idea that the tract was irrigated in the past.

In the southwest of the plain, the Bara and Zindai Khwar provide sufficient water to irrigate that area. The Bara was irrigating most of the area until the introduction of the canal system.

The Kabul River, flowing right through the length of the plain from Warsak to the Indus picks up the drainage of the whole region. It has three branches, Shah Alam, Naguman and Sardaryab region. It has three branches of Swat (Khiali and Jendai) near Nisatta. Until this junction, all the five branches of Swat and Kabul River irrigate the area from Warsak and Abazai down to Nisatta and also the area between Peshawar City and Kabul River. This is almost half of the Peshawar City and Charsadda districts.

1.8 Peshawar City and its Environment: (Fig: X , XI)

Peshawar, the provincial capital of North West Frontier Province (NWFP) has undergone tremendous changes over the past two decades. It has one of the highest population growth rate in the country with its estimated population of over two

millions[119]. During the intercensual period of 1972-81-98 a population growth rate of 4.69% (adjusted for boundary extension) was recorded. This was substantially higher than the average annual urban growth rate in Pakistan of 4.38% and 3.98% for the Province.

Peshawar is located at the North Western end of the Grand Trunk Road about 160 km. west of Islamabad/Rawalpindi, and close to the Khyber Pass. Peshawar has had a dramatic history resulting from its location at the end of the famous Khyber Pass Few places in the world can claim to have shaped the destinies of nations and changed the course of history as has been done by the celebrated Khyber Pass. The Pass begins ten kilometer west of Peshawar lies on the legendary and traditional caravan route from Peshawar to Kabul and Central Asia.

Starting from Shadi Bagiar, near Jamrud narrow Khyber defile winds through lofty and desolate mountains for a distance of 34 kilometer, till it debouches at Dakka in Afghanistan. To the north stands Rohtas and Tartara mountains, while on the south the pass is bounded by Surghar, Allacha and Karamna ranges.

In nineteenth century the British invasion was from the opposite direction. British fought many battles with the freedom loving tribes of the Khyber pass. Today the insignia and crests of the British and British Indian Regiments still can be seen in the Khyber.

[119] 1998 Census

Peshawar has always been an important focus on the route between Central Asia and the Indo-Gangetic plains. The city has seen the rise and fall of many civilizations. It was once the centre of Gandhara civilization and has subsequently been ruled by Afghans, Mughals, Durranis, Sikhs and the British upto the independence of Pakistan in 1947.

Peshawar first came to importance in the first century AD when Kushan Emperor Kaniska established it as the capital of his vast empire - from the Caspian Sea to the mouths of the Ganges. The city was on the "Kassa" a high bank of the Bara River with its central area where "Qissa Khuani Bazar" is now located.

After the fading glory of the Gandhara period the city shrunk in size. The boundaries of the Hindu, the Muslim and the Sikh period can be identified within the walled city. The medieval structure and street patterns of this area still exist. Since then, the significant changes and growth have occurred outside the walled city. With the arrival of the British in the middle of the nineteenth century Peshawar entered a rapid phase of development. A cantonment on the western side of the walled city was laid out on a grid pattern. In addition to being a garrison and seat of administration it also provided a self contained residential and commercial area.

A number of educational institutions were established in early 20th century expansion, one of the most significant developments was the building of Islamia Collegiate School in 1913, five kilometers to the west of the Cantonment. Soon

Islamia College was founded and now provides the nucleus of large educational complex consisting of University of Peshawar, NWFP Engineering and Technology University and Agricultural University, the Khyber Medical College, Forest Research Institute, PCSIR Labs. and Pakistan Academy for Rural Development.

In the early 1950s residential development started towards the south east of the University campus, called "University Town" which covers an area of 180 hectares. This trend of development has continued towards the western side of Peshawar by the development of new township of Hayatabad. Another township namely "Ragi Lulma" is in the planning stage.

In addition to the western and southern expansion there have been developments along all the radial roads, such as Kohat road, the Bara road, the Warsak road, the Charsadda road, the Dilazak road, the Pandu and Hazarkhani roads. Gradually the areas between these roads have been filled-in and what were rural villages, such as Hassangari, Nauthia, Deribaghbanan, Nawankili, Tehkalpayan, Tehkalbala, Pawaka, Abdra, Hazarkhwani, Shahdund and so on (approximately 58 suburban villages/communities) have been incorporated into the Peshawar Planning area.

At the same time urban sprawl is taking place which is promoting an inefficient and unsustainable development pattern, totally inconsistent with Peshawar's historical development. This lack of planning and zoning resulted in unhealthy living conditions in the areas already deficient in urban services such as potable water supply, sanitation, transport facilities etc.

There are two main shopping / commercial areas in Peshawar namely, the old city and Saddar bazaar in the cantonment. But two more areas of commercial activity are expanding very fast, which include ribbon development along the Jamrud road from the northern end of the runway to Karkhano Industrial Market - the area opposite Hayatabad Industrial Estate. Due to these commercial activities and fast growth of population and urban sprawl the traffic and related environmental problems are exceeding the safety limit and taxing the city in the form of accidents, delays, longer journey to work, higher level of noise, smoke and smell in the air, environmental health issue etc.

According to police department there were 143,594 vehicles registered in Peshawar in 1994 as compared to 1989 when number was only 83,625. This works out to an annual increase of 10%. If this trend continues the number of vehicles will be doubled by the year 2000 AD.

Although many efforts are underway to make Peshawar beautiful and attractive to the tourists still much work has to be done. Ring road is already under construction while the completion of "Ragi Lulma" township will further improve the planned development and provide more recreational facilities to the residents of Peshawar city as well as the people of surrounding areas, with corresponding increase in environmental problems.

CHAPTER 2

PESHAWAR IN THE ACCOUNTS OF CHINESE AND KOREAN TRAVELERS

The present Peshawar is one of the oldest cities of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent teeming with traces of an equally ancient culture. Once it was a supreme stronghold of Buddhism, and a celebrated center of Buddhist instructions it became a sacred pilgrimage, therefore it allured number of pilgrims mainly from China and Korea. The Chinese travelers came to India from their native country to see and collect Buddhist manuscripts and to pay visits to the holy placed associated with Buddhism. Their main focal was Buddhist traditions and sacred Buddhist places. They made only causal references to mundane affairs, but even then threw some light on the glorious past of India[120]. The most notable are, Fa-Hien, Sung yun, Hiuan Tsang and Huei-ch-ao. They have left behind a good deal of valuable information about the city and its notabilia[121].

The first scholar Fa-Hian came to this region, to obtain books not known to China. This region was not ignorant, it enlightenedness can be judged from the rock edicts installed over here alongwith inscribed pottery found from the area.

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[120] Dani 1995 : 50
[121] Jaffer 1946 : 3

The Buddhist literature in China yielded notable records of the travel, through the catalogues.[122]

From these books, Chinese learned the wisdom and history of the founder of the new religion[123], and became familiar with the names of the spots which, were sacred in India and the neighborhood.

Fa-Hian wrote Fo-kwo-ki, an informative work well known in Europe through a translation by M. Ahel Remusat. The monumental account of Sung-Yun and Hiuen Tsang the most famous Chinese travelers composed under the title Ta-T ang-si-yu-ki in twelve books.

2.1 Shi Fa-Hian (399-413 AD)

Fa-hsin, (F-Hien, also known as Fa-Hian or Fah-Hain or Fahien) The famous Chinese pilgrim came to Peshawar in the beginning of the fifth Century AD[124]. It is said that he assumed religious title by which he is known to us as Shih or the "Sakay Putra" son of Shakya. Shih was also a famous family in China in 6th century BC. Confucius a great reformer and national teacher belonged to it[125]. Traditionally the Chinese priests changed their names at the time of leaving their native country or home[126]. He was a Buddhist monk and he belonged to a place in China called

[122] Beal vol. I : 1981: I
[123] Probably Mahayanaism Beal vol I 1981 Introduction p-I
[124] Rewatha 2000 : 20
[125] Robert 1977 : 168
[126] Beal 1981 : XI, Probably these are Buddhist name as they assumed Buddhist faith. Such type of title found on the inscription at Mathura (India) as Shakya Bhikshunyaka (See A.S.I. vol II : 37-48)

Shan-his or Shansi and later went to Changan to study Buddhism[127]. Having insufficient material on the Disciplinary Rules to study, he wanted to come to this area. "Deploring the damaged and imperfect state of the collection of books of Discipline ..... he entered into an agreement with Hwun-King, Tao-ching, Hwuy-wel that they should go to India and seek for the Disciplinary Rules[128]. He then left Changan in AD 399 for India. He journeyed to India by land and returned to China by Sea[129]. After spending fifteen years in various places, he reached China in 414 AD. Beside making an accurate record of day to day knowledge he also translated various works and composed the history of his travels. He died at the age of eighty six[130], in the monastery of Sin at King-chow[131].

Fa- Hian description of the city of Peshawar starts with its name, as it is first mentioned by him under the name of Fo-lu-Sha[132]. He makes, a distinction between Gandhara and Peshawar. Gandhara to him was the region of Pushkalavati: (Charsadda) and he does not say that Peshawar was the capital, either in Kushan or in earlier times[133] This pilgrim mentions a stupa served by more than 700 monks. This was the place called Patra Chaitya, where the Buddha begging bowl long remained enshrined in a Vhiara[134]. He further noticed, that at noontime the priests bringing out the alms bowl, and before taking there lunch

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[127] Rewatha 2000 : 20
[128] *Ibid*
[129] *Ibid*
[130] Beal 1981 : XII
[131] Rewatha 2000 : 20
[132] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-8 : 367 see also Beal 1981 : 17
[133] Beal 1981 : 17 see also Dani 1995 : 50
[134] Jaffer 1946 : 15

they were making offerings. He said that the rich people offering many flowers and presents while the poor presents few; depends upon their pockets[135].

This traveler also informs us, that, the king of the Yuchi endeavored to carry the alms bowl away "He brought a large elephant richly caparisoned and placed the bowl upon the elephant, but the elephant fell to the earth unable to advance. He then constructed a four-wheeled car, and placed the bowl thereon. And yoked eight elephants to draw it, but they were unable to move a step. The king then knew that the destiny of the bowl was not yet fulfilled"[136].

He mentions that the Yuechi king when failed by taking away the alms bowl, built on this spot a stupa and also a Sangharama and left a guard for protection[137].

Fa-Hian heard, during his visit to Ceylon, the Alms-bowl is preserved in the city of Vaisali[138]. According to his statement, after a hundred years it will again be transported to the country of the Western Yuchi[139].

There was another Buddhist site, 'Pipla tree' but this traveller does not make any mention of it[140] as he has not mentioned the contemporary ruler during his visit, but he is all praise for Kanishka[141]. He clearly mentioned about an enormous stupa

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[135] Beal 1981 : XXXIII
[136] Cunningham 1863-4 : 12
[137] Beal 1981 : XXXII
[138] Cunningham 1963-4 : 12
[139] Beal 1981 : 161
[140] Cunningham 1963-4 :13
[141] Dani 1995 : 66,

made by king Kanishka, later on identified by Foucher as Shah-ji-ki-Dheri [142]. He says that its height was about 400feet and "adorned with all manner of precious things" and it has no comparison. He considered it superior to all other "topes" in ancient India, both in height and beautification[143]

2.2 Hwai Sang

Hwai Sang came to Peshawar in 500 AD and his work has been translated by Mayers[144]. He was fearing that he might not have a safe and fortunate return. After some worship in the vicinity of the sacred tower, he touched the tower and the bells rang out, which was a good fortune in his favour[145]. When Hwei Sung set out for India, the empress presented him, flags of a hundred feet in length, and of the fine colour. In his journey from Khotan to Gandhara – wherever there was a worship of Buddha he distributed presents with flags; so that when he arrived here he had only left one flag of 100 feet in length, given him by the Empress. He presented one flag alongwith two servants, to the Tsioh li Padgoda in perpetuity to sweep it and water it.

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[142] Foucher 1915 : 17
[143] Cunningham 1963-4 : 13
[144] Rewatha 2000 : 21
[145] He considered himself by the thought that after his undertaking he would have a safe return.

Hwei Sang out of the little travelling funds employed a skilful artist to depict on copper the Tsiohli Pagoda. This is the same pagoda, mentioned by Sung Yun and the only proof that Hwai Sang, came to this area and left very little account.

2.3 Sung Yun

The second famous Chinese traveller is Sung Yun who came here in 518 AD. Sitting in the kingdom of Gandhara, he wrote this country has close resemblance with the territory of U-Chang. It was formerly called country of Ye-Po-Lo[146]

Sung Yun does not name the city of Peshawar, but he calls it the capital and his description of Kanishka Stupa is quite sufficient to establish its identity [147]. It also suggests that he had Peshawar in his mind[148]

From his record we also learn that at that time the king of Gandhara was at war with the king of Kipin (Kabul)[149]. The identification of Kipin or Chi-pin is not yet settled. To some it is Gandhara[150], or Swat Valley, though chi-pin later identified as Kashmir valley[151], and the old view that this was Kabul does not seem probable[152]. When the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun visited this region the Huns were at the helm

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[146] Beal 1981 : XCIX
[147] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-8 : 367
[148] Dani 1995 : 50
[149] Gazetter of the Peshawar District 1897-8 : 45
[150] Narain 1957 : 35
[151] *Ibid* also see Majumdar 1980: 118-20
[152] *Ibid*

of affairs[153]. To the spot of Pipal tree, he calls it Pho-Thi (Bodhi Tree) and says; its branches spread which shut out the sight of the sky[154] he also believes that this tree is planted by Kanishka over the priceless copper vase and pearls along with relics, buried under it. The king was afraid that some one might obtain it after his death[155]. He added that beneath this tree, four seated statues of the four by gone Buddhas were installed for worship[156].

Sung Yun made responsible the Yethas (Hunas) for the destruction of Buddhism. According to him the disposition of the king (or dynasty) was cruel and did not believe in the law of Buddha but loved to worship demons. As regarding the common people, he says though they were Brahman, had great respect for the law of Buddha. The king stopped them from the Buddha Dhram[157]. This king was most probably Mihirkula[158]

Regarding Shah-ji-ki-Dheri Buddhist stupa Sung –Yun says: amoungst the topes of western countries this is the first;[159] and each time after the fire incident it was restored An old man said " when this padoga is finally destroyed by lightening then the law of Buddha will also perish[160].

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[153] Dani 1995 : 68
[154] Cunningham 1863-4 : 13
[155] Beal 1981 : 100-101
[156] Cunningham 1863-4 : 13
[157] Beal 1981 : 67
[158] Dani 1995 : 69
[159] Ibid
[160] Jaffer1946 : 17

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Sung Yun highlighted a tower that, when Tathgata was crossing this part along with his disciples, he said, " Three hundred years after my 'Nirvana' (death), there will be a king of this country called Ka-Ni-Si-Ka (Kanishka) on this spot he will raise a Pagoda (Feou-thou). This predication became true and accordingly 300 years after that event there was king of this country known to the world as Kaniskha of the Kushana dynasty who made this pagoda. He saw four children engaged in making a Buddhist tower out of cows dung, with three feet height. Then the king proceeded to widen the foundation of the great tower 300 paces and more".

In the dairy of Sung Yun some baseless description is also left by him describing the miracles of the Pagodas, he says "Fifty Paces to the south of the Tsioh-Li-Pagoda there is a stone tower, in shape perfectly record and two Chang high (27 feet). There are many spiritual indications (shown by it); so that men by touching it, can find out if they are lucky or unlucky. If they are lucky, then by touching it the golden bells will tinkle, but if they are unlucky then though a man should violently push the tower, no sound would be given out.

2.4 Hiuen Tsang (629-645 AD)

The seventh century AD was an important period in the history of Peshawar. In this century the most important pilgrim monk Hiuen Tsang came to Peshawar.

His visit took place in age in 629AD. He has left a notable account of his travel in Peshawar[161]. His informative account and dedicated work proved him as a distinguished scholar first and pilgrim later[162]. The antiquity of Peshawar is described by Hiuen Tsang in detail. During Hiuen Tsang visit the royal family had become extinct and Gandhara kingdom was a dependency of Kapisa (Kabul) but Peshawar was still a great city of 40li , or 6 ½ miles in extent[163].

After Fa-hian it is he, who mentioned the name of Peshawar along with its Geography, capital, architecture, production and culture. His account is a source for the ancient history of Peshawar. He says[164] "The kingdom of Gandhara is about 1000 Li from east to west and about 800 Li from north to south. On the east it borders on river Sin (Indus). The capital of the country is called Po-Lu-Sha- Pu-lo (Purushapura now Peshawar) it is about 40 Li in Circuit.

Of the antiquity of Peshawar the most sacred was a ruined stupa near the northwest corner of the city which had formerly contained the begging bowl of Buddha, Hiuen Tsang referring that it was inside the city towards the south east is the spot of the said bowl, located near the Punj Tirath. During his visit the bowl was at Persia, later the bowl found its way to Kandahar[165].

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[161] Beal, 1981 : 150
[162] Hussian 1999 : 53
[163] Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1897-8 : 367
[164] Beal, vol. I : 1984 : 97-98.
[165] Cunningham 1863-4 : 13

He says, "Within the royal city, towards the northeast[166] the precious tower of the Patre of Buddha is there. After the Mahaparinirvana of the lord Buddha, his Patra; coming to this sacred soil worshipped for centuries. It was a traveling sacred exhibition went to many countries came down now to Persia[167].

The next object visited by Hwen Thsang was a great Pipal tree[168], at 8 or 9 li, or 2km to the south-east of the city. The tree was about 100feet in height, with wide spreading branches, which, according to the tradition, had formerly given shade to Sakya Buddha when he predicted the future appearance of the great King Kanishka[169].

The only site at Peshawar is the Shah-ji-ki-Dheris, Kanishka Stupa, which stood close to the holy tree to its south, mentioned by all the Chinese Pilgrims. The description of Huen Tsang is in more details, he says it was about 400feet high and 1 ½ li (one quarter of 2 km in circumference). It yielded a large quantity of the relics of Buddha[170]. He also informs us that to the west of this enormous stupa there was a monastery also built by Kanishka. Its tower and pavilions were two storeys but he found this site in much ruined form. It was however, still inhabited by a small number of monks who professed the Mahayana (lesser vehicle) doctrine of Buddhism[171].

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[166] Julien opined and correct the text says "It is north west"
[167] Cunningham 1863-4 : 13
[168] Dani 1995 : 51-2 in modern time except Pipal Mandi, no where outside the city there is a pipal tree.
[169] *Ibid*
[170] The relic casket obtained from the excavation, now is a pride possession of Peshawar Museum (see Spooner 1907-8 & 1912)
[171] Cunningham 1863-4 : 13

His detailed description also contains that king Kanishka ascended the throne four hundred years after the Nirvana of the Lord. His description about this establishment is as follows:

On this place beside the main stupa there are two stupas in engraved form with three and five feet height. They are of the same shape and proportion as almost replicas of the main stupa. He then noticed two full size figures of Buddha one four feet, the other six in height. Their gesture is crossed legged shown sitting beneath the Bodhi tree. When the full rays of the sun shine on them they appear of a brilliant gold colour, and as the light decreases the hues of the stone seem to assume a reddish blue colour[172].

He then saw, on the southern side of the stone steps of the great Stupa, a painted figure of lord Buddha about sixteen feet high, alongwith a figure of Buddha in white stone about eighteen feet high. It is in standing position facing the north.

He also reported hundred little stupas standing around the main stupa. Huen Tsang narrated that, according to the prediction of Thatagata, that this stupa has been seven times burnt down and seven times rebuilt, then the religion of Buddha will disappear. The records show that this had already been destroyed and restored three times.

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[172] Dani 1995 : 53

He also visited a room in vacinity of the monastery, in the third tower which was the Chamber of honorable Parsvika (Pi_lo-sh-po), but it has long been in ruins; but they have placed here a commemorative tablet in his honour[173].

He then described that ; to the east of Parsvika chamber in an old building in which Vasubandhu Bodhisattva prepared Abhi-dharmakosha – sastra men, out of respect to him have placed here a commemorative tablet to this affect. To the south of Vasubandhus house, about fifty paces or so is a second storied pavilion in which Monarhita a master of Sastras composed the Vibhasa Sastra[174].

2.5 Huei-Ch'ao 700-26 AD

There may be travelers from Korea and other parts of the world, but history is silent about their visit and accounts. So far the present research is concerned; we have only one traveler from Korea. He bares the same pattern as we have seen in Chinese contribution. The name of this scholar is Huei-ch'ao who was born in Korea in 700 AD and learned Buddhist religion in China, he came to Northwestern India and Central Asia in 726 AD.

He mentioned his story and says:

From the land of Kashmir in the North-West after seven day long journey over the mountains one reaches the land of little-Bolor which is under Chinese reign. Dressing code, customs, nutrition, and language do not differ from them of Great

[173] Dani 1995 : 54-5
[174] *Ibid*

Bolor. People of Bolor wear cotton dress and shoes. Beard and hair is cut, and around the head they wear a scarf of cotton material.

The women only let their hair grow. They're many poor and few rich people. The mountainous valleys are narrow gorges, and terrace fields for agriculture are not many. On the mountain tops there are no trees, only bladburnt rootstumps no other vegetation. The kingdom of great Bolor once was the residence of the now using of little Bolor, but when Tibeans concured great Bolor, the king fled to the land of little Bolor, and stayed there. The elders and the ordinary people did not accompany the king, but stayed in little Bolor.

From the kingdom of Kashmir you will reach Gandhara after a month's travel, if you go Northwest over the mountains.

The king and his army, they're all Turkish, the inhibitions are Hindu, besides them there are some Brahmans. This country was under the control of the king of Kepisa for this reason the father of the Turkish king, named Barha Tiger surrendered with all his troops of his complete tribe to the king of kapisa.

Later with the power of the Turkish increasing he killed that king of kapisa and made himself king instead of him. From this region up to the north, all is under Turkish rule. Wherever they are living on the mountains tops, these are burnt blade and there is not even one plant growing.

Dressing code, customs, languages and the climate of the seasons are much different from the other five Indians countries. For the dress there are fine cotton coats and cotton shirt and trousers and shoes. The land is fertile for barley and wheat. Some sort of millet or rice is not available at all; people eat mostly some stemmed pastries or breadcake.

Except of the land of Kashmir, little and great Bolor and Yang- Thung there are here in Gandhara as else in the five Indian countries no grapes find, only sugar cane.[175] The Turkish king has five elephants but sheep and horses are countless, also camel's mules and donkeys are there a real lot. To return to china form here is not possible and direction south the roads are dangerous because of robberies and because of this bad condition.

North of Gandhara there are many people with bad businesses and in the cities of the humans you will find a lot of butchers shops, the King being Turkish adorses the tritatira as a the feleves. He, his wives, his family, the nobles and the rich all the found busy, erracting monasteries and donvating their money to the buddhist clergy. Two times a year the king, assembles the clergy, and distributes his personal items and wives, elephants and horses altogether as a donation to the monks.

But for his wives and his elephants the monks have to tell a prize, for which he buys them back. But camels, horses, gold and silver garments or household items

[175] Fuchus 1938: 444-5

the monks may sell, a business, by which the king is generating some income (profit) for himself (no spiritual profit.)[176]

The king's behavior is different from that of the Turkish King. Even his sons and daughters follow that pattern of behaviors: They themselves are building monasteries, assemble the clergy and make donations.

The Capital (Pushkalavati) is constructed up on the western shore of great river far away, there is a big monastery, where the Bodhisattvas Vasabandu and Asanga had lived. This temple's name is Kanishka. A great Stupa is also there, which is permanently shining (which is permanently emauakes rays of light). The monastry and the Stupa have been built by King Kanishka himself in the ancient times. The monastry was renamed after the King's name.

From this town 7 Li southeast there is the place, where Buddha as king of the Sibi [177] helped a dove to freedom. Now there is a monastery, and many monks worshipping there. There is also the place, where Buddha sacrified his head and eyes (?) to feed the five Yaksas (?).

All these places are in this country. In the mountains southeast of this city (Pushkalavati) there are monasteries and monks spread all over the places and the people are worshipping in deep faith. Both Mahayana and Hinayana, Vehicle is used by the Buddhist worshippers[178]. If you go from the country of Gandhara

[176] Ibid 445-6
[177] Probubly Sibi Jataka
[178] Fuchus 1938: 445-6

straight to the north you reach to the kingdom of Udyana after a three days journey. Here the King is fervently worshipping the Triratna (with religious zeal). The country folk sacrifices more than half of their belongings to the monks. For themselves they keep the small portion, just to get clothes and some thing to eat.

Each and everyday there will be a religious council (a mela) and people are worshipping and making sacrifices. There are monastries and monks plentiful- more than half of the population is living in spritual life as a devoted monk! Here in Udyana they only follow the Mahayana. Dresses, morals, food do not differ from that in Ghandhara, but the language is not the same. There are plenty of horses, camels and sheep available, but it is cold climate all over the year.

Fifteen days journey north east of Udhyana into the mountains is the country of (tschral) Chitral. The people living there call themeselves Sama raja. The king is worshiping the triratna, there are mounastries and monks, clothing and languages are the same like in Udhayana. Cotton trousers and garments for much in fashion.

If you travel from this kingdom of Ghandhara seven days into the mountains, you will reach the kingdom of Lampaka. This country has no king but there are only noble chiefs. Lampaka is under the rule of Ghandhara too. People dress like in Ghandhara they communicate in the same language. If you travel from this country from lampaka into the mountains, after 8 days you reach the kingdom of Kapisi (Kapisa). Also this country is under the control of the king of Ghandhara. During summer, this king is living in Kapisa because of the cool climate. In winters

he goes back Ghandhara, where it is warm. There is no snow, while in the country of Kapisa there is a lot. The inhabitants of Kapisa are Hindu or Turkish. What they bear, how they speak and what they eat in general is the same like Tokharistan, excluding some minor aspects, where they differ. Men and women folk are wearing cotton dress of shirt and trouser, with shoes. There is no difference in men and women dressing code. All men cut beard and hair, women let hair grow. Camels, mules, horses are there, also donkeys and cattle's cotton clothing, grapes wheat, barely, and *safran* are cultivated. The people are worshiping the triratna with devotion. There are lots of monks living in many monastries the outstanding families of these people are building monastries themselves and donate them to the clergy. In the big city there is a monastry where there is a blowing horn/bones and hair of the Buddha as Sarira (?). The king, the officers, and people are worshiping everyday.

They follow the HINAYANA there. On the top of the mountains there are no trees, just like everything is burnt by fire. If you travel from Kapisa for 7 days to the west you will reach Zabulistan. The natives are Hindus, the king and the army Turkish. The king is the cousin of king of Kapisa. Who settled here with his people and his arm. He is under nobody's control not even in the control of his uncle.

The king and his army are though Turkish devotedly worshiping triratna. There are lots of monks living in many monastries who are following the Mahayan. There is a Turkish nobel named Shatarkan who donates gold and silvers once a year in such

an amount, that nobody can match with it, customs and dress are the same like Kapisa, but languages differs.

From Zabulistan 7 days traveling to the north is the country of Bamyan. The king is Hindu and under no one's dominion. His army is strong, so all other kingdoms do not dare to attack him. The country is fertile they cultivate a lot of grapes. In winter there is snow and it is very cold. After another 20 days journey to the north you will reach the residence of the king of Tukharistan, named FU-TI-YA(Balkh) now the troops of the Arabs are there they have occupied the city (of Balkh). The king and his distress run for one month to the east and now living in Badakhshan. Now Balkh is under the dominion of the Arabs.

Chapter 3

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES - I

Before we come to the Archaeological Research in Peshawar in Pre-Partition time. Let's have a bird eye view, on the archaeological research in the region which is the beginning in the area. M. Elphinstone (1779-1859) while coming back from Afghanistan in 1808 gives information of the Buddha at Bamiyan in Afghanistan[179], and also reports the monuments at Mankiyala in the Potwar Plateau[180]. Later on William Erskine identified Manikyala as a Buddhist monument in 1821 with no date [181].

The second stage of researches in the northwestern sub-continent is in the Sikh period[182]. Manikyala was excavated by General Ventura of Ranjet Singh army in 1830 and was followed, in the process of excavation, by General Court in the neighbourhood of Manikyala, and J.M. Honigberger and C. Masson in Kabul and Jalalabad[183]. Ventura also initiated exploration in the modern Taxila area[184]. Masson was the first to draw attention towards the "Bactrian Pahlavi" (Kharaoshti) legend on coins, on the basis of which J. Prinsep developed this study further[185].

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[179] Elphinstone 1972 : 213-4
[180] *Ibid:*106-8
[181] Erskine 1823 : 519
[182] Errington 1987 : 31-8
[183] *Ibid*
[184] Delmerick 1870 : 94
[185] Princep 1835 : 327

The first moveable property from the Archaeolgical wealth in term of sculptures was found by J.G. Gerard. It was a statue "of a seated Buddha with flaming shoulders"[186] which he recovered near the modern village of Beni Hissar,[187] in the vicinity of Kabul in 1833. A Cunningham was intersted in archaeological known sites mentioned in literature. In 1848 Cunningham in Mardan district[188] observed Rani-gat, as Aornos of Alexander.[189] He also identified the archaeological site, like Pushkalavati (Charsadda), Salatura (Lahore), Shahbaz Garhi, and Sehri Bahlool (Mardan). However, M.A. Stein identifies Aornos in the region of Pir-sar or Una-Sar at the valley of Kana-Ghurband in Swat.[190]

Serious antiquarian activities commenced after the creation of the 'Guides', a special corps of Pathan soldiers, in 1847. Apart from military operations in the Yusufzai district and adjoining areas it also opened the way, from 1849 onward, for anthropological and archaeological researches. In 1852, W. Lumsden, Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar was ordered to arrange an escort for Mr. James of the Survey Department, on his visit to the border of the Swat Valley.[191]

The annexation of Peshawar district by the Sikhs in 1834 provided General Court an opportunity for his archaeological and topographical researches in the districts

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[186] Errington 1987 : 47
[187] Princep 1934 : 455
[188] Cunningham 1848 : 102-5
[189] Ibid:131
[190] Stein 1929 : 143
[191] Lumsden and G. Elsmie 1899 : 109

of Peshawar and Yusufzai.[192] (Mardan). This event shows the beginning of pre-planed surveys in the regions.[193]

Archaeological research in Peshawar originated in 19th century, when the British Army Officers and Civil Administrators, showed their interest in classical education to identify the topography of the region, known to the world as ancient Gandhara. The Archaeological survey of India established in 1870s with the intention to explore and excavate, to report and identify, to locate and document, the Archaeological sites and historical monuments. This process resulted in creation of historical and geographical framework, and addition to the establishment of protected sites and to establish museums for public. These pioneering efforts in combination with the introduction of few scientific methods have provided a firm base for the last 50 years of Archaeology within the area known now a days as Pakistan.

In the plain of Peshawar there were three basic historical contexts of the beginning of Archaeological research. The Indus River separates the Peshawar plain from the Potohar plateau region of Punjab. As already noted above, in 1830 when two European Generals employed in the army of Ranjit Singh, the contemporary ruler of Punjab, started excavation at the site of Manikyala stupa near Rawalpindi, placing proper foundation for Archaeological research.[194]

[192] Court 1836 : 469
[193] See Cole 1883
[194] Dannell 1984: 10-19.

Archaeological significance of the region at that time was well known. Alexander Cunningham has also shown interest in this region with Archaeological theories.

Secondly, in the mid 19th century, the sculptures with Hellenic affinity, which later on became as the Gandhara School of sculptures were introduced in this region. After the fall of Ranjit Singh and Sikh power in Punjab and also with the increase of the British interest in Afghanistan,[195] and the neighboring territory of the Peshawar plain. British army Officer remained present in Peshawar area, some of these Officers were interested in Archaeological finds.

Thirdly, it had long been known from the classical literature that Alexander the great invaded this part of the world. The movements of Alexander's army and places they occupied also formed distinct focus of the cultural heritage of this soil. The changing political scenario in the North West frontier region in the second half of the 19th century and the documented literary and artistic tradition of Hellenic links of this 'Frontier' facilitated Archaeological interest.

After Alexander Cunningham, the systematic Archaeological work of exploration and excavations started under the dynamic leadership of John Marshall. The annual report of Archaeological survey of India, for the year 1915-6 refers to the Shapola stupa in the Khyber agency, beside this 144 sites were listed in the report, also showing excavation at Islamia College and Burj Hari Singh in Peshawar.[196]

[195] Anwar Khan 1962: 280
[196] Cunningham 1863: 66-80

Beside the archaeological excavations and exploration the above noted pioneers, also worked on the moveable property, like sculptures and coins. The bulk of sculptures were numbered Spooner writes, "all the sculptures in the Peshawar Museum, further more, had been numbered consecutively, beginning in the right hand gallery up stairs.[197] Beside this the Hargreaves handbook is also important.[198]

The research record of the archaeological data, conducted in Peshawar is as under: -

Banamari

M.A.Court	1836

Tehkal

Lt. C.A Crompton excavation	1875
V. Natesa Aiyar excavation	1915-16

Shahji-ki-Dehri

B.D. Spooner excavation	1907-08
H. Hargreaves excavation	1910-11
A. Stien work	1911-12
John Marshall contribution	1911-12

The Result of the Previous Work

[197] Spooner 1910 : Preface : 3
[198] Hargreaves 1930 : 107

3.1 BANAMANI EXCAVATION[199].

Fussman referred to Banamani site in Peshawar, that it was excavted by M.A.Court who was in the services of Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1822. According to the report a bronze head dug up at Peshawar by M.A.Court. He reported that he found and dug out several remains of Indian statues both in Pilaster (Probably in stucco) and in bronze. He believes that these belong to very ancient date and not of artistic value but ill executed. He is of the opinion that they principally represent Gourknathi faqirs or Jogis, who for a long time held the country west of the Indus. The imaging question represents, which was excavated from the village of Banamani to the west of Peshawar. He also referred other ruins of Pirigel, where Indian and Bactrian medals (Probably coins) were found.[200]

3.1.1 NAGA RAJA

Found in Banamani, Peshawar, made of Brass with 46cm height, belonging to the 6th 7th Century A.D. Now it is the property of cabinet dis medailles, bibliotheque nationale c30146. Besides the excavator, General Court mentions several images in them, only this one is now known[201]. As regards its artistic standard Court considered these as barbaric work belonging to the Buddhist period[202]. Court's identification is based on Manikyala site finds resemblance, with Banamari. The findings recovered from Manikyala (an incribed reliquary with a pinnacle lid of

[199] It is actually Bala-Mari (high Fort or palace which also suggests a high mound)
[200] Court 1936:477 cited by Fussman 1991:156
[201] Errington 1992:237 .
[202] Fussman 1991:156

bronze, tow fold coins of Huvishka, a gold small box reliquary and a silver drachma of Tegin, Turkish ruler of Kapup[203] correctly identified as Buddhist[204].

To some this is a Hindu image, which has been discovered with Buddhist artefacts[205], also reported from other sites in the region[206] and for the purpose, originally Buddhist structures have been reused along with cult images[207]. Like the image under discussion its Brahmi inscription on the bottom of the circular collar also has Buddhist and Hindu origination.

Fussman records:

"Divodharma Yam Cortaruna Sri Haradevo Graghguparmatoka"

this is the pious gift of Cortaruna. (it is) the lord Haradevo, (also called?) Graghegutparmatoka.

On it Errington pointed two different aspects[208]: that the phrase 'pious gift of' is a specifically Buddhist formula; and secondly, that 'Haradeva' is identifiable with Shiva[209]. To Errington only the serpent attribute and link the mask with the Hindu deity in his ascetic aspect[210] the snake symbolizes immortality through the annual renewal of its skin[211].

Besides other steamulation the image symbolizes the revival of Hinduism in the region. It share a common stylistic and iconographical heritage of the two great

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[203] Errington 1992: 183-5
[204] Prinsep 1834:570 cited by Errington 1992:240
[205] Errington 1992:237
[206] Taddei 1983: 615-28; 1987:349-62
[207] Rehman 1995:71
[208] Errington 1992:239
[209] Fussman 1991:146-56 and 150-2
[210] Errington 1992:239
[211] Getty 1914: 153-4 cited be Errington 1992:240

religions of Hinduism & Buddhism in Peshawar. It hints the decline of Buddhism and resurgence of Hinduism in the region.

One of the Chinese Buddhist travelers, xuan zang, in AD 632, counted, more than a hundred Deva temples[212], where many Buddhist establishments were already in ruined condition[213]. The Court, images represented Hindu ascetics[214]. Errington says "the lack, above all of a third eye on the forehead of the mask suggest a more syncretic image, made at the time when the religious dominance of Buddhism in the region was being overtaken, but was not yet totally replaced by Hinduism.[215]"

To some the cobra hood attributes of a naga-raja (king of the nagas) its popularity was noted by xuan zang[216]. In Buddhist art naga Kalika is shown along with his wife in water tank[217], who prophesied the attainment of enlightenment by the Buddha[218]. It also has contemporary example in the region one from Tahkal Bala and another from Peshawar[219].

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[212] Watter 1904:203-11
[213] Errington 1992:237
[214] Ibid
[215] Ibid:239
[216] Watters 1904:127, 129 and 241-3
[217] Khan S.N 1995:16-Pl XIII 'b' and Pl-13:51
[218] Errington 1992:239
[219] Ibid

3.2 Tehkal (Fig: XV)

Though the efforts of these researchers were not on solid ground, (see flaw in chapter V) but they rendered notable services in the field of archaeological reconstruction. It was because of their laborious work that now we have knowledge about the archaeological sites. Amoung them Tehkal is the first which was probed in the year 1875 and then 1915-6. The position is still questionable whether this belongs to the Buddhist world or not, the excavation do not throw a true light on its position. (See Errington 1987)

In Archaeological world Tehkal at Peshawar, is known not more than a provenance of a famous Buddhist status of Kuvera, now at the possession of Lahore Museum, Lahore (No. 3/G101 Lahore Museum). On the surface ground too, nothing is so visible or well located. But it was very much visible at Tehkal a century ago. Many visitors in 19th and 20th century visited Tehkal and described it. A report of Punjab public works department of 1870's printed in the Punjab Government Gazetteer contains a note about two Buddhist sites in this locality.

The modern Tehkal contains two different villages, one is Payan (low) and other is Bala (high). Both Payan and Bala Tehkal lie the north of old Jamrud Road, between Peshawar cantonment and University of Peshawar. The old Jamrud Road was constructed by the British in 1870's.[220] The Archaeological remains are on the north side of the modern village of Tehkal Bala, which are also described by

[220] Erington 1987 : 301

Cunningham. (The area is called Charmari and now in the possession of Army for training as firing range). The 1875 and 1881-82 exploration on Tehkal reports provide information that pottery pieces, bricks and other debris belonging to this site is used in the construction of Jamrud road. These also indicate the sites in the University of Peshawar, presently accommodates the modern building of Pushto Academy, only a small portion of the retaining wall of the Buddhist site can be seen.

The first report on Tehkal site is of General Court; a French officer of Maharaja Ranjit Singh stationed at Peshawar in 1834. He explored various sites in the area. He says 'The most striking are those of Khohusser more commonly known by the name of Tehkal, where are vestiges of three massive cupolas of very ancient date.[221] In 1832 Alexander Barnes and Dr. J. G. Gerard both of the Bombay army, being sent on to Central Asia by the East India Company probably on political tour to collect some data on Central Asia, but before they left they were shown the stupa at Mankiyala by court's fellow officer and were instructed for the location of more sites like this.[222] Barnes informs "Like one in search of the philosopher's stone, I found myself referred from place to place, and at Usman heard of tope near Peshawar, which I afterward visited. It is about 5 miles from the city but in so decayed condition that the remains would not suggest any idea of the design without seeing those of the Punjab though they were 100 feet high.[223]

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[221] Ibid
[222] Ibid : 302
[223] Ibid

Masson in 1833 wrote to Gerard when he was at Peshawar, "I hear nothing conclusive here of your researches at the Peshawar tope. Osman notes in his letter to me that the statues is very wounderful, they are certainly a very singular discovery.[224] Errington remarks about this letter is "The 'tope' in question seems more likely to have been one at Tehkal Bala rather than the renowned stupa of Kanishka at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, for following reasons: the latter site escapes the particular attention of Court, for he the found the whole area around Peshawar. 'A vast space covered with ruins and tombs'. Later investigators describe the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri as two large mounds outside the Ganj Gate at Peshawar but Crompton in 1875 refers to the poor and scanty nature of discoveries, and even Spooner and Hargreaves, whose excavations successfully established this as the stupa founded by Kanishka, stress the paucity of sculpture at the site. However, Tehkal Bala is approximately 5 miles to the west of old city of Peshawar, the largest stupa (Mound A) being still 70 feet in height in 1875. This fits both Barnes's location and description of the 'Tope near Peshawar', and the site can be positively associated with Gerard, in the official Punjab Government. excavation of the site moreover, 'a deep cutting' was found in the summit of the second stupa (Mound B) from which some statues are reported to have been taken.... by previous explorers'.This herefore is perhaps the area investigated by Gerard. Gerard and Mohan Lal and his companion in Peshawar does not inform about their activities[225].

[224] Ibid : 303
[225] Errington 1987: 303-4.

Though Gerard compared a sculpture from Swat with one from a Tope in the plain of Peshawar. After his death in 1835 his brother donated two boxes of fragmentary idols to the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[226] He records "a stone idol in excellent preservation and beautifully executed, and complete excepting the face of one of the female figures which is wanting. The face of the other female figure was accidentally broken off, but it has been carefully packed up in paper, and with a little cement it can easily be united.... The wholes were dug for ...by my brother, while he was on his return route to India, during 1833 and 1834.... I regret that no particulars of their locality were found among my late brother's paper, relating to his journey, owing.... to two-third of the whole having unaccountably disappeared[227]. Dr. Martin Honigberger, a personal Doctor to Ranjit Singh excavated Mound A at Tehkal monuments for 15 days but nothing worth in finding except two figures "en marbre noir of life size statue of Buddhist world.[228]

A third investigation is in 1861 which was made by the Reverend Isidore Loewenthal on sculpture found in this vicinity. He says "No systematic attempt at opening any of the mounds abounding in this region has yet been made, except by Lieutenant Johnston. Assistant Commissioner, who has been exploring one situated some two miles from the station; but little has come to light, besides a copper urn, in the shape of a common water jar, containing nothing but fragment of bones and some lamina of mica.

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[226] Ibid
[227] Ibid
[228] Ibid

He has, however, laid bare pavements and steps of burnt bricks, and obtained a sufficient number of sculptured cornices, friezes, pediments, statues, ornaments, etc., all in fragments, to show that the mound covers the ruins of a splendid building, which was destroyed with the utmost violence and by fire; also sufficient evidence to show that the place was built by Buddhists".[229]

Loewenthal described "Kuvera statue was excavated by Lieutenant Johnstone from a mound near lower Tehkal, a village between the Peshawar cantonment and the Khyber Pass"[230]. The Sappers excavated sites are not yet located. Conningham mentioned Tehkal Bala or Payan or both but Elizabeth Errington located the area where modern Peshawar University Campus is accommodated.[231] A 1983 survey also marks the remains of a mound nearer Tehkal Payan itself[232]. According to Errington sculptured cornices friezes status ornaments etc. Along with Kuvera figure and copper relic casket recovered by Johnstone, only Kuvera is identifiable. She further added that Loewenthal reported a Bodhsattva from Neogram (Swabi) and adds some comparative figure found by Johnstone at Tehkal[233].

Any other Buddhist piece depicting the renunciation at Lahore Museum (Lahore 463/G50) is attributed to Tehkal.[234] From both sites of Tehkal Payan and Bala large number of Buddhist pieces were recovered in 1875-76 seasons. Garrick (1916) recovered three large heads and 15 small pieces. Tehkal Payan site was

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[229] Ibid : 305
[230] Ibid
[231] Ibid
[232] Ibid
[233] Ibid : 306
[234] Ibid

rich in sculptures than the Tehkal Bala site.[235] Errington says, "the two major sites of Tehkal Bala, lay approximatly in the area of the modern Pushto Academey and the Islamia College Peshawar respectively while the stupa of Tehkal Payan excavated by Johnstone can probably be identified with the remains of Rosanabad. The techniques of these early excavators leave a great deal to be desired by modern standards and certain problems such as those of orientation and scale remain. Nevertheless, their work provide the only record of these sites, which in the case of the Tehkal Bala remains is detailed enough for a clearer picture to emerge of at least two of the Buddhist monuments which must have once dominated the landscape of this neighburhood"[236].

3.3 Shah-ji-ki-Dheri: (Fig: XVI, XVII)

The second site which was excavated is known as Shah-ji-ki-Dheri where work started in 1907-8 and 1910-12. It is situated about 2 Km to the south east of the Ganj Gate and outside the Lahori Gate at the historic city of Peshawar. The easy approach is from the Hazarkhani road. The ruins of the mound, although at present hardly traceable, can only be identified by an elevated contour of the earth upon which now stands modern houses, lying in the north east part of this graveyard. Once it consisted of two large mounds lying in east-west orientation. The eastern mound revealed the great stupa while the western unearthed the monastery attached to it. The second Buddhist establishment relates to a stupa

[235] Ibid
[236] Ibid

built by Kanishka "to the south of the Pipala tree"[237]. All the three Chinese pilgrims tell the story how Kanishka, in his wandering came to this spot and erected the stupa. According to Hiuen Tsiang it was a forested spot and according to Fa-Hian it lay by the roadside, Buddha is said to have prophesied the erection of this stupa having sat beneath this pipal tree whose height was one hundred feet or so, " four hundred years after by (my) departure from the world, there will be a king who shall rule it called Kanishka (Kai-ni-se-Kia); not far to the south of this spot he will raise a stupa which will contain many various relics of my bones and flesh'[238]. As to the stupa, Fa-Hian observe that it was about 400ft high, and "adorned with all manner of precious things", Sung Yun reports that "among the topes of Western countries this is the first", lastly Hiuen Tsiang says that it was upwards of 400ft in height and 1 ½ li, or just one quarter of a mile, in circumference[239] but no one clearly says that it was near the capital city of Kanishka Hiuen Tsiang[240] describes: "These two stupas are still visible. In aggravated sickness, if a cure is sought, people burn incense and offer flowers, and with a sincere faith pay their devotions. In many cases a remedy is found. On the southern side of steps, on the eastern face of the great stupa, there are engraved (or carved) two stupas, one three feet high, the other five feet. They are of the same shape and proportion as the great stupa. Again there are two full-sized figures of Buddha, one four feet, the other six feet in height. They resemble him as he sat cross-legged beneath the Bodhi tree. When the full rays of the sun shine on them, they appear of brilliant gold colour,

[237] Caroe 1962 : 167
[238] Caroe 1962 : 152, Cunningham : 1990 : 67; Jafar : 1946: 18, Mitra : 1971 : 119
[239] *A.S.I.* (AR. 1910-11) : 25
[240] *A.S.I.* (AR. 1910-11) : 152-56

and as the light decreases the hues of stone seem to assume a reddish blue colour.... On the southern side of the stone steps of the great stupa there is a painted figure of Buddha about sixteen feet high. From the middle upward there are two bodies, below the middle, only one.... To the southwest of the great stupa 100 paces are so there is a figure of Buddha in white stone about eighteen feet high. It is a standing figure, and looks to the north.... To the left and right of the great stupa are a hundred little stupas standing closely together, executed with consummate art.... Buddha is said to have prophesied the erection of this stupa having sat beneath this pipal tree whose height was one hundred feet or so, "four hundred years after by (my) departure from the world, there will be a king who shall rule it called Kanishka (Kai-ni-se-Kia); not far to the south of this spot he will raise a stupa which will contain many various relics of my bones and flesh'[241]. When first arrived in this country it had just been destroyed by a fire calamity. Steps are being taken for its restoration, but they are not yet complete"[242]. Whether the prophecy was fulfilled and the stupa was finally burnt down for the seventh times is not known for certain.[243] Since the upper storeys were made of wood, they had therefore been subject to destruction by fire or lightening, Ashy layers exposed in the course of excavation have testified this statement.[244]

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[241] *A.S.I.* (AR. 1910-11) : 152, Cunningham : 1990 : 67, Jafar : 1946 : 18, Mitra : 1971: 119
[242] Foucher 1915: 8, also Jaffer : 1946 : 19
[243] Jaffer 1946: 19
[244] Jaffer 1946 :19, Dani : 1995 : 39

The nomenclature of the site to Alfred Foucher is as 'Maharaja Caitya' (the great king'[245]. The NWFP gazetteers 1931gives an interpretation, "this is so called because of its being the possession of Sayads who are generally known among the Muslims by the techinal term 'Shahji'. Jaffer, considered both the views, shows his inclination towards the latter and argues that "The word Shah Ji in common parlance in applied to a saint or a Sayyed and not to a king or Shah". Thus the name Shah Ji Ki Dheri means the mound of a saint or a Sayyad.[246] Mr. Ibrahim Shah says "the name 'Shah Ji Ki Dheri' has been given to the site of 'Kanishka Vihara' after the saint Khwaja Sayyed Shah "Ata Allah' lying enshrined in the tomb mentioned elsewhere in this work. Agha Sayyid Mahbub 'Ali Shah [247], one of the descendants of Sayyid Shah 'Ata Allah, during a personal visit to him regarding investigation in this matter, told the present author that the area where the site is lying was included in the endowment of Sayyid Shah 'Ata Allah. This endowment property which was 400 kanals in total, is now occupied by modern houses of Akhunabad adjacent to the site. After having been identified the site Kanishka Vihara, the name 'Shah Ji Ki Dheri' was given to it for its being part of the property of Shah ' Ata Allah , the Sayyid The spot is generally known as "Mahbuba Dheri" after a legendary loving couple " Mehbuba and Jalat Khan" whose love story is still circulating amoung the dewellers of outskirts of the city [248]".

