

Painted Rock Shelters of
the Swat-Malakand Area
From Bronze Age to Buddhism

-

Materials for a Tentative Reconstruction of the Religious and
Cultural Stratigraphy of Ancient Swat

Zur Erlangung des Doktorgrades eingereicht
am Fachbereich Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften
der Freien Universität Berlin

Im November 2010

Vorgelegt von
Luca Maria Olivieri

aus
Rom, Italien

Tag der Disputation: 5. November, 2011

With Appendices by
Matteo de Chiara, Gerhard Payr and Abdul Nasir Khan

English Translation by
Kirsten Scriven-Haldis

Revision and Editing by
Massimo Vidale

1. Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Harry Falk.

2. Gutachterin: PD Dr. Ute Franke.



The lowlands S of Malakand as seen from the study area.

*To our friend Mr Aktar Manir
(Panr village, Swat)
Restorer and Chief Surveyor
for its 50 years of work
with the Italian Archaeological Mission*

CONTENTS

General map.....	I
Map 1.....	II
Map 2 (by E. Morigi).....	XI
Map 3 (by E. Morigi).....	XII
General Photos A-H (by L.M. Olivieri and C. Primangeli).....	XV
PREFACE.....	1
INTRODUCTION	
Rock Art in Swat-Malakand and Surrounding Areas: the State of the Art.....	5
The Painted Shelters of Swat-Malakand.....	8
Topographical Setting.....	9
Documentation Techniques.....	11
The Problem of Dating.....	12
METHODOLOGY	
The Painted Shelters as Privileged Spaces: Landscape Archaeology.....	15
Informed Methods for a ‘Visual Art’.....	17
A Question of Style.....	21
Cognitive Archaeology and Rock Art: Exploring the Meaning.....	26
DEFINITIONS	
Physical Setting.....	29
Organization of the Paintings.....	30
Interpretation of the Figures.....	31
Others Terms.....	33

VI

DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECTS

PICTOGRAMS

1. Human Figures.....	35
1.1 Warriors and Archers	
1.2 Horseback riders	
1.3 Hunters	
1.4 Dancers	
1.5 Farmers and Shepherds	
2. Anthropomorphs.....	41
2.1 Super-human Beings	
2.2 Therio-zoomorphs	
3. Deities.....	45
3.1 Heroes	
4. Wild animals.....	47
4.1 Monkeys	
4.2 Felines	
4.3 Caprids	
4.4 Other ungulates	
4.5 Canids	
5. Domestic animals.....	49
5.1 Equids (Horses)	
5.2 Bovines	
5.3 Ovines	
5.4 Canids	
6. Structures.....	51
6.1 Buddhist Architecture	
6.2 Other Architectural Features	
6.3 Geometric Patterns and Grid-like Designs	
7. Objects.....	57
7.1 Tools and other items	
7.2 Headgear and Clothes	
7.3 Weapons	

IDEOGRAMS

8. Ideograms and Icons.....	59
8.1 Grid-like Designs	

8.2 Symbols and *Tamḡas*

PSYCHOGRAMS

9. Psychograms.....61

9.1 Dots

9.2 Association lines

10. Body modifications.....64

10.1 Modifications of the Head and Torso

10.2 Modifications of the Arms and Hands

10.3 Modifications of the Legs and Feet

ADDENDUM 1: Charts I-IX (Typologies).....68

I. Human Figures

II. Body Modifications

III. Animals

IV. Structures and Geometric Patterns

V. Tools and Headgears

VII. Weapons

VIII. Pscyograms, Ideograms, Deity or Kings

IX. Main Actions

ADDENDUM 2: Graphics I-X (Percentage of occurrence).....76

I. Major groups of figures

II. Human Figures

III. Animals

IV. Structures

V. Main Actions

CATALOGUE

Introduction.....79

Key

Gazetteer.....81

ADDENDUM 3: Chart X.....104

X. Correspondence Chart

VIII

DISCUSSION.....	107
Elements of Continuity and Discontinuity.....	108
A Homogeneous Physical Setting	
Recurring Physical Features	
Elements of Lexical and Syntactical Continuity/Discontinuity	
Evidence for Chronology.....	113
Structures	
Horseback Riding	
Horsemanship Gears	
<i>Triśūla</i> -like Ideograms and Associated Figures	
Deities and Heroes	
Other Chronologically Relevant Information	
Further Archaeological Evidence.....	124
Direct Associations	
Indirect Associations	
External Associations	
Different Types of Painted Shelters.....	130
Topographical Constraints	
Description and Interpretation	
Comparisons	
Syntax, Style and Meaning.....	143
‘Sanctuary’ Complexes	
‘Hermitage’ Complexes	
Deliberate Private Place Complexes	
Public Painting Place Complexes	
Casual (and Short-term) Place Complexes	
ADDENDUM 4: Charts XI-XIII.....	157
XI. Distribution Chart according to the major themes or groups of figures	
XII. Distribution Chart according the physical site features	
XIII. Lexical and syntactical continuity/discontinuity	
CONCLUSIONS	
Preliminary Summary.....	163
Marginality and Acculturation: Space and Time.....	165

On the Existence of a 'Tribal Belt'	180
Subsistence and Role of the 'Tribal Belt'	185
Who were the Makers of the Painted Shelters?.....	195
<i>Post-scriptum</i> ₁	202
ADDENDUM 5: Chart XIV	205
XIV. Distribution Chart according the major recognized cultural horizons	
APPENDICES	
1. Toponomastic Lexicon.....	209
(Matteo De Chiara)	
2. Die Felsmalereien von Tanawal (Manshera District).....	211
(Gerhard Payr)	
Vorbemerkungen	
Geographische Lage und Bevölkerung	
Geschichte	
Diskussion der Felsbilder	
Schlussfolgerungen	
3. The painted shelters of Chargul (Mt. Karamar N, Swabi District).....	221
(L.M. Olivieri/A. Nasir Khan)	
A Brief History	
Recent Documentation	
Conclusions	
4. <i>Post scriptum</i> ₂ : Painted shelters in and around Mt. Ilam.....	227
(L.M. Olivieri)	
Introduction	
The shelter nearby Amluk-dara, Mt Ilam N (Serai site, Swat District)	
The shelters at Marghan, Mt. Ilam S (Buner District)	
LIST OF PLATES.....	233
PLATES	
Graphic Documentation: Pls. 1-49.....	239
(Drawings by L.M. Olivieri, M. Vidale, F. Martore, and R. Micheli)	

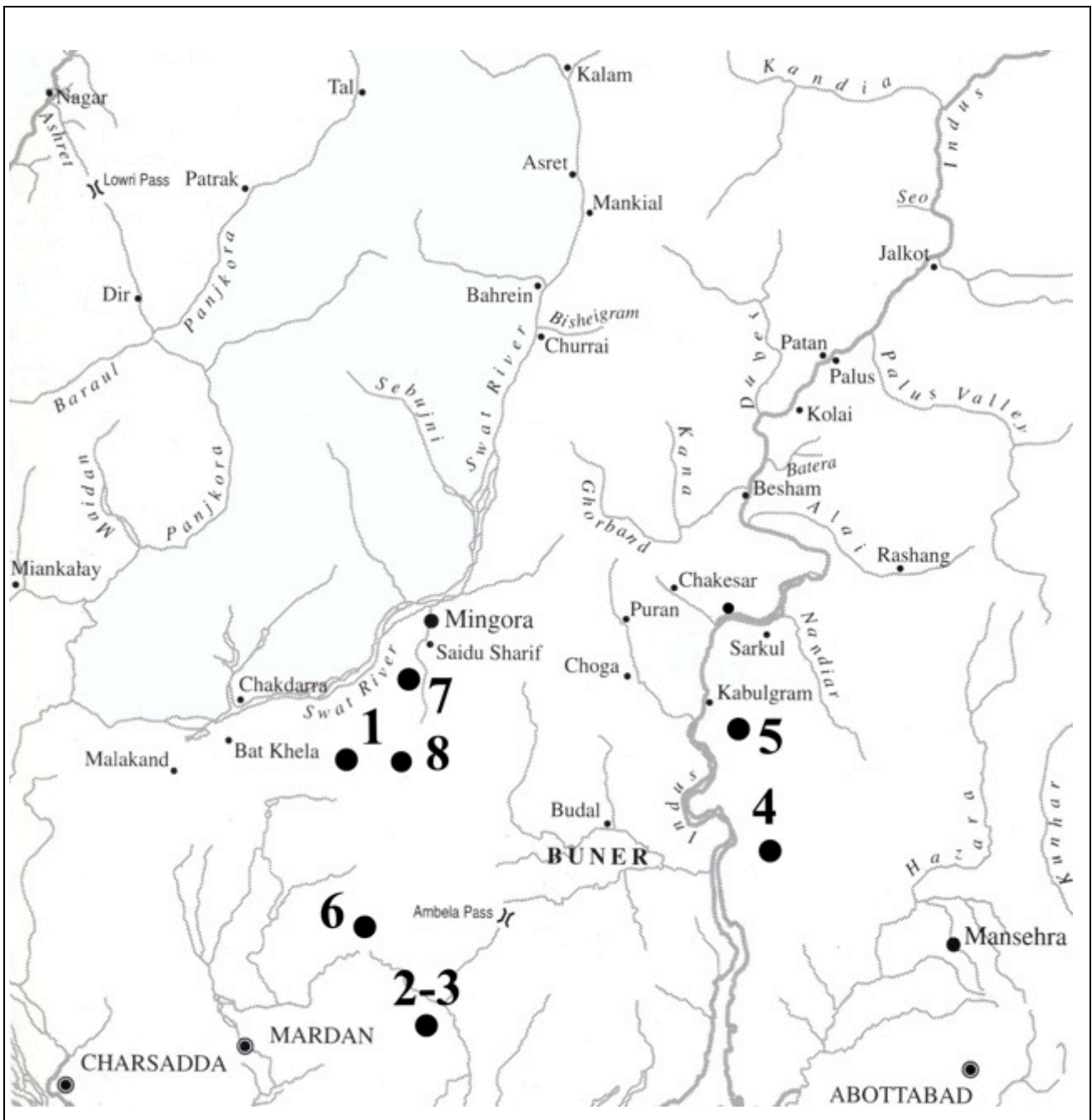
X

Photographic Documentation: Pls. I-CXXII.....	265
(Photographs by L.M. Olivieri, M. Vidale and C. Primangeli)	
Swat-Malakand.....	267
Tanawal.....	309
Chargul.....	317

ABBREVIATIONS

Reference Abbreviations.....	324
Other Abbreviations.....	328

REFERENCES.....	330
-----------------	-----



General Map

- 1: The paintings of Swat-Malakand; 2: Chargul; 3: Parlai-dab; 4: Tanawal;
 5: Kala-tassa (or Kala-tassa; approx. location); 6: Khanpur-Shikaoli; 7: Kafir-smast; 8: Mt. Ilam

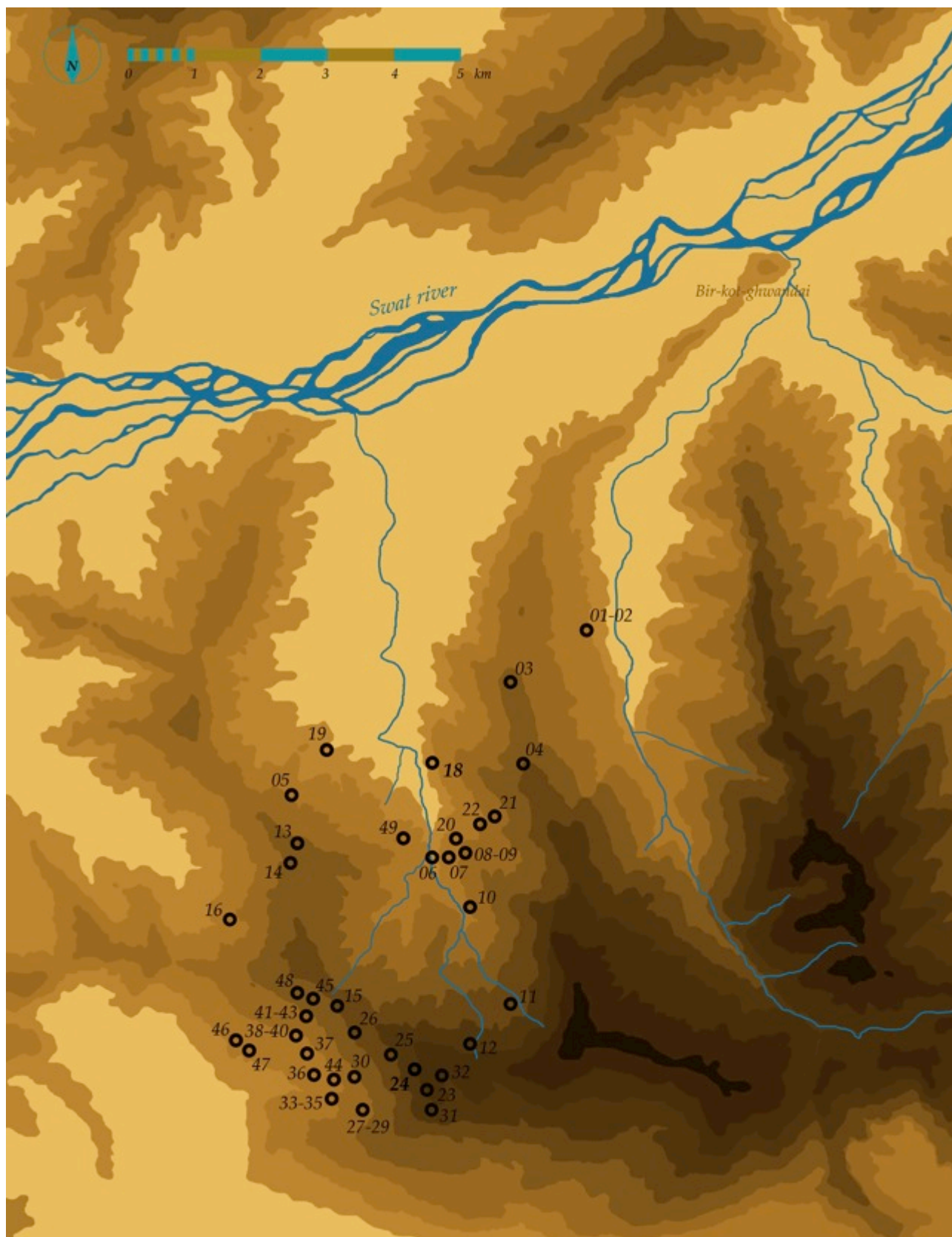
(Map elaborated after CACOPARDO/CACOPARDO 2001: fig. 2)



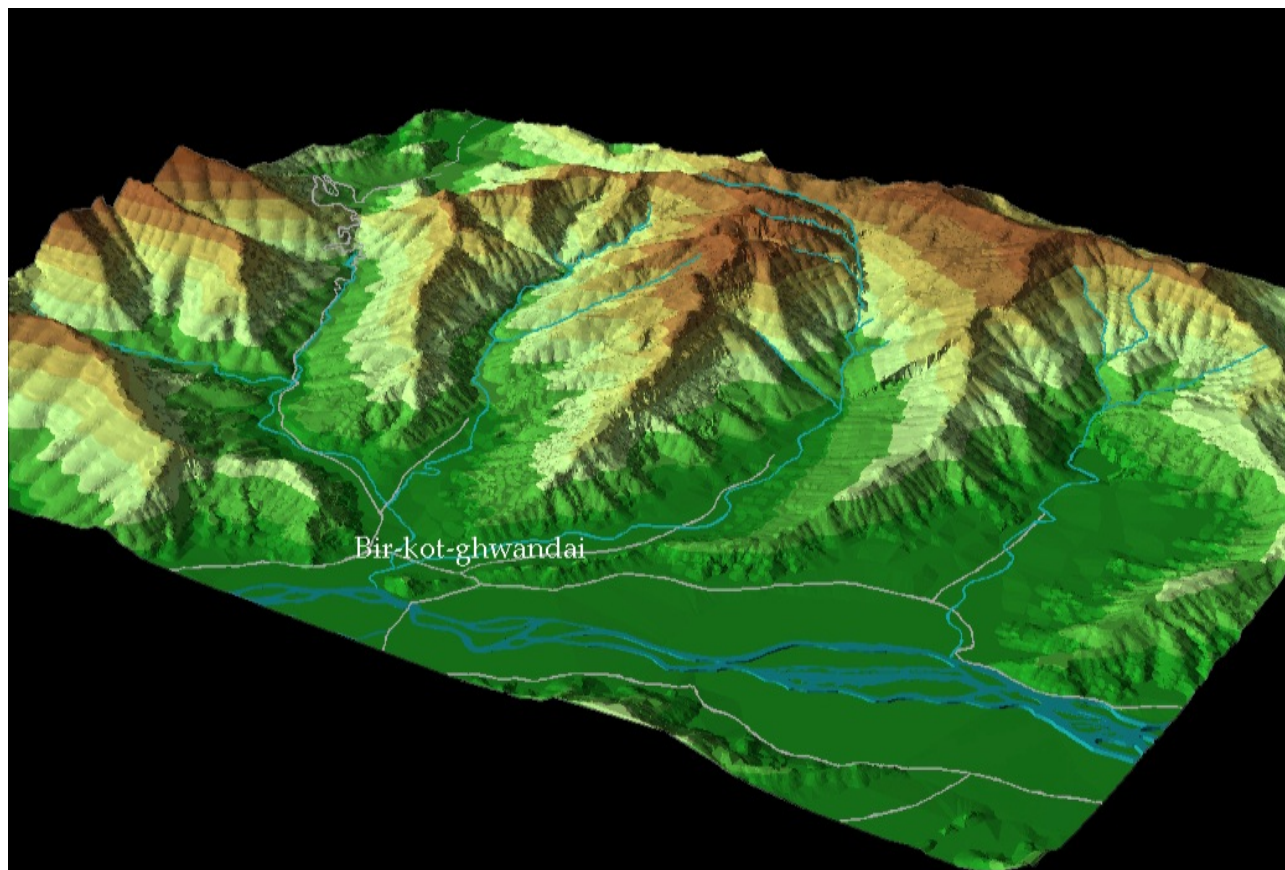
Map 1

The Swat Valley with the study area (Map 2) and the locations of the two shelters found in 2012 around Mt. Ilam (see Appendix 7).

(Elaborated by E. Morigi after SPAGNESI 2006: fig. 1)



Map 2
Distribution Map
(E. Morigi)



Map 3

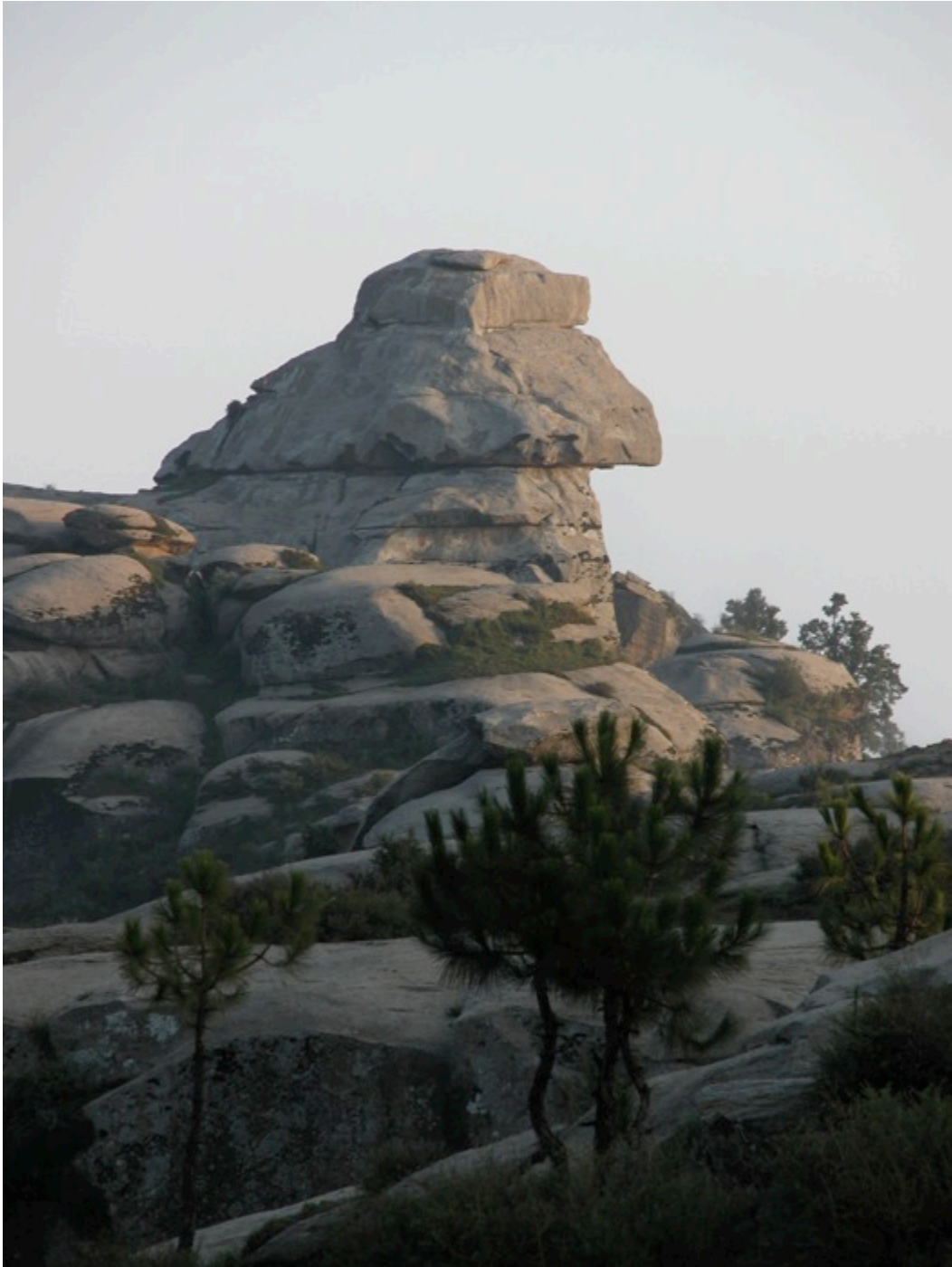
3-D graphic restitution of the study area as seen from NW
(E. Morigi)



Pl. A



Pls. B-C



Pl. D





Pl. F



PREFACE

The present work focuses on a part of the Swat-Malakand region, which straddles two administrative areas of the North West Frontier Province (KP Province, former NWFP) of Pakistan: the Swat District and the Malakand Agency. The rock shelters that are the subject of this research were all documented within a territory of Middle Swat, which borders these two districts, located between the high valley of Kotah (SW Swat) and the southern slopes of the ridge, which runs between Topialai peak and Mount Mohra-sar (SE Malakand).¹

Before the discovery of these paintings, our knowledge on the rock art located in this area was limited to the extraordinary artistic phenomenon represented by devotional rock reliefs from late Buddhism. In contrast, the limited amount of information on ‘non-Buddhist’ production² (or, better yet, the images whose origin and function did not fall within the scope of monastic devotion) appeared to be a minor phenomenon, both in extent and quality. Instead, painted shelters discovered subsequently in the mountains between Swat and Malakand are a conspicuous as well as historically significant phenomenon, and only slightly less so in quantitative terms than the rock art of late Buddhist monasticism.

Since the earliest steps of this research, we were surprised at the continuity of the phenomenon of rock art in Swat. It is as if ‘marking’ the rocks was a cultural marker of the people who inhabited Swat: whether this was done through the use of simple incisions or complicated permutations of cup-marks, within complex paintings in isolated shelters or through the serene gestures of Buddhism. We were very impressed, because one reality seemed to flow into another; as in certain areas, in distinct but contiguous phases, the Buddhist acculturation of Swat replaced the archaic geomancy of ‘high places,’ of the water springs, with its signs, which were indicators of a new sacred geography. The replacement process manifested itself first through the construction of Buddhist places of worship; then, after a phase of decline, the revitalization of some of these areas was

¹ For the definition of ‘Middle Swat’ see OLIVIERI 2003.

² According the definition coined by JETTMAR 1985.

carried out, and the iconography of the Bodhisattvas was chiseled within natural spaces. In a Goethian sense, the nature (*natura naturata*) of the places was recreated with a new nature, and a new type of thought (*natura ricreata*).

The purpose of this work is to present as a whole the results of more than ten years of research which took place within the framework of the Italian Archaeological Mission of the IsIAO in Pakistan (IAM). This research project was conducted as part of the activity of the Archaeological Map Project of the Swat Valley (AMSV), whose first phase, regarding the valleys surrounding Bir-kot-ghwandai (Karak, Najigram, Kandak and Kotah) was concluded after four campaigns (2000, 2004, 2005, and 2006).² The project has been funded by IsIAO (Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente), by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs (MAE - DGCC), and (relating only to the 2006 campaign) by the ‘Karakorum Trust’ (Everest-K2-CNR). It has benefited from the support and the encouragement of the directors of the mission (Domenico Faccenna, Maurizio Taddei and Pierfrancesco Callieri), and the contribution and collaboration of the Directorate General of the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Pakistan (DOAM), and from 2011 onwards also by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber-Pakhtunkwa (DOAM-KP).

As stated above, this study presents a general a discussion of the shelter paintings found in Swat and Malakand. It is a definitive work, yet we are well aware of its limits. It is based on data available through 2007 and updated in 2010 and 2012.⁴

It is not the author’s intent to simply introduce individual discoveries or re-discoveries, but also and above all to present an overall picture, to analyze any potential scientific problem and to attempt a preliminary historical reconstruction. As this is the first time this artistic phenomenon has been studied, and it might involve a wide chronological spectrum, it is probable that the initial reconstruction will leave many questions unanswered, opening at the same time the door to various new topics of research. The task is difficult, almost pretentious. The study of rock shelters, besides being in general a slippery scientific field, is also a young discipline for Swat. On the other hand, the

³ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006. The year 2007 was the last when fieldworks were possible in Swat, before the security conditions deteriorated. The survey in the Chargul and Doga area (Appendices 4 and 5) areas was carried out in Summer 2010, while the reconnaissance in and around Mt. Ilam was made in Spring 2012 (Appendix 7).

importance of the theme makes this attempt justified, if not urgent. In ten years, or perhaps even before this term, this work will appear only as a preamble. Other sites will have been discovered, many issues will have been clarified, and new hypotheses will have been advanced, while those presented here will have been discussed, integrated, and finally surpassed. However, we hope that the core of the assumptions, suggestions, and issues presented here will retain in future part of its validity, in first place for its methodological implications.

Much of the research was conducted by the author in collaboration with Massimo Vidale, who on this occasion chose to stand aside to encourage his slightly younger friend. At this time, I would like to formally thank him; without him, I must admit, this research project would not have passed the preliminary stage in which the author left it after his initial discoveries of the 90's. Without Massimo Vidale's discovery of the two key sites, Sargah-sar and Kakai-kandao, from which the analytic study of this phenomenon took hold, all sites here presented would have been ignored. It also goes without saying that the tireless and inspiring work carried out by Akhtar Manir must be mentioned; he was in charge of local field staff of the IAM in Swat and also acted as restorer.

Last but not least, I would like also to remember the contribution of the colleagues of the DOAM in the field and particularly those by Tahir Saeed in 2004, A. Nasir Khan in 2005, 2007 and 2010, and Faiz-ur-Rahman in 2006, now in force respectively to the DOAM, to the Directorates of Archaeology and Museums of Punjab, and of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa Provinces.

Finally, I would have liked to thank Professor Gherardo Gnoli, last President of IsIAO, who authorized the publication of this material, but his untimely passing, allow me only to offer him a spiritual *ringraziamento*. Dr. Fazal Dad Kakar, Director-general DOAM for his support, and Professor Harry Falk of the Institut für Indische Philologie und Kunstgeschichte, Freie Universität, Berlin, who accepted this research as a theme for a PhD thesis, and took it under his tutorship alongwith Dr. Ute Franke.

INTRODUCTION

ROCK ART IN SWAT-MALAKAND AND SURROUNDING AREAS: THE STATE OF THE ART

The study of rock shelters had not been particularly significant in the history of the IAM of the IsMEO (later IsIAO) in Swat, at least up to 2000. For this reason, the discovery of the carved wall of Gogdara I, credited to Giuseppe Tucci in 1956, published in 1977, should be considered a parenthesis preceding his definitive study.⁵ Nonetheless, it should be remembered that this discipline is part of a tradition of study in which Italian scientists have made major contributions in Karakoram and the Hindu Kush, but only occasionally and within the setting of mountaineering, geological, and anthropological expeditions. Particular recognition must be given to the expedition of the Duke of Abruzzi (1909), to the reconnaissance missions of Biasutti Dainelli (1913 -14), to those of the Duke of Spoleto (1929) to those of Ardito Desio from the second half of last century onwards, up to the expeditions in the Hindu Kush.⁶

To mention 'rock art' in Pakistan brings immediately to mind Karl Jettmar. He was the first in Pakistan to completely dedicate a research project to the study of rock art, in particular in the Upper Indus. In 1980 he launched, with A.H. Dani, a joint German - Pakistan research mission in the Upper Indus of Pakistan⁷ (from 1984: Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften - Department of Archaeology & Museums), which has been headed by Harald Hauptmann since 1989, and deals with the first comprehensive regional study of the Himalaya-Karakoram area with reference to its ancient stages. Its fieldwork and publications (ANP 1-5, MANP 1-10) are the primary reference for any other similar research in the neighboring areas (i.e. the research carried out by H. Tsuchiya).

⁵ TUCCI 1958; GULLINI 1962; BRENTJES 1977; TUCCI 1977; OLIVIERI 1998.

⁶ See the bibliography in DESIO 1985; GARIMOLDI/GUALDONI/MANTOVANI 1991; MARAINI 1997.

⁷ When not indicated otherwise, the term 'Upper Indus' utilized in the text refers to the Pakistani side of the Indus river's course (presently Gilgit-Baltistan; formerly known as NAs).

Other research projects conducted in surrounding areas and culturally associated with ours should be mentioned. In the Ladakh area (Upper Indus/India) the research carried out by B. R. Mani, H.-P. Francfort and, more recently, that of M. Vernier and L. Bruneau, is to be considered. The research done in Uttarakhand and Himachal Pradesh is of particular relevance to our area of interest, especially that carried out in Kumaon and Garhwal by D. P. Agrawal and Y. Mathpal. Whereas in Tibet, the results of the research done by J. V. Bellezza merit consideration (see fn. 7).

In Central Asia, we must mention the central role of the French Mission Archéologique (MMAFAC), directed by H.P. Francfort, thanks to whose *Mémoires* valuable volumes of information were made available to non-Russian-speaking scholars, which would have otherwise been neglected (Volumes I-VI). Through this editorial activity and study, the MAFAC continues to carry out the work of the great school of Russian-Soviet studies, to which we owe much, both for the quantity of data relating to the great wealth of rock art which is present in Central Asia, as well as in terms of methodology. The activities of MAFAC and the German-Pakistani Mission of the Upper Indus, are two outstanding contributions, two true milestones in the field of studies regarding rock art in Asia.

Returning once again to Pakistan, in recent years the archaeologists of the Department of Archaeology & Museums, Government of Pakistan and the University of Peshawar (Department of Archaeology) carried out several new field projects. The areas involved are located in particular in the Middle Indus and the surrounding region (however, still within the northwest Frontier Province or KP). It is in these areas that the first rock art sites were documented thanks to the pioneering work of A. Foucher, D.H. Gordon, C. King, H. De Terra and T.T Paterson. Since then other areas were added to Malakand and Swat, and increasingly frequent news now arrives from Chitral, Bajaur, Swabi and Mardan (see OLIVIERI/NASIR KHAN, Appendices, this volume), Charsada, Buner and Manshera (see PAYR, Appendices, this volume). Up to this point, however, only preliminary reports or local studies are available (excluding Upper Indus); no comprehensive studies of the rock art phenomena have ever been attempted.⁸

⁸ For references to studies preceding World War II see GORDON/GORDON 1941, GORDON 1960 and FOUCHER 1942-1947. For references pertaining to later studies, excluding the Italian works, refer particularly to: MIZUNO ET AL. 1962; MIAN SAID QAMAR 1974-1986; SHAH NAZAR KHAN 1995; SAEED-UR-REHMAN/ASHRAF KHAN/AZEEM 1996; LUFT-UR-REHMAN 1997; BAHADUR KHAN ET AL. 1999; ARSHAD MUGHAL 1999; ASHRAF KHAN ET AL. 1999-2000; BADSHAH SARDAR 2000; NASIM KHAN 2000; ASHRAF

After the preliminary report of the rock carvings of Gogdara I, an important but isolated study, and casual discoveries (such as those of Hatiano-kandao),⁹ the research in Swat-Malakand took hold again in 1989 with the discovery of new rock shelters in Kafir-kot and the surrounding areas within the Malakand Agency.¹⁰ These paintings had been executed utilizing iron oxides (ochre, red and yellow), which can be dated, on the basis of the represented contexts, to a historic period; they include pictograms of sacred Buddhist architecture and mounted warriors, along with geometric ideograms. In 1995, a definitive study that included a complete graphic documentation of the site of Gogdara I was finally carried out. This project, in the end, proposed an initial chronological sequence for the Swat rock art data.¹¹ In the last ten years, many new sites were added to this data. The new discoveries included not only locations with graffiti and engravings, but also a wide variety of new sites containing cup-marks, tanks, dot-marks, etc.¹² New painted shelters of extraordinary importance came to light during the systematic reconnaissance of the Kandak Valley begun in 2000 by Massimo Vidale in preparation of the Archaeological Map of the Swat Valley (AMSV Project). Although the paintings were somehow different from those of Kafir -kot, they may be attributable to the same cultural phenomenon and primarily attributable to late protohistory.¹³ In addition to the sites object of the present research, several others have been discovered in the KP Province: the group of Khanpur-Shikaoli (next to Rustam, Mardan, with more than 3 sites), Parlai-dab (or Parlai -dub, Karamar E, Swabi, 1 site), Kala -tassa (Manshera, 1 site), Tanawal (Manshera, 4 sites), and Kafir -smast (Swat, 1 site).¹⁴ Those of Chargul (Karamar N,

KHAN ET AL. 2002; QASIM JAN MOHAMMADZAI 2005. Recently Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro is carrying out several important field research in Sindh, which are revealing an extraordinary and totally unknown rock-art patrimony (KALHORO 2009, 2011). About Tibet, Kumaon, and Ladakh, see BELLEZZA 1997, 2002a, 2002b; AGRAWAL/KHARAKWAL 1998; MATHPAL 1995; AAS 2008; MANI 2010; BRUNEAU/VERNIER 2010; BRUNEAU 2011, ID. FORTHCOM.

⁹ NAZIR KHAN 1983

¹⁰ NAZIR KHAN 1994, ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1995.

¹¹ OLIVIERI 1998, 2005.

¹² OLIVIERI 2005; OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004; VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2005; OLIVIERI 2006a; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; OLIVIERI 2008; OLIVIERI 2010a.

¹³ VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002.

¹⁴ NASIM KHAN 2000; IBID. and SHAH NAZAR KHAN 1995; NASIM KHAN 2000; PAYR, Appendices, this volume; BADSHAH SARDAR 2000, FORTH. (respectively nos. 6, 2, 5, 4, 7 in the General Map, this volume).

Swabi, 6 sites), and Mt Ilam (3 sites),¹⁵ ultimately represent another important step for the present research.¹⁶

THE PAINTED SHELTERS OF SWAT-MALAKAND

The shelters we discovered are similar in regard to their location, painting techniques, style and subjects. Therefore, we will consider them as a relatively homogeneous group (at least as far they material features are concerned). Preliminary observation shows that the rock shelters are situated on bare eroded crystalline rock on the edge of steep sloping ground or ravines. The paintings are hosted within natural, relatively deep, rounded, niche-shaped cavities; these niches were formed by naturally occurring erosion into gneiss, granitic gneiss or granite rocks (with only one exception). The location of the shelters is not associated (inside or outside) with satisfactorily preserved archaeological deposits. One likely consequence is that their dating – a common scientific crux in the study of ancient rock art – will depend primarily on the study of the material culture portrayed in the designs themselves, as well as the study of comparative stylistic considerations, and the analysis of topographic contexts. As far as their physical features are concerned, let us first consider some established points:

1) The rock shelters rise to approximately the same absolute height, and are sometimes located in the vicinity of major mountain passes, springs, or along ancient paths. In general, it is difficult to ignore the impression that most sites were chosen due to their topographic and visual prominence. In fact the rocks, boulders or pinnacles that host the paintings rise as landmarks and are visible from a considerable distance (with a few exceptions).

¹⁵ These paintings, according to GORDON 1960 (110-11, fn. 9) were first noticed by C. Maxwell of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1881; then they were briefly mentioned in FOUCHER 1942-47 (no. 3 in the General Map, this volume). A. Cunningham dismissed them as ‘boyish sketches –a sort of Afghan Noah’s Ark’ (GORDON 1960: 110). On the matter, see OLIVIERI/NASIR KHAN, Appendices, this volume.

¹⁶ More than 65 painted shelters have been documented in the KP province so far. Moreover in Upper Indus few painted shelters have been documented: at Gurikot (Astor), near the Babusar pass, and uphill Gilgit at Gor (see this volume *infra*). In Swat (Mt Ilam) in 2012 we discovered other 3 painted shelters, (see Appendix 7), bringing to 68 and 52 the total number of painted shelters discovered so far, respectively in KP province and Swat-Malakand (including Buner).

2) The painted walls are often not easily accessible or openly visible. For the painter as well as visitors and onlookers, access to most of the shelters was always quite difficult. Arriving to them often necessitated climbing, sometimes painstaking sliding, and in some cases it is clear that the painters, as well as the onlookers, had to stretch in difficult position and even lie on the back. In these cases, the ceiling and other paintings had to be observed from a short distance, only a few centimetres from one's face, and only one painter or onlooker at a time would have been able to enter the shelter to observe the figures. In general, it is evident that the paintings had been traced, and had been observed, by individuals or very small groups in uncomfortable, unnatural positions.

3) All the paintings were made utilizing mineral pigments made with common iron oxides. So far, the analytical tests performed did not reveal organic substances such as oils or fats added to the composition of the pigment with function of binders. The shades of ochre in use are listed in order of their frequency: carnelian red, crimson red, orange red, scarlet red, white, and cadmium yellow. This latter color was used only at a single site.

4) The application of color was most likely done with the artist's fingers. In all cases, the breadth of the traits is similar to and differs only slightly from the average width of a finger; in one case, signs of fingerprints were documented. In no case was there evidence of the use of brushes or sticks.