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[245] Foucher 1915: 17

[246]. Jaffer 1946: 19.

[247] Agha Sayyid Mahbub Ali Shah (aged 70) is a notable descendant of Sayyid Shah 'Ata Allah. He is a government contractor and resides in Basat-i-Gul Hasan (now called Shahin Bazar) adjacent to Bazar-i-Kala in Peshawar city.

[248] Shah, 1997: 98.

Cunningham (1871-80) and then Foucher (1901) located two mounds at Shah-ji-ki-Dehri on the old boundaries of the Peshawar City might be as remains of this famous Buddhist Site.[249] The idea of both of the above scholars run counter to each other, Therefore just to confirm the identification a new excavation work started. In the course of excavations under the leadership of Spooner [250], [251] (1908-9) and sub-sequentially under the direction of Hargreaves[252] [253] (1910-11), confirmed that the larger mound was a huge monastery and the smaller one was a magnification stupa, along with votive stupas.

According to the Buddhist pilgrim Xuan Zang the relics had been enshrined by Kanishka within the stupa of Shahji-Ki-Dehri,[254] led Spooner to excavate a large square pit down through the centre of the stupa. Near the junction between two radiating walls (Colours are used on the plan to denote the three different building phases) of the stupa, 60cm below the level of the paved area, he discovered a relic chamber which yielded a copper casket and, near it, a lonely copper coin belonging to Kanishka I within the casket was a hexagonal crystal reliquary, a clay seal (now consider as coin[255]) Imprinted with the figure of an elephant (known Huviska, elephant[256]) and three bone fragments.

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[249] *ASIR*, vol. 11 : 88; Foucher : 1915 : 328-30, also of Crompton : 1875 : 717-8.
[250] Spooner 1908: 17-22
[251] Spooner 1912: 38-59.
[252] Hargreaves 1911: 12-16.
[253] Hargreaves 1914: 25-32.
[254] Beal 1984 : 100
[255] Errington 2002 : 101-120
[256] Errington 2002 : 102

The excavation first by Crompton 1875, collaborated Cunningham's supposition (1871-80) that "no remains of this great stupa existed", and hence stopped further work saying that "Sticking to Foucher's identification of Kanishka Stupa with Shah-ji-ki-Dheri in 1901, however, Spooner and Hargreaaves started a fresh series of excavations from 1908 to 1911 at the circular, eastern most mound surrounded by cultivated fields, to the west of which lay the 6m high extensive mound where Crompton opened most of his trenches and which Hargeaves later designated the "Monastery Mound".

Mr. Spooner (1912) first dug up a shrine-like building and exposed brick pavement in front of the stupa and also found the south face. At the north western corner a circular base of a tower was confirmed; Spooner presupposed the existence of the same sort of base at the three other corners, but found nothing except for a stone possibly attributable to the southeastern tower. During this operation he exposed stucco friezes on the base of mouldings, depicts a series of Buddhas in the dhyanamudra alternating with pilaster. Applique of mud pilaster also applied for projection and to separate the pieces from each other.

Thus the excavations revealed a 54 square main stupa with a semi circular extension at each angle and a 15m projection on each side making a cross form, surrounded by other smaller stupas and a shrine- like structure which stood on a brick pavement. The stupa also contained four radial walls running from the centre of the northwest, west, southwest and southeast. A little to the west of the stupa three superimposed constructions were exposed, the lowest two being of brick and

the latest of brick and stone, comprising together square pillar bases and walls faced with circular or semi-circular towers identified by the excavators as part of monastic buildings. The extraordinarily extensive size of the stupa complex thus well matched the stupa founded, according to legend, by Kanishka, which the Chinese pilgrims unanimously talked about as by far the greatest amoung all stupas in the Western Regions. But structures wise nothing worth mentioning exposed as such.

Despite such difficulties, every body can easily realize that the site produced only a few of the pieces of schist sculptures which are normally recovered in great number at Gandhara Buddhist sites and also that baked bricks were familiar material for the builders of Shah-ji-ki- Dheri Main Stupa and other buildings surrounding it. The Shah-ji-ki-Dheri buildings are quite exceptional and anomalous among comparable monuments. Cruciform stupas such as Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, Bhamala at Taxila or Tope-i-Rustum near Balkh and also with the decorative elements of Gandhara near Kabul gives a clear picture of its original form. The plentiful use of bricks may suggest a fairly late date for the site but not because of the geographically difficult access to stone as the excavators supposed. Yet the discovery of the "Kanishka Casket"[257], led to the identification of the site with Kanishka Vihara. The Shahji Ki Dheri copper reliquary belongs to the 2nd century A.D; its height is 18cm with 12.7 cm diameter, recovered from Peshawar and now is the pride possession of Peshawar museum. This is a celebrated antiquity of the

[257] Foucher 1915 :.56-62

Buddhist world, contains his relics and place by Kanishka[258]. But there is no mention of the Buddhist site or deposited by Kanishka[259]. Beside the ride, syncretism of its figural elements as well as its supposed association; it also yields kharoshthi inscriptions[260]. One line on the top of the lid, another on the lower rim and the remaining tow the upper and lower areas of the caskets figural register, make this; a piece of great art.

On the lid, three images are featured, both has nimbus and facing to the viewers. The central one is the Lord Buddha, shown in sitting pose on the stem of an inverted lotus flower. The figure on the right is Indra and the left is Brahma, both shown in standing and worshipping pose.

The centre register, with a wide lip of the lid, geese depicts flying to left, carrying wreaths in their beaks. (probably to place wreaths on Kanishka head). The body of the casket contains garland bearer shown, supported by wingless putti in various poses are naked but for anklets. Above the garland accommodates seated three identical buddhas. King Kanishka depicts in between the dipping hollows. He wears the royal Khushana dress & boots, flanked by two attendants each on his left & right shown in worshipping pose. In the intervap some gods, probably Miro and Mao are shown[261].

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[258] Beal 1884:100
[259] Kreitman 1992:196

[260] this text has proved highly problematic (see Kreitman) 1992:195
[261] Kreitman 1992:195

According to Kreitman; "the casket adroitly weaves its culturally diverse motifs into a unified statement of religious and political propaganda". The preeminence of the Buddhist law variously conveyed; its transcendent reality by the scale on the lid and replication on the container of the Indian sage who propagated it; its purity by that premier Indian symbol, the lotus on which he sits; its sustenance by the garland bearing putto, a symbol of fecund nature from the classical world that co-functions in Gandhara as guardian of the Dharma"[262].

Some scholars raised questions regarding its association, which creates doubts[263] (see Shahji Ki Dheri) on its inscription too. Konow considered Kanishka as the founder of the monestic complex, Agisala as the artist[264], then Mukharjee thought, the king is both builder of the monument and donor of casket as well[265] while Fussman; is not ready to acknowledge Kanishka as a founder or donor[266]. To some this king could be Kanisha II or III[267] and even Havishka[268].

The casket is unique of its kind, cylindrical in shape, with garland bearing cupids on the sides of the lower box, showing also standing burly figure of the Kushana emperor in typical Central Asian dress; are now part of the pride collection of the Peshawar Museum. The inscribed cylindrical casket yielded three small fragments of bone, which are believed to be the relics of Buddha (as per his predictions in

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[262] Ibid
[263] Ibid
[264] Konow No. LXXII: 135-7
[265] Mukharjee 1964:39-46
[266] Fussman 1986:80-2
[267] Rosenfield 1967:260
[268] Erringotn 2002:102 also see Kreitman 1992:196-7

the accounts of the Chinese pilgrims) which were later on presented by Lord Curzon, the then Governor General of India, to the Buddhist of Burma to re enshrined at Mandalay.[269] The relic casket is inscribed in the cursive Kharoshti script, the language being Sanskritized form of Prakrit". Of the four epigraphs on the casket transcribed and translated by D. B. Spooner, the excavator[270]. The relic casket was associated with a coin of Kanishka which removed any possible doubt as to its attribution to Kanishka.[271] To Fussman Kanishka is neither the founder of the Shahji-Ki-Dehri stupa[272], nor as the donor of the casket. The donation being assigned to monks incharge of the Agisala (Fire room) at the monastery. Although the reading does not mention the Kanishka era, the date is apparently illegible and, hence, does not necessarily fall within the period of Kaniskha's reign[273] and therefore can probably be assigned to the reign of Kaniskha II or Kanishka III. He also suggested that the donors were not royalty at all but lesser mortals in the service of the monastery. Though its history is well known: in brief the initial belief that "There is no doubt at all that this is Kanishka's casket"[274].

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[269] *A.S.I.* (A.R. 1909-10), *Ibid.*

[270] *A.S.I.* (A. R. 1909-10) : 138; *A.S.I.* (A. R. 1908-09) : 52. Mr. M. A. Shakur's translation of the entire inscription as given in his book *"A handbook to the Inscriptions gallery in the Peshawar Museum"*, Peshawar 1946, p. 37-38 adds something more to that of D. B. Spooner.
"In the year one of (the Maharaja) Kanishka, in the town, ima, connected with the mansion, this religious gift .... may it be for the welfare and happness of all beings, ...the slave Agisala was the architect, ...in Knaishka's vihara, in Mahasena's Sangharama, in the acceptance of the Ssrvastuddin teacher".

[271] *A.S.I.* (A. R. 1909-10) : 140

[272] Fussman 1986 : 80-2

[273] Fussman 1986 : 81 Also see (Know 1929 : 135-8; Mukherjee 1964 : 39-46 and Errington and Cribb 1992 : 194-7)

[274] Spooner 1912 : 50

Recently a collection of Archaeological photographs found, during the reorganization of antiquities, in the Department of Oriental antiquities at the British Museum, London. This Archives had been bequeathed to the British Museum, by Marshall.[275] In the photographic box, some photos of Shahji-Ki-Dehri excavations and that of Antiquities of the sites are among the finds.

One photograph, which Errington re-examined, saw an elephant rider to the right. To her it is not a clay seal but a coin of Huviska coated with clay.[276] It was originally described by Spooner, the excavator of Shahji-Ki-Dehri, as seal. To him it is an elephant standing to the right, which was probably the impression of the king's seal.[277] The casket depicts a king holding an indistinct object in his right hand; Errington remarks "A similar club-like object is held by Huviska on his coins, or perhaps a bunch of flowers is intended, as on the casket, but the detail in the photograph is not clear enough to confirm identification"[278]. Several scholars like Rosenfield[279] and Bussagli[280] have already argued that the casket image cannot depict Kanishka I.

Another argument is that appearance of the sun and moon gods, Miioro/Mioro and Mao, to the left and right of the king. Only Miiro is mentioned in the Rabatak inscription. Miiro and Mao are only found together on a rare gold stater of

[275] Errington, E. 2002 : 101
[276] Errington, E. 2002 : 102
[277] Spooner 1912 : 14
[278] Errington 2002 :102
[279] Rossenfield 1967 : 196 to Rosenfield the reliquary work is crude and unaccomplished craftsmanship . Rossenfield 1967:259
[280] Bussagli 1968 : 53-4

Huvishka[281] and more closely to their images on certain coins of Huvishka, than on those of Kaniska.[282]

Ichnographically, the depiction of Indra and Brahma, three Buddhas dhyani and abhayamudra Buddha (on lid) are also questionable.[283]

Find spot of the reliquary is also not measurable, for it was located some 8feet or 2.4 meters from the centre of the stupa, within the angle of two reinforcement ribs.[284] The calculation of c. 2.4meters is derived from the position of these two radiating walls as marked on the plan of the site.[285]

The reliquary is clearly identifiable as a secondary enshrinement belonging to some subsequent phase of the stupa dating from the time of Huviska. Its position off the centre support this idea and also allows a respectable diameter of some 14-15 feet or 4.5 meters for any earlier structures enclosed within the later enlargements of the Shahji-Ki-Dehri stupa[286], because most flourishing period for the monasteries began during the reign of Huviska.[287]

Errington says[288] "it cannot be dated in the year 1 of Kanishka, according to Konows's reading, nor can it be a gift of Kaniska, as Mukherjee claims "

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[281] Errington and Cribb 1992 : 196-8 no. 194
[282] Errington 2002 : 105
[283] Errington 2002 : 106-7 Also see Errington and Cribb 1992 : 194-197 also 195, Dobbins 1971 : 27, Ingholt and Lyons 1957, fig. 292 also fig. 70, 104
[284] Spooner 1912 : 48
[285] Hargreaves 1914: Pl. XIII
[286] Errington 2002 : 109
[287] *Ibid*
[288] *Ibid*

also Harry Falk's new study of its inscription convincingly does not mention Kaniska himself[289], therefore the inscription fails to shed welcome light on the date of the reliquary. The inscription and imagery of the casket nevertheless intentionally appear to recall the association of the Shahji-ki-Dehri stupa with that of Kaniska-1.[290]

Even if it was produced later than that monarch, resists assigning the entire site to a late date. Unfortunately the excavator did not record the spot of the casket and other information is also not sufficient. Due to the modern encroachment, occupation of the site by modern inhabitants and particularly the modern graveyard covering the mound, no possibility of further excavation can be seen. The only way at our disposal, therefore, is just the examination of the aforesaid available reports, which are not only meager but questionable to the scholars.

S. Kuwayama (1967) collected thirty seven pieces in pottery, which he compared with that of Sheikhan Dehri, Tareli, Mekha Sanda, Rani Gat, Mankiyala, Aziz Dehri or Ganghu Dehrai (Swabi), Boot Sarai, Chanak Dehri, Kashmir Smast, Charsadda, Bala Hisar, which can help in the understanding of chronological order of Shah-ji-ki-Dheri.

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[289] *Ibid*
[290] Errington 2002 : 10

3.3.1 Pottery of Shah -ji-ki-Dheri (Fig: XVIII, XIX)

These pottery assemblages were collected by S. Kuwayama during his visit to the Shah-ji-ki-Dheri in 1967. According to him these are small in quantity but some important facts came up. He is also of the opnion that this collection doesn't contain any of the forms already reported from the Gandhara sites. Such as Sheikhan Dheri, Tareli, Mekha Sandah and Rani Gaht. However Shah-ji-ki-Dheri does share types e.g. No. 4-7, 13-16 and 19 in Fig. 17 and Nos. 22-24 and 26 in Fig. 18with the latest phase of sites such as Rani Gat, Manikyala, Aziz Dheri Gangu Dher, But Sarai, Chanak Dheri, Kashmir Smast and Charsadda Bala Hisar. Types No. 13-16(Fig. 17) generally correspond to pottery of Charsadda Bala Hisar represented by Nos. 342,343 and 363 (Wheeler 1962 : Figs 37 &39).

He collected this pottery in shards form, no complete pots were recovered so no complete idea can be made but any how simply we can say that the pottery also support the idea that the site belong to the Kushan period. The pottery, as well as the site, has also chronological frame work with that of the other Buddhist sites like that of Rani Gat, Aziz Dheri[291] (Swabi), Kashmir Smast, Chanak Dheri, But Sarai (Mardan), Charsadda Bala Hisar (Charsadda) and Manikyala[292] (Taxila).

1. Rim of large jar greyishblack slightly averted decorated with a single horizontal groove
2. As above but burnt grey and very slightly everted rim, has decoration.

[291] Khan, S. N 2002 : 22-45
[292] Kuwayama 1997: 98-101

3. Rim of a water pitcher orange in colour averted rim beside the horizontal groove on neck bears carrinated body.
4. Top of a jar light orange straight and flat top.
5. As above but more straight and orange in colour.
6. Rim with grooved decoration and bulging body bear light brown colour.
7. Big jar orange with horizontal decoration and straight rim.
8. As no. 2 but is more mixture of bujree.

9-12 Different type spout, all bear square outlet No. 12 has denting at the end. All bear light orange colour.

13 A light orange rim of a water pitcher, averted, besides the horizontal grooves on shoulder, human fingernail decoration can be seen.

14 As No.3but has reddish brown colour.

15 Top of jar top has dotted decoration and has very averted rim with light brown colour.

16 As above but light yellowish brown colour and has circle decoration on shoulder.

17 Top of a jar wide mouth probably flanged rim with top cross leaf shape dark red slip decoration.

18 As above but bulging body and orange in colour.

19 An averted rim with a double line decoration bear dark red colour and fine sandy clay coated with thin, red slip.

20 Sharply grooved orange dish with saggar base.

21 As above but no decoration

22 Large orange bowl open mouth and carinated

23 Carinated open mouth large bowl has dark orange colour.

24 Bowl with averted rim and carrinated with saggar base.

25 Large open mouth brown bowl with averted rim.

26 Very wide flanged rim jar has a single band of cable pattern decorated cordon.

27 Stopper with knob

28 Whitish orange ware without sand and mica.

29 Terracotta lamp made of micaceous clay.

30 As above but handled

31 As No. 29

32 As No. 29

33 Fragment of T/C wheel has light brown colour.

34 Saggar base of a pedestal bowl.

35 Dabber of light orange colour and fine ware.

36 Pedestal of a gobular bowl of micaceous sandy ware.

37 Pear shaped carinated small pot.

3.4 More Ancient sites in Peshawar

The following few noted sites are not properly probed for archaeological research, but very much mentioned by many scholars and vistors before the independence of the area now known as Pakistan.

The Chinese pilgrims speak of only two Buddhist establishments in connection to Peshawar and then they move away to Pushkalavati to describe more centers there. But archaeological exploration has revealed many other mounds in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. The well known are the ruined mounds in the University. In the vicinity of the village of Tahkal on the left side of a Khwar can be seen spoiled heaps of old mound called Dheri Kiriri strewn over with pottery. Following this old path toward Michni we first meet with a long stretch of Buddhist ruins on the left side of Palosi

Khwar and two more mounds further ahead. All these have produced fine Gandharan sculptures. On another road from the city towards Chargar Mitti we get

a huge mound, known as Dheri Das Mal, near the Grass farm and a second one about a few miles ahead. To the east of the city of Peshawar the nearest Buddhist ruins lie at the village of Valai beyond Nowshera near a water spring, Similar Buddhist ruins abound on the khyber road from Jamrud onward to Dakka. The two-wellknown stupas are (now almost gone) at Ali Masjid and the other Sphola Stupa. These and many other archaeological remains,which are yet to be surveyed, speak of the glorious surrounding of Peshawar, which added glamour to the widespread Buddhist culture in this region the language of this culture was Prakrit and the script Kharoshti written from right to left as is seen in the documents of the time.[293] For a detailed account of the archaeological sites in and around Peshawar one may refer to the Frontier Archaeology Vol I [293a].

3.5 Kanishka Vihara

To the west of the great stupa here is an old 'Sangharama'[294], which was built by king Kanishka. Its double towers, connected terraces, storeyed piles, and deep chambers bear testimony to the eminence of the great priests who have here formed their illustrious religious characters (gained distinction). Although now somewhat decayed, it yet gives evidence of its wonderful construction. The priests living in it are few; they study the 'Little Vehicle'. From the time it was built many authors of 'Sastras' have lived herein and gained the supreme fruit (of Arhatship).

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[293] Dani 1995 : 55-56, Khan – 1993 -, Ali 1994-, 2002, Ali, II 2002, 293a Ali 2003
[294] *A.S.I.* (A. R. 1909-10) : 178-80.

Their pure fame is widespread, and their exemplary religious character still survives. In the third tower (double-storyed tower) is the chamber of the honourable 'Parsvika', but it has long been in ruins; but they have placed here a commemorative tablet to him. To the east of the Parsvika's chamber is an old building in which Vasubanhu Bodhisattva prepared 'Abhi-dharmakosha Sastra'; men out of respect to him, have placed here a commemorative tablet to this effect. To the south of Vasubandhu's house, about fifty paces or so, is a second storied pavilion in which Manorhita, a master of the Sastras; composed the 'Vibhasa Sastra'.

Another important Buddhist establishment was a huge monastery, ascribed to king Kanishka, lying to the west of the stupa mound.[295] "Its double towers, connected terraces, storeyed piles, and deep chambers bear testimony to the eminence of the great priests. Who have here formed their illustrious religious characters (gained distinction). Although somewhat decayed, it yet gives evidence of its wonderful construction. The priests living in it are few, they study the little vehicle. From the time it was built many authors of sastras have lived herein and gained the supreme fruit (of Arhatship). Their pure fame is widespread, and their exemplary religious character still survives".... remarks Hiuen Tsang[296]. This monastery was well known for its association with three leading Buddhist scholars viz. Arya Parsvika, Manorhita and Vaubandhu who flourished in the beginning of the Christian era.[297]

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[295] Jafar 1946 : 19
[296] Ibid : 154-5
[297] Cunningham 1871.: 154-5

Alexander Cunningham holds that the monastery was still an active learning center of Buddhism even in 9th or 10th centuries for Vira Deva Magadha was sent to "the great vihara of Kanishka where the best of teachers were to be found and which was famous for the quietism of its frequenters.[298] He further pushes its existence down to the time of Babar and Akbar and wrongly identifies it with the Gar Khattree.[299] But, on the other hand, the discovery of a rouleau of sixteen silver coins of white Huns[300] makes the statement of Alexander Cunningham more dubious. Although the ruined vihara is also mentioned by Alberuni in the 11th century under the name of "Kanik Caitya of Purushavar"[301].

Dani claims that the vihara had become extinct long before the arrival of Alberuni and Mahmud of Ghazna on one hand, and long after the invasion of Huns on the other. Summing up the ultimate end of Kanishka vihara. Dani, concludes that it must have deserted between the middle of 7th and the end of 10th century AD and connects its destruction with the general decay and death of Buddhism in the region.[302]

As far as interpretation of the name "Shah-ji-ki-Dheri" is concerned. Mr. Alfred Foucher interprets it in Sanskrit as " Maharaja Caitya" whose English version is ' the mound of the great king'[303].

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[298] *Ibid*
[299] *Ibid*
[300] *A.S.I.* (A. R. 1910-11)
[301] Sachar 1978 : 15
[302] Dani 1995 :.55
[303] Foucher 1915 : 17

The North-West Frontier Province Gazetteers 1931 (p.318) gives a different interpretation, "this is so called because of its being the possession of Sayads who are generally known among the Muslims by the technical term 'Shahji' S. M. Jafar, taking into consideration both the views, shows his inclination towards the latter and argues that "the word 'Shah ji' in common parlance is applied to a saint or a sayyed and not to a king or Shah". Thus the name Shah-ji-ki-Dheri means the mound of a Saint or a Sayyed[304]. As to our opinion regarding nomenclature of the site, we are quite safe in saying that the name 'Shah-ji-ki-Dheri has been given to the site of Kanishka vihara after the saint Khawaja Sayyid Shah Ata Allah lying enshrined in the tomb mentioned else where in this work. Agha Sayyid Mahbub Ali Shah[305], one of the descendants of Sayyed Shah Ata Allah.

3.6 Alms Bowl of Lord Buddha

The Chinese traveler Fa-Hian describes the detail of the alms-bowl of Buddha. According to him, "formerly a king of the Yue Chi, swelling with his forces came to invade this country, wishing to take away the Buddha's alms-bowl for religious offerings. For this purpose first he brought a very powerfull elephant and placed the bowl on it. The elephant then fell to the ground and was unable to advance. After this attempt a four-wheeled carriage on which the dish was placed eight elephants were yoked to draw it, but were again unable to advance. The king then

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[304] Jafar 1946 : 19

Agha Sayyid Mahbub Ali Shah (aged 70) is a notable descendant of Sayyid Shah 'Ata Allah' he is a governement contractor and resides in Basat-i-Gul Hasan (now called Shahin Bazar) adjacent to Bazar-i-Kalan in Peshawar city see Shah, I. 1997: 94-117.

[305] Dani 1995 : 52-3

knew that the time of his bowl- relationship was not come. So filled with shame and regrets, he built on this place a stupa and also a sangharama: moreover, he left a guard to keep up every kind of religious offering[306]. By the time Hiuen Tsang came, the alms bowl had been taken away to Persia"[307]. The buildings meant for the alms-bowl were probably the first Buddhist construction in Peshawar. The Fa-Hain information makes Yue Chi king the first to build a monastery here. Dani writes, "Nothing is ascribed to the famous Mauryan ruler Aśoka, who is so well known for his building activity in all other places, traditionally believed to have some connection with Buddha. Obviously the story of Buddha's relation with the alm-bowl at Peshawar must have started long after the reign of Aśoka. Our perception of the time span for Buddhism in ancient Gandhara owes much to John Marshall's interpretation from the evidence from Gandhara in the early decades of the last century, and to the records of the Chinese pilgrim monks who visited Peshawar in the fifth to eight centuries[308]. The account of Xuan Zang, in particular, mention numerous stupas in the Peshawar valley, Swat and elsewhere that, according to a tradition were founded by Aśoka c. 269-32 BC. It is clear from the sentiments expressed in the inscriptions of Aśoka why he achieved legendary status as a great patron of Buddhism[309]. If Aśoka can erect Dharmarajika (Taxila)[310] and Rock Edict at Shahbaz Gárhi (Mardan) it is logical to assume that Aśoka's support must have encouraged, if not patronized, the spread of Buddhism

[306] ibid 1995 : 52-3
[307] *Ibid*
[308] These famous Buddhist travelers are: Shih Fa- Hian AD 400, Sung-Yun 518 AD and Hiuen Tsang 629 AD see new edition of Chinese Account of India, by Samual Beal, Calcutta, 1963
[309] Thaper 1997 : 214-16, 261-2
[310] Marshell, 1951 234-5

in Peshawar (Gandhara) during his time, numesmatic[311] indicate that any Buddhist monastic structures actually established in the North West Frontier region in the third century BC. were extremely tenuous. The Buddhist community may have chosen the spot of the Pipala tree for their religious gathering until they selected a better site at the Gor Khuttree. He also considered Yue-chi conqueror as Kajula Kadphises (the first Kushan King)[312]

3.7 Pipal Tree

Another important site of Buddhist civilization is Pipal Tree, now located in Pipal Mandi at Peshawar. It is said this tree had towering height of 100 fts. Under its spreading branches. Buddha was shaded, who prognosticated the birth of Kanishka , who later on provided the second royal patronage to Buddhism. Fa-Hien (5th century AC) the Buddhist travelers does not mention it[313]. But Tao Yung another Chinese Buddhist traveler has mentioned it during his visit to Peshawar. He says "It was in reality the Kind of fig tree under which the Buddha had attained enlightenment. It is also believed to have been planted by Kanishka[314]. Songyun in 502 AC not only visited it but described it and calls it Pho-Thi (Bodhi Tree). He further says, "Its branches spread out on all sides and its faliage shut out the sight of the sky[315]. He added more by mentioning that it was planted by Knaishka, who enshrined a copper vase yield the pearl tissue lettice of the great stupa, for the

[311] Erington, 1999/2000, Kamakura : 191
[312] Dani 1995 : 52-3
[313] Jaffer 1946 : 17.
[314] Foucher 1915 : 5.
[315] Cunningham 1863 : 79.

safe custody after his death[316]. Four seated figure of Buddha also reported were placed under it. It is also said that Buddha along with (of the Jataks) of the past, achieved enlightment under a pipal tree at pipal mandi in the historic city of Peshawar.

Kanishka figural casket has rich syncretism elements as well as its supposed association with Raja Kanishka and Shah-ji-ki-Dheri stupa.This unique work of art made a plus point support to the Chinese pilgrims[317] who says about a grand stupa erected by Kanishka at Peshawar.

The Kanishka casket in height is 18 cm; diameter is 12.7 cm made in two parts, a container and a lid, both are engraved with Kharoshthi inscriptions in dotting pattern. One line is found on the lid top, second line on its lower rim and two lines are on the upper and lower parts of the container. On the lid top total three figures are boldly executed. In centre is Lord Buddha shown in sitting cross-legged posture on an inverted lotus (Lotus is the birth sign of Buddha). He wears his traditional robe.His right hand raised in abhaya mudra and left hand hold drapery. His ushnisha is low but a large decorated nimbus is attached to the back. To the right is Indra and to the left is Brahma shown in standing position. Both are shown in anjali mudra, almost facing to Buddha. Both have undecorated nimbus. Lip of the lid depicts a series of geese flying to left around the lid, also holding wreaths in their beaks.

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[316] Cunningham, Vol. I 1863 : 79-80 ; Erskine, Vol. 1: 254. Jaffar 1946 : 17-18.
[317] Beal 1963 : XXXI, CIII, CVI, 100-1

The surface of the container adorns with garland bearer, on the garland three Buddhas are shown in intervals, while king Kanishka is depicted in standing position under the garland. He is dressed in the belted top coat; baggy pants and heavy boots indicate traditional Kushana's royal dresses but are typical Central Asian dress. Beside these Indra and Brahrma, Iranian sun and moon gods Miiro and Mao are depicted in intervals.

Artistically, this casket is not a best workmanship but advocates the religious and political propaganda at Peshawar (Gandhara). Beside the king image the goose also indicates royal connotations. The theologian Matricheta addressed Kanishka as "a white rajahamsa (royal goose) in a Pellucid lake"[318].

Before the cleaning of the casket Konow deciphered the inscription and identified it to Kanishka era and Kanishka as founder of the complex, Agisala the artist[319], and after cleaning Mukerjee identified the monarch as builder and donor[320].

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[318] Rosenfield 1967 :.262.
[319] Konow, No. LXXII 1929 : 135-7.
[320] Mukherjee 1964 : 39-46.

3.8 Ali Masjid Stupa

The stupa in Peshawar (Gandhara marks the slow and gradual development of the primitive type like that of Sanchi and Bharhut. This development was in the form of the all-sculptural decoration confined to the base, drum and hemispherical dome. This ornamentation is especially notable in the greater emphasis on the superstructures.

Not frequently the Gandhara stupa have an attenuated, tower like appearance, where the height of the finial dwarfs in size is bigger than the base and dome.
This type of architecture we have here in Gandhara and that is the Ali Masjid stupa, located in the Khyber Pass Stupa, now only the illustration can be shown as the site itself is looted like anything.

According to Benjamin Rowland[321] "This monument, originally was more than forty feet high, was characteristic of even larger Gandhara stupa in its elevation, consisting of two square bases, a drum, probably originally in two storeys, and surmounted at one time by the usual superstructure of hermika and finial of tiered umbrellas. The ornamentation of the façade is the combination of Indian and classical elements which are universal in every aspect of Gandhara art. Supporting the second storey of the basement are caryatids in the shape of crouching yakshas and lions.

[321] Rowland, B. 1953 : 87

The principal scheme of decoration consists of a stucco revetment of arcades attached to the façade. These arcades on base and drums alike consist of chaitya arches supported on stubby balusters framed in debased Corinthian pilasters. The effect recalls the ornamentation of the Bamaran reliquary, and is ultimately derived from the engaged orders of Roman architecture. This architectural ornament is carried out entirely in lime plaster attached to the core of the stupa, which was constructed of the usual mixture of boulders and small stones. The sculpture installed in the niches of the Ali Masjid stupa comprised a heterogeneous assortment of Buddha and Bodhisattva images – not arranged, apparently, according to any unified iconographic scheme, but representing only different aspects of the deified Buddha of the Mahayana faith. This relic mound is characteristic of Gandhara in the elaborateness of its decoration, applied now to the stupa, and not to its surrounding railing. The architect's interest in greater height is suggested by the repetition of the storeys of the base and drum.

The Ali Masjid stupa was brilliantly decorated with polychromed stucco.

For further details of the mentioned arecealogical sites see the Appendixes attached at the end of the thesis.

Chapter 4

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCOVERIES - II

Background.

As a result of independence in 1947, the entire ancient territory of Gandhara became part of Pakistan. This brought new responsibilities on this nascent nation. Right from the beginning, the Pakistani archaeologist faced problems, as a lion share of antiquity went to India, also many trained scholars came to the share of India. A lot of known material went out of their reach but at the same time the whole area of ancient Gandhara was before them to traverse, probe and study afresh. They failed to come up to the need of the day. In this respect Peshawar has been totally neglected, even to an extent by Dani, who is considered as a pioneer in the archaeology of Gandhara. Sitting in Peshawar he paid little attention to Peshawar's excavation, but his colleagues and students continued the work.

During the year 1990, a salvage excavation in Tehkal Bala was carried out with the aim to stop illegal excavation by some art seekers. The excavation work was carried out under the overall supervision of the Sub-Regional Office, Peshawar, of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan. Here only two trenches were fixed for the purpose. In the area where Pak Army station lies, the remains of an ancient Tehkal (Peshawar) were discovered.

This scientific excavation continued for a period of less then two months only, and not reached beyond the four successive layers, which were already exposed by the

smugglers. The excavator collected some potshards and broken pieces of Buddhist art from the debris left by the art seekers. A trace of brick wall, a brick well and some other antiquities dating to the period of Kushana, were encountered. Some Kushana period figurines were also collected from this habitational site. Broken art pieces of Buddha both in schist stone and stucco are among the finds. Unfortuantly, the excavators did not publish the report. According to the verbal statement of the excavator, Abdul Azeem noticed the diaper masonry walls along with some traces of stupas and monasteries. They also noticed some floor level paved with bricks and are sure the date of the site goes back to the Kushana period.[322]

4.1 EXCAVATION AT GOR KHUTTREE.

The most important and scientific among all the excavateions and explorations regarding the ancient Peshawar is that of Gor Khuttree, located right in the heart of the city and conducted by the author in collaboration with Prof. Durrani. Therefore, this 48 continuous profile, covering on era of over 2400 years and dated with numerous coins, pottery, terracottas and inscriptions, is the prime data of the research conducted which has thrown sufficient light on the ancient Peshawar.

The archaeological excavations at Gor Khuttree, which is situated on the highest and ancient mound of Peshawar City, was carried out between the year 1992-3

[322] Personal communication with Abdul Azeem Khan, Assistant Director, SRO, Peshawar Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan.

and 1995-6 by the National Heritage Foundation headed by Prof. Durrani[323], in collaboration with the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. The main objective of this excavation was to obtain a sequence of cultures, representing the little known history of the City of Peshawar.

4.2 Literary History of Gor Khuttree.

Before we start the story of the Archaeological Research (After Independence) in the old city of Peshawar (at Gor Khattree), let's have a bird eye view of the literary history of the site.

Gor Khuttree is one of the most important living monuments in Peshawar, stands on a high mound situated on the southeast side of the city. The monument can be approached either from the side of Chowkyadgar via Gantaghar or from the Hashtnagari gate.

Gor Khuttree saw the rise and fall of many powers and has itself witnessed too many phases of history. The Peshawar vale (ancient Gandhara) in the past was a great center of Buddhism, but all the ancient shrines that have survived to our days in Peshawar are not on that score necessarily Buddhist in character.

The city has witnessed the fluctuations of fortunes of the royal dynasties and merchants of South and Central Asia since antiquity. Presently, in the opinion of the scholar, only two locations (occupying the highest position within the walled city) can yield such a profile. Those are Dhaki Nalbandi in the south of Lady

[323] Dr. Farzand Ali Durrani, (1.1.1933-10.12.2003)

Reading Hospital near old Elephant Gate, and Gor Khuttree at the eastern end of the Bazar-e-Kalan commonly known as Tehsil today. The later served as reserve police and fire Brigade headquarters till the year 2002 in addition to the revenue record office. The City Government and the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of NWFP has now taken over the possession of the site and the Fire Brigade and Rescue Police and Tehsil etc. along with revenue officals were relocated. On the other hand Dhaki Nalbandi is totally occupied by new and modern buildings in the city. The Gor Khuttree still has an extensive courtyard permitting archaeological research which really would prove a useful stock of information regarding the origin and antiquity of Peshawar city[324]. Thanks to the Provincial Government, who has resumed excavations on the site during the year 2002-03.

Alexander Cunningham says 'I believe that this great monastery was still existing in the times of Babar and Akbar under the name of Gor Khatri or the *Banya's* house[325]. His hypothesis is warranted neither by any archaeological discovery nor by historical evidence, nor by the topographical indications given by the Chinese travelers Fa Hien and Hiuan Tsiang.

The Gor Khuttre position was not clear to be Hindu or Buddhist[326] as in Tuzki-i-Babari Babar writes in 1518AC. "I had heard of the fame of Gurh-Khatri, which is one of the holy places of the Jogies of the Hindo,

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[324] Durrani 1997: 188
[325] Cunnigham 1863-4: 13
[326] Foucher 1915 : 5

who came from great distances to cut off their hair and shave their beards at this Gurh- Khatri. As soon as I reached Jam (Jamrud), I immediately rode out to visit Bekram (Peshawar). I saw its stupendous trees and surveyed the country. Our guide was Malik Bu Said Kamari. Although we asked particularly about the Gurh-Khatri he did not show us where it was, but just as we had returned, and were close upon the camp, he said to Khwajah Muhammad Amin that Gurh-Khatri was close upon Bekram, but that he did not mention it for fear of being obliged to go among its narrow caverns and dangerous recesses. The Khwajah, exclaiming against him as a pertitious rogue, immediately repeated what he had said, but as the day was nearly spent and the way was long, I could not go back to visit it"[327].

Next year Babar visited and records:-

"Next morning (25th March, 1519 AC) we continued our march and halted at Bekram". We visited the Gurh-Khatri, there were nowhere in the whole world such narrow and dark Hermits cells as at this place. After entering the doorway and descending one or two stairs, you must lie down, and proceed crawling along, stretched at full length. You cannot enter without a light. The quantities of hair, both of the head and beard, that are lying scattered round about and in the vicinity of this, cave are immense. On all sides of this Gurh-Khatri there are numerous cells like those of a college or monastery. The number of apartments is very great"[328].

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[327] Erskine 1854 : 254

[328] Ibid 111-2

Babur's observations on Gor Khuttree were confirmed by Abul Fazl who visited the place with Emperor Akbar. In his Ain-i-Akbari, he says, 'here is a temple called Gor Khatri, a place of religious resort, particularly for the Jogis[329]. Cunningham says that Abdul Fazl's account of it is 'more brief' than that of Babur[330]'.

The following passage is taken from Akbar Nama:-

"He (Akbar) spent some time in Gor Khatri, which is a shrine of the *Jogies.* There is a great cave in this place. Babblers say that no one knows how deep (long?) it is. In the midst of it is the way to the secret chamber of the saints of old times. On account of the difficulty and darkness of the way, and its tortuousness, one can not get there. As it was the prayer-spot of the great one of god, he entered it alone by the light of wisdom and some of his servants, one after the other, also had this blessing. This least of men was one of them. The road was very long. It was necessary to sit and to lie down and to trust to god. Many brave men had not the courage to do so, and turned back when half-away. After that he rested at the fort of Bigram. This country is called Parshawur (Peshawar) and the general public calls the city also by this name. The governorship of it was assigned to Yar Ali, the Nazir-i- Biyutat" [331].

"On the 27th when the Camp was near Gor Khatri, Shah Beg came from Swad, and on the way had the bliss of having an audience.[332]

[329] Ain-i-Akbar 1939:165
[330] Cunningham 1863 vol. I. : 80
[331] Ain-i-Akbar 1783 : 528
[332] Ain-i-Akbari1783 : 856

At this request H. M visited Begram which was in his fief. An order was given to the writer that he should go there and give presents to the hermits. Thousands of needy persons received their portions and the treasure-house of prayers was filled"[333].

In 1016 A. H. Mughal king Jahangir also visited Gor Khuttree, but he was not at all impressed by it. He mentioned in Wakiat-i- Jahangiri:

"On Wednesday, the 26th (Muharram, 1016 AH) I arrived at the garden of Sardar Khan, near Peshawar. Ghor Khatri, a famous place of worship amongst the *Jogies*, is in this neighborhood, and I went to see it in the possible chance of seeing some *Fakir*, from whose society I might derive advantage; but such a man is as rare as the Philosopher's Stone or '*Anka*'; and all that I saw was a small fraternity without any knowledge of god, the sight of whom filled my heart with nothing but regret.[334]"

If we conclude in the light of the above, Gor Khuttree was a place of pilgrimage, Funeral, and sacrifices of religious mendicants. The shaven hair of head and beard suggest pilgrims offering. The Documentary evidence discloses its Brahmanical, rather than the Buddhist origin and character. Jaffer says "The evidence embodied in the fore-quoted passages, coupled with fact that the description given of it by

[333] Ibid
[334] Elliot and Dowson vol. VI 1976 : 134, also see Jaffer 1946 : 80

Babar and Akbar is quite different from that of Kanishka's monastery given by Huian Tsiang clearly establishes the Brahmanical form and character of the site and knocks the bottom out of Cunningham's hypothesis that it was Kanishka's convents. In view of the fact that during the Buddhist period Buddhist convents or Sangharamas were lying in ruins, abandoned to the last degree; that the whole country was full of heretics (Brahmans); that there were at least one hundred Brahmanical temples in Gandhara; that during Muslim period the Gor Khuttree was a Brahmanical temple and that the topographical indications given by the Chinese travelers do not fix Kanishka's Vihara there, we may, pending a new archaeological discovery to the contrary, conclude that it was a Brahmanical temple even during the Buddhist period if it was at all in existence at that time"[335].

According to Jaffer, there were two temples Shiva and Bheroji, now only Shiva is there[336]. He further says that 'according to the local Hindu tradition a Hindu Guru called Gorakhnath came from HIndotan and erected these temples[337]'. Another theory is that another Guru was from Punjab. His disciples used to bore their ears and were therefore called, *Kanphata* or ear-torn Jogis. Guru Gorakhnath is said to be responsible for a Shiva temple in Gor Khattree at Peshawar[338]. The foundation of the present Shiva temple in the Gor Khatri goes to the Sikh period. While Jami Masjid, Hummam and the wells belong to the Mughal[339]. The Guru, who preached

[335] Jaffer 1946 : 81
[336] Ibid : 82
[337] Ibid
[338] Cunningham 1871:86
[339] Das 1874 : 153

his faith in the Punjab, flourished in the fifteenth century[340]. (for Architectural details see the temple, page 108)

It is called Gor Khattree or the shop of Gorakh after the name of Guru Gorakhnath, the founder of the present Shiva temple on the site[341]. Whether the said Guru had in fact a shop on the site in question is beyand our ken. But the Gor Khattree described by Babar and Akbar was quite different in form and character from the house and temple attributed to him. The house and temple of Gorakhnath formerly constituted the site of mosque which was built by Jehan Ara Begum, (1640 A.D.) continued to flourish to the end of the Muslim Rule[342]. During Avitabile governorship 1838-42 AC, temple was erected on the place of mosque[343].

The Gor Khattrri establishment identified by Cunningham with Kanishk's Vihara[344]. However, Dani described that it may be the place where tower of the Buddha Alms Bowl stood and that it was built and rebuilt in different periods of history for different purposes[345]. Dani disagrees with Jaffer's identification of the Patra of Buddha at Panch Tirath[346], where no high mound according to Dani can be seen, as already mentioned about Gor Khuttree, Jaffer believed that from the beginning it had Hindu character[347].

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[340] Cunningham 1871 : 35
[341] Jaffer 1946 : 84
[342] Ibid : 85
[343] *Ibid*
[344] Cunningham 1871 : 79-81
[345] Dani 1995: 203
[346] Jaffer 1946:16
[347] Ibid 83-4

Shah Jahan does not appear to have paid a visit to the place. But during his reign in the year 1050 AD 1640 his daughter Jahan Ara Begum converted the site into Serai Jahanabad and built also a Jami Masjid and a Hammam[348].

Reverty describes the building in details. He mentions "the most considerable public building is the Gor Khatri, the residence of the Seikh (Sikh) Governor. It was formerly a Caravan Serai, erected at the orders of Nur Jehan Begum, wife of Jehangir (a mistake for Jehan Ara Begum). It is in the form of square, 700 feet in length, and the same in breath. One side is occupied by buildings, containing large and spacious rooms, which during the time of the Seikhs (Sikhs) were the residence of the Governor of the Province; and contained numerous offices for the use of different departments of the Government, built by General Avitabile in the Hindu Style. It is ornamented; both inside and out, with grotesque figures painted in the most brilliant colours, in a similar manner to the embellishments of most Hindu temples. It was at first called "Sarai-e-du-dar" or "the Jun of the Two Gates" and after the death of its founder was allowed to go to ruin in which state it remained; when a jogi or a hermit took up his residence there close to the well. This *jogi* in a short time became so famous for sanctity that votaries flocked to him from all parts, Hindu both Khatri and Seikhs (Sikhs) in great numbers visit this place on Sundays and Wednesdays, most particularly on the former day when they go there to pray, and bring back some of the water for their children to drink.

[348] Ibid.

Raverty further speaks that Sayyid Ahmed Shaheed, when in Peshawar took-up his residence in the Serai[349].

According to the Raverty assessment the building as it exists today, keeps up the main design of the Mughal Serai with a magnificent gateways in eastern and western side. The entrance opens under high archway and has a provision for guardrooms on the sides and office accommodation. It leads into an open quadrangle surrounded on all four sides by cells/rooms now converted for re-occupation. The temple of Gorkhnath with its tall spiral structures has a covered passage leading to the subsidiary Nandi Shrine in the Southeast part. The top of the main gateway presents very good view of the life of the city. Dani also supported the Raverty explanation adding that the top of the main gateway presents a very good idea of the life of the city.

4.3 Visible Architecture at Gor Khuttree

4.3.1 Architecture

As already disscused, Gor Khuttree is one of the important Mughal monuments in the city of Peshawar, a caravanserai, in the form of a square 212m, in length, and the same in breadth originally. But presently the building comprises 154.2m, 158.4.m, 188.45 and 190.2m on Eastern, Western Northern & Southern respectively (Fig). All these sides have spacious rooms but a few exist now. The

[349] Raverty 1976 rpt.: 7,22-3

eastern and western sides have magnificent gateways. Burnt bricks, lime mortar are the main sources of architecture.

4.3.2 Western Gate (Fig:XX) (pl-3)

The gateway is a two storey lofty edifice (Pl.) its height from the present ground level measures 14m and 16m in width. The arch way is about 6.5m high and 4m wide. Both southern-west side and northern-west side measures 3.85m, which are slightly tilted to 450. Forntaly the gateway is toped by a projected wooden *Jharoka* measures 2.45 x 1.9m. The wooden balcony was added later on, not in Mughal period.

Internally, the arcaded vestibule has provided 3 pointed arches in a row. The entrance passage in about 4 x 13m. It has a domical ceiling in the center and side is vaulted. Centrally, the sidewalls provided three steps, which lead to the grardrooms, three rooms on southern side and one large room on northern side. Through this passage the way enter in the courtyard. As the façade of the inner gate shows the same pointed arch as present on the outer side. Here it is topped by a wooden screen. The first storey is provided by a staircase on both sides of this innergate. This storey contains some rooms of poor condition and some have been replaced by new ones. These stairs also lead to the second storey or top one. It accommodates three rooms on northern side and same on southern side, which measures about 4.3 x 7m, 4.2 x 4m & 1.6 x 3.1m. A big hall is present between these northern and southern rooms. It measures about 5 x 12.1m. Its western

side shows a wooden Jharoka which can be seen from the outer side, whereas eastern present a wooden screen which can be seen from the inner side of the gateway. This wooden work is the mark of British period.[350]

4.3.3 Western gate (outer side decoration):

The façade of the gateway shows a plain dado. The opening arch is enclosed in a rectangular frame work. Alcove of this arch is decorated with stucco tracery work. Its spandrels are also beautifully embellished with slightlystucco tracery. The arch is topped by a jharoka, which is enclosed in a cusped recessed frame. Both right and left sides of the gateway have penciling decoration, may be reserved for painting but diminished due to the cruel hands of time. There are no traces of any sort of painting as can be seen in the Mughal monuments. In one of these panels the inscription of General Avitabile lies (governor of Peshawar from 1838-42).

Both southern west and northern west sides of the gate, shows architectural decoration. At the bottom a 2m deep alcove is present under a framework. It is topped by a rectangular frame which show another pointed arched alcove its ceiling is decorated with stucco stalactile work,[351] which is very defaced. Finally it is topped by a window.

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[350] Taj Ali, 1999-2000: 94
[351] Ibid.

4.3.4 Inner Side

The pointed arch alcove opening is enclosed in rectangular panel. The alcove is profusely embellished with a very fruitful stucco tracery work provided a continuous series of floral design. Spandrels of this arch way is beautifully decorated with a very well stucco tracery work in high relief[352]. The decoration is done floral design. Important features of these spandrels are two animal figures one on each corner (lower). Above this opening arch a rectangular wooden screen is present.

The façade of the gateway is decorated with arches. It is divided in to two vertical zones. The first right zone at the bottom shows a shoulder archaded alcove, enclosed in rectangular frame. It is topped by a recessed pointed arch enclosed in a frame. It is further topped by a horseshoe arch, which has a window now. The second zone shows a pointed archaded alcove, enclosed in a rectangular frame (start from the bottom). It is topped by a window (of a room) enclosed in a rectangular framework. All these arrangements are repeated on the other side (left side) of the gateway.

4.3.5 Eastern Gate (Fig:XXI) (Pl-4)

Architecturally this gateway is similar to the western gateway, except the second storey, which is demolished now.

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[352] Ibid.

The façade (inner side) is similar to the western gateway. But it is flanked by one each shouldered arch (blocked now) topped by one each pointed archaded alcove, which have a wooden balcony now. Recently separate stairs are provided to lead up to these balconies.

4.3.6 Eastern Gate (Decoration)

The same type of stucco tracery work is present in the same manner as depicted on the western gateway. The vestibule (entrance passage) is elegantly adorned with tempra painting. These paintings are present on the ceiling, on the middlearch & on soffits now. Red, Blue and Yellow colors are used in these floral designs. The floral decoration is applied on the central arches in the gateways as mainly executed in lime pilasters and most probably belongs to the Sikh period[353].

4.3.7 Spacious Rooms (Fig: XXII)

The entire Gor Khattree is provided with an enclosure wall, At the inner side of this enclosure wall there are different spacious rooms. The left sides of the western gate have ten adjacent rooms, these rooms have equal measurements. Each room is divided by an arch into two parts a vestibule and a chamber. The vestibule is about 3.2 x 2.1m and the chamber or main room measures 3.2 x 3.2m and contain a small window on western side. These rooms have a vaulted ceiling.

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[353] Taj Ali 1999-2000 : 93

The southern side of the Gor Ghattree has same series of rooms as on the right side of the western gate. This side has 39 rooms of which only 27 rooms show their presence while the remaining have no sight at present. The central room is comparatively large and is divided by an arch into two parts a vestibule and a chamber measuring 6.8 x 2.1m and 6.8 x 3m respectively. Only this room has a domical roof. These rooms were in the use of police department till 2002, now empty, as they shifted and the present Governor of the NWFP converted the front of these rooms to a public park. The surface of the enclosure wall has decoration and floral pattern which probably executed during Sikh time[354].

4.3.8 Second Storey (Fig: XXIII)

The steps provided on the inner side at either end of the gateway complex proceeds to the second storey. The steps are eight in number and the average size of each step is .45 x .20m. These steps as their construction shows were built at a later date. The second storey consists of three rooms on northern side and two on the southern side. The entrance is provided on both sides in the shape of archway. These rooms have vaulted ceilings and vary in size from one another. The central room is larger than others and it measures 4.80 x 3.20 x .85m in area.

In the western room, there is a window measuring 1.15 x 1.65meters and the inner side has two niches. The lower niche is larger and the upper one is smaller.

[354] Ibid

The second storey of the southern side is constructed in the same manner as mentioned above.

Another visible Architecture is the Goraknath Temple at the site. Which is already highlighted in litrary history of the chapter, the following is the architecture aspect of the temple.

4.4 Temple (Fig: XXIV) (Pl-1 & 6)

Standing on a low Jagati, the temple at Gor Khuttree is located in the south western portion of the court-yard, measures 27.50 x 27.50 meters on the east-west and 28.80 x 25.27 meters on north-south. The enclosure wall retains the average height of about 1.38 meters. But not in good state of preservation. Small rooms of various dimensions are built against the enclosure wall on the north-east and south side of the temple. An elegant pratoli reflecting the Mughal style, comparatively in the better state of preservation, is provided in the north of the enclosure wall. The architecture of the room is very beautiful of small Waziri bricks.

4.4.1 Pratoli (Main Gate)

Facing north a wooden door way is laid in the center measuring 2.10x1.10m. the structure as a whole is composed of small burnt bricks (locally know as Waziri), set in mortar and fitted together in horizontal courses. A thick coating of lime plaster is applied over all the structure where the designs are executed.

The entrance is topped by a sunken cusped arch supported by pilasters. They too are composed of bricks. The bricks were given the desired shape and fitted together to accommodate the pilaster. The capital of these pilasters is shaped in the form of two pots. The lower one is bulky while the top one is globular in shape. Both of the pots are ornamented with acanthus leaves. Above the entrance on either side of the cusped arch there is an embossed padma showing either petals.

Flanking the entrance walls are decorated with rectangular panel, designs. The panels incorporate cusped arches, the lower one however, has an additional niche reserved for oil lamp. The front faces also incorporated pilasters on their outer edges and are similar in details as those already discussed. The surface between the capitals of these pilasters is also decorated with panels. Above these panels there is a single row of horizontal loops running all around.

4.4.2 Eastern Shrine

This shrine is facing west octagonal in shape and strands also on octagonal Jagati which is damaged at places. Each face of the shrine has a sunken arched panel of about 2.20x65 m. In between the tow faces a pilasters similar to the pilasters of pratoli and main shrine, is incorporated in the wall.

The Varabdika over this is composed of two Kapotopalis and Kantha in between. The super structure as usual springs from the Varandika and, infact, is a ribbed

dome. The lower portion of the done is decorated with a scroll of stylized acanthus leaves, it is one of the characteristic of the Sikh period[355].

4.4.3 Eastern Antrala

This one is rectangular in plan measuring a 2.80x1.50 m, and has a flat roof. On the northern side of Antarala two panels are provided in cusped arch pattern. The parapet of antarala (vestibule) has decoration of acanthus leaves.

On the southern side of the Antarala there is single recess cusped panel supported by pilasters, on each side. At the dado level of the arch panel traces of a color band is still seen but only a lotus flower can be identified.

4.4.4 Interior

The interior of the antarala measures 1.50 x 1.30 x 2.35 m. has octagonal chamber, probably revised for worship. The roof is semi-vaulted, while the still has white and black marble slabs with 28x28 cm measurements.

There are five niches different in shape the northern and southern niches measures 95x47 cm. and are identical, both sides of the central niche there are two other niches measuring 1.10x42 cm. the central measurement is 90 cm. in height, its width is 48 cm and depth is 46 cm. a small ventilator is provided for sun light. This central niches once accommodated the idol of god (s). Like the Muslim Mosque cornices is crowned by a decorated drum.

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[355] Taj Ali 1999-2000:94

4.4.5 Nandi Mandapa

(North façade, the central portion between the eastern antarala and western antarala) There we have horse shoes arches with central one larger in size, decorated with acanthus leaves. These pilasters are provided with molded bases, and conical capital ornamented with acanthus leaves.

On both sides of the crowned portion two other hemispherical ribbed domes have been provided. The total height of trefoil arch is 4.60 m and out of the both sided of the two hemispherical domes are 4.20 m high.

4.4.6 Western Antarala

It is raised on a Jagati of about 60 cm. high connects the Nandi Manadapa and the main shrine. It is topped by ribbed dome and attains the height of 5.10 meters. Traditionally cusped arch with acanthus decoration.

4.4.7 Mula Prasada (Main Shrine)

It infact is the mainshrine of the complex and raised on a massive Jagati of about 5.10 m square and one meter high. The temple attains the height of about 10.70m. From floor level. In the middle of the northern and southern faces there is a niche flanked by pilasters. These niches are topped by ribbed dome.

4.4.8 Western Niche

On the western side in the centre of the dome above the projecting Chajja and niche measuring 1.30x1 m, supporting by two pilasters. The figures of Veraha is shown in sitting position with a cross legs on the low pedestal. His left hand is resting on chest, while right hand extends towards right. Veraha wearing a necklace and sleeveless shirt trouser shown naked at the abdomen.

A similar niche carries the same shape, decorations are provided to eastern southern and northern side.

4.5 Excavation at Gor Khattree (Fig: XXV)

As already mentioned on the first page of this chapter the excavator object, was to get a sequence of culture at the city of Peshawar, he selected Gor Khattree, the highest point at Peshawar city. The first season (1992-3) excavation took place, in the west of the northern half of GorKhuttree while the second season (1995-6) excavation was conducted in the eastern part of the same half. This brought to light the cultural sequence of the site from the Achaemenions to the British period. Excavation yielded a few structures of different periods On the south and southeast of the stairs (left by the excavator) among a few pits discovered at the site was one located in the corner of trench, (PL-7) that contained pottery of various periods along with small finds. A structure discovered in 1992-93 had some stone courses containing a few Kushana pots and rusted coins. Discovery of a thick layer of reddish brown alluvial clay, according to the excavator suggested

that "either the Bara itself or one of its branches was flowing at this point in the late fourth and 3rd century B.C.[356]" This showed at a depth of 4.7 meters from the existing surface.(pl-8) Above this alluvium the stratification produced only in the lowest layer scattering of the pottery, which characterized the earliest layer of the excavation. The filling above the alluvium contained no structure; it consisted of dumped of water washed material. Most of the pottery consisted throughout small water-worm shards. It is notable as the latest layer containing rippled rims (see illustration in p.fig1-6). Two small gray shards also collected, if these are NBP ware then goes to 3rd to 2nd century B.C[357], but I think these are local imitation of Scytho-parthian, because these shards are lacking of the traditional black and shiny nature of the NBP[358]. (see page 143)

The excavator has given details of the structural phases from the 3rd century B.C.(pl-9) to the 20th century A.D (Pl-10).[359] According to him these phases can be divided into 4 different periods, but small finds suggest more then 7 periods.

The excavator noticed that in period 1st of the site human activities go back to the last phase of the Achaemenians (4th – 5th B.C.). He arrived at this conclusion by the study of cultural deposits presently excavated. He further claims that there was no trace of any structural remains of this period. Since there is no evidence of the use of building material and stone, not easily available in this place,

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[356] Durrani 1997:191
[357] Wheeler 1962:13
[358] Ibid:34,41-3
[359] Durrani 1997:191

it can be presumed that structures if any, were built probably in wood, bamboo and mud easily available locally. These materials, being easily perishable, even if left their traces might have been completely destroyed by subsequent human activities on the site. He further says, the earliest three layers (Layer 18-20 making period,1) exposed in a very limited area, bear no evidence at this regard[360]. With the exception of some pottery and terracotta figurine no solid argument is there for Achaemenions and Mauryans is there. (Please see the pottery and Baroque lady human figurine in this chapter) To Wheeler Baroque lady figurine made its appearance in the excavation at Charsadda, in layers 22 (one example), 21 (five example), 20 (two example and 19 (one example)[361]. Period I is assianed to the Achaemenian while Period II is the Mauryan period, but according to the excavators Mauryan period is a sub phase of the Achaemenian, and appertains to layer 16, dated to 4th 3rd century B.C.[362]. Again we have no convincing supported material not only in this site but in the entire Peshawar valley, with the exception of Aśoka Maurya rock edict at Shahbazgarhi near Mardan[363]. The excavator's conclusion for period III is the beginning of the building activities in GorKhuttree belonging to Indo-Greeks of the 3rd – 2nd century B.C. This period comprises of layer 15 and 14, where some structures were exposed. An important discovery was the coins, among which the most important are the coins of the Indo Greek King Demetrius of the 2nd century B.C. (PL-III)[364]. Another important find is the

[360] Ibid:192
[361] Wheeler 1962:105
[362] Durrani 1997:192
[363] Another such type is in Mansehra (Hazara)
[364] It is co-incidentally that earliest Greek coin found in Bhir mound (Taxila) belongs to this third ruler emetrius son of Ethydemus (225-190 B.C.) also see Dani 2000:19

Baroque lady figurine, which was assigned to this period III of Indo Greeks[365] (See Baroque on Page). The existence of Demetrius coins suggests their presence in Peshawar, where fragments of a lotus bowl also found, which is notable for 3rd – 2nd century B.C[366]. The present excavation revealed examples of structures of this period extending east west. Period IV is represented with structures and pottery, found from the layers (13 and 12) appertains in this period. This period is assigned to the Scytho-Parthians (1st B.C. to 1st century A.D.). This period yielded important artifactual and numismatic evidence[367]. The Scytho-Parthian pottery found in these layers are excellent specimens (PL-V-X). Period V consisted of three layers (11-9) belongs to Kushana of the 2nd to 4th century A.D. As indicated by the cultural material from these noted layers, the great Kushana seem to have ruled Peshawar for a long time. The excavator claims "fragments of Buddhist sculptures, coins of all the Kushanas Kings were found from these subsequent layers of the period V[368]. The majority of the coins belongs to Kanishka, however, they also include those of the early and late Kushana kings. Besides all the varieties of ceramic tradition some interesting terracotta animal and human figurines (PL-XI) already known from Taxila, Bala Hissar and Dheri Shaikhan[369] in Charsadda and other Kushana sites were recovered[370]. Here some subphases are also noted identified with a super structure built above the old structure of the earlier phases. Building material of the earlier period was reused in the last phase. This suggests their

[365] Durrani 1997:209 (Pl-3)
[366] Wheeler 1962: 35
[367] Durrani 1997:192
[368] Durrani 1997:192
[369] Dani 1965-6:48-51
[370] Durrani 1997:192

tenure was longer than the preceding and proceeding rulers at Peshawar. The period VI involved to layer 8-6 belongs to 8th –9th century A.D. of the Hindu Shahis with the exception of ceramics and very poorly preserved coins, no concrete remains recovered during the research work. This is probably of their shifting of capital from Peshawar to Hund (Swabi).

The stamped pottery collected from layer 8-6 in a variety of forms is attested by a number of elegant jars and other vessels (PL XI-XIII). The excavator is of the opinion that the abundance of Hindu Shahi period coins and other artefacts of the period shows that had commercial and strategic stronghold in the west[371]. The three periods exposed at Gor Khuttree in the excavations belong to Mughal (16th century A.D.) Sikh (17th A.D.) and British (18th – 19th A.D.) comprising from layer 5 – 1. (Pl-11 and Pl-12)

4.6 A Glance of the Excavation of 1995-96 (Pl 13-14)

The 1992-93 excavation was followed in 1995-96 where the area chosen was a plot measuring 30x30 meters initially reserved to serve as a small garden for the wedding hall but now an abandoned patch of dusty playground for the children from the surrounding areas.

The plan and grid for the season 1995-96 is described as, twelve trenches each measuring 6x6 meters were laid out of which initially four (IA/13, IA/14, IA/18,IA.19)

[371] Ibid : 191

and subsequently three more (IA/12 & IA15,IA/17) were selected for excavation. Leaving balks the total area of these trenches was 24 x 12 m.

The trenches have yielded a large number of coins (100), 30 of which were readable. These coins belong to the British, Sikh, Durrani, Mughal, Suri, Ghorid, Ghaznavid and Hindu Shahi periods. If we make a comparison in the excavation of 1992, which means here the excavator went up to the Hindu Shahi period (Layer 6-9 of the 1992 excavation)

In the northern part of Trench No. IA/13, and in the southern portion of IA/15, a complex of the British period (Pl-15) structure was exposed, comprising of various shapes, disturbed and dislocated. Here in layer 1–3 marked British period, warehouses soakage pits, (Pl-l6), kitchen and portion of drainage have unearthed. The drain covered with slabs of stone, which still can be seen. During the operation, inscribed bricks were collected bearing date from 1919-22. From this level coins of George V and Queen Victoria / East Indian Company dated 1848 were discovered.

The excavator found, immediately below the British period coins of the Sikh period (Pl-17) along with few types of vessels and terracotta figurines, already witnessed in the succeeding period. Other finds were coins of Ahmad Shah and Durrani Kings. Since the Sikh and Durrani turnover seems to be very short in the city of Peshawar. From here Terracotta beads, both conical and biconical bangles beads of semi precious stones, human and animal terracotta figurines, along with the

coins of Afghan and Durrani periods were collected, which helps in the chronology of ancient Peshawar.

In occupational layer 3, coins of Aurang Zeb Alamgir minted at Multan (Pl-17) in the 13th year of his rule were recovered. Here from Layer 1, IA & IB: Layer 1 & IA has 4 coins in which 2 from IA are readable. One is of George V (1919) of the British period and the other is Afghani (2 Afghanis). From layer IB, three British coins, belonging to 1838, 1848 were recovered. The sub-phase of layer 1, which is marked layer 2, 7 coins have been recorded, one of these in silver is of the Sikh period and other is a coin of Ahmed Shah (Abid Ali / Durrani) A.H. 1142. Only 2 coins have identification, the rest are coroded. Layer 3 & 3A has the paleographic evidences, where 16 coins were found of which only 3 were identified only. One was an Afghani (Afghani 1357); the second belonged to the Sikh period and the 3rd one (in 3A) in silver was that of Aurangzeb Alamgir (1669) struck at Mulstan.

This occupation in the form of a layer (layer 4) has several hearths on floor level found with baked bricks. The soil appears to be greenish silt with loose patches. In places ashes and charcoal with animal bones and other ashy material suggest a kitchen area. The finds from this layer are plain, red ware jars, bowls of all kinds with saucers glazed ceramics and terracotta figurines, bangles and glass terracotta beads. Some copper coins of King Shah Jahan found were in good state of preservation, among the 16 coins, only 4 were clear for identification, one belonged to the Sikh period.

Layer 5, of the season 1995-6 at Gor Khattree poses greenish soil with loose silty patches of ash and charcoal. Here the excavator exposed water channel made of terracotta pipes has reddish color. Like the proceeding layer, this layer also has a good number of coins (24 in all), but unfortunately not readable.

According to the excavator report Layer 6 started at the depth of 200 cm from the present ground surface of Gor Khattree. The floor had a couple of hearths in the western half of the trench. A few complete bowls in plain red ware along with several glazed pieces of jars in addition to animal and human figurines of terracotta, bangles of glass and copper coins including that of Akbar were recovered. There are 6 coins from this layer, only 3 were treated and cleaned of which one belong to king Akbar the Great.

The soil is blackish, ashy and full of charcoal. Finds include copper coins of Sher Shah Suri and Islam Shah Suri, glazed pottery, glass and carnelian beads, glass bangles, metallic pieces and oil lamps. Actually, this layer produced 19 coins, most of them are rusted, 3 coins are of the Suri period (two of the Sher Shah and one of the Islam shah) have been identified.

Finds include fourteen copper coins, glazed shards, pottery, few glass bangles and beads. Coins recovered from this layer, 8 are rusted and we are not in position to read it for the chronological sequence.

Now we are in layer 9. The colour of this layer is yellowish, compact in nature and resting on an occupation of a floor levels had much ashes, charcoal, and extensive burning around the hearths in all trenches except in trench IA/15.

The south wall exposed in trenches IA/12 and IA/13 near the western section (running north-south) ended at a depth of 2.65 m. The floor level, when cleared of all the ashes, charcoal and bones had a fine red ware bowl in situ, close to the collection of carnelian, lapis and agate beads. Other finds included glass and clay bangles, terracotta human and animal figurines in addition to 21 copper coins. The only well preserved coin was that of a Ghorid King, Mohammad Bin Sam (1193-1205 A.D.). Glazed ceramic pieces and terracotta lamps were also recovered. The abundance of the terracotta lamps suggest that this level was used for the Caravan's of the merchants, army men where they stayed temporarily. In this layer the team was rewarded with 21 coins but only one can be identified which belongs to Muhammad Bin Sam, early 13th century AD, while the remaining coins are not clear.

This Layer 10 has the same colour as above. From this layer 6 copper coins were recovered including that of Khusraw Shah (1160-1187 AD). Other finds included bangles of clay and glass, beads of terracottas and semi-precious stones, terracotta figurines and fragments of schist stone, suggesting the Kushana level.

Layer 11 is marked with different colours but yellowish is dominant because of the debri of mud bricks. Among the finds there are bangles mostly of glass, lamps of various shapes and sizes made of terracotta. The human and animal figurines in addition to a number of coper coins were recovered. One of the coins belongs to Masood III (1099-1114 AD), a late Ghaznavid King.

The excavation team was rewarded with valuable finds, an elegant jug in plain red-ware from IA/12 and another small *surahi* type having globular body with a register around the neck and shoulder colour is buff yellowish. The register has a beautiful embossed Islamic inscription in Kufic style on its shoulder. This priceless pot is now a pride possession of Sir Sahib Zada Abdul Qayyum Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar, and is on display.

In layer 12, the soil was dark brown and compact, had ash and charcoal with some scattered bricks and pebbles along with a wall in trench IA/15.A floor level strewn with pebbles was also found. Generally, the colour is like the above because of the brick debri.

This layer yielded a couple of baked brick structures and a drain, running east to west. Other antiquities from this layer included complete bowls, beakers, jars, shell and glass pieces, bangles, terracotta lamps, figurines and copper coins. Only one of these coins was well preserved and belonged to Masud-I (1030-1041 AD), a Ghaznaived King.

In Layer 13 (this is the last layer which was exposed so far), soil was compact, medium to dark brown with ash and charcoal concentration towards the southern portion. Finds from here included some rusty copper coins, plain and glazed pottery, glass beads and bangles, terracotta beads, broken glass and shell pieces. Here two occupational levels were exposed. The recovered specimens of the pottery suggest the Hindu Shahi period, which was exposed in the session 1995-6.

The recovered cultural data, which was supported by coins in all the above 13 layers helps in establishing a chronological order of the site, so for. Thus from the earliest layers, i.e. from layer 12, we have the coins of Musud I of early Ghaznavid period which is the beginning of Islamic period over here.

A profile of coins for the British Period (1838) down to the Indo Greeks Period of Demetrius (2nd Century B.C) has been given as follows.

Indo-Greek King Demetrius	2nd Century BC
Scytho-Parthians	1st Century BC
Kushans	2nd Century AD
Hindu Shahi	9th 11th Century AD
Masud I.	(1030-1041 AD)
Masaud III	1099-1114
Khusrau Shah	1152-1160
Muhammad Bin Sam	1193-1205
Sher Shah Suri	1540-1545
Islam Shah Suri	1545-1554
Akbar The Great	1556-1605
Aurangzeb Alamgir	1658-1707
Ahmed Shah Durrani	1747-1757
Sikh period	1826-1848
Sikh period	do
Afghan period	1739-1848
British period	1848-1947
British period	1838-1841

4.7 Chronology based on Coins

Most numerous among the minor antiquities from Gor Khuttree are the Coins. These are small in number.once again it is necessary to remind the reader that the area excavated in the site is only a very small fraction of the whole. These coins are of copper. A number of coins from the site however were very much corroded though, these possibaly would have given us an accurate picture of the coins type, particularly of Kanishka are much damaged; but their size, weight and the context in which they were found along with better example of the same king is highly suggestive and probably sufficient testimony for their attribution to the Kushana period. Here large number of coins go to the Kushana period and in that, particularly to Kanishka. Then the medieval period coins are found not in large number but sufficient to support their presence in Peshawar. The most important are the Indo-Greek and Scytho Parthian coins.

The following distribution chart and summary is making a clear idea about the various dynasties, kings, dates and their association with different layers[372]. (Pl-18)

Layer 1, IA & IB: Layer 1 & IA has 4 coins in which 2 from IA are decipherable. One is of George V (1919) of the British period and the other is Afghani (2 Afghanis). From layer IB, three British coins, belonging to 1838, 1848.

[372] This is based on the summary of Mr. Gul Raheem, Lecturer, Archaeology Deptt., Peshawar University, article see Durrani 1997:198-200.

Layer2: From this layer 7 coins have been recorded, from which 2 give us their identification. One of these in silver is of the Sikh period and other is a coin of Ahmed Shah (Abdali/Durrani) A.H. 1142.

Layer 3 & 3A: This layer yielded 16 coins, 3 are identified. One is an Afghani (Afghani 1357); the second also belong to the Sikh period and the 3rd one (in 3A) in silver is that of Aurangzeb Alamgir (1669) in his 13th regnal year, struck at Multan.

Layer 4: In respect of coins this layer is very rich, yielding a total number of 16 coins, only 4 are clear for identification. One belongs to the Sikh period.

Layer 5: Like layer 4, this layer is also very rich having 24 coins in all from which 15 are treated, but hardly any of these could be identified.

Layer 6: There are 6 coins from this layer, only 3 were treated and cleaned of which one belong to king Akbar the Great.

Layer 7: This layer has 19 coins, most of them are rusted, 3 coins are of the Suri period (two of the Sher Shah and one of the Islam shah) have been identified.

Layer 8: This layer has good number of coins i.e. 14, but are very rough and corroded and unidentifiable.

Layer 9: This layer yielded 21 coins but only one can be identified which belongs to Muhammad Bin Sam, early 13the century AD, while the remaining coins are not clear.

Layer 10: There are 6 coins from this layer only two have been cleaned. One of these belongs to the Khusrau Shah the Ghaznavid period (end of 12th century AD).

Layer 11: 6 coins are recovered from this layer of which only one can be identified that belongs to Masud III 91099 AD).

Layer 12: From this layer 5 coins have been recovered of these 4 are in very poor condition and can not be identified. The fifth one identified, which is that of Masud I (11th century AD).

Layer 13: Produces only one coin which is in rusted form, and unidentifiable.

On the basis of Numismatic evidence all the above 13 layers help in establishing a sound chronology of the site. Thus from the earliest layers, i.e. from layer 12 we have the coin of Musud I of early Ghaznavid period, which is also unique in its type, is providing a key for the beginning of Islamic period in this area. The chronological table on next page is developed on the basis of coin recovered from the excavation.

The combining result of the two excavations (i.e. 1992-93 and 1995-96) show, the earliest period commences with Mauryan and is followed by the Indo-Greek and subsequently followed by the Scytho-Parthian, Kushans, Hindu Shahi, Ghaznavid, Ghorids, Suris, Mughals, Sikh and the British. This is an excellent result for the understanding of history and chronology of Peshawar, deduced by the coins recovered at Gor-Khattree, in the heart of old city of Peshawar. On his visible

coins, Kanishka is represented by three types: those (i) with goddess miiro (ii) Nanaia (iii) and wind- guard.

Coins found in successive strata in the excavations have-helped considerably in determining the chronology of the site. A large number of them found in the restricted area selected for excavation rendered the task, comparatively easy and it is possible to date various layers and periods.

Periods	Age
Period I so for Beginning Appertains to layer 18 and 17. No structure.	Last Phase of Achmenian 5th - 4th B.C
Period II Appertains to layer 16. No structure.	Mauryan 4th- 3rd B.C
Period III Appertains to layer 15 & 14. Some structure Exposed. One coin of Demetrious C 200BC found.	Indo-Greek 3rd - 2nd B.C
Period IV Appertains to layer 13 and 12 it is the most Structures with pottery found.	Scytho-Parthian 1st B.C to 1st cent.AD
Period V Appertains to layer 11 to 9	Kushan 2nd-4th cent. AD
Period VI Appertains to layer 8 to 6. Period VII (Layer 5 – 1)	Hindu Shahi 9th cent AD" Mughal 16th Century AD

Sikh

17th Century AD

British

18th to 19th Century AD.

(Pl-19 and 20)

4.8 STRATIGRAPHY.

As the greater partner of the material, pottery terracotta, beads bangles, coins and small finds from the excavations at Gor Khuttree were not new to our knowledge, neither not previously been placed in a stratigraphical context. On the bases of already established stratigraphical interrelationship of object; recovered from the area, the procedure was to put the object of Gor Khuttree at a chronological context.

Neither radiocarbon material nor epigraphy or coins helped in this process before the scytho-parthian period at Gor Khuttree. Infact, only a single coin was found from the Indo-Greek levels. For some period our hypothetical scheme worked out for chronology.

During the two seasons excavations a notable data collected both in moveable finds and immoveable property, in terms of pottery, small finds and structures belonging to the different periods. The period of Indo-Greek has dependable data in the form of a coin while the period of Scytho-Parthian contained a good number of potteries with coins[373]. The Achaemenian, Mauryan and Indo Greek findings did not reveal any proper structure, but probably throughout these periods the successive buildings were of mud-bricks. The pottery recovered from these periods is already known from various sites as already noted, from the Achaeminian, Mauryan periods no inscriptional data collected,

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[373] Durrani 1997:192

while after the Mauryan coins of Indo-Greek and Scytho-Parthain with some copper coins all very badly rusted and defaced, belonging to some unknown rulers came to hands. The date for the pre Indo-Greek periods mainly depended largely on hypotheses and comparison.

Stratigraphical details are also limited because of limited area (Pl-21) probed and in 15 meters depth the trenches became so small that it was not possible to carryout more excavations in 1992 and 1995 seasons, they remained limited and have not yet reached the earliest levels, which make the description most confusing. But even then good data is under hand which can speak of stratigraphy of the site. Generally speaking layers in the deep trench incline from north to south from west to east, full of potshards and other miscellaneous articles can be seen through out the layers. The wall structures with association of different periods also help, but structures of the lower periods are very scanty, and the purpose of some of the structures cannot be determined because of lack of extensive horizental excavations. Ascertaining the date of these structure is different, the relgular and big structures start in the higher layers belong to the late periods, which are the most flourishing period of the Gor Khattree. Regular and well noted floors are also exposed (P-22), the layers are regular smooth and shows harmony which is natural for such a site. Deep digging was further marred due to the presence of large size pits (Pl-23). These pits are found in the corner of the trench full of pots, shards, ashes and other debris. It is here, from the large pits that complete pots / pottery of Islamic period (Pl XXX) recovered. The excavator dated the structures according to the pattern and building material.

Generally, there is no major structural evidence of the periods belonging to Acheamenian and Mauryan and the Indo-Greeks.

As already pointed out, because of the limited probed area, it is premature to talk about the town planning of the Gor Khattree. The information came to hand is limited and too sketchy to permit us to draw some definite conclusion, but on the bases of exposed structures one can reconstruct the town Planning at Gor Khattree.

In Gor Khattree, the religious buildings of the later periods are already on surface and optically can be seen. (See visible architecture) As for as the religious data is concerned, the area excavated in 1992 & 1995 is not enough to give a clear idea regarding the principles on which the Gor Khattree establishment was laid down. The exposed structure, making a clear idea about its town planning, and an over view of alignment of exposed structure in the trenches suggest a well-laid plan on north-south and east-west directions. No proper street or roads were identified so far, under the surface due to limited horizontal excavations.

As far as the masonry is concerned, walls are made of mud bricks and stone. Mud lumps, in rough fashion were also exposed (Pl. XXIII and XXIV structure). Some rolled boulders and under stones can also be assigned to the structure of the city, while in some places the masonry became poor and shapeless. The masonry of two earlier periods is composed of large mud boulders balanced at places horizontally with the help of stone foundation. Horizontal courses of mud walls can easly be traceable (Pl-XXI). Technically, the best masonry is left by the Mughals

and British Periods, which is almost in bricks, and beyond the scope of this thesis, but even then described to some extent under the heading visible architecture.

The entire recovered debris from these trenches was carefully strained in search of finds. Besides a few exceptional objects, majority of the artefacts turned out to be potshards. Along with a few complete pots that shows the nature of the city (See Pottery).

During the excavation of 1992 a very informative section is exposed to the south and east where different structures of successive periods rest in different layers (P-24) and throw a welcome light on the forgotten chapters of the city of Peshawar. The section also throws light on the different periods belonging to different dynasties. The lower occupation is not so clear but the rest is very much clear on the bases of its finds and layers in the exposed section, which marked period V belonging to the Kushana shows sub phases, suggesting their long stay. Pottery specimen's alongwith coins, almost of every Kushana ruler, also encouraged us that this was the most flourishing period in Peshawar. Probably in this period in the history of Peshawar, Shah-ji-ki-Dheri, Kanishka vihara and other Kushan sites flourished.(see chapter 3). Progress in sculptural art of the Mahayana Buddhism can be seen during the Kushana period. After the detailed studies of these periods, based on the exposed sections and antiquity, this idea can be carborised that Pershawar was upgraded as a capital city.

4.9 POTTERY

4.9.1 General

In all the proto-historic and historic sites in Pakistan, pottery figures very prominently, because until very recently (still) this was one object or thing which every inhabitant, whether rich or poor, required and is available in fairly good quantity. At Gor Khuttree, however it constituted the principal "find". Other objects such as beads, toys, coins, and other small finds are in very small quantity. There was reason for the scarcity of finds, which is the nature of the Gor-Khattree, for not being settlement site. In the Buddhist period, the possibility of Gor Khuttree as a monastic settlement – probably nothing more. In Mughal period it was caravan sarai while in Sikh time as an administrative headquarter. Therefore, no permanent residential traces are confirmed, which ever the case may be, but it was a temporary and official/religious residential area. The pottery is generally lacking of household artefacts.

The pottery at Gor Khuttree is not only abundant- in large masses-, but is distinctive; both in fabric, technique, shape and decoration. Gor-Khattree is not only notable for its 'Soapy red' ware and rippled rim (see P Fig1.No1&3) but also the so called NBP and Female Figurines (the so called Baroque ladies) are equally important.

4.9.2 Types

A glance at pottery will show that functionally these ware could provide all the needs of the residents of the Gor Khattree. Here are the vessels for eating and drinking (Utilitarian only). There are bowls, dish also globular or elongated vessel, being the most essential vessels for serving liquids, bread and other dry food and water respectively.

4.9.3 Position

A large number of Pots, complete and fragmentary, recovered from the excavation at Gor Khattree. These are indicative of the variety of types. Our soundings were not sufficiently extensive to yield a fuller data for the Achaemenian and Mauryan levels, only a small portion touched and so we have some stratigraphic sequence in the Pottery types.

The stratification of the site was in several cases decisive and marked by distinct layers (see chronology) commonness of pottery types found in different layers therefore presented no difficulty in assigning them to their respective periods but in some cases caution had to be taken so as not to include Pottery from a few disturbed layers (as already mentioned that pits disturbed our stratigraphy) (Pl. XXII) and the upheaval of soil apparently from the recent building activity near the first reason (1992-3) grid.* (Pl-25)

* Wedding Hall etc

4.9.4 Characteristic

No solitary specimen of hand-made pottery recovered, all the pottery of the site is wheel-turned. The normal ingredients used are sand, grit and chopped straw mixed with mud. Another characteristic feature of the Gor Khuttree pottery is the application of bands or cordon (in some case slashed cordon or cable pattern cordon), which appear on the shoulders and occasionally on the body of certain vessels of the pottery. (See no.1 in PFig no.1 and no.1 in P.Fig no II)

The fabric of the pottery is usually clay containing a large amount of sand, which is burnt red or gray. In period VI no superior type of pottery or special clay seems to have been employed and the fabric is generally very coarse.

The percentage of red slipped pottery is comparatively very small and those without a slip have a red burnt-brick appearance. Some of the pottery has a thick coating.

As already mentioned, majority of the types are plain and utilitarian in character, the most commonly found types being the bowls, drinking cups, dishes saucers and lotas (see the drawing). Majority of the vessels have flat bases and show that they could be used without a support.

In Gor Khuttree pottery simple utilitarian devices like spout vessels are common. (PFig XI no.1) These were often made separately later on luted with pots. Spouted

pottery however was a general feature with the later periods and was restricted to these periods, at Gor Khuttree. Pots with flat bases are very common because there are drinking cups, lotas etc. P Fig III no 2, P Fig IV no. 3 and P Fig VIII no.3

Another ware which distinguished itself in Gor Khuttree excavation is a glazed[373] pottery with a buff or creamy yellow core and a greenish surface in different shades (pl XXX.) one is inscribed too.

Shards of this ware confined to layer 3-6[374] and undoubtedly belong to the Muslims' period.

4.9.5 Incised Stamped ware: (PFig X and PFig XI)

Pots with stamped patterns are few in the Gor Khuttree pottery. The most common decoration is the stamp generally applied on the shoulder of vessel in forms of loops or lozenges. Some times flanked with bands and crosses in geometrical arrangements. Some time, the simple decoration consists of deeply incised criss-cross lines in bands on the shoulders, occasionally impressed in parallel lines, into the wet clay. A very small quantity of shards decorated in human fingertip impression is also there.

In illustration fig xi no 1 at Gor Khattree, spouted 'Handi and khuja type vessels were common. These spouted pottery group do occuer almost in all late period.

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[373] Durrani 1997:212 , Taj Ali 2002:21-6

[374] Ibid : 191,212

Here the Khuja from a pit has a wide flaring rim, a short narrow neck with a spout on the shoulder. It also has decoration but generally crude in nature.

The spouts specimen at Gor Khuttree shows a dented shape with leaf decoration in black colour. (PFig XI no.1) It is believed that the pot might also had decoration which is detached from. Generally these spouts have narrow and open mouths, all present tapering shapes while reaching the end. Some spouts have round and squat bodies.

4.9.6 Description of few pots.

DISHES (Pfig II no.2-3 PFig III no.2 PFig IV no.3,4 PFig V no.3)

A number of dishes (in this limited excavation) and their fragments indicate that this utility-ware was in common use. It is one of the types recovered from almost all the level and shows a very wide range in their shapes (see the illustrations) The clay used for this ware is generally very coarse and contains an amount of straw which strengthened the build of the flat dishes. Here the fabric shows many varieties of clay used for the purpose. This indicates from various colour like black, dark and reddish. Some is well fired some is not.

These are turned on a fast rotating wheel and treated with slip. They have bases in several instances and probably were used as frying pans. Almost all the dishes tend to have a uniform shape (see illustrations in fig. III no.2), some has sagger base with flat rim, some has everted lip and thick walls. Among the lot, small

dishes intended to be used as a jar-cover (not as lid) because it has a small incurved rim. Only one is a shallow dish with a flaring wide sim and a sagger base recovered during the excavations at Gor Khattree.

PFig. xii

This is a very common cooking Handi, which mainly occurs from the Hindu shahis levels at Gor Khattree. But it does not mean that this was not popular type in other levels, and shows minor variations in the position of the carinations on the belly. The type has a rim, square in sections sloping walls and rounded bars. Most of the pieces are plain, very few are decorated (the illustrated one), the decoration has rosettes in between the lines, most of them are notched as decoration while some pots are stamped, to have added to its beauty. This type is restricted to the Hindu Shahis and Muslims levels at Gor Khuttree.

4.9.7 Bowls

PFig. iii no.2

This type represents a series of small bowls most probably from the Mauryan levels. These have a wide open mouth with an out- turned rim, a carinated body with a prominent bulge at the waist and round base. It does not seem to be very common because we have only two specimens from the excavation at Gor Khattree in the first season 1992-3, another fragment of a similar bowl having very thick wall and a prominent ridge near the neck. This shred is too small to form any shape and the limitations of the excavated area exhausted the possibility of finding more.

PFig. VIII no.1-3

This type is a characteristic vessel with a wide mouth and narrow base. It is a drinking cup with sloping sides. Its body has grooving. The fabric is a very coarse red ware resembling brick colour wash given to it before firing. This type occurs profusely in all the layers assigned to the Indo Greek period at Gor Khattree, which means it was the most popular drinking cup.

1. This bowl has two slip on the body. The fabric is a coarse dark clay. It belongs to the Indo-Greek level at the site not so common. Its lip is slightly out turned with flat base.

3 Here no.3 having a pronounced out turned lip. It fabric is a well-levigated red clay, with outs slip. Its base is flat and having thin walls which is the characteristic of the Indo-Greek pottery. Such type of pottery was also recovered from the scytho-parthian levels. One piece which has close resemblance, was recovered from the Mauryan level at this site (Pfig iv no.1)

In the Pottery thick slurry at the lower portion of the pots is also noticed, just to protect and reinforce the body from temperature. Here some of the pots have smoky black polish in the core. Most of the pots received proper oxidization up to the correct degree of temperature where the entire body has turned red or cookies baked. This type pottery mainly belongs to Scytho-Parthian period at Gor Khuttree. Particularly in this period the mud used for making these pots are of quite alluvial nature which is mixed as usual with sand, loess and sandy loess etc.

PFig VI no.1-2 & PFig VII no.2-3

Majority of the bowls are painted in black and mostly restricted to the top of the rim where horizontal, vertical bands, concentric circles, dots, strokes, stylized dots, makes it Scytho-Parthian form of pottery. This type of pottery is already reported from Shaikhan Dheri[375] Charsadda, Dam kot Dir[376], Akra Bannu[377], Pir Manakrai[378], Manakrai Haripur[379] and Taxila[380] particularly at Manakrai Haripur we found a toilet tray along with the pottery of Scytho-Parthians[381]. This toilet tray confirms the pottery of the Scytho-Parthian. Again at Pir Manakrai a coin of Azes II confirm the Scytho-Parthian pottery[382] (pl. XXVI).

The Kushana period pottery can be divided into five types. On the storage jars, decoration is in the form of applied cordons, simple cordon grooved in the middle of the body and sometime twisted and cut in the cable pattern, is the specialty of the Kushanas. We can divide it into five groups.

a. Tapering rim
b. Large size externally thickened flat rim
c. Large size with out turned rim.
d. Vertical neck
e. Thickened incurved rim

[375] Dani 1965-6 : 185
[376] Rehman 1968-9
[377] Khan 2000 : 18
[378] S. N. Khan 2003 :
[379] Durrani etc 1997 : 220-2
[380] Marshell 1975 rep : 433-8
[381] Durrani etc 1997 : 222

[382] S. N. Khan 2003

Beside these from this level we collected, handle of a large cooking pan along with, spout of painted red ware curved in the middle, similar but straight. Spouts of pots particularly the straight spouts were made separately and then looted together when the body clay was leather hard. It was normally inside, therefore hidden off.

Very few, two in number, are shallow pans with claw-shaped side handle. The handle is girdled by clay fillets and roundels applied on the inner face of the side. The following three types have been unearthed in Gor Khuttree.

1. Pan with claw shaped handle looted on the edge of the rim
2. Semi circular handle
3. Perforated lug.

According to the excavator the Hindu-Shahi tenure, remained very short, as they shifted the capital from Peshawar to Hund. Even then the excavator collected pottery of every type. Among them the fabric varies from thin to thick here the storage vessels, most in potshards, water pitcher, drinking bowl, dish, cooking pots, pedestaled, small jars with decoration is applied band, horizontal, vertical bands, sometime lopes, triangles, horizontal and vertical strokes and floral designs and stamped decoration mostly rosettes, concentric circle, bars and dots handles and spouts with applied and painted decoration are found. (See illustration PFig XII and PFig X,XI

4.10NBP

As already discussed, that large amount of pottery recovered from the excavations belongs to the dynasties who ruled Peshawar directly or indirectly. For the purpose of dating, pottery special types found are very useful. Among them are few grey ware or NBP[383], which need some discussions. It is considerably different from the types noticed earlier. These are the lustrous ware, as the Northern Black Polished ware. These shards are too small to form any shape. Beside alongwith this black pottery some postshards of grey paste and slip also found.

4.10.1 Short Description

These are normally thin, having lustrous surface carrying grey to black colour. It has steel like quality because of the notable well lavigated clay. The grey and burnted surface has shine polish[384].

As far as the technique of manufacturing is concerned, it is said that these particular pieces were twice burnished –once after turning on wheel and then after applying of coat. The firing was done in a reducing condition to a temperature[385].

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[383] The black polished shards from Texila, Charsadda, Udegram, Hastinapur and other doab sites belong to one and the same category. Wheeler 1962:41-2. Wheeler also named these shards as Northern Black polished ware (NBP)

[384] Marshal 1975(rep) : 432

[385] See wheeler 1962 : 41 for the British Museum London Laboratory report

Its origin is not known, Marshall is of the opinion, that NBP has Greek origin[386]. While Wheeler considered it a local imitation or as a local product of Ganga Jumna *doab*[387].

4.10.2 Date

The most important phenomenon is its date(s) as its origin the date(s) is also questionable. The Gangetic origin proposed date is fifth century B.C., which is proposed by wheeler[388] but he also coined another date on the bases of doab production between 300 – 150 B.C[389]. On the other hand Marshall puts the date in the fourth century B.C.[390] B.B. Lal proposed the date for these NBP as first century BC/AD[391].

4.10.3 Distribution

So for these finds are from two distinct groups one is the Ganga_ jumna doab in India and another is Gandhara in Pakistan[392] from Gandhara only five sites are so far responsible i.e Taxila, Charsadda, Udigram[393], Pir Manakrai[394] and Gor Khuttree.

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[386] Marshal 1975(rep) : 432
[387] Wheeler 1962 : 41-2
[388] Ibid
[389] Ibid : 44
[390] Marshal 1975(rep) : 401
[391] Lal 1949:79
[392] wheeler 1962 :41-4
[393] Ibid
[394] Some shards found by this scribe in 1997 in pir Manakrai (Haripur) Pir Manakrai is almost in Taxila Valley. It is also to be noted that the number of NBP shards so far recovered from Gandhara is very limited ranging from 2-20 only.

In the light of above information of NBP, we can put Gor Khattree earliest level from 6th century B.C to 3rd century B.C but probably our one is a local intimation of the scytho-parthian period. This is light grey in colour and has no traditional black polished shine as noticed in NBP, in the sites mentioned the preceding paras.

Description of the Illustrated Pottery form Gor Khutree.