5) All of the figures within each individual painting appear to be part of larger complexes: apart from few exceptions, one does not have the impression that the figures were added gradually. Therefore, the work of more than one artist's hand within the same painting has never been highlighted. The evidence of overlapping colors or designs, or of additional layers of colors, is quite limited.

TOPOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The painted rock shelters are located prevalently in an area of about 50 km². This area is composed of three sectors: the first is included within the Swat District; the other two are part of the Malakand Agency. The first area covers the upper half of two parallel valleys, oriented on a N-S axis, through which flow two streams, which are left tributaries of the river, Swat. The easternmost of the two streams, the Kandak, flows into the Swat River, E of the hills of Barikot, but after having jointed with another tributary, the Karakar.

The two valleys are separated by a mountain ridge (Jaurbanda-ghar) which pushes up to an altitude of 900 -1800 m asl and reaches 2068 m asl with the peak of Doplai -sar (Topialai-sar) at the summit located SE of the watershed. The Kotah flows into the Swat River to the SW of Barikot, near the village of the same name. The second area lies immediately W of the orographic chain that separates the Kotah valley from the more western Thana Valley (Morah-ghar). This chain is named after one of its minor summits (Morah-sar, 1503 m asl) and culminates with its southernmost peak, Saffar-sar (1566 m asl). The third area lies just south of the E-W watershed, which separates Swat from the Mardan plain. This orographic limit runs, at an average altitude of 1700 meters asl, from the Doplai-sar peak to the E, to the Saffar-sar peak to the W (henceforth referred to as the Doplai-Saffar range). All the sectors considered are characterized by a stony terrain typical of crystalline geology, relevant to the so-called Jambil Unit of the geology of Swat (Augengneiss).¹⁷ Many stretches have a typical 'Inselberg' configuration as they have been heavily eroded by glacial action.

The Kandak valley opens into the Swat valley in front of the rocky outcrop of Barikot (Bir-kot-ghwandai), after an arc-shaped segment of the river that is approximately 10 kilometres long. Barikot, the ancient Bazira, is one of the protohistoric and historic towns of Middle Swat and probably the best-known archaeological site in the entire valley.¹⁸ The Bir-kot area is the topographic end of both the Kandak and Karakar valleys, and its rocky elevation represents an ideal point of control and military defence.

The Kotah valley provides a natural access from the Swat valley to the Mardan plain; instead, the Kandak Valley does not provide an easy transit route toward the plains, due its geomorphology. Its natural southern outlet, the Tarakai pass (1789 m asl), is rarely used in transhumance. Nevertheless, the key role of this pass should be noted: both Buner (to the E) and the Mardan plain (to the W) can be accessed through it. The Kandak valley is a valley of transverse communication (E-W); it can easily communicate from several points with the upper valley of Karakar (through the pass of the same name, now equipped with a paved road, 1336 m asl). Conversely, in the opposite direction from Kandak, through the Kakai-kandao pass (1277 m asl), one can enter the Kotah Valley, and from there, across the Saffar-kandao, reach Morah-kandao (1031 m asl, now reachable thanks to a paved road) and the Mardan Plain. Both valleys, Kandak and Kotah

¹⁷ OLIVIERI 2003: 14-15, fig. 5.

¹⁸ See for references CALLIERI ET AL. 1992; OLIVIERI 2003; CALLIERI ET AL. 2000.

lie along one of the most important sub -regional thoroughfares of the ancient route connecting the mid-section of the Kunar (presently a Province of NE Afghanistan) to the middle Indus valley.¹⁹

In conclusion, because of their orographic features, both the Kotah and Kandak valleys represent at the same time possible transit routes and a restricted territory, as they are both difficult to access and can easily be closed and defended. These characteristics are also reflected in the recent history of the valleys; today, among the left tributary valleys of the Swat River, only these two valleys still lack paved roads. Looking to the ancient history and proto-history of both valleys, they present an uncommon evolutionary lag, more comparable to more remote areas in Swat Kohistan than to Middle Swat.

DOCUMENTATION TECHNIQUES

The paintings were documented in the field with the help of local workers who were part of the Italian mission (together with Mr Akhtar Munir, our restorer, I would like to remember the late Mr Fazal Wahid who helped me during the Kafir -kot 1990 documentation campaign). After careful cleaning which was carried out where possible (very rarely), the paintings were photographed with the IFRAO colour standard scale,²⁰ and contact-traced onto transparent polyethylene sheets (available at the local bazaars) using permanent markers.²¹ The painted figures were carefully and repeatedly observed through and below the transparent sheets, whenever possible in different hours of the day, considering the different exposure of the rocks to the sun. Figures and traits that, being well preserved, were considered certain, were reproduced as solid designs, whereas other features, less certain or partially hypothetical, were re-traced with standard conventional dotted patterns.

At the Mission headquarters at Saidu Sharif the panels were carefully recomposed and reproduced in scale 1 : 1 on polyethylene sheets, then photographed against white backgrounds, and reduced to the necessary scale. For the photographic documentation, during the last documentation campaigns, we adopted a more complex processing system: when necessary, digital color calibration and re-constitution was carried out with

¹⁹ See references in OLIVIERI 1996.

²⁰ BEDNARICK 1991.

²¹ IBID.

computer applications (Lightroom and Adobe Photoshop). Thanks to this system, in many cases it was possible to integrate the contact copies made on the field, particularly those of figures whose color spectrum had not permitted to clearly distinguish them with the naked eye from the rocky surfaces. Obviously, there is a certain difference, in terms of quality and reliability, between the first tracings (1990, Sites 13, 15-17) and those executed after 2000, when our recording methods had improved. The standard system we adopted after 2000 has given better results, as one can easily notice from the graphic documentation presented in this volume.

Only in the case of the campaign records for the Kafir-kot area did we collect samples to carry out a chemical analysis of the pigments.²² As the working conditions during the last campaigns in Swat, with regard to security, were not optimal, documentation was restricted to the graphic phase and digital photographs. Techniques, which would have permitted the direct dating of the rock art either through the utilization of radiometric methods or other non-interfering methods, were not employed. As our team was neither instrumentally nor financially equipped to carry out an experimental program of radiometric dating, this issue – potentially quite promising – was postponed to a future phase of field research.

THE PROBLEM OF DATING

Any attempt at dating rock art – besides radiometric determination – often depends upon interpretation than on a conclusive base of scientific data. At the same time, recent studies have provided this branch of archeology with increasingly more objective tools of investigation.²³

In general, any rock art site tends to retain many elements of doubt, which might prevail on confirmed facts. The detection of chronological stages, or the reconstruction, where detectable, of elements of relative chronological, for example in the overlapping of asynchronous paintings on the same medium, often represents the only way for determining the evolution in time of a painted context. Moreover, only in rare instances, at the shelters or immediately nearby, there are preserved archaeological deposits or

²² See VITALI in ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1995: 343-34.

²³ See BEDNARICK 1993a, 1994a, 1994b, 1995a, 1995b (*contra*, ZILHAO 1995); CLOTTES 1998; WHITLEY 2001. See also DOOLIN 2009 and references.

other evidence that may spread objective light on the chronology of the painted complexes; and even in similar cases, such potential information is hardly combined with the 'vertical' stratigraphy represented by the superimposition of images in paintings.

This is the precise situation we face in the Malakand-Swat shelters. In Swat, after nearly fifty years of excavation and archaeological research in this geographic basin, which is quite small, we tried to cross the archaeological data with the logical deductions suggested by the visual analysis of the painted complexes, even though, initially, these latter appeared decontextualized. To avoid the risk of an 'eclectic mix of approaches'²⁴ our rock art sites were primarily been studied in a regional context, within which it is possible to recognize landscape patterns, semantic patterns, stylistic and lastly cultural patterns; and only after a careful consideration of these latter, I will attempt an analogic study and propose a hypothetical timeline.

This project applied a procedure that could be described as 'layered'. The shelters and their paintings were initially described on visual and physical basis (Chapters: Description of Materials, Gazetteer). Then follows an analysis, in the 'Discussion' section. The latter is sub-divided according to the following sequence: all the various possible morphological comparisons of the single figures (Chapter: Discussion, Paragraph: Items for Chronology), the association of Sites to direct and indirect archaeological data (Chapter: Discussion, Paragraph: Archaeological Data), a physical description and landscape information (Chapter: Discussion, Paragraph: Physical Features [...]), and lastly an interpretative description (Chapter: Discussion, Paragraph: Syntax and Meaning). A comprehensive synthesis is then expressed in the final chapter (Chapter: Conclusions).

²⁴ CHIPPINDALE/TAÇON 1998: 1-10.

METHODOLOGY

THE PAINTED SHELTERS AS PRIVILEGED SPACES: LANDSCAPE ARCHAEOLOGY

Human artistic expression is closely linked to the values given to it by its retaining materials and contexts. This statement has validity when referring to a canvas and the painting applied upon it; it has a parallel, intrinsic validity when speaking of a natural stone wall in relation to the rock art it hosts. The paintings would be to the rock what a fresco would represent for an altar, or, even more properly, a mosaic for the apse of a church. In contrast, the relationships between a portable medium such as a painted canvas and its architectural container are quite different – the same that tapestry or carpets would maintain, even more in non-permanent, buildings, such as those of nomadic settlements. Rock art, in other words, is a major material and ideological investment, planned, at least to a certain extent, for a long duration.

A focus on landscape archeology is crucial to understand the phenomenon of rock art, as recent studies have shown.²⁵ It is inevitable to attach anthropomorphic values to a landscape, where the entire toponymic lexicon is clearly evident: one only needs to imagine the definition of a topographic summit or cape through the word used for the head of a man, and so on. Even the history of toponymy suggests some useful reflection: think of our cities, where only in modern times prevailed the use of non-immediate toponyms (such as the names of celebrities or of capitals); whereas, in former times, priority was given to local denominations, based upon the actual use or the physical features of a site. While the former were recognized on their own features, modern toponyms are linked to visual media (i.e. maps or signals) or frequency of passage, enabling their temporary memorization.

For an archaeologist, if it is not difficult to recognize the importance of a landscape setting in the case of a monumental inscription, it should be even more evident why this value becomes crucial in rock art. Often, the location of a monumental inscription is chosen because the site had already been selected for a royal tomb, a political boundary, a

²⁵ Among the most recent, see WHITLEY 1998; OUZMAN 1998, and CHIPPINDALE/NASH 2004. For the methodological approach see particularly LENSSEN-ERZ 2004.

sacred site, etc. Similarly, a rock art site is set in one location instead of another due to particular features: fresh water springs, fjords, mountain passes, wells, oases, etc. In each of these cases, the importance of the location is clearly linked to its function. It is, to use a paradox, a 'domesticated' natural environment. Elsewhere, one faces environments, which have been 'tamed' through their transformation into myths, such as mountain-peaks (Bego in the Alps, Har Karkom in the Sinai, Latmos in Anatolia, Sulajiman Too in Kyrgyzstan, Ilam in Swat), lakes, and others, which are still seen as 'anthropomorphic' by virtue of their morphological characteristics (Sargah-sar, in Swat). In the more recent expressions of this art (for example, the art of the desert nomads, in Hawran, in Ha'il of Dancalia, within Sudan's Nubia), sites are sometimes linked to the presence of an appropriate medium (e.g., basalt), which then disappears in contiguous areas, where the lithic material changes (for example where limestone prevails). In this case, we can refer to an environment as being functional.

All of the above gives the impression of a concept of geographical space, which before the existence of written communication, advanced toward an incremental ideal possession of the outside world. This, as it was slowly named, defined, and recognized (even while only lifting a stone), became the legacy of a culture and part of its collective memory. Only an abstract geography (*ta graphé* of the earth), i.e. a geography written and drafted by literary cultures, can be set free from the bindings of a specific location, and allows a man 'to read' a place in its absence. This new geography, which is our one, has no need (at least at first sight) for rock art, and indirectly infers the existence of mobile art as the dominant phenomenon.

Following this path of study, however, it is not always possible to obtain clear results. The conclusions may be uncertain, with few exceptions: for example, the symbolic role of the mountain-'face' of Sargah-sar is as evident as the famous mountain-'vulva' of Painted Rock on the Carrizo Plain in California. However, the location of most paintings in places related to water - or other geographically relevant factors - is equally significant, as is the position of the equally famous and much discussed cup-marks, which are often associated with water sources or places which are visually dominant.

INFORMED METHODS FOR A 'VISUAL ART'

One thread of research that has been followed in rock art studies is semantic. It takes into account the 'communicative' character of the images. This methodological approach²⁶ can be synthesized in the equivalence, sometimes obvious, between decorated, carved or painted walls and a text. The limits of this path have been generally acknowledged, especially when it does not seem to take into account the non-visual value - the sounds, smell or touch, conceivable, for example, in certain 'compositions' of cup-marks, entirely non-figurative.²⁷ To deny the communicative element, and in doing so, the original possibility of sharing and reproducing the rock art experience, would mean to access a quite reductive level of interpretation. It would also deny that much of the more recent rock art phenomena have an evident communicative character (recognizable as we are familiar with the lexicon). This alludes to the transformation of these expressions during the 'post-contact,' or colonial period. Another factor in favor of the correctness of the 'communicative' interpretation of spontaneous rock art lies in the observation that its production is typical of non-literate cultures, and that the availability of written forms of language corresponds to a decrease and disappearance of such art. In the sphere of profusely literate cultures, its persistence or re-emergence can be noted in human contexts, which are disadvantaged in terms of linguistics.

To better clarify the methodological approach used in this project, I attempt to define straightly the problem, presenting the project's postulates, as well the three fundamental contexts in which the phenomenon of rock art may be positioned.

1) First of all, we can consider the experience of a literate culture with the written word. Chronologically, rock art lies, in this context, in the midst of a long sequence (from the Paleolithic to the Modern age). This latter spans from non-literate to literate cultures, always in a context of primary orality²⁸, or visually-orally oriented environment²⁹, with its various distinctive features.³⁰

²⁶ Followed by scholars such as E. Anati, and D. T. Lewis-Williams (LEWIS-WILLIAMS 1981, 1983, see also an excellent application in TILG 1994),

²⁷ OUZMAN 1998: 30-31; CALEGARI 2000: 5-10.

²⁸ According to the definition coined by W. J. Ong (ONG 1982).

²⁹ To better understand the definition, see SEVERI 2004: 21.

³⁰ 1) A-literate (or pre-literate): there is a total absence of any written form of communication; 2) Non-literate: if such forms exist elsewhere, they are not shared by the culture; 3) Co-literate: the culture is

The priority of the phenomenon ‘rock art’ is evident through the literate stage. At this point, according to the reconstruction originally carried out by Giambattista Vico, the pictograms become ‘sémata’ or ‘divine characters’ and introduce the ‘parlari pistolari [...] vulgari’ of alphabetic writing.³¹ In this phase, the artistic expression referred to as rock art begins its decline toward its eventual disappearance.³² The withdrawal and disappearance of this form of expression is well perceived, as already mentioned, during the post-contact phase of the cultures recently colonized in America, Africa and Oceania³³, as well in the case of Buddhist Swat, in the Basaltic deserts of the Middle East in contact with the Arabic alphabets³⁴, in the mountain valleys of the Alps during the period of Romanization,³⁵ in Helan Shan during the Shang period³⁶ and elsewhere.

This conceptual framework involves a series of consequences. The principal concern is chronology. Starting from the non-literate stage, each stage is diversified in terms of its specific chronology and with respect to various geographical areas. In terms of absolute chronology, one might witness similar stages in different areas, set on points that in a straight, simple timeline, would appear distant from each other, even by thousands of years. Another consequence, however indirect, regards the identity of the culture (the material culture and its archaeological definition). The process (autogenous or allogenic) that leads to the literate phase (an inevitable destination, as many would admit), brings with it a progressive articulation and specialization of the internal functions of a culture. From a linguistic point of view this leads to a lexical extension, while from a social and economic point of view this results in the emergence of forms that gradually become more complex.

2) The second factor is the recognition of local cultural patterns within which it is also possible to propose more extensive comparisons. In this sense, we find the school of thought of E. Anati most interesting, as it focused on recurrent cultural conditions rather than on specific, contextual historical stages. This is particularly true in areas (non-European, and

familiar with and shares written communication at various levels, but only as an allogenic mode of expression; 4) Literate: written communication is prevalent, and gradually substitutes any other form of communication. The following sequence was first presented in VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002.

³¹ G.B. VICO, *Principi di Scienza Nuova*, ed. 1774, II § IV.

³² The universal cultural categories recognized by Anati are: 1) Archaic hunter-gatherers; 2) Evolved hunter-gatherers; 3) Pastor-Breeders; 4) Complex economy. See ANATI 1994a: 38.

³³ See references in CHIPPINDALE/TAÇON 1998: 4; see also CLEGG 1998, KLASSEN 1998.

³⁴ For example: WINNET/REED 1973; CAMPETTI/BORZATTI VON LÖWENSTERN 1983: 139-140.

³⁵ ANATI 1976: 153-156.

³⁶ ANATI 1992.

perhaps rural or remote) which were only recently modernized and within which life conditions have continued largely unchanged, even from antiquity up to decades ago.

For this reason, certain categories or cultural patterns are recognized as constant (Evolved Hunters, Pastoralists, Mixed Economy).³⁷ In this research I refer mostly to the third category, which is intended as the prevailing one during the transitional phases of already complex economies (or better: mixed economies), as were those of Swat from the Bronze Age onwards.³⁸

According to Anati these categories (with the inevitable sub-categories and the expected multiple stages of transition) are reflected in a precise graphic lexicon, perceptible thanks to a purely visual approach. For example, the bow and arrow are present only from the first category on, while domestic livestock are present in the second category, and agricultural activities (and related artifacts) are present in the third. According to this hypothesis, even the syntax of the rock art expressions varies from category to category. For example, descriptive scenes appear only since the appearance of the second category, while in the first, the association of signs most often reveals the use of expressions which are difficult to understand in terms of a pure visual approach (a-syntactic and non-verbal). In the third category, attached by Anati to representations by societies with complex economies, one frequently encounters repetitive schematic forms (labeled ideograms).

3) I found also really useful Anati's attempt to establish an interpretative model for signs as facts in themselves. According to this scholar, to attempt to interpret rock art, whenever possible, not only as a manifestation of self-experience, but also as a mode of communication (especially visual), means to recognize semantic patterns which are more or less specialized. These latter, far from being part of an unilinear evolutionary model of increasing complexity, identify characteristic markers of specific cultural stages. As discussed for semantic patterns, where possible, the distinction between pictograms, ideograms and psychograms turns out revealing.³⁹ This is true, of course, if by pictogram one intends an objective representation of an object, and by ideogram one intends a more complex, conceptual representation. For example, a central cross-like shield which dominates a scene with warriors armed with other shields, is an ideogram, while a group of uplifted shields are pictograms. An anthropomorph larger than the human figures which surround him, even if not dissimilar from the symbol

³⁷ ANATI 1981; 1994: 35-38.

³⁸ STACUL 1987; YOUNG 2003.

³⁹ As elaborated by ANATI 1994a. On the definition of 'grammar' and 'syntax' in the analysis of prehistoric rock art, see ANATI 1992: 97 and ff.

'man' could be an ideogram. Instead, a psychogram - an abstract element introduced as a visual sign on the rock - is a sign that no longer represents an object as much as an action, or a modification of both (like adjectives and adverbs do in current languages). Generally, enigmatic symbols such as points, sinuous lines, zigzags, etc., represent the most common 'vocabulary' elements present in psychograms. Obviously enough, this three-fold meaning often leads to a gradual increase in the intricacy of our interpretation.

It is on these bases that I take the liberty of adopting terms such as 'lexicon,' 'syntax' and so on, which would otherwise be quite ambiguous. The interpretation of individual design types (in terms of semantic elements) is briefly reviewed in the following index.

The basic elements of the Swat-Malakand rock art are here framed in a threefold classification: pictograms, ideograms, psychograms.⁴⁰

In detail:

i) Pictograms: signs in which one recognizes representations of objects, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures (which, following the proposed grammatical analogy, would function as 'nouns'). Under this heading we will consider, for instance, human figures, the nature of their stylistic variations, weapons, tools and emblems exhibited by humans, animal figures and their implications, etc.

ii) Ideograms: synthetic schemes and signs of a more doubtful interpretation (which in a grammatical interpretation would be considered mostly as playing the roles of abstract nouns and concepts). They are represented by shapes, such as squares, grids, dots and other abstract symbols. But not only: in some cases the pictogram 'archer' could be the ideogram 'warrior,' formed by in this case by the pictograms 'man' and 'bow'. In this sense, interpreting or reading such signs requires a cultural juxtaposition. For example, a Central Asian painted panel should be interpreted assuming that the bow is the attribute *par excellence* of the Scythian aristocratic warfare, as redundantly reported by Western Classical and Indo-Iranian sources.

iii) Psychograms: signs indicating actions. They may be isolated or included in dynamic relationships with the various components of the overall representation (taking the grammatical role of verbs and adverbs, and at times of nouns working together with an adjective). Psychograms are particularly ambiguous, even by definition, in that they may imply the existence of psychodynamic relationship between the painter, the painted elements,

⁴⁰ ANATI 1992, 1994a.

and the onlookers. The elements may include dots, association lines, lines and signs, which often suggest particular and often dramatic modifications of the human figure.⁴¹

A QUESTION OF STYLE

The process of interpreting relational structures among representations at rock art sites includes the following fundamental steps:

- 1) Interpretation of diachronic relationships (relative sequence of paintings);
- 2) Interpretation of synchronic relationships (syntactic organization and spatial patterning of the figures);
- 3) Formal and stylistic comparisons between the figures under scrutiny and other representations, particularly those studied by other research groups in neighboring areas. This is generally regarded as a good third step - providing another type of relationship that may help us better understand the absolute chronology and the informational context of the paintings.

As stated above, we have a specific, keen interest in the complex reality (even from a purely chronological viewpoint) of the rock art of the Upper Indus, thoroughly investigated by the German Mission in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. The German studies were for me a constant methodological reference - particularly when I looked for comparisons and coherence between findings at the northern complexes and those from Swat-Malakand, in the specialized literature published through 2009.⁴² However, I have limited my quotations of the rock art complexes in the Upper Indus to specific cases that best fit the overall interpretation pursued. When speaking of the Indus-Kohistan area, I also referred to the results obtained by the Japanese team.⁴³ In studying the Hindu Kush area, the few available summaries have also been taken into account.⁴⁴

The study of rock art often requires a substantial effort in the comparison and quotation of designs, as well as their graphic and semantic implications, which often depend strictly on local stylistic variations, and even before on the idio-syncretic variability of each exploited

⁴¹ Dots, association lines, and lines are considered 'ideograms' e.g. by ANATI 1994a.

Most of the studies on the neurological interpretation of psychograms, i.e. to the so-called 'phosphenes,' originate from the fundamental work of KELLOG ET AL. 1965 (see HOGDSON 2000 for the most interesting applications).

⁴² ANP 1-5, MANP 1-9.

⁴³ TSUCHIYA 1993, 1994, 1995, 1996.

⁴⁴ DESIO 1985; JUNG 2003; FERRANDI 2010.

material medium of graphic expression. In this sense, the wider the range of the possible comparisons, the less punctual and informative is the archaeological inference. Nonetheless, I have avoided considering our data as the expression of an isolated cultural environment; and as a consequence I explored a large quantity of available data. For this reason, the study area belongs to a relatively sensible spatial extension, outside the Hindu Kush and W Karakoram areas.⁴⁵ Some semantic comparisons take into account faraway areas and even rock art complexes of other continents, while referring to possible recurrent meanings of single figures in the context of cultures, which are – obviously enough – not related and quite different.

Today, stylistic analysis is the subject of extensive criticism to the point that, for many authors,⁴⁶ the current phase of study of rock art could be defined as ‘post-stylistic’.⁴⁷ Certainly, beyond the purely humanistic or art-historical viewpoint of the phenomenon, many new approaches should be hailed as innovative, as previously many information elements of great scientific potential were allowed to escape the loose grids of discussion. Proceeding only by analogy and by typology, in a field such as this, where variables are manifold and often largely unknown, is doubtless quite reductive.

Imagine applying an ‘à-la-Breuil’ criteria to a phenomenon that shares many psychological aspects with non-literate art, the so-called ‘Child Art’⁴⁸. If one attempts to proceed in the aforesaid manner, he/she will realize that the constants in play are not so much stylistic, as rather syntactic, or better, spatial. The subject or the dominant colors, rather than the type of style, would be discriminant. The term ‘style’ is in fact also a summary of ‘each medium’s

⁴⁵ For the identification of the figures (in the Chapter: Description of Materials), reference was only made to homogeneous comparisons (rock art), if possible at the regional level, but not uniquely (this also due to a persistence of universal forms, however, this is not the appropriate place to discuss this fact; see BEDNARIK, S.D.). With regard to factors referring to the dating (in the Chapter: Discussion), instead, reference was made to heterogeneous comparisons (rock art, but also coins, sculptures, texts, ceramics) preferably on a local / sub-regional level. Here we shall propose specific comparisons, when referring to neighbouring sub-Himalayan and Indian regions: Himalayan Kumaon: see ref. in AGRAWAL/KHARAKWAL 1998; Indian Kashmir: PANDE 1971, 1972; Ladakh-Zanskar: see ref. in FRANCFORT ET AL. 1990; VERNIER 2007; BRUNEAU/VERNIER 2010; Madhya Pradesh: see ref. in NUEMAYER 1991; CHAKRAVARTY/BEDNARIK 1997. More generic comparisons, when dealing with peripheral Eurasian regions; for example: S Siberia: MMAFAC 1 -4; Mongolia: MMAFAC 6; NOWGORODOWA 1980; Uzbekistan: KHUZHANAZAROV 1999; Kazakhstan: MMAFAC 5, SAMASHEV 1993; SHVETS 2010; Trans-Himalaya (S and W Tibet): BELLEZZA 1997, 2002a, 2002b.

⁴⁶ From R. G. Bednarick to M. Lorblanchet and others; see references in CHIPPINDALE/TAÇON 1998.

⁴⁷ LORBLANCHET/BAHN 1993.

⁴⁸ ARNHEIM 1954; see in particular ref. in PIZZO RUSSO 1988

expressive possibilities:’ thus there exists a ‘brush’s expressive style,’ a ‘pencil’s’ one, and so on. On closer examination, one should take first into account the constraints of the technique, as well as the ability to master and overcome the physical features of the medium and its constituent materials. In this same light, in the de-construction of a style, specific aspects of ocular-motor coordination would also immediately come into play. Trying to be objective, we realize that other factors, formal and not, are involved in these issues: such as the choice of the media (‘paper’ rather than ‘wall’), the age of the makers (for example, in ‘Child Art’, two years instead of six) or phase (in rock art, non-literate, rather than co-literate contexts).

A distinction between paintings and engravings, as P. Florenskij’s one between paintings and graphics, promises to be revealing. ‘Paintings and graphic works can be distinguished by their approach to spatial organization, and in both cases, the diversity of their approaches is not a minor detail, but it is rooted from the beginning in the subdivision of spatiality in two substantially different directions’.⁴⁹ Elsewhere the same author speaks even more clearly: ‘The painting diffuses the ‘thingness’ [la cosalità] in space and due to this, space tends to become transformed into an environment. In contrast, graphics reduce the spatiality of the thing [...]. Paintings fundamentally deal with the subject - i.e., the content - and according to the model of this content the external space is constructed. Instead, graphic art occupies the space that surrounds things and following this model it interprets their inner selves. Space in itself is not accessible to touch; nevertheless, the painting wants to interpret it as tactile, therefore we introduce material assuming that it is the finest [color]. For this reason, the environment of the light was born’⁵⁰.

A similar perspective highlights the substantial coincidence of the chosen area (landscape) and technique, in distinguishing in a gnoseological sense between a painted rock shelter, and a decorated wall; between a painted rock which speaks by itself, as recreated Nature, and engravings on the rock which are man’s creative intervention, which express the substantive domain.

Painted stone walls, in visible or hidden rock sites, are essentially a communion with the natural environment, linked to special events, roles, periods and functions, and in many instances, as revealed by ethnography, pervaded by an intrinsic religiosity. Walls covered with carvings, mostly in open spaces, exhibit characters which are more public, shared by the traditional community, before the emergence of a clearly political expression such as

⁴⁹ FLORENSKIJ 1923-24 (Italian ed. 1995): 63.

⁵⁰ IBID.: 84

monumental inscriptions – in the part of the world I am discussing, those of the Early Historic Period at the foot of the Karakoram (promoted by the Maurya empire).

It is not a coincidence that many stone carvings, from the Alps to the Middle East to the Himalayas, share the phenomenon of re-use, until recent times, with onomastic inscriptions, the simplest form of self-expression. This trend, also seen in children's artwork at the co-literate phase, especially in combination with pencil drawings, would be a current form comparable to dynamic engraving.

Other factors to be observed are even more remote; although any trace of them may have vanished a long time ago, their impact remains somehow fixed in the artistic product to which they contributed: a state of mind, an opinion on what the artist was doing, the perception of time, a particularly emotion about a subject (in 'Child Art': 'Mother' is felt and proposed more intensively than 'home'). To which extent can we limit ourselves to comments and classifications on 'style?' Apparently we cannot, provided that by 'style' is intended the formal 'style' of Art History. With this, the stylistic dialogue is forever closed; but, ultimately, are we truly living in a 'post-stylistic era'?

In our field, as in the evaluation of any spontaneous art, it is necessary to consider an 'individualized' vision of each phenomenon. One thing is to speak about 'style' in an a-literate period, quite another to do the same during a co-literate period. Just at the point of overcoming these two latter stages of cultural growth, due to the development of a form of written codes, expression immediately becomes increasingly mediated, leaving space to the intervention of a stylistic element.⁵¹ At the first appearance of written expression, evidence of coded signs is encountered in the pictograms of literate cultures. Style is an expressed code, which is visually recognizable. Writing has its own 'style'. That is why, since an artistic phenomenon becomes the heritage of a literate culture, it will be recognizable by its style. Therefore, we can speak of 'style' when there is a complete command of both the technical ability and the capacity to manage the specific constraints of the selected medium. Like child's art, rock art has a style as well: but not before the graphic expression has gained a substantial freedom from its technical dictates. When this is the case, the artistic act is easy (*facilis*) and is implemented and traded through apprenticeship as a faculty (*facultas*).⁵²

⁵¹ While speaking of 'style' in a-literate contexts I do not dare to touch the problem of S Europe Palaeolithic rock paintings. The latter without any doubt has a fully elaborated 'style' system, apparently without relationship neither with the previous artistic forms it, nor with the subsequent ones.

⁵² As explained by G.B. VICO in *De antiquissima Italorum sapientia*, § VII, I.

In the end, style is a corollary of a formally evolved experience; this is also true for the individual: style belongs to the artist, not the child who expresses himself/herself with a piece of chalk on a paved floor. For if style is in fact shared by an era, by a culture, by an artistic current (with its manifestos), two children of the same age, will share more a feeling or an interior image, than the style through which they are expressing themselves.

In the more internalized phases of rock art, the a-literate phases, when language (understood here as a coherent, comprehensive set of signals) does not lend itself to a visual approach, but involves a field of non-readable experiences (olfactory, auditory, internally or externally tactile, psychic), style is excluded. This is also true when a child pounds a stone against a wall to hear the noise it makes or to smell the smell of a scorched ore; it is true when he taps the wall with his piece of chalk, interested in producing color, before form.

Yet, with these actions, once the subject's experience is extinguished in the given contingency, the forms will remain: cup-marks on the wall of a school, a line of dot marks on the wall of the house. These are pure forms, devoid of content and without practical meaning. It is not possible to trace their essence, the cause that produced them, let alone – in a wider anthropological perspective – their historical meanings. Can we talk about 'style' in cases where the formal expression is only the exterior result of an experience or act? Can we continue speaking of 'style' when there is no provision for its codification, i.e., its repetition for the benefit of a social context, and ultimately its 'readability'?

This suggests that in general, style is a macro-phenomenon, which is rarely found in its pure form in rock art, and *vice versa* one could speak rather of an 'internal style', where one sees a recurrent favored form used to express a given subject.

Only in a stylistically-centered or -oriented cultural environment it will be completely legitimate to refer to a comparative morphology between different sites and try to propose a uniform chronological range, in agreement with other elements, such as vocabulary, data from the archaeological record, and so on. In conclusion, the stylistic approach should be switched from a level of undifferentiated use (as a methodology) to an internal, expedient use, which will be explicitly limited in its scope.

In co-literate cultural phases, one may imagine that experience had a more organized social sense. Some subjects and cultural issues were coherently codified. In such contexts, we would find ourselves in front of an 'internal style', meaningful and functional only to those who would share the same cultural experience. The hypothesis that the final step of this process is the creation of symbols used for writing is not to be excluded.

COGNITIVE ROCK ART ARCHAEOLOGY: EXPLORING THE MEANING

Based on the principles and the methodological issues exposed above, I will try to summarize the strategy of this research (the first concrete examples of this approach and strategy can be found in the Chapter: Syntax: Style and Meaning). In this period of ‘postprocessual archeology’, it is often suggested that the science of archaeology has a fundamental defect which could be considered its original sin: the absence of a genuine experimental phase. Ultimately, the archaeologist who chooses to maintain a positive approach must limit himself/herself to the quantitative steps of his/her research, as any step beyond would merely represent an unconscious repetition of the archaeologist’s subjective perception, representations and concepts (in other words, his/her own interpretative limitations).

To some extent, the study of rock art is actually an anomalous sub-discipline of archaeological science. This is true as far as two aspects, at least, are concerned: it is the only sub-field of archaeology where the site is not potentially subject to a destructive analysis (the final implications of digging), and it may deal selectively with its own meaningful data set. Moreover, rock art escapes the analogical-inferential process that characterizes the interpretation of the bulk of the data of from an excavation: a painted shelter, at least to a certain extent, is an object in itself, with an explanatory potential that does not strictly depend on the capacity by the excavator of singling out latent correlations, which often involve complex sets of data or objects (ceramics, minor finds, coins, etc.). A rock art site is both a site and an object in itself, no more or less than a vase, painting or a sculpture. From the art history point of view, in contrast to a sculpture or a vase, a cave painting is always contextualized.

Every positive physical survey carried out in this peculiar and privileged environment may respond (if one is lucky) only to questions like ‘when’ and ‘how’. At any rate, the answers, in dealing with a Renaissance painting, no matter how important, in comparison to an iconological or psychological analysis - concept, ideas, culture, meaning - which is the ultimate goal of study, will result partial. Beyond ‘when’ and ‘how’, all other questions might remain unanswered. These are precisely the questions that, together with the previous responses, would form a three-dimensional framework (when, how and why) in which a form of art could be explained in terms of cognition.

In this sense a rock art site can provide us with an actual subject for an experimental study, capable of being properly tested. However, such feature is only potential. No matter what the

condition of the artefact at the time of the discovery, the experimental inquiry can be performed and repeated at will. At the same time, however, the nature of experimental investigation lies in the field of interpretation (in a paraphrase, we may say that such enquiry belongs more to the fuzzy field of textual analysis than to the more verifiable contexts of paleography).

In other words, there is no escape from the horizon and the limits of what today is called cognitive archeology. The broader horizon which we would like to be able to capture from the data, namely a complex reconstruction of human landscapes in transformation, through the lens the psychological ratio of the phenomenon of the painted shelters of Malakand-Swat, has its obvious limits. Beyond the few cases when it has been possible to cross direct/indirect archaeological data with the rock-art evidence, the consistency of this study is based mainly on its logic, a parameter which, being only partially objective, will unexcapably re-introduce in the research the ambiguities of interpretation.⁵³

⁵³ See particularly RENFREW 1994; BELL 1994; SEGAL 1994; SCHNAPP 1994, in RENFREW/ZUBROW 1994.

For the methodological aspects concerning the ethno-archaeological approach (see 'Conclusions'), one might refer to the discussion in CHASE 2004 and PRATAP 2004 and their references.

DEFINITIONS

The following glossary contains only terms used in the text which are pertinent to the specific lexicon of rock art (e.g., cup-marks), or which, within the text, or more generally in the specified literature, have a meaning which is special or a variant compared to that currently used (e.g., ceiling). Terms, with their synonyms and antonyms, are in bold, and are grouped according to their pertinence, not alphabetically. When definitions follow those coined by other authors, references are provided in the footnotes.

PHYSICAL SETTING

Area

A cluster of rock art specimens, which may include numerous **sites**. It is primarily defined by its cultural and topographical characteristics. Two different areas must be separated by a distance of at least 20 km, a distance that requires at least a day's journey walking.¹

Site, Fundstelle

A place, which hosts a rock art record. It is defined on the basis of physical consistency: a single boulder, shelter or rock wall may constitute a site in itself. Unlike sustained elsewhere,² a minimum distance is not considered when defining the space between two sites: two or more sites may be hosted within the same physical space as in the case of a large boulder containing several cavities which are physically separated from each other.

Shelter

Typology of a **site**. 'A concavity in a rock wall, formed by one or more natural processes, although most often by erosion. It is wider than it is deep'.³

Niche, Nische

Typology of a **site**. A concavity formed by exfoliation or erosion and measuring no more than a few meters.

¹ ANATI 1994a: 11.

² IBID.

³ IBID.

Open-air wall

Typology of a **site**. A rock surface with a reasonably uniform orientation.

Ceiling

Typology of a **site**. The apex, which is generally horizontal or sub-horizontal within a shelter.

ORGANIZATION OF THE PAINTINGS**Complex/Composition**

A group which consists of more than one **figure**, organized according to its coherence, within the same physical space or **site**.

Sector

A physical portion of a **complex**, which may correspond to a **scene** (see below).

Scene

Part of a **complex**. 'A presumed depiction of a real or imaginary episode involving more than one rock art motif'.⁴

Figure

'A design or pattern painted [...] on a rock surface; a rock art motif'.⁵

Sign

A general entry, which is used to indicate a single element of a painting, which has been completed (synonym: **design**).

Centre

The central, primary or privileged portion of a composition (opposite: **periphery**).

Permutation

A complex and apparently coherent cluster of several identical **signs** (**cup-marks**, **dot-marks**, **dots**) on the same physical support or site. Repetition of a single **sign** without apparent significance.

⁴ IFRAO ROCK ART GLOSSARY.

⁵ IBID.

INTERPRETATION OF THE FIGURES

Syntax

The position of the figures in the physical space, potentially in relation to a recognizable meaning of a composition. Consequently, an isolated figure is said to be in **syntactic isolation**, or be in an **asyntactic position**.

Grammar

The recognition of various degrees of communicative value in different pictorial signs (for example, a **pictogram** is recognized for its substantival value, which is objective, like a noun; a **psychogram** is recognized for its emphatic or verbal value, which is dynamic).

Lexicon

The group of signs utilized (synonym: **vocabulary**).

Pictograms, Piktogramme

See p. 20.