P. Fig I

1. This is a bowl of 'soapy red' wave which has notched cordon below the rim.
2. It is a piece of rim of a large vassal of red ware, has incised zig zag line, like a rippled rim.
3. This is a reddish ware with rippled rim.
4. A buff-ware with sharply everted rim, as above but the rim is without the notching.

P. Fig II

1. Large bowl with club rim has obliquely slashed cordon followed by a dot.
2. A carinated dish, reddish ware carries saggar base.
3. As above but 'soapy red' ware.

P. Fig III

1. Large club-rimmed bowl of reddish ware with obliquely slashed cordon.
2. This is a dish of red ware. Represents the vassal from the Mauryan level were used as receptacles having lids. These are short height with a flat base and slightly bulging. The fabric has red clay, well levigated with reddish slip on the exterior.
3. Sharply everted rim of reddish ware.

P. Fig IV

1. Small cordoned vassal of red ware.
2. This is a grooved bowl of red ware.
3. A carinated bowl with saggar base
4. It is a dish of buff ware with saggar base.

P. Fig V

1. A flanged shoulder massive jar of reddish ware.
2. Club-rimmed 'wavy line' bowl of a reddish buff ware.
3. 'Tulip bowl' of red ware.

P. Fig VI

1. Carinated bowl with trifid pattern in black colour across the rim.

2. As above but hatched triangles on the rim.

P. Fig VII
1. A big jar with slashed cordon in cable pattern.
2. A carinated bowl with quadruple strips on the rim.
3. As above but the pattern in change.

P. Fig VIII
1. A small bowl cordon on the body.
2. Plain slightly corrugated vassal of reddish ware.
3. A small vassal with straight carination.

P. Fig IX
1. A very small jar of buff ware.
2. A fragment with incised fishes shown vertically.

P. Fig X
1. A reddish buff ware with frieze of encircle concentric stamps arranged in zig zag way.
2. Similar
3. Bowl with wavy line, is of reddish buff ware.

P. Fig XI
1. A dented red spouted pot with leaf decoration in black colour.
2. A reddish jar with notched triangular and lines round the shoulder.
3. Similar but stamped rosettes under the lines and on the body.

P. Fig XII
1. A buff jar richly stamped with notches and rosettes in between the lines.

4.11Small Finds

The excavations have also yielded, small finds at the ancient site of Gor Khattree. Most of the objects are made of terracotta, which is kiln baked plain and decorative. Very few of the human figurines are reported. (See Figurine) Among the animal figurine there are elephants, bulls, horses, camel and sheep. These are already very common in the settlement sites in Pakistan. Most of these objects are in fragmentary condition but their details are not difficult for identification. From

the site of Gor Khattree specimens of personal ornaments in terms of bangles, mostly of terracotta are found. Like the terracotta beads here again for bangles the prime favorite in all level is very limited. Like other settlement sites terracotta beads of all sizes and shapes are found, among them conical and biconical with axial hole blackish and reddish in colour both big and small are reported. Some has pin holed decoration while some has Zig Zag lines etc. Among the beads prominent collared are also favorite to the ancients of Gor Khattree.

Oil lamps, precious and semi precious terracotta discs and other objects are the finds from the ancient site of Gor Khattree. Oil lamps are abandent from this site, which are recovered from the later layers and levels.

For the small objects clay had been adopted due to its easy availability and plasticity, as a suitable material for making small finds. (if not imported).

4.11.1 Bulls

These are only five in number with the same body features. All are coated with a thick layer of red slip with grey painted lines. Their legs are solid and horns are projecting upwards. These are carefully modeled and shows that head and tail were made separate and then looted or joined by tenon, before firing.

4.11.2 Horses

Only one horse specimen reported, from the Kushana level, it is with solid body and exterier has a treatment by the application of a thick coating of grey slip, it is

crudely modeled with solid legs. It has an arched neck. Such type has already been reported for Taxila[395], Charsadda[396] Sheikhan Dheri[397] & Damkot[398].

4.11.3 Bangles

Bangles are found in fragmentary condition and are mostly made of glass, with off white colour, some has black and yellow shades, very few has blue glass. The sections are oval in shape and are flat on the inside and convex on the out side. Such types are very commonly reported from almost all the settlement sites excavated so far.

4.11.4 Oil Lamps

A sizeable number of terracotta oil lamps, including small, medium and big were brought to report during the excavation of Gor Khuttree. No single piece of stone or other material found, even from the Kushana level. There are several verities and shapes. All the lamps were recovered from upper impose layer and from the pits.

All the lamps are fired red and sign of its frequent use can be seen. Among the lot all carries flat bases but different in shape; these are cup shaped (shallow), heat and ash tray type. Most of the lamps have straight featureless rim with cup are slanting, tapering towards the bottom. Almost all are finds from layer 2 to 6 and from pits.

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[395] Marshell 1975 ;455
[396] Wheeler Charsadda 1958:112
[397] Dani 1965-6:85
[398] Rehman 1968-9: 155-162, 170-178 and 165

Its association in stratigraphical horizon is difficult, but probably they belong to Hindu Shahi and Muslim periods.

Beside this one camel, two elephants and one sheep, again in terracotta, carries normal sizes and the manufacture system seems like that of horses and bull are found at the site.

4.11.5 Beads

Most of the beads are of terracotta, very few in stone and two only in glass. Two are represented by semi precious stone only. Here again various material was in use for manufacturing (importing) beads. Terracotta apparently happened to be the prime favorite probably owing to its easy availability.

Most of the terracotta beads are biconical and are hand-made with axal-hole. Some has red slip decoration while some has pin-hole or human nail top decoration, around the body, on either side of the central band. In some cases pin-hole decoration is confined, around the conical end. Some are wheel turned also, has coated layer of slip and grooved circle at the bottom.

In shape, some terracotta beads have collar normally at on end. (top not bottom). Such type beads are already reported from many settlement sites particularly form Charsadda which are datable form 6th to 2nd century BC[399], also from Shaikhan Dheri[400], Two specimen from Gor Khuttree, which are, convex cone with grooved-base assignable to the Scytho-Partian level, already reported from Shaikhan

[399] Wheeler 1958:116
[400] Dani 1966: 129

Dheri[401]. At Damkot it is given a date from 1st century BC to 1st century AD 277. Conical beads among the lot are dated by wheeler to 2nd to 4th century AD[402] stone beads are small in size. These have cavity axel hole most probably made with help of a drill. The axel hole suggests it is made in a single operation form one side, not from both ends. No line or hole decoration is found, normally bears the natural color of the material. Just one conical bead in green phyllitic schist nature is found.

4.12Figurine

A few terracotta female figurines were found from the Gor-Khattree excavations. These are made of smooth well-levigated clay, and have a rich reddish colour.

Among the human figurines one is coming from the Kushana level at Gor Khuttree. This is a woman seated or standing in a rather unusual pose, with short stunted legs spread apart. The figurine has two hands, both rested on mouth. It is shown with big belley, round applique eyes facing to the viewer wearing a flat cap type. It is plain, has no ornamentation; probably could be a ritual object. As for as another human figurines is concerned, it is coming from the Indo-Greek levels at Gor-Khattree.

Its mouth is small and inconspicuous with prominent long applique eyes, the nose originaly was prominent (now broken).

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[401] Ibid
[402] Wheeler 1958: 118

She wears two big ear-rings with long hair hang- down over it. There are more than four necklaces on neck and to her left a flower over the head top. Lower body detached and gone, but the arms are there and horizontally extended.

Particularly to this one, the nickname is given by wheeler, as a distinctive group of female figurines, which has long been known to characterize the frontier region and deserves the honour of a sobriquet[403].

4.13. The Description of Baroque Ladies Figurine (Pl-28)

Human figurines famous as Baroque Lady were published by Ananda Coomaraswamy[404]. The three examples presented are said to have come from Peshawar district and are assigned as of Indian in character. The similarity between the pinched nose of these figurines and certain Harapan Female forms[405], Led Coomarasawamy to the result that terracotta figurine belong to pre-Mauryan time of the second Mellenium BC[406]. If this is the case then the Baroque lady recovered at Gor Khattree in 1992-3, can easily attest the period of Harapa (Indo Valley Civilization 2500 BC) or pre-Mauryan time, not only in Gor Khattree but Peshawar in particular, Gandhara and Pakistan in general. This will certainly push back the history of Peshawar to 2500 BC. D.H. Gordon proves many examples argued for a late date, which is 200 BC to the 3rd Century AD.[407] resembled these with the bone Figurine from Sirkap (Taxila).

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[403] Wheeler 1962:104
[404] Ananda Coomaraswamy in 1928:64-76
[405] Banerji, 1994: Pl 17
[406] Ananda Coomaraswamy in 1928:68
[407] Coomarsawamy, 1928. Tafel6, No.38 & Gordon,1938:85

Mortimer Wheeler established date for these Baroque ladies recovered from Charsadda in 1958 which is 250-100BC[408]. Dani in his excavation at Charsadda in 1964 dated these Baroque ladies as 250-100BC. The Gor Khattree Baroque lady is a fresh example from the old city of Peshawar, which can easily make a case with the comparison of Harapa, Sirkap & Charsadda.

This is not all, the Baroque lady also has resemblance with that of Indus Valley figurine already cited by Coomarsawamy, 1928, Corbau, 1937. Generally these figurines have ornate headdresses comprising of applied flowers with large earring and applied necklace. The ornamentation of these figurines has comparison with the Baroque ladies[409].

The Gandharan Baroque Ladies / Mother goddess belongs to the creativity and fertility cult. This together with the heavy ornamentation of the terracottas and their `Baroque` headdress suggests that they are not ordinary figurine of female[410]. Gordon also identifies the mother goddesses with that of Hariti and with that of Anaita and Mithra, principle deities of Gandhara, specially introduced during the Kushana tenure at Gandhara[411].

The same cult was also practiced at Buddhist sites. Fertility goddess figurine found in the Archaeological sites is also assigned to the prehistoric times[412].

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[408] Wheeler 1962-105 Dani 1965-66
[409] Banerji, 1994, Pl 90-91
[410] Codrington, 1931:143
[411] Gordon 1937: 72-3
[412] Ucko,1968 Also see- Mirand Hinkley 2001 : 19-22

4.14 CONCLUSION OF THE EXCAVATIONS AND EXCAVATED MATERIALS

Excavations in Peshawar city have been compratively few; and these too, not well distributed, until recently, over one part of Gor Khuttree at Peshawar was probed. Moreover, the accounts of early attempts are not well recorded. (Like Tehkal and Shah ji ki Dehri), so it is not possible to establish proper links between the objects excavated at peshawar, and give a final verdict at this stage. Some cultural affinities however stand out and it is thought desireable to notice them at this place.

In the light of the above noted discussion drawn from the excavations, we can judge the importance of Gor Khuttree. It of course attests some of the events of diffirent dynasties living at the city. According to the excavator, the reserved pushed the history of Peshawar to the Achaemenian / Mauryan era up-to the British period. He also thinks, that perhaps a branch of river Bara passed through the western half of the Gor Khuttree, at the times when Gandhara had been a part of the great Persian and Mauryan empires. This he said on the bases of thick reddish alluvial clay.[413] This strengthens the theory of Dani and others, who located the Bara river, almost in the vicinity of Gor Khattree.[414] The succeeding phases of the Indo-Greeks, Scytho-Parthians, Kushanas, the Hindu Shahi, the Islamic, and the British period yielding ceramics and other artefacts along with a

[413] Durrani 1997:191
[414] Dani 1995: 17, 23, 29 and 51

large number of coins, very much confirm the presence of these rulers on the soil of the ancient Peshawar.

From coins chronology chart, which were recovered from Gor Khuttree ancient site proves the presence of many historical rulers at Peshawar in succession.

Still, besides coins, the pottery types and terracotas yielded by that season are ideal for comparisons with Taxila, Bala Hisar, Dheri Shaikhan and other early historic, medieval and Islamic period sites excavated in Peshawar-Mardan basin and elsewhere in Pakistan. The data recovered from Gor Khattree demonstrated the parallel growth of Peshawar, with Taxila, Pushkalavatti (Charsadda), Manakrai and Pir Manakrai (Haripur) and Akra (Bannu).

The excavations also proved that Hindu Shahis shifted there capital from Peshawar to Hund. This we can say on the bases of scarcity of their artefacts, literary sources and antiquity discovered at Hund recently.

Among the ceramics, in addition to the plain and decorated pottery of the Islamic period, glazed vessels and the Jar inscribed with *kufic* (Fig XXX) inscription along with a few fragments of small jars with similar inscriptions stand prominent.[415] Finally the data recovered is very thought provoking, generating some vital ideas, in term of the commercial and cultural imprtance of Peshawar throughout the history, and its links with other contemporary towns.[416]

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[415] Taj Ali 2002: 21-25.
[416] Durrani 1997: 185.

Once Jaffer rightly mentioned: "But there must be much more than meets the eye. When the wealth that lies buried beneath the mounds met with here and there is unearthed and made accessible to research scholars, many more dark epochs of Indian History will be illuminated. To the students of Indian History Peshawar is full of interest".[417]

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[417] Jaffer 1946 : 1

Chapter 5

GENERAL CONCLUSION

5.1 Cultural Profile of Peshawar Based on the Archaeological Research.

Peshawar remarkably rich in archaeological remains of historical interest deserves the reputation it enjoys. This is found in the form of Hindu & Buddhist sculptures, coins of various kings, inscriptions and pottery, on the one hand; and ancient sites and historical monuments on the other. This cultural material is both secular and religious in nature. We do not know much of monuments of the Hindu period, except for their names, as described by travelers or mentioned by other writers.

It is clear that most of the artistic and architectural wealth, of which Peshawar could legitimately feel proud of, has been lost but once the "Pageant" that was Peshawar. As Peshawar is very close to the Khyber Pass in Pakistan and being the political centre of the past invaders, it is no surprise that it has lost many things. In archaeological research, not much work had been done over here, as compared to other sites in Gandhara, it has been neglected and only a few sites probed so far.

In this connection the first site came to lime light is Banamani, situated west of the Peshawar City, from where in 1836 M.A Court discovered, and reported, Bronze

and pilaster statues, which to him were the remains of very ancient Indian statues. He also reported the Indian and Bactrian coins from this vicinity.[418]

The rich cultural heritage of Peshawar seems to continue to the present day without any break. The construction of religious monuments like stupas and monasteries are amongst the important structural remains. The site of Tehkal Bala is the creation of the 2nd century A.D. This site contained Buddhist statues and other remains, reported by more than 8 excavators in the British / Sikh period. Besides the Tehkal site, they also reported over a dozen sites in the vicinity of Tehkal, including those at the Islamia College Peshawar and under the Pushto academy building at the University of Peshawar[419]. (please see Tehkal in chapter III)

Another Buddhist site is the Shahji-Ki Dehri, which was brought to light by the excavator in 1907-9, 1910-11 and 1912. Numerous archaeological information, came from this site. Besides the architecture of the stupa, pottery specimen were also reported. The most remarkable antiquity in Peshawar (from Shahji-Ki Dehri) is the Shah Ji-Ki Dheri reliquary of King Kanishka. This also yielded three pieces of his bones over which the tallest stupa of the Sub-continent was built by Kanishka[420]. This stupa is mentioned by the Chinese Pilgrims who visited it in the fifth, sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era. (see Shahji-Ki Dehri)

The excavations at Gor Khuttree attested various chapters of Peshawar's history on one hand, while some important antiquities came to hand on the other.

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[418] Fussman 1991:156
[419] Errington 1987:301-2
[420] Foucher 1915:5

The recovered antiquities in the form of pottery of various dynasties supported by their coins, throw light on the cultural heritage of Peshawar. It proves the presence of Indo Greeks, Scytho-Parthians, Kushans, Hindu Shahis and Muslim Rulers of Peshawar.

There were terrecotta male and female figurines found in Gor Khuttree. The most important is the baroque lady figurine. It has two Rosettes in the hair (One is missing) with two broad necklaces, and big ear rings. This also has pro-tubrent eyes. This is made of smooth well-levigated clay and has a rich redish color. Baroque lady is a nickname given by Wheeler to a distinctive group of female figurines which have a long association with the Frontier.[421] (Please see Baroque lady on page 151). This terracotta figurine is assigned by the excavator to the Scytho-Parthian Period. Another terrecotta figurine collected from the Kushana level at Gor Khuttree is a remarkable find. (see the description on page 150)

5.2 Flaws and vacuums in previous researches

The archaeological research in terms of excavations exploration, reporting and documentation, is very sensitive work. Once if any archaeological site is excavated unscientifically or with raw hands; 'the site has destroyed for ever', no power on the earth can restore it. You can construct new buildings far better than before but can not reconstruct the archaeological site or monument in the same context, if roughly excavated. The unscientific technique of excavation causes great damage to the site.

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[421] Wheeler 1962:104

One example can be cited in this connection is of General Kesher Shamsher. In 1933-9 he conducted the major works of excavation of the ruins in Lumbini and exposed the structure through leveling method which resulted in many subsidiary monuments to be (then) demolished.[422]

In Peshawar, Shah-ji-ki-Dheri the famous Kanishka stupa site, was not excavated with full attention and many questions, therefore, remained unanswered. The reason was various duties of Spooner; the excavator at different parts of the Province/Circle, of which he was incharge. Tissot writes, " Spooner was incharge of the Archaeological survey of the so –called Frontier Circle, but also of the various works related to research, care and repair of ancient monuments, and his tasks were varied and enormous. After the 17th March 1910, Spooner left for Calcutta transporting the relics of the Buddha, discovered the year before in Peshawar, and that were due to a Buddhist monastery in Ceylon. In Calcutta he studied the Gandhara collection of the Indian Museum, but the destiny of the able civil servant of the British Raj was elsewhere: he was transferred to the Eastern Circle, and Gandhara went out of his life.[423] She also reported that the owner of the land of Shah-ji-ki-Dheri created obstacles. Since the owner of the site of Shah-ji-ki-Dheri raised objections to his continuing the excavations there, he abandoned, well against his will, this site to go to Sahri Bahool.[424]

Another problem was meagre fund at Spooner disposal and says "the work was begun on the 9th of December 1909 and continued until the 7th of March 1910 the

[422] Rewath 2000 : 25
[423] Tissote 1985: 738.
[424] Ibid: 737

total cost being 2807-15-10 rupies, which was very kindly put at my disposal by the Director General of Archaeology[425]".

Tissot further informs us about the treatment done with the recovered antiquities during the research. She says, 'in 1962 when she asked Mr. Shahkoor curator of the Peshawar Museum" inquiring about the origin of the pieces of sculpture, fixed on the wall and in the cases with big metal groves, or lying on the floor of the upper galleries, he told me. On the left side they come from Takht-i-Bhai, on the right side, they come from Sahri Bahlol .... This rather amazing classification was the original one, from the time when the pieces of Sculpture came from the sites in bullock-carts or even on the back of camels, caravan like.

I soon came to know of the first catalogue by Spooner that is not a real Catalogue.[426]

"All the sculptures in the museum, further more, had been numbered consecutively, beginning in the right hand gallery upstairs. It is to the precision of this numbering that I first hurt myself when looking out for specific pieces from Sahri Bhalol.[427] She further says, "The excavation began in the drastic method of those far away times, but Spooner had the priceless idea, of having a plan made by the draftsman and Photographer of the team:"[428] which means the excavator relied on the draftsman and Photographer.

Another cause was that the seat of the Archaeological Survey quarters was in Calcutta and those who worked in Peshawar were just refugees for the excavation

[425] ASIAR Frontier Circle 1909-10-02
[426] Tissote 1985: 567
[427] Spooner 1910: preface p 3
[428] Tissot 1990: 590

work.[429] She in a place informs that "Sir Aural Stein always loved the so-called North west Province, and which having some rest, in between his travels, he lived in Lahore and went for short holidays to Kashmir".[430]

Loewenthal himself recorded "No systematic attempt at opening any of the mounds abounding in this region has yet been made.[431] In one place Errington records that one was physicion doctor who excavated in Tehkal.[432]

In the light of the above noted facts, the excavation work was not properly conducted almost lacking scientific methods and techniques even not based on solid foundation. The Tehkal excavations also have many flaws, no proper record is available, because the excavators were from the civil work department of the Punjab Province[433] (See also report) in Bana Mari some unknown sites were also mentioned. After independence modern research work in the ancient Peshawar also has vacuums and lacking facilities, for example. The excavator of Gor Khuttree wished to excavate Dhaki Nalbandi first and Gor Khuttree later but the former site was occupied by modern buildings, he says[434] "The question that one is confronted with is, where could we establish a comprehensive cultural profile of this great city, which has witnessed the fluctuations of fortunes of the royal dynasties and merchants of South and Central Asia since antiquity?

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[429] Ibid : 737
[430] Ibid : 602
[431] Errington 1987: 305.
[432] Ibid: 304.
[433] Errington 1987 : 303-4
[434] Durrani 1997 : 188

Presently, in my opinion, only two locations (occupying the highest position within the walled city) can yield such a profile. These are Dhaki Nalbandi south of Lady Reading Hospital near the old Elephant Gate, and Gor Khuttree at the eastern end of Bazar-e-Kalan (Map-XI) commonly known as Tehsil today. The latter serves as reserve police and fire brigade headquarters in addition to the revenue record office. Of these Dhaki Nalbandi is totally occupied by modern buildings. The choice then naturally falls on Gor Khuttree, for it still has an extensive courtyard permitting archaeological research and would prove to be a granary of information regarding the origin and gradual evolution of Peshawar City."[435]

Another problem which made the information very short and insufficient, that within 700x700 sq./feet area only 60x40 feet (in the 1992-3 season excavation) was permitted for excavations. This was the police (since 1912) which occupies the premises, and allowed the excavation team in a very limited area.[436] The second constraint was, according to him "limitations of time and funds, the completion of the deep trench. As a result at the depth of 48 feet and 6 inches the trench became so small for excavation that it was not possible to work further and the operations had to be abandoned before we could reach to the virgin soil".[437]

In spite of the fact that this "site has rich cultural information but could not reach to a logical conclusion due to these above noted constraints.

The excavator admits that the earliest three layer, 18-20 exposed in a very limited area, "therefore short-comings are there[438],

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[435] Ibid
[436] Ibid : 191
[437] *Ibid* : 191
[438] *Ibid* : 192

In the excavation of 1995-6 season the excavator could not reach beyond the Islamic period level. Though he selected relatively larger area, 30x30m near the eastern gateway and opposite to the Shadi Hall. Again he said ' But it is going to take us more time and cost higher than the budgetary allocation[439].

In the conclusion of the preliminary report he is again of the opinion that, " As evident from the foregoing discussion it is difficult to draw any final conclusion of the work carried out so far, at Gor Khuttree, for, as already stated our operation in 1992-3 remained inconclusive because of space limitation". He further says that "the reason being that the two trenches laid in 1992-3 had strong concentration of garbage dumps and pits and a very few partially preserved structures"[440]

Reports for the season 1992-3 and 1995-6 not yet published the preliminary report in hands containing no proper drawing photographs. The Directorate of Arceaology & Museums, Govt. of NWFP under the dynamic leadership of Prof. Dr. Ihsan Ali continued the research work at Gor Khuttree with fruitful results, possibly he will tuch the virgin soil in few years of continuous excavations.

As far as the department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan excavation work on the site of Tehkal is concerned, no proper report or data is available, they just cleared the debris left by the art seekers.

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[439] Durrani 1997 : 1973
[440] *Ibid* : 200

Beside the above noted shortcomings in the exploration & excavations, rendered in Peshawar, particularly the excavations conducted before the partition in Gandhara, can be divided into two stages. In the first phase the Gandhara studies received a great set-back right from the beginning. It is a manner in which majority of the earlier discoveries were made, recorded and distributed. All earlier discoverers – Elphinston, Court, Ventura, Masson, Honiberger, Leitner, etc. were men of dubious character, suspected of espionage and in any case were not professional archaeologists, art historian & even simply historians. These adventurers and travelers did clandestine digging for collecting curios and works of arts for taking them back to their respective countries for more lucrative purpose. They seldom bothered to give any detailed description of the building they excavated or disturbed and hence "materials were consequently wanting to from any precise notion of their structure of position. These earliest diggers/collectors opened only stupas and extracted whatever they could lay their hands on".[441]

The beginning of archaeological studies was made by non-professionals and in non-professional ways with least regard for scientific information. "In most cases the sites were disturbed much to the detriment of future scientific digging".[442]

In the second stage, the story is again not rose colored, and very much the situation changed when Punjab Province alongwith Frontier areas annexed to the British rule in 1849.

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[441]Honigberger, 1852:.64-5 & Wilson, 1941: vii & viii
[442]Roy, 1961:23

The Buddhist stupas and monasteries once again became the focus of their plundering. But this time these were not the adventurers and explorers in disguise but the high and low of the ranks in Governments service and their agents as well as the Sappers and Miners who engaged themselves on almost every known mound and stupa.[443] What is more lamentable is the fact that several sites were excavated again and again by different parties.[444] And to make confusion more confounded, finds from a single site, or from a single season at a site, were divided and send to different destinations.[445] The record accompanying these dispatches was seldom complete and upto the mark. The result is that the basic stratigraphical data or entire data of individual sites which could have helped us in reconstructing the history of Gandhara art has been lost.[446]

5.3 Recommendations for further Research

The span of life of the Gor Khattree could be much longer than the available data, also not reached to the virgin soil, which needs more research in terms of excavations. Some of the structures excavated in these trenches are lacking to make Chronological framework. The only definite association of some of the structure can be based on the pottery and coins. To be very frank the precise nature of Gor Khattree is yet to be ascertained.

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[443]Fergussion, 1910: 210 & 214
[444]Errington 1987: 400-417
[445]Grunwedel, 1901: 83 & Keay, 1979: 37
[446] Dar 1998: 73-74

Findings from Gor Khattree suggest that there were commercial activities which attest the nature and location of this city. The site of Gor Khattree so far excavated is rich in Structures and particularly in ceramic but quite poor in house hold small finds, and in Coins too. Further excavation is unavoidable.

As far as the other archaeological sites in Peshawar are concerned they accommodate modern buildings or decleard private and public properties. The city has failed to attract attention of the scholars. The reason for the same is insufficient excavations on the sites. Peshawar fails to present its cultural heritage that once flourshied. The contemporary city site of Peshawar still awaits to be excavated properly, scientifically and extensively (see Gor Khuttree excavations 1992-3 & 1995-1996) extensive excavations at other sites in the city are now almost impossible. The only choice could be Tehkal Bala, as it is under the control of Pak-Army.

Kanishka's stupa vihara; also needs to be searched and investigated. Only concerted efforts of devoted persons are needed. What is the dire need at Peshawar city is to locate its settlement sites, which acted as subsistence base for its nourishment? The settlement sites alone can help us build a reliable framework both for chronological sequences as to when a new ethnic social, political or linguistic elements penetrated and affected our society and how the mosaic of changing patterns evolved both in respect of time and space.

Still, fresh excavations and more researches, both with new objectives in mind, are needed. We have seen in Tissot description some shortcomings in the explanation of sculptures in Peshawar Museum, which also need some work. Prof. Dr. Ihsan Ali, the present Director of Archeaology & Museums Govt. of NWFP has already started this academic work. It is hoped that many points relating to the origin, excavators – time frame and related factors will be brought to the notice of scholars and researchers. The recovered material needs to be further classified into such categories. Still, what is more important is to study Gandhara art not simply as a sculptural art or Buddhist art as hitherto done, (see page Tissot 158-9) but as part of Gandharan Civilization as a whole and not in isloation.

CONCLUSION

The change, which cost Peshawar ancient characteristic, came very rapidly. Peshawar is one of the ancient living cities in the whole South Asia. About 50 years ago, Peshawar seemed a different city rooted in ancient times.

Peshawar was used to be a walled city with 16 gates built originally by Sikhs & its current brick structure was built in early 19th Century by British. The gates used to be closed at 4 p.m. and no outsider was allowed to stay for a night within the walled city without proper permission from the authorities concerned. With regard to the clean environment; Peshawar had been a clean city up to 1950. Most of the houses were made of clay with wooden ceiling, provided with glass & mirror work of which the Sethi Houses are the best example. After partition of British India into Pakistan and Bharat on August 15, 1947, the public and the political leaders of Peshawar both did not pay attention for the laws of urban planning of the city. Consequently, people living in the adjacent areas of Peshawar city constructed shops and houses without getting proper permission from the authority concerned. Thus, slowly and gradually the wall crumbled or demolished and the gates were removed. However, only two, Sar Aseya and Sard Chah gates with a portion of the ancient wall to the South of the city were left intact.

In addition, without proper municipal planning, the city of Peshawar gave birth to a lot of problems for its inhabitants. The rural and tribal area's people migrated into the city for work, education, living and other social sector facilities. As such,

the ecology, archaeology & antiquity of Peshawar were adversely affected. The rich people left the city and constructed modern houses outside the city premises. Many new colonies were constructed. The first such colony was Nishtarabad, and then came the Gul Bahar and so on. University Town and Hayatabad are the best example of such changes. With these changes, the antiquity of the Peshawar city did not remain intact.

Peshawar was once a clean city with a small number of people living in it. This situation has totally changed in the last fifty years or so. The influx of tribals surrounding of the people from the rural and population to the city overcrowded Peshawar. At the same time, the mismanagement and inefficiency of the city governments resulted in the decline of the city environment. As mentioned before in this dissertation, the culture of Peshawar was at its zenith in the early forties of the 20th Century. But as the change has it, for every rise there is a fall and this is what it is properly in line with the scheme of theories and practices of the past that the fall of the cultures and civilization of Peshawar occurred.

The Peshawar local language Hindko got corrupted with Urdu and Pushto languages. Slowly Peshawar changed into a modern city. The overwhelming majority of Peshawar dwellers had their pre-partition culture synonymous with that of Lucknow. That synomymity of the two cultures has been eroded. Most of the historical houses are demolished and replaced by new modern houses, plazas and boulevards with huge buildings. The streets, alongwith their names and width

remained the same as were in the pre-partition time but the residents and their traditions tremendously changed. However, few old houses in the same area are still telling the story of the ancient Peshawar i.e. the Sethi houses in Mohalla Sethian, the houses in Dhaki Nalbandi and the ones near Sabzi Mandi and Sarafa Bazar are still talking of the past glory of Peshawar.

With passage of time, most of the antiquity (of the walled city) was destroyed and various shopping centers were constructed for the need of the growing population within and outside the city, all by demolishing the historic architecture.

The wall of the city was demolished in most of the areas. The lovers of Peshawar like Dr. Dani, Dr. S. Amjad Hussain, Dr. Durrani, and Dr. Ihsan Ali have been striving hard to keep the city culture intact, which must be appreciated. However, "change" is something inevitable & natural, which ultimately takes place in every sphere of life but we need to act faster to preserve & ptorect the remaining glory of the city of Peshawar.

It is suggested that the remaining buildings of historical significance, antiquity and artefacts of the ancient Peshawar must be preserved. The over 2500 years old monument, "Panj Tirath" had been a sacred place for Hindu. The Hindus from Afghanistan and the remote areas of India used to come here for consolation. They used to take bath in the ponds and the water of its wells, which was a source for health treatment to them. Also, the Buddhists used to come here as here once located the Alm bowl which was a source of satisfaction to them. After

independence in 1947, the Government converted those sacred ponds into Hatchery and the tombs were used as stores on the sites towards the G. T. Road. In addition, in a big portion of Panj Tirath, an orphanage and huge buildings of the Sarhad Chamber of Commerce and Industry were constructed. This completely covered the famous Panj Tirath from the eyes of the history lovers. On the other hand, the Municipal Corporation, on the pretext of beautification of Peshawar, grabbed a big piece of this sacred land and converted it into "Chacha Younus Park". At present, the sacred tombs of Panj Tirath are used by the gardeners of the Park as stores. The rest of the Panj Tirath is occupied by land grabbers who do not allow any one to enter there and get a snap or photograph of this monument.

Because of the negligence of the government, this 2500year old Maha Baharat monument is factually extinct. The "Gor Khuttree", is on decline, its gates and antiquity eroded. Such precious monument has not been preserved by the successive governments. In the recent past (March 20, 2000), the Governor NWFP ordered to convert the open space of Gor Khuttree into a public park. The monument of Kotla Moshin Khan was not properly preserved, which will soon be extinct. The "Laikha Darwaza" (written gate) with the courtesy of Peshawar Museum was removed in shape of slab and preserved in the Museum. However, the gate from its original place has vanished. The famous Kaniska's stupa (Shah-ji-ki-Dheri), which is only four kilometer from the Lahori Gate in the city of Peshawar is also a neglected place, encroached by the land grabbers and no sign of it can be seen now.

If Gorak Nath Debi, Assamyee temple and magnificent houses of Sethis are not preserved, there will be no more sign of these antiquities on the surface of the earth and as such no sign of ancient Peshawar will remain.

At present, we can only imagine about the stupa built by Kanishka at his capital Peshawar (200AD). Hiuen Tsiang gave us details of its grandeur, this is also mentioned by Fa-Hian and Sung Yun in their travels. Abu Rehan writes about it when he visited Peshawar in 1000 AD. He had seen this great stupa on a high mound. At present, nothing is traceable about this 750feet (22875 cm) high stupa but some sketches and traditions and buried ruins (underground) remain.

This work finds that the language of ancient Peshawar culture was Prakrit and the script was Kharoshti, written from right to left, as is seen from the documents of that time. Later, Persion and Hindi took its place. But the finest creation is seen in art, exposed in the beautiful production of stucco sculptures and models. When such innumerable products of Gandhara art are surveyed alongwith the deserted ruins of stupas and monasteries and standing mounds of buried cities and towns, one cannot do any thing but to see the richness of the country and the spirit of the culture that must have stirred the imagination of the people to make best of the wealth which that age had brought to them.

According to Professor Durrani's excavations at Gor Khuttree in 1992, he found rich & valuable antiquity of the city of Peshawar for the first time in history. The exposed layers yielded artefacts datable from the British down to the last phase of the Achaemenian and Mauryan periods of late 4th and early 3rd century BC. It, thus, pushes the archeological history of Peshawar to the pre-Kushana times and exposes late Achaemenian, Mauryan, Indo-Greek and Scytho-Patrthian periods, which needs to be preserved.

One is perturbed by the gross negligence (with regard to the socio-economic and political value of such culture richness) of the government to have not acted properly in preserving the rich and historic culture of Pakistan and due to this neglect cultural heritage of the past has almost vanished. The remnants of our unique history, art architecture and heritage, if preserved, will bring prosperity, wide international recognition, commerce and trade, and above all, will encourage national and international tourists, thus bringing not only fame to the country but will also ehance the economy. By preserving our heritage, we are not doing much, but to safeguard our history, which is not only our moral duty as a nation, but a legal obligation under UNESCO's Charter.

We hope, that the ongoing excavations at Gor Khuttre, Peshawar under the Directorate of Archaeology & Museums, Government of NWFP, headed by Prof. (Dr.) Ihsan Ali (my supervisor) continues, which, in the opinion of the auther, is the only site holding the key to the origin, development and decline of the city of

Peshawar. We pray, that these excavations reach the virgin soil (its logical conclusion), thus completing this missing chapter of the history of this ancient living city of South Asia, Peshawar.

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APPENDICES

Cunningham Mentions Bellow Excavation in Tehkal Payan:

Haslett the leader of the team at Tehkal Bala under the Punjab Government 1875-6 seasons excavation identified three mounds, mound A (70 feet), mound B (35-40 feet) and mound C (15 feet) in height.

The Shopola stupa (Khyber), the stupa under the modern building of Pushto Academy, University of Peshawar and both or more than that Buddhist establishment are report to the north of the old Jamrud Road. Probably only stupa, which is report to the south of the old Jamrud Road, is found in front of Islamia College Peshawar (probably near Burj Harri Sing). Another was leveled by the authorities of Islamia College (probably already excavated by a company of Sappers and Miners in 1875[447]. Hasletts also confirm its location. His report remarked by Errington as follows:

" The stupa is cruciform in plan, and apparently consisted of a podium, 118 feet square at base, with a flight of steps extending from the centre of each of the four sides. The extant structure is divided into two tiers. The lower terrace appears to have comprised a series of Indo-Corinthian pilasters positioned 3 feet apart on a narrow plinth. The more substantial plinth of the upper terrace is also still visible in the twentieth century photographs, while details of the structure above this are

[447] See below, Appendix A, para 2; Appendix B, Para 2, Hasletts annotations when quoted below are given in italics.

supplied by Haslett. His section drawing of salient angle W. X. between the west stairway and the stupa base shows that the projection plinth of the upper terrace measured 4 feet in height, the transition from this plinth to the podium above being effected by a line of architectural molding 3 feet 3 inches in height. Approximately 3 feet of the podium itself still survived, its facade being again decorated with pilasters. If the original height of these pilasters is calculated at a minimum of about 6 feet, and allowance is made for another line of architectural moulding above them, this provides an estimated total height of at least about 15 feet for the podium. Presumably the circular drum of the stupa was centred on top of this structure; 20, 25 feet of the core of the dome must thus have still existed in 1875 for the mound to be the special height of 35 – 40 feet. Haslett excavated into the mound, but he says only that this proved it to be a solid structure, 'filled in with mud and small stones behind the outer walls' [448], and no attempt was made to trace the actual circumference of the drum.

Excavation through the centre core of the stupa in 1916 was more successful, for a relic chamber measuring 1 foot 9 inches square was discovered at a depth of 6 feet 6 inches below the surface of mound[449]. This contains five copper coins of Vasudeva. It thus seems to be primary deposit, contemporary with the original construction of the stupa. It precise position in relation to the outer structure of the building is not clear from the text, but a depth of 6 feet 6 inches below the surface as it appears in the photographic record (plate. III) implies that the relic

[448] P. Haslett to Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar. No. 9AE. 18th December 1875, *Punjab Government Gazette, Supplement 30th March 1876*, 239.
[449] See below appendix D.

chamber was placed approximately level with the junction between the two extant tiers of the stupa basement.

The stupa is said to have stood on a brick platform[450]. Presumably this means that the surrounding courtyard pavement was of brick. The method used in constructing the stupa itself appears to have been a core of rubble, faced with outer walls of diaper masonry in the usual way. Haslett describes this as "large block of varied stone (Granite, limestone an a red shaly stone), the interstices between which are filled in with horizontal slabs or slates from ½ to 1 inch thick, very carefully fitted and laid in mortar.

She also compares the semi diaper, semi ashlar masonry with Kanjur at Tahkal with Taxila sites for which Marshall assigned Kushana date 1st century A.D. The sculpture recovered from the site of Tahkal show that the site was also once richly decorated with Gandhara reliefs of equal quantity to those from better preserved sites such as Takht-i-Bahi and Jamal Garhi.

Haslett also inform us about Tehkal (Mound C) of votive stupa, monastic establishment for example a raised verandah and cells a central quadrangle with four smaller courts, a assembly hall, refectory , kitchen stone rooms a drainage from a bathroom etc. like that of Bhamala and Dharmarajika from Taxila.

Garrick reported a stupa site near Burj Harri Singh about a quarter mile distance from the modern Peshawar University police station. To some Garrick identified

[450] See below appendix D.

site is the one which is now under the modern building of the Pushto Academy which is wrong, because this site is to the north of the police station (also from old Jamurd Road). Buraj-i-Harri Singh is to the south of the old Jamurd Road and still under the control of Islaima College Peshawar (founded in 1913).

The Tahkal enclosure A has closed affinity with Shah-ji-ki-Dehri enclosure both in style and in masonry which is diaper in both of the cases.

To Errington, the bastion type structure of Shah-ji-ki-Dehri phase 3 and Tahkal Area A could therefore be contemporary, but in view of the long occupation of the former site. She further says "bastions attached to the main stupa itself at Shah-ji-ki-Dehri, seems to imply that these were incorporated as decorative or structural features and are not indicative of any system defense".

Haslett also found of sculpture in Tahkal site probably of Naga Kalika Garrick also found three pieces, Buddha, a Budhisattva and a female head in mound A at Tahkal.

Garricks excavation and reports are questionable to the scholars, Burgess says; "in practical archaeology.... Thee had better be no survey at all then one only to produce report on par with those prepared in recent year by..... Mr. Garrick. If there is an archaeological survey it ought to be creditable to Government.

According to the Garrick work and in the reports of 1916 show the site of Tahkal had almost gone. In 1985 and 2001 the present author went in person to the site

and found art-seeker, busy in illegal digging. Since 1916 this is a source of food for the art seeker / dealer, which means here is and was a mine of antiquities. Errington says "According to Gopal Das, there were thirteen dheris once scattered around the Tahkal area. Not all of these were necessarily Gandhara Sites, but as the whole area has been extensively settled in the twentieth century, little of these archaeological remains must now be visible on the surface. From the available evidence of the nineteenth century record, we therefore conclude that the two major sites of Tahkal Bala here illustrated (stupa A and B), lay approximately in the area of the modern Pashto Academy and the Islaima College respectively, while the stupa to Tahkal Payan excavated by Johnstone can probably be identified with the remains of Rosanabad. The techniques of these early excavators leave a great deal to be described by modern standard, and certain problems such as those of orientation and scale remain. Nevertheless, their work provides the only record of these sites, which in the case of the Tahkal Bala remains is detailed enough for a clearer picture to emerge of at least two of the Buddhist monuments, which must have once dominated the landscape of this neighborhood.

APPENDIX A : FIRST SEASON, 1875.

Report by Lieutenant P, Haslett, RE, on the explorations at Tahkal, near Peshawar, during April and May 1875 by the 4th and 8th Companies Sappers and Miners, under command of the late Lieutenant C. A. Crompton, R. E.

Punjab Government Gazetter, Supplement 18th November 1875, 719-20.
Punjab Home Department Proceedings, December 1875, No. 6-A, 903-4.

I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Punjab Government, the following report on the explorations carried on at Tahkal, near Peshawar, during the months of April and May last, by the 4th and 8th Companies of Sappers and Miners under command of the late Lieutenant C. A. Crompton, R. E.

As the excavations at Shah-ji-ki-Dheri gave no results, which seemed to justify the continuation of the work there, the Detachment was withdrawn on the 5th April, and work was commenced on the 6th April at Tahkal.

The site on which these explorations were carried on is to the right of the Peshawar Jumrud Road, about 2 ½ miles from Peshawar Church, and in the angle formed by the junction of the main road with that from the village of Tahkal Bala. There are three months at this spot, which heights are, respectively, 70 feet[451] and 15 feet[452] above the plain (vide Sketch No. 1)[453]. A deep cutting has been made in that on the east side (which is the largest in area) by previous explorers. The

[451] Mound A
[452] Mound B
[453] Mound C

mound to the north is the highest, and is surmounted by a solid tower of mud and boulders. That to the west is smallest both in height and area.

The uncultivated ground between the mound is strewn with large faced stones, which gave indications of the previous existence of buildings. On a closer inspection of the ground, the existence of walls could be surmised, where faced stones cropped up above the surface at intervals in straight lines. These walls were gradually exposed and followed up by laying bare each side of he wall for a depth of about a foot, and the result was the discovery of the foundation of a very large building, or buildings, probably a monastery. The following is a description of the ruins discovered up to the date of leaving off work.

Between the mounds B and C (Sketch No.1) is a square area, a, b, c, d, surrounded by a wall, and this not improbably formed a water tank[454]. It is 250 feet square, but the wall has merely been traced round. So that its depth is at present unknown. Round the edge of the tank is a space 20 feet wide, and this is surrounded by a building, consisting of cells about 50 in number, which probably opened on to the open space round the margin of tank. The outer and inner walls of the cells are 6½ feet thick, and the dividing walls 5½ feet thick. Adjoining the outer wall of the north side of this quadrangle is four (only three fully explored) small courts, also surrounding, or partly surrounded, by cells, as shown on the plan (sketch No.1). There are no traces as yet discovered of similar courts being

[454] Fig 4.

attached to the other sides of the main building. There is a wall round the foot of the smallest mound C., forming a square court, and just including the mound.

The south side of the main building above described is continued eastward for 300 feet, and is similarly divided into cells[455]. This forms the second side of the other rectangular court, probably enclosing the mound B. The third or east side has been traced form the corner e., (Sketch No.1) for a distance of 50 yards. A fourth or north wall is uncovered for about three yards beyond the probable position of the corner at f. Close to the high mound A, also fragments of walls of the same description have been found, including that the buildings extended also in that direction.

Up to the present date the excavation in the mound B, have afforded the most valuable results. Some statues are reported to have been taken from the cutting in the summit by previous explorers. A portion of a very massive building has now been discovered (w. x. y. z., Sketch No. 1)[456]. Plans and sections showing the description of the architecture in detail are given in Sketch No.2. The height of the wall uncovered from the supposed ground level Q to the top of the ruin G, is about 10 feet. The point Q is probably the original ground level, the part of the floor laid bare in front and outside of the wall being pacca [sic] at this level. The thickness of these walls is unknown at present. No excavation having been made behind them. The faces of the building are very short, with columns at the angle (fig. 1,

[455] Wall e.g. incorporating Area B.
[456] Fig. 4. Stupa B; detail of plan and section; fig. 5, sketch 2.1-3.

Sketch No.2). A small portion of a wall V, has also been found on the opposite side of the mound, about the same level as the top of the ruin.

The top of the ruins of the lower buildings, described in paras. 4 and 5, is probably about the original ground level[457], being about the same level generally as the pacca floor discovered at the foot of the high building. No doors or opening of any sort have been found, so that only the foundations of the lower buildings remain. Two cells (m, and n., sketch No.1) have been completely emptied, and the bottom of the wall found at a depth of 5 to 6 feet.

A water channel of pacca masonry (section given in fig.4, Sketch No. 2) leads from the tank, a little below the level of the top of ruins, through the cell m., and its continuation is again found passing through cell.

The walls are all built of massive rubble masonry, of the same description as that described by the late Lieutenant C.A. Crompton, R. E., in his report on the Building ruins at Jamal Garhi, viz., large blocks of varied stone (Granite, lime-stone, and a red shaly stone), the interstices between which are filled in with horizontal slabs or slates from ½ to 1 inch thick, very carefully flitted and laid in mortar, part of the high walls being plastered.

The work ceased on the 12th May, the sepoys being required to assist in suppressing the fire in Peshawar City, and it was not re-commenced, the weather having becoming too hot for work. Both Companies were at work from the 6th to

[457] Containing foundation walls of Area A, B and C.

the 25th April. The 4th Company then went to Cherat, and the 8th Company continued the work until 12th May.

Should explorations be continued at this place next cold season, I think the most interesting results would be obtained by continuing to trace and lay bare the high building, w, x, y, z., all round the mound B., to discovered its form and its walls, as it is very probable that statues, & c., may be found in the interior, I would also suggest an examination of the high mound A, by driving galleries with the aid of the material lately used at Hazar Khani.

Peshawar, 9th August 1875.

APPENDIX B : SECOND SEASON, 1876.

Reported by Lieutenant P. Haslett, R. E., on archaeological exploration at Tahkal near Peshawar.

Punjab Government Gazette, Supplement 30th March 1876, 238-9.
No. 10F. Comp Jani Ka Sung, 25th January 1876.
From – Lieutenant P. Haslett, R.E. Commanding Detachment Sappers and Miners.
To- The Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab, Public Works Department.

I have the honor to report, for the information of the Punjab Government, the results of the archaeological explorations near Peshawar during the past cold season. The work commenced at Tahkal last cold season was continued, viz., tracing the building contained in mound B (Sketch No.3) and exploring mound A.

The mound B was found to contain regular building of the form shown in the Sketch No.3 and of the same section and architecture throughout, as shown in sketch No.2.

There were apparently at the four sides of the building flights of steps, and these faced nearly north, south, east and west.