Ideograms, Ideogramme

See p. 20.

Psycograms

See p. 20.

Iconic

'Providing visual information recognised by most contemporary humans as resembling the form of an object'.⁶ See also **Pictogram**.

Non figurative/Non iconic

'Providing no visual information recognised by contemporary humans as resembling the form of an object'.⁷ See also **Ideogram**, **Psycogram**.

Icon

A synonym of **Ideogram**: an **icon** implies a formal resemblance between a sign and what it represents.

⁶ IBID.

⁷ IBID.

Anthropomorph/Supernatural being

‘A [...] painting which provides adequate visual information to contemporary humans such as to resemble a human form’.⁸ This term is used to refer to a figure, an anthropomorph, which is distinguishable by size, position, and body modifications, from other human figures; due to the absence of specific attributes of the material culture (tools, weapons, etc.), it is distinguishable from those partaking in common social roles (warrior, shepherd, etc.).

Hero

A figure, which is usually depicted as a warrior in an isolated position or **syntactic isolation**.

Deity

A human figure with the characteristics of an **anthropomorph**, **hero**, or animal figure, which is endowed with attributes formally and clearly recognizable as pertaining to a deity of the pantheon of a formalized religion.

Theriozoomorph

A painting, which provides adequate visual information to contemporary humans so that it resembles a highly modified **zoomorphs**.

Zoomorph

‘A [...] painting providing adequate visual information to contemporary humans so that it resembles an animal form’.⁹

Association

A physical or spatial connection between two figures, often achieved through the use of **association lines** (see).

Descriptive/Non-descriptive Association

A connection, which may or may not lead to a clear and evident description (eg. archer-arrow-animal is an association which is descriptive of a hunting scene).

Body modification

Evident alterations or emphasized parts of a human or animal body of a recognizable non-descriptive character.

⁸ IFRAO ROCK ART GLOSSARY.

⁹ IBID.

Association line

Connective lines between figures or parts thereof, in which one does not recognize a descriptive character.

Dots

They are considered to be emphasis' markers (**psycograms**) when isolated (or isolated but linked to a figure with a **non-descriptive association**). In association with grid-like designs, dots are interpreted as **pictograms**.

OTHER TERMS**Contact/ Post-contact**

'A form of rock art pertaining to the period of initial contact with European colonies or other aliens, characterized by the occurrence of depiction of imported object or ideas'¹⁰.

It is possible that the imported objects, whatever their nature, when rendered, may not be understood in their physical structure and function, and therefore deformed.

Cup-mark

'A hemispherical percussion petroglyph, which may occur on a horizontal or vertical rock surface'.¹¹ It can also be conical.

Dot-mark

Analogous to **cup-marks**, but generally less than 5 centimeters in diameter.

Groove

'An elongated indentation abraded or hammered (or both) into a rock surface'¹². They generally refer to sinuous or curvilinear lines; when they are short and parallel they can be defined as 'tally marks'.

Tank

A rectangular top-open cavity, which has been cut into the rock .

Wine-press

A **tank** equipped with a drainage hole. If characterized by incised lines used to house movable panels on boulders with a flat and sub-horizontal surface, one refers to a 'palette'. In both cases these structures were built to press berries and fruit.

¹⁰ IBID.

¹¹ IBID.

¹² IBID.

Rock relief

Rock sculpture in the form of high- or low-relief.

Engraving/ Carving

‘A design cut into a surface with a sharp instrument, such as a carving knife or chisel’.¹³

Graffito/ Bruising

‘A rock marking produced by light direct percussion, trough removal of weathered material’¹⁴, or patina.

¹³ IBID.

¹⁴ IBID.

DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECTS

In this Chapter I present an analytic description of the iconographic subjects treated in this study, complemented by footnotes containing their study, comparisons, etc. The subjects are reviewed by types of design and represented images. The order of their presentation is the following: pictograms (anthropomorphic, zoomorphic and artificial structures), objects; ideograms and psychograms (for the definitions of the three types of designs, please refer to page 20). The subjects described below, are those which appear with redundancy in the general corpus of paintings of Swat-Malakand, or have an obvious, acknowledged relevance. Consequently, the Description of Subjects is not an exhaustive list of all the elements or signs encountered. These are registered in the Charts I-IX (Addendum 1) and Graphics IV (Addendum 2) attached to this Chapter.

PICTOGRAMS

1. Human figures¹

Human figures are the largest group of the corpus (with 272 cases). Among them, those considered as generic human representations, i.e. those that could not be recognized as (note the verb) having a specific role or character, are the second largest group (61 cases). The figures here considered - to which we will try to tentatively assign a meaning and role - are also parts of this total. As explained in the previous Chapter, the conclusions I reached are still the result of an interpretative process, and therefore cannot be taken as fully objective. In contrast, other groups of figures were distinguished on the basis of positive elements and pictographic attributes, easily recognizable, in particular weapons and mounts. The groups defined after these two pictographic features (weapons and mounts) are absolutely overwhelming in terms of their number (131 armed men, both on horseback and un-mounted, and 186 horseback riders, both armed and unarmed).

¹ See Addenda 1-2: Chart I, Graphics I, II.

To some extent this numeric prevalence renders the statistical value of the so-called generic figures less significant, at least with regard to their failed identification. Obviously, this is also true for all other types of subjects considered in this Chapter, as well as for the Addenda. Any quantitative and statistical discussion necessarily starts by considering all figures as synchronic, thereby its inherent limitations are in full evidence. However, this handicap is lessened if we take into account that armed figures and horseback riders (and both) are present in approximately 60% of the shelters.² Non mounted armed figures (i.e., human figures not on horseback) are associated with grid-like squares and grid-like patterns only in three cases (Sites 01, 03, 04); and in a single case (Site 05) we recorded figures of riders (armed or not) associated with ideograms of 'printed' hands. In a general overview, all the other sites have more or less the same characteristics: figures of armed men on horseback and not mounted, Buddhist architecture, body modifications, wild and domestic animals may be co-present.³

Two sites are a significant exception to the above; here, generic human figures are also present. It is only at these sites that one can try to say more about these figures, thereby developing a line of inquiry already presented in a previous study.⁴

Considering all of our sites, human figures are rendered by the means of various recurrent features, but in every case frontally. They have round heads traced with fingertip prints; very rare are those showing symmetrical open feet. With few (but significant) exceptions, human figures have no indication of the sex (i.e., penis); nevertheless, for several reasons that will be detailed later, it is generally clear that most figures represent males. The arms are often outstretched, in order to emphasize the importance of various objects. Other important variations are related to the body (absence of the torso, its shape, shape of the legs). These graphic variations, occurring in sites 01, 03 and 04, may be described as follows:

² In particular, armed figures appear in Sites 01, 02, 03, 08, 13, 16, 26, 34, 35, 36, 49; armed figures on horseback in Sites 05, 24, 25, 27, 29, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 46, 47, 48; horseback riders were recorded in Sites 19, 23, 32, 43, 45.

³ A separate discussion is required by specific exceptions, as seen in Site 12, the only site representing a pastoralism scene, where although anthropomorphic figures are present, human ones are not; Site 09 is the only site where only grid-like patterns and other ideograms are present, but not, for example, Buddhist architecture; finally, Site 26, the only site showing bi-triangular human figures clearly portrayed in their entirety (frontal torso and the head in profile).

⁴ VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002: 191-193, 202-208.

Figures with linear body parts: characterized by a double line for the arms and two vertical, or divergent segments which represent the legs and torso, less pronounced (Fig. 1). Figures with T-like legs: figures having two parallel lines for the legs, beginning directly from the horizontal line of the arms (Fig. 2, see Chart III). Figures with ‘inverted U’-like lower body (Fig. 3, henceforth: U-like): distinguished for the peculiar rendering of the figures’ hips and legs (see Chart III). Figures with triangular body: they have a triangular torso and the legs are short and vertical at their base. This is basically a representation of a peculiar type of clothing, to be interpreted as a gown or as the lower portion of a kaftan (Fig. 4, see Chart VI).⁵



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4

Of these four categories of figures, only the first is recurrent in nearly all sites with human personages. The second and the fourth appear in a limited number of sites; at Site 04, the latter category (here represented by two figures) can perhaps be interpreted as a gender identity marker. The third category is present only at Site 04, expressed in not less than 7 human figures and in the representation of a major central anthropomorph.

In a previous study the author proposed that the U-like figures seen in Site 04 (Sargahsar) may well represent a specific social segment of the prehistoric society which created the designs and was, therefore, able to recognize their meanings and value. This conclusion was based upon the following points. U-like figures, differently from other depicted characters, do not exhibit tools or other objects potentially used in every-day life or domestic activities, and often appear in significant associations with dots, grid and

⁵ See similar figures from Tanawal (Fundstelle 1, PAYR, Appendices, this volume), Thalpan III (MANP 8: 273:8, 277:1, 434:9), Shing Nala (MANP 4: 58:2, 61:5) and Chilas II (JETTAMAR/THEWALT 1985: 16); s. below the ‘Discussion’.

dotted-square patterns. In a scene in the upper right sector of the composition, a U-like figure, a 'hero' with the head surmounted by dots (Paragraph 1.6, this Chapter) holds a large radial disk (a shield or an ideogram). The character plays a central role in this scene, where a feline (right) and an ibex mounted by an anthropomorph are confronting each other. The large U-like figure, interpreted as anthropomorph, appears inserted into a large grid and dotted square design; at the same time, it is the central figure of the entire painted complex of Site 04 (see Paragraph 2.1, this Chapter). It is now evident that the U-like figures play a paramount role in the figurative complex of Site 04.⁶ A relevant part of the 'Discussion' is dedicated to the consequent interpretation of the scene and, therefore, to the attribution of a precise role to such U-like figures. The other generic figures do not provide further elements of interpretation.

1.1 Warriors and Archers⁷

Warriors represent the largest numerical group (78 personages on horseback, 17 on foot), to which should be added the archers (23 on horseback and 5 not). These figures are pervasive. As already mentioned, they are present in 60% of the considered sites, and in all the most relevant compositions. Collective battle scenes were found only at 6 sites (corresponding to only 10% of the total). This suggests that armed men may sometimes have a value of icons as well as of pictograms. As far as armed characters are concerned (although not necessarily for archers), this appears likely, for example, in sites 01, 04, 08, where the figures of warriors armed with radial shields assume the role of heroes in

⁶ There are many examples of 'U-like' figures at the site of Hodar, Upper Indus. One image has dots (MANP 3: scene 97:C), and another has outstretched fingers (MANP 3: scene 36:68, 80:3); see also those with round radial shields (MANP 3: scene 26:115), to which a possible human figure with mask should be added (MANP 3: scene 3:3). All these examples are male representations (as shown by the penis). Other cases are spread throughout the Upper Indus, i.e. in Thor-Süd (KÖNIG 1994: fig. 2). Those from Oshibat site have dots and the indication of the penis (MANP 1: 18:210, 18:264, 39:59); others, from Shing Nala, have outstretched fingers, dots, and the indication of the penis (MANP 4: table 4); those at Dadam Das include an archer (MANP 5: 48:83) and others (IBID. 30:4, 46:2, 46:3); see also some figures at Thalpan (MANP 8: tables 1-8). A 'U-like' figure with a dominating role appears in a painted shelter at Kumaon Himalaya (Kasardevi 1, Uttar Pradesh) (AGRAWAL/KHARAKWAL 1998: fig. 2.9). Little can be said on this figure, apparently analogous to one at Chingai-banda (Charsadda), due to the poor documentation at our disposal (QASIM JAN MOHAMMADZAI 2005). 'U-like' figures are present also in Tanawal painted shelters (Fundstelle 3; s. PAYR, Appendices, this volume).

⁷ See Addenda 1-2: Chart 1, Graphic II.

asyntatic position. For archers, this possibility is recorded in sites 02, 04, 16. Whatever the interpretation, it is clear that these figures, together with those of horseback armed riders, refer to the most semantically important figures in the vocabulary of Malakand-Swat shelter paintings (Site 27: Figs. 5, 8, Site 05: Fig 7; Site 39: Fig. 9).



Fig. 5

1.2 Horseback riders⁸

Out of a total of 186 figures, 55 represent unarmed horseback riders. They appear in 13 sites: in three cases (Sites 27, 29 and 48), they are mounted hunters; in 7 cases (Sites 05, 24, 27, 38, 40, 42 and 48), they are mounted warriors. At Site 29, the figures of horseback riders are probably herdsmen on horseback or horseback riders otherwise linked with the possession, watch or stealing of livestock. In general all the horseback riders are associated with a military role or with other roles of social dominance. For example, in Site 43, where all the 20 figures of horseback riders have no defensive or offensive attributes, the described scene is easily interpreted as a large parade or a hunting party (Fig. 6), and in this case, rank is exhibited simply but efficiently through the possession and management of horses.⁹

Apparently, ostentation of rank, recognizable also in Site 05, was not expressed through the representation of weapons. In general, the presence of weapons for descriptive purposes is functional: in simpler terms, weapons appear in scenes where they are rather used for hunting or fighting. In contrast, the role of horses is more than descriptive or symbolic, and openly refers to a definition of status (see below footnote 15).

⁸ See Addenda 1-2: Chart I, Graphic II.

⁹ In the same scene, there is a series of 7 horseback riders of this type which are inter-related, as well as an eighth horseback rider (above) represented, as usual, with the horse galloping in profile. We might be dealing with two types of horseback riders; the second, to use a more specific vocabulary term, is more 'pictographic'.



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

1.3 Hunters¹⁰

There are relatively few figures of hunters present: 6 on foot and 7 on horseback, and in both cases the figures are armed with bows (see 1.1). They are seen in a total of six sites. It is clear that the role of hunting, on the whole, might not be particularly relevant in the paintings of Swat-Malakand, but it is often associated with scenes of military display (see 1.2). Site 46, which probably represents an episode of big game hunting, is a notable exception (on a smaller scale, there are also two similar scenes at Sites 24 and 25: Fig 10). At Site 29, there is a depiction of an archer on horseback as he spears a large wild cat. The animal is represented in the act of attacking a group of humped bulls tended by herdsmen and escorted by 5 horseback riders. In this case, we can certainly speak of a defensive hunting scene.

1.4 Dancers¹¹

Figures of dancers are found at only two sites: 04 and 46. A row of seven dancers with raised arms is depicted along the bottom of the niche at Site 04 (Fig. 11); within the composition, located above and around a grid- and dotted-square, there are three U-like figures. In Site 46, in the center of a complex composition, which seems to focus on the themes of wildlife and hunting, 3 dancers are probably represented. In both cases (wildlife and hunting), the hunt is linked to social or collective actions. In the first case, it

¹⁰ See Addenda 1-2: Chart I, Graphic II.

¹¹ See Addenda 1-2: Chart I, Graphics II.

appears aside scenes that we have interpreted as agricultural group rituals, while in the second we might have recorded a hunting game.



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13

1.5 Farmers and Shepherds¹²

Figures that likely represent farmers are found only at Site 04: of the 7 figures, 3 are identifiable due to the agricultural tools that they are carrying (Fig. 12). Except for the 2 figures recorded in Site 29 (see 1.3, Figure 13), there are no other images of shepherds. This is particularly significant, as figures of shepherds are also absent from Site 12, where the most reliable representation of a flock of caprids was encountered.

2. Anthropomorphs¹³

In spite of their scarcity (16 representations out of 9 sites), anthropomorphic figures are particularly relevant in the paintings of Swat-Malakand. They are distinguished by the absence of attributes (pictograms of objects, weapons, clothing), larger dimensions, syntactic isolation, or rather because of their dominance in non-descriptive associations; and finally because they are almost always show body modifications, involving in particular the head, usually absent in human figures (see Paragraph 10, in this Chapter).

2.1 Super-human Beings

Most anthropomorphic figures, because of their iconographic and syntactic features, were identified as supernatural figures or at least as representations of individuals in an altered physio-psychological state, potentially acting as super-human beings.

The central figures in Sites 03 and 04 show similar alterations in the upper limbs and hands (pincer-like outstretched fingers). In Site 04, the main anthropomorphic figure (of

¹² See Addenda 1-2: Chart I, Graphic II and V.

¹³ See Addenda 1-2: Chart I, Graphic I.

the U-like type) appears within a large, composite grid-like rectangle: he (as the penis shows) is the most important figure, emerging in a geometric epiphany at the center of the complex. In this case, the anthropomorph's dominant character is expressed not only through its anomalous size and the indication of its male organ, but also through its graphic coincidence with the central dominant ideogram. This supports the proposition that U-like figures played an important or dominant role in the lexical scheme of Site 04 (see Paragraphs 1 and 3 this Chapter; Fig. 22).¹⁴

¹⁴ The emergence of this figure from a grid interpreted as 'sown field' (s. Paragraph 6.3) might indicate a transcendent event involving a divinity closely related to agricultural land. In our analysis, this is confirmed by the association of the ideograms 'plowed fields' and 'seeds', with the pictogram 'man'. A similar association may be found in a different geographic context, but probably within a similar cultural-economic context. At Tin Anneuin (SW Libya) (CREMASCHI 2001: 84) a large anthropomorph with palms, indicating an oasis, and thus control over water, is a organized cluster of dotted squares or rectangles. The image is dated to a late Garamantic phase, i.e. to an evolved agricultural-pastoral tribal horizon interacting with a larger early statal organization. The analogy, in spite of the geographic and ecological remoteness, is doubtless surprising. Another indirect but surprising analogy can be established with a Bronze Age carving from Kalbak-Tash I (S Siberia): here a schematic human figure is clearly inserted in a 'grid'-like ideogram (MMAFAC 3: fig. 195). In this case, we do not claim an absolute ideogrammatic coincidence, in that other similar icons from this area (IBID.: figs. 323 and 340), are interpreted as a 'feathered' garment, cloak or grid (IBID.: 23-24). The only positive comparison from Upper Indus was recently published in MANP 10, 24:3. About this deeply patinated carving D. Bandini-König writes: 'Lediglich am Stein selbst und auf dem digital bearbeiteten Photo noch verhältnismäßig deutlich sichtbare, sehr ungewöhnliche Umrißzeichnung. Es handelt sich um ein in zahlreiche überwiegend viereckige felder unterteiltes Gebilde, das einen Kopf und eine Rückgratlinie zu haben scheint und daher einen anthropomorphen Eindruck macht. Im Feld wurde es als übernatürliches Wesen bezeichnet. Doch erscheint eine solche deutung recht gewagt, zumal die beiden 'Rumpfhälften' unterschiedlich breit sind' (IBID.: 124). In any case, this icon suggests a shamanic role, sharing the symbolism of a 'bird-costume' (ELIADE 1968, repr. 1974: 180 -1). Similar figures, interpreted as '*en manteau*' are found in Ladakh (VERNIER 2007: 59, fig. 28), at times together with 'prayers' - hands with outstretched fingers (even if a more pertinent comparison is established with the 'bell-shaped' figures in sites in northwest Mongolia; s. MMAFAC 6). Anthropomorphs, or high rank individuals, were found at the Tanawal shelters (as tall and thin figures: in the Fundstelle 1, Nische 4 and in the Fundstelle 2; with horned headgear, in the Fundstelle 1, Nische 3: s. below fn. 60). See PAYR, Appendices, this volume.

Always at Site 04, in the scene dominated by the hero with a round radial shield (see Paragraph 1.6, this Chapter), the ibex facing a feline is topped by an anthropomorph (or a man holding a knife; see Paragraph 3, this Chapter; Fig. 19).¹⁵

The central figure in Site 05 has a massive right hand with a raised palm (Fig. 14), another distinctive icon of this complex. At Site 05, as well, an anthropomorphic figure with extensive body modifications, a pincer-like hand and a gigantic globular head, is mounted on a horse. Here the anthropomorph reproduces another icon of the complex: the figure of horseback rider. Site 12 introduces an image of a figure with a winged and feathered left arm, a comb-like right hand (Fig. 15), and a face, which may have bird-like traits. In this light, it might be a shamanic figure, or it might play another 'high role'. In the same complex, one sees a smaller figure, with crescent-like legs and the head adorned with either a pair of feathers or a pair of prominent horns.

¹⁵ This icon, typical in the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan cultures, could have important ideological implications (for Ladakh s. VERNIER 2007: fig. 35; s. also NEUMAYER 1991: 50, fig. 63; DISERENS 1986: pl. V.b; MANP 3: pl. 112; MMAFAC 4: fig. 25.2). The last one is without doubt dated to the first Iron Age (Tagar culture, mid-/second half 1st Millennium BCE; s. MMAFAC 4, cit.). Another similar image in NW Mongolia unfortunately it is not dated (MMAFAC 6: fig. 233). A similar depiction was reported at Oshibat (KÖNIG 1994: pl. 18; 39:17 in MANP 1: pl. 20): a figure standing on an ibex, with two attributes. Another example comes from Hodar (MANP 3:103:6; also 99:A?). Finally, in Swat, the icon of the ibex surmounted by an anthropomorph re-appears at Gogdara I (OLIVIERI 1998) as well as at Muhammad-Patai (AMSV 131; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: fig.19; here the icon is facing a similar one where an anthropomorph is surmounting a feline). It is well known that the ibex is dominant at Gogdara I; the animal may have been a manifestation of a mountain deity (OLIVIERI 1998: 83-84). This icon belongs to cultures in which hunting has a prevalent value, not necessarily economic, but certainly ritual. The other possible interpretation of this figure is linked to this last aspect. The figure may represent a ritual slaughtering: a man with a knife stands on the back of an ibex and holds its horn. These scene recalls the rite officiated by the *zhaban* amongst the 'Kafir' tribes: the priest, the only men allowed in the shrine of the goddess Murkhum, kills the ibex and hangs its horns on the branches of the Sacred Tree (JETTMAR 1975: 210-211; s. ref. in OLIVIERI 1998: 83). Human figures standing on the back of horses are also recurrent in Upper Indus. It may symbolize possession or wealth, of high rank, and then it could refer to a definition of status, rather than being simply a way of representing horseback riding. Horseback riders and horseback 'standers' are often depicted together, like, for instance in the Tanawal Fundstelle 1, Nische 4 (s. PAYR, Appendices, this volume).



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16

The two large anthropomorphs at Site 19 are particularly interesting: one has a rectangular body which is divided vertically, a globular head and right hand, and a branched left arm with a pincer-like hand; the other figure has a head which terminates in two horns. At Site 27 there is a central, isolated figure of a large anthropomorph with a spidery trunk, triangular face, open arms and legs, outstretched fingers and/or comb-like hands and foot (Fig. 16). This is probably a representation of a state of agony or trance (or pre-death) not natural, but artificially induced; or it could be the depiction of a supernatural being imagined in the same state (see Paragraph 10, this Chapter). Similar representations were found at Site 49.¹⁶

Two anthropomorphs are represented at Site 36: one with comb-like hair (head), raised arms and a triangular trunk; the other probably has an animal mask (possibly of a bird). Finally, an anthropomorphic figure with a feathered-like head (adorned or covered with feathers?) is depicted in Site 46.

¹⁶ The figure reproduced in Fig. 16, may be compared with an example from Ladakh (BENASSI/ SCERRATO 2008: fig. 4). For the possible illustration of such artificially induced states, compare this figure with another outstretched figure with analogous body modifications at Site 34: in the second case, a human figure is involved, and the state of agony or pre-death seems to be real (s. also n. 18, and in any case, Paragraph 10 in this Chapter). For further comparison, see also the outstretched human figure, evidently a corpse, at Site 48, and another, killed during an assault by a horseback rider, at Site 46. A similar figure was recently documented in Ladakh together with a 1st BC-1st AD kharosthī inscriptions (BRUNEAU 2011: pl. 4). Comb-like hair could also be interpreted as a symbol of a state of trance (s. below in the text); it is worth noticing that a comb-like haired horseback rider is also represented at Gor, Gilgit. Trance-like states like these were identified in a different context by J.D. Lewis-Williams, (e.g. LEWIS-WILLIAMS 1981, 1983, s. also VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002: fn. 23, 24).

2.2 Therio-zoomorphs¹⁷

There are only two clear examples of therio-zoomorphs: an ibex-feline (Site 36), and an equid-feline (site 35). In these cases as well, the images undergo body modifications. In the second case, a cluster of three human figures is also involved.

3. Deities¹⁸

The possible depiction of a deity belonging to a formalized pantheon was proposed on only two occasions, albeit with different degrees of certainty (but see also Paragraph 2.1, this Chapter). The first depiction is of a bi-triangular figure in profile holding a tricuspid spear (Site 26: Fig 17). The second figure, whose identity is less certain, is presented as a bi-triangular frontal figure on horseback holding a tricuspid spear and associated with the figure of a large ungulate (Site: 41: Fig 18). The second figure may be a sovereign or warrior-chief, even if the presence of the tricuspid spear has never been interpreted as a common weapon.¹⁹ Finally, the large anthropomorph in the centre of the complex of Site 04 (Fig. 19) was previously interpreted as Kṣetrapati, the deity of cultivated fields in Ṛgvedic environment (see Paragraph 2.1, this Chapter).²⁰ This figure appears together with other characters: amongst them a worshipper/sower holding – if the design here is complete – a sort of *linga*-like object in its left hand. Finally, in Site 04 an anthropomorphic figure appears on a ibex (see Paragraph 2.1, this Chapter); perhaps the figure, who holds the animal by its horn, is in the act of sacrificing the animal with a knife (Fig. 20; s. fn. 15).



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20

¹⁷ See Addendum I: Chart IV.

¹⁸ See Addendum I: Chart VIII.

¹⁹ At Dadam Das in the Upper Indus, a central figure armed with a tricuspid spear was documented. It was identified as a representation of Śiva. S. MANP 5: 1:12; IBID.: 20-22.

²⁰ OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004; s. also below.

3.1 Heroes²¹

The term refers to human figures in syntactic isolation, or rather, dominant in non-descriptive associations, where they are potentially represented with larger dimensions. In both sites where they are present (04: Fig 20; 08: Figs. 21, 22), the heroic figures hold round shields (and in two out of three cases, the shields are radial). At Site 04, in a ‘hunting’ scene with a ‘tiger’ and an ibex, a U-like personage (see above) with a large round radial shield appears in the act of defending an ibex mounted by an anthropomorph from an attack by a feline.²²

At Site 08, two heroic figures are in partial syntactic isolation: the larger of the two holds up a round shield and above his head there is a large radial disk with a geometric pattern; the other figure seems to be dressed in a tunic, gown or kaftan, and holds a gigantic round radial shield with exaggeratedly elongated arms (in this case a possible association to a deity is not excluded; see footnote 36).



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23

²¹ See Addenda 1-2: Chart I, Graphic II.

²² To be compared with an anthropomorph with a shield at Hodar: 26:115 (MANP 3: pl. 4; note the ‘U-like’ body and the shield with inner rays). In Swat, the most convincing comparison is a hero armed with a shield at Bangh-dogal (AMSV 131; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: fig. 19); this site may be compared with a similar, although more ancient frieze from the basin of the Upper Lena (S Siberia) (NOUGIER 1993: 352, fig.2). The striking similarity of Figure 14, possibly representing a shaman with drum from Sukhanikha (Turkish era, Khakassia, in FRANCFORT 2007: fig. 13) should not be misleading. Vice-versa the two figures of Site 08 (possibly also to the ‘hero’ of Site 04), the radial disk, due to the dentate ‘T’ terminations, can be compared to the representation of *chakra* typical of the iconography of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, (s. ‘Discussion’, Paragraph ‘Deities and Heroes’). Knobs along the ribs of ‘shields’ are common in Buddhist iconography in Gandhara (but not only: think of the obverse of the famous gold token found at Tiliya-tepe, Tomb IV). See below the Chapter ‘Discussion’. This comparison was suggested to me by my young friend and colleague in Berlin Abdul Samad.

4. Wild animals²³

Statistically, wild animals amount to 20% of the total number of animals depicted. This percentage is equal to that of domestic animals including equids (not considering the 145 mounted horses). In the lexicon of the paintings of Swat-Malakand, wild animals have a peripheral status; they are part of the background, with the exception of a few cases. However, wild animals are present, as they appear in at least 17 sites. In general, when speaking of wild animals we refer to images of felines and wild caprids; canids and large ungulates are less usual. The role of these figures, except in specific rare cases, besides that of suggesting a backdrop for hunting scenes, is describing the environment of the outback and the ecology of the more remote areas. Up to a half century ago, the wild fauna of Swat-Malakand included felines (leopards, lynxes and various types of wild cats, for instance jungle cats), wild caprids (especially markhor), jackals, fox, wolves, and monkeys (macaques).

4.1 Monkeys²⁴

The corpus includes 2 depictions of monkeys: one at Site 03 (Fig. 33), and the other at Site 27. In a previous publication, while reading one of the pictorial representations as an agricultural rite, we ventured to hypothesize that the first figure could be identified as Kapi.²⁵

4.2 Felines²⁶

In general, cats are distinguishable due to their elongated trunks, small heads, long tails and the rounded ends of their paws.²⁷ As a rule, it is quite difficult to distinguish between the various species: in most cases the figures refer to medium-sized cats (such as lynx or jungle cats, which are usually represented with a horizontal tail, see Fig. 5).

²³ See Addenda I-II: Chart IV, Graph III.

²⁴ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graphic III.

²⁵ VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002. See also below.

²⁶ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graphic III.

²⁷ Another feline with the same standard characteristics (small head, elongated body, long horizontal tail, and rounded paws) is engraved at Sargah-sar 2, at Site 04 (OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: fig. 18). See also the representation of a small feline at the Fundstelle 2 of Tanawal shelters (PAYR, Appendices, this volume).



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26

At site 27, where there are as many as 8 depictions of felines, at least two of which can be reasonably identified in terms of species. Here, felines are mostly medium-sized (including one which may be represented as dead), but two of them could be big animals: one with a frontal muzzle and open eyes and mouth, and the other with a striped mantle (Fig. 24). There are only two other cases where an animal is rendered in such detail: the feline at Site 04 (with a spotted mantle) (Fig. 25), and the large feline shown at Site 29 (Fig. 26). In the first case one must note the iconic association between the feline and the ibex.²⁸

4.3 Caprids²⁹

The 22 examples of wild caprids have all been conventionally designated as ibex. In reality, there may be at least three different species represented: *Capra falconeri* (markhor), *Nemorhaedus goral* (goral), *Capra ibex sibirica* (ibex). Distinctive features were not recognized with certainty.³⁰ At Site 48, we find the only example of animals with different horns represented together: in one case the horns are curved backwards (possibly suggesting the ibex), while in other three cases, the animal has vertical horns and well distanced ears (perhaps indicating a goral or markhor). In this case the longest horns would indicate males.



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29

²⁸ The ibex-leopard (or ibex-tiger) couple is a recurrent syntactic element in the rock art of the Upper Indus valley (see below the 'Discussion').

²⁹ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graph III.

³⁰ I.e. features which would have led to a more precise definition, as in BANDINI-KÖNIG 1994.



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32

If such criteria of identification were correct, Chart IV should be adjusted and supplemented as follows: Sites 04, 12 (Fig. 26) 40 (Fig. 28), 48 (Fig. 29): ibex, Sites 24, 38 (Fig. 30), 39, 41, 46, 48 (Fig. 31): markhor.

4.4 Other ungulates³¹

Large ungulates are rare. In three cases (perhaps at Site 41 as well), we recognized figures of deers; in a single case we identified a bovine (possibly a wild buffalo).

4.5 Canids³²

Figures of wolves were recognized in at least two cases (the representation at Site 39 is very clear: Figure 34). On other occasions, some figures might represent foxes or jackals, but their interpretation is more uncertain.

5. Domestic animals³³

As already noted, the large number of domestic animals on record (182 cases, equal to 72% of the total number of depicted animals) is unrealistically high, due to the inclusion of images of steeds (145). If this category is not included, the number of domestic animals drops drastically.

5.1 Equids (Horses)³⁴

The term 'horse' was used when, with the exception of one case (Site 38),³⁵ we are absolutely certain of the reference to this animal. The role this animal plays is prevalently

³¹ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graph III.

³² See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graph III.

³³ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graph III.

³⁴ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graph III.

tied to its function as a mount; in 145 cases out of a total of 150 representations, horses appear with their rider. At Sites 24 and 45 we have figures of mounts without riders: in both cases the animals have a ridged mane (closely resembling a scene from Fundstelle 2 in Tanawal; see PAYR, Appendices, this volume). In many cases, (see Paragraph 7.1, this Chapter) reins, stirrups and saddles are clearly indicated.

5.2 Bovines³⁶

Out of the 10 representations of cattle, at least 9 are humped bulls (Site 29: Fig. 35). Most of these animals are represented in isolation.³⁷ In one case, a bull appears with a human figure in a non-descriptive scene, which emphasizes the concept of possession (Site 05: Fig. 64). The idea is conveyed through the representation of the human figure holding the animal above the head, by grasping its legs.³⁸

5.3 Ovines³⁹

Besides two depictions of sheep, most of the figures (8) represent caprids (Site 12: Fig. 36).

5.4 Domestic Canids⁴⁰

Dogs (representing a total of 12 representative specimens) are almost always associated with hunting (Sites 25, 27) or with the watch of flocks/herds (Site 12: Fig 37).⁴¹

³⁵ I refer to a scene of intercourse with animals, in which the creature is probably an ass or a mule (Figure 62).

³⁶ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graphic III.

³⁷ In the few cases where this animal occurs, it is generally seen in an isolated position (refer to the dedicated sub-paragraph in the 'Discussion'.

³⁸ An analogous association is found in a scene of animal intercourse at Site 38 (Fig. 62). An analogous scene, but with an ibex carried as a trophy over the head of the horseback rider is represented in an engraving at Sargah-sar 2, at Site 04 (AMSV 1121b; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: fig. 18).

³⁹ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graphic III.

⁴⁰ See Addenda 1-2: Chart IV, Graphic III.

⁴¹ At Gogdara I at least four dogs are depicted on the walls. This animal is present in the protohistory of Swat both in faunistic evidence as well as on a painted potsherd from Period IV (STACUL 1987: fig. 46g).



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37

6. Structures⁴²

Images of architectural constructions, or other man-made erections, represents a special chapter in the lexicon of painting in Swat-Malakand, as well as in the repertoire of the Upper Indus. Generally, the main architectural focus of Buddhist places of worship (the *stūpa*) is easily recognizable, together with similar and related sacred constructions, as well as other man-made or artificially altered structures, such as fences, plowed fields, etc. The ‘language’ of this particular lexical group is geometric (see Paragraph 6.3, this Chapter).

6.1 Buddhist Architecture⁴³

Fifty-two *stūpas* are represented in eleven sites, amounting to 54% of the total number of buildings and artificial structures on record. Most of these representations display quite limited detail, and are recognizable thanks to the characteristic elements of their first storey, dome, and *chattrāvalī*.



Fig. 38

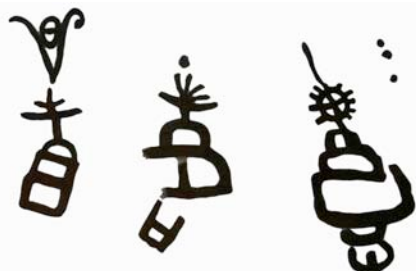


Fig. 39



Fig. 40

⁴² See Addenda 1-2: Chart V, Graphic IV.

⁴³ See Addenda 1-2: Chart V, Graphic IV.

We recorded depictions of various buildings: seven *stūpas* are represented with two storeys, four with two storeys and a central staircase, at least other two with two storeys and a railing, and a *chattrāvalī* complex; in one case a *stūpa* is endowed with columns (Site 31: Fig 40). Site 31 is the only site where the architectural structures are traced in white, alongside other figures in red. This unusual or non-traditional choice might have been intentional, perhaps for imitating the dominant color of the plaster used for these buildings.⁴⁴ While at some sites the Buddhist sacred buildings are not associated with different pictograms (Site 10; Site 14: Fig. 39; Sites 17, 20) at others there are few accompanying pictograms (Site 13: Fig, 38; Sites 16, 31, 41). However, there are a number of sites where the architectural representations form a scenario for various scenes (Sites 36, 48, 49).

6.2 Other Architectural Features⁴⁵

A number of architectural designs could not be ascribed to the usual Buddhist architectonic *panorama*.⁴⁶ Six representations fall into this group (one temple-like structure at Site 41; four *stūpa*-like structures, one of which is from Site 48: Fig 42; and one column-like structure at Site 13: Fig 41).⁴⁷

⁴⁴ It is certain that the plaster applied at least to the lower body of the *stūpa* was white. On this question refer to e.g. FACCENNA 1980-81: 89. In general representations of *stūpas* in the paintings from Swat-Malakand are not very detailed. There are several significant exceptions: an exemplary depiction of a *stūpa* with columns at Site 31 (s. FACCENNA 1986) for which the chronological comparison with the main *stūpa* at Saidu Sharif I, 1st Century CE (s. also the fine illustrations at Shing Nala in MANP 4: 14:8, 39:2 – the latter most likely a *vihāra*, s. BRUNEAU 2007); s. below the ‘Discussion’. For the *stūpa* with staircase see also the representations in the Fundstelle 1, Nische 3 of Tanawal paintings (PAYR, Appendices, this volume). For the *stūpa* with columns, s. also the Kala-tassa paintings (‘Discussion’, fn. 28).

⁴⁵ See Addenda 1-2: Chart V, Graphic IV.

⁴⁶ This kind of images is also well known in the Upper Indus - the ‘*stūpa*-derivates’ (JETTMAR 1981, 1985). See also BRUNEAU 2007, and PAYR, Appendices, this volume (Fundstelle 1).

⁴⁷ As far as the temple-like construction at Site 41 is concerned, a more detailed analysis, made with chromatic digital enhancement, suggests the representation of a *stūpa*. In any case, it is an elaborate image, with railings or decorative balusters on the first storey, decorations pertaining to the dome, which are slightly ogival, or better, form an acute curve, different from all the other domes, all rounded. The building has a clear Brahmanic ‘fashion’, and it is probably, as kindly pointed to my attention by S. Autiero, a temple crowned with *śikhara* (see MEISTER, Appendices, this volume)



Fig. 41



Fig. 42

6.3 Geometric Patterns and Grid-like Designs⁴⁸

Geometric or grid-like designs are not immediately recognizable in simple iconographic or semantic terms (Fig. 43: Site 08; Fig. 44: Site 04; Fig. 45: Site 09; Fig. 46: Site 08; Fig. 47: Site 04; Fig. 48: Site 03; Fig. 49: Site 15). They appear in 15 sites, and with many variations they amount to as much as 40% of the representations of structures.



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46



Fig. 47



Fig. 48



Fig. 49

The base of columns were apparently decorated with pilasters; the cylindrical trunk of the column branches out at the base like horizontal and vertical antennae. They recall the ‘*stūpa*-derivates’ of the Upper Indus (JETTMAR 1981; ID. 1985: 767, fig. 13; e.g. from Oshibat, MANP 1: 18.218, 18:223.), interpreted by A.H. Dani as ‘temples’ (DANI 1983: 192 -94, 220 -29) (ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1995), but more likely resembling votive columns (see the element near a *stūpa* at Chilas II (THEWALT 1985: fig. 6), and other examples from Gichi Nala (MANP 4: 100:4, 122:1). See also BRUNEAU 2007.

⁴⁸ See Addenda 1-2: Chart V, Graphic IV.

These figures were generally defined as ‘uncertain’ or ‘unidentified’. However, a possible interpretation can be put forward. One of the few cross-cultural generalizations which seems to hold true in rock art is that figures enclosing square or rectangular grids or rows of points recall and often openly symbolize land tenures and specifically plowed fields.⁴⁹

Points may symbolize stones, so rows of points may be interpreted as rows of stones, or erected poles. However, points located within grid-like designs may also be seeds, cultivated plants or even rain drops fertilizing the plots. Several examples of similar designs regularly associated with ‘complex societies’ familiar with agriculture and animal husbandry, may be cited to support this semantic value.⁵⁰ In a study published in

⁴⁹ In the Indo-Pakistani Sub-Continent, one of the earliest plowed fields (dated to the 2nd Millennium BCE) had been plowed following precise grid-like orthogonal patterns (cross-plowing; see also Kalibangan: TUSA 1979: 359-62, fig. 13). For the Swat valley, see IBID.

⁵⁰ That these designs indicate artificial structures was demonstrated by an outstanding study on ‘topographical designs’ (ARCA 2004). In the Shang writing system, *tian*, the sign for ‘field’ is a square with an inscribed cross and dots (CHEN ZAO FU 1987: 183); in the rock carving complexes of Mount Bego (France) simple and complex grid patterns (3rd-2nd Millennium BCE) are interpreted as plowed fields, and inner incised points as fertilizing rain (LUMLEY 1995: 241 ff.); in large rock carving complexes in Valcamonica (late 2nd Millennium BCE, northern Italy) groups of squares and rectangles, sometimes with inner partitions, filled with rows of dots, are read as ‘cultivated fields’, and it is suggested that the whole composition was a large ‘topographic map’ (ANATI 1982); in the National Museum of Asmara, Eritrea, there are pictures of rock shelters with complex associations of partitioned squares and other more complex geometric figures filled with regular sequences of dots (the paintings, from the site of Auhune, north of Adi Kayieh, are in red ochre and have been preliminarily dated to the historical period; CALEGARI 1999; other paintings representing dotted grids are, for instance, from the neighbouring site of Helum Bareto II; ZELELEM TEKA 2002); in Tanzania, grid-like designs with partitions filled with dots ascribed to Bantu agriculturalists are superimposed on previous anthropomorphic and animal designs left by hunter-gatherers (ANATI 1995: fig. 68). Squares and rectangular enclosures were noticed in Tanawal paintings (Fundstellen 1, 2 and 3; s. PAYR, Appendices, this volume). More elaborated and regular square grids are depicted at Kala-tassa; they may represent various types of building of Buddhist complexes (central court-monastery, hermitages and cells): here the identification is supported by monks inside the geometric enclosures (NASIM KHAN 2000: figs. 25-27). Squares with dots are also known in the Upper Indus area (for example at Shatial, s. MANP 2: pl. 37; at Hodar, s. MANP 3: pls. 92 and 94), and even in the Ghinzar valley (East Hindu Kush, Pakistan) (DESIO 1985: pl. XI.a). Grids were recently documented in Bajaur, in a cultural context distinguished by animal husbandry and horseback riding (KP, Pakistan; SAEED-UR-REHMAN/ASHRAF KHAN/AZEEM 1996: fig. 34). The grids from the Upper Indus, Hindu Kush and Bajaur cannot be interpreted with certainty, but at least in an example (possibly modern) from Noh (Yasin), a

2002 this generalization was accepted, ‘and grids filled with dots were therefore confidently interpreted as ‘plowed/sown fields’.⁵¹

On a purely hypothetical basis, one can paradigmatically insist that geometric expression may be linked, at a deep cognitive level, to non-natural objects; at an elementary, proto-lexical level one might recognize the value of ‘unnatural’ or ‘artificial’ elements in signs formed by parallel and/or orthogonal lines. This, in brief, is the result of a preliminary recognition of the Eurasian rock repertoire, in the broadest sense.⁵² The iconic typology

square with 5 dots is connected to a human figure. In the terms here adopted, the meaning regards ‘land possession’ (TSUCHIYA 1994: fig. 8).

⁵¹ VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002. At an elementary, proto-lexical level one might recognize the value of ‘non natural’ or ‘artificial’ elements in signs formed by parallel and/or orthogonal lines: this is also suggested by the elements rendering the ‘*stūpa*’ pictograms (for instance at Gichi Nala, MANP 6: 27:2, 87:2 128: 3 and others, IBID. Taf. 68); v. anche BANDINI-KÖNIG/BEMMAN/HAUPTMANN 1997: 47, fig. 1). Grids, partitioned squares and rectangles, stand out as very peculiar in the context of a naturalistic (although schematic) figuration, distinguished by human and animal figures (not everywhere, s. MANP 6: 63:2 – ibex-associated to 63:4 – grid). An interesting comparison can be made with a grid-like square from the Elangash region (Altaj, CSI) placed at the centre of a scene dominated by wild and domestic animals. This ideogram appears to have the value of ‘structure’ or ‘field,’ linked with a human element (OKLADNIKOV 1979: pl. 20.1). Similar links of ideograms with artificial contexts of significance, are proper of the hunters' culture rock art, where the predominant figures are zoomorphic. At Bajkal Lake, in a Neolithic complex squares are associated with human figures, large anthropomorphs and maskoids: here the cup holes replace the painted dots (OKLADNIKOV 1969: 204). Lastly, in a similar cultural horizon, pictograms related to ‘structures’ were found in the area of Ulug-chem (Upper Jenisei, Tavinskaja, CSI; DÈVLET 1976: fig. 16, pls. 29-32). These different dotted grid-like designs are dated to the last 5000 years, and therefore suggest a convergence in psychological adaptation, rather than a chronological-evolutionary trend (s. IBID. n. 12). A different type of square which possibly brings to mind a building was found at Shing Nala; the signs appear with dots and a labyrinth (in addition to a star and shield) (MANP 6: 68:A); see also Thakot (Thalpan V) in MANP 10: 46:26. In one case, row of dots may also represent garlands, or circles made of perishable materials, like flowers, as in the *stūpa* representations in Site 13 (Fig. 38; ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1995).

⁵² According to this reading, signs of this type should, however, refer to terms such as ‘building’ (MMAFAC 6: fig. 1007), ‘enclosure’ (IBID.: figs. 983, 986-7, 1029), ‘field’ (s. above), ‘village,’ and so on. NASIM KHAN 2000 also reaches this conclusion while commenting a painted circle at Svarai-gata (Khanpur-Shikaoli, Mardan): ‘On the left side a large circle is shown. A line is drawn downwards from the circle. The circle might represent a village or a town because all the riders and animals seem to be leaving or coming out from the circle’ (IBID.: 21). Even the tectiform figure at Salatak-o-Lamghan (BOURGEOIS/BOURGEOIS 1971: fig. 7) is indeed interpretable as a building; moreover, the lateral diagonal

where architectural or artificial representations are integrated or modified with anthropomorphic elements could also lead to very interesting perspectives⁵³.

termination (comb-like) may be the projecting representation of an equine in relief, which characterizes the Mahandeo shrines or those of goats at Jeshtak Han. A confirmation of the validity of this hypothesis may come from two coeval engraved slabs recovered in the regular excavations at Burzahom, (Srinagar, Kashmir) and dated to the Neolithic Phase II, in the first megalithic deposits (3rd-2nd Millennium BCE). Both slabs are connected to a regular rectangular structure. The first slab represents a hunting scene with two men hunting deer: one is armed with a bow, the other with a spear and accompanied by a dog. Two suns shine above the scene (PANDE 1971). The linear, simplified style of the first slab is maintained in the second, whereas the second slab does not present the same clarity of drawing. Instead, the second slab has an abstract design more difficult to interpret; a 'tectiform' figure, undoubtedly a man-made object. The discoverer quotes P. Graziosi's thesis that such figures illustrate tents, traps for animals, or even shelters for ghostly beings (PANDE 1972: 176). According to an unpublished short report by I. Valente, a similar depictions has been noticed in a small schist table recovered during the excavations at Aligrama in 1980 (Inv. No. A 1818 or A 1622?) (IAM Records, File 1980, IAM Headquarters Library, Saidu Sharif).

⁵³ At Chilas II, in Karakorum, we may also consider an image dated to the 1st Century CE. Here the *stūpas* ideogram (not the *stūpas* pictogram that presents more emphasized descriptive features, such as those at Kafir-kot) is accompanied by a composite pictogram of a 'man' whose size conveys an additional meaning of 'big' (JETTMAR/THEWALT 1985: pl. 12). This ideogram may be viewed as an anthropomorphic cult pillar; a nearby inscription defines the figure as a divinity (Hariti). A large anthropomorph inserted in a grid-like ideogram (s. above) at Site 04, the position of the legs ('U-like' type) is reminiscent of the sitting posture of the same deity. In the Hariti from Chilas II the triangular symbol visible between the legs, besides suggesting a sexual attribute, might also be an ideogram suggesting a 'bunch of grapes'. This ideogram, interpreted as a symbol of fertility, may be an attribute of the goddess (see the statue of the de Marteau collection; BUSSAGLI 1984: 125). The practice of transforming of pictographs, with the probable value of 'structures,' into anthropomorphs is well known in Karakorum rock art of the Buddhist period (see for example some '*stūpa* derivatives'), as well as the late non-Buddhist production: from ideograms interpreted as symbols of mountains, carved with the ibex at Hodar (JETTMAR/THEWALT 1985: pl. 23), to the anthropomorphs of Chilas III (IBID.: 27), to the anthropomorphic *stūpa* from Thalpan III (MANP 8: 373:31). The binomial aspect of 'structure/anthropomorph' is rather evident in the s.c. 'schematic females' from Kalbak-Tash I (MMAFAC 3: XIII-XVI, figs. 188-196) sometime associated with the maral or Siberian deer. The comparison with a set of carvings from Thalpan II, is also of possible relevance: here 'plowed fields' are modified by pairs of long, closed wavy lines, repeated in the nearby ibex carvings: in this latter case, the lines are open and emphasize the obvious pictogram 'horns'. The close correlation between 'horns' and wavy lines possibly underlines an ideological association between the animal and farmland, probably after the fertility value sometimes given to the ibex icon (TUCCI 1963: 127-28; OLIVIERI 1998: 82-84). The same association is found in a more ancient context at Gogdara I, in figure 17: the transformation of a square divided by diagonals and marked with inner dots ('plowed fields') exploits a

7. Objects⁵⁴

The majority of the pictographs representing portable objects are attributed to human figures, apart from two isolated battle-axes from Site 05. Consequently, it is obvious that most of these icons represent weapons and defensive tools, such as shields, helmets, and items related to horseback ridership, such as saddles, reins, etc.

7.1 Tools and other items⁵⁵

Few tools are represented in some detail: 3 possible hoes or objects of the same presumable nature were recorded at Site 04 (see Fig. 12), and a plow at Site 41. The majority of the recognizable implements are pertinent to horseback ridership (such as saddles, reins, and stirrups).

7.2 Headgears and Clothes⁵⁶

Five examples of headgear and/or helmets were documented; as far as clothes are concerned, only gowns and/or kaftans are recognized beyond doubts (see fn. 5). Among

nearby 'ibex' pictogram, and the composite ideogram thus created is further transformed into a standard (IBID.).

Finally, we can consider a presumably much older context (possibly the 3rd-2nd Millennium BCE): the rock carvings at Thalpan Ziyarat (Upper Indus; JETTMAR/THEWALT 1985: pl. 3). Here, a square divided by diagonals with points near the intersection is transformed into an anthropomorph with theriomorphic features: the hands, held away from the body, have outstretched fingers, and the legs are upturned (possibly suggesting 'dance' or 'genuflection'). Above the square, the head of the figure, there is a series of straight lines which might indicate hair. In this light, some of the associations we have seen in the Kandak paintings might be quite old, and may have survived until relatively recent periods. This is also supported by the dating of a figure of a 'giant' with similar features (outstretched fingers and raised hair) to the Buddhist period at Chilas IV (IBID.: pl. 22).

⁵⁴ See Addendum 1: Charts VI and VII.

⁵⁵ See Addendum 1: Chart VI.

⁵⁶ See Addendum 1: Chart VI.

the various helmets, those with one or two feathers from Site 27 (see Figs. 5 and 8)⁵⁷ are particularly interesting.⁵⁸

7.3 Weapons⁵⁹

As for personal weapons, bows (29) and swords (31) are the most common items, whereas battle-axes⁶⁰ and spears are relatively rare. All of the bows, excluding those represented in Site 03 which appear to be reflex bows with a double curvature (compound bows or a 'Scythian' bows), are single curvature bows and generally rather large (being similar to a longbow). Shields (21) are almost always small, circular, radial or sometimes dotted, a graphic expedient that might allude to rhino skin, the hard

⁵⁷ There are no examples of feathered helmets in the Upper Indus (aside from MANP 8: 268:3). The headgear or termination of figure 48:33 at Dadam Das, together with a horned anthropomorph with body modifications, should be interpreted as a horned mask instead of a helmet (MANP 5: 48:I).

⁵⁸ To the List should be added also two examples of horse head/tail decoration: the crenellated (ribboned) mane (Sites 24 e 45), to be compared to a carving in Ladakh (OROFINO 1990: fig. 26), and the covered tail (Site 45).

⁵⁹ See Addendum 1: Chart VII.

⁶⁰ The battle-axes, isolated and repeated, often substituted by the pictogram for 'warrior,' are an indication of status more than representations of physical objects. Therefore, they are ideograms, and no longer pictograms. We will consider again this problem in Paragraph 8.2. It is not difficult to recognize in the battle-axe an element of the Dardic culture, because of the unequivocal identification of the crescent-like axes abundantly described by ethnographic studies. The battle-axe, as well as in a more recent era the lunate dagger, is often the principal attribute of a defunct chief in the 'Kafir' wooden *semata*. The example provided by the lunate daggers from Lamghan is excellent. Amongst the 'Kafirs' the object (*katr*) had a fixed economic value of exchange through the 1860's: it was valued from seven to nine goats, or the equivalent of a cow, therefore approximately one-tenth of the property of a stone house (EDELBERG/JONES 1979: 105). Here, then, its reproduction in series acquires the ideographic value of 'power (equals value) multiplied'. It is not a coincidence that at Salatak-o-Lamghan, one of the boulders is engraved with the following associative sequence: 'Seven daggers + (=) man + (=) building (possibly sacred)' (BOURGEOIS/BOURGEOIS 1971: fig. 7). In the Tanawal paintings, a mounted warrior, wearing a horned headgear, holds a battle-axe similar to those pictured in Fig. 49 (Fundstelle 1, Nische 3; PAYR, Appendices, this volume; s. also above fn. 14). In general the crescent-like axes are quite common in the Tanawal paintings (s. also Site 2, IBID.).

material traditionally used in the Sub-continent for these defensive weapons; a triangular shield was documented in a single case (Site 27).⁶¹

IDEOGRAMS

8. Ideograms and Icons⁶²

The repertory of paintings in Swat-Malakand includes wide range of ideographic signs, but not the human figure. In fact, even if this latter is modified to the point of assuming features which are no longer simply human, as some anthropomorphs do (see Paragraph 10), it always has an agonistic role, being a character, an actor with its own individuality - or at least so it appears. The following are ideograms, or perhaps iconic figures: animals, such as an ibex or a big cat (Site 04); objects (provided that they are differentiated from the human figure, isolated, and sometimes repeated) such as a battle-axe (Site 05: Fig. 50); human body parts, such as a hand (with the same restrictions as above; Site 05: Fig. 51); objects which are not tools, such as a trident (*trisūla*) (e.g. see Site 09: Fig 52; Site 10: Fig 53); banners (Site 05: Fig 54); an abstract sign such as intersecting circles (Figs. 55-57, respectively from Sites 03, 08 and 13; see Section 8.2), or grid-like icons, which, in short, are the principal icons/ideograms in the lexicon of Malakand-Swat's paintings (principally in sites 03, 04, 15, 19, see below, Paragraph 6.2, this Chapter).



Fig. 50



Fig. 51



Fig. 52



Fig. 53

⁶¹ Small and round shields, either plain or with studs (dotted) and radial, are found in carvings at Talang (Site 18). The type is recurrent in the general repertoire of the Upper Indus, for example at Thalpan III (MANP 8: 356:2), Dadam Das (MANP 4: 17:3), and also in the Hindu Kush, like in the area of Laghman (BOURGEOIS/BOURGEOIS 1971). S. also fn. 22.

⁶² See Addenda 1: Chart VIII.



Fig. 54



Fig. 55



Fig. 56



Fig. 57

8.1 Grid-like designs⁶³

See above, Paragraph 6.2, this Chapter.

8.2 Symbols and *Tamğas*⁶⁴

Site 13 (Kafir-kot) is the only location where a *tamğa* has been clearly recognized. (Fig. 57). The design represents a disk with a cross surmounted by a crescent, and two divergent lines below. Although the cross within the disk could be compared with many examples from the Upper Indus interpreted as ‘shields’, the addition of the crescent and the two oblique lines bring this image closer to a *tamğa* or a tribal sign.⁶⁵ The icon of a disk with a cross or a radial pattern, which is the base of the *tamğa* from Site 13, appears in a total of five locations (Sites 03, 04, 08, 09, 13); it emphasizes the shield pictogram in a symbolic sense at two of these sites (Sites 04 and 08).⁶⁶

⁶³ See Addendum 1: Chart VIII.

⁶⁴ See Addendum 1: Charts V and VIII; s. also fn. 22.

⁶⁵ Among the engravings at the Hathiano-kandao site (Malakand), there is a disk placed on an upside down ‘T’ (NAZIR KHAN 1983: fig. 8). Similar designs were found at Oshibat (MANP 1: 22, 18:129, 31, 43.1, 50:4, 61:8) and Hunza (DANI 1985: fig. 16; JETTMAR 1992: 25-6, fig. 4). The latter was interpreted as a *tamğa* of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares. There is a similar representation in the Lamghan valley (JUNG 2003). A crossed and dotted wheel or disk appears isolated in the Fundstelle 2 of Tanawal paintings (s. PAYR, Appendices, this volume).

⁶⁶ The association of this icon-symbol and the icon-pictogram for ‘*stūpa*’ based on the model of an ‘ideological collision’ (JETTMAR 1997), was discussed in preceding works (OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; OLIVIERI 2008).

PSYCHOGRAMS

9. Psychograms⁶⁷

It is extremely difficult to ascertain with absolute objectivity the psychogrammatic value of a sign. In general, one runs the risk of attributing a certain value to all of the pictograms for which, in essence, a meaning could not be determined. In our case, such risk is reduced, due the restriction of the definition of ‘psychogram’ to only three categories: dots, association lines and body modifications. These are present in almost all of the shelters studied in this work.

9.1 Dots

Dots made by fingertips appear in various contexts in several Sites (04, 09, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 49).⁶⁸

⁶⁷ See Addendum 1: Charts III and VIII.

¹³⁰ Points represent a difficult problem. Anati (ANATI 1992), having reviewed thousands of figurations in which points appear together with other images, considers them emphasizing psychograms. This might be true in many Swat-Malakand paintings as well (in Site 04, above the hero figure, for instance). Sometimes I suggested the pictographic interpretation as ‘seed’ (again at Site 04). Among the Upper Indus figuration complexes similar cases were recorded at Hodar (MANP 3). When points surround the blade of an axe, they suggest a toothed edge (MANP 3: 56, figs. 41, 42); when they appear together with a shield, they could be pictograms indicating ‘soft leather appliques’ (MANP 3: 26, figs. 19, 20); while together with wheel-like ‘sun symbols’ or crossed disks they might have different, non pictographic meanings. On the other hand, dots (always in regard to sun symbols) are probably pictographic points like those in 35:96 (appearing above a *stūpa*) (MANP 3: pl. 6), 60:63 (MANP 3: pl. 11). I now share the interpretation of human figures with 2 points aside the chest as ‘women’ (group 110: C; MANP 3: pl. 114; MANP 6: at Shing Nala, 68:53, 71:17; at Gichi Nala, 27:1; a similar form from south Siberian Tagar culture, MMAFAC 4: fig. 18.1). Points near animal figures such as the ibex should be considered emphasizing devices. S. for example figure 103:6 (MANP 3: pl. 112), where the interpretation of dots = blood is not convincing (MANP 3: 366; s. also 4:11 and 34:17 in MANP 3: pl. 27, 40; on the contrary, this interpretation is apparently acceptable in MANP 6: 6:1). Points are present all the most relevant designs, such as ‘sun wheels’ (s. the extraordinary case of figure 4:34 in MANP 3: pl. 69), axes, ibex, *stūpa* designs, abstract or anthropomorphic symbols (like in 12:3 and 12:15 in MANP 3: pl. 1; MANP 6 68:A), dominating anthropomorphs: human figures with raised arms and dots are also relevant, as seen in 97:B and 97:C (Fig. 15; MANP 3: pl. 110; s. below). In one specific case we found an ‘antropomorphic symbol’ with four dots at Shing Nala (MANP 6: 37:1). The use of dots to emphasize individuals (as in our Site 04) is clear in the Bronze age carvings from Semirech’e (Kazakhstan) (MMAFAC 5: figg. 1 -9), but also in the late

At Site 04, a single dot appears between the legs of a U-like type human, perhaps emphasizing the genitals, while two more points are symmetrically placed, and highly visible, above the head of the 'hero'.⁶⁹ At Site 03, in addition to the dots painted within the squares, an occasional dot appears on the paw of the monkey. At Site 01, isolated dots or pairs of dots fill the square partitions of the main aggregate of geometric elements; above the central figure, a rosette composed of five dots appears between two human figures. Similar rosettes (made of four dots) appear above the *triśūla*-like sign in Site 10, while other dots emphasize the same ideogram (Fig. 51).

The semantic background of some of the elements - in particular in the designs at Site 04 - may be the association, conscious or unconscious, between the concepts of male organs, seeds and rain drops.⁷⁰ It is quite likely that in some cases dots represent seeds (when they are inside a grid-like design, as discussed above, they may represent sowed fields). In other cases they may represent walls and fences, e.g. enclosures, or garlands (see Paragraph 6.3); or they may be part of decorative icons, such as rosettes. If associated with human or animal figures, dots, particularly if isolated and not used in a pattern, may represent ideas, words, sounds, and rhythmic gestures, which the painters ascribed to their subjects - and are better conceived of in terms of psychograms.⁷¹

On the other hand, we can hypothesize that these graphic compositions were 'revived' at recurrent intervals of time, by touching the pre-existing figures anew with red-splashed fingertips. In this way, the painters might have been involved in the repeated narration (or singing) of specific events, traditional sentences, legends or historical recollections of

protohistoric Tagar culture (S Siberia; MMAFAC 4: 69). Points are also associated with grids and squares: but in the second case here, we will not propose the meaning of 'plowed/sown fields'. Interestingly, in a quite different context (Tuul and Bogd uul, Mongolia; s. also similar Neolithic depictions around the Baikal lake in OKLADNIKOV 1969-70: 204 ; ANATI 1995: 31) squares and dots were considered, after a structuralistic analysis of archaeological data, as pictograms representing collective Megalithic burial fields (NOWGORODOWA 1980: figs. 70-72; s. also MAZIN 1986: tab. 59.23).

⁶⁹ One should also take into consideration another example from Parlai-dab (Swabi) where a human figure touches a point placed above his head with a raised arm (SHAH NAZAR KHAN 1995: pl. VIIa).

⁷⁰ For instance, amongst the 'Kafir' tribes, dots represent the *peshayak*, the male-ibex's fertile droppings (OLIVIERI 2001: 432). The series of black ibex surrounded by dots, painted on the white areas on the walls within the Jesthtak Han, are renovated each year on the occasion of the rites connected to the winter solstice (CACOPARDO/CACOPARDO 2001: fig. 23). The custom of marking the walls of houses in white for apotropaic purposes is still frequent in the more remote areas of Kandak, Buner and neighboring areas.

⁷¹ S. ANATI 1992. S. fn. 69 above.

the tribe. Thus, the whole graphic complexes we are considering might assume the value of ‘psychograms’, while connecting the painter, the images and the onlookers in a unified context and continuous flow of psychic information.

9.2 Association lines

Other psychograms consist of wavy lines, which connect some of the figures; these association lines are present in almost all the sites. They semantically connect pictograms or pictographs to ideograms.



Fig. 58



Fig. 59



Fig. 60



Fig. 61

In many cases, the pictograms undergo transformations: among the most common cases, an arrow or an arm holding a bow is stretched to reach the target (when the arm is modified, we refer more specifically to a body modification). In contrast, when two human figures or a hunter and his prey, for example, are connected by lines or modifications of weapons, the graphic expedient dynamically depicts the concept of action, in other words a verb (‘hit,’ ‘kill,’ etc.) (s. examples in Site 26: Fig. 58; Site 33: Fig. 59; Site 34: Fig. 60, Site 04: Fig. 61).⁷²

⁷² Similar body extensions (or association lines) moving towards important ideograms or figures are rare but present in Middle Indus, for instance at Mandori (PATERSON/DRUMMOND 1962: fig. 57) and probably at Adina (SHAH NAZAR KHAN 1995: fig. 1). Association lines are not rare in late carvings in Hindu Kush and Karakorum (as in the rock complexes of Thalpan III; MANP 8: 367:A), and in the Neolithic context in Kashmir (s. the Burzahom stone slab in PANDE 1971). See also the carvings found in Ladakh, dated to historical times. In one case, a duel between two archers is emphasized through the use of a psychogram: a sinuous line joining the two warriors (OROFINO 1990: fig. 24). A positive comparison, in terms of syntactic value, is with Bronze Age carvings in northwest Mongolia, where association lines sometimes become redundant and/or dominant (s. MMAFAC 6: figs. 1131, 1193, 1212, 1214, 1262, 1309, for instance, or MMAFAC 7: 1071; other examples: MMAFAC 6: figs. 8, 28, 65, 124, 424, 499, 549, 552, 598, 718, 721, 744, 832, 975, 1009, 1092, 1098, 1123, 1189, 1313, 1314; MMAFAC 7: figs. 173, 174, 184, 239, 263, 331,

In other words, association lines are primarily used to represent actions, which develop over time or in space. They represent actions whose cause and effect are not ubiquitous or contemporary, precisely as in the case of the trajectory of an arrow from archer A to the target (human or animal) B. In this case, the association line can be created by modifying the object which crosses the spatial gap, as an 'arrow' does, or by the object that actually causes the crossing (Fig. 61), for example, the arm holding the arc (Fig. 62) or the shield (Fig. 22). Another value of association lines is to indicate in detail a logical or semantic association (such as, for example, ownership), a capacity or value (such as the accuracy of an arrow or the force of a blow), a human relationship (such as an alliance, friendship or union: see Fig. 62); in short, to express a relationship in all cases where a material link is not physically represented.

In other cases, for example in actions involving direct contact (real or symbolic), there was little need to use this graphic ploy. This is shown by two depictions of sexual intercourse or mating with animals (Site 38: Fig 62, Site 46: Fig 63), and when ownership of cattle is suggested (once again Site 38: Fig. 61, where the figure holds the animal, and Site 05: Fig. 64).



Fig. 62



Fig. 63



Fig. 64

10. Body modifications⁷³

In our pictures, the human body is modified in several ways. Certain changes may function as association lines, and we may presume that other types of bodily transformations must have a relevant semantic value as well. If we add to this semantic value, their quantitative redundancy, multiform variety, frequency, and, last but not least,

405, 505, 681, 697, 705, 981, 1029, 1070, 1202,). Similar cases are also reported in the Bronze Age carvings in Kazakhstan (MMAFAC 5: figs. 21, 85, 86, 88, 89, 90, 91, 101, 105, 106). Association lines occur most frequently in scenes regarding hunting and fighting. This type of syntax is not uncommon in analogous scenes, also in the Saka period (MMAFAC 5: fig. 153) and early Turkish period (MMAFAC 5: figs. 56, 59).

⁷³ Addendum 1: Chart III.

their impact on the central or dominant figure, such signs range among the most important in the vocabulary of the paintings of Swat-Malakand. More than 156 cases of body modifications were counted, with 35 variations in total, and they occur in not less than 22 shelters. Modifications may be classified according to the involved body part. In general, hand modifications are the most frequent (35 cases), followed by those involving the head (23), feet (19), lower and upper limbs, and others.

So far, the specialized literature did not pay much attention to this kind of expressions, although, judging from such preliminary statistics, they form a widely represented category. These signs are important mainly for the overall interpretation of the scenes where they appear, due to their potential function of ‘graphic stratagems’. In fact, they often indicate at a descriptive level a wide array of elements, characters, non-physical or not physically describable attributes.

10.1 Modifications of the Head and Torso

This category includes heavily modified figures, that may belong to complex clusters of association of lines and/or rows of dots.



Fig. 65



Fig. 66



Fig. 67

Only anthropomorphic figures (and not animal ones) show alterations of the head (Site 19: Figs. 66 and 67, Site 49: Fig. 65). Changes of the head most frequently involve horned or feathered-like forms (another example at Tanawal, see fn. 14 and 60, this Chapter). A triangular-shaped face is an important modification in terms of semantics; in one case, this feature is combined with a thin torso, and together they may suggest a

particular type of anthropomorphism tied to a state of trance or pre-death condition (Site 27: Fig. 16; Site 49: Fig. 65).⁷⁴

10.2 Modifications of Hands



Fig. 68



Fig. 69



Fig. 70



Fig. 71

Such modification (with the variants of comb-like or trident-like hands) always appears with figures – both human and anthropomorphs - playing a central role. It is a graphic ploy that, in a psicogrammatic sense, was used to emphasize an altered mental condition or possibly the status of higher, semi-divine beings. Another important variant is a so-called pincher-like modification, which more frequently involves the lower limbs. In two cases, this pincher-like modification is associated with outstretched fingers (Site 03: Fig. 69, Site 04: Fig. 70). The significance of the modifications of limbs or weapons (such as

⁷⁴ In the Upper Indus, we know, thanks to the depiction of the sex, that anthropomorphs with such body modifications are all males, and some have an inverted 'U'-like body; many have a torso depicted as a 'ladder,' or made up of bands, while in others the head has animal features. For example, a carving discovered at Oshibat, always in Upper Indus, seems to indicate a 'shaman' or a 'spirit-guide': a triangular face, visible ribs (a symptom of fasting or of a *post mortem* condition; a similar carving from south Siberia, MMAFAC 3: fig. 265), genitals and a stick, might be ascribed to similar psycho-physical conditions (MANP 1: 52:1). These images might allude to shamanic rituals, connected with skeleton costumes well known in northern and central Eurasia (ELIADE 1968, it. ed. 1974:182-4; s. also DÈVLET 2001). This type of stick-like anthropomorph is typical of representations of spiritual beings in the rock art of the Neolithic from the Helanku Valley (Ninxia) (ANATI 1994b): G. Stacul mentioned this latter cultural context for the only anthropomorph he found in a vase painting of Period IV (STACUL 1987: 109, fig. 47k). This anthropomorph has a leading role in some south Siberian carvings (MMAFAC 2: pl. 78; MMAFAC 3: figs. 156, 333, 338, 340; MMAFAC 4: fig. 29). Other examples were observed at Gichi Nala (MANP 6: 60:1, 112:8, 112:10, 112:1, 112:13, 112:14). In group 112 the same figure is linked with a *stūpa*, with another anthropomorph (modified) (112:9) and an ibex (IBID.: taf. 87). Other examples come from the neighbouring site of Shing Nala (MANP 6: 68:53 – with outstretched feet – 3:4, 68:52, 2:1, 8:1, 68:34, 68:42 and 70:1; the latter is interpreted as a supernatural being also due to the enlarged oval head).

arrows, clubs, etc.) into association lines has already been discussed (see Paragraph 9.2, this Chapter) (Site 33: Fig. 71).

10.3 Modifications of the Feet

Modifications of the feet are also important, even though they are less frequent. They are almost never isolated, but often come with changes of the upper limbs. One of the most important changes in this category are pincer-like feet; another important modification, comb-like feet, is always accompanied by an analogous modification of the hands (see Site 34: Fig. 68).

ADDENDUM 1: Charts I-IX

Human figures	Site			Quantità		
human figure (generic)	01	19	38	1	8	2
	02	27	39	4	1	1
	03	33	42	5	2	1
	04	34	43	3	2	1
	08	35	46	3	6	2
	15	36	49	2	6	11
farmer	04			7		
shepherd	29			2		
horseback rider	05	29	(45)	5	5	(1)
	16	32	48	1	1	1
	19	38		9	2	
	23	40		1	1	
	24	42		4	1	
	27	43		4	20	
archer	01	35		2	1	
	03	36		4	1	
	04	39		1	1	
	15	40		3	1	
	16	46		2	3	
	34			1		
mounted archer	24			2		
	27			2		
	38			1		
warrior	01	46		3	2	
	16	49		1	2	
	26			3		
	27			2		
	36			1		
	39			1		
mounted warrior	05	39	48	1	2	2
	13	40	49	1	2	4
	24	41		1	1	
	25	42		1	3	
	27	46		46	11	
	38	47		2	1	
hunter (archer)	24			1		
	25			4		
	48			1		
mounted hunter (archer)	27			4		
	29			1		
	46			1		
	48			1		
dancer	04			9		
	46			3		
hero	04			1		
	08			2		
priest* s. Chart II	04 (?)			1		

Chart I

Anthropomorphs	Site		Quantity	
	03	36	1	2
	04	39 (?)	3 (2)	1
	(04)	46	2	1
	05	49	2	2
	12		2	
	19		2	
	27			

Chart II

Body Modifications	Human Figures	Anthropom.	Theriozoom.	Animals	Site	Quantity
comb-like hair		x			05	1
		x			36	1
triangle-shaped face		x			27	1
globular head		x			05	1
		x			08	1
		x			19	1
			X		35	1
horned/feathered-like head		x			12	1
		x			19	1
		x			46	1
		x			49	1
animal face/mask		x			12	1
			x		35	1
		x			36	1
			x		36	1
				x	39	1
gigantic head				x	05	2
				x	19	1
				x	46	1
				x	49	1
bitriangular body	x			26	3	
rectangular torso		x			05	1
		x			19	1
		x			36	1
triangular torso		x		36	1	
filiform torso		x			27	1
	x				34	1
open arms	x				24	1
	x				42	1
	x				43	7
	x				49	2
		x			49	1
elongated arm	x				03	1
	x				04	1
	x				08	1
	x				33	1
	x				43	1
	x				49	1
elongated arm (with weapon)	x				03	2
	x				04	2
	x				40	1
	x				46	2
winged arm		x			12	1
raised arm	x				34	1
		x			36	1
	x				43	1
		x			46	1
disarticulated arm	x			49	1	
hand on flank	x				13	2+2
	x				35	1
	x				35	1+1
	x				36	1
	x				40	1
outstretched fingers		x			03	1
		x			04	2
	x				05	1
	x				08	1+1
		x			27	1+1
	x				27	1
	x				34	1+1
			X		35	1
x				39	1	
trident-like hand		x			12	1
		x			19	1
			x		35	1

Body Modifications	Human Figures	Anthropom.	Theriozoom.	Animals	Site	Quantity
	x				43	1
pincer-like hand		x x x x			03 04 05 19 34 49	1 1 1 1 1 2
comb-like hand	x x x x x				02 39 43 49 49	2 1 1 2+2 1
arrow-like hand	x				35	1
antennae-like arm	x x				33 43	1 1
globular hand		x			19	1
inverted U-like legs	x	x			04 04	7 1
T-like legs	x x	x			03 04 19	2 1 1
crescent-like legs	x	x			02 12	1 1
pincer-like foot	x				03	1
comb-like foot	x x x x	x x			02 27 34 35 36 49	1 1 1 1 1 3+3
elongated foot	x x				08 33	1 1+1
arrow-like foot	x		x		33 35	1 1
pincer-like pawn			x	x	36 46	1 1
indication of penis	x x x x x	x x	x	x	04 04 04 12 19 35 36 38 38 40 46 46 49	2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 2 1 2 1 1
grotesque		x			31	1

Chart III

Wild Animals		Site				Quantity			
monkey		03				1			
		27				1			
felines		04		43		1		1	
		12		46		2		1	
		25				2			
		27				8			
		29				1			
		36				1			
ibex		12				1			
		24				3			
		27				2			
		39				2			
		41				1			
		46				3			
	male ibex	04				1			
		38				3			
		40				1			
		46				1			
canids		46				2			
	wolf	39				1			
		48				1			
	fox/jackal	05				1			
		40				1			
other ungulates		41				4			
		43				1			
		48				1			
	deer	37				2			
		39				1			
	bovines	46				1			
bird/butterfly		31				1			

Domestic animals		Site				Quantity											
equids		38				1											
	horse	16				1											
		24				1											
		27				1											
		45				1											
	mounted horse	05		25		40		48		6		1		3		4	
		13		27		41		49		1		56		1		4	
		16		29		42				1		6		4			
		19		32		43				9		1		20			
		23		38		46				1		5		12			
		24		39		47				7		2		1			
bovines		41				1											
	zebu (humped bull)	05				3											
		19				1											
		25				1											
		27				1											
		29				3											
ovines		25				2											
caprids		12				8											
dogs		05		27		1		5									
		12		41		2		1									
		25		43		2		1									

Theriozoomorph		Site		Quantity	
	ibex-feline	36		1	
	equid-feline	35		1	

Unidentified		Site				Quantity					
		05	13	41	45	49	2	1	1	1	5
		12	27	43	46		4	10	1	2	

Chart IV

Structures	Sub-term	Site	Quantity
<i>stūpa</i>		13	3
		14	1
		17	6
		20	3
		31	5
		35	1
		36	1
		41	5
		48	3
		49	1
	with railing, 2 storeys and elaborated <i>chattrāvalī</i> (in one case -13 – with structs)	13 16	1 (1) 1
	with 1 storey	13	4
	with 2 storeys	13 31 36	5 1 1
	with 2 stories and a stairway	13 17 20	2 1 1
	with <i>trīśūla</i> -like finial	17	4
	with <i>chakra</i> finial and a stairway	14	1
	with elaborate finial	14 31	2 1
	with column	31	1
temple-like (with railing)		41	1
<i>stūpa</i> -like		10	1
		41	2
		48	1
column-like		13	1

Geometric patterns	Sub-term	Site	Quantity
grid-square		19	1
		39	1
	-rectangle	04	1
		08	1
		15	1
d.o with crossed wheel		08	1
d.o with globular/ horned termination		09	1
dotted-square		03	1
		15	3
grid- & dotted- square		04	1
		08	1
		09	1
		15	2
	-rectangle	03	1
		09	1
	diagonal	04	1
grid- & dotted-open square (<i>trīśūla</i> -like)		09	(1)
		10	(1)
		20	1
multiple grid (& dotted) square		04	(2)
		19	1
		49	3
d.o with antennae-like		01	1
		27 (?)	1
d.o associated to crossed circle		03	2
antennae-like figuration/ termination		04	1
		05	2
		43	1
tree-like figuration		49	1
comb-like termination		03	1
permutation of dots			
	circular, sub-circular or semi circular	09	1
		13	1
		20	1

Geometric patterns	Sub-term	Site	Quantity
permutation of dots	d.o multiple	04	1
		09	1
crossed circle		09	2
partitioned circle		09	1

Chart V

Tools and Headgears	Sub-term	Site	Quantity
tool			
	agricultural tool	04	3
plough		41	1
headgear			
	double-feathered	19	1
hat		24	2
		27	1
		34	1
tiara		26	1
chignon		39	1
		double loop	26
gown/kaftan		01	5
		03	1
		26	3
		41	1
club		01	2
		03	1
		29	1
<i>linga</i> -like		04	1
standard and standard-like		05	2
		49	1
horsemanship gears/ornaments			
	crenellated mane	24	1
		45	1
	covered tail	45	1
stirrup		23	1
		27	35
		29	1
		45	1
		46	8
		47	1
rein		27	8
		41	1
		45	1
		46	2
saddle		24	1
		45	1
disk* s. Chart VII			1
	round radial	08	2
	round crossed	03	2
		13	1
<i>chakra</i> * s. Chart VII		04 (?)	1
		08 (?)	2
		14	1

Chart VI

Weapons	Sub-term	Site			Quantity		
bow		03	27	39	4	6	1
		04	34	40	1	1	1
		15	35	46	3	1	3
		16	36		2	1	
		24	38		2	1	
	reflex	01			2		
sword		01		40	1		1
		01		47	1		1
		26		48	2		1
		27			21		
		39			2		
		39			1		
knife (dagger)		26			1		
sabre		27			1		
battle-axe		05			3		
		27			1		
spear		26			1		
		39			1		
		48			1		
	trident-shaped	26			1		
		41			1		
shield							
	round	08			1		
		08 (?)			1		
		27			4		
		36			1		
		40			1		
	round radial* s. Chart VI	04 (?)			1		
		08 (?)			1		
	round dotted	27			1		
	round small	25			1		
	round concave	27			5		
		46			1		
	triangular	27			1		
	convex	16			1		
shield	generic	24			1		
		47			1		
helmet	conical	24			1		
	feathered	27			3		
	double-feathered	27			1		
		36			1		
	d.o conical	27			2		
		46			1		
	mushroom-like	16			1		
		27			2		
		41			1		
		46			2		

Chart VII

Psycograms	Site		Quantity	
dot	04	14	2	1, 3
	09	16	-	3
	10	19	4, 4	1, 5
	11	20	6, 3	-
	12	49	3	2
	13		-	

Ideograms	Site	Quantity
hand print	05	6
<i>triśūla</i> -like	09	3
	10	1
crossed circle and horned circle or <i>tamḡa</i> * see Charts V, VI	03	1
	09	1
	13	1
	14	2
	17	1
radial disk* see Charts V, VI	03	1
	04	1
	08	3
grid and/or dotted square* grid and/or dotted square* see Chart V	03	3
	04	3
	15	8
	19	1
battle-axe	05	2

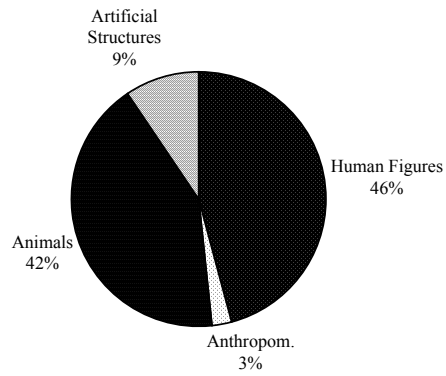
Deity or kings	Site	Quantity
holding a <i>triśūla</i> -like spear	26	1
	41	1
inserted in a grid-like ideogram	04	1
on the back of an ibex	04	1
holding a <i>chakra</i> * s. Charts V, VII, I	04 (?)	1
	08 (?)	2

Chart VIII

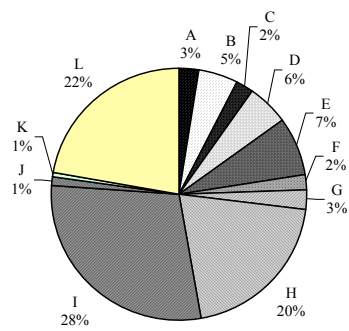
Main actions	Sub-term	Site
fighting		
	duel	26 34 40 46
	battle	27
killing		27 34 46 49
		35
mating		
	bestiality	38 46
hunting/chasing		24 39 25 46 27 48 29
		04 46
		38 43
		05
cattle ownership		(12) 29
		04 04
ritual slaughtering*		04 (?)