No back could be found to the walls, and excavation into the mound gave no results, so that it was in all probability a solid tope. The walls were plastered and a specimen of the plaster has been sent to the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar. The height of this mound is about 35 feet above the original ground level.

The mound A is about 70 feet above the ground level, and was built solid. Two concentric walls have been uncovered (Sketch 3)[458]. These are of 16 sides each, and are interior walls, built to give solidity to the structure. They have projecting stones to dovetail into the earth, and stones filled in between. Inside the inner wall are cross walls, generally built as radii from the centre, and earth and round stones were filled in between these walls in horizontal layers, which are easily distinguishable. When excavating the mound lower down, a wall was found built in steps, about 8 inches rise and tread. This I do not think is a portion of the outer wall of the tope, nor could any trace of it be found. The excavation here was exceeding difficult, the mud and stone forming a solid mass-like concrete.

Round the mound A are mere trace of walls (Sketch 3); of these nothing more can be made out than is her shown.

There are traces of walls of a similar description all over the area between the mounds A, B, and C but evidently merely the foundations.

The only sculpture discovered was a small slab, with figures in relief of three persons with snakes growing out of their head.

The square area- a bed – said in my last report to be probably a tank, I now consider was merely a court-yard, as the bottom of the foundations is found at he same level as the bottom of the foundations of the other buildings surrounding.

[458] Fig. 4. Area A.

I am of the opinion that any further explorations at this place would be useless, most of the buildings having been traced as far as is practicable, and I think there is no chance of any sculptures being found here.

The detachment of Sappers and Miners commenced work on the 1st December 1875, and left off on the 13th January 1876, being ordered to Roorkee.

APPENDIX C: Excavation Report by Garrick, 1881-2

H. W. B. Garrick, Report of a tour through Behar, Central India, Peshawar and Yusufzai in 1881-82, Archaeological Survey of India Report, xix, 181-82. No. 37; Takkal Bala, 133-7.

The remarkably tall tope, or stupa, generally known as Takkal Bala ka dehri, being the largest and most important object in the neighborhood of the village from which it derives its name, is situated on the road from the Peshawar cantonment to the Khyber, Jamrud, and c., about a quarter of mile distant from Burj-i-Harisingh where there is a police station.

I found the tope with some difficulty, as there are many ruins in the neighourhood, such as the low mound of rubbish and boulders co-mixed, in which the Sappers and Miners made some excavations a few years ago. This mound is called Dheri Rashakai, and I suspect must be the same that Mr. Belgar formerly took for the remains of a Buddhist monastery. I confess, however, that I failed to make out traces of any cells here, but owing to time, and also, perhaps, to the rains, the Sappers work has been so thoroughly filled in, that this mound now exhibits nothing, though I was informed that it once yielded many fragmentary sculptures; and as my work at Takkal Bala was confined to the excavation of her principal stupa. I was not able to satisfy myself on this point, which is of little moment, as the greater portions of these mounds have already been explored by Sappers. The tope being in the midst of many such barrows, one might naturally have looked among them for a monastery of some kind, as ... Buddhist monks

generally establish themselves in close proximity to such stupas[sic]; but not with standing a due search, I could not fix for certain the site of any monastery..... On constructing the Kucka [sic] road (a branch of the main road to Jamrud) towards Takkal Bala walls, back pottery and debris of sorts were frequently exhumed, also some baker's ovens have curiously been found here a few feet below the ground level. The remains here beside the Great Tope and Dehire Rashakai are those of other Dehries called Kaosir and Bala.

The Takkal Bala topes.... Is built of massive boulders, many of which weigh over half a man each. These boulders are partially dressed, but for the most part were conglomerate stones, imbedded very firmly into a lime-cement or mortar, pieces of which I found adhering to some of the construction stones, and the masonry thus wrought necessitated a free use of the crowbar in its demolition; and it was only when this instrument had been placed in the spaces afforded by crevices between the rocks, that they yielded to constant and vigorous oscillation.

Externally this stupa is quite destitute of embellishments, having no ornamental cornices of paneling of the kind generally found in a more or less injured state on such buildings, and the appearance presented by the tope merely that of a conoid, or semi-spherical, hill, 80 feet high from foot to summit, and 250 feet in diameter at the base, or about 750 feet in circumference.

Owing to material of which this monument is built, General Cunningham opines that it may have been the base, or foundation, of a still higher stupa; but for the following reasons, I think it may..... be called a complete monument; firstly

because its excessive height alone would almost preclude the possibility of its being merely the base of a second stupa, unless such superstructure were unprecedented in height; secondly, as the tope presents a true conoid form, and offers no plateau at the summit upon which a second building could have stood.

Notwithstanding the resistance offered by the peculiarly tough masonry employed in this tope, I managed to excavate rather more than half –or from the summit of the stupa to a little below its centre.....In order to avoid missing any deposit this cupola may have contained, I divided it into four equal parts by a cruciform arrangement of trenches seven or eight feet wide, extending right through the mound and crossing each other at its centre. These trenches, or roads..... were carried down to a depth of nearly 50 feet, or somewhat more than half the entire depth.

Before doing operations here, two colossal male heads and one female head were exhumed. The larger of the former pair clearly represents Buddha in the well-known form of split ears and abundant curly locks; the other male head, from its elaborate head-dress, I should take to be a portrait – most probably of a king. The female head is only remarkable for its excessive ugliness. All these sculptures I felt in safe keeping at Peshawar, as too unwieldy to remove.

I regret that no inscriptions were found here; but if, either by Sappers or others, the excavation of this mound is continued at some future time to ground-level before which the deposit-chamber (if any exist) will probably be reached, a larger share of success than I met with may reasonably be expected from such a work.

APPENDIX D: 1916 Excavation OF MOUND B

V. Natesa Aiyar, Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle, Annual Report, 1915-16, 1 – 2.

Here I may mote that, on the 12th January 1816, I received information through my assistant that an ancient mound in the precinct of the Islamia College, Peshawar, was being levelled up under the orders of the College Committee, and that in the course of the clearance they had lighted upon remains of an old stupa. I at once went and inspected the spot, and after satisfying myself that the ruins really consisted of the plinth of stupa of massive proportions, wrote to the Secretary to the Committee offering my help to ensure the proper conduct of the work, and suggesting the lines on which it had to be carried out. The work has now practically come to a close and I understand that a few coins and a few antiquities only have been discovered. As these finds are governed by the Treasure Trove Act (XII of 1891) I would suggest for the consideration of the Local Government that they should be submitted to my Department for examination and acquisition. If desirable, for the Peshawar Museum. It is also essential that the stupa from which these objects were recovered should be declared protected and kept in proper repair for the benefit of the public. On reference to the old records and reports in my office it seems to me that the mound in question is the same as that excavated by a company of Sappers and Miners as long ago as 1875 A.D.

V. Natesa Aiyar, Archaeological Survey of India Frontier Circle, Annual Report 1916-17, 5-6.

Tahkal Bala:

In my last report I referred briefly to certain excavations conducted by the Islamia College authors at Peshawar in their own grounds. These have now come to a close, and Mr. Watkins, Head Master of the Collegiate High School who was in charge of the operations, has kindly sent me a note on the same from which I extract the following information:

The present stupa mound is the smaller of the two which were partially excavated by a company of Sappers and Niners under Lieutenant Haslett as long ago as 1875, and of which an account is published in Punjab Gazette of the following year. Along with that account Mr. Haslett has given a plan of the present building and also of an extensive monastery close by, of which all that is left at this time are the bare outlines. Mr. Haslett's measurements, however, are not wholly accurate, and he seems further to have reconstructed the plan of the monument before it was completely exposed. Reference is also made to this site by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his report for the year 1881-82, and other explorers too, such as Dr. Bellew, are said to have taken away sculptures from here or the neighouring mound of Burj Hari Singh.

Tahkal : The Nineteenth Century Record of Two Lost Gandhara Sites.

The stupa, as now exposed, stands on a brick platform and seems to have been cruciform in shape with a stairways leading up to its berm at each one of the cardinal points. Its plinth is square in plan, measuring 118 feet on each side excluding the step, and is faced with massive lime stone blocks in the later semi-

ashlar and semi –diaper style. The mouldings and pilasters on the plinth, as well as the masonry courses at the salient and re-entering angles are of Kanjur, while the interstices between the masonry are filled in with bricks and chips of slate as in the Kanishka chaitya at Peshawar. These mouldings, it may be observed, are of tours and scotia order of the later variety. Above them are situated pilasters with Corinthian capitals set at intervals of three feet. The plinth is built in terraces slightly set back from each other and covered over with a thick coat of stucco. This stucco coating is still intact on the eastern face of the monument, where is also to be seen the deep red paint with which its surface was originally illuminated.

Whether the plinth was relieved by Buddha and Budhisattava figures, as is the case with similar memorials in the Peshawar Valley, it is not possible to say at present, neither is it possible to determine the nature and elevation of the drum and dome of the stupa, as there are no vestiges left of them.

The core of the stupa is of rough rubble, being made up of river-worn pebbles and clay, and, when a pit was sunk in the centre, it revealed, at a depth of 6'6" below the surface of the mound, a relic chamber, measuring 1'9" square. The sides of this chamber are constructed of four blocks of Kanjur, while, covering the whole bottom, was a large slab of slate about five feet square and four inches thick. The chamber seems to have been closed from above by means of four roughly dressed stones, for these were found lying in it along with the relic deposit. Of this deposit, however, all that has survived are five copper coins attributable to the

Kushan king Vasudeva; but it is presumable that there were also some bones, which in course of time had got reduced to ashes.

There is nothing especially worth recording among the antiquities recovered from this site. These are very few in number, and mostly consist of pieces of pottery and sculptural fragments.

As to the date of the monument, I am inclined to think that the style of masonry as well as the coins and other antiquities unearthed here betoken the close of the third or the beginning of the fourth century A.D. as the probable period of its construction.

It remains to add that along the edge of the brick platform on which the stupa stands are traces of walls which, presumably, are the only remnants left of the circle of chapels which once surrounded the stupa, remains of Gandhara walling are also found on the bigger mound close by, which, when finally explored, may prove to contain some important monument.

The principle contribution of Gandhara to architecture was in the development of buildings dedicated to the Buddhist religion.[459] Shah-ji-ki-Dehri like Takhat-i-Bahi has a plan of connector cells for the accommodation of the monks, probably some niches were also there to house the devotional objects.

A veritable Buddhist wonder of the Buddhist world was the most famous stupa of Shah-ji-ki-Dehri in Gandhara.

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[459] Rowland B : 1971 : 87

It was raised by King Kanishka in Peshawar. Excavation of Shah-ji-ki-Dehri has revealed a square platform highly decorated with stucco – images of Buddha, and with staircases ascending to the second floor. Sung Yun a Chines pilgrim who came here in sixth century A.D. inform us; the superstructure was built of 'every kind of wood and the monument in thirteen storeys rose to a height of seven hundred feet; and was dominated by an iron mast supporting thirteen gilded copper umbrellas, and element which through its attraction of lighting led to the destruction of the tower.

Appendix E: The inscription on the so-called Kaniska casket

Harry Falk

The text on the casket has been edited several times; the version in konow (1929, p. 137) is unfortunately cited to this day,[3] in stern defiance of recent research, done by Mukherjee (1964 and 1989) and Fussman (1987, p. 77f).

> The text is written in four lines around the casket and on the lid. It is the sequence of these four lines which is the topic of this paper, expanding on an earlier note (Falk 2001b, p. 595). In all editions hitherto, the text appears strangely distorted, not answering the requirements of syntax and, in edition, with several truncated words. In this sequel, I would like to show that a simple look at the object leads to a much improved text. The four lines from top to bottom are:
>
> 1. The top of the lid is decorated with concentrically arranged lotus leaves, each separated by a vertical line. On most leaves two letters are punched, one to the left and the other to the right of the central vertical line.the top-most text thus hands the casket into the case of the Sarvastivadin teachers. Konow reads correctly:
>
> acaryana sarvastivatina pratigrahe

usually this formula is found at the end of a dedication. This independent sentence certainly does not start the text.

2. On the vertical sides of the lid a row of flying geese is found. In-between every pair of geese some 3-5 letters are incised. In two places the text is completely eroded. In one of these eroded spaces Konow expected the proper beginning of the text, starting with a date. He had only rubbings of the frgments and he did not realise that he in fact started reading the text from the back of the lid. Since the lid is crowned by a seated Buddha and two attendants, it is perfectly clear that the eye of any onlooker would start from a point directly in front of the Buuddha, running clock-wise aroundthe band. In konow's edition it reads:

sam [1 ma][haraja*] sa Kani(ni)[skhasa*]. Imana (na)g(r)ar[e] [dha]..g(r)aryaka

A big step forward was made by B.N. Mukherjee (1964), who, after inspecting the electrotype copy at the British Museum, read:

...jasa kani kaniskapure nagare ayam gamdha-karamde

This reading is accepted by Fussman (1987, p.79).

3. The third line is found on the casket body itself, dispersed between the heads of the king, gods and cupids. Its reading is not disputed:

deyadharme sarva satvana hita suhartha bhavatu.

S.R.A.A..VIII (2002)

4. The fourth line stands below the third; the letters are dispersed between the legs of the diverse figures. It was read as

dasa agisala navakarmia [Ka*]ne(ne)shkasa vihare mahasena(na) s(am)gharame

by konow (1929, p. 137) and translated as "the slave Agisala was the architec, -in Kaniska's Vihara, in Mahasena's Samgharama". This line was improved quite early by Burrow (1944), who did away with the "slave Agisala". The most recent improvement comes from Fussman, who corrected Mukharjee's

...sa agisala navakarmmia[sic] (ka*)naskara vihare mahasenasa s(am)gharame

into a re-arranged and much better

mahasenasa samgharaksidasa amgisala-nava-karmiana skasa vihare,

translated as "(Gift of) Mahasena <and> Samgharaksita, the service monks in charge of the fire-room in the <.>ska monastery" (Fussman 1984, p. 79a). Mukherjee (1989) accepts the letter ksi and insists on Kaniska I as the donor of the casket.

With the permission of the director and the curator, I was allowed to inspect the original casket at the Peshawar Museum for several hours in early October 2000. The incised letters are very difficult to read, and look very different when viewed in full sunlight or in shade. My first impression was that the traditional beginning on the side of the lid must be wrong since it starts at the back of the lid; my second thought concerned the meaning of the sentences, which appeared, as a result, so strangely fragemented. The riddle was soon solved by simply starting all lines in the middle of the casket, right under the Buddha and to the left of the royal figure, both of whichleave no doubt that they once commanded the centre of the composition. With this clue, it became apparent that the lines have to be read in the succession 2-4-3[1]. This means, the scribe started in the centre of the lid, to the left of the first goose, writing:

(goose 1) ka ni s[ka pu] (goose 2) re na ga (goose 3) re [a] yam ga dha [ka] (goose 4) ram de (1 or 2 letters obliterated) ta or I (goose 5) all letters obliteratd (goose 6) ja sa ka ni (goose1).

This amounts to:

Kaniskapure nagare[4] ayam gadhakaramde.. ta/I ..... jasa kani.

Konow was perfectly right when he expected the jasa to be the end of an original maharajasa. But then why should the line end so abruptly in kani? If this is the beginning of kaniskasa, where then is the rest of the name?it can be found to the left of the royal figure in line 4, where the text continues: skasa vihare mahasena samgharaksitasa agisala-navakarmiana. Now this line again ends oddly with a gentive hanging in the air, until we continue in line 3 above, again starting to the left of the middle of the front, where we get deyadharme sarvasatvana hitasuhartha bhavatu. Line 1 on top of the lid presents the usual final phrase, placed apart, as on the Wardak vase, on a separate line (Konow 1929, p. 170).

The whole text thus looks like this:

2: kaniskapure nagare ayam gadhakaramde.. ta/I (mahara)jasa kani

4: skasa vihare mahasenasa samgharaksitasa agisala-navakarmiana

3: deyadharme(.) sarvasatvana hitasuhartha bhavatu(.)

1: acaryana sarvastivatina pratigrahe

"In the town Kaniskapura this perfumebox ... is the pious donation of the architects of the fire-hall, viz. Of Mahasena (and) Samgharaksita, in the monastery (founded by) the (Mahara)ja Kaniska.

May it be for the welfare and happiness of all beings.

In the acceptance of the teachers of the Sarvastivada school".

The structure of the first sentence seems to forbid the restoration of any sort of date for the missing letters, which Mukherjee has discarded as well, but which is still present in the translation of Fussman (1984, p. 79a), "[In the year x of the great king]".

When reporting this reading to R. Salomon, he kindly drew my attention to the article written in Japanese by Sadakata (1998), who, likewise, starting from the original casket (then in Tokyo) had linked lines 2 and 4. But his sequence is [1]-[3]-2-4 and he regards line 3 as also independent: "May this religious gift be for the wlfare and happiness of all beings", whereas in awkward sequence must be due to a miscalculation on the part of the engraver: he punched line 2 and thought he could end the sentence in line 4 near the base of the body of the casket. But after filling the available space, he still had one word left. This he could only write in the space between lines 2 and 4. So having ended the sentence with deyadharme, he then completed another full line by adding the stock phrasesarvasatvana hitasuhartha bhavatu.

NOTES

1. The direct translation of this coloured plan (Hargreaves 1914, pl. XIII) into black and white (Errington 1987, p. 316, fig.8) led Kuwayama (1997, p. 20) incorrectly to attribute Hargreaves' chronological interpretation to me. My discussionin the article cited solely concerned the bastions of Hargreaves' phase 3, not the other structural features of the stupa.

2. According to Harry Falk, in Sanskrit the word would be nava-karmikanam, the genitive plural of navakarmika, meaning "renovator".like modern architects, they seem to be the brains behind the constructions, building anew as well as doing repair work. The term seems to be found exclusively in Buddhist contexts.
3. Satya Shrava 1993, p. 140; Nasim Khan 1999, p. 196, where a second, uninscribed casket of a similar style is presented.
4. Kaniskanag(r) are Mukherjee and Fussman regard it as a diacritical mark, Fussman (1987, p. 79b) referring to Brough (1962, p. 58, &4). I take it as a plain ga, and interpret the stroke as a mark developed to distinguish a ga from other "one-legged" letters on coins, where very often only the lower part is visible.

Fig-1. Map: Achaemenian Period (after Ali 2003).

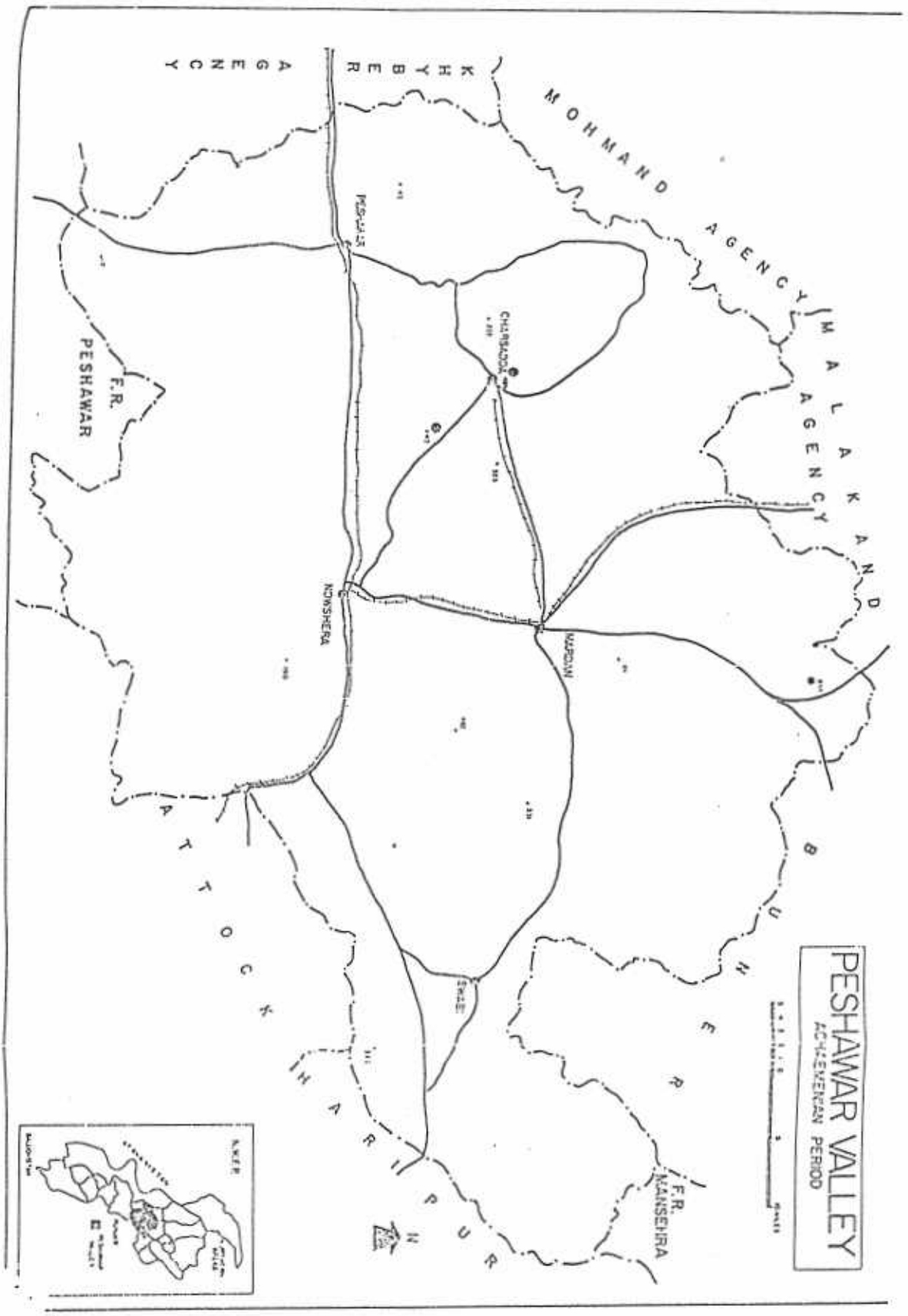


Fig II. Mauryan Period in the Valley of Peshawar (after Ali 2003).

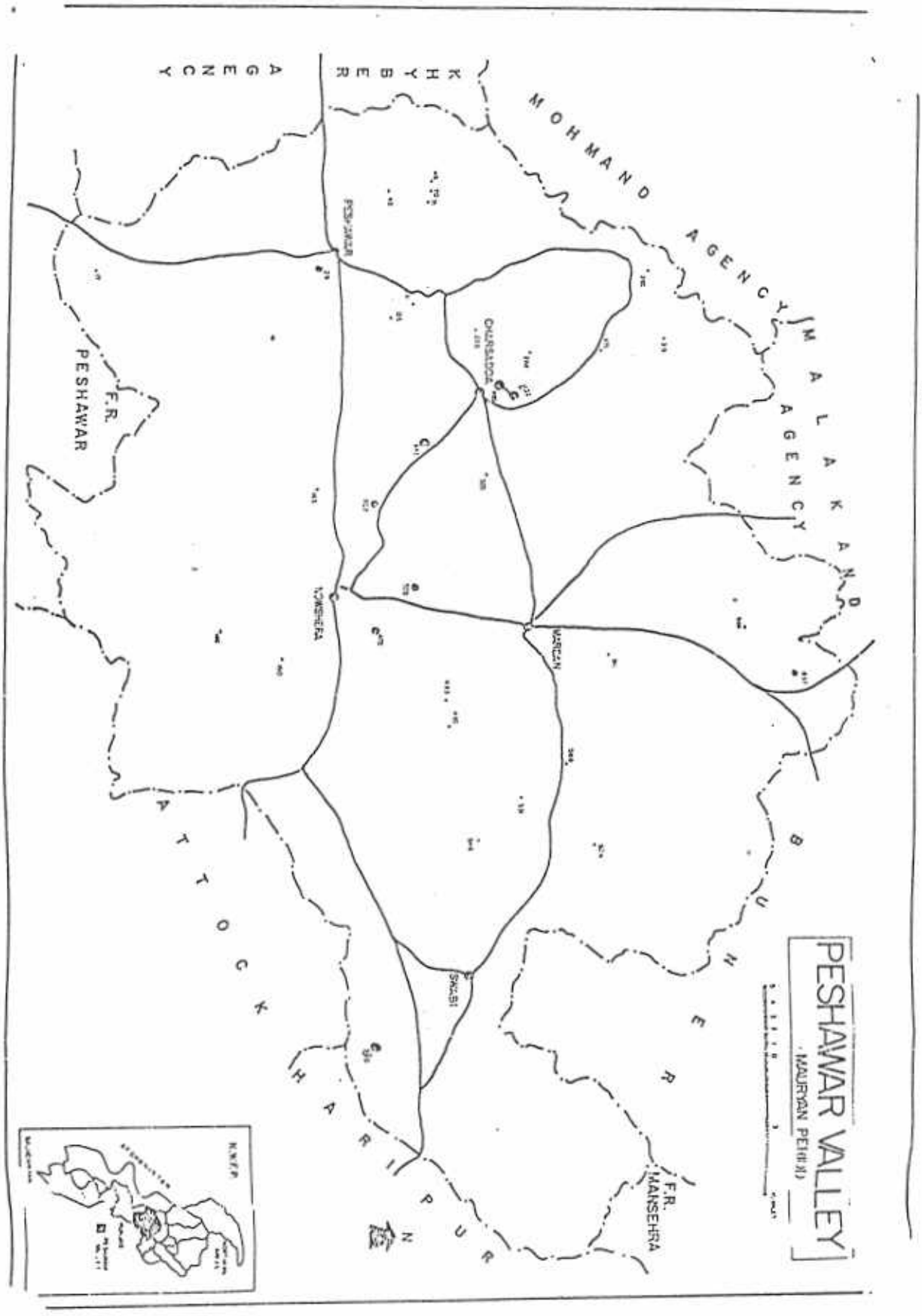


Fig III. Peshawar Valley During the Indo-Greek Period (after Ali 2003).

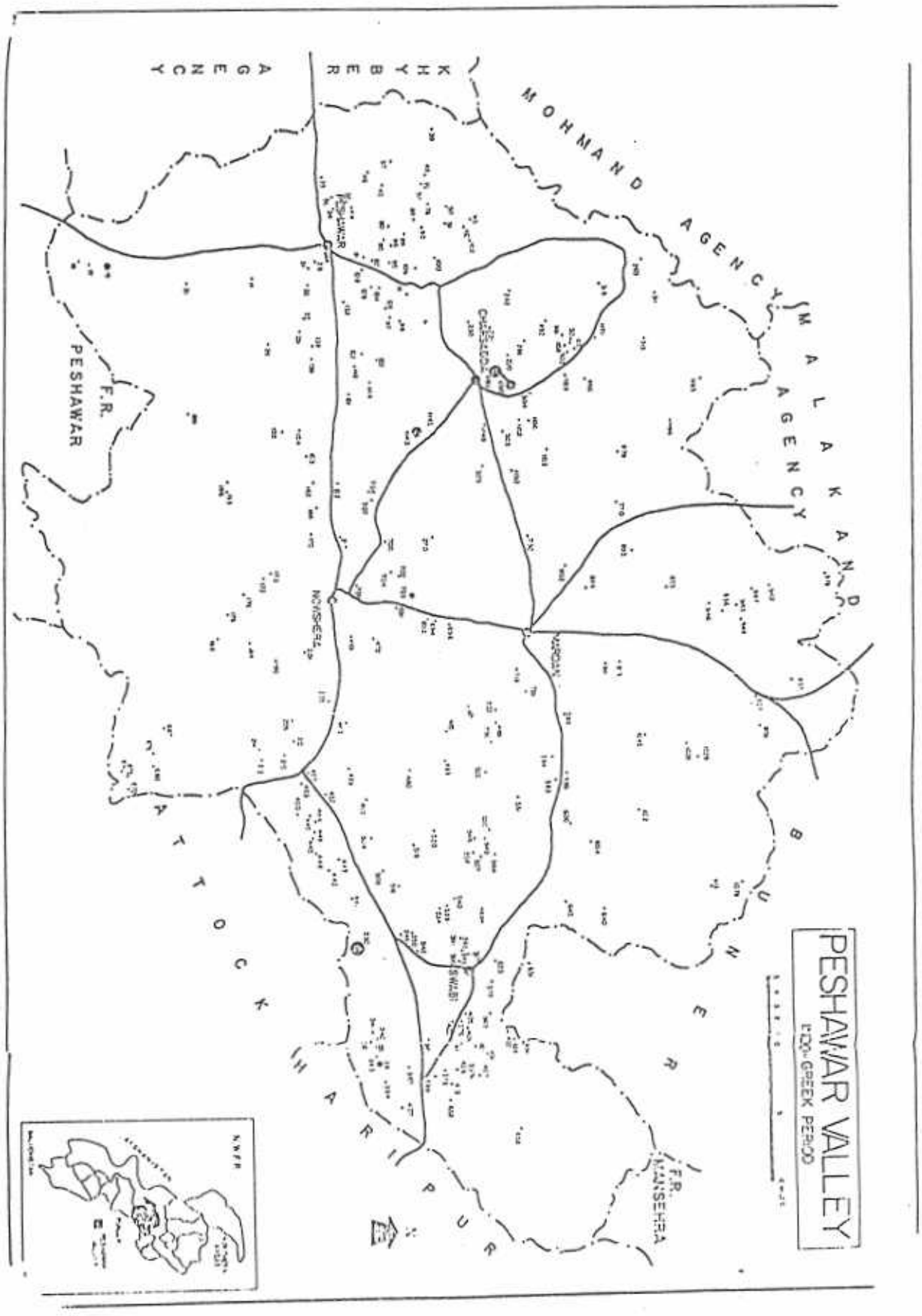


Fig IV. Map Showing Scytho-Parthian Period(after Ali 2003).

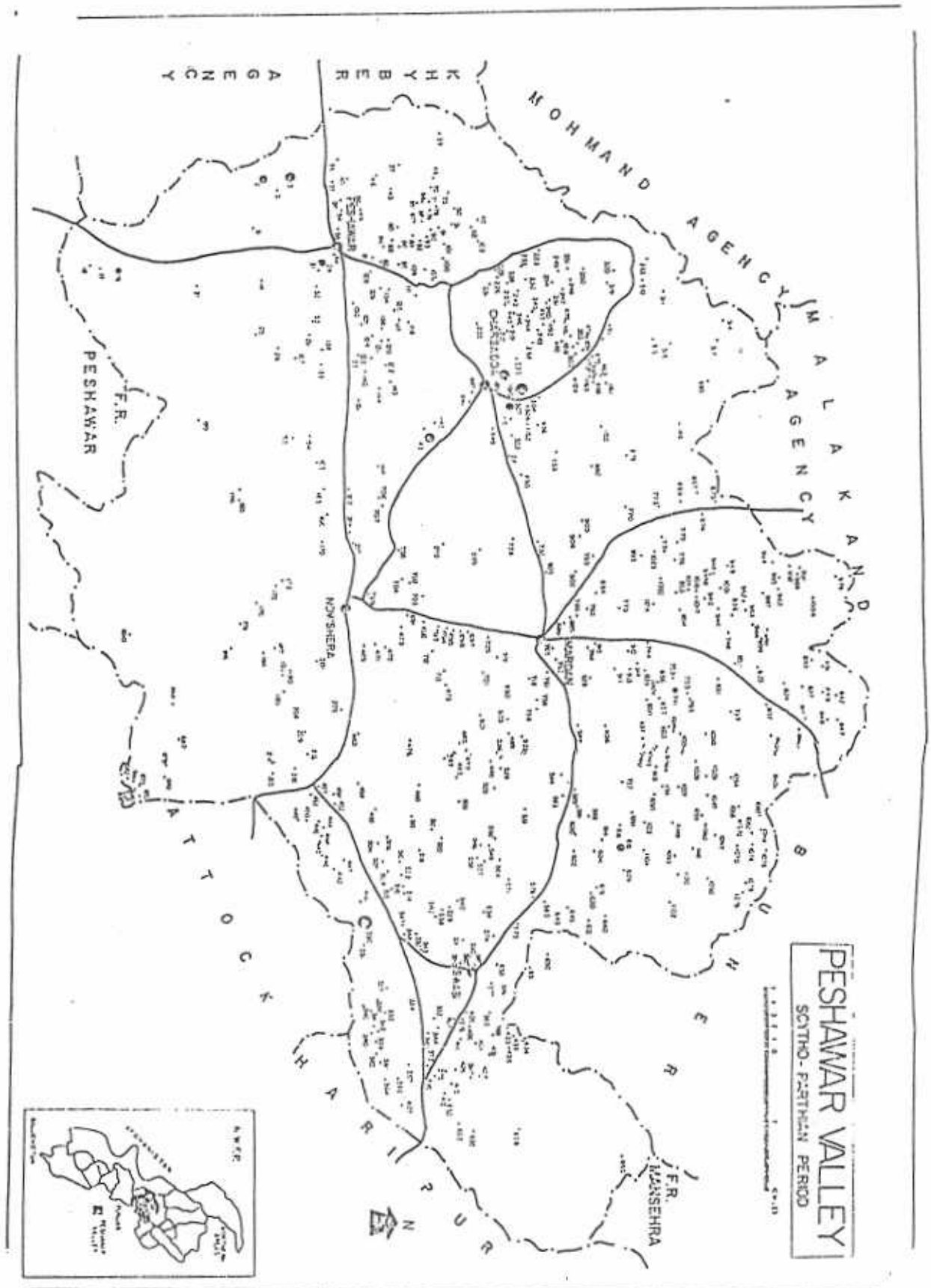


Fig V. Map of the Kushan Times in the Valley Peshawar (after Ali 2003).

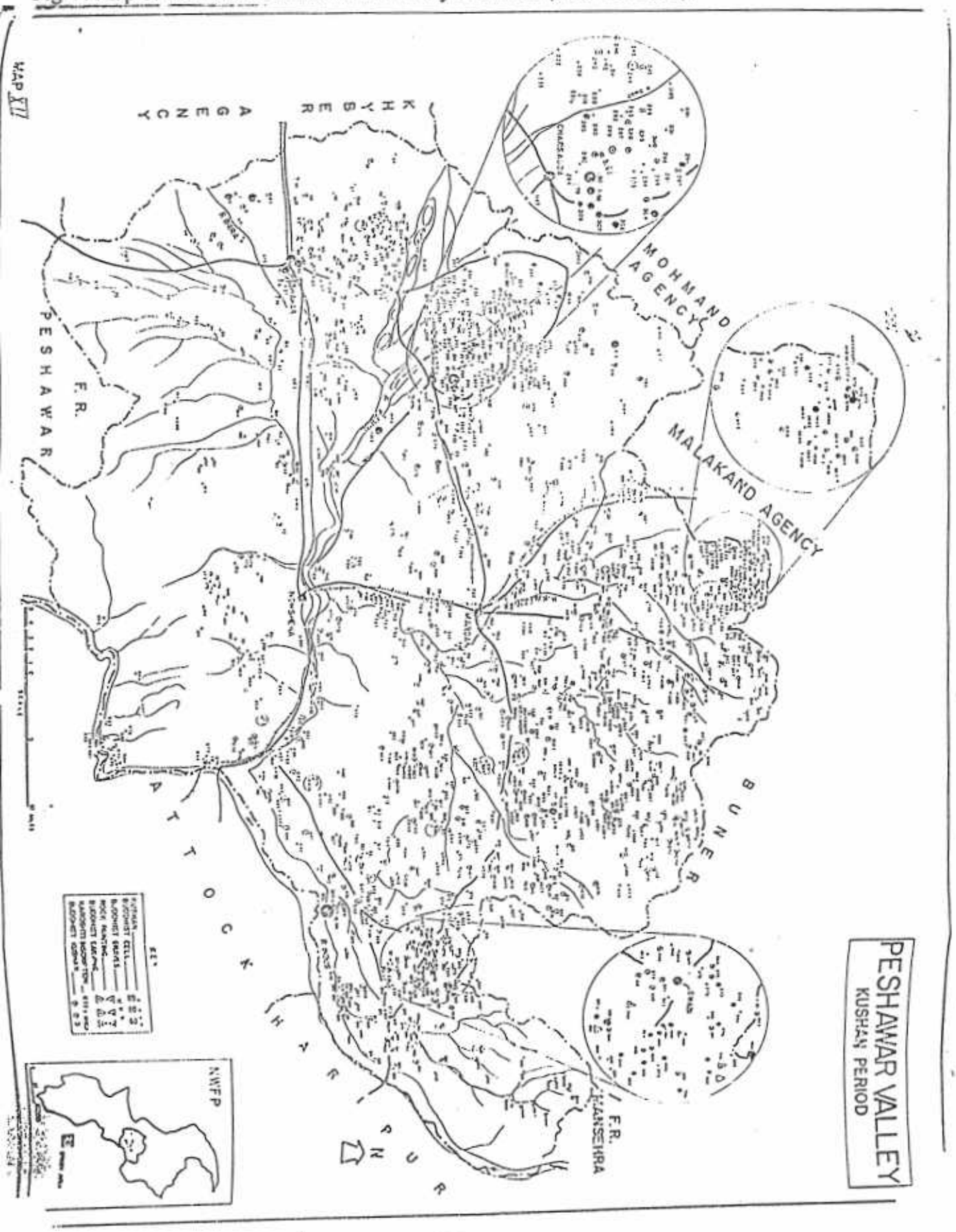


Fig VI Showing Irrigation in the Peshawar Valley (after Ali 2003).

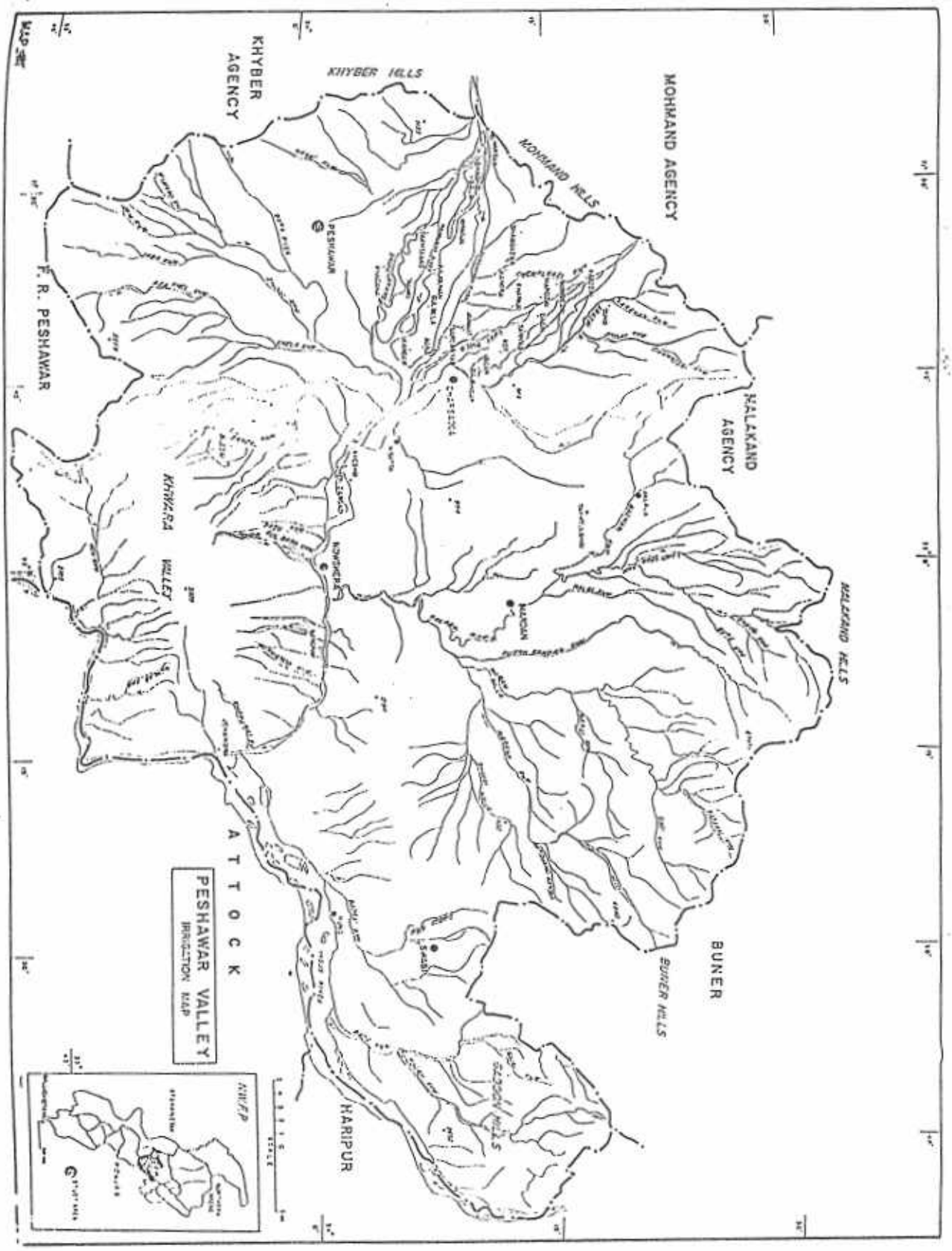


Fig VII. Land Use Map of the Peshawar Valley (after Ali 2003).

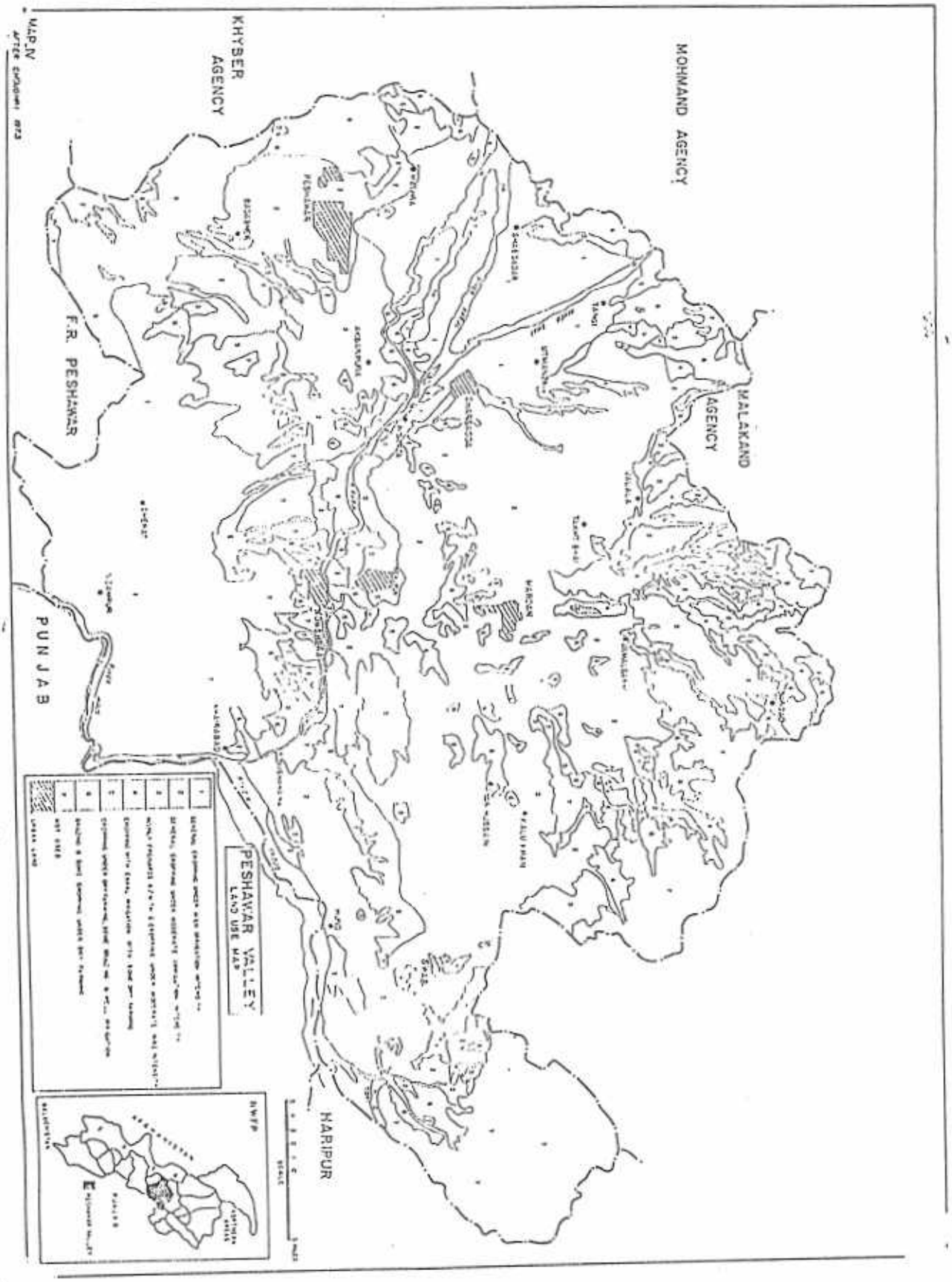


Fig VIII. Physiographic Map of the Peshawar Valley (after Ali 2003).

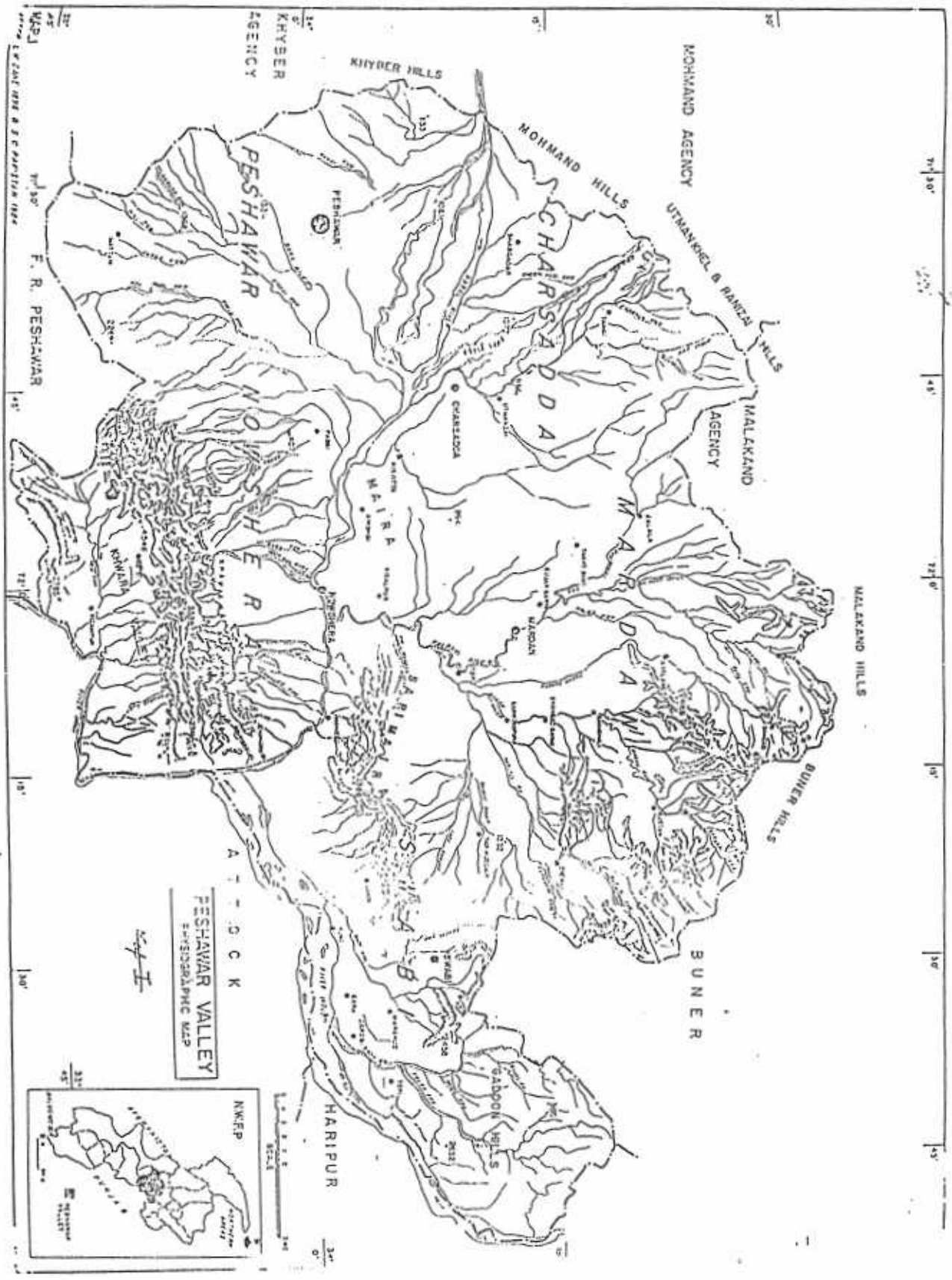


Fig IX. Soil and Landform at the Valley of Peshawar(after Ali 2003).