Chart IX

ADDENDUM 2: Graphics I-IV



Graphic I

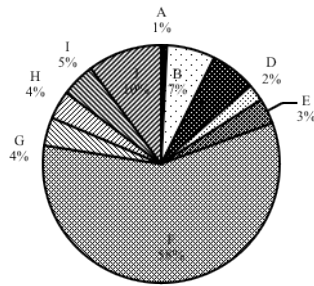


Graphic II

Non mounted - A: farmers (7) B: dancers (13) C: hunters (6) D: warriors (15) E: archers (20) J: heros, (3) K: shepherds (2)

L: generic (61)

Mounted - F: archers (5) G: hunters (7) H: horseback riders (55) I: warriors (78)

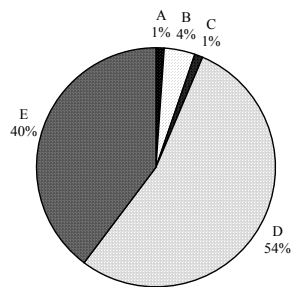


Graphic III

Wild animals - A: monkeys (2) B: ibexes (22) C: felines (17) D: canids (6) E: other ungulates (9)

Domestic animals - F: horses (150) G: bovines (10) H: ovines and caprids (10) I: dogs (12)

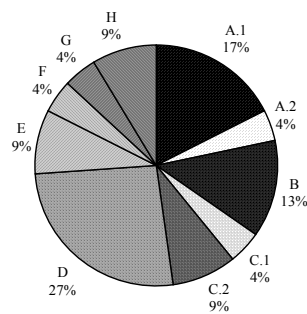
J: unidentified



Graphic IV

Structures - A: column-like (1) B: *stūpa*-like (4) C: temple (1) D: *stūpa* (52)

Geometric pattern – D: (30)



Graphic V

Recognised actions (out of a total of 24 complexes)

A.1: fighting: duel (4) A.2: fighting: battle (1) B: killings (4) C.1: mating (1) C.2: matig: bestiality (2) D: hunting (7) E: galloping (2)

F: cattle ownership (1) G: pastoral scene (1) H ploughing and sowing (2)

Catalogue

Introduction

This catalogue differs substantially from those presented in other studies, where each individual sign, or type of signs, is considered separately, even in presence of physical groups (like on large boulders), or large figurative groups. The reasons are the following:

- 1) Most of the Sites here presented were apparently painted in a single event. However, there are some documented cases of re-painting, and obliteration rarely occurred.
- 2) The figurative complex of each site manifests itself as complete only when the totality of the figures is considered.
- 3) The individual figures, when considered as isolated, while retaining in many cases their own distinctive value (symbolical, lexical), lose part of their meaning (syntactical, conceptual). On the contrary, the interpretation is more positive and reliable when the figures are described in relationship to others.
- 4) As a consequence, the uniqueness of each site is stressed, as can be the need to consider each figurative complex as an analytical unit.

In the description, where the directions ('right' and 'left', 'high' and 'low') are indicated, they are defined according to the observer's viewpoint, which presumably corresponds to the original point of view of the painter. However, it must be noted that, for example, 'high' in relation to a sub-horizontal wall most of the time corresponds to its innermost portion (if otherwise located, it will be indicated in the description). The cardinal points are abbreviated as N, S, E, W. For all other elements of the catalogue, the reader should refer to the Chapter 'Definitions', and to the following Key.

Key

Catalogue no., AMSV Site no.; Name

Area Group (Kotah Valley: KH, Kandak Valley: KK, Malakand Ridge: MD, Thana Valley: TH);

Year of Discovery;

Chromatic Scale (Red: Crimson, Carnelian, Scarlet, Orange; White; Yellow: Cadmium);

State of Preservation (Optimal, Good, Mediocre, Poor) with detailed description.

Approximated total extension (only when the data is relevant and fairly calculable); Approximated surviving paintings (in percentage; only if fairly calculable).

(Table/-s).

References

Description:

Site.

Paintings.

GAZETTEER

01. 138a; Dwolasmane-patai 1

KK; 2000; Red (Crimson); Good: the surviving part is bordered on the right by a thick blackish crust and decayed lichens, and on the left by the effects of an intensive peeling process that has removed all the original stone surface and exposed a powdery stone core; 90%.

Vidale /Olivieri 2002; Olivieri 2004; Olivieri 2005; Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006.

The shelter is composed of a thick horizontal eroded slab of gneiss, which rests on a huge, squared boulder of the same type of stone. The slab faces SE. The paintings were found within a naturally eroded cavity on the lower face of the uppermost slab. The cavity is approximately 100 cm deep and high; the inner niche is approximately 15 cm deep.

The surviving paintings display a complex, irregular geometric pattern (probably a *stūpa*) on the left, and human figures carrying weapons (bows, swords or poles) in their right hands (or in their left when the right hand holds a shield).

02. 138b; Dwolasmane-patai 2

KK; 2005; Red (Crimson); Mediocre: the pictures have almost completely faded; 95%

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006.

A second rock pinnacle is situated slightly uphill from the preceding site. It is a thick eroded horizontal slab, which rests on a squared boulder; both rocks are gneiss. The slab faces SE. The paintings were found inside a naturally eroded cavity on the lower face of the uppermost slab. The cavity is approximately 50 cm deep.

The paintings contain four anthropomorphs with body modifications on the right and an unidentified pictograph on the left.

03. 130a; Kakai-kandao 1

KH; 2000; Red (Scarlet); Optimal: the surface is extensively deteriorated and covered by patches of lichens. A band of blackish incrustation departs from the top of the main slab and descends towards the right, skirting the edge of one of the smaller cavities to the right. Another area of blackish incrustation can be seen along the left edge of the main erosive niche, where it has covered or destroyed part of the surviving designs. Frequent exposure to fire is probably responsible for cracking and peeling the rocks, as

well as covering them with soot. The original painted surface might well have measured around 6 sq. m; 80%

Vidale/Olivieri 2002; Olivieri 2004; Olivieri 2005; Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

The shelter is on the same path and at the same level as Site 04, approximately 150 meters below the Jaurbanda -ghar top range. It lies below a small cliff formed by two oblique, parallel slabs of fine-grained gneiss, one of which projects above the other and faces W, toward a steep slope. The uppermost slab is approximately 45 cm thick; it rises in a dominant position above a promontory. A small hemispherical cavity shaped by erosion opens at its centre, which is 15 cm deep and roughly 50 to 80 cm wide. Cup-marks are documented above and below the shelter. The designs form a crowded, vivid composition consisting of animals (a monkey), human figures, some of which carry bows (characterized by body modifications, and T-shaped forms), geometric patterns (grid- and dotted-squares) and a large round crossed disk. The monkey appears with a single and triple line with the central grid- and dotted-square (with a comb-like upper termination). The same animal is facing a second dotted-square; seven human figures are variously linked to these three ideograms: two T-shaped figures, one with a triangular gown, two which are carrying bows, of which one has body modifications, and two - of which one may be an anthropomorph - with heavy body modifications: one is drawn with open arms and with outstretched fingers on its right hand, and pincer-like left hand; the other is shown with an elongated right arm (and a pincer-like right foot). Around the central figures there are another round-crossed disk (at left), a pair of associated archers with elongated arms, and a double-dotted square with a comb-like termination at its bottom.

04. 1121a; Sargah-sar 1

KH; 2000; Red (Scarlet); Optimal: the surface is extensively deteriorated and covered by patches of lichens. A band of blackish incrustations departs from the top of the main slab, and descends towards the right, skirting the edge of one of the smaller cavities, on the right. Another blackish crust is visible along the left edge of the main erosive niche, where it has covered or destroyed part of the surviving designs. Frequent exposure to fire probably cracked and peeled the rock surface, covering it with soot. The original painted surface might well have measured around 6 sq. m; 80%

Vidale/Olivieri 2002; Olivieri 2004; Olivieri 2005; Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

A short distance southwest of the previous shelter, the base of the Sargah-sar cliff is

formed by a group of huge gneiss boulders. This major landmark is formed by a series of thick slabs of fine-grained gneiss, superimposed and projecting obliquely downhill, facing SW. The main, dominating slab has a polygonal shape, and is oriented in a way that one of its main corners points upward. It is also distinguished by a couple of round holes, approximately 35 cm in diameter and 10 to 15 cm deep, symmetrically positioned in the upper surface of the slab, and a major natural cavity in the form of a pointed inflected arch, at its base, which measures not less than 150-170 cm (the inner niche's depth ranges from 15-20 cm). The surface of these erosive features is particularly smooth and lends itself to being painted. Remains of thin parallel slabs, reduced by erosion to a large saddle-shaped feature, are visible on the lower surface of the slab. The space between the top of this boulder and the projecting slabs is restricted, not leaving enough room to stand in front of the rock. The saddle-shaped feature below the main niche bears traces of mechanical impact and abrasion. This feature is doubtless artificial; its surface still bears solidified splashes of red ochre. This suggests that this odd stone was utilized for on-the-spot grinding and mixing of the red ochre used in painting. This artificial modification of the stone surface, clearly related to painting, is a feature unique to the Sargah-sar site.

When looking at Sargah-sar, one has the immediate impression of standing before a gigantic face staring at the valley. The two round cavities in the upper part of the slab easily suggest eyes, while the large arch-shaped cavity at the base reminds one of an open mouth. The designs across the face resemble tattoos. Even the saddle-shaped rock, with remnants of pigments used in painting, suggests a red tongue at the base of the mouth. This imagery would seem to be confirmed by the present toponomy (see Appendix 3). At the base and peak of the pinnacle there are several cup-marks; the surface which is sub-vertical to the base of the painted niche is characterized by a palimpsest of faint engravings which were documented in 2005 and recognized as being later than the niche paintings.¹

Painted designs are visible within the described natural erosive cavities. The niche must have attracted the attention of the ancient dwellers of the local valleys due to its peculiar shape. It is crowded with painted designs in various states of conservation: human figures, some of which carry bows (one), agricultural tools, and shields (for instance, a figure of a hero with his head flanked by several dots, and holding a sun-like radial round shield/*chakra*); one figure with body modifications (with elongated arm and pincer-like

right hand); animals (such as an ibex surmounted by an anthropomorph/human figure and facing a feline); and elaborate geometric patterns such as grid- and dotted-squares, as well as many others pictograms, most of which unidentified (amongst them a multiple circular permutation of dots), thickly clustered in a limited space. The designs within the upper round holes are poorly preserved. Other designs, almost completely washed away, were painted outside the niches: an archer close to the lower saddle-shaped slab, to the left of the main niche; a group of dancers on the upper edge of the same feature. On some of the figures there seems to be more than one layer of pigment.

05. 336; Kamal-china

KH; 2005; Red (Carnelian); Optimal: the designs are nevertheless better preserved where the sub-horizontal roof has protected the paint from washing-out; the original surface has been covered by formations of dark-grey, green and silvery lichens. The inner cavity has undergone a light but extensive process of whitish calcareous encrustation. The original painted surface may have measured approximately 9 sq. m.; 95%

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

The paintings are located beneath an extremely low sub-horizontal gneiss slab of large dimensions which shelters a spring of water; the site is positioned on a hill east of the village of Talang. A cluster of horseback riders is in the center (for the most part, facing right). Above this, a reproduction of four (right) hands stands out; several humped bulls are also recognizable. One of these humped bulls is represented as being held by his hooves by a human figure. Two battle-axes are painted at either end of the slab. On the left border, a horseback rider and a feline are depicted flanking an unidentified geometric pattern. Among the recognizable figures in the upper portion of the area are: a standard; slightly below, the figure of a horseback rider (anthropomorph) with significant body modifications; an anthropomorphic figure represented frontally with a colored rectangular body with significant body modification of its right hand.

06. 342. Badze 1

KH; 2005; Red; Poor. The drawings are very poorly preserved and scarcely recognizable.

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008.

On the other side (right) of the valley, several painted shelters were found along the rocky precipice of a deep ravine. The shelter at Badze 1 is extremely small, low and

accessible with difficulty due to its position on the edge of the ravine. Within the area of its low ceiling, poorly defined human figures can be discerned with some difficulty, as well as other unidentified signs.

07. 343. Badze 2

KH; 2005; Red; Poor. The cavity shows faint traces of red designs, totally obliterated by a thick layer of soot.

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008.

This shelter consists of a round, vertical erosive cavity, located just east of the previous area. It hosts traces of paintings, which could not be better identified.

08. 344a. Dandi-sar 1

KH; 2005; Red (Carnelian); Good. Most of the drawings are preserved and recognizable. The original painted surface might well have measured around 5 sq. m.; 70%

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

Two shelters are located on the N side of the deep ravine where there is a large rock pinnacle, which resembles a human facial profile. The lower of the two is tiny, with a low ceiling, and a floor, which slopes dangerously towards the bottom of the ravine. It is only barely accessible.

The paintings to the right represent a large human figure (a hero?). Upon its head there is a large radial disk, and it holds a round shield. To the left, there is a structure with two radial disks, which may represent a chariot, and a small human figure with body modifications. Below these figures, there are two other human figures (a hero?), one with a round radial shield significantly larger than the figure carrying it. Yet, further below these figures, there are other unidentified patterns.

09. 344b. Dandi-sar 2

KH; 2005; Red (Orange); Good. The majority of the drawings are preserved and recognizable. The original painted surface might well have measured around 2,5 sq. m.; 65%

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

The vertical erosive cavity located above the previous shelter displays a clearly visible complex of geometric patterns. These patterns include: grid- and dotted-squares, grid-

squares (in one case with dot-marks), *triśūla*-like ideograms (in one case with dot-marks), circular, sub-circular or semi-circular permutations of dots, a crossed circle, and various unidentified geometric patterns.

10. 362a. Malak-ziarat

KH; 2005; Red (Orange); Optimal; 100%

Olivieri/ Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

This site is located on the right side of the valley, not far from the village of Sandok. A *stūpa* and a *triśūla* (with dots) are represented within a shallow, vertical, open natural cavity which faces the ruins of a Buddhist monastic complex.²

11. 379. Gwarejo-patai

KH; 2005; Red (Carnelian); Poor; 25%.

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006.

The paintings (all unidentified) were found within a shelter formed by an agglomerate of eroded collapsed boulders which lies on the northern side of the mountain crest at the top of the valley. A 'palette- type' winepress was found on the floor.³

12. 380a. Palwano-gata

KH-MD; 2005; Red (Orange and Carnelian: note that the figures painted in Carnelian turned Orange in the less protected lower sector). Optimal. Almost all of the drawings have been preserved and are recognizable. It is possible that the original painted surface measured approximately 3 sq. m.; 85%

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

At the top of the crest ESE of Saffar-kandao (Saffar-sar) there are substantial traces of ancient human presence. The evidence (mostly rock-artifacts, and amongst them a flight of steps cut into the rock) are probably connected to the existence of a Buddhist sacred area on the NW end of the plateau, which is one of the many ruins scattered along the crest between Amluk and Kafir-kot. A natural niche, which forms a comfortable shelter with its projection, hosts a vertical wall bearing numerous paintings. These represent mainly goats and dogs (and probably also a couple of low-sized felines and an ibex); portions of them are painted in dark-red (carnelian). Amongst the other paintings, there are two anthropomorphs with relevant body modifications (on the left: with bird-like

head and trident-like right hand, winged left arm; on the right: with crescent-like legs and feathered head). On the lower part of the niche, a carved *stūpa* was also recorded.

13. 350. Kafir-kot 1

KH-TH; 1990; Red (Carnelian). Good. The original painted surface might well have measured around 3,5 sq. m.; 75%

Nazir Khan 1994; Abdul Nasir Khan et al. 1995; Olivieri 2005; Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2010a.

The shelter is located on the crest of Morah-sar, which separates the Kotah valley from the Thana valley, near the main peak, which dominates the two valleys, and not far from the vast array of ruins belonging to the Buddhist site of Kafir-kot. The cavity containing the paintings was discovered at the rear of a group of massive gneiss granite boulders, resting one upon the other. The cave, which opens to N-NW, is a shallow semi-circular cavity approximately 1.50 meters in depth, by the same height. On the left there are six human figures (amongst them three archers and a mounted warrior), still recognisable in and around a depiction of a Buddhist sacred area which includes many *stūpas*. Among these latter, the central *stūpa* is depicted in detail with railing, stairways, its two storeys and elaborated *chattrāvalī*. An ideogram, in the form of a crossed circle with a crescent-shaped upper projection, is represented in the centre of the scene. 4 Three horseback riders documented by Nazir Khan as well as the stairway of the central *stūpa*, had totally disappeared at the time of our final campaign. To the right are depicted some *stūpas* accompanied by an archer and a horseback rider. Here too, at the time of our final documentation campaign many details, previously noticed, had already been lost. 5

14. 396. Kafir-kot 2

KH-TH; 2005; Red (Carnelian). Good; 90%

Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

Near the boulders which host the paintings cited at Site 13, this tiny, extremely low rock-shelter is distinguished by an awkward entrance. The paintings it hosts represent four *stūpas*, each one of which shows finials representing different ideograms.

15. 352. Marano-tangai

KH; 1990; Red (Carnelian). Good; 90%

Nazir Khan 1994; Abdul Nasir Khan et al. 1995; Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006.

Crossing the peak of Morah-sar through the Saffar-kandao (in the vicinity of other interesting artifacts such as steps and passages which have been cut into the rock), and entering the Kotah Valley, there is a small vertical shelter with paintings. This Site is not far from the Chuwa *stūpa*. The small cavity, which opens to N-NE, is formed by a huge partially inclined block of granitic gneiss, which shows no sign of artificial intervention. The paintings are a series of ideograms: squares (empty and partitioned) and dotted-squares. A few metres from the cave there is a gneiss plateau with tanks and cup-marks.

16. 006; Shamo

TH; 1992; Red (Carnelian). Mediocre.

Abdul Nasir Khan et al. 1995.

Shamo is not far from Kafir-kot to SSW, slightly below the Buddhist ruins of Giroban and Kafir-kot. The paintings are located within a natural shelter, which opens to the N. The dimensions are similar to those of the preceding shelter. The representations consist of: two archers, a warrior with a shield, a sword (?) and a helmet. A horseback rider and another horse are depicted near a detailed *stūpa*.

17. 007; Hinduano-hatai

TH; 1992; Red (Orange); Yellow (Cadmium); traces overlaying the red paintings. Mediocre.

Abdul Nasir Khan et al. 1995.

The cave was found in the valley of Allahdan-dherai, not far from the village of Binjanr or the Buddhist sacred area of Loriyan-tangai. The paintings are located within a large, naturally-formed cave, which opens to SE onto a calcareous cliff which dominates the aforementioned village. Many Shahi watchtowers were recorded in the area, and possibly explain the origin of the toponym. The paintings show primarily *stūpas* (and a possible *tamḡa*); on one wall, there were fingerprints (the author or authors of the paintings cleaned their fingers from colors in this manner). There are paintings on the right-hand and left-hand wall upon entering, on the far wall, and in an inner cavity linked to the front

cavity by a narrow passageway. Here two pigments had been used: a orange-red color to touch-up a yellow design of *stūpa*, while on the far wall, two *stūpas* which had been originally traced with an orange-red color were repainted yellow. The marks left by the painters as they cleaned their fingers, are both in yellow and orange-red (in several cases, the yellow marks overlay the orange-red ones).

18. 388. Talang

KH; 2005; Red (Orange). Poor. Any trace of the pictures has been totally obliterated by later engravings. Olivieri/Vidale et al. 2006; Olivieri 2008; Olivieri 2010a.

Traces of unidentified paintings were observed on the lower sidewall of a large dihedral-shaped gneiss boulder, covered by a jutting slab. Cup-marks are present on the upper face of this large slab. The paintings are obliterated by later engravings (horseback riders with round shields and swords). On the larger wall several lines of a long inscription are engraved in Brahmi -Śarada, which in turn partially cancelled other engravings representing horseback riders armed with round shields, swords and poles. On the rocky floor at the base of the dihedral (formed by a third boulder) there are permutations of cup-marks and grooves. Excavations conducted by the writer at the base of the agglomerate of rocks in 2006 revealed that the boulder, in antiquity, was located near the pebbly bank of a stream (now called the Kotah river), in the vicinity of a ford. On a neighboring boulder, we found a set of steps carved into the rock. On a nearby boulder there is an incision which probably represents Śiva and his bull Nandi.

19. 407. Churkhai

KH; 2005; Red (Carnelian). Good. The pictures are poorly conserved chromatically, after a light but extensive process of fading. The drawings are better preserved in the W sector, far from the edge of the horizontal roof, where they have been protected from the detrimental effects of the rain. A blackish crust can be seen along the E edge of the niche, where it covered or destroyed a part of the surviving drawings. The original painted surface might well have measured approximately 3,5 sq. m; 80% Olivieri 2010a.

The cliff is at the head of a grassy valley (also known as Kabbal-dab), uphill from the village of Churkhai. The village bears traces of a large historic civil settlement to its N, as well as a large Buddhist monastic settlement to its SE. At the peak of the gneiss-granite cliff is a large horizontal boulder. The cavity, formed by a rock projection open to

the N, is approximately 50-100 cm high, and its roof hosts the drawings.

The majority of the figures represent horseback riders, and human figures with body modifications, gigantic globular heads and indication of the penis, as well as two humped bulls. The figures are clustered in two separate groups, in each case assembled around the central figure of a large anthropomorph with bodily modifications. In the group to the left, the anthropomorph has a rectangular trunk, divided vertically, with penis, a globular head, a right hand which is also divided vertically, and a pincer-like left hand. The figure, whose size is larger than the nearby human figures and animals, is linked to a sign with a square-grid. There is an unidentified geometric pattern below. The anthropomorph in the group to the right has a horn-like head and complex body modifications, to be analyzed in detail later. A complex geometric pattern, perhaps a structure, is visible at right.

20. 409. Ram-dunai 1

KH; 2005; Red (Carnelian). Mediocre. The paintings have undergone a light but extensive process of fading. The drawings are better preserved in the upper sector, where they were protected from the effects of the rain. The original painted surface may have measured around 0,6 sq. m.; 60%
Olivieri 2010a.

The images were painted within a smooth sub-vertical round cavity, opening to the N; it is located within the same valley as Site numbers 06 to 09. The figures are at least six *stūpas*, surrounded by patterns of dot-marks. To the right are a partial grid and a dotted-square.

21. 410. Ram-dunai 2

KH; 2005; Red (Carnelian). Poor. The cavity shows faint traces of red designs, which have been totally washed out.

At the summit of the cliff that hosts Site 20, there is a plateau formed by a large slab of gneiss with traces of cup-marks, and permutations of dot-marks and grooves. A tilted boulder resting on the slab forms the roof of a cavity where traces of pigment have been found.

22. 411. Ram-dunai 3

KH; 2005; Red (Carnelian). Poor. The cavity shows faint traces of red designs, which have been totally

obliterated by recent scratching.

A vertical shelter with traces of paint lies on the W wall of the cliff just below the summit which hosts Site 21. The identifiable crossed lines may pertain to *stūpa* chattras.

23. 415. Bacha-kot

MD; 2006; Red (Carnelian). Good; 60%

The site is located on a terrace exposed to S, along the S wall of the crest ESE of Saffar kandao. It is a large boulder with several erosive cavities resting on a large slab of gneiss. In the N cavity, there are two human figures turned to the right; to the left, the tip of an arrow which certainly belongs to the figure of a archer which is no longer discernable; to the right, a horseback rider, with emphasized feet (suggesting stirrups?).

24. 416. Busus-smast

MD; 2006; Red (Carnelian). Good. Most of the paintings in the lower part of the cavity have undergone recent peeling. The drawings are better preserved in the upper sectors, left and right. The original painted surface might well have measured around 6.5 sq. m.; 60%

The paintings appear on the rear wall of a long shallow shelter exposed to S and still used as a stable. The shelter is located along the southern slopes of the ridge ESE of Saffar kandao. From left to right, I have documented several scenes: on top, a archer hunting three ibexes; above that, the figure of a horseback rider with open arms and body modifications, and a second horseback rider at its right; at the bottom, a series of three horseback riders and a horse with an ornate (ribboned) mane; and to the right, a large horseback rider armed with a bow, plus unidentified geometric patterns (geometric figures with dots). Below, one sees an archer standing on an equid (?).

25. 417. Kwar-patai

MD; 2006; Red (Crimson). Good. Some of the paintings has been recently damaged through scratching. The original painted surface might well have measured around 1 sq. m.; 80%

The paintings are on the back wall of a small shallow shelter, exposed to E, in the same area of the previous site. The shelter is accessible through several steps carved into the rock. Two hunters armed with bows, a dog, and two other animals (perhaps sheep) are

visible at left, while at the center a horseback rider is depicted with a round shield, perhaps in the act of protecting a humped bull from the threat of a feline. Above the centre is depicted another animal. To the right, two other hunters of smaller dimensions are shown with a dog, and face a wild cat.

26. 418. Thakht-gat

MD; 2006; Red (Carnelian). Optimal; 95%

Olivieri 2010a.

The paintings are on the ceiling of a small niche, projecting and partly sheltering a path, about 2,5 m above the ground; the path proceeds towards Saffar-kandao (S side). There are three bi-triangular human figures in profile. The first figure is turned to the right with a double-loop chignon and spears terminating in tridents (*triśūla*-like?). The second figure is also turned to the right and depicted with a tiara or headpiece and a sword by its side. It is represented in the act of hitting a third figure with a spear. The third figure is turned to the left, and depicted with a sword at its side. There is an unidentified figure behind and slightly below the first one.

27. 421a. Lal-kamar 1

MD; 2006; Red (Carnelian, Scarlet, Orange). Good; ; in several points, the surface shows traces of exfoliation; toward the external margins of the shelter, the pigment appears faded due to exogenous factors, such as the percolation of rainwater. The original painted surface might have measured around 9 sq. m., 95%

Olivieri 2007; Olivieri 2010a.

The paintings of Sites 27, 28 and 29 are located within cavities of various shapes and sizes on the S side of a huge irregular boulder composed of gneiss-granite. This boulder resembles a huge mushroom which has been stretched and pinched; it towers over and rounds the summit of a large rock slab located near the slopes SW of Saffar-sar, near the village of Loe-band.

The paintings of the first site appear on the ceiling of a large, deep shelter, open on three sides (W, S, and E) in a sector to the SW of the boulder. The bedrock, which serves as the shelter's natural floor, follows a downward gradient toward S, where the opening is largest; the height of the shelter ceiling varies from 30 cm (at its most internal point, even

less) to 150 cm to the S. There are approximately 100 recognizable figures painted on the ceiling. These were grouped into four different focal points (counter clockwise: A-B with intermediate positions and C-D), corresponding to the position of the artist as if he/she were lying on the rocky bed within the shelter. The majority of the figures are shown within focal point A (from S, the point of the shelter's maximum opening), 11 figures belong to group B, and 6 figures lie within each of the focal point groups C and D. Points A and B are contiguous along the same visual plane of rotation (deriving from the physical location of the artist). They were traced approximately at the same time, and this explain why they are quite consistent in their design. Conversely, it is possible that the other two points were painted in two successive stages, in two additional periods, although they are lexically consistent with the primary palimpsest. As a whole, the figures compose a scene, apparently disordered, but coherent, portraying a great battle. Horseback riders (hunters) with dogs and wild animals intersected the principal scene. There are also isolated anthropomorphs. Amongst the figures, nearly 20 remain unidentified.

Group A: on the inner side of the shelter the figures include: an isolated horseback warrior with the head in profile; other two horseback riders, probably warriors, riding in the same direction and holding swords (both ride with reins; the first warrior wears a mushroom-like helmet, the second appears in profile); a horseback archer with a dog, heading toward a wild animal. Depicted in the center (left to right): three horseback warriors, all with swords and shields (the last one with a round dotted shield); two horseback warriors with feathered helmets and bows, reins and stirrups, near a wild animal (a feline?). A standing warrior holding a sword is near the second of the three above-mentioned horseback riders. Through association lines, departing from his shield, this warrior is linked to the shield of another horseback warrior heading left and facing a second horseback warrior holding a standard (?), possibly in the act of dueling. Another association line departs from his horse's tail. This latter line ends into a cluster of figures of horseback warriors (at least four), partially de-structured; and make a pattern resembling an anthropomorph, as well as a geometric design. This pattern is the core of the entire painted palimpsest. To the left, 14 horseback warriors are dueling (at least three pairs are recognizable) or hunting (as in the case of one horseback archer) near a wild animal. To the right, three other horseback warriors head to the right with shields and swords. One of them wears a feathered helmet; another horseback warrior, in profile,

faces left with a sword and a long shield (the reins, also in this case, are here clearly indicated). A bleeding feline (probably a male animal) appears next to these figures. Below the central scene, one sees a long series of minor horseback warriors (5) and animals (11). At the base of the entire scene, there are other 4 horseback warriors: one armed with a sword and a ogival shield; another wears a double-feathered helmet, and presumably holds a spear; then follows an archer and finally six wild animals (one of which capsized, i.e. dead). There are three dominating, standing figures: an anthropomorph with a triangular face, open arms and outstretched or comb-like fingers; a standing warrior with a sword, a round shield and a double-feathered helmet; a very lean human figure in profile with one arm open, outstretched fingers and probably a helmet or a cap. In addition to these figures, there appears a snake-like ideogram.

B: The figures in this area include: a horseback warrior with a round shield, four horseback riders (one of which dismounted), a horse (?), a wild feline, a monkey (?), an archer with outstretched fingers, and two wild animals (felines).

C: The figures in this area include: a cluster of six horseback warriors, linked by association lines, fighting each other (one holding a battle axe, the second, a spear, the third, a sword and a shield, and the fourth, a bow).

D: The figures in this area include: two horseback warriors with round shields and swords, one of whom wears a conical feathered helmet, three wild animals (one of which is probably a feline), and a possible structure.

28. 421b. Lal-kamar 2.

MD; 2006; Red (Scarlet). Poor.

A cavity runs along the length of a vertical wall of the boulder a few m E of the preceding Site. Protected by the mass's jutting roof, a frontal human figure stands beside a second unidentified figure.

29. 421c. Lal-kamar 3

MD; 2006; Red (Scarlet). Good; 90%

The figures are slightly S of the previous Site, within a similar cavity along the wall mentioned above. Standing and horseback human figures (sheperds) are visible together with a herd of humped bulls; to the right, a large image of a horseback rider (archer

and/or hunter) is in the act of hunting a large feline.

30. 422. Bara Loe-banda

MD; 2006; Red. Poor.

Slightly uphill and SE of the village of Loe-banda, one comes across a stream. After crossing the stream, there is a small shelter within a rock, which hosts faint traces of paintings.

31. 423. Gweluno-ghar

MD.; 2006; Red (Carnelian), White. Good; 90%

Olivieri 2010a.

The large boulder of Gweluno-ghar was found about 1 km E of Loe-banda, roughly at the same altitude of the village. At the base of the boulder there is a large but shallow natural niche, whose internal vertical wall hosts some paintings. At the left edge, a natural basin collects percolating water. To the right of the niche, there are traces of other paintings, almost entirely vanished. Nearby, there are other paintings in the hollow of a boulder, split exactly in half, but are almost entirely vanished.

From left to right, there is the depiction of a butterfly or bird in red ochre, followed by a series of seven *stūpas* in white (in the first *stūpa*, the recognizable features are its first and second stories, its dome and the pinnacle of umbrellas (*chattrāvalī*), while two lateral columns are recognizable in the sixth *stūpa*). To the right, there are three figures in red: an unidentified element, a frontal view of a grotesque anthropomorphic figure, and perhaps the finial or pinnacle of a *stūpa*.

32. 424. Banj-smast

MD; 2006; Red (Carnelian). Optimal; 90%

Slightly E of the previous site, there is a horseback rider, possibly armed with a bow, within a small cavity of a boulder. The cavity opens to S.

33. 426a. Lal-kamar-china 1

MD; 2006; Red (Orange). Optimal; 90%
Olivieri 2010a.

A large boulder was found slightly downhill Sites 27-29, near the origin of a stream separating the area of the Lal-Kamar village from that of Loe-banda. The boulder hosts three natural niches on its northern side. In the first niche there are two associated human figures, both with body modifications. The first figure has elongated feet and antennae-like raised arms, while that at left is linked to the first through an association line. The second figure is slightly higher and has an arrow-like foot.

34. 426b. Lal-kamar-china 2

MD; 2006; Red (Orange). Optimal; 90%

In the second niche of the above described boulder, one sees three human figures. On top, a couple is engaged in a duel or fighting; a archer with the right arm raised uses a bow with a long curving arrow, that becomes an association line and touches a second figure with a headgear resembling a wide-brim hat. Below, there is a reclining anthropomorph with outstretched arms and comb-like fingers and a pincer-like foot, while the other is comb-like.

35. 426c. Lal-kamar-china 3

MD; 2006; Red (Orange). Optimal; 90%

In the third niche within the same boulder, there are seven painted figures. To the left, a *stūpa* appears aside a standing frontal human figure. In the center, there is a complex zoo-anthropomorphic figuration. On top, an animal (an equid or possibly a feline, judging from the form of its paws) is shown. The animal's tail has transmuted into the right leg of a human figure (with open arms, trident-like fingers, and penis), while the left arm of the human figure was transformed into a headless archer, whose arrow is linked to a second human figure (with an elongated left arm and a hand on his flank). At the bottom of the niche, two human figures are fighting or possibly mating (the one at right either has the face of an animal or wears a mask). To the right, two human figures

are fighting; the figure on the right has an arrow-like hand and an animal face, and the other figure's right foot is comb-like.

36. 427. Loe-banda

MD; 2006; Red (Crimson). Good; 75%

Olivieri 2010a.

SSW of the village of Loe-banda, beyond the stream that flows from Lal-china-Kamar, and W of a small rock, there is a painted niche. From top left, there is a human figure with its right hand on his/her flank, facing an ibex-feline animal. In the center, an anthropomorph is shown in profile with an open mouth and a comb-like left (?) foot. He wears a double-feathered helmet and holds a round shield. The warrior faces a reclining anthropomorph with raised arms, a comb-like left hand and other minor body modifications. Below, one observes a human figure with association lines departing from his left foot, who then transforms into a geometric pattern, only to transform once again into a human figure with raised arms.

The pattern is flanked by two *stūpas* (in the second image the three superimposed storeys are visible). Above, two human figures with significant body modifications are depicted with an anthropomorph, possibly wearing an animal mask; a third figure appears to be an archer. On the lower right, there is a possible hunting scene, in which a horseback rider is chasing a feline.

37. 428. Chowra-dab

MD; 2006. Red (Crimson). Mediocre; 20%

The Site, less than one kilometer W of Loe-banda, has various boulders with vertical erosive niches. Traces of paintings are preserved on only one of the rocks, while the other the traces are so slight to be barely perceptible. The niche, open to W, contains a set of figures preserved only on the outer edges, while the central figures have been completely washed away. To the right, two ungulates (a deer and possibly an ibex) are near a *stūpa*. On the left there is an unidentified geometric pattern.

38. 429a. Dab 1

MD; 2006. Red (Crimson). Optimal; 90%

Olivieri 2010a.

About 200 m W of Site 37, at the peak of a low but steep rocky outcrop, there is a boulder with three niches, open to E. Two scenes were recorded within the first niche. Near the top, below a representation of a herd of male ibexes or goats, a human figure is represented while mating with an equid, immobilized by a second human figure. A horseback rider (archer), depicted in profile in aggressive stance, witness the scene. Below, four horseback riders (warriors) gallop to the right.

39. 429b. Dab 2

MD; 2006. Red (Crimson). Optimal; 90%

Olivieri 2010a.

Three scenes are housed in the second niche. From top to bottom, the first is a horseback rider (warrior) with a long spear behind a archer with a hair-knot and a comb-like left hand. Slightly below, a human figure is linked to an unidentified geometric pattern through an association line. The second scene represents two human figures, which have both undergone body modifications associated with wild animals. The first figure (a warrior) has an elongated arm, transformed into a sword, which passes through the neck of an ibex. The second figure (with comb-like hand) is associated with the horns of a second ibex. The third scene centers on a figure (an anthropomorph?) with a horseback rider (warrior); he is shown alongside a wild animal, possibly a wolf.

40. 429c. Dab 3

MD; 2006. Red (Crimson). Optimal; 90%

Olivieri 2010a.

The third niche depicts two horseback rider (warrior)s, one with a long sword, perhaps in the act of hunting a deer or a male ibex. Slightly below, there are an unidentified figure, and a fox. Further below, there is a fight between an archer on the right and a horseback rider (warrior) with a round shield on the left.

41. 441a. Palangai 1

MD; 2006. Red (Crimson), White. Optimal; 90%

Olivieri 2010a.

Within the first niche, the paintings are arranged in three groups of figures parallel to the edge of the niche itself. The first group to the left has a bi-triangular horseback warrior (?) with a long trident-shaped spear and a mushroom-like helmet (with reins), possibly a deity. The personage is flanked by a large monumental structure, perhaps a *stūpa* or a temple (note the first storey or its railing, as well as the second storey). Immediately above the same figure, there is another *stūpa* (whose first storey, dome, and pinnacle, as well as the stairway, are still recognizable). Below there is a large ibex. Continuing to the right, there is a *stūpa* followed by an unidentified structure, and then a deer and two dogs, overlapped by a *stūpa* derivative or a *stūpa*-like structure traced in white. The last scene of the series includes at least three *stūpas*, a large *stūpa* derivative or *stūpa*-like structure, and a large bull attached to a plow driven by an unidentified figure. Another unidentified figure, with minor body modifications and holding a club, stands in front of the bull.

42. 441b. Palangai 2

MD; 2006. Red (Crimson). Poor; 60%

Olivieri 2010a.

A group of four horseback riders, at least one of which has a sword or a club, is depicted within a sub-horizontal tiny niche. On the lower left, a human figure is connected to an equid (?).

43. 441c. Palangai 3

MD; 2006. Red (Crimson). Good. The original painted surface might well have measured around 3,5 sq. m.; 90%

The SW side of the shelter opens onto a long, deep, low niche. Paintings were found on the niche's back wall, and a cup-mark is present at the floor level. From left to right, along the back wall, which measures about 3,5 meters, there is a series of figures subdivided in 3 scenes. In the first scene, 2 horseback riders, both turned left, flank a human figure with raised arms and a trident-like right hand, accompanied by a dog. Further to the right, 7 partial images of horseback riders (?) are near an antennae-like

geometric pattern (probably a structure), and what looks like a big ungulate. The figure furthest to the right has a comb-like left hand. The final scene includes 11 horse back riders (of which seven are depicted with open arms) with body modifications (comb-like hand, antennae-like arm) and in one case associated with a feline. Others figures are less easily identifiable: they are mostly horseback riders or mounted archers, and a single standing human figure.

44. 442. Haji-smast-banda

MD; 2006. White. Poor.

On the back wall of a tiny shelter, in front of a stone shelf with cup-mark permutations, 2 or perhaps three *stūpas* were painted (only the first storey, dome and pinnacle of a *stūpa* are barely recognizable).

45. 443. Saffar-kandao

MD; 2006. Red (Orange). Good; 90%

On the back wall of a tiny shelter, one sees a dismounted horseback rider holding by the reins a horse loaded with a heavy saddle. To the left and below there are other unidentified figures.

46. 444. Khaista-kamar 1

MD; 2006. Red (Orange). Optimal. The original painted surface might well have measured around 4 sq. m.; 90%

Olivieri 2010a.

A series of figures are painted on the back wall of a deep but high shelter, exposed to S. Some of these are the result of recent interventions carried out by drawing with ceramic fragments used as chalk (lines and dotted fields in the drawing). In front of the wall, on the rocky floor of the shelter, we recorded a cup-mark.

The paintings represent a battle and hunting scenes with horseback rider (warrior)s, archers and wild animals. From left: three horseback rider (warrior)s facing left, two of which with mushroom-like helmets, while the third has a bow, (the reins are represented); a group of 3 horseback rider s(warriors) face left, while a fourth personage, possibly a hunter, faces right with body modifications (his bow being changed into an

association line connecting it to one of a pair of wild animals – canids?); other horseback rider (warrior)s are recognizable with two other unidentified figures). Above, there are 2 ibex figures, one sexuated (above there is another wild animal, possibly another ibex, plus an unidentified figure). Below, two archers stand near an anthropomorph with a body modification (raised left arm) and double-feathered headgear. Further below, there are other unidentified patterns. In the centre, there are 3 standing human figures, probably dancers (one of which one is T-shaped), surrounded by unidentified figures; and at the bottom, accompanied by a bull. At the heart of the scene, a horseback rider (possibly a hunter) on a horse, with a body modification (gigantic head) is chasing an ibex with a peculiar body modification as well (pincher-like front hooves). In front of the horse there is a sexual intercourse with an animal; while above, a T-shaped human figure stands. Below, horseback rider (warrior)s are represented in profile with an archer. Further below, two unidentified figures are depicted. The scene on the right is organized around the figure of an archer whose open legs are linked to 2 wild animals, while below there is a hunting scene, with two horseback riders (hunters), a feline, and an ibex. Still further below, two warriors, both with the sex emphasized, are dueling. On top, a horseback rider (warrior) is represented while killing an enemy, who is lying on the ground.

47. 445. Khaista-kamar 2

MD; 2006. Red (Crimson). Poor; 30%

Olivieri 2010a.

Not far from the previous site, within an uncomfortable and low shelter, some horseback rider (warrior)s and wild animals are preserved. Curiously, the head of one of the horses seems to be decorated with a rack of horns.

48. 446. Drema-palangai

MD; 2006. Red (Orange). Optimal. The original painted surface might well have measured around 2,25 sq. m.; 90%

Olivieri 2007; Olivieri 2010a.

The figures are housed in a shallow sub-vertical niche, which is protected by a jutting roof. At the top, 4 *stūpas* are visible (the fourth one on the right, as well as a *stūpa*-like

structure) together with other unidentified figures. At the center, a hunting scene where a horseback rider (hunter) appears together with 3 different wild animals: two ungulates and a predatory mammal. Another heavily armed horseback rider (warrior) holding a spear is represented in front of a reclining human figure. Below, 3 ibexes or wild ungulates, appear together with another horseback rider (warrior) and a curious scene: a gigantic hunter kills a large ibex with his arrow.

49. 461. Dwo-qumbojai

KH; 2006. Red (Crimson). Mediocre; 60%

This is the only group of paintings which is not housed within a shelter, but instead on an external wall exposed to open-air, although partially protected by a rocky jutting roof. It is also the only case in which paintings were traced on a phyllite wall, and not on gneiss. Due to these two physical features, the location of the figures on the rocky ledges will be described separately.

A: On the upper left, there are 3 unidentified figures; one could be a human figure with body modifications.

B: 5 figures flank the previous group. To the left, there is a human figure with a comb-like foot and hands, next to two facing animals (one may be bleeding), a human figure with an indication of the penis and a pincer-like hand, and a horseback rider (warrior) with a horse distinguished by a gigantic head.

C: Above the previous group, there are 6 figures, that include an animal and two human figures with considerable body modifications. In particular, the two human figures are connected by an association line which departs from the feet of one of them, with pincer-like hand, and joins to the head of the other, with disarticulated arms and open legs, at a lower level. At the far right there are a horseback rider (warrior) and an unidentified figure.

D: Below group B, there are three unidentified figures.

E: Below the preceding group, there is another group of 5 figures, four of which could not be identified, and one is a human figure with open arms.

F: To the right of group C, there is another group of 6 figures, 4 of which recognizable: a horseback rider (warrior), a *stūpa*, a tree-like figure, and a wild animal. The other images are unidentified.

G: In the lower center, there is a group of 7 figures, 3 of which unidentified. To the left there is an anthropomorph with open arms and considerable, but unclear, body modifications. At the center, there is a warrior with a club and a comb-like right hand. To the right, there are 2 human figures, probably warriors.

H: To the right of the preceding group, there are three recognizable figures: a horseback rider (warrior), a human figure (with U-shaped legs), and a warrior with a round shield.

I: To the right of the previous group, and above a geometric pattern, there is an anthropomorph holding a standard. To the right, partially painted on an upper band of phyllite there is a human figure with a comb-like foot and hands identical to the figure depicted in band B.

K: Above the previous group, and after two geometric patterns, which may represent structures, (possibly *stūpa*), there is a third geometric pattern, associated with a human figure. Below, there is a human figure with a pincer-like left hand in front of an anthropomorph with a horn-like head and a comb-like foot and right hand. The figures are followed by an animal and a row of dot-marks.

ADDENDUM 3

No.	AMSV	District – Valley	Site	Drawings Pl.	Photos Pl.
01	138a	Swat - Kandak	Dwolasmene-patai 1	1	I-II
02	138b	Swat - Kandak	Dwolasmene-patai 2	2	
03	130a	Swat – Kotah	Kakai-kandao	3	III-V
04	1121a	Swat – Kotah	Sargah-sar	4	VI-IX
05	336	Swat – Kotah	Kamal-china	5	X-XIV
06	342	Swat – Kotah	Badze 1	6	XV
07	343	Swat – Kotah	Badze 2		
08	344a	Swat – Kotah	Dandi-sar 1	7	XVI
09	344b	Swat – Kotah	Dandi-sar 2	8	XVI, XVII-XVIII
10	362a	Swat – Kotah	Malak-ziarat	9	XIX-XX
11	379	Swat – Kotah	Gwarejo-patai	10	XI-XII
12	380a	Swat – Kotah	Palwano-gata	11	XXIII-XXXVI
13	350	Malakand (Thana)	Kafir-kot 1	12	XVII-XXX
14	396 (formerly: 350-2)	Malakand (Thana)	Kafir-kot 2	13	XXXI-XXXII
15	352	Swat – Kotah	Marano-tangai	14	
16	006	Malakand (Thana)	Shamo	15	
17	007	Malakand (Thana)	Hinduano-hatai	16	
18	388	Swat – Kotah	Talang		XXXIII
19	407	Swat – Kotah	Churkhai (Kabbal-dab)	17	XXXIV-XXXVII
20	409	Swat –Kotah	Ram-dunai 1	18	XXXVIII-XXXIX
21	410	Swat –Kotah	Ram-dunai 2		
22	411	Swat –Kotah	Ram-dunai 3		
23	415	Malakand (Morah)	Bacha-kot	19	XL
24	416	Malakand (Morah)	Busus-smast	20	XLI-XLIV
25	417	Malakand (Morah)	Kwar-patai	21	XLV-XLVI
26	418	Malakand (Morah)	Thakht-gat	22	XLVII-XLVIII
27	421a	Malakand (Morah)	Lal-kamar 1	23	XLIX-LXI
28	421b	Malakand	Lal-kamar 2		XLIX, LXII

		(Morah)			
29	421c	Malakand (Morah)	Lala-kamar 3	24	XLIX, LXIII- LXIV
30	422	Malakand (Morah)	Bara Loe-banda		
31	423	Malakand (Morah)	Gweluno-ghar	25	LXV-LXVI
32	424	Malakand (Morah)	Banj-smast	26	LXVII-LXVIII
33	426a	Malakand (Morah)	Lal-kamar-china 1	27	LXIX
34	426b	Malakand (Morah)	Lal-kamar-china 2	28	LXIX
35	426c	Malakand (Morah)	Lal-kamar-china 3	29	LXIX
36	427	Malakand (Morah)	Loe-banda	30	LXX-LXXI
37	428	Malakand (Morah)	Chowra-dab	31	LXXII
38	429a	Malakand (Morah)	Dab 1	32	LXXIII-LXXIV
39	429b	Malakand (Morah)	Dab 2	33	LXXIII
40	429c	Malakand (Morah)	Dab 3	34	LXXIII, LXXV
41	441a	Malakand (Morah)	Palangai 1	35	LXXVI-LXXIX
42	441b	Malakand (Morah)	Palangai 2	36	LXXVI
43	441c	Malakand (Morah)	Palangai 3	37	LXXVI, LXXX
44	442	Malakand (Morah)	Haji-smast-banda		
45	443	Malakand (Morah)	Saffar-kandao	38	LXXXIII
46	444	Malakand (Morah)	Khaista-kamar 1	41	LXXXI-LXXXII
47	445	Malakand (Morah)	Khaista-kamar 2	39-40	
48	446	Malakand (Morah)	Drema-palangai (formerly: Trema-palangai)	42	LXXXIV- LXXXVIII
49	461	Swat-Kotah	Dwo-qumbojai	43	LXXXIX-XCIV

Chart X
Correspondence Chart

DISCUSSION

My first thesis on the shelter painting in the Swat Valley was written in the early 1990s. The paper presented the discovery of 4 shelters (13, 15, 16 and 17). The interpretation proposed at the time was in line with the panorama of knowledge on ancient Swat, and essentially treated the paintings as a marginal phenomenon of Buddhist Swat¹. Ten years later, following the discovery of Sites 01, 03 and 04, the overall framework of the study was expanded chronologically, but was still believed to be a marginal phenomenon. In total, only 7 painted shelters had been discovered (Sites 01, 03, 04, 13, 15, 16 and 17)², including at least 3 which were dated to a historical period due to the presence of representations of Buddhist architecture (Sites 13, 16 and 17). Another painted complex (Site 01) was also dated to a historic period due to the peculiar and distinctive features of clothing and weapons.³ At first, both were dated to a protohistoric period, subsequently and more precisely, although hypothetically, to the Bronze Age.⁴

Subsequently, from 2004 to 2006, other 42 shelters were documented, until the current number was reached (the corpus amounting to 49 cases in 2007 and 52 in 2012). At the same time, the previous historical reconstruction, not contradicted by new information, remained unchanged, although enriched by the insertion in the proposed time scale of new phases. In summary, I hypothesized that the painted shelters were created through an extensive period of time, stretching from the mid-2nd Millennium BCE to the mid-1st Millennium CE. This continuity was attributed to a substantial preservation of basic, homogeneous cultural traits by the human groups authors of these paintings. These communities or groups were assumed to have formed the original ethnic substratum of a

¹ ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1986.

² IBID.

³ VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002.

⁴ Compare, for example, the conference held during the 2003 South Asian Archaeologist Conference (OLIVIERI 2005) with OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004: 174-6 and with OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 124-5.

part of ancient Swat. Subsequently, they would have retreated into marginal environments as a result of the cultural colonization of the main valley.⁵ The realization of the continuity of the practice of shelter painting suggested me the opportunity (but only for a short period) to coin the term ‘Painted Shelters Culture’.⁶

If the issue of chronology and the subsequent reconstruction of the cultural phases must be assessed in the light of the detailed analysis of the previous Chapter, the methodology adopted for the interpretation of the paintings from 2002 onwards must also be re-examined.⁷ The approach was described in its final form in the chapter ‘Methodology’; given the preliminary positive results of the analytical research, in this Chapter I will look comprehensively at the entire phenomenon of painted shelters. I will provide my ultimate interpretations at the level of the individual shelter and of the whole corpus, and I will try to infer archaeological information relevant for the wider context of the cultural history of Swat.

ELEMENTS OF CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY

A Homogeneous Physical Setting (See Addendum 4: Chart XI)

The main aspect of homogeneity among the painted shelters, as indicated above, concerns their area of distribution and topographical setting. The area corresponds to the medium-altitude range astride the watershed separating the catchment basin of the Swat river from that of the lower reaches of the Kabul river (Mardan plain) in the Malakand Agency. In particular, the tributary valleys of SW Swat and the land immediately to the S of the watershed are involved. From an ecological point of view, this area corresponds to sunny exposures, with abundant silicatic rocks and substantial residues of humic clays typical of areas once covered with pine and holm oak, now largely deforested (*Pinus roxburghii*, *Olea ferruginea* and *lanceolata*, *Quercus illex*: the typical ‘Sub-Tropical Chir Pine Forest’ of Middle Swat). The area is full of water springs, mostly active in the rainy seasons, as it

⁵ For example, see OLIVIERI 2008; in OLIVIERI 2010a the hypothesis was reasserted after a preliminary analysis of the distinctive features of the syntax of the shelters.

⁶ This definition, coined by the writer and, at the time, rightly criticized by Massimo Vidale, had a short life (CALLIERI ET AL. 2006).

⁷ Primarily in VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002 and OLIVIERI 2010b.

is typical of granitic areas where rainwater is stored from one rainy season to another one in crevices and pot-holes. For this reason, there is no shortage of good pasture-land in the mountains. Among the wild species useful today or in the past, in addition to conifers (timber), *Buxus papillosa* (used to waterproof the roofs in vernacular architecture), *Ilex aquifolium*, *Quercus leucotrichophora* ('Banj'), and remnants of wild *Vitis vinifera* (common grape vine).⁸ In the E sector of the area it is not uncommon to find outcrops of white quartz. Until not long ago, the material was exploited like flint. The area is also provided with convenient mountain passes connecting the territories between the Swat valley and the plains of Mardan. Such passes are important for settlements, trade and agriculture. The area is lithologically characterized by enormous outcrops of gneiss (Augengneiss) and granite.⁹

The paintings are located in only a small portion of this wide geological formation (see fn. 14): for example, at present, painted shelters have not yet been found in the area E of Amluk and China-bara¹⁰, the upper course of Saidu river¹¹, from Jambil to Mount Dwo-sare, to S of Lal-kamar (Sites 27-29). Even if these areas have already been targeted by archaeological surveys¹², in future new discoveries might change the present picture, as it happened in 2012 when 3 new Sites were discovered in and around Mt. Ilam (Appendix 7). W of the Cherat pass, and N of Barikot, the lithological landscape changes, with a prevalence of limestone and marble in the first case, phyllite and limestone in the second.¹³ Beyond Dwa-sare, furthermore, one moves into a territory (Swat Kohistan) with the physical characteristics of an alpine biome (above 3000 m asl), with an ecology completely different from that found in the area of the painted shelters.

To summarize, the distribution area of the paintings, inscribed in a quadrilateral oriented NE-SW with a surface area of 50 km², is a dominant landmark, whether one looks at it

⁸ For the local phytogeography, see among others HUSSEIN ET AL. 2006, SIDDIQUI ET AL. 2009. For the possible production of wine in this area in ancient times, s. OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006 e OLIVIERI 2008.

⁹ This portion of territory belongs to an area geologically known as the 'Lower Formation' (see C. FACCENNA ET AL. 1993: 257-62, with references).

¹⁰ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006.

¹¹ Apart from the Kafir-smast shelter, in the upper Saidu Valley (BADSHAH SARDAR 2000).

¹² C. FACCENNA ET AL. 1993, OLIVIERI 1994, OLIVIERI 1996, SAEED-UR-REHMAN/ASHRAF KHAN/AZEEM 1996, 1996, OLIVIERI in FILIGENZI, FORTHCOMING.

¹³ In the first case, one is still located in the 'Lower Formation; in the second, one is in the geological area known as the 'Upper Formation'.

from Swat, or from the plains of Mardan. Its profile forms a type of orographic twinning with the profile of Mount Ilam.¹⁴ To paraphrase the summary given for a similar morphological and ecological context, even though geographically distant, it is a 'complex landscape of its own - [...] large enough and well enough furnished to be a complete, autarchic life world in itself'.¹⁵

In general, the topographical setting is common to all Sites, and for this reason as well I decided to discuss all of them under the term 'Painted Shelters.' As already mentioned, the paintings are housed in natural cavities (deep shelters in 18 cases, niches or vertical shelters in 29 cases), in one case within a cave, and in another on a partially open-air wall. A good number of these locations share difficult accesses and are quite uncomfortable. In general, the rocks that host these cavities or shelters are in easily detectable positions, or positions of visual prominence, whether active or passive¹⁶ (17 cases of passive visual dominance, i.e., landmarks), located near mountain passes, or paths (20 cases), near water springs or other water sources (18 cases).¹⁷

All these elements of physical homogeneity are shared with the paintings of Mt. Karamar (Chargul and Parlai-dab), Khanpur-Shikaoli and Tanawal areas, and those of Mt Ilam (see Appendices 2-4).

Recurring Physical Features (see Addendum 4: Chart XI)

Other elements shared by the shelters are the choice of the 'canvas' – i.e. their physical support - and the techniques used in painting. Obviously enough, the choice of the 'canvas' is also conditioned, to a great extent, by the above: in all cases, with only two exceptions (Sites 17 and 49), the original conformation of the rocky surfaces provided a smooth background, at times coated with thin surfaces of calcium carbonates produced by percolation onto the face of gneiss or granite shelters. The two exceptions are the inner walls of a limestone cave (Site 17) and the horizontal ledges of a wide open-air wall

¹⁴ As to Mount Ilam and its importance in antiquity s. OLIVIERI 1996 and VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2005.

¹⁵ LENSSEN-ERZ 2004: 134.

¹⁶ Visually active dominance refers to sites/areas in which one perceives this position of prominence from the point itself, *vice versa* if the dominance is passive the concept refers to the visibility of the point from elsewhere. A point with a passive visual dominance is defined as a 'landmark'.

¹⁷ A detailed analysis of these variants is provided later in this Chapter.

of phyllite, partially protected by an overhanging ledge (Site 49). In terms of painting technique, all the paintings were made with mineral pigments made with natural iron oxides.¹⁸ As previously mentioned, preliminary tests so far performed¹⁹ did not reveal the organic substances that could have been added to the pigments as binders. The shadows of ochre on record are listed in order of frequency: carnelian red (19), crimson red (13), orange red (11; Site 12 is excluded), scarlet red (4), white (2), and cadmium yellow (1), in some cases (3) was not possible to record the shade of the color red due to a poor state of preservation; in 3 cases, the use of different colors was registered: carnelian red-scarlet, red-orange red (Site 27), orange red-yellow (Site 17), carnelian red-white (Site 41).²⁰ As noted above, the application of color was likely carried out by the means of the artists' fingers. In all cases, in fact, the width of the applied traits is compatible with the average width of a finger, and at least in one case the actual fingerprints were documented (Site 17). In spite of the lack of evidence for the use of brushes or sticks, their use can not be ruled out: and in at least two cases it was deemed as possible (Sites 26 and 45). All of the figures within each individual painting appear to be part of a complex (see the foreword to the 'Catalogue', above).²¹ Therefore, the possibility that the complexes were the work of more than one hand has never been stressed. There is only one example of overlapping colors (Site 17), and another where different colors and different forms are actually superimposed (Site 41). Additional layers of color or more than one phase of painting could also be hypothesized in some Sites.²² All these elements of homogeneity are shared with the paintings of Mt. Karamar (Chargul and Parlai-dab), Khanpur-Shikaoli and Tanawal areas, and those of Mt. Ilam (see Appendices 2-4).

¹⁸ Carnelian red: probably an ochreous hematite (Fe_2O_3) (percentage w/w Fe 0,91); orange red: probably a minium (Pb_3O_4) (percentage w/w Pb 11,86); yellow: Fe hydroxide ($\text{Fe}(\text{OH})_2$) or limonite (percentage w/w Fe 2,20 Mn 0,107); S. VITALI in ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1995: fig. 17.

¹⁹ See *IBID.*: 345.

²⁰ Chromatic variations could also be due to varying degrees of oxidation, to the result of differing levels of exposure within the shelter (s. for instance Site 12); CHAKRAVARTI/BEDNARIK 1997: 47.

²¹ Additional touches seem to have been carried out in Sites 03 and 04 (s. VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002: 201); additional stages have been recognized, for example, in Site 05.

²² *IBID.*: 183. These aspects will be analyzed in greater detail below.

Elements of Lexical and Syntactical Continuity/Discontinuity (See Addendum 4: Chart XII)²³

In the corpus, some lexical elements are recurrent or common. For instance, this is the case of geometrical patterns (encountered in 11 Sites) anthropomorphs (in 9 shelters) and body modifications (12 cases). Actions, rhythmic gestures, sounds and psychograms, in general, are also recurrent (more than 11 cases). Another interesting aspect regards the formal features of pictograms that might have the same meanings. Not every type of pictogram shows the same degree of formal transformation in time. Mounted warriors, for instance – assuming that my hypothesis of chronological evolution is correct, see the next Chapter - would show in the course of time an evident increase in details, expressed in the depiction of particular items such as reins, saddles, armour, and weapons. A somewhat similar trend occurs in the depiction of felines. On the other hand, *stūpas* images, on the contrary, would show a decrease in the rendering of details, their architecture transformed into mere symbols. The appearance in some shelters of the representation of the human figure with the head in profile (certainly in Sites 26, 27, 29, 36, 38, 39, 45, 46 and 48) is another important change that may have chronological implications. These are the only cases that recognize a formal improvement of the conceptual apparatus of the painters and in a wider sense of their painting techniques, undoubtedly linked to the use of brushes (which, as stated above, is assumed at least in sites 26 and 45 for the thickness of the traits). In general, however, the stylistic features are quite consistent; although, given the common technical background (lythic support, mineral pigment and application techniques), we should avoid to speak of stylistic evolution (as I argued in the Introduction).

Finally, if we look at the painted shelters as a whole, their syntax shows different patterns: always in preliminary chronological terms, we might speak of a regressive evolution.²⁴ The composition in certain Sites exploits a complex language, centred on associations of ideograms surrounded by pictograms playing a coherent role (for instance at Sites 03 and 04). The syntax in the majority of the other shelters was simplified when this complex code was replaced by more paratactic repetitions of ideograms and pictograms. The symbols, even if prestigious - such as hands and battle-axes -, due to the

²³ See also Addendum 1.

²⁴ In OLIVIERI 2010a.

absence of a real syntactical center, appear simply redundant (as for example at Site 05). In other sites, syntax patterns seem to become totally unstructured and chaotic in the course of time (Site 27 offers a good example of this change).²⁵

All these described aspects are shared with the paintings of Mt. Karamar (Chargul and Parlai-dab), Khanpur-Shikaoli and Tanawal areas, and those of Mt Ilam (see Appendices 2-4).

EVIDENCE FOR CHRONOLOGY

Structures (see Addendum 1: Chart V; Addendum 4: Chart XII)

The most conspicuous and evident chronological elements present in the paintings are representations of architectural structures such as *stūpas*, *stūpa*-like columns, and temple-like buildings. Such representations were recorded in 15 Sites (Sites 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 20, 22, 24, 31, 35, 36, 37, 41, 48 and 49). Among these figures, 3 are at times associated with horseback riding (Sites 16, 24, and 41); wild animals are associated with them in 2 cases (sites 35 and 41); and individuals with body modifications are correlated in 2 cases (sites 35 and 49). Based upon firm archaeological and historical evidence, Buddhist architecture in Swat-Malakand may be chronologically framed between two precise limits: the 1st Century BCE and the 10th Century CE.²⁶ Within this wide range of absolute chronology, various phases may be defined: the earliest, based on specific comparisons with actual architectural remains and contemporary iconographic sources in Gandharan sculpture, can be dated with noticeable precision. This phase concerns Sites 13 and 31, which can be attributed to the 1st-3rd centuries CE.²⁷

²⁵ IBID.

²⁶ The Buddhist site with the longest span of occupation so far identified in Swat, embracing both limits of the range, is Butkara I (s. FACCENNA 1980-1981).

²⁷ In the first case, see the argument sustained in ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1995. In Kafir-kot 1 (Site 13) the particular struts of the *chattrāvalī* provides the main datable element. An important structural model for these elements is provided by the sacred area of Panr I (FACCENNA ET AL. 1993: 285 ff., 321-22, figs. 113-14). The *stūpa* typology with two storey, pilasters at the base, and a flight of steps, is comparable with the Panr I 'type I' *stūpa* (1st Period; second half 1st-2nd centuries AD; FACCENNA ET AL. 1993: pl. VIII), and with the Butkara I 'late type 1, 2' *stūpa* (Period 4/1, 2; 3rd-mid 4th Century CE; FACCENNA 1980-81: pl. X). In the case of Site 31, where the *stūpas* are represented with columns, consider the chronology of the

Horseback Riding (see Addendum 1: Chart V; Addendum 4: Chart XII)

Scenes of horseback riding can also be considered chronologically relevant, although they cannot provide the same temporal definition offered by the depiction of Buddhist architecture. In total, horseback riding is represented at 21 sites (Sites 05, 13, 16, 19, 23, 24, 27, 28, 32, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48 and 49). In 9 cases this activity is associated with weapons and warriors (Sites 05, 13, 16, 27, 38, 39, 40, 48 and 49), in 5 cases with livestock (Sites 05, 19, 24, 28 and 48) and in 4 cases with hunting (sites 24, 27, 28 and 46). I underline that in 3 paintings horseback riding is performed near Buddhist architecture (once in association with weapons or warriors, at Site 16, and in another instance with hunting, at Site 24).

If one turns to the paintings with horses, but without Buddhist architecture, (see below), we may compare, for instance Site 05 with Site 27 (Figs. 61 and 63). Site 05 associates horseback riding and ideograms of axes, hands and standards, but also to the aforementioned scene of cattle possession, in which a man holds a zebu by the hooves above his own shoulders. This scene closely resembles another incised under the niche at Site 04 (Sargah-sar 2; see below).

The difference is primarily ‘stylistic’ – in the sense of an inner stylistic variation, as discussed in Chapter 3 -, with regards to the rendering at Site 27 of the mounts, the significant additions of better detailed items (the reins, the feet of the horsemen beneath

Main *Stūpa* of Saidu Sharif I (with reference to type 1: Period 1, phase a; first half 1st Century AD; FACCENNA 1995: tabs. VIII, VIII, XXI); for the columns of the *stūpa* of Saidu (culminating with sitting lions’ statues) see FACCENNA 1986. In this regard, note the painted representations of two *stūpa* with columns topped by sitting lions from Kala-tassa (NASIM KHAN 2000: fig. 25). In general, however, the buildings that appear in the paintings of Swat-Malakand, with the *stūpas* in strong prominence, represent without ambiguity Gandharan architecture; in contrast, in the repertoire of the Upper Indus the ‘Himalayan’ *stūpa* forms prevail. In the ‘Himalayan’ form, the lower body of the structure is distinguishable because it is not gradually tapered (for the few ‘Gandharic’ *stūpas* within the Upper Indus repertoire refer to: MANP 1: 82:1, 86:5, 110:16, 111:1; MANP 4: 14:9, 22: 1, 22:2, 23:1, 23:3, 24:4, 34:7, 48:6, 48:7, 57:1, 80:1, 80:2; MANP 8: 225:6, 225.7, 226:2, 373:48, 373:55, 373:47). Another typical feature of Swat-Malakand *stūpa* is the presence of stairways, uncommon in the Upper Indus. Also, elaborate finials like those displayed in Site 14 (Fig. 39), are rare in the Upper Indus’ repertoire, where most *stūpas* show *triśūla*-like or trident-like finials (but s. also MANP 4: 5:2; for the *chakra* finials s. MANP 8: 272: 5, 272:14, 372.8; MANP 1: 15.3). For a general overview on this issue, s. BRUNEAU 2007.

the belly of the horse, the probable stirrups, the weapons, the helmets with double feathers, the small circular shields, as well as the representation of riders in profile). Considering the presence of these details, Sites 05 and 19, both characterized by the central position of two large anthropomorphs and a large sub-divided square, should be paired. On the contrary, considering the expression of the same type of details, Site 27, will be associated with many other sites (29, 38, 39, 40, 46, 45 - which in turn should be linked to Sites 24 and 46, due to the elaborate fashion of the horses' manes).

Considering how horses are rendered, Sites 05 and 27 are the two chronological extremes. In chronological terms, Site 05 falls closer to the late protohistoric period, and Site 27 to the extreme late-antique period. The inference can be tentatively extended to all the paintings which are associated or associable to these two.

Although in Swat the first image of a horse dates back to the second half of the 2nd Millennium BCE (Period IV; painted ceramic fragment from Barikot)²⁸, it is not until the mid-1st millennium BCE that the depiction of horses becomes an established tradition²⁹. The earliest representations of the rearing and the use of horses as an aid in transportation appear in engravings at the site of Gogdara I (probably mid-1st millennium BCE), where

²⁸ BKG 500, STACUL 1983, 1987: 109, fig. 46h, pl. XLIIIc. It has been suggested the possibility of a relationship within the sacrificial worship of the horse in the Ṛgvedic milieu (STACUL 1983, 1987). S. also BKG 1057, STACUL 1987: fig. 46g, pl. XLIV; BKG 154, IBID.: fig. 46f. These three finds could be considered amongst the oldest representations of 'horse' in the Sub-Continent (STACUL 1987: 109).

²⁹ The role played by 'horses' in protohistoric Swat is controversial. Faunal evidence of equids was attained in the excavation of protohistoric settlements dated from the Chalcolithic-Bronze Age (Period IV) to the Iron Age: at Loebanr III (Period IV), Aligrama (Periods IV-VI), Bir-kot-ghwandai (Period IV), as well as from the Ghalegay rock shelter (Period III) (s. ref. in OLIVIERI 1998: 67). Two complete skeletons of a very robust 'eastern' breed of *Equus* were found in the Katelai graveyard. Their deposition inside the cemeteries (Period VII) enhances the important role this animal played in protohistoric Swat (TUCCI 1963; AZZAROLI 1975; STACUL 1983; CASTALDI 1968: 598-602). Two objects representing horses come from tombs in Katelai and Loebanr (Period VI) (SILVI ANTONINI 1963: 24, fig. 12; SILVI ANTONINI /STACUL 1972: 24, fig. 33, pl. LIIa, c). The general frequency of this animal in 'late' engravings at Gogdara I leaves no doubt that it was an icon, possibly antagonistic, but in any case subsequent to the icons of ibex and felines widely represented in the early phase of Gogdara I. The horse is there associated with the representation of three light-framed carts. Except in one (dubious) case, the horses represented are not mounted; the 'late' phase of Gogdara I refer to societies of horse breeders cart drivers culture, rather than of horseback riders (s. NEUMAYER 1991: 63). However, the carvings at Lekha-gata in the Kotah valley, show both representations; s. below, fn. 32.

they are also shown pulling two-wheeled carts, but horses are not yet used as mounts.³⁰ It is therefore possible that some of the depictions of horseback riding in the painted shelters are the oldest so far discovered in Swat-Malakand.³¹

Horsemanship Gears (see Addendum 1, Chart VI)

Therefore, details of the harnesses, saddles and stirrups, etc. may be useful to discuss and frame chronology, as these items appear in some paintings and not in others (see above). Consider the novelty of the depiction of a whole-foot stirrup, evident at Sites 23, 27, 29, 45, 46 and 47 (excluding sites 23 and 47, these are the same sites where reins were depicted as well). Stirrups are not necessarily an index of late antiquity in this part of the Sub-Continent, as already argued.³² The earliest (and geographically coherent) representations of whole-foot stirrups comes from a heliotrope seal coming from the KP

³⁰ For Gogdara I s. TUCCI 1977; BRENTJES 1977; OLIVIERI 1998, 2005; and more recently KU'ZMINA 2007: 388, where an earlier dating is proposed (the second half of the 2nd Millennium BCE) based on comparisons with similar representations found in Kazakhstan and Central Asia. Another cart image was found at the site of Lekha gata-1 (Swat, Khota Valley) (OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004: 154 -5, fig. 29; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; OLIVIERI 2008: fig. 12).

³¹ It is not known with certainty how ancient they are. Contradicting information comes from two major Alexandrographs, Arrian and Curtius Rufus. The first, who, as we have noted elsewhere, is not particularly reliable (OLIVIERI 1996: *infra* 57, 59, 61, etc.), mentions in the *Anabasis* (IV 25, 5) 2000 horses among the Assakenoi forces (compared to 30,000 infantry soldiers). Curtius Rufus in his *Historiae* does not mention the presence of cavalry, neither among the Assakenoi, nor in the armies of Omphis and Abisares. In Punjab, in the final phase of the Battle of the Jhelum, the army of Porus would have been endowed with 4000 horses. According to Curtius Rufus, Alexander faced infantry corps in the mountainous areas of the Hindu Kush, and the carts, elephants and infantry in the plains of Punjab. Instead, both Alexandrographs agree on the importance of cattle breeding between Kunar and India (Arrian: IV 25, 4; Curtius Rufus: VIII 12, 11). The absence of cavalry or the limited adoption of this form of battle tactics would be surprising by a population, which in its own name preserved that of horses (Tucci 1977: 28, 45-6). The horses of Swat, as witnessed by the carvings at Gogdara I, were at the time kept for pulling light loads (OLIVIERI 1998). This supports that the earliest rock art depictions of horseback riders (carved and painted) date from the very last centuries of the 1st millennium BCE.