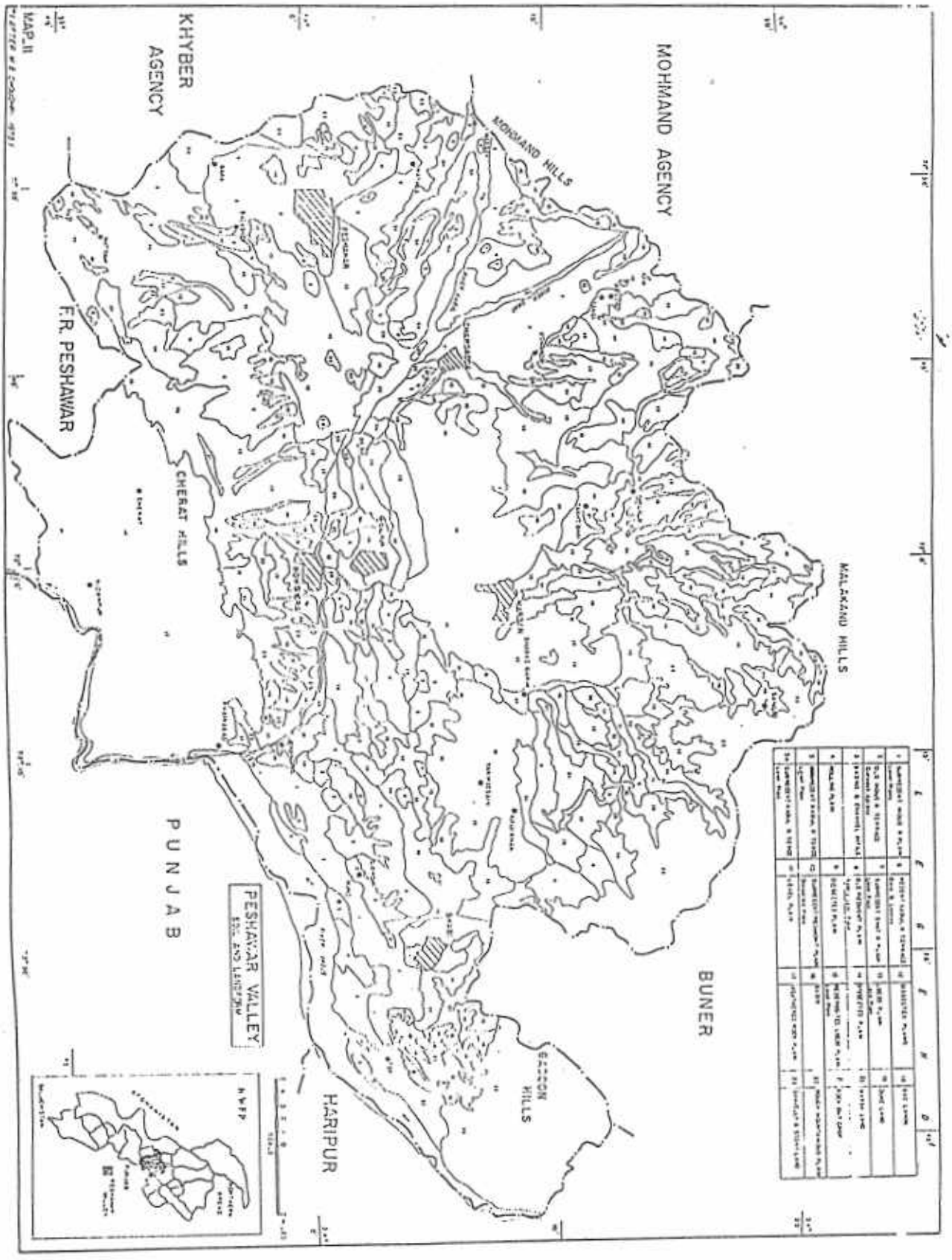
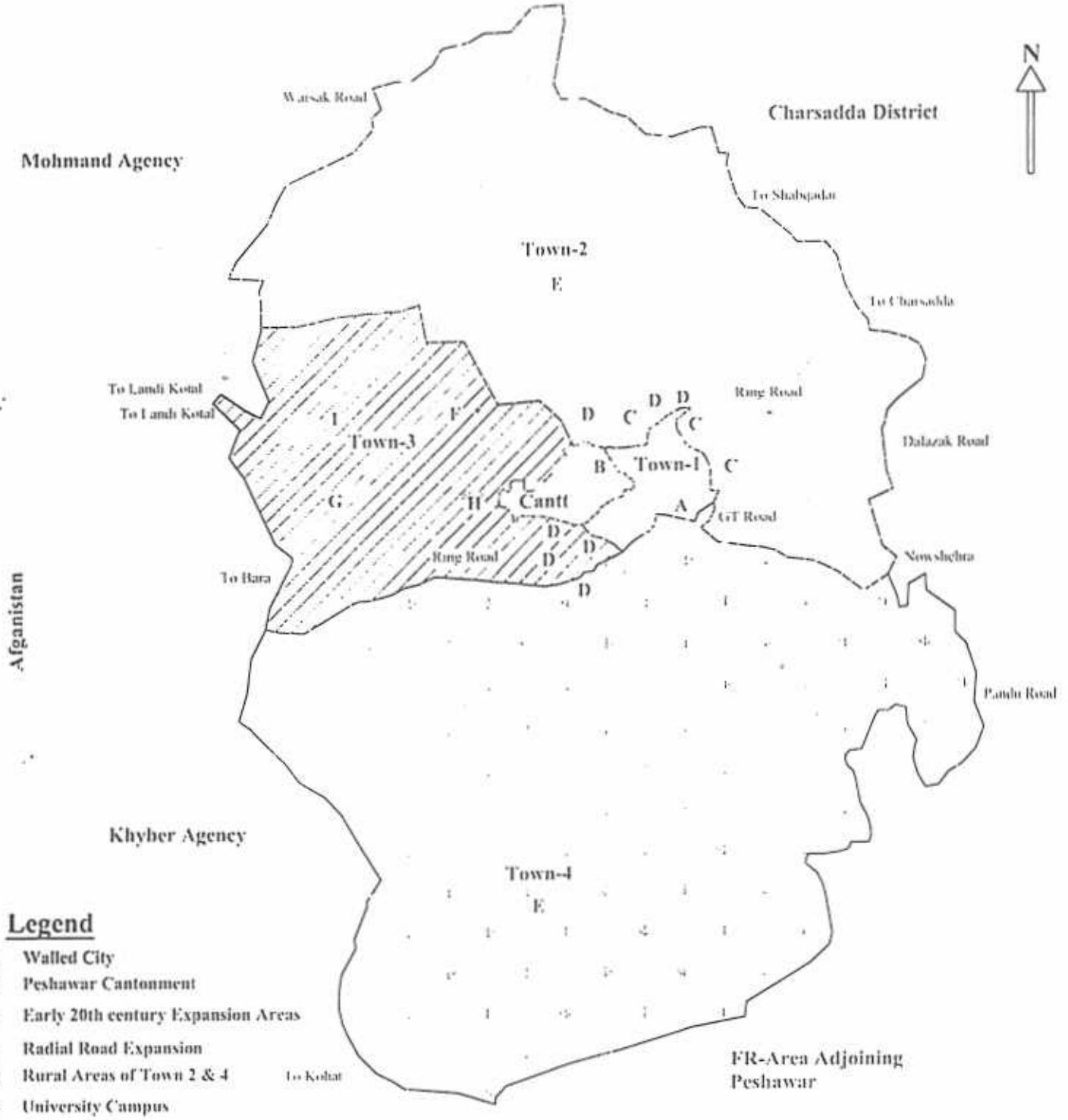


Fig X. Map Showing the Present Division of The Peshawar City District.

PESHAWAR CITY DISTRICT



Legend

- A Walled City
- B Peshawar Cantonment
- C Early 20th century Expansion Areas
- D Radial Road Expansion
- E Rural Areas of Town 2 & 4
- F University Campus
- H University Town
- G Hayatabad
- I Afghan Refugee Camps

Major Roads

Railway Line

Position of Ring Road is approximate

Area Legend

Total Area of Peshawar District = 1257 sq.km

Town-1	25.14 sq.km	2%
Town-2	427.38 sq.km	34%
Town-3	175.98 sq.km	14%
Town-4	615.93 sq.km	49%

Fig XI. Map of the old City (13th -19th century A.D) (after Hussain 1999).

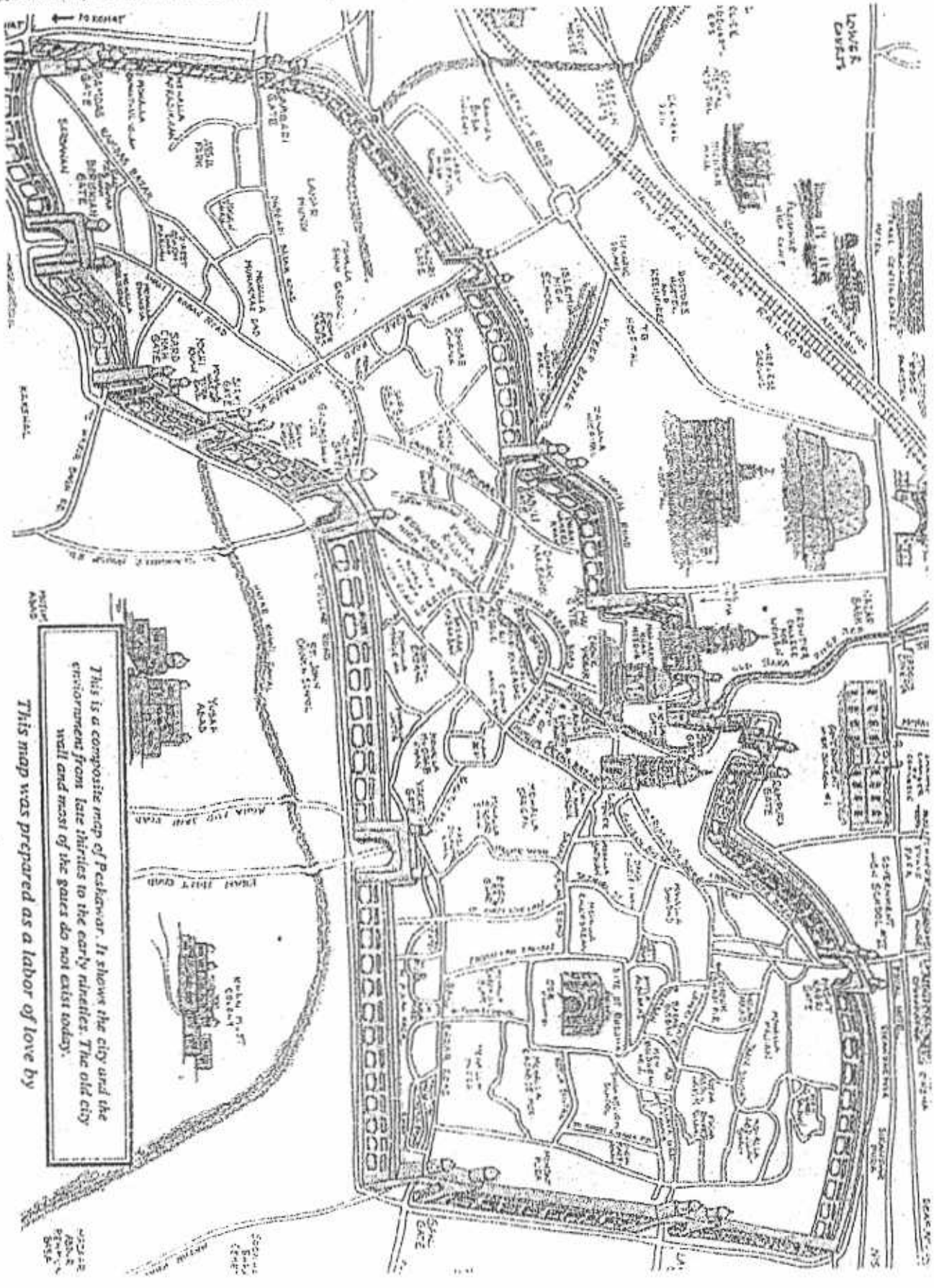
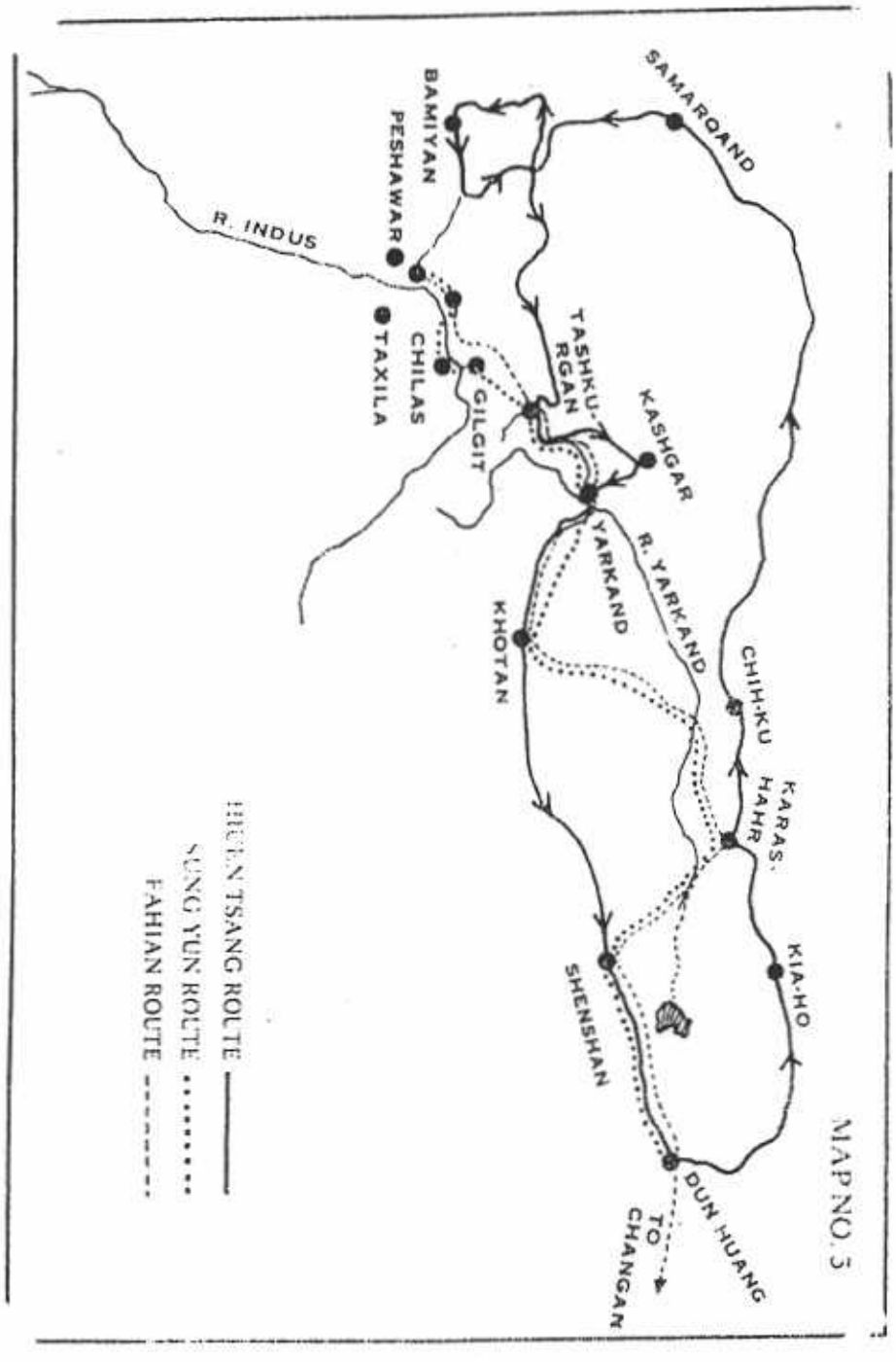


Fig XII. Map Showing Route of the Chinese Pilgrim to Peshawar. (after Dani.1995)



Map XIII. Pilgrim Route from China (after Rewatha 2000)

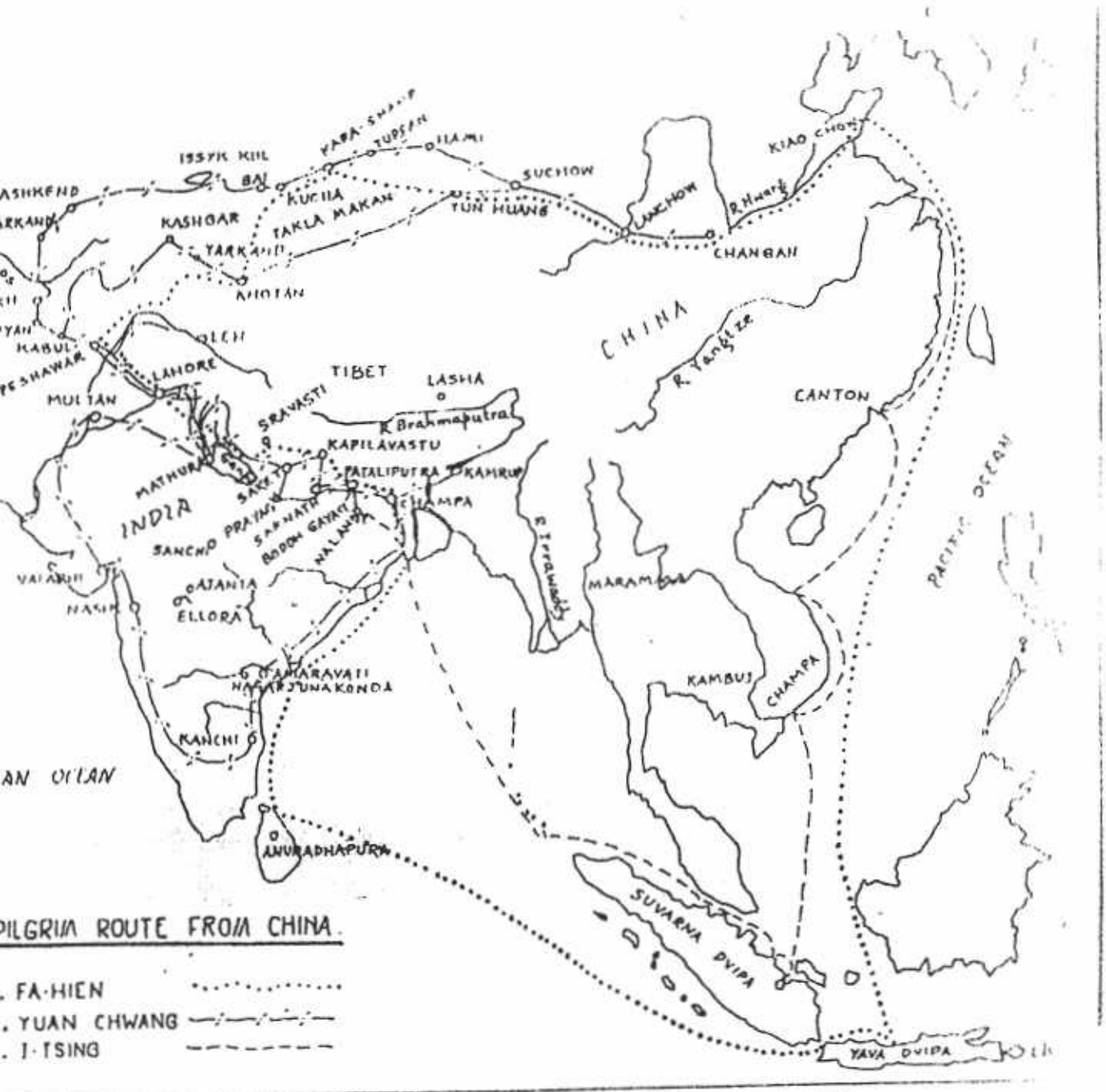
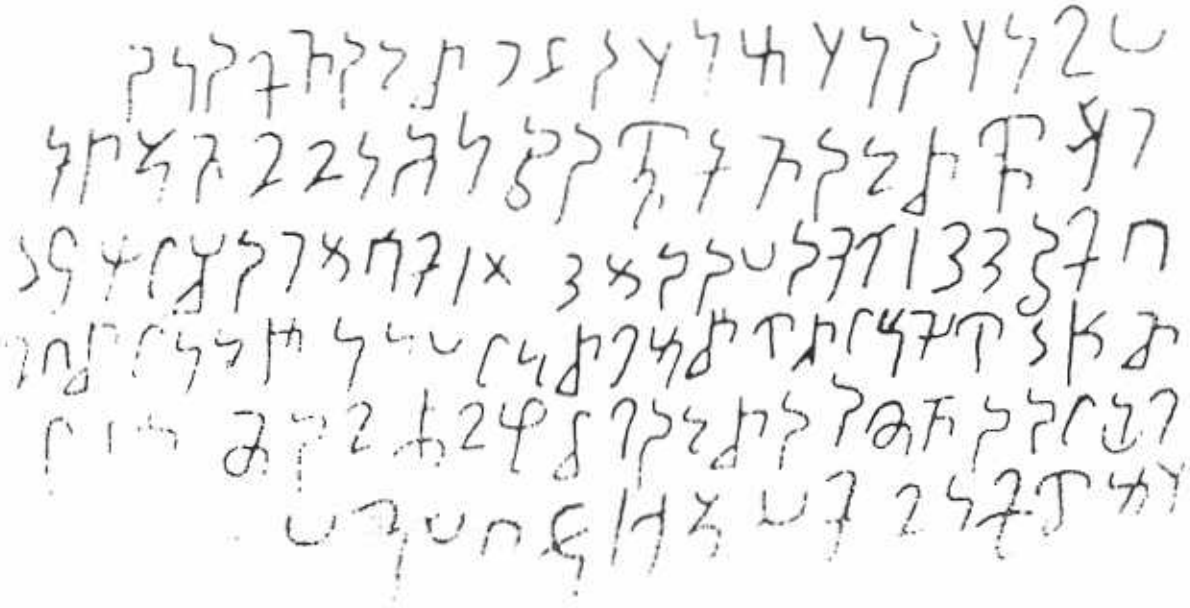


Fig XIV Kharoshthi Record form Ara near Attock (after Dani 1995:43 & 195-6)



(To be read from right to left)
Poshapura (Peshawar) in the oldest text

Translation

"During the reign of the Maharaja, Devaputra, Kaisara, Kanishka, the son of Vajheshka, in the forty-first year-41-on the 25th day of the month Jyaishtha, this well was dugs by Dashavhara, of the Peshawarian scions, in honour of his mother and father, for the benefit of himself with his wife and son for the welfare of all beings in the (various) births. And, having written this (might there) for me.....

Reading of the text.

Maharajasa rajatirajasa divaputrasa kaisarasa Vajheshka putrasa Kanishkasa sambatsarae ekachapari Sai Sam 20 20 1 Jethasa masasa di 20 + 1 ise divasakshunami khade kupe Dashavharena Poshapuriaputrana matarapitarana puyae atmanasa sabharyasa saputrasa anugraharthae sarvasapa[na]tishu imo cha likkiya me dhama[16].

Fig XV. Figure Showing Plan of Stupa at Tehkal Bala (Drawn after E. Errington 1987)

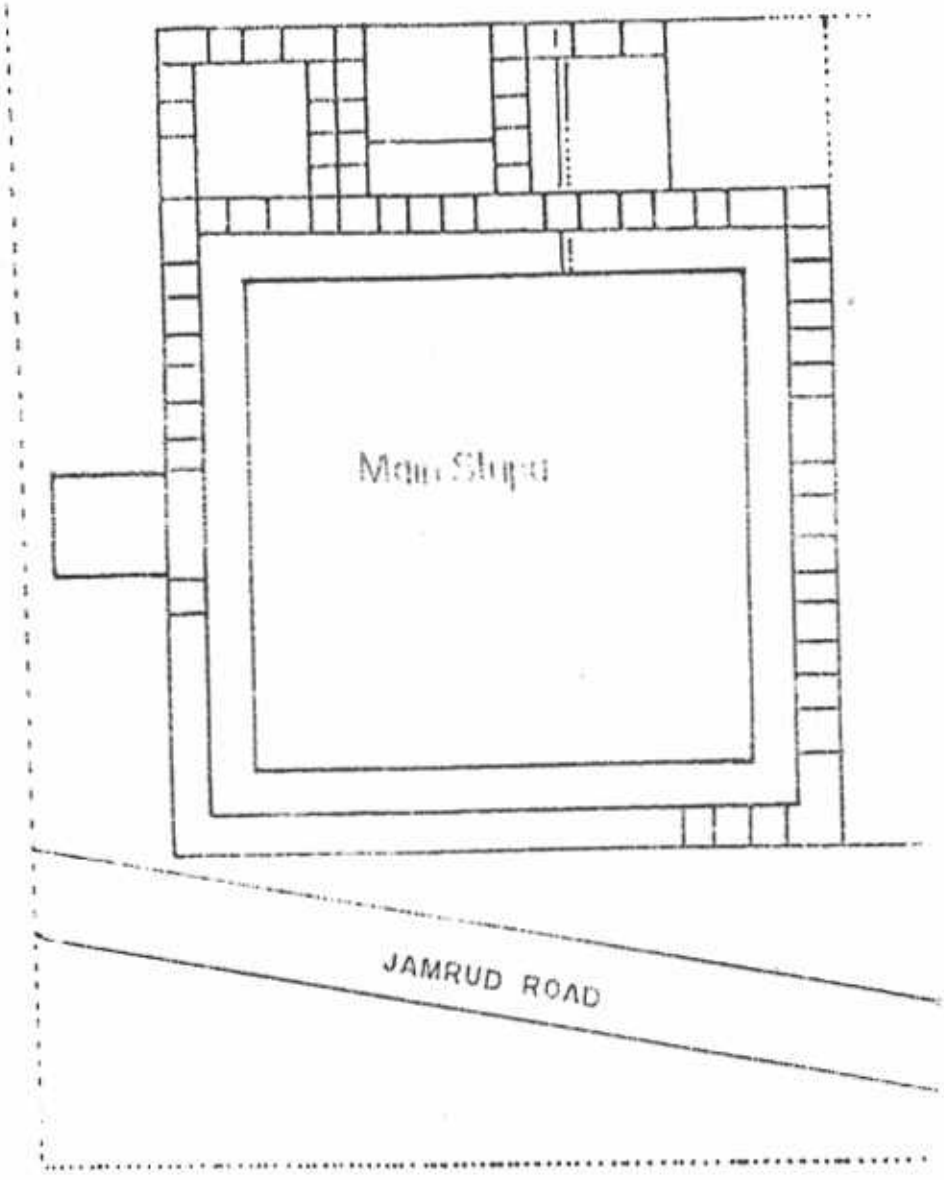


FIG.
PLAN OF STUPA
TEHKAL BALA DRAWN AFTER
E.ERRINGTON.

Fig XVI Showing Shah-Ji-Ki-Dheri. Plan & C/Section (Drawn after Kuwayama 1997).

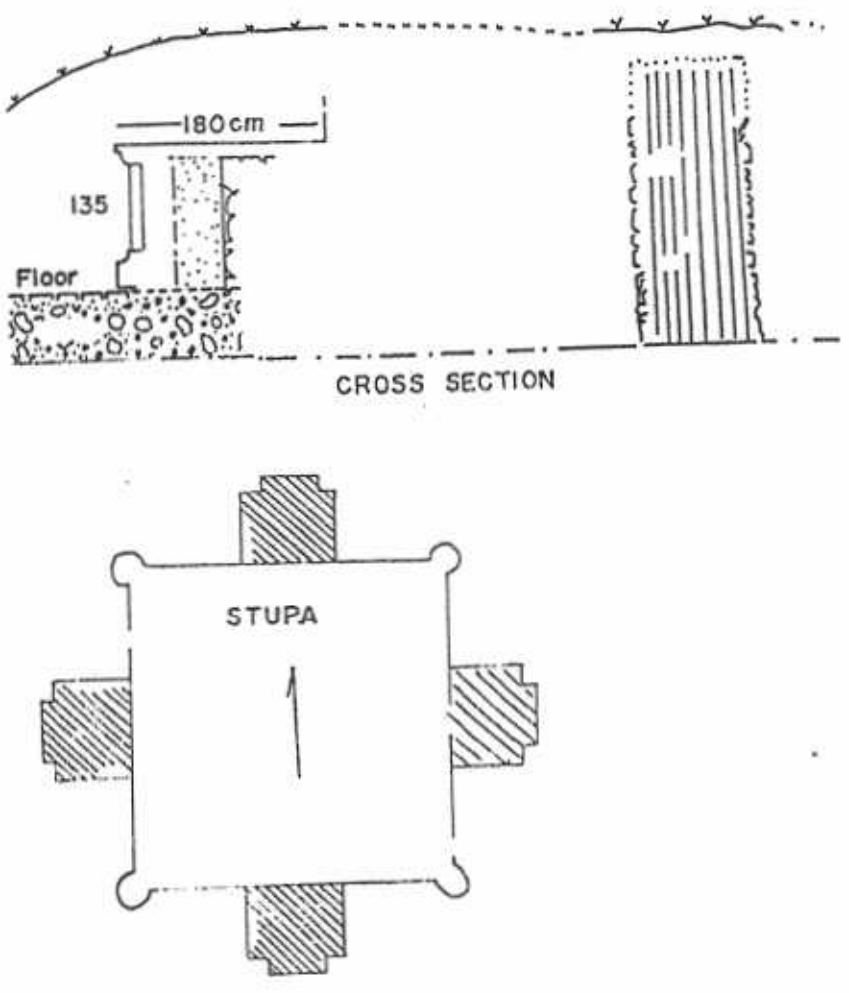


FIG.
SHAH-JI-KI DHERI.
PLAN & C/SECTION DRAWN AFTER KUWAYAMA.

Fig XVII. Shah-Ji-Ki-Dheri. Plan of the Main Stupa (Drawn after Kuwayama 1997).

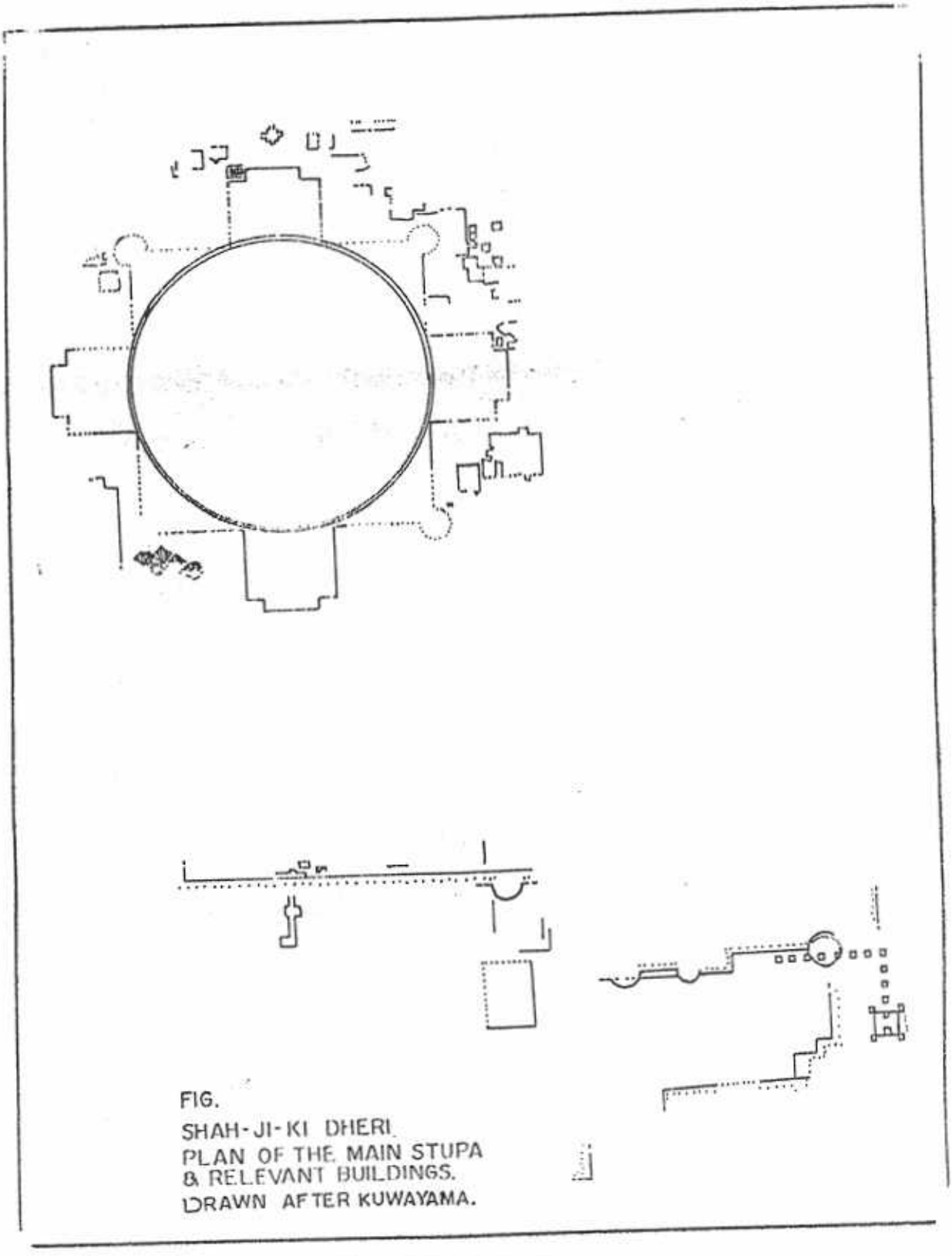


Fig. XVIII. Pottery (Drawn after Kuwayama 1997).

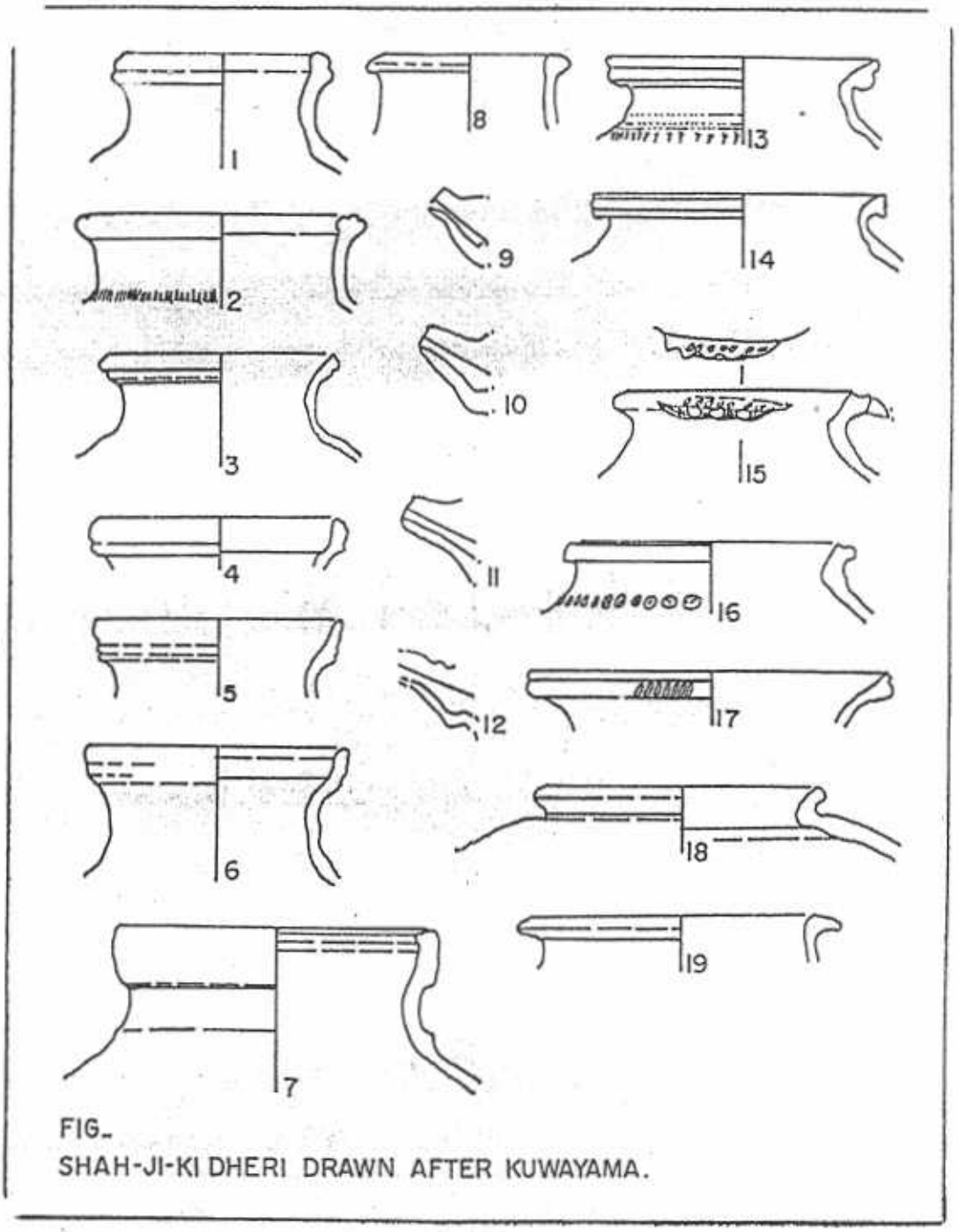


FIG.
SHAH-JI-KI DHERI DRAWN AFTER KUWAYAMA.

Fig. XIX. More Pottery (Drawn after Kuwayama 1997).

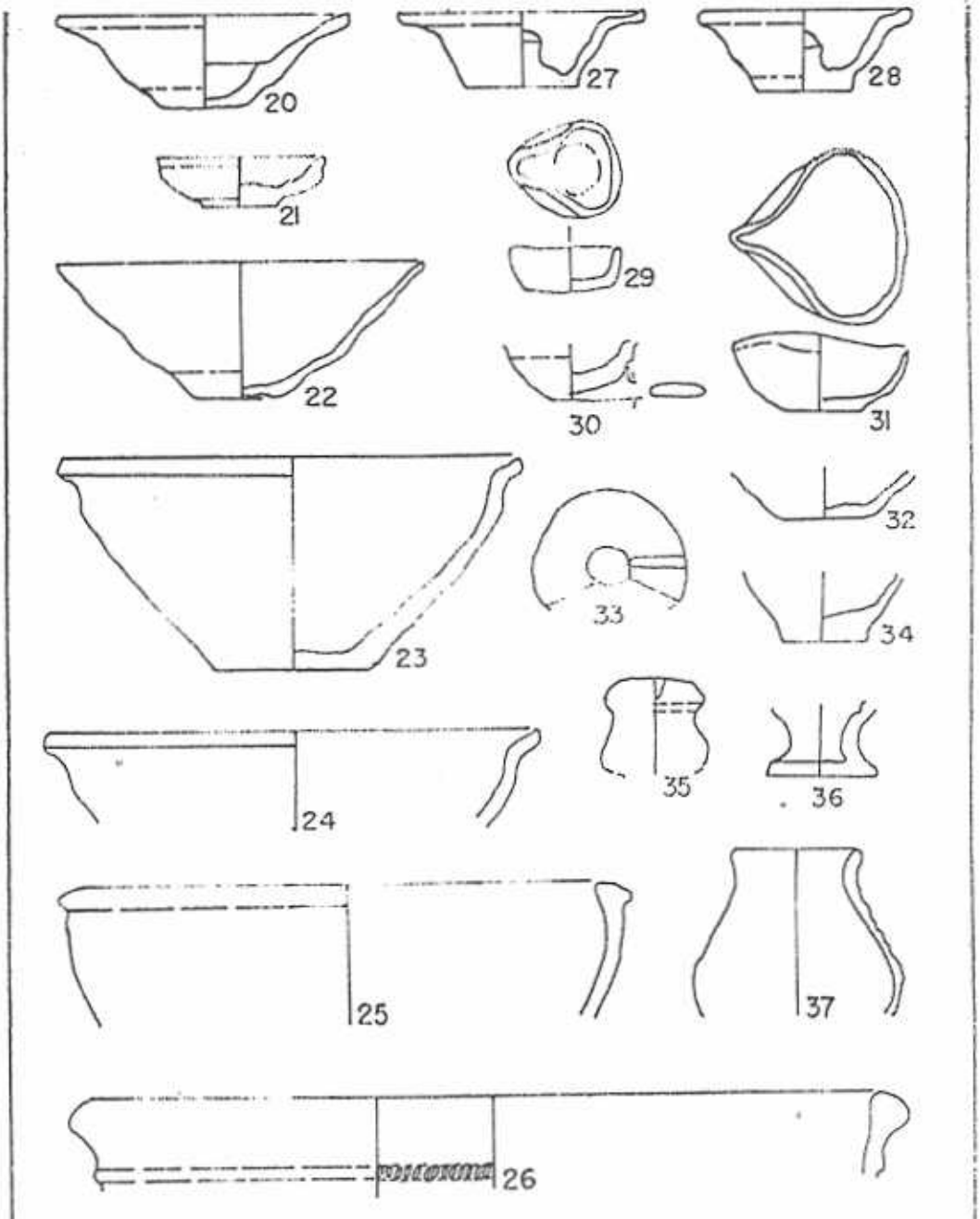
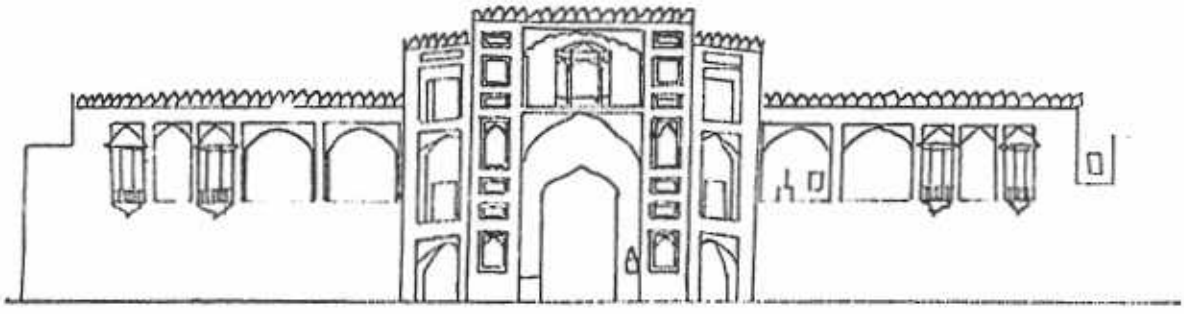


FIG.
SHAH-JI-KI DHERI DRAWN AFTER KUWAYAMA.

Fig. XX Showing Western Elevation and Gate at Gor Khutree.



WESTERN ELEVATION

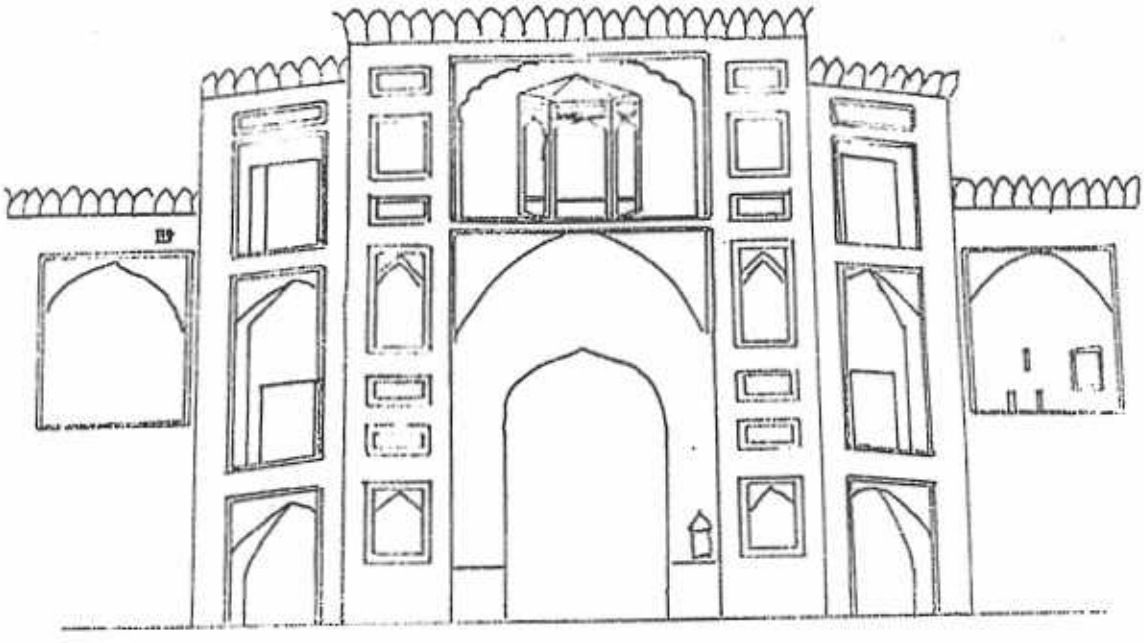
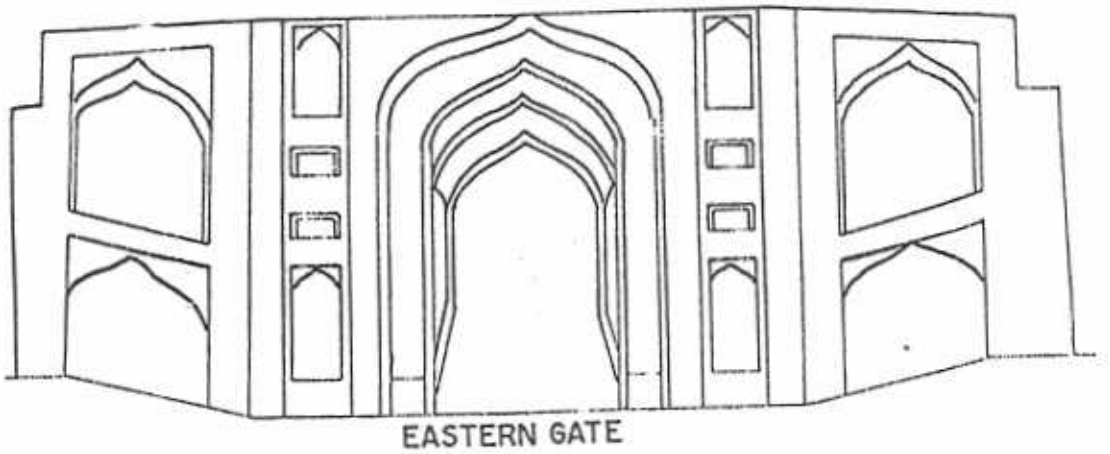
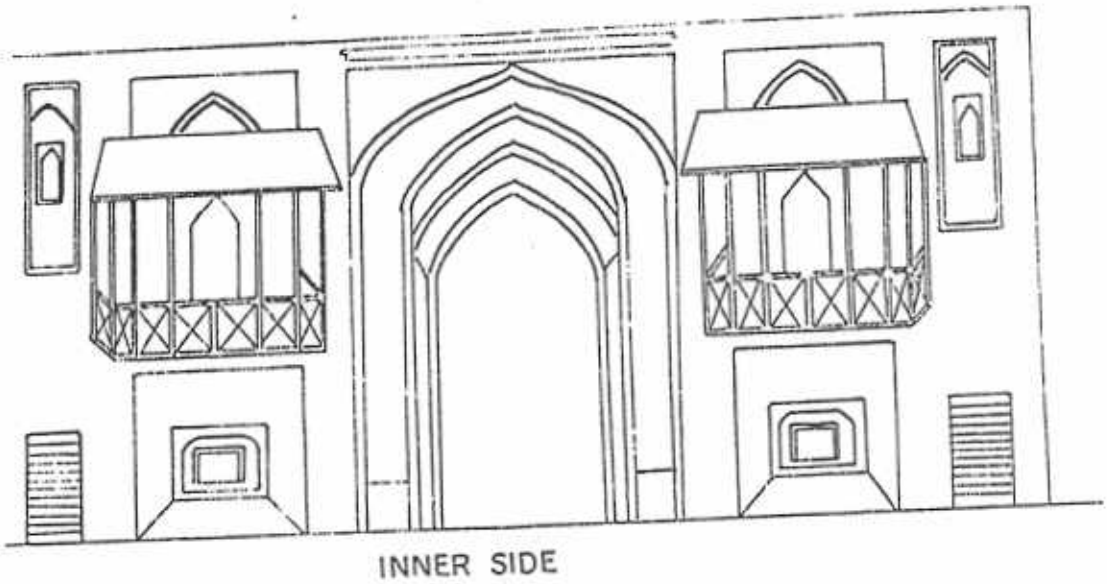


FIG. GATE
GOR KHUT TREE.
Scale.

Fig. XXI. Gor Khutree's Eastern Gate & Inner Side.



EASTERN GATE



INNER SIDE

FIG.
EASTERN GATE ELEVATION
AT GOR KHUTTREE.
Scale.

Fig. XXII. Gor Khutree Floor Plan.

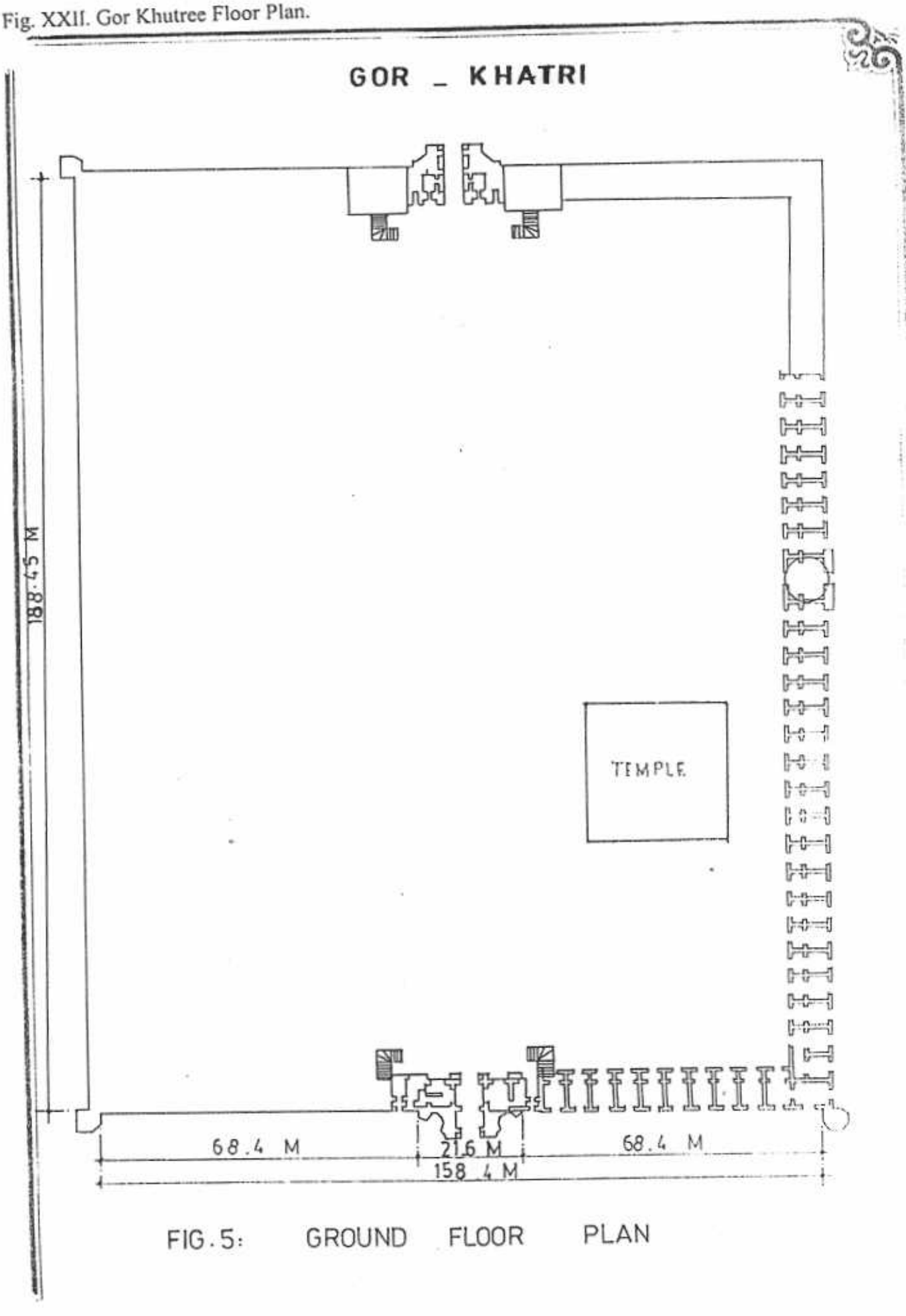
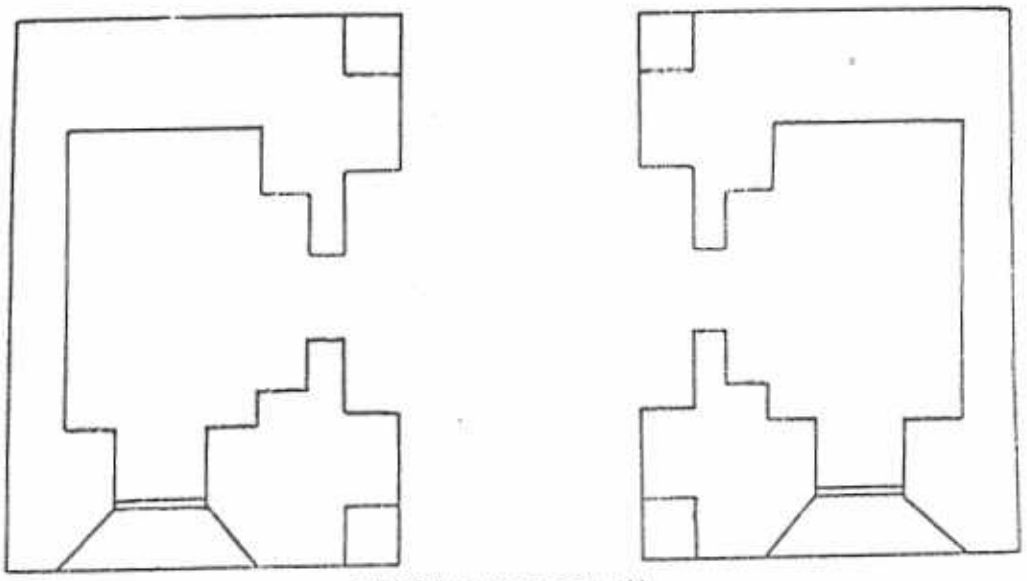
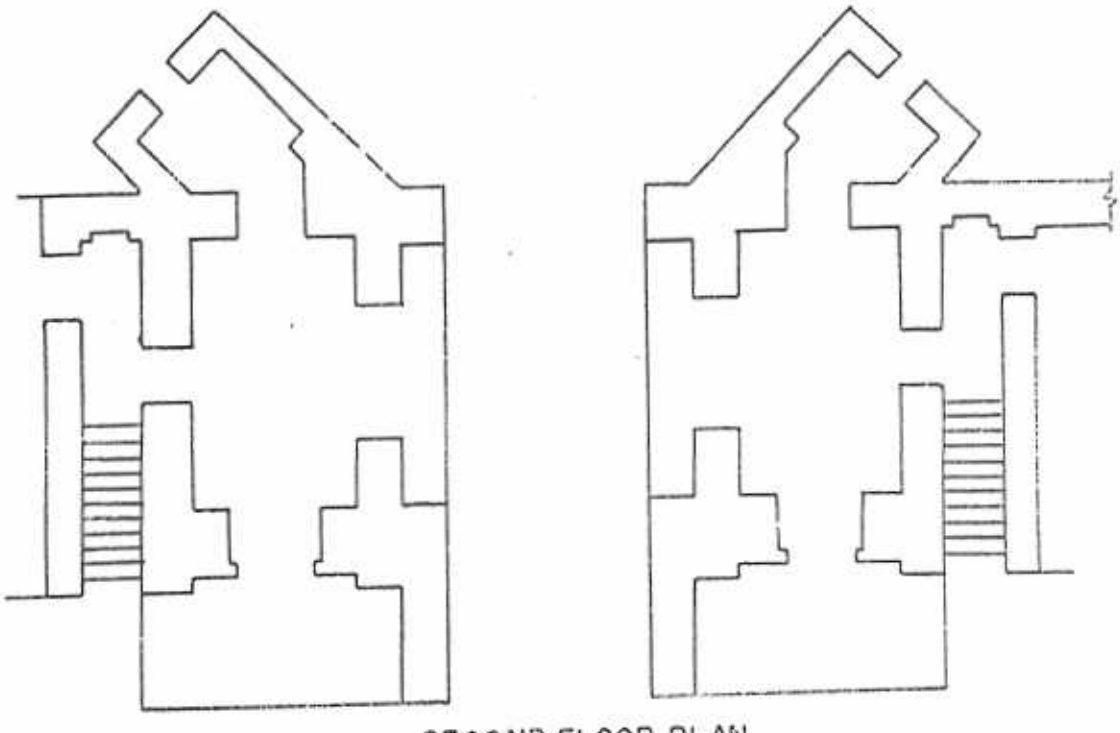


FIG. 5: GROUND FLOOR PLAN

Fig. XXIII. Plan of the First & Second Floor of the Eastren Gate at Gor Khutree.



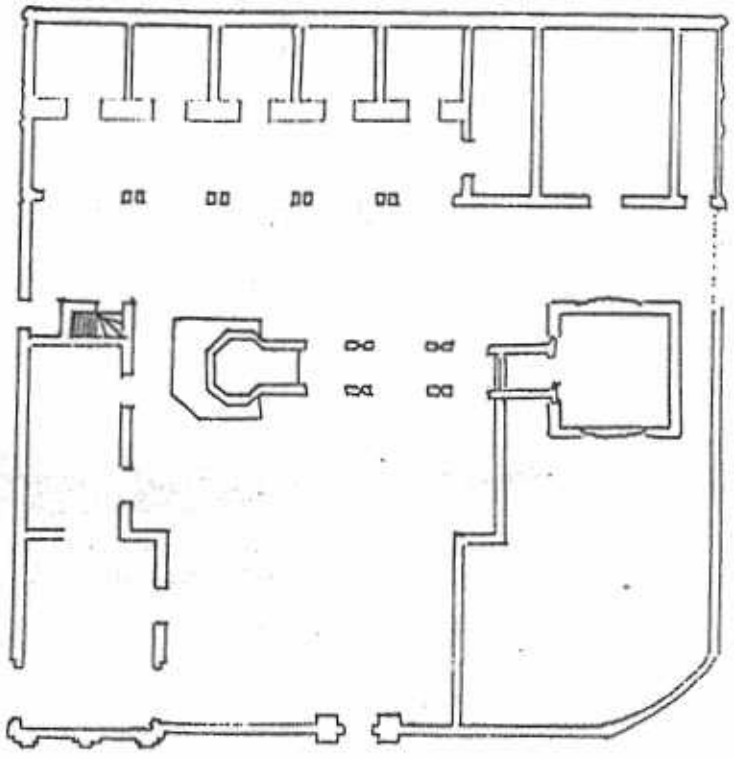
FIRST FLOOR PLAN



SECOND FLOOR PLAN

FIG.
EASTERN GATE AT GOR KHUTTREE.
Scale.

Fig. XXIV Showing Plan & Elevation of the Temple at Gor Khutree.



PLAN

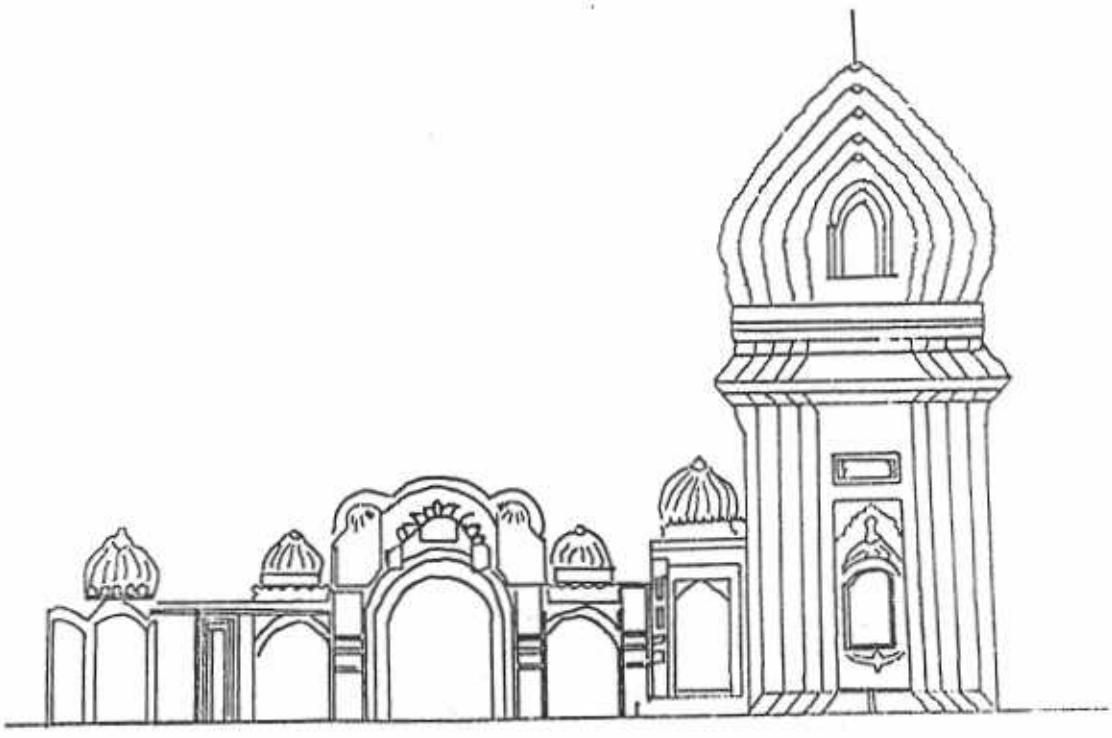
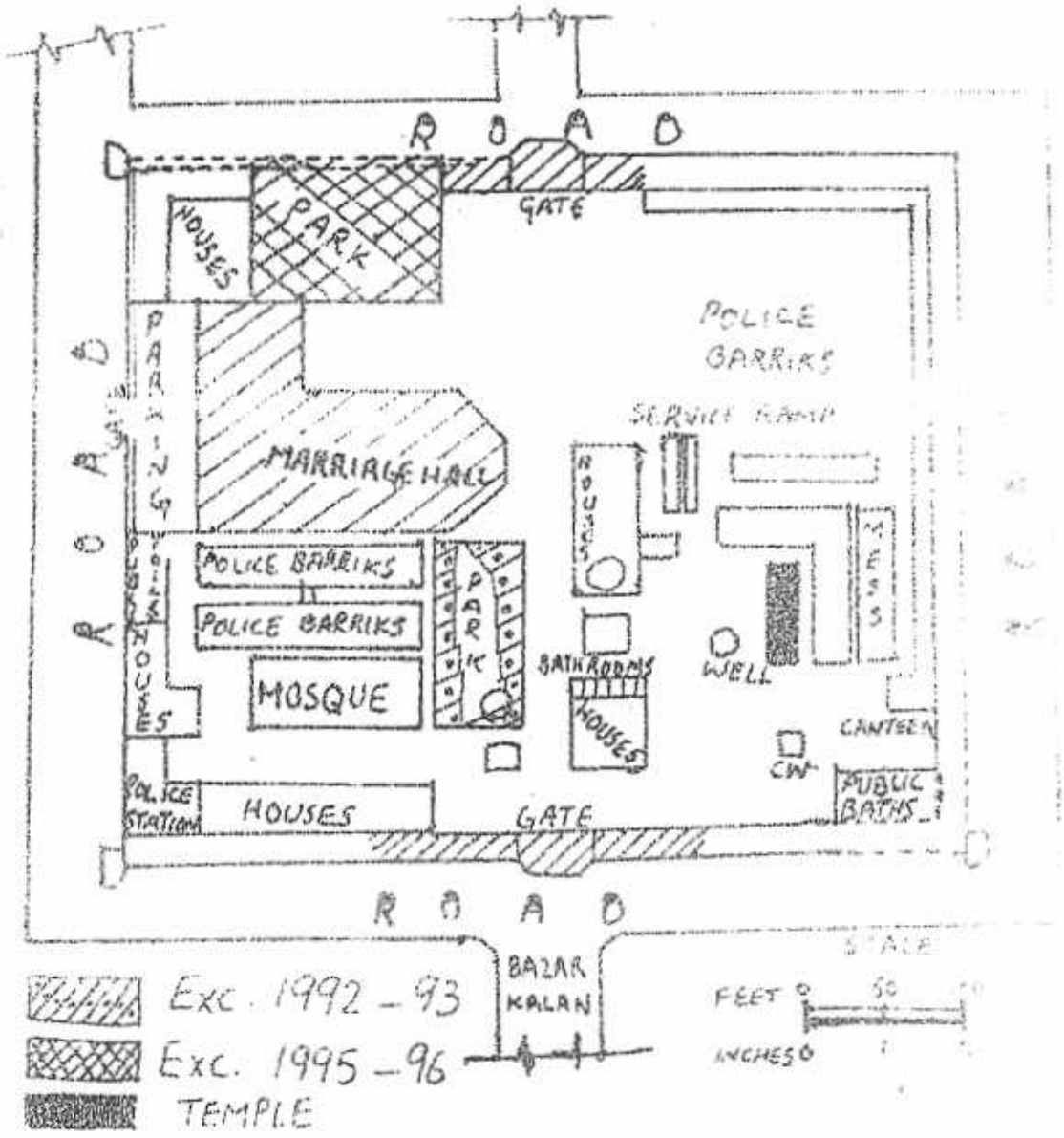


FIG. ELEVATION

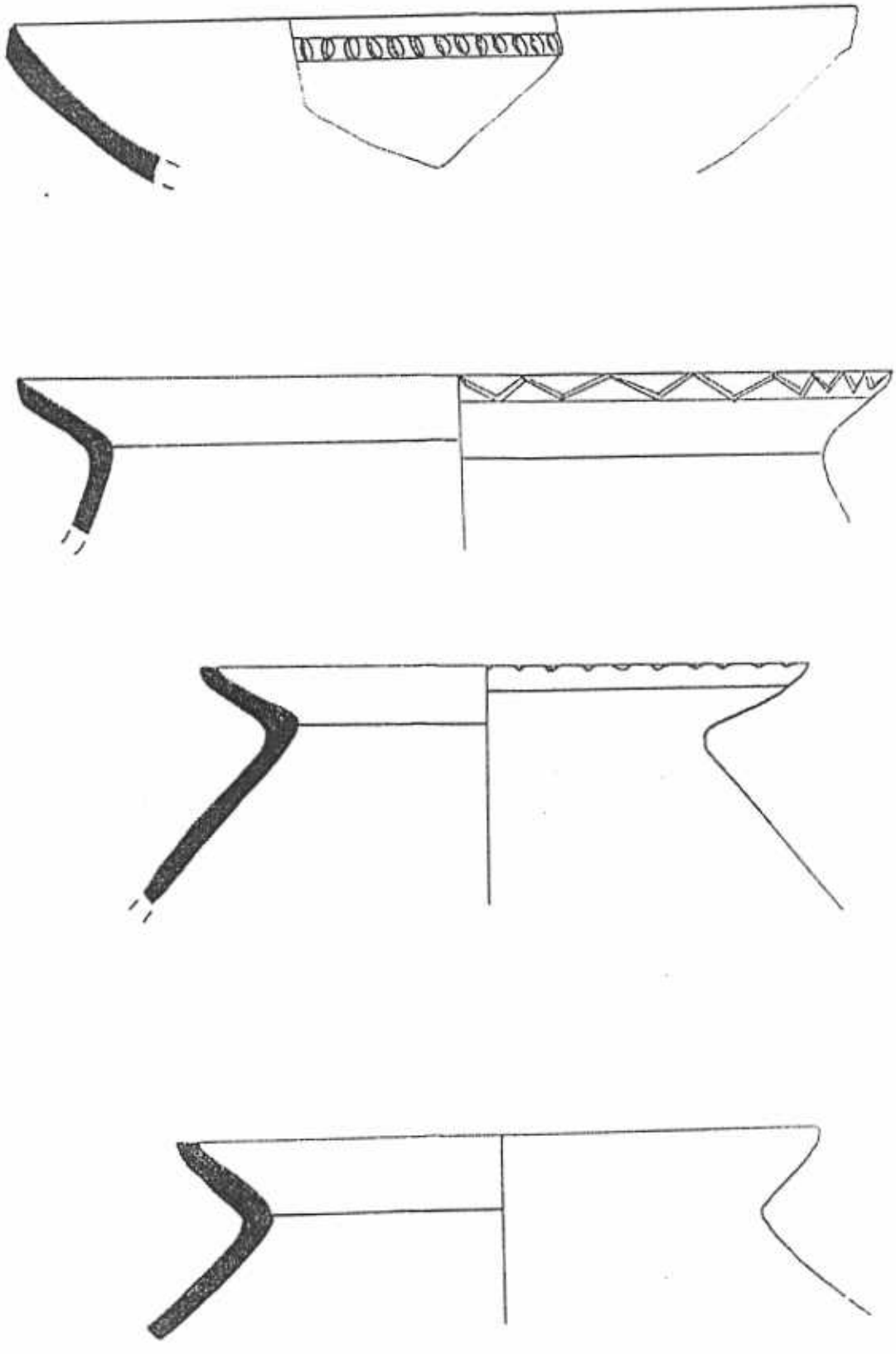
TEMPLE COMPLEX AT GOR KHUTTREE.

Scale

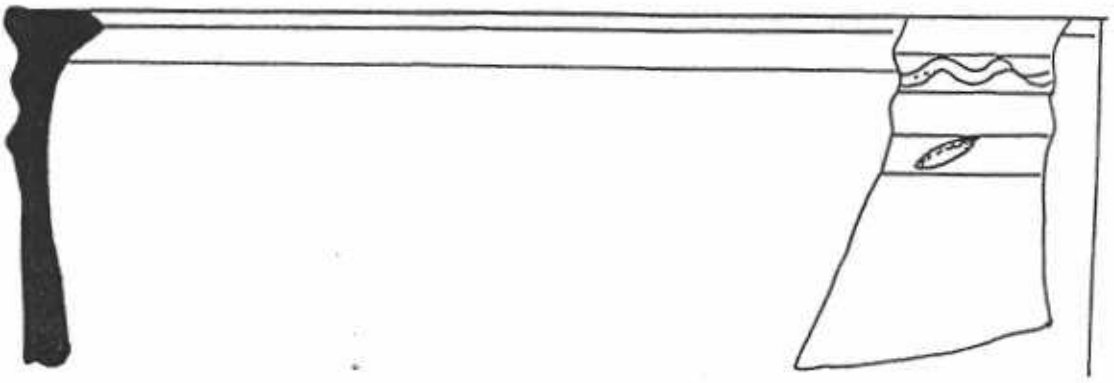
Fig. XXV. Drawing Showing Excavation Plan at Gor Khutree (after Durrani 1997).

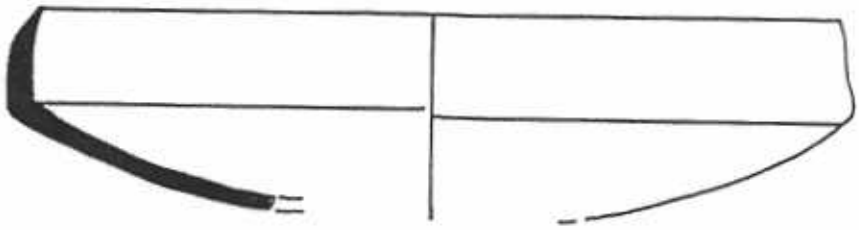


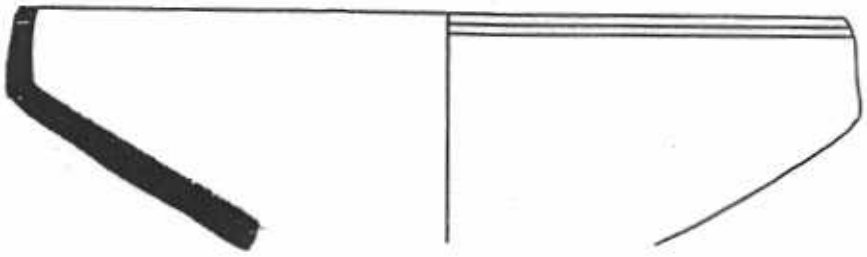
P-Fig. 1.



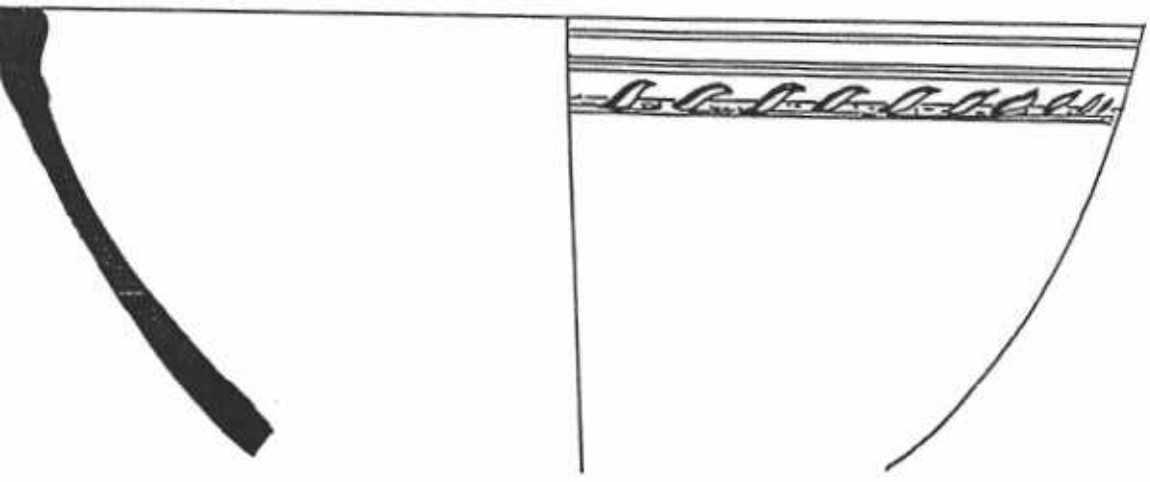
P-Fig. II.

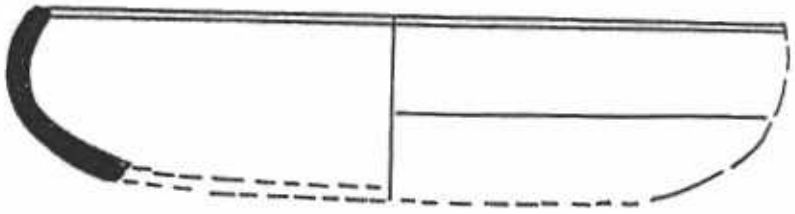


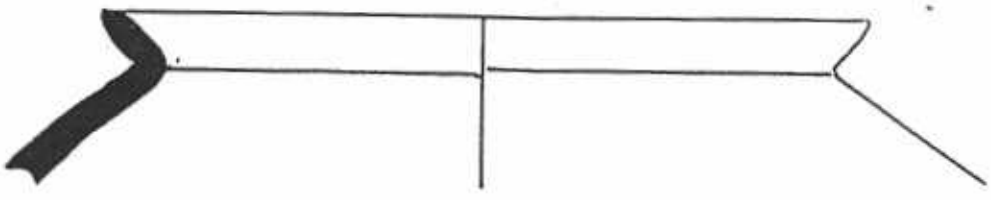




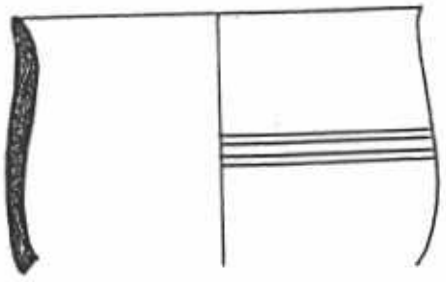
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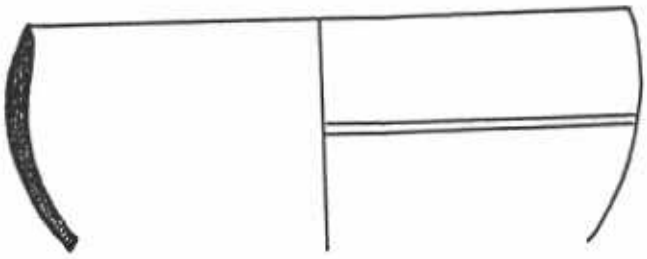


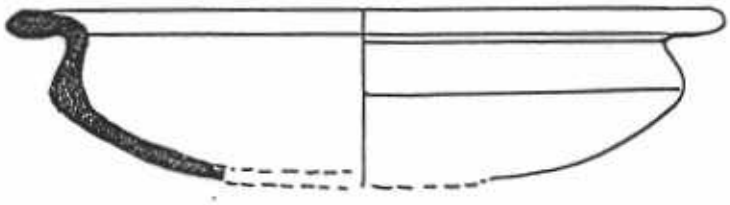


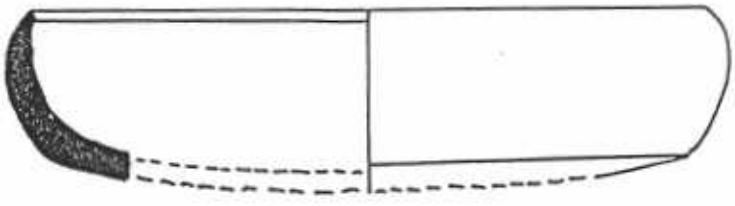


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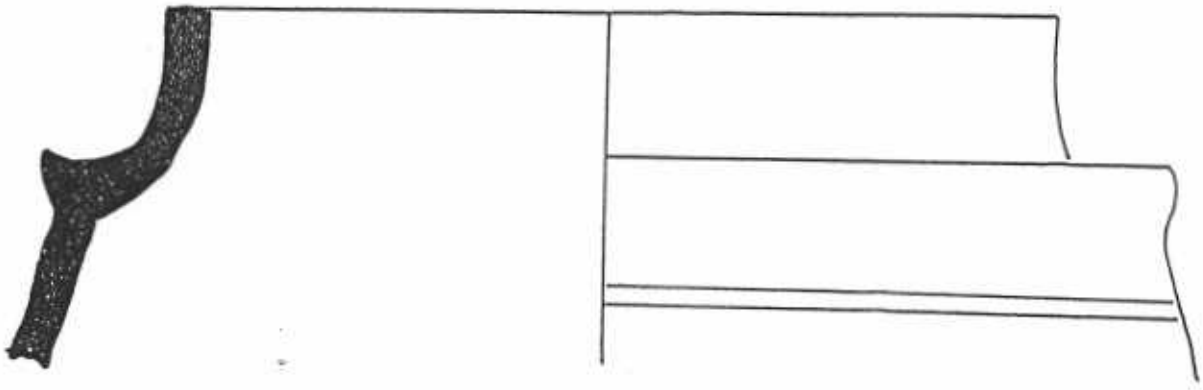


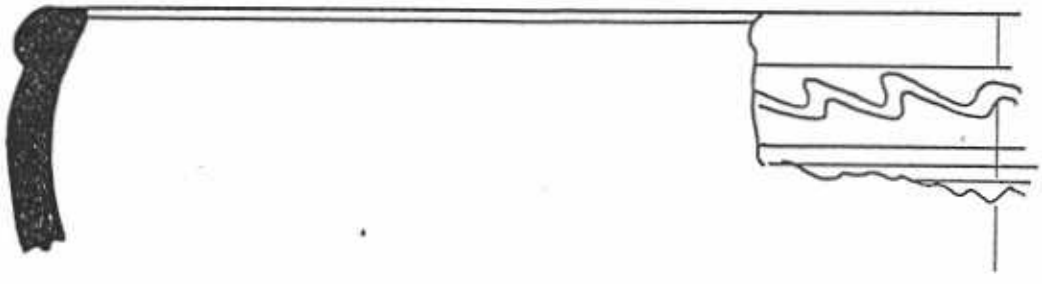


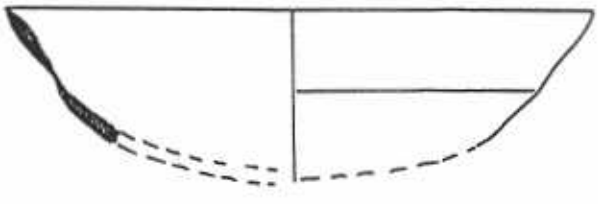




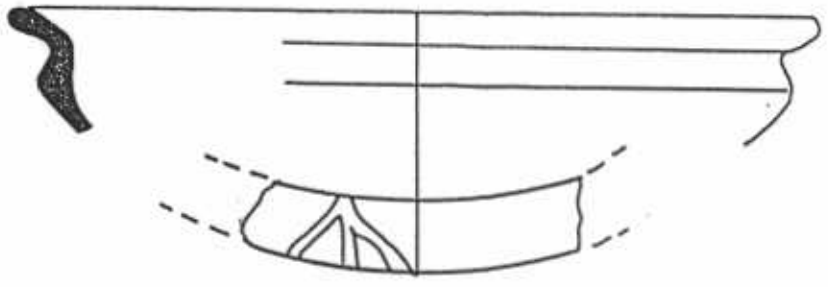
P-Fig. V.

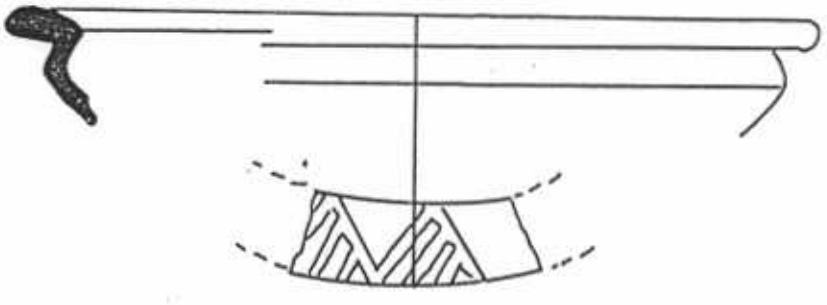




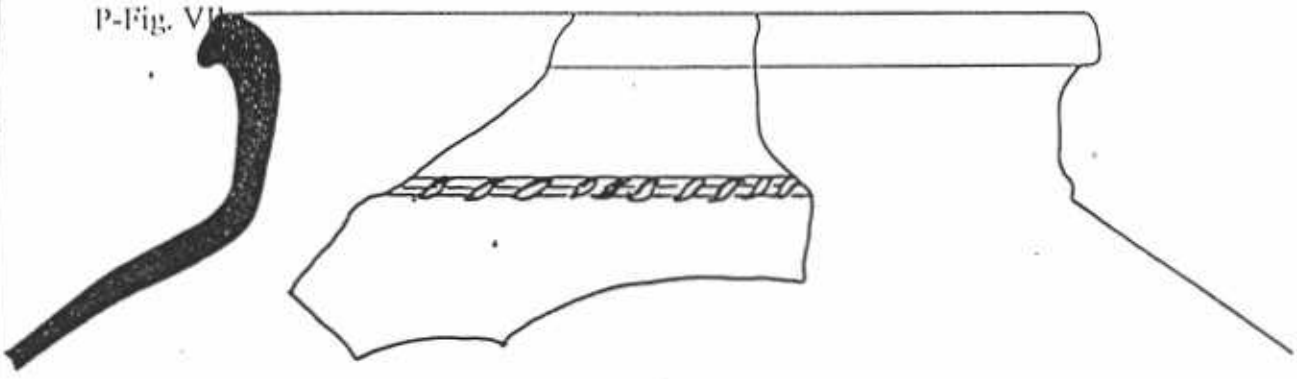


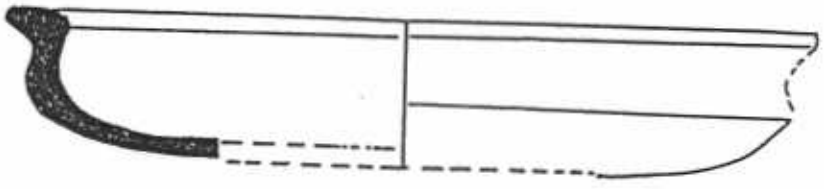
P-Fig. VI.



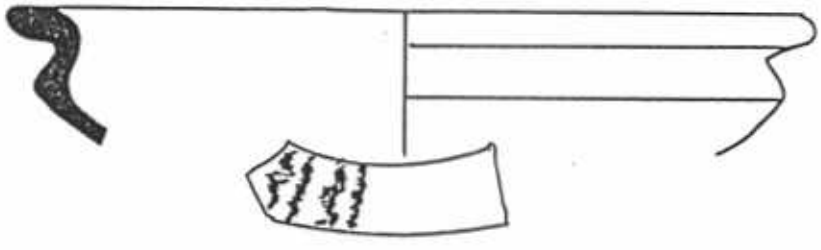


P-Fig. VI

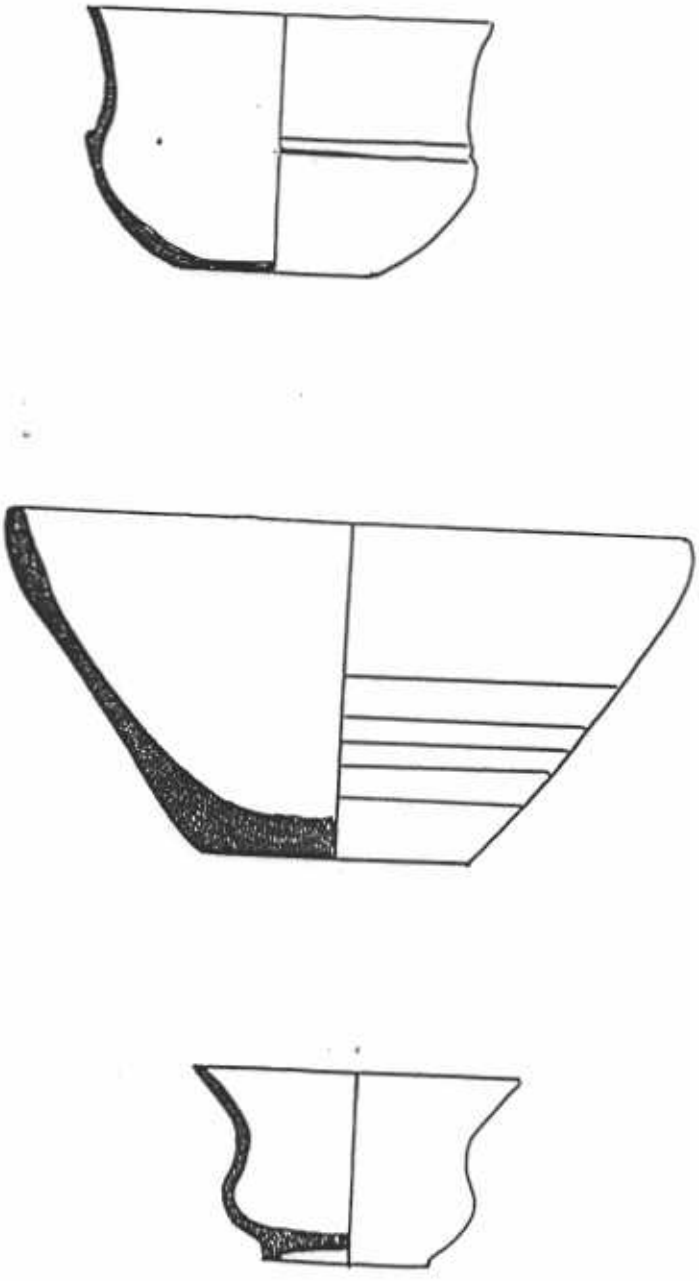






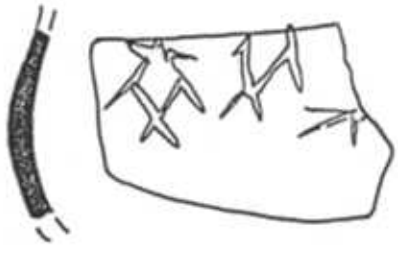


P-Fig. VIII.

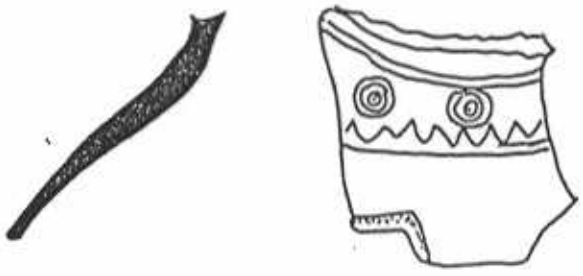


P-Fig. IX.

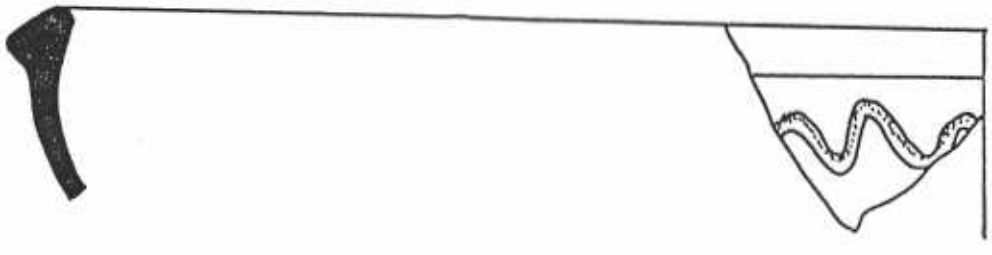




P-Fig. X.

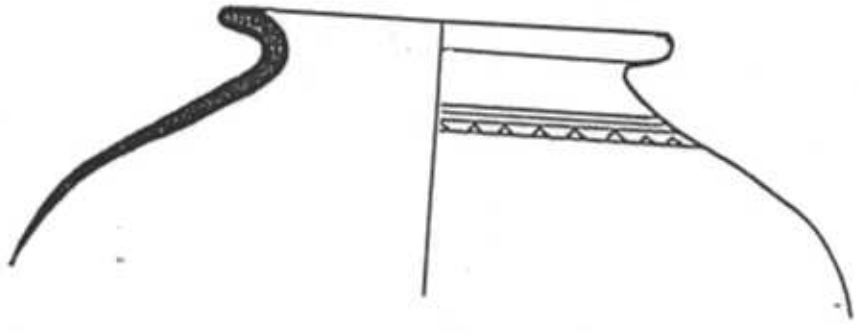


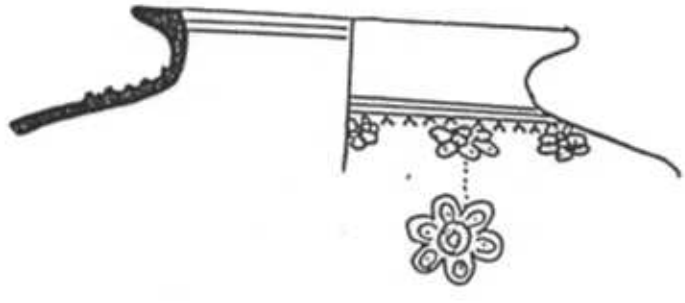




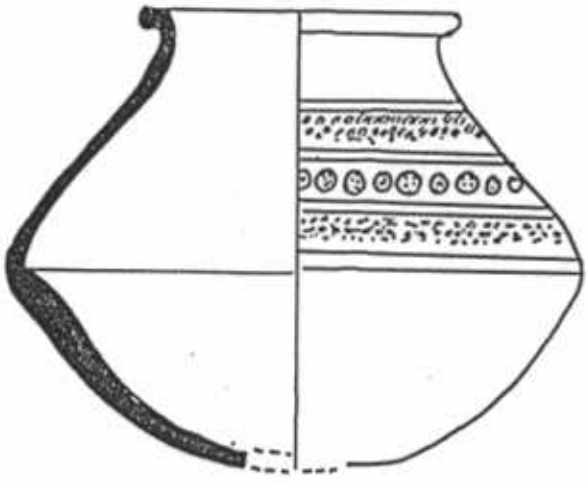
P-Fig. XI.