³² OLIVIERI 2007: 30. For a critical review of the archaeological and iconographic data from the Sub-Continent, s. LITTAUER 1981. In the very detailed boulder carving of a hunter on horseback with the famous onomastic stone inscription by Vima Kadphises, the stirrups are clearly visible (OROFINO 1990: fig. 35).

and depicting a figure on horseback with a rod or cruciform spear, already identified as Vima Kadphises.³³

In our repertory there are two representations of saddles (Sites 24 and 45), both associated with horses with a characteristic crenellated (ribbed) mane. The image of Site 45 clearly represents a solid-treed saddle, with a high cantle and cushion, a pommel with prominent bow-shaped horn, and stirrups. This type of saddle, can be positively compared with other depictions of saddles in the iconography of the Upper Indus dated before the 4th-5th Century CE.³⁴

Images of horses with crenellated manes (Sites 24 and 45) deserve a more detailed discussion. This Central Asian and Iranian ‘fashion’ spread in the Sub-Continent in the early centuries of the 1st millennium CE (as reliably demonstrated in the iconography of contemporary coins and seals).³⁵ Several images of the same type are found in the iconographic repertoire of the Upper Indus. In particular, there are beautiful scenes of horses handled by horsemen wearing Parthian clothes at Chilas II (1st Century CE).³⁶ The association of crenellated manes and covered tails in Site 45 is also interesting. The partial or complete binding of the tail, an otherwise minor decorative detail relating to mounts, is of great chronological importance, as it pertains to their traditional grooming, at least dating from 1st Century BCE.³⁷ Its chronological significance is enhanced by the fact that it completely disappears in its original distribution area after the 4th-5th Century CE.³⁸ Once again, as in the case of crenellated manes and heavy-treed saddles, one returns to a typical Central Asian cavalry-military style; and (less directly) to the

³³ The seal is examined in CALLIERI 1997: Cat. U 7.29, 200, pl. 62 (H. Falk, in a personal communication told me that the inscribed name “ALDShO” is possibly the name of the owner, although many Kushan seals apparently bear rank titles; the *tamġa* is the one used by Vima Kadphises, but similar ones are also used later in the same area).

³⁴ Among various examples, consider Thalpan Bridge (JETTMAR/THEWALT 1985:24), of N Thalpan, with images of stirrups, crenellated manes, and covered tail (MANP 9: 508:10, 12, 18) and Nala Toys (MANP 4: 115:4). For a preliminary study of the data of Upper Indus see THEWALT 1984. The role of stirrups, from early 4th Century onwards, is addressed in DIEN 1986; see also POTTS 2007.

³⁵ MAENCHEN-HELFEN 1957.

³⁶ JETTMAR/THEWALT 1985: pls. 9, 10.

³⁷ ILYASOV 2003: 264-6. In the Sub-Continent, besides the images on Parthian Saka and Kushan coinage, the covered tail is common in representations of horses in Gandharan art. In the Upper Indus/Ladakh rock repertoire, note the horse with covered tail and crenellated mane (VERNIER 2007: fig. 43).

³⁸ ILYASOV 2003: 302.

presence of ‘...some specific ideas, customs or traditions of a specific ethnic group’³⁹ in the area of Swat in the early centuries of the 1st millennium CE.⁴⁰

***Trisūla*-like Ideograms and Associated Figures** (see Addendum 1: Chart VIII)

Out of 4 cases (Sites 09, 10, 26 and 41), *trisūla*-like ideograms appear twice in coexistence with Buddhist architecture (Sites 10 and 41). In one instance (Site 41) a *trisūla*-like spear is held by a horseback rider; in another case (Site 26), by a bi-triangular figure alongside two similar figures in the act of dueling. In the last case (Site 09) we found some other ideograms of this type, together with geometric symbols. In all cases, these figures are very important for their potential chronological value, but also for their implications in the reconstruction of the ancient cultural and religious history of Swat.⁴¹

Let us first consider the figures that carry such symbol. The personage of Site 26, with a bi-triangular body and a naked head, but portrayed with a chignon with a double loop, shown in profile, is also shown with its mouth and eyes open (an iconographic feature typical of terrifying deities, including some forms of Śiva, as I was reminded by Serena Autiero). The bi-triangular form of the body definitely depicts a knee-length tunic tightened at the waist by a belt from which hangs a short dagger. The figure can be compared with one on a terracotta token from Kula Dheri (KP) dating from the 4th -5th Century AD, a standing male deity wearing wearing a knee-length tunic and a head-dress surmounted by a triangular fetaure. The figure, holding a *trisūla*-like spear and an animal (a hare?) was tentatively interpreted as Śiva.⁴² In the scene at Site 26, a personage, with a sword hanging from the belt wears a triangular headgear, comparable to the royal tiaras on Kushan coinage (Vasudeva-type). It also recalls the image of a sovereign making an

³⁹ ID.: 261.

⁴⁰ Partial proof of the thesis cites examples from the Upper Indus (on both sides of the Line of Control), where the associations of these customs with people of foreign ethnicity is quite clear (Saka, Iranians).

⁴¹ Whether these figures refer to actual Śivaite *trisūla*, Buddhist *triratana*, or even *tanḡa* (although I am not convinced of this last possibility), we don’t actually know (see in this regard GIULIANO 2004 and AMANUR-REHMAN 2009). Compare for instance the representation documented at Shatial Bridge in JETTMAR/THEWALT 1985: 23 and that found in Site 10. For a brief review of the Śivaite iconography in the Upper Indus s. ARIF 2001. Regarding the dating, if these symbols are *trisūla*, on the basis of GIULIANO 2004, we should definitely attribute them to a post-5th CE chronology.

⁴² CALLIERI 1997: Cat. No. S4, 143-44, pl. 38.

offering at the fire altar on the obverse of coins of Huvishka, Vasudeva, Kanishka II, as well as on later imitations.⁴³ The image of Site 26 combines the tricuspid spear with a terrifying pose and the double-loop chignon (the *jātamukha* which characterizes Śiva as an ascetic and *yogin*), this latter typical of depictions of Brahmic ascetics and of Maitreya in a Gandharic context. This threefold association qualifies the personage as a deity, probably Śiva.

The interpretation of another figure at Site 41 is more complex: here, too, the figure has a bi-triangular structure and a tunic narrowed at the waist (decorated with horizontal stripes). However, it appears in frontal view. The head has a full hair, flowing past the shoulders. The figure might have four arms (the upper right above, the lower right below, the upper left bearing a tricuspid lance, and the lower left below) and seems to be depicted in front of an animal. Wild animals are shown aside. In short, it shows all of the characteristics of a Śiva Paśupati (even if poorly or wrongly rendered: for example, the spear is held with the left hand). But the animal is doubtless a horse and not the bull and vehicle of the god, Nandi. So, unless one accepts the possibility of a case of mistaken or misunderstood iconography, we should rather think to a royal image, perhaps belonging to the Kushan sphere, but for which we have no available specific comparisons.⁴⁴

⁴³ This type of representation is even more antique; s. for example the obverse of the Indian-standard silver drachma coined by Agathocles, from Ai Khanum, representing Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma (AUDOIN/BERNARD 1974: figs. 1, 5; s. below fn. 47, and again, for its reverse figure of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, see the Chapter ‘Description of Subjects’, fn. 22; s. also RAPIN 1992 and AMAN-UR-REHMAN 2009) For the double-loop chignon s. FACCENNA/FILIGENZI 2007: pls. 104, 107, 110, 111, 112, 113.

⁴⁴ Among the most important studies regarding the ancient religion of the region rank those of FUSSMAN 1977, TUCCI 1977, JETTMAR 1997 and PARPOLA 1998 (s. also VERARDI 1996 and CALLIERI 2006). As far as the intricate question of a possible Ṛgvedic substrate in Swat is concerned, the archeological evidence is scanty and unexcavably ambiguous (see, for instance the hypothesis by VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2005). See the observations on the native religion of Swat (TUCCI 1977) and on the role of Mount Ilam in the Indo-Iranian mythography (OLIVIERI 1996); comments on the depictions of horses (s. above) in STACUL 1983 and 2005b; the character of Śivaitic or proto-Śivaitic in the animals on the Gogdara I rock (OLIVIERI 1998). Finally, the so-called ‘burials of horses’ at Katelai, are sometimes quoted as ‘proof’ of a Ṛgvedic cultural context (as discussed in MÜLLER-KARPE 1983; ALLCHIN 1995; ERDOSY 1989; and KUZ’MINA 2007). Popular religion in Swat might have been quite different (as it may emerge through the study of terracotta figurines, for instance). It should not necessarily be evaluated through the lens of the cultured or literated Hinduist forms, but rather as an evolution of pre-Buddhist and non-Buddhist substrata (TUCCI 1977: 29-31; CALLIERI 2006: 62-5). This is witnessed, for example, by female terracotta figures: appearing in the Bronze

Deities and Heroes

Some iconographic details, in part already mentioned above, need a more detailed discussion as they may be linked to supernatural beings and heroes. Unfortunately, their value for chronology is uncertain. The central ideogram from Site 04 is particularly relevant. It is formed by the interconnection an ideogram representing, in our decoding system, 'plowed field' and a large 'U-like' anthropomorph, which has already been discussed and which will be dealt with again further on.⁴⁵

Age, they became frequent in the late protohistoric settlements and were used as funeral *paraphernalia* (s. ref. in OLIVIERI 1998). In historic times they were still widely popular in urban settlements (Barikot, Charsadda, Taxila, and at Sahri Dheri; on the latter s. also GORDON 1932, 1938), but also in important Buddhist monumental centres, like Sahri Bahlol (s. IBID. 1938). At Barikot, the popularity of terracotta figurines declined only in the late 2nd Century CE, when the first forms of Buddhist worship *intra muros* begun (CALLIERI 2006: 74). This possible vernacular cult – if we accept that female figurines were actual objects of worship (BAUTZE 1990) - did not disappear entirely, as suggested by the small panel in schist with a *devi*, found in a domestic environment in Kushan-Sasanian times, always at Barikot (BKG 1591; CALLIERI 2006: 71-3, fig. 3.13). Figurines of humped bulls have also been ascribed to forms of popular cults, still common in early historic contexts (s. fn. 48; STACUL 1987: 111). In the context of a popular Hinduism, in Swat is well attested the worship of Ganesha (FILIGENZI 2000: fig. 14). Possible *linga*-shaped stones were found at Barikot (BKG 170) and Ghalegai (GH 23, see STACUL 1987: 111). The presence of Indian gods in the coinage and the glyptics of the Indo-Greek age (s. fn. 46), in an *élite* context, and ultimately as part of the Gandharan art imagery, is well known and well studied (CALLIERI 2006, s. also fn. 45). The Indo-Greek coins from Ai-Khanum (s. fn. 47) may also have great importance in this discussion (as in the study of the temples at Taxila in RAPIN 1995). In general, in the late antiquity of Swat one observes a gradually increasing relevance of Hindu iconographic themes, in the context of late-Buddhist engravings shelter reliefs, with attributes typical of a popular pantheon which gets richer and richer (TUCCI 1963; FILIGENZI 2006; FILIGENZI 2000; FILIGENZI, FORTHCOMING). A probable Viṣṇuitic temple at the top of the acropolis in Barikot (CALLIERI ET AL. 2000; CALLIERI/COLLIVA/ABDUL NASIR KHAN 2000-2001; CALLIERI 2005; FILIGENZI 2005), the re-discovery of the s.c. 'Takht' of Shahkot, or Hathiano-kandao, (FOUCHER 1901; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; OLIVIERI 2009b), as well as of the cultic center of Tindodag/Manyar (DEANE 1896; FILIGENZI 2006; FILIGENZI, FORTHCOMING; OLIVIERI/DI CHIARA FORTHCOMING) recently added new information. Certainly later than the 4th Century CE, is the fashion ware' or 'Bajaur ware,' in which the signs of a persistent Vedic rituality was recently recognized (BRANCACCIO 2010a).

⁴⁵ The composite central ideogram in Site 04 (s. Paragraphs 2.1 and 3 in the 'Description of Subjects,' and below fn. 103, 106 and fn. 107; s. above fn. 74 in this Chapter) was interpreted in terms of sacrificial rituals

Possible ‘Heroes’ from Site 08 appear with 2 disks. One is pictured on the head of a large figure armed with a solid shield, the other is held as a shield by a figure below. The most immediate comparison for these disks with toothed ends (which end like a ‘T’) is with the figures of toothed *chakra*.⁴⁶ Both figures may be interpreted as deities rather than as heroic figures, or perhaps as ‘heroic deities’ (but this is not necessarily a compromise). For one of the two representations (the lower), there is a comparison with the iconography of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa on an Ai-Khanum coinage from the Indo-Greek period.⁴⁷

Other Chronologically Relevant Information

To complete the list of elements providing information, with varying degrees of reliability, on the dating of the paintings, we will consider the following list of pictograms.

connected to plowing and sowing (VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002; OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006) as a direct reference to a Ṛgvedic environment (we thought of Kṣetrapati, the deity of cultivated fields, in ṚV IV 57). This would date the paintings in Site 04 (and the similar Site 03) to an archaic period, within the IInd millennium BCE. It could be one of the earliest representations of a Ṛgvedic ritual performance in the NW (remember also fragment BKG 500, discussed in fn. 30, s. STACUL 1983; ID. 1987: 109), but also, more generally in whole Sub-Continent. This painting is most probably the oldest in our corpus (and not just because of the agricultural icon: consider also the total absence of horses, riders, metal weapons and Buddhist images). For a summary of the earliest Hindu iconography, s. SRINIVASAN 1997: 187-192.

⁴⁶ A *chakra* or a plow? The question is still open (s. AMAN-UR-REHMAN 2009: 157). See ‘Description of Subjects’, fn. 22; in the present, Chapter, fn. 43. The *chakra* appears with other deities in later contexts (for instance, in the token S1 with Śiva, in CALLIERI 1987: 142, pl. 38; s. also fn. 42).

⁴⁷ See above, also fn. 43. An important representation of the couple Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa/ Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma was found at Chilas II. Here an inscription identifies the twin deities (FUSSMAN 1989: no. 1; DANI 1983; SRINIVASAN 1997: 187).

Other domestic animals

In addition to horses, dogs and caprids, the other domestic animal represented in our paintings is the humped bull or zebu (*Bos indicus*). It is rare, and when present it appears in syntactic isolation (like at Gogdara I).⁴⁸

Wild animals

There is no possible criterion for dating the figures of wild animals. However, images of the ibex⁴⁹ are dominant in the early phases of Gogdara I. As far as wild cats are concerned,⁵⁰ their earliest representations in Swat date back to the Bronze Age. Noticeable is a scene with a big wild cat and ibex in Site 04 (see the next Chapter).

⁴⁸ The humped bull had an obvious, paramount importance in the cultures of the Chalcolitic and Bronze Age (Period IV) of Swat, as shown not only by painted potsherds (STACUL 1987: figs. 46a-d, 47g, h; pls. LXII, LXIII), but also by many terracotta figurines found at Loebanr III, Aligrama, Bir-kot-ghwandai (here they were often found near hearths; IBID.). The production of such bovine images continued in ensuing periods, as observed at Aligrama and Balambat as well as in the cemetery of Zarif Karuna (s. ref. in OLIVIERI 1998: 71). This is certainly a chronological indication (s. also fn. 44). Images of humped bulls at Gogdara I are discussed in OLIVIERI 1998.

⁴⁹ For the Chalcolitic-Bronze Age or Period IV of Swat, besides two painted potsherds depicting ibexes or similar animals (STACUL 1987: fig. 47c, 1, pl. XLIIId), there is little direct faunal evidence of the exploitation of large wild caprids, but few bones of goral and markhor found at Loebanr III (ref. in OLIVIERI 1998: 70). If, however, the dominant culture of Swat in the antique Bronze Age did not ascribe to the ibex a particular role, in another moment, perhaps towards the end of the first Millennium, the animal re-appears with redundancy, almost as the most prominent symbol in the 'mature' phase' of Gogdara I (OLIVIERI 1998). In a short but important article, Tucci emphasized the importance of a form of worship typical in Swat, Chitral and Gilgit, of a female deity 'worshipped by hunters and considered to be the overlord of all ibex' (TUCCI 1963: 153). This cult, combined with the worship of a Sacred Tree, was extensively studied (JETTMAR 1961, TUCCI 1963, JETTMAR 1975). Actually, the sacred branches of a juniper or holly-oak attached to the horns of a sacrificed ibex, are still worshipped in remote areas of Chitral. In same phase, at Gogdara I, there are signs of 'arbolets' or 'ramified marks,' which might similarly be linked a ibex cult (s. again OLIVIERI 1998).

⁵⁰ The paintings of Site 04 (Sargah-sar) have deeper symbolic implications, and do not simply describe wilderness. In the protohistoric art of Swat, predators attack ruminants: the oldest example is a painted potsherd from Bir-kot-ghwandai dated to Period IV (BKG 650; STACUL 1987: figs. 46J, k; pl. XLIIId). Similar scenes appear in the carvings at Muhammad-patai (AMSV 131; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: fig. 19); outside Swat, in Upper Indus, see a carving at Hodar (MANP 3: 37:A). After the ibex, the other prominent animal symbol on the walls of Gogdara I is a large feline (in all likelihood a leopard), but it is quite rare the faunal records of Swat. In fact, only few bones of *Felis pardus* and *Panthera tigris* were

Agricultural ideograms and crossed disks

Ideograms are rendered through the use of grid-like drawings, already analyzed in detail.⁵¹ As they do not appear with easily datable figures such as Buddhist structures or horseback riders – with rare exceptions⁵² – these signs are probably more ancient. Crossed disks are present in various complexes.

Weapons and cloth

Among the depictions of offensive and defensive weapons, reflex bows and feathered helmets with finials are quite common. The reflex bows in Site 01, in combination with possible clubs, long kaftans and heavy boots, might imply a date between the 1st and 3rd Century CE.⁵³

found in sites of the middle and late Bronze age (Periods IV, V e VI, s. OLIVIERI 1998: 71). The monkey depicted in Site 03 defecates on a ‘sown field’ ideogram (VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002, perhaps Kapi?). A similar figure is carved at Partab Bridge (Upper Indus): the animal is in front of a lotus flower above a pillar standing on a basement. The carving is damaged, but also this monkey might be defecating (KÖNIG 1994: fig. 29).

⁵¹ S. Paragraph 6.3, in the Chapter ‘Description of Subjects’.

⁵² The crossed disk of Site 13 was already discussed: it may be a Saka-Parthian *tamṅa* (s. ‘Description of Subjects, fn. 65). Crossed disks or wheels, although rare, are encountered in the protohistoric Swat iconography (at Gogdara I, OLIVIERI 1998: 73; in the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age graveyards, SILVI ANTONINI/STACUL 1972: fig. 27e, pl. LXIb, c; STACUL 1973: 248, fig. 7; STACUL 1971).

⁵³ See VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002: 206. In Kushana images one finds the same long kaftan, open in front, over soft boots, in a typical posture with the legs spread apart. Of course, the depiction of a club (*danda*) held by some of the figures in Site 01 might suggest the representation of Kushana individuals (see also the divine couple at Chilas II already discussed above, dated to 1st Century CE – s. FUSSMAN 1989). Other examples come from Ladakh, where at least a well known example is positively linked with the Kushanas by the inscription ‘Vima Kadphises’ (TUCCI 1958: 294; OROFINO 1990: 181, figs. 21, 33). Also in Ladakh, many triangular/bi-triangular figures have recently been documented (VERNIER 2007: fig. 22, 26, 27, 29, 30, 41). In Upper Indus, s. for instance JETTMAR/THEWALT 1985: 16 and many other examples. In Swat, the iconography (defined as ‘nomadic attire’) is found e.g. in the Turki-shahi shelter reliefs in the ‘Hinduano-ghar’ grotto in Tindodag (Ghalegai) (7th-8th Century AD; FILIGENZI 2006: 197, fig. 2). The name of Kanishka appears in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription from the shelter pictures di Kala-tassa (Manshera, KP): two individuals wearing long-kaftan dresses represented inside the *stūpa*’s space, and similar figures are represented outside (NASIM KHAN 2000: figs. 24-5). Eurasian representations of archers with long kaftans are common but not frequent. A figure of this type in the Baga Oigor IV site (NW Mongolia; MMAFAC 6:

Helmets (conical) with a feathered finial enable only generic comparisons with examples from Central Asia (particularly at Penjikent) dating to the 6th-7th Century CE.⁵⁴ None of the other representations of weapons (bows, swords, shields e battle axes) offers other specific chronological hints.⁵⁵

FURTHER ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Before concluding the review of the evidence with possible chronological significance, I want to discuss a few cases of relational information between the paintings and other archaeological indicators. The first type of evidence concerns the use of different colors, overlays and multiple phases or re-painting, and are labeled ‘Direct associations’ among painted traits; other evidence comes in the form of ‘Indirect associations’ (such as proximity or contiguity of the painted complexes with structures or sites which are chronologically relevant), and finally direct but ‘External associations’ (such as superposition of engravings or graffiti to the paintings) themselves.

Direct Associations

Sargah-sar (Site 04)

Two successive phases of paintings might be represented here; however, the figures are not preserved adequately to permit a positive inference. In any case, at least the left (central) portion of the complex was affected by the following re-painting interventions: in the extreme left, four human figures were painted around a grid-like ideogram, which, in comparison, is almost vanished. This suggests that human figures were traced around the pre-existing ideogram in a second time. In the centre, a large grid-like ideogram was

fig. 1092) was ascribed to the Bronze age, but such dating appears doubtful, especially if the dress is compared with early-Turkish carvings from Kazakhstan, where the use of long kaftans is widespread (MMAFAC 5: figs. 164-5, 167). In Central Asia, bows of similar to those of Site 01 are common only in Saka representations from the Early Historic period and later, and are very different from the bows represented in the carvings of the Bronze and the late protohistoric periods.

⁵⁴ See the review of the subject in LITVINSKY 2003.

⁵⁵ See fn. 60 of Chapter ‘Description of Subjects’.

painted around a large pre-existing U-like anthropomorph, thus creating a very complex ideogram.⁵⁶ These traces of re-painting indicate the shelter was visited for a relatively long period.

Kamal-china (Site 05)

In this shelter, several distinct phases of painting may be reconstructed after the variable orientation of the main groups. However, the clusters are not overlapping (a part from two cases involving hand ideograms). In respect to the prevailing orientation of the figures, parallel to the mouth of the shelter, 5 figures have a curved transverse orientation from top/left to bottom /right (a horseman with a feline face right, on the left periphery; a cat is pictured below; a horseman with a theriomorphic horse stands in the bottom center; a horseman with outstretched fingers on the bottom right); 6 figures have an opposite transversal orientation (a dog below, a humped bull at the top left and top right; a cattle possession scene; an anthropomorphic with its gigantic right hand raised; an equid surmounted by a large anthropomorph with a pincher-like left hand); 3 figures have a perpendicular orientation (horsemen); finally, 4 figures have a horizontal orientation (ideograms of hands, the great battle-axe above and the banner). A closer investigation reveals that the ideograms of hands were painted before all the others. In this case, too, the evidence indicates that the site was frequented and modified for a relatively long period.

Hinduano-hatai (Site 17)

In this case 2 colors were superimposed on at least two occasions. However, the form of the figure beneath was not obliterated: a unique case of second intervention.

Lal-kamar (Site 27)

Two colors were applied in the complex. There was more than one pictorial phase (on the other hand, it is difficult to imagine otherwise, due to the large size of the painting); however, the phases are not overlapping, but juxtaposed.

⁵⁶ VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002: 201.

Gweluno-ghar (Site 31)

Here, 2 colors were used in a distinct manner: white for Buddhist structures, and red for the few incidental figures. In this case the 2 colors were used contextually and with particular intention to chromatically distinguish the dominant Buddhist sacred architecture from the other images.

Palangai (Site 41)

This is the only case in which a depiction (in this case a representation of *stūpa*-like construction, in white) covers a pre-existing representation (some dogs, in red). This is the only documented case of actual superimposition among painted figures.

Indirect Associations

Sargah-sar (Site 04)

Below the main niche that houses the paintings, on a large sub-vertical plate, there appears a series of graffiti (Fig. 72).⁵⁷ We interpreted these figures as subsequent to the paintings, primarily due to the fact that they occupy a peripheral/subordinate space within the 'proscenium' of the niche, as the graffiti respected most prominent painted space. While the paintings, as stated above, do not represent horses or other domesticated animals, the graffiti represent men on horseback, a bovine, bowmen and wild animals. A horseman holding a caprid above his head is important to the scene, which can be successfully compared to a figure at Site 05.⁵⁸



⁵⁷ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 86, fig. 18; 126-28.

⁵⁸ This icon appears in the Site 38, but, apparently, in a quite different context. Note the probable persistence of this icon in different chronological phases (s. Figs. 61 and 63).

Fig. 72

Kamal-china (Site 05)

A standing figure, which holds a bovid above the head, resembles a figure carved below Site 04 (see above). A small graveyard dated to the Late Bronze Age/Early Iron Age (late IInd-1st Millennium BCE; AMSV 339) was found approximately 100 m N of Site 05. Slightly upstream, to the W of this area, we located another ancient cemetery (AMSV 340).⁵⁹

Malak-ziarat (Site 10)

Opposite Site 10, 30 -40 m S there are the ruins of a sacred Buddhist area (AMSV 362b).⁶⁰

Gwarejo-patai (Site 11)

The paintings are located on a vertical wall within a shelter, formed by the collapse of several boulders. Onto the pavement – a horizontal surface of Augengneiss – in front of the pictures there is a ‘palette’ type wine-press; its drainage hole is oriented towards a natural cavity.⁶¹

Palwano-gata (Site 12)

Immediately below the natural arch where the paintings are visible, an engraving depicting a *stūpa* (Fig. 73) is found on the wall of a small niche at ground level. Various rock artifacts are located near this shelter, including steps, basins and a large representation of a theriozoomorph, obtained by engraving a large eye at one end of an oblong boulder. The ruins of several building constructed with pseudo-isodomic blocks

⁵⁹ ID.: 79, fig. 3.; 126-28.

⁶⁰ ID.: 114.

⁶¹ ID.: 93, fig. 30. The issue of wine-presses of Swat, their belonging to a Kafiro-Dardic cultural context and dating to Late Historic periods (ie *post*-5th Century CE) was already discussed in previous occasions (OLIVIERI 2006a; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 142-46; OLIVIERI 2008: 19-21). The important association between wine-press and paintings in this Site will be addressed in the Chapter ‘Conclusions’.

of granitic gneiss⁶² are located nearby; a similar masonry technique was observed in the remains of monastic settlements and *stūpas* to the S and E of Kafir-kot.

Kafir-kot 1, 2 and Shamo (Sites 13, 14, 16)

The sites are located in the immediate vicinity of the large monastic settlement of Kafir-kot.⁶³

Marano-tangai (Site 15)

The ruins of the sacred area of Chuwa are located in front of this Site (AMSV 351).⁶⁴

External associations

Talang (Site 18)

A large shelter was discovered at Talang. Here seem have to clustered various expressions of rock art. On the floor of the shelter there is a permutation of highly eroded cup-marks; on the top of the shelter, there are larger cup-marks and grooves; faint traces of a red pigment were covered by carvings of warriors on horseback on two sides of the shelter (Fig. 74; the painted zones are presented in solid black). On the larger of the two sides of the shelter, the carvings were subsequently partly obliterated by a large Brahmi-Sarada inscription.⁶⁵

⁶² This technique is typical of the monastic complex of the whole area of the outcrops of granite and Augengneiss up to Ranigat, Swab, and beyond (s. below fn. 63). OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 93, figs. 34-37; 115(AMSV 380b); 148 (AMSV 432 and 433).

⁶³ On the monastic settlement of Kafir-kot see the pages of A. Stein,. The site was briefly described under the place names of Nal (name of nearby village) and Giroban; with these toponyms Stein called the ruins that can still be seen upstream of Nal, towards S, Saffar-to kandao (probably AMSV 432 and 433, s. above) (STEIN 1930: 5-6, fig. 4). The remains above Nal (called here - I think more accurately - Kafir-kot) totally disappeared (for a state of ruins in the early 90s, s. ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1995: fig. 4). Based on surface evidence, further upstream there are other sites next to the shrines of the 1st Century CE, typical of the valleys of the N Kandak and Kotah (the materials from these areas, now in the British Museum, were dated to the 1st -2nd Century CE: s. ref. in IBID.: 350). The masonry work, for example at Ranigat, suggests a dating after the 2nd Century AD (for the chronology of Ranigat: ODANI 2000).

⁶⁴ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 115.

⁶⁵ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 146, figs. 39-41; GARBINI in OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 146-47: fig. 86. The inscription, still un-translated, is dated between 7th and 12th-15th Century CE. The 2006



Fig. 73



Fig. 74

Khaista-kamar (Site 46)

The paintings are partially covered with graffiti traced with potsherds, in sinuous or broken lines. A bovine with a solid body is distinguishable at the top right. It is probably a recent design made during the use of the shelter by Gujari shepherds.

Associations with cup-marks

Cup-marks were found at the following Sites: 03, 04, 18, 23, 43, 44, 46 and 49. In general, in Swat, but also in similar ecological contexts like the Tanawal area and the Kumaon Himalaya, cup-marks are encountered in prominent landmark spots, like the top of mid-slope promontories or on important fords. In Central India, cup-marks are often associated to rock sanctuaries as well (see below). Their presence on the top of the roof of the shelters (04, 18; s. below PAYR, Appendices, Tanawal, Fundstelle 2), on their floor (18, 43, 46 and 49), in their immediate vicinity (03 and 04) is intriguing. Unfortunately, it is well known that no sound conclusion can be proposed, despite the efforts made, on the actual chronology, meaning and functions of this 'universal' form of expression. In Central and Northern India cup-marks physically associated to painted shelters are often linked to local fertility cults. Of course, cup-marks and paintings must not be necessarily contemporary. In cases of single cup-marks found inside the Painted Shelters (at Sites 43,

excavation (carried out by the present writer) revealed that at the time of attendance of the shelter, and certainly at the time when the inscription was traced, the shelter jutted out on the bank of the river Kotah, which now lies several meters below. Sand sediment formed the riverbank, which was fordable at this point thanks to a series of boulders and steps carved into the rock. Beside the ford, just below the shelter, we found a small graffiti depicting a bull. A similar carving was found few feet below.

46 and 49) they might be cavities used for grinding or to dilute the pigment, like those discovered inside similar sites in Kumaon Himalaya. However, no traces of color are on record. As a general phenomenon, these artifacts in Swat may belong to a wide chronological range, framed between the 5th-6th centuries BCE and the 1st-3rd centuries CE.⁶⁶

DIFFERENT TYPES OF PAINTED SHELTERS (Addendum 4: Chart XIII)

The evidence so far reviewed leaves little doubt that the paintings here considered belong to a wide time range, but in order of defining whether all the pictures are attributable to a homogeneous, long lasting type of human frequentation, however affected by various factors, it is important to discuss in detail which material factors may have influenced the choice of the various sites.

Topographic Constraints⁶⁷

Not all the sites chosen to host the paintings from Swat-Malakand possess the same physical characteristics. The sites on record can be differentiated in different categories with respect to several variables, including: the difficulty of access and/or permanence; the optical range, i.e. the potential fruition; the presence of material resources or other opportunities, such as access to water and to important travel routes; the already mentioned physical dominance of the Sites in the relative landscapes and territories (as landmarks).⁶⁸ After the prevalence of some of these factors and elements over others, and on the base of their combination, it was possible to distinguish the Painted Shelters in the following categories or Groups.⁶⁹ After a short description of their inner features and

⁶⁶ For a wider discussion of the cup-marks phenomena in Swat, see OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004 and OLIVIERI 2006a. For Kumaon Himalaya, see AGRAWAL/KHARAKWAL 1998, MATHPAL 1995. For a more comprehensive analysis of the rock sanctuaries, s. the following section.

⁶⁷ I refer, in particular, to the methodology proposed in LENSSEN-ERZ 2004. For a comprehensive study of the rock art landscape settings, see CHIPPINDALE/NASH 2004.

⁶⁸ Addendum 4: Chart XIII.

⁶⁹ Where some factors prevail, it does not mean that others are necessarily absent. The choice was necessarily subjective.

having explained the reasons of the proposed classification, I will attempt a functional definition – in terms of cultural practices - of each Group.

Group 1

These Sites present a certain degree of difficulty to access or share uncomfortable standards of permanence, as well as a reduced optical range (< 3 m), but have a strong passive landmark dominance. In the two documented cases, the sites contained </> 20 figures. Sites of this group were detected in the valley of Kotah; Sites 03 and 04 are the pertinent examples.

Group 2

These Sites are extremely difficult to access and/or sojourn within; they also have an extremely reduced optical range (<1 m). They are housed in landmark rock outcrops, generally in a position of active visual dominance, although they are hidden in cavities which normally contain less than 20 figures, mostly representative ideograms. This group, with one exception, has been detected in the valley of Kotah; the pertinent sites are 05, 06, 08, 19, 27 and 41.

Group 3

These sites present some difficulty to access and/or permanence; they also have a reduced optical range (< 3 m), and host < 20 figures (generally pictograms). At times they have the characteristics of a landmark (Site 1). Examples of this group have been localized both in the valley of Kotah as well as on the S slopes of the Doplai -Saffar Range (Malakand); see Sites 01, 02, 14, 16, 21, 38, 39 e 40

Group 4

These Sites have an optical range between 3 and > 5 m (which generally corresponds to vertical shelters or open-air walls). They may contain a variable number of figures. This Group, which occupies the same area of distribution of the previous one, includes Sites 09, 10, 12, 13, 18, 20, 22, 26, 31, 37, 48 e 49.

Group 5

This Group is composed of 3 Sub-groups. From point of view of the Sites' location, the Sub-groups are almost all encountered along the S slopes of the Doplai-Saffar Range (Malakand). The first Sub-group includes sites with easy access and/or comfortable standards of permanence; they generally have an optical range of > 3 m, are located in proximity to material facilities, but do not have the status of major landmarks. They generally contain less than 10 figures. This Sub-group (a) includes Sites 07, 11, 15, 23, 25, 30, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 44, 45 and 47. The second Sub-group (b) contains Sites, which are not particularly difficult to access and/or to stay within. These Sites have an optical range of > 3 m, generally contain more than 20 figures, and have the apparent characteristics of short-term living places, such as camp-sites or shepherds shelters. This Sub-group is formed by Sites 17, 24, 46. Finally, Sub-group (c) deals with Sites frequented by virtue of their physical features: larger shelters containing a greater number of pictures, as is the case with Sites 28, 29, 42, 43 (these four sites contain few pictures; however, they are physically connected in pairs to Sites 27 and 41 respectively, see above).

Description and Interpretation

Group 1, 'Sanctuaries'

The two sites belonging to the first group have the relevant physical characteristics (mainly in terms of morphology) to be classified as landmarks. Their boulders are visible from far and characterize the orography of the central part of the E side of the Kotal Valley. The Sargah-sar rock (04) (Fig. 75) is a diamond-shaped rock tilted forward, with flat front surface. It houses a niche flanked by two large circular cavities. At the base there is a smooth saddle-shaped rock, with traces of mechanical impact and spotted by solidified splashes of red ocher.



Fig. 75

(Photo by M. De Chiara)

It is impossible to avoid noticing the strong anthropomorphism of this Site: the rock serves as a 'face,' the cavities as 'eyes,' the niche as an 'open mouth,' and finally the central part of the saddle-shaped rock spotted with red, serves as a 'tongue.' Significantly, the paintings are housed in portion of the rock describes as a 'mouth,' in a clear icon of an 'open-mouthed narrator.' Traces of paint have also been recorded within the cavities serving as 'eyes,' as well as below where they resemble tattoos or facial marks. The Site is quite visible from long distances, its striking feature being that it appears to be a huge face staring toward W. This feature was preserved in its place name (see DI CHIARA, Appendices, this volume). The Site is not particularly difficult to access, but certainly no more than 2 to 3 people at a time can sit in front of the niche and observe the pictures (as evident from Fig. 75). Cup-marks have been documented at the top and bottom of the shelter.

The boulder at Kakai-kandao (03), although smaller than the previous rock, is also visible from far. It is a rounded plate oriented obliquely in reference to the horizon, it has an

inner sub-circular niche where the paintings are housed. Once again, as in Site 04, the shelter is easily accessible, but cannot be used by more than 1 or 2 people at a time. Cup-marks have been documented near the shelter.

In both cases, the paintings have substantial clusters of ideograms which overwhelm rarer pictographs; At Site 04, two painting phases served to complete the central ideogram (a U-like anthropomorph inserted in a grid-like ideogram representing a 'plowed field') as well as a lateral scene (a grid-like ideogram representing a 'plowed field' surrounded by human figures in the act of plowing and sowing). A third scene, representing a hero holding a shield/*chakra* and an anthropomorph/human figure on the back of an ibex, might have religious implications. The physical and pictorial characteristics of the two shelters suggest that both were chosen for a pictorial activity referring to ritual functions, and therefore they might be defined as 'sanctuaries'.⁷⁰

Group 2, 'Hermitages'

The 6 shelters in the second group are distinguished by their 'private' or possibly 'secret' nature. The Kamal-china shelter (05) is located on a large plateau in close proximity to a water source and along a path (two aspects possibly associated with the nearby cemetery, and the various clusters of rock art in close proximity, including some recent graphic complexes).⁷¹ The shelter itself is formed by a thick sub-horizontal slab, which projects onto a steep, cramped sloping floor. Inside, the shelter can uncomfortably accommodate only a person at a time, the head inside, while the pictures will be visible > 1 m from his/her eyes.

The Badze shelter (06) is located within a pocket below a ridge, in a hardly accessible and extremely dangerous position, overlooking a precipice.

⁷⁰ I am aware that this definition, like the other of 'Hermitage', issued on the basis of the types proposed by LENSSEN-ERZ 2004, can raise at least a question mark. For this reason I preferred to restrict these definitions within the space of two cautionary brackets. For a case of persistence of landmarks such as large boulders as markers for the detection of Buddhist shrines, s. Ranigat (ODANI 2000). A fundamental reappraisal of the concept of rock 'Sanctuaries' and 'Hermitages' as *grottes-matrices* can be found in an important study by R.A. Stein (STEIN 1988).

⁷¹ See AMSV 337, 338, 340b, 353 in OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 86-89, fig. 23. Despite the proximity of important resources, because of other dominant physical characteristics, I decided to include Site 05 in this Group.

The Dandi-sar shelter 1 (08) is located at the base of a prominent cliff, with a vaguely anthropomorphic profile.⁷² The shelter is distinguishable due to an internal pocket from which a large boulder projects onto an plaque which is inclined onto a vertical ravine (its active dominant visual position is towards W). Once more, the shelter can accommodate one person at a time, stretching parallel to the shelter, with an optical range of > 1 m.

The Churkai shelter (19) is within a kind of rock cavity morphologically similar to the Dandi-sar shelter, although it has a horizontal floor. The boulder juts with a drop sheer to a small grassy plateau (Kabbal-dab) distinguished by a water source located behind the village of the same name, Churkai.⁷³ In this case the shelter (opening in terms of visual dominance to N) can accommodate from one to three seated persons at a time, with an optical range of > 1 m.

The Lal-kamar 1 shelter (27) is found within a horizontal cavity, in the inner part of an 'umbrella' formed by a large mushroom-shaped boulder, which opens to S. Other two shelters (Sites 28 and 29) are found along the SE side of the wall, in an area protected by the large cavity, but in a comfortable and easily accessible position. Certainly this part of the shelter could have been used as a place for short-term living. In contrast, the part of the shelter where Site 27 is, appears peripheral, almost hidden from the view, and distinguished by a sloped and slippery floor, which rises up until it is almost tangential to the ceiling. The shelter has an optical range which gradually declines, from approximately 1 m to > 1 m.

The Palangai shelter 1 (41), as the previous Sites do, stands out when seen from a distance, as it is a prominent landmark. Like in the preceding case, this shelter contains 3 different sites, one of which (Site 41) is located in a concealed position and is reachable only through a narrow hourglass-like passage, which leads to a type of small grotto with an opening in a position of active visual dominance toward S. To the left of this opening, in a sub-horizontal position on the side of the ceiling, there is a sub-circular niche ceiling which housed and protected the paintings. Site 42 is located on the ceiling of the

⁷² Other examples of zoomorphic or anthropomorphic rocks, besides the self-evident case of Sargah-sar, are known in this and other areas of Middle Swat: s. OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 141, figs. 37 and 45.

⁷³ The current village is built on the ruins of a settlement of Kushana age; nearby, the ruins of a vast Buddhist monastic complex (SE of the village) are still detectable. The two sites have been registered respectively as AMSV 406 and 408: see OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 148.

mentioned hourglass-like passageway; while Site 43 is housed in a large cavity that looks N, at the entrance of the boulder.

In the first 3 cases, one finds him/herself in front of paintings with a large number of figures, forming complex compositions, quite difficult to read, perhaps also due to the uncomfortable position that the painter was forced to assume while tracing images, during the entire process of production of the painting.⁷⁴ All of these shelters can be interpreted as deliberate painting places, evidently with a ritual character, as 'Hermitages', both for their authors, as well as any subsequent users.

Group 3, Deliberate private painting places

These Sites compose the third group (8 Sites in total). The physical features of this Group are more elusive, and are at times shared with other Groups as well. In general, these are small shelters, difficult to reach and to individuate. However, their choice, as painting places, was without doubt deliberate. In general, the complexes are distinguished by few pictograms with a simplified syntax. The impression is that these Sites were places where the pictorial activity was of a private or personal character, rather than collective and ritual, or inspired by severe isolation (like Group 2).

Group 4, Public painting places⁷⁵

⁷⁴ To document Site 41, whose paintings are preserved almost entirely, the writer spent not less than 6 hours to carry out the full contact tracing.

⁷⁵ The use of large boulders as public/signaling cultic places is a typical of the panorama the cultic rock of late Buddhism in Swat. The rocks were chosen for their dominance on paths to sacred areas (FILIGENZI, FORTHCOMING). I will quote here at length the opinion of Dilip K. Chackrabarti on the possible 'Songlines' value (to define it *à-la-Chatwin*) of the painted shelters: 'Academic issues, of course, cannot be sidetracked. It would be much easier to grapple with these issues if the type of documentation put at our disposal in the case of Bhimbetka by Mathpal were available from other areas. We would also need detailed studies on the locations of each of the painted shelter groups in different areas. Interestingly, some of the painting sites in the Eastern Vindhyas seem to be aligned according the orientations of local routes. For instance, if one takes the general line of the main route to the Deccan from Mirzapur in the Ganga plain, one notices painted rock-shelters along the way once the rocky outcrops begin to appear. Similarly, beyond Robertsganj, on the way to the Son valley and the Surguja area of Madhya Pradesh, one notices painted rock-shelters overlooking the way. The painted rock-shelter site of Bhuili lies on the straight route from the hills near Ahraura to Banaras, and some rock-shelters have been recently reported on the direct route from Ahraura to the Sasaram area in Bihar. It is possible that the lines of movement of Mesolithic

The fourth Group consists of 12 shelters characterized by vertical niches, visible from noticeable distances and overlooking wide landscapes. Shelters of this Group have depictions of Buddhist structures and/or related ideograms: Dandi-sar 1 (09), Malakziarat (10), Kafir-kot (13), Ram-dunai 1 e 2 (20, 22), Thakht-gat (26), Gweluno-ghar (31) e Chowra-dab (37); the Site of Talang (18) can also be added to the list. *Triśūla*-like signs are the most recurrent ideograms; depictions of human figures are scarce if not rare and when present have a clear value as a pictograph, objective and descriptive or iconic (as in the case of Takht-gat). At Site 12 (Palwano-gata) only animals, and at least one large anthropomorph were painted. At Site 18 (Talang) only traces of the paintings are preserved; the public character of the rock was acknowledged because the Site had been used for subsequent recordings, and especially for a large monumental inscription. We noted its location at a ford, along an ancient route used to cross the Kotah and Kandak valleys. At Thakht-gat (26) the three described figures, one perhaps represent Śiva, is again near a path, but the images stand in general view, being painted high on a jutting ceiling. The painter had to use a ladder, or he/she may have been sitting on the shoulders of an assistant. Whatever technique was used, this painting was planned and made to have public exposure.

In general, this shelters overlooks a paratactic structure without psychograms such as association lines and body modification, types of images that in contrast are prevalent in the other groups of sites. The following shelters fall into this Group: Drema-palangai (Site 48) where, however, alongside the paintings of Buddhist structures there are scenes of hunting, and Dwoqumbo-jai (Site 49) where the first human figures are flanked by figures with body modifications.

Group 5, Casual painting places

This last Group includes 15 shelters, distinguished by their ease of access and proximity to material resources or facilities, as well as, to a lesser extent, their capability to host larger groups of people as short-term living spaces (7 shelters). In two sets of Sites (Lal-

people in Central India marked the alignment of what became historically recognized routes. The distribution alignment of such painting sites and historical routes is also clear from the way these sites have been found almost all along the Karakorum route in the Gilgit Agency of Pakistan' (CHACKRABARTI 1999 (2006): 115-116).

kamar and Pa langai) some paintings more easily accessible than others: only the first ones could be, in these cases, regarded as 'casual' places. Generally, shelters of this Group gathers pictures with a reduced number of figures, often depicting a single scene, in which the dominant representations are of human figures with body modifications and syntactically inter-connected by the means of association lines. In all these cases, only paintings of a secular nature were made - apparently in freely chosen, casual locations.

Comparisons

At this point, I will propose a series of comparisons with the available data from neighboring areas, starting from the only shelter not yet mentioned from the area of Swat: the black figures complex of the Kafir-smast in the Saidu (Swat) valley. This is located within a cavity which has not been better described, which appears to be within sight of a path. According to the analytical elements so far considered, it may be interpreted as another casual painting place (Group 5).⁷⁶

The documentation of the painted shelters of the Khanpur-Shikaoli cluster and of the Parlai-dab site (Karamar E) is insufficient, also as far as the physical description of the shelters is concerned; at least in regards to the only site of Parlai-dab, the available photographs and descriptions make clear how this should be classified as a deliberate painting place.⁷⁷ The paintings from the same area, but located on the N side of Mt. Karamar (Chargul) are certainly all pertaining to a system of cultic caves and therefore should be considered as different parts of a single 'sanctuary' (see OLIVIERI/NASIR KHAN, Appendices, this volume).

In the case of the paintings of Kala-tassa (Mansehra) a description of the shelters, so far, has been provided.⁷⁸

Equally meager data, alas, come from Gurikot (Astor, Upper Indus).⁷⁹ Based on the photographs I could see, one shelter connected to the nearby Babusar pass, may have had the public character I ascribed to Group 4, if not also a function of signaling. Instead, the

⁷⁶ BADSHAH SARDAR, IN PRESS.

⁷⁷ SHAH NAZAR KHAN 1995: 110-111, figs. Va, IXc; NASIM KHAN 2000.

⁷⁸ NASIM KHAN 2000.

⁷⁹ The only mention of this site is in FUSSMANN 1994.

paintings reported in the Gor area (Gilgit) now appear classifiable as shelters simply chosen as Casual painting places, Group 5.⁸⁰

As far as it concerns the Tanawal shelters, see PAYR, Appendices, this volume, for a comprehensive report. At least three sites can be considered important landmarks (Fundstellen 1-3) and all were used as Deliberate private painting places, Group 3; in particular, Fundstelle 1 may be regarded as a Public painting place, Group 4, while Sites 2-4 were certainly used as 'Hermitages', i.e. Group 2.

We find a comparable scenario also in Kumaon Himalaya. Most of the shelters documented in this area (c. 1000-300 BCE) can be interpreted as Deliberate private painting places, Group 3, if not as 'Hermitages', Group 2.⁸¹

If we turn to a period which is certainly later than the bulk of our paintings, the period of the late Buddhist schools, within the area of Swat and neighboring territories, we find interesting matches on the choice and the use for cultic and ritual purposes of these painting locations, which can be defined, once more, with the same labels of 'Sanctuary', Group 1; 'Hermitage', Group 2; and Public painting places, Group 4. The clearest example of a cave shrine in Swat is located at Tindodag (Ghalegai) (already mentioned in fn. 52). This is a sanctuary grotto from the Turki shahi period (about 7th Century CE) in which a representation of Sūrya plays a central role. The grotto's entrance, at the ground level, is indicated by a large rock-relief of Buddha. This is one case where a 'public' element, almost as a symbol, accompanies the viewer to the hidden shrine. Among other things, on the summit of the Tindoday cliff, other reliefs depicting Brahmanic and Bodisattva gods complete, along with other ruins, the image of an important religious complex dating to late antiquity, which eluded scholars for many years.⁸² As for the cave hermitages (with pictures), the Tangu shelter offers an important comparison. The shelter is located above the Ambela pass (between Buner and Swabi)⁸³ and it is formed by a large eroded boulder forming a horizontal sub-oval niche with a curved cross-section.

⁸⁰ This documentation was kindly shown to me by Martin Bemman in 2009.

⁸¹ MATHPAL 1995.

⁸² FILIGENZI 2006. The presence of the temple is clearly mentioned in DEANE 1896; OLIVIERI/DI CHIARA, FORTHCOMING.

⁸³ The site is called Patwano-gata in NASIM KHAN 2000. More correctly, his name would be 'Tangu', and the honor of the discovery should be ascribed to the Japanese Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (s. review of NASIM KHAN 2000 in OLIVIERI 2002).

The shelter may be entered by stooping slightly, so that one may pass under the edge of the boulder. From the inner shelter there is a wonderful view onto the Swabi plain. Inside the niche, there is a beautiful polychrome painting from the late Buddhist period depicting a Buddha and two Bodhisattvas (Fig. 76).⁸⁴

In this case, the painting is clearly the work of an eremitic monk and therefore, our interpretation points to the category of a 'Hermitage', my Group 2. The continuity between the painted shelters phenomenon and Buddhist 'hermitages' (the dating of Tangu is likely approximately the 7th–8th Century CE) is crystalline.⁸⁵ In addition to Tangu, you may also consider other Buddhist cave hermitages (unpainted), such as those documented in Kashmir-smast and at the other sites in Buner-Swabi and Kandak.⁸⁶ The topographic setting of the Kandak hermitages at Amluk is absolutely identical to the painted shelter. It is not ruled out that during their expansion process, the Buddhist communities gained control of some high mountain areas, jeopardizing the role of the native tribes even in this remote areas, and, *de facto*, pushing them out of Kandak and Kotah valleys (see below the Chapter 'Conclusions').

⁸⁴ The Tangu area is full of ruins, including a Buddhist sacred area, already mentioned in STEIN 1899: 17 (respectively as Tange, and Kafir-kandhari). Fortunately, in the summer of 1996 the present writer took a complete contact-tracing of the paintings, with notations of colors. It was considered interesting to include in this volume at least preliminary b/w sketch tracing made on the spot (Fig. 76); for colors, please refer to the photos NASIM KHAN published in 2000, where however, one may also find the description of the paintings. The 1996 tracing is the only outstanding documentation of the original beauty of the Tangu paintings; in the late 90s its state was seriously compromised (as one may see in the pictures published in 2000; s. IBID.).

⁸⁵ The dating of the Tangu paintings proposed by NASIM KHAN 2000 (4th-5th Century CE; IBID.: 67) is perhaps wrong. In my review (OLIVIERI 2001), I attributed to the author (*lapsus calami!*) what I guess is a more reasonable dating, i.e. 7th-8th Century. Moreover, the recently published wall paintings of the monastery of Jinan Wai Dheri, in the Taxila valley, add new elements to the chronology of the Tangu paintings (ASHRAF KHAN/MAHMOOD-UL-HASAN 2008). This chronological frame is even more sound if one looks, despite the geographical distance, to the best stylistic comparison for the Tangu paintings, i.e. the late phase of Bamiyan (*e.g.* upper niche, E wall of Great Buddha; Cave N, E wall) and the paintings of Kakrak, in Afghanistan (KLIMBURG-SALTER 2005).

⁸⁶ For Ranigat, see MIZUNO 1962, but also FALK 2006: figs. 5-7; NASIM KHAN 2006, 2009; for Amluk, see OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; OLIVIERI 2010b. For a short reappraisal of the Buddhist cave hermitages, (particularly how a cave was transformed into a *vihara*) see SCHOPEN 1994a: 152. It seems unlikely that painted shelters, like ours, were used as hermitages by Buddhist monks or ascetics (at least in North-West India and in the first centuries of the Common Era; see also ID. 1994c: 550).



Fig. 76

Another important comparison could be done with the Kashmir -smast area, between Mardan and Buner, particularly with the sites of Gatano (with its large landmark rocks), Dulai-smast e Bare Ubah [Bar-ubo] with their painted and carved inscriptions.⁸⁷

Discussing the role of public signalling played by boulders and rocks, we can quote that played by Buddhist rock reliefs in Swat after the 7th Century CE; the reliefs are always placed in proximity to the access to Buddhist sanctuaries. Elsewhere (like in peninsular India) the Buddhist communities easily transformed the earlier concept of ‘sacred cave’ into architectural *mirabilia*.⁸⁸ Outside the NW of Pakistan, we may quote the persistence or continuity of a ritual meaning attributed, by popular Hinduism and local beliefs, to caves, rocks and isolated boulders in N India (in Kumaon Himalaya, Uttar Pradesh), in Central India (Madhya Pradesh), and other regions.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ NASIM KHAN 2006: 21, 25, 35, 87-91; figs. 35, 83.

⁸⁸ See the recent contribution by P. BRANCACCIO, 2010b.

⁸⁹ In India the model of continuity, between past and present religiosity, in subaltern environments, has been well studied, first by D.D. Kosambi (KOSAMBI 1965). However, continuity does not necessarily imply a subaltern environments: three Aśokan sites, namely Sitamahri, Barabar and Nagarjuni hills, closely resemble the physical setting of our painted shelters, with their series of scattered succession of granite boulders in the wildness. The stepped pathway of Barabar caves B1 and B4 closely recalls the one documented at the Site 12 (OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: fig. 35). These sites represent a good example of continuity, as pointed out by H. Falk: ‘There certainly were rock shelters used by ascetics of many creeds

The endless series of shelters paintings of India often suffers from poor documentation, even though sites like Bhimbetka are quoted as exceptions.⁹⁰ This site seems to provide the most significant evidence of continuity from Mesolithic to post-Gupta time: the evidence of an emergent landscape was behind the swift decision by V.S. Wakankar to get off the train to discover those imposing rock towers in 1957.⁹¹ In front of some of the painted caves cup-marks are still poured with milk, and regarded as fertility symbols.⁹² In the area of Pernem, near Goa, a large boulder with cup-marks houses in a natural cavity an oblong stone is still venerated as a divine image and marked with red pigments. The boulder is considered as a manifestation of a local goddess.⁹³ Many similar rock sanctuaries have been documented around Poone: amongst hundreds, a red colored boulder representing a local god, who, once upon a time, rested on the spot; since then the place is believed preserving the memories of past semi-mythical pastoral migrations.⁹⁴

Amongst the many examples from Kumaon Himalaya, we may quote the case of the Tapakeshwar cave, near Dehradun, which, probably in post-Gupta times, was turned into a Śivaitic temple.

Finally, I will mention the use of rock shelters in related contexts of purification at the end of the season of summer pastures in the mountains by of one of the Dardic tribes of Ladakh, the Brok-pa, which show the importance of seclusion in a Dardic culture probably akin to that once-diffused also in Swat (see below, the ‘Conclusions’);⁹⁵ and the vast number of shelters paintings from Central Asia, the Pamir and Altay, among which those of Zarautsai (Zaraut-kamar) in Uzbekistan, and Dugat in Xinjiang, having ceremonial functions.⁹⁶ Some of these areas have a long history: some paintings in the

in the time before Aśoka, [...] As so in many other cases, his example was followed to some extent by later rulers’ (FALK 2006a: 255). The rock-shelters are still ‘inhabited by ascetics of all sorts’, as reads the caption of FALK 2006a: fig. 6 (Fig. 77).

⁹⁰ I refer to the works appeared in *Purakala*, particularly MANUEL 2005, which considers some examples of locations to Bhimbetka (for the study of cup-marks, s. KUMAR 2010). See also fn. 2 in the ‘Conclusions’.

⁹¹ BEDNARIK 2005.

⁹² See ref. in VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2004: 167.

⁹³ KOSAMBI 1965 (ed. 1987: 48-49, fig. 42).

⁹⁴ ID. 1975: 39-40.

⁹⁵ See ref. in BENASSI/SCERRATO 2008.

⁹⁶ Respectively in KHUZHANAZAROV 1999 (11; s. also ID. 2001: 92) and WANG BINGHUA 2005.

shelters Zaraut-kamar had a role in the ritual context of the recent Tajik ritual of the Nouruz.⁹⁷ The continuity in the sacralization of certain physical spaces in this case is not surprising, it is only one of several common cases. The famous shelter of Akbaur in Kazakhstan, by the peculiar *yurta* shape, was a sacral object in itself and a ceremonial site where the role of painting in the physical context of the shelter was secondary, but based on a more thorough consideration of landscape setting.⁹⁸

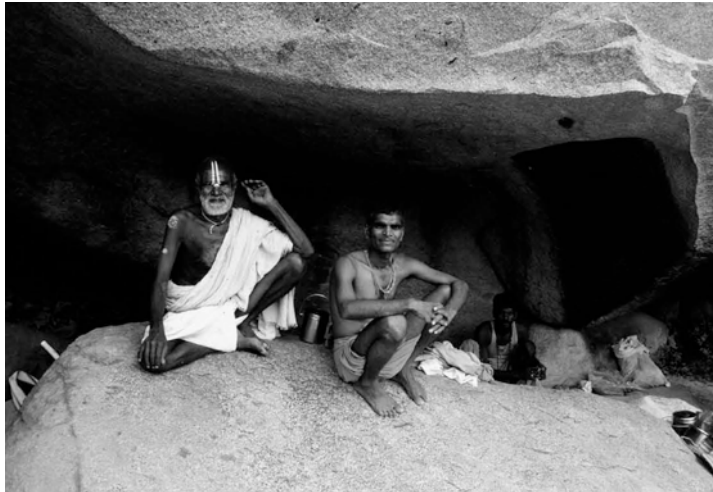


Fig. 77

Barabar site, rock-shelter.

(After FALK 2006a: fig. 6)

SYNTAX, STYLE AND MEANING

‘Sanctuary’ Complexes⁹⁹

The 2 sites of Kakai-kandao and Sargah-sar (Sites 03 and 04) are the only two locations containing a large number of figures where a clear syntactic composition has been recognized and where it has been possible to interpret coherently the scenes. The scenes were painted in sub-vertical niches, with a sufficient optical range for the artist to

⁹⁷ ROZWADOWSKI 2001.

⁹⁸ LYMER 2004. SAMASHEV 1993: 62-64.

⁹⁹ Here I follow quite literally my description in VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002.

monitor both the planning and the realization of the painting. These are, therefore, evident cases in which the choice of location with its physical constraints positively influenced the act of painting: if the choice was conscious in this sense, and if it also took into account the accessibility over time - if all of these considerations were part of the artistic project - then we may speak of two special privileged places, and the label of 'Sanctuary' will be fully justified.

Kakai-kandao 1

Although this shelter contains only about 20 figures, the surviving part of the complex (presumably its core, in the part of the niche better naturally protected) retains meaningful and complex associations. The central cluster is a 'plowed/sown fields' ideogram, with an upper appendix formed by three parallel and slightly sinuous lines (a feature previously discussed in terms of 'irrigation ducts' or as an ideogram indicating 'access', 'property'). A human figure (wearing a 'gown' or a long dress), possibly marked with a dot, transform his or her left arm to suggest a preferential association with the meaning of the dotted grid. On the right, the same 'plowed/sown fields' ideogram is connected to the excretions of the nearby monkey, through a similar appendix, which faces right, towards a small dotted square without an inner grid. This detail (the threefold appendix and the excretions) has partially faded and, as discussed above, may represent an earlier stage of figuration. The monkey is emphasized by a dot. Below, the central ideogram is linked to a radial disk through association lines. A second radial disk is depicted below. In both cases, the disks stand on a baseline depicted as an inverted trapeze.

This scene is difficult to interpret, but if we compare it to Sargah-sar, we see again that the core is formed by a limited set of figures (a human and the monkey), with preferential associations to the 'sown fields' ideograms. This core of images is surrounded by a protective circle of human figures; from the lower left in a counter-clockwise direction, one notes: a human figure with outstretched hands, another personage in the same posture with anomalous hands; just below, a weathered figure, perhaps with an axe and shield at the bottom of the niche; another human figure with outstretched hands holding a vertical object in the left hand; an archer with a quiver (?) facing right; another human figure (?), poorly preserved, but perhaps with outstretched hands and other attributes; and finally, at

the top, a couple which is embracing (?), flanked by an archer (with quiver?) who faces right.

The painting speak of a cycle of agricultural events, and it is surrounded by an outer circle of human figures in a protective attitude. Some point their bows to the right (the same direction, at Sargah-sar, is associated with the 'wild world'). The monkey may represent the border between civilization/agriculture and the wilderness, or might be interpreted as a symbol of fertility, as it is defecates in the direction of the central ideogram 'sown field' (Kapi ? See above fn. 50).

Sargah-sar 1

The preserved portion of the complex may be subdivided into two clusters, left and right.¹⁰⁰ The former is the centre, while the latter appears peripheral. Interestingly, while the main group contains a crowded, collective scene, on the right there is a 'hunting' scene in which an individual acts in isolation: while holding a large round shield, the 'hero' faces the feline attacking the ibex surmounted by a figure. The latter, as I stated above, could be interpreted in two ways: a) an anthropomorph, possibly a deity; b) as a human figure showing a knife, who holds the animal's horns. Another archer, possibly another 'hunter', is visible, although damaged, on the lower left. In both cases, defence and/or aggression point to the right, and are located in an outer, peripheral sphere. There might be a structural opposition between the left core, representing activities at the social core of the community, and the outer sphere, where only isolated 'heroes' courageously face wild, insidious creatures.

The right -hand cluster possibly represents two individuals standing in front of, and behind, the 'plowed fields'. 2 couples stand (one in front of, and the other behind) another 'plowed fields' ideogram, witnessing the intervention of an individual (perhaps in the act of sowing). Each couple is formed by 2 individuals (one with a 'gown' or long dress, the other without) facing each other on opposite sides of the 'plowed field', and showing the same tool or weapon: in this case, there might be a male/female duality in an agricultural environment. Above there is a complex ideogram, which has not been interpreted.¹⁰¹ This ideogram is raised up in the uppermost individual's right hand. The

¹⁰⁰ Also here the description follows quite *verbatim* the one I provided in VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002.

¹⁰¹ Observed also in a rock carving of historical age found in Ladakh (OROFINO 1990: fig. 35) and, in syntactic associations with ideograms, at Ghariala, near Attock (GORDON 1960: pl. XXIV.b).

rectangular central ideogram with a spiral sign as well as the fourfold symmetric ideogram, are yet unidentified. On the other hand, the clear connection of the ideogram with a human should indicate possession.

What we see in the centre may be a ritual connected with sowing: the figure has his 'sex-seed' marked with a dot, while another is dispersing dots or seeds. Moreover, another figure, while holding a *linga*-like object in his outstretched left hand, throws seeds to the central ideogram (anthropomorph/grid-like) with the other hand. Note that the dot, if not associated with the possible 'plowed fields' ideogram, might have been interpreted, at a more abstract level, as a simple emphasizing element.

Three (or four) human figures surround a 'sown fields' ideogram ('plowed fields' + dots, i.e. 'seeds'). The same central ideogram is linked to a human figure. Nearby, a larger anthropomorph is inserted in the larger 'sown fields' ideogram; another human figure also stands there. I believe that the emergence of this figure from the 'sown fields' is the manifestation of an agricultural divinity. Otherwise, it could be an individual to whom the ritual of the fertilization of the earth has been entrusted, through a macranthropic or mystical death experience: stretched out on the ground (death), he assumed superhuman dimensions, its sex alluding to the physiology of the rite of sowing. The shamanic dimensions would be quite clear,¹⁰² but this is not necessarily the only possibility.¹⁰³ The divinity, or the individual leading the rite, grows from the merging of two dotted grids, stressing a religious concept, if not the representation of an actual agricultural ritual.

Above, a row of dancers would suggest the celebration of this or another fertility ritual: the whole community's celebration, which allows the agricultural divinity to manifest itself on the collective land. In conclusion, if my reading is correct, the left cluster is the

¹⁰² In a Ṛgvedic context s. e.g. ELIADE 1968, repr. 1975: 433.

¹⁰³ Vidale and I hypothesized the association between these complex ideogram and the 'Lord of the Field' according to ṚV IV 57, and between the distinction of roles (plowing and sowing) and agriculture rituals according to ṚV X 101, MANU X 84. (VIDALE/OLIVIERI 2002; OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004, VIDALE/OLIVIERI ET AL. 2006; s. above fn. 45 in this Chapter). In other words, the painted complex of Sargah-sar, as already said (s. above fn. 47), may be considered an outstanding representation of a Ṛgvedic ritual. We still consider this hypothesis open, but inside the limited space of this footnote. We are looking forward to listening the opinion of somebody more competent. I agree in general with FRANCFORT 1998, 2003, 2007, about use and abuse of the textual interpretation of rock art (with reference to the Indo-Iranian tradition). I think though that 'chercher à expliquer un art par un texte', if it happens in a strictly contextualized environment, it is not necessarily a 'cercle tautologique' (ID. 2007: 163). See below the 'Conclusions'.

civilized world of settlements and agricultural production, as opposed to ‘the wild world’ of the right. Squares and grids may thus indicate ‘the community’s land’ or ‘the tribe’s land.’ The sequence of scenes narrates an agricultural cycle: the plowing of the soil; sowing; a re-assessment of the ownership of the land performed through fertility rituals involving individuals dancing in group. All these steps are connected to the celebration of a major agricultural divinity that, at a higher level of representation, symbolizes the rightful ownership of the tribe.

We have hypothesized that U-like individuals might represent a specific part of the community, and a leading one. U-like actors appear only at Sargah-sar, which is clearly the most important, complex (and ancient?) painting amongst the Swat-Malakand groups: they are dancers, sowers, hunters or warriors, and they raise up symbols or standards; their image is eventually reflected in the anthropomorph/divinity. In contrast, individuals possibly holding tools used in agriculture, are characterized in different ways.

The meanings of some ideograms, which most probably had immediate and important significance for the painters and onlookers, remain unclear. However, the figures are associated with humans by the means of body transformations.

Sargah-sar - a gigantic, supernatural human face, the eyes staring at the valley, wide-open mouth, and even a tongue – reminds the urns with facial traits of the late Bronze Age of Swat.¹⁰⁴ Here, too, the focus is on the eyes, but especially on the mouth. The funerary context would also be somehow present, if one takes into account the possibility of a mystical death experience in the rite of the fertilization of the earth represented at Sargah-sar.¹⁰⁵

If the symbolism of the rock face was actually explicit and then perceived and exploited by the ancient painters, then the open mouth (the niche) was the depository of such a variety of characters, symbols and concepts, organized as a sort of hyper-text. The painters, crushing and mixing the red pigments on the ‘tongue’ of the face, resurrected with colors, in cyclic occasions, their traditional events, as intermediaries between the supernatural giant (the anthropomorph emerging from the ‘plowed/sown fields’) and the tribal rites. Painting and re-painting might have been accompanied by the retelling of old myths, and the redundancy with which dancers are depicted (see figures outside the mouth of the niche) might have stressed the ritual nature of such occasions. Dancing was

¹⁰⁴ SILVI ANTONINI/STACUL 1972.

¹⁰⁵ This symbolism was studied in Neolithic Europe (GIMBUTAS 1989).

not performed at this location, at least not immediately in front of the niche, although it may have been possible at the foot of the rocky outcrop.

Painting and mythological narratives were likely part of important rituals of passage for young individuals. The task of renovating important pacts with the innermost powers of the earth and the wild world. The two worlds are indicated in this complex by the two deities, symbolized in the anthropomorphization of the ibex (or its ritual killing) and the plowed field), as an individual grew up, he was entrusted to a group which portrayed its members on the rock with the features of U-like characters.

A new element might be added (see 'Conclusions', fn. 75). As amply demonstrated by other studies, it is absolutely not contradictory, nor does it preclude a Rgvedic substrate.¹⁰⁶ The ritual sowing of a field ('*Barinzink*') performed in Hindukush by high-ranking individuals amongst the Jashi (who are considered by ethnographers as the 'aborigines' of the Gawardesh area). This ritual is found in various forms throughout the 'Kafir'-Dardic area as far as Hunza and Gilgit. In Yasin and Chitral this ritual is called '*bi nisik*' ('seed-planting') and is officiated (or it is expected to be) by the ruling dynasties. In some areas of Chitral, this is done by members of a specific lineage, the descendants of an ancient people and who are called *bumki* 'aboriginals'.¹⁰⁷ The two shelters of Kakai -kandao and Sargah-sar have remarkable similarities, both in the rendering of human figures, and in the associated ideograms,¹⁰⁸ and it is possible that both refer to a similar range of ritual practices.

'Hermitage' Complexes

The Sites which I classified as 'hermitages' have pictorial characteristics, which might be linked at a cognitive level to the 'impossible geometry' of their use and access constraints: in first place, the absence of a recognizable syntactic plan, in open contrast

¹⁰⁶ See 'Conclusions', fn. 74. For the ancient Indian substrate of the Hindukush mountain cultures see FUSSMAN 1977.

¹⁰⁷ CACOPARDO/CACOPARDO 2001: 211. On the possible male/female opposition in the plowing scene of Site 04, one may consider that in the Hindukush agriculture was 'le «privilège» des femmes' (FUSSMAN 1977: 63).

¹⁰⁸ This style (internal, see above p. 25) can be defined as 'simplified linear (s. OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004: 170-177).

with the 2 shelters I have just analyzed. In the Kamal-china shelter (Site 05) the syntax is extremely disorganized, perhaps due, in first place, to the awkwardness of the shelter, although there is an element of regularity in the principal orientation of the figures (that is, the one parallel to the opening of the shelter, if one lies down with the head towards the opening). Here, the ideograms of hands were painted before all the others (at present, I cannot rule out that hands were 'printed': but if this was the case, children must have been involved in the activity). If one excludes these ideograms, the most relevant figures with the principal orientation primarily represent horsemen turned toward the right. Those with a transverse orientation, upper left to lower right, represent horsemen prevalently with theriomorphic modifications, while hunting; those with the opposite transverse orientation are related to possessing/riding cattle, under a large anthropomorph; horizontally oriented scenes are large ideograms; those in perpendicular orientation represent horsemen. But the four groups are internally homogeneous. The groups were painted in different stages, the focus changing with position within the shelter, although the head is always pointed toward the exterior. In spite of its difficult location, this shelter, was visited (and painted) with continuity, thanks to its proximity to the water source and the footpath, but also because of the two small cemeteries nearby. The style is simplified and linear: the apparent uncertainty of many lines is undoubtedly due to the awkwardness of the shelter. One notes, however, relatively large figures, solid-filled with color, an innovation for the sites considered so far.

At Badze 1 (Site 06) within a very low shelter, on the ceiling, there is a series of figures which is externally deformed and badly preserved; there is a certain indifference to form, as if the author had been unwilling or unable to overcome the technical difficulties caused by the extreme awkwardness of the shelter.

Three groups of figures were recognized at the Dandi-sar shelter (Site 08): upper right, center, and lower left. At the top, two wheel ideograms are connected through a complex maze of association lines to a grid-like ideogram (probably a structure: less likely a 'chariot,' as there are no traces of animals pulling). There is also a large serrated *chakra*, which dominates, like a halo, the head of a large figure armed with a shield, and with its right hand presented with outstretched fingers. In smaller dimensions, between this figure and the two wheels, there is a human figure with body modifications, open arms and outstretched fingers. The opposite cluster (where a human figure is recognizable, perhaps armed with a shield) has no useful elements for interpretation, but could refer, as is often

the case with geometric clusters, to the representations of structures. In the center, two other figures flank a grid square with a permutation of dots. The figure below holds a toothed *chakra* in its left hand and an object with the right.

Within both groups there are dominant icons of 'Heroes' or deities. In the first cluster, the smaller human figure can be compared with an analogous personage from Site 03. In both cases, a ritual may be represented; in this case, under the *chakra* symbols and large hero-deity figures. Other traces of geometric images are visible beside the 3 described scenes; they appear coherent and certainly were painted simultaneously. The style ('simplified linear') shows similarities with Site 05 in its large colored figures, but also with Site 09 (see below) for its rendering of the ideogram with a permutation of dots.

Also the Churkai pictorial complex (Site 19) is subdivided into 3 parts or groups. The two principal divisions center on a large anthropomorph. Each cluster has a specific orientation: the second and third are respectively perpendicular and specular to the first group. They actually reflect 3 different positions held by the artists within the shelter and were painted in three different moments; but they certainly repeat the same concept, the association between anthropomorphs and horseback riders. It is not a secular graphic complex, but rather a form of religious expression.

From a stylistic and semantic point of view, this complex reminds that of Kamal-china (05), the rendering and prevalence of horsemen, large anthropomorphs with bodily changes, and figures of humped bulls. Certainly shelters 05 and 19 can be considered similar.

The Lak-kamar shelter (Site 27) is different. New elements are present, such as the details of the reins, stirrups, and weapons; horseback riders are often depicted in profile, an aspect that distinguishes the head of many figures from the round version typical in most shelter paintings.¹⁰⁹ In the curvilinear rendering of some wild animals, we feel a proximity with the forms seen in Site 12. Syntactically the figures are grouped in larger numbers, arranged horizontally and in 3 minor groups, respectively specular, perpendicular to the right and perpendicular to the left in respect to the main cluster. The focus of the complex is a cluster of figures at the center of the rock wall. This is formed by the convergence of animals, humans and horseback riders, and association lines, near a beautiful image of a bleeding big cat. Despite the general geometric character, the final

¹⁰⁹ This style (internal) can be defined as 'complex linear' (s. also OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004: 170-177).

result is a large anthropomorph. Many horseback riders with the same orientation, mostly facing right, and the others left, are arranged at random around the central ideogram/anthropomorph, in a battle scene. To the right and lower right edge, other scenes depict hunting with archers on horseback and wild animals. On the bottom right, a isolated anthropomorph, perhaps in a state of trance or near-death stands out; it may be a shaman. The mirrored group is characterized by a single fight scene between six figures on horseback. The group, which is perpendicular to the left is depicted in the upper left and represents two horsemen facing each other and several wild animals, among which there is certainly a feline. The group, which is perpendicular to the right, may be a deformed continuation of the principal horizontal group; it depicts two horsemen armed with shields and helmets and a feline. Despite the presence of four groups of figures, the impression is of a substantially homogeneous complex. It is possible that the left perpendicular group and the specular group (in all 11 figures) were added in a second painting vent. Those perpendicular to the left and the anthropomorph in the lower right are tarced with a darker (Carnelian) color, while the cat in the group perpendicular to the right is a lighter (Orange) hue.

The Palangai 1 shelter (Site 41), is conventionally closer to the ‘simplified linear’ style: it is arranged according to a paratactic circular plan, all around the edge of the sub-horizontal niche, in the ceiling of the recess of a large boulder (externally, the boulder hosts other 2 paintings: Sites 42 and 43). Vertical to the viewer, there is a deity or king, with a horse, facing a complex structure with a railing and a carinated dome, perhaps a false gable - certainly a religious building. Above the figure, a *stūpa* is depicted, while below, slightly tilted, one sees a large ungulate. Two scenes follow: one with more *stūpas* and ungulates, another with dogs and other animals (the dogs were later partially cancelled by a *stūpa*-like structure in white). The 3 scenes must have been developed as part of a unique complex, where a royal or divine figure played a dominant role (if assimilable to a Śivaitan context) near an ungulate repeated 4 times and a large building of a temple, more complex than the usual representations of *stūpas*.

Deliberate Private Place Complexes

Many of these sites may have been used as hermitages. I was very much in doubt whether to place, for example, Sites 38 – 40 in this category, or in the previous one. In general, I

chose to include in this category, Sites with a limited number of figures, and whose lexicon represented secular elements (pictograms).

The Dwolasmane patai-1 (01) shows armed figures around a complex geometric pattern, certainly a structure. Dwolasmane-patai 2 (02) illustrates several human figures with bodily modifications. The two shelters are very near (approximately 30 m), and both host low cavities, which open onto rocky pinnacles of a certain relevance.

While the Kafir-kot 1 shelter (13) is quite open and visible, a few feet back, under a low boulder rock and seemingly insignificant, Site 14 (Kafir-kot 2) has a series of four *stūpas*. Yet another *stūpa* with warriors and horseback riders appears in the Shamo shelter (16). Little remains of the paintings of Site 21, but a trace of color; its location, however, is similar to that of Site 14, the niche being painted under a semi-horizontal rock.

The cluster of sites 38, 39 and 40 is painted in 3 niches, opening on 3 sides of a pinnacle of rock, like a mushroom-rock