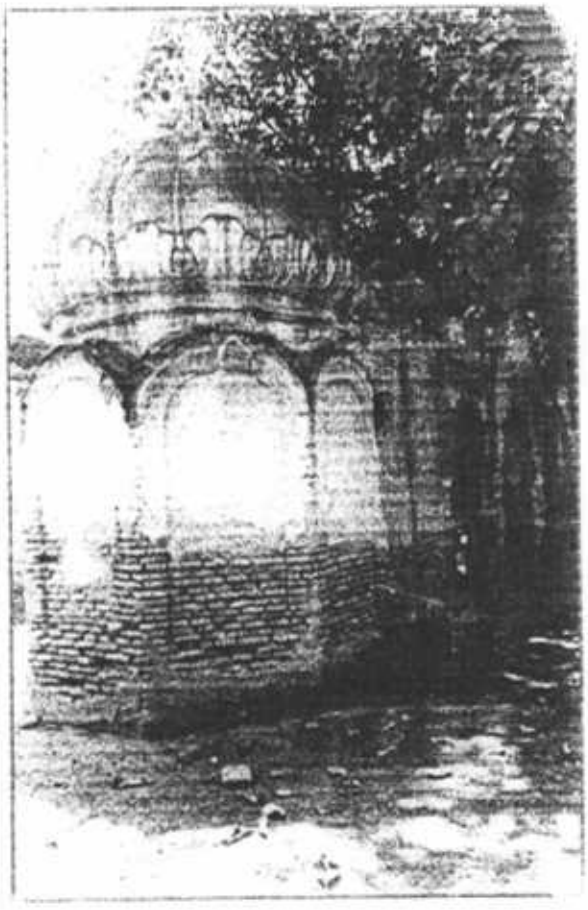


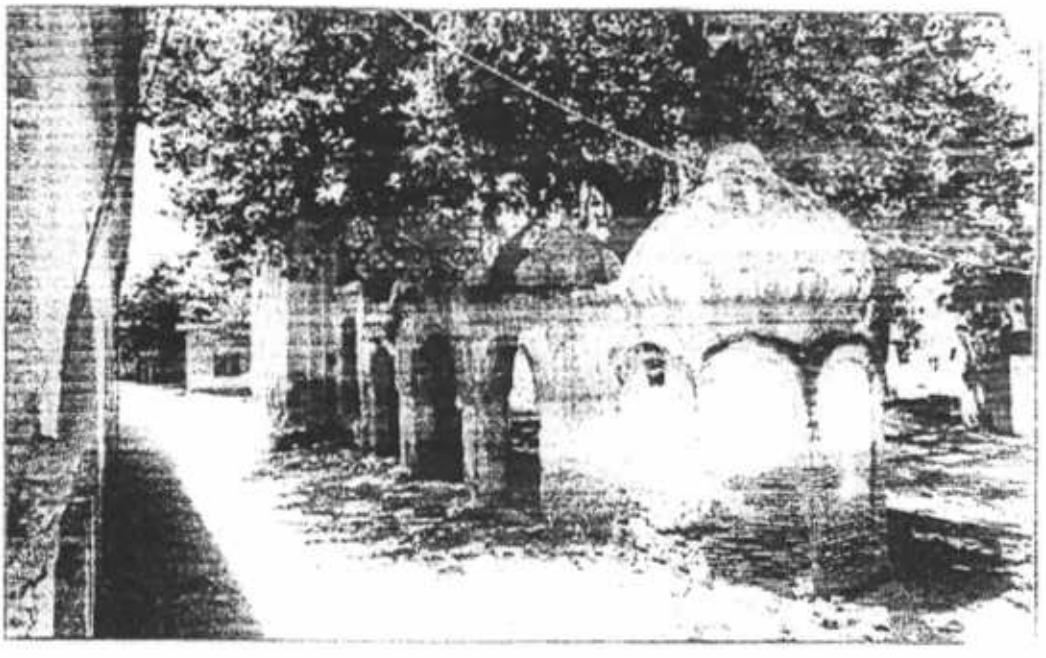


P-Fig. XII.

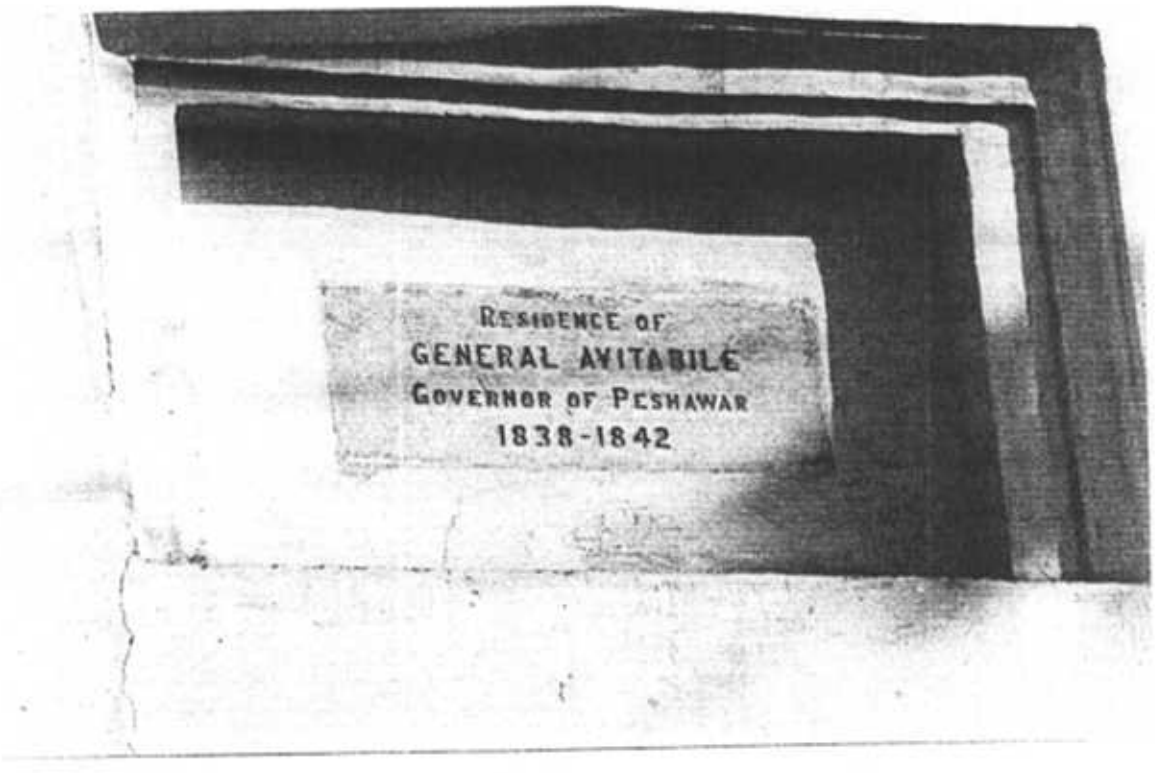


Pl-I. Gor Khutree Part of the Temple.





Pl-II. Plaque inscribed with Residence of General Avitabile Governor of Peshawar.



Pl-III. Arched verandha and wooden steps leading to the already demolished structure.



Pl-IV. Eastern Gateway of Gor Khuttree



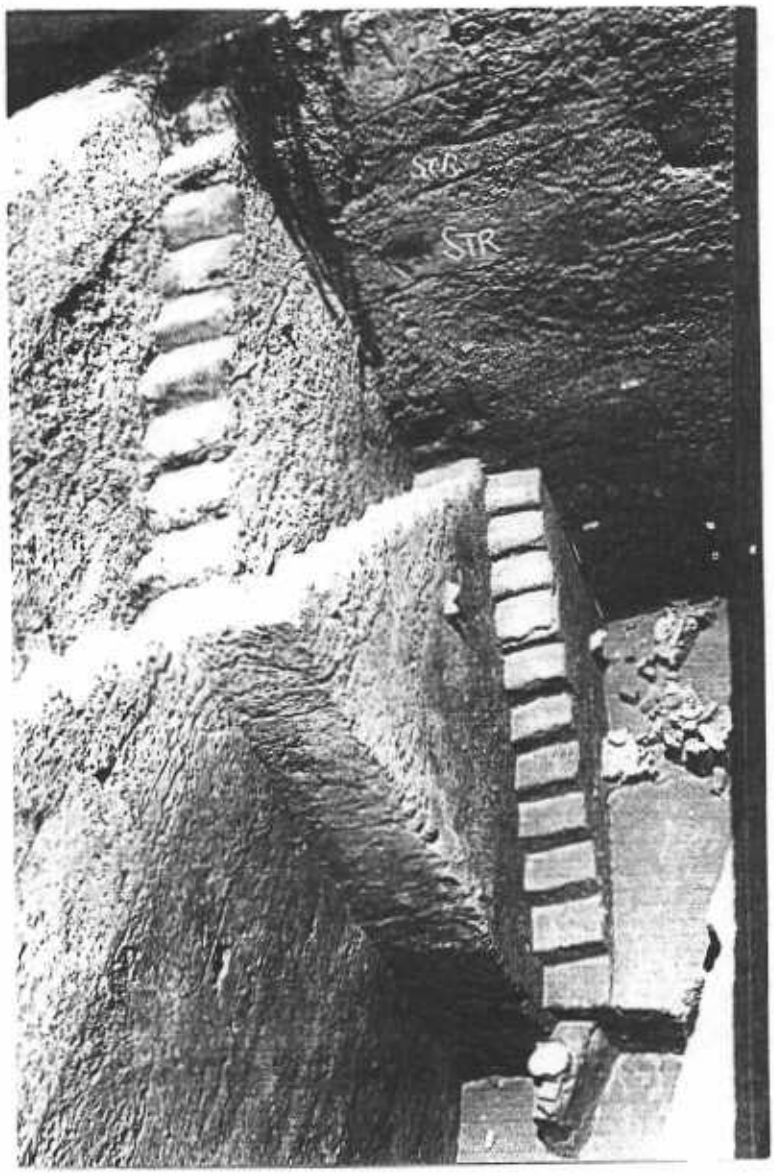
Pl-V. Western Gateway of Gor Khuttree.



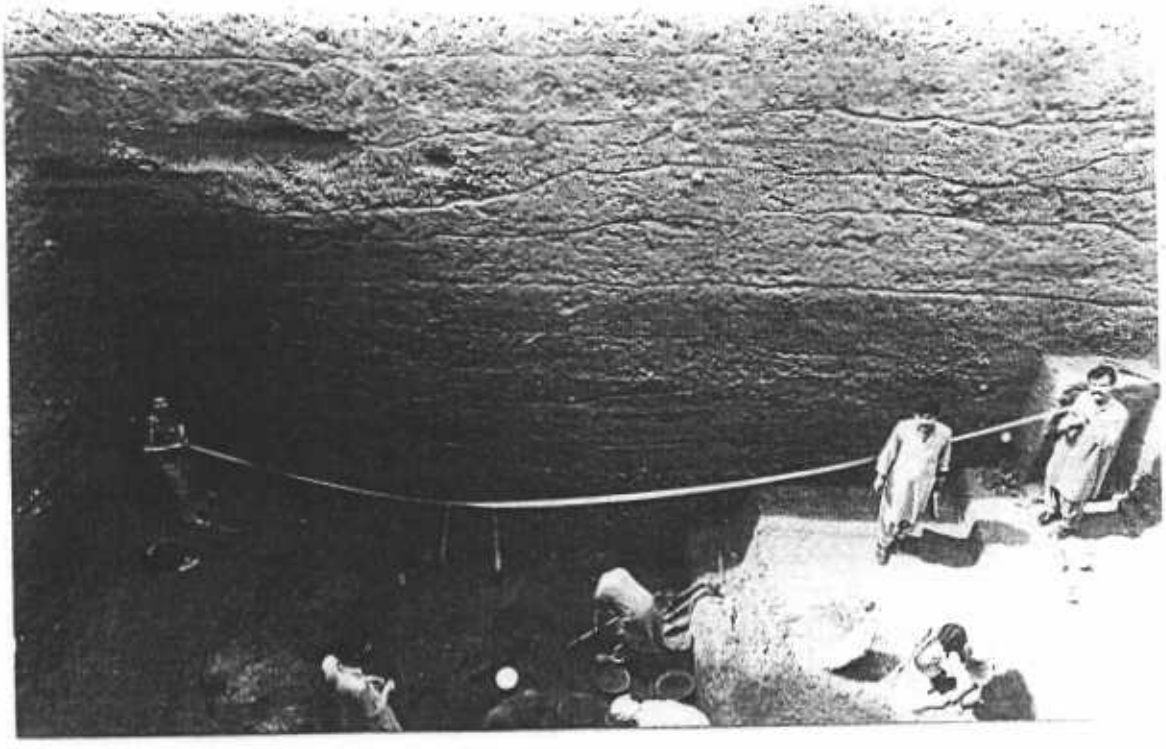
Pl-VI. Gor Khuttree: Photographs Showing The Temple.



Pl-VII. Gor Khuttree: Going through the Past.



Pl-VIII. Exacavation at Gor Khuttree



Pl-IX. Excavation at Progess.



Pl-X. British Period Stucture with late Hasan Ahmad Khan. A young Researcher.



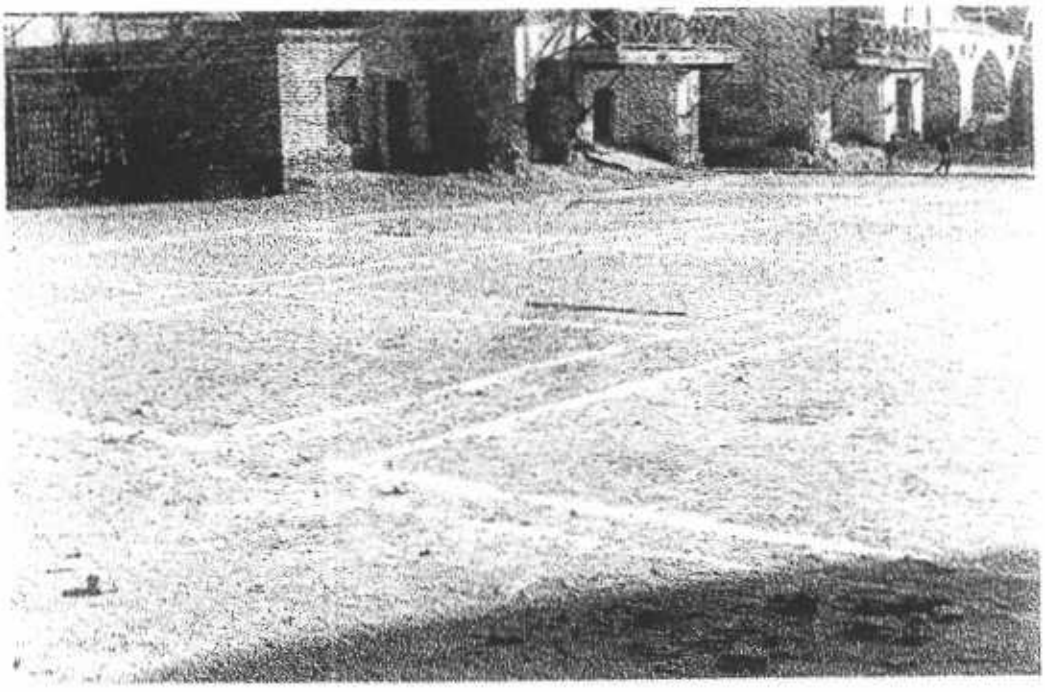
Pl-XI. Excavation Showing British TC Rings at Gor Khuttree.



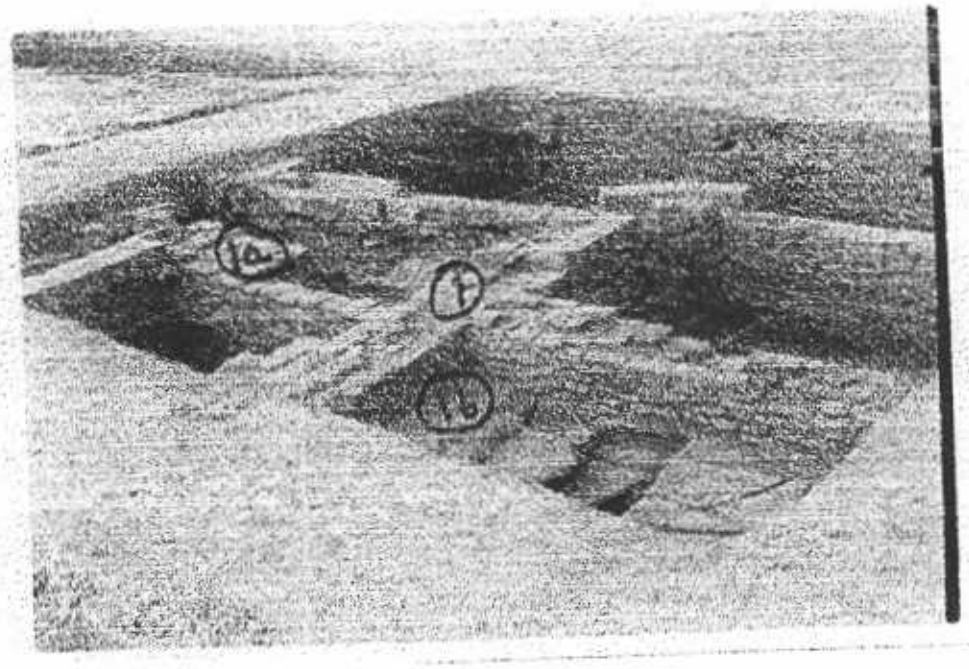
Pl-XII. Gor Khuttree: British Period Drains with deep Digging.



Pl-XIII. Layout of the trenches Gor Khuttree excavations (after Durrani 1997).



Pl-XIV. British Period Stuctures Gor Khuttree Excavations (after Durrani 1997).



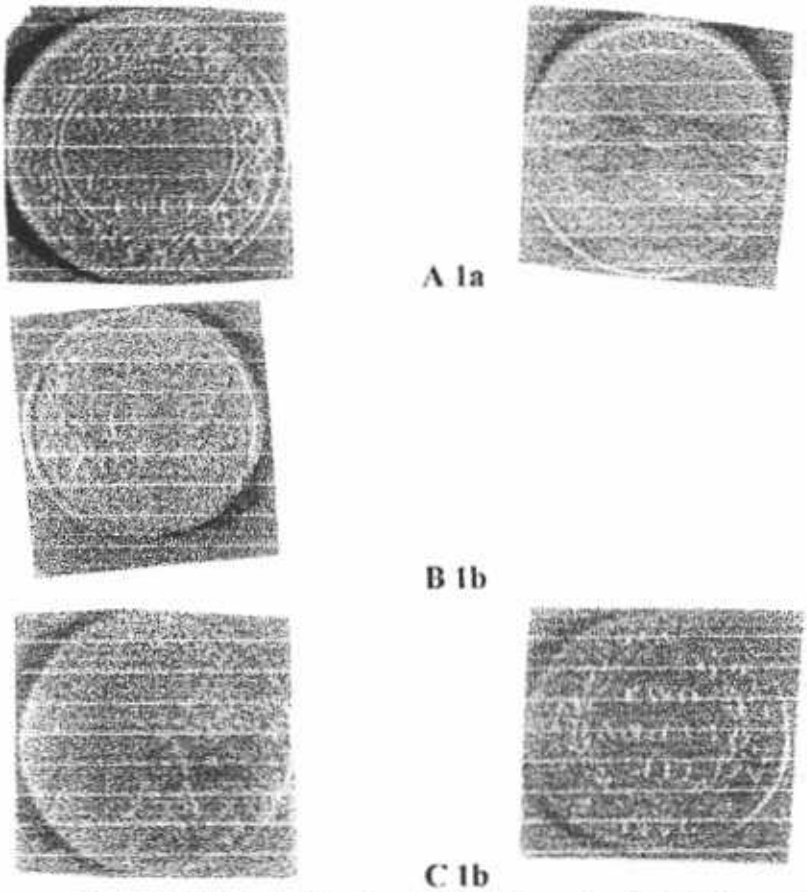
pp.XV Gor Khuttree Prof. Dr. Tan Xu & Prof. Dr. Ihsan Ali examining the progression



Pl-XVI. British Period Rings at Gor Khuttree.



Pl-XVIII. Coins Photographs of the recent Historic Period.

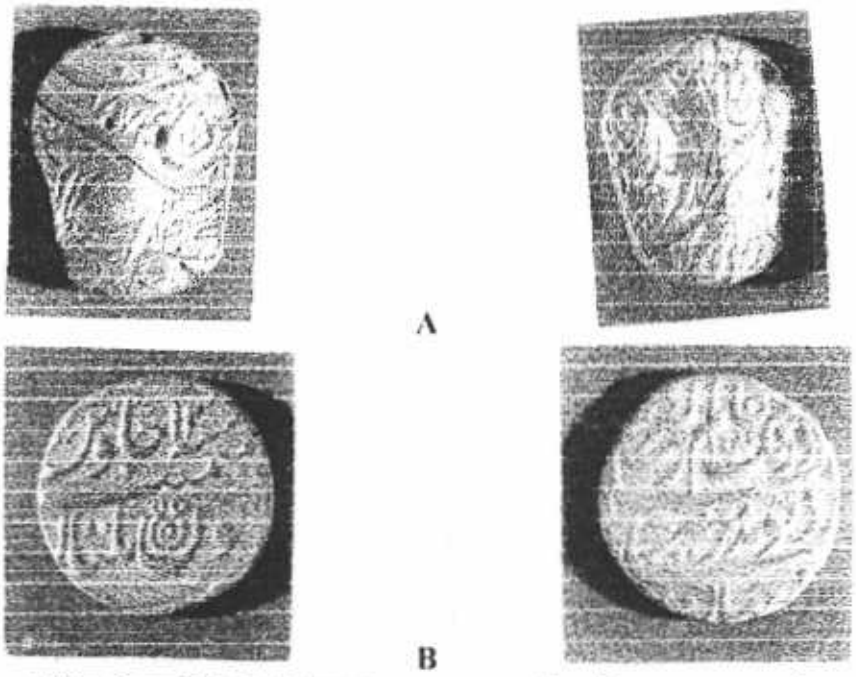


A 1a

B 1b

C 1b

~~Pl. 6~~ British Period coins A 1919 layer 1a, B 1848 layer 1b,
C 1841 layer 1 b-Gor Khuttree excavation 1995-96

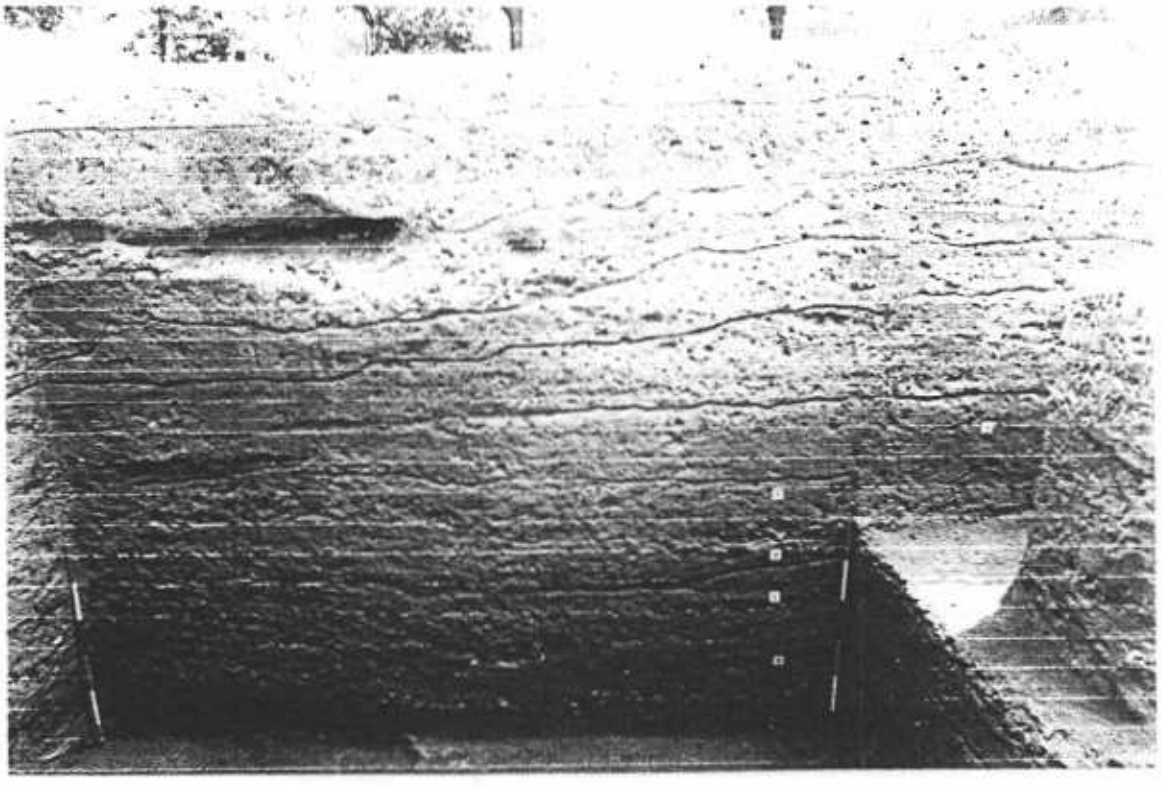


A

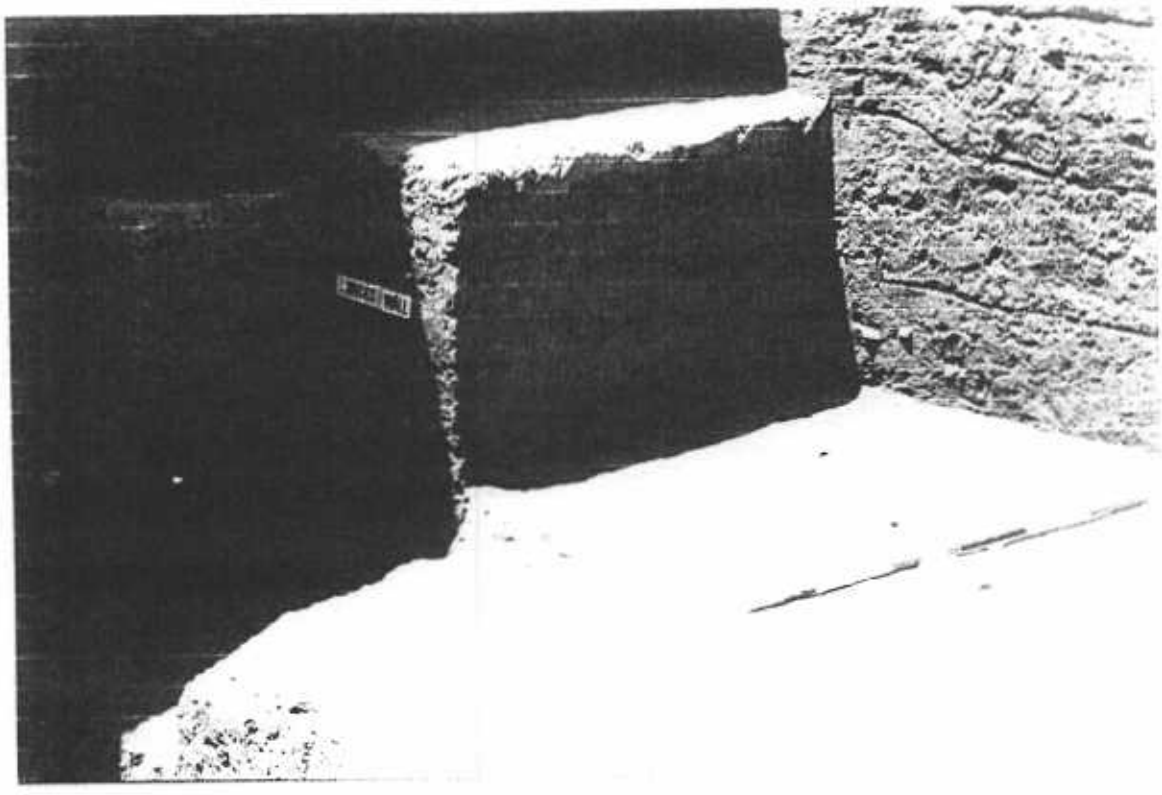
B

Sikh (A) and Mughal (B) period coins from Gor Khuttree excavations 1995-96

Pl-XIX. Photograph Showing various Occupational layers & Periods at Gor Khutiree



Pl-XX.



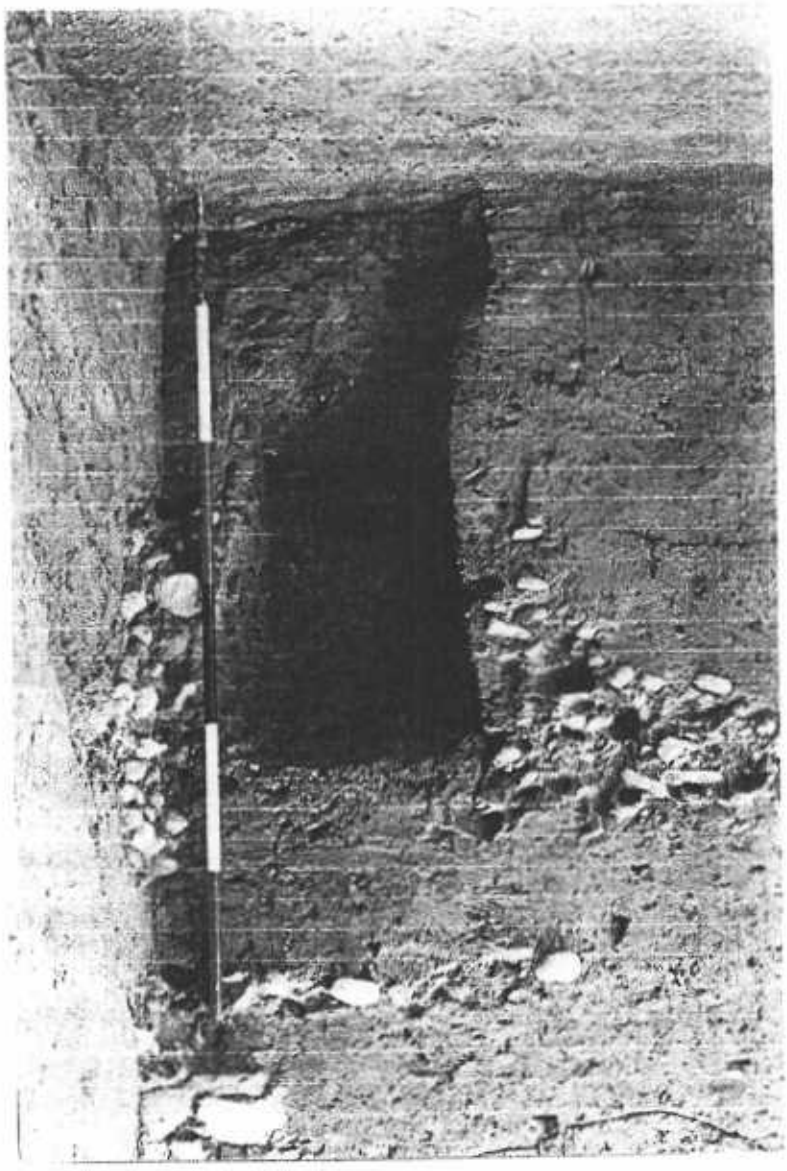
Pl-XXI. Gor Khuttree Photograph Showing Floor Levels with Bricks.



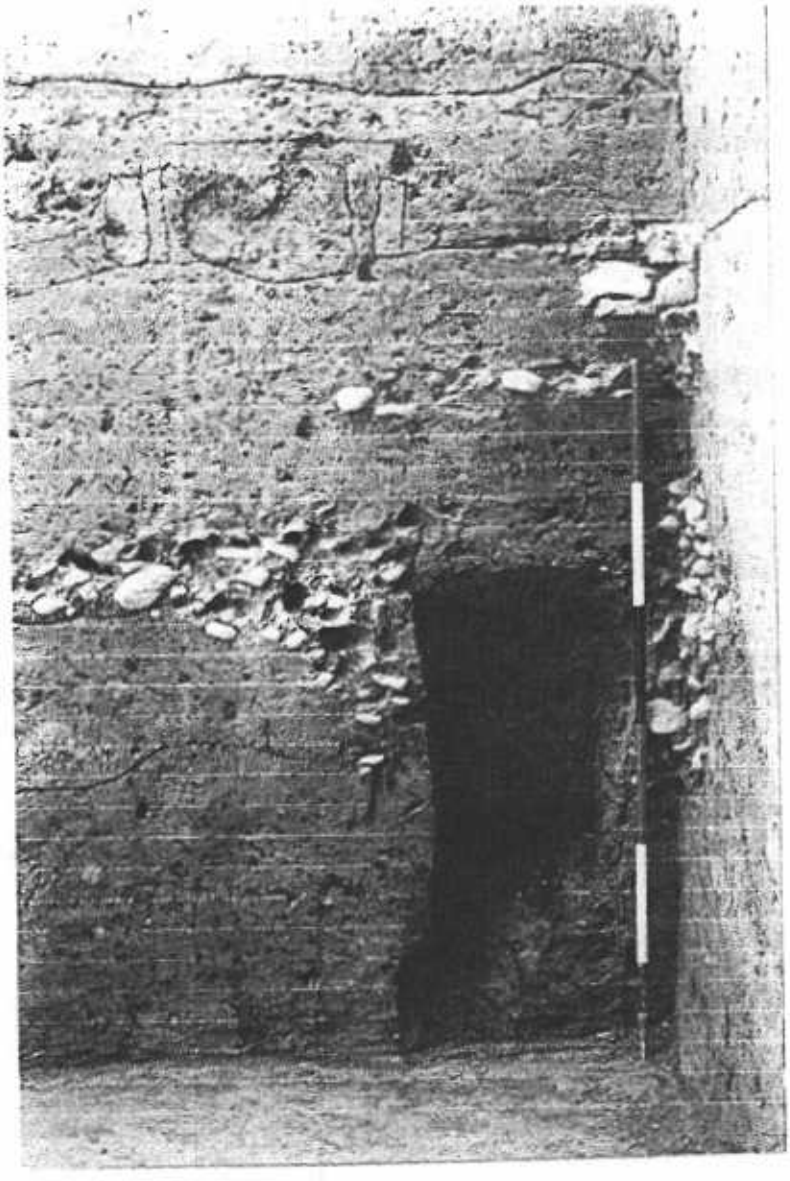
Pl-XXII. Photograph indicating Floor Level with Pot in Situe.



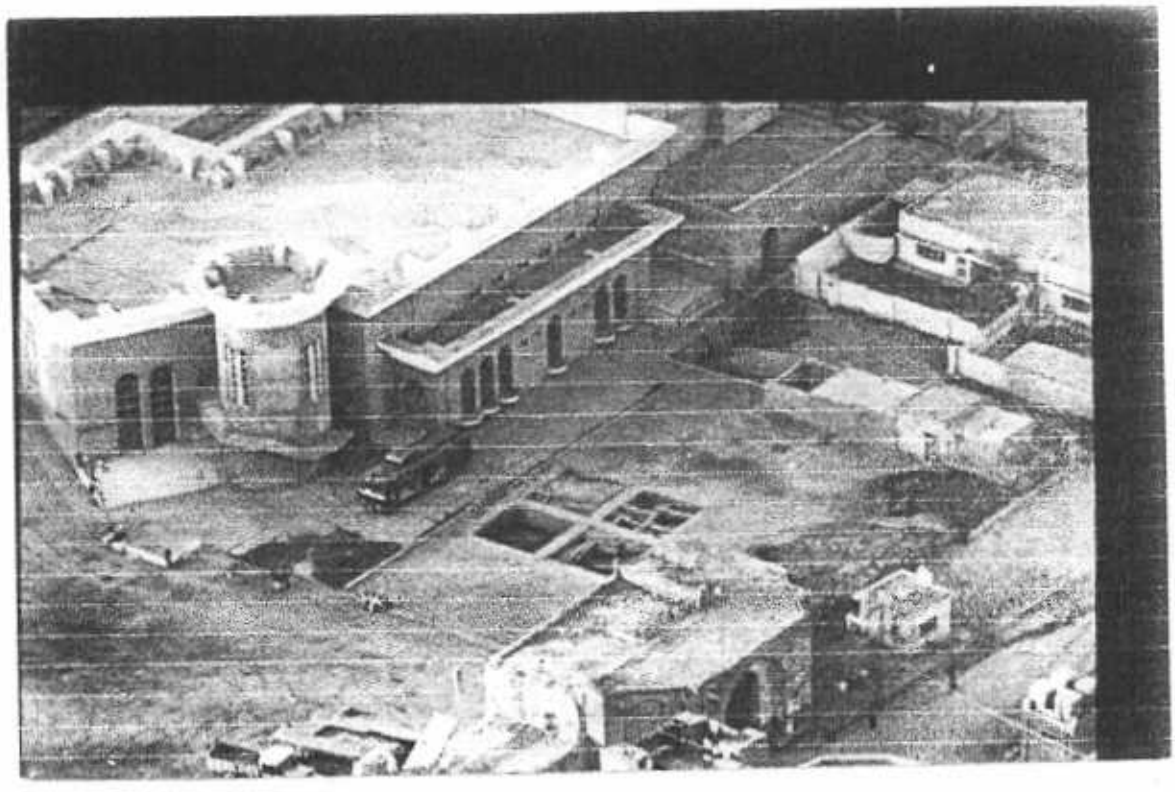
Pl-XXIII. Structure with River Pibbles at Gor Khuttree.



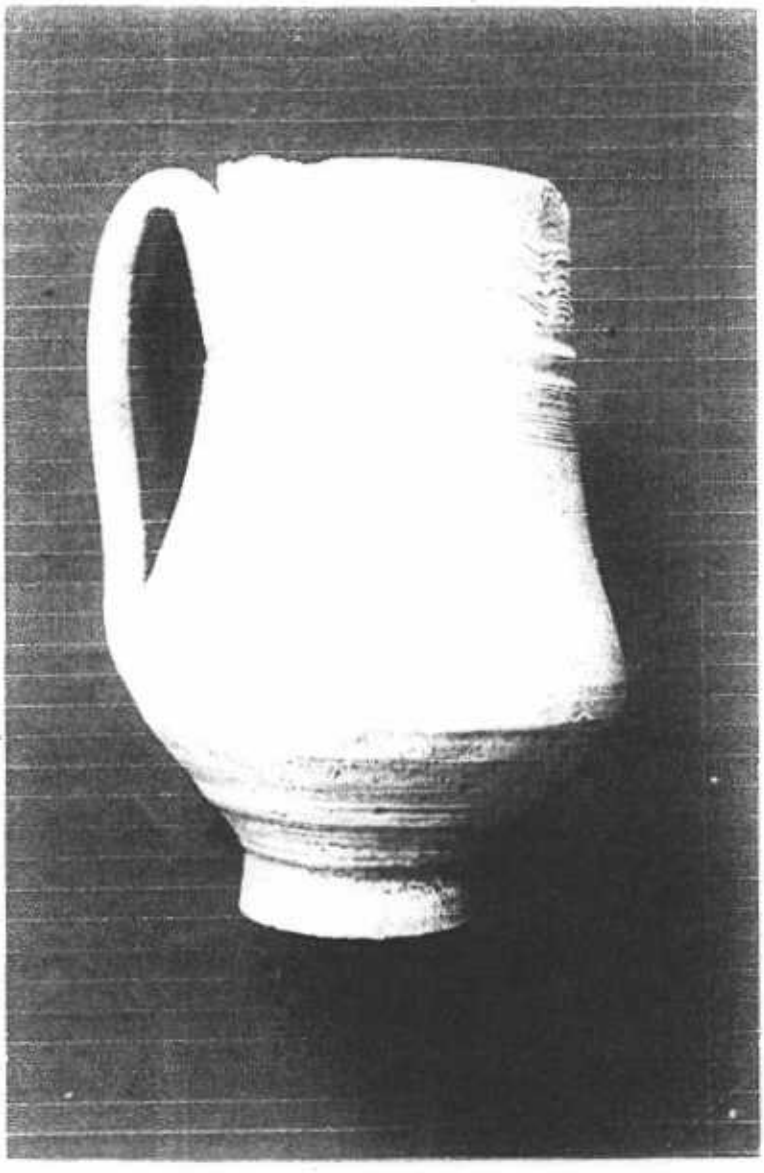
Pl-XXIV. Photograph Showing Burn Layers in the Section at Gor Khuttree.



Pl-XXV. The Building of the Wedding Hall at Gor Khuttree.



Pl-XXVI. Photograph Showing a Jug of Kushan Period.



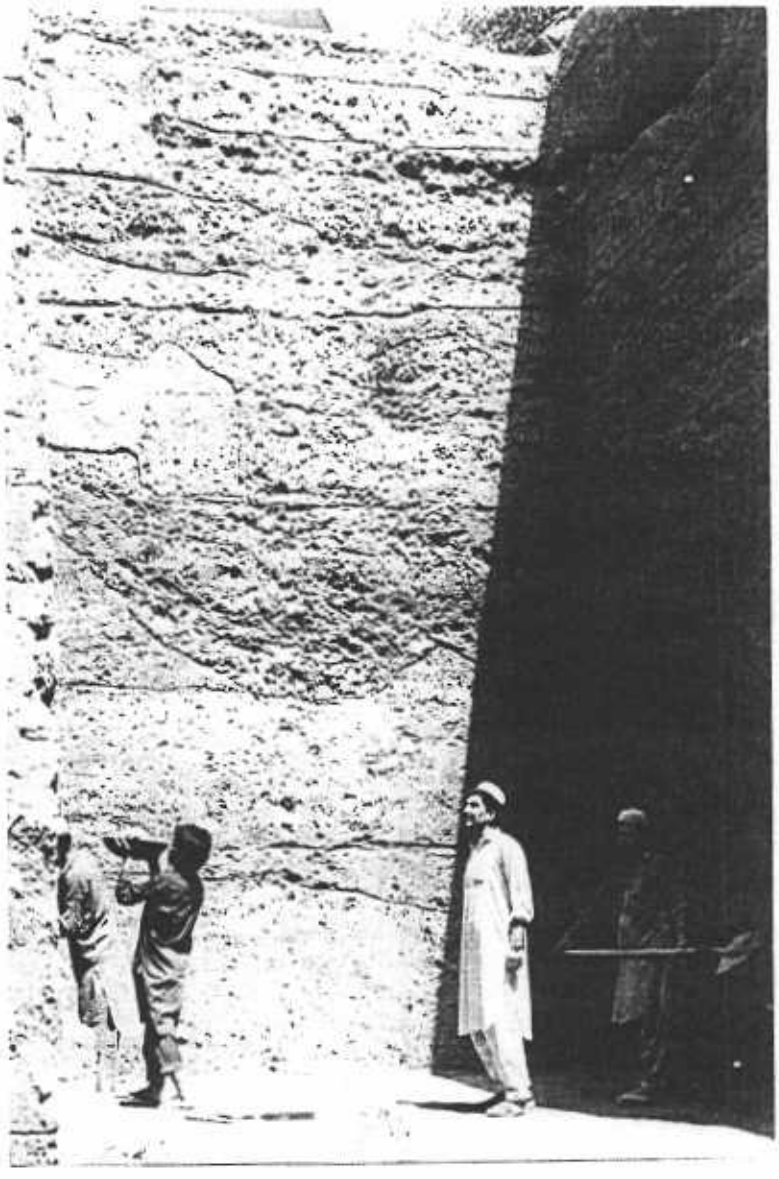
Pl-XXVII. Gor Khuttree Photograph Showing Figurine of the Kushana Period.



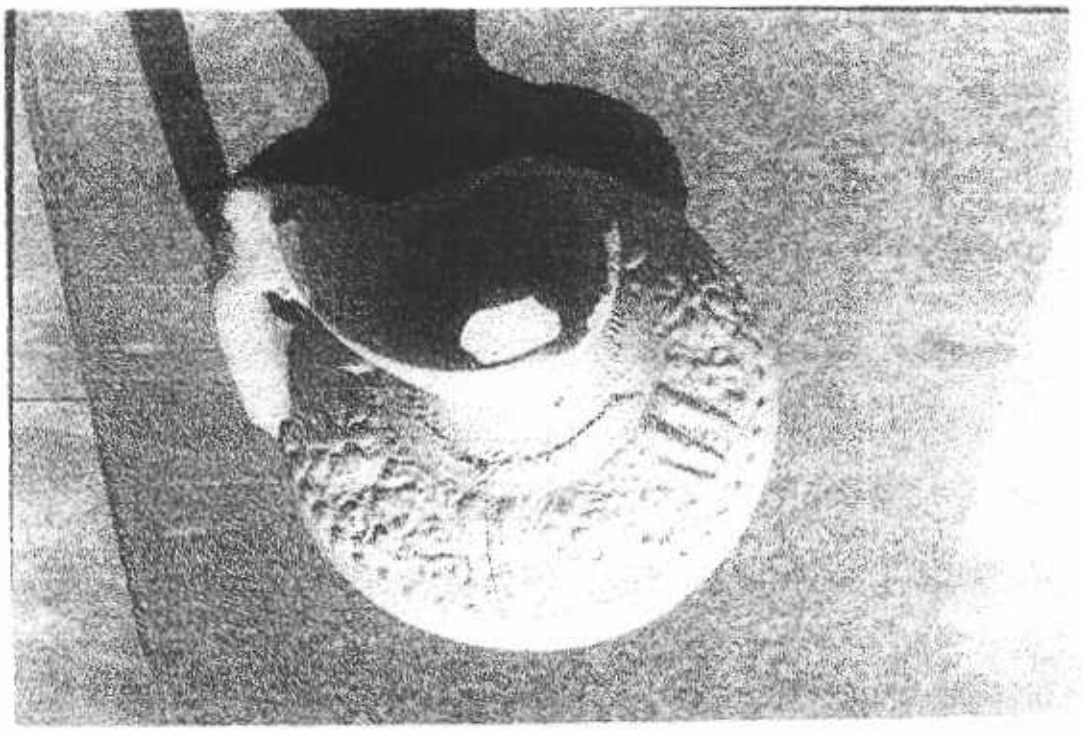
Pl-XXVIII. Baroque Lady Figurine.



Pl-XXIX. Gor Khuttree Excavation at Progress.



Pl. XXX



Pl. 30 Jar with Kufic Inscription – Ghaznavi period Gor Khuttree excavations 1995-96

Translation of the poetory regarding Bagram as the name of the Peshawar City.

هم نغمې کاندي هم رقص کا هم خاندي
د رحمان په شعر تـــــرکې د بـــاګرام

The damsels of Bagram (Peshawar) Sing, dance and smile over the poems of Rehman.

Rehman Baba

د کـــــوهـــــاټ په عالـم واړه عالم ډک شو
د بـــنګشو کـــــــده لاړه تـــر بګـــرام

All the people were fed on the lands of Kohat while the tribe of Bangash moved to Bagram.

Khushal Khan Khattak

هـــــــمېشه به ئې بهار په باغ و راغ وي
کـــــه رنګين شعرمې يوسي تر بګرامـــه

If some one takes my colorful poetry to Bagram, then there will always be spring season in the gardens and meadows of Bagram.

Kazim Khan

خـــــو دا کاخ دل افروز وي
پکښې دا جـــشن نوروز وي
تر هغه پـــــوري بـــــګرامه
پـــــه جهان مـــه شـــــه بدنامه

Until this heart catching palace lasts and it has this joyful celebrating Nowroz, till that time O Bagram you may not be given a bad name.

Kazim Khan

د ختن ترکي دي زر راخي سلام له
نـــن د تخت لائقه ترکه باګرامي ده

The beautiful damsels should come at once to pay salam, because now a day the beautiful girl of the Bagram is worth having thus thron of beauty.

Kazim Khan Shaida.

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Anjali Mudra	A mudra in which two hands are clasped palm to palm	99
Antarala	Sanctuary (sacred place)	121
Casket	Relic container	55-6,81-9,99,100,215-9
Cusped Arch	Multifoil arch	120-2
Dado	Lower part of the wall (Inside)	115,121
Dharm	The good law	57,85
Dhyana Mudra	The mudra of meditation. The hand held at the level of the stomach, fingers extended and thumbs touching at the tips, symbolic of the spiritual fire.	82
Elegant Pratoli	Large main gate	119
Faqirs Jugis	Hermiak	69,108,110
Hinayana Buddhism	Small vehicle	60,62
Jagati	Platform	119-20,122
Jharoka	Balcony	114-5
Lofty Edifice	High building	42,114
Mahayana Buddhism	Great vehicle	22,30,32,55,60-61,102,143
Mula Prasada	Main shrine	122
Naga Raja	King of the nagas	69
Nandi Mandapa	Bull assembly hall	122
NBP	North black polished pottery	124,144,153-55
Nimbus	Sea spirit	84,99
Nirvana	Satisfaction, would not be reborn again	53,56

Putta	Amrono	85
Putti	Amrini	84
Reliquary	Form of a stupa	69,70,81-9,102,167,187,215-8
Schist	A kind of stone used for Buddhist Art	27,83,104,131,160
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Spandrels	Triangular part of the arch	115-6
Tempra Painting	Painting on dry plaster	117
Ushnisha	Top knot of the hair	99
Vaulted ceiling	cured or wagon shape ceiling	117-8
Veraha	Boar Incarnation of Visnu	123
Vestibule	Porch (entrance passage)	114,117-8,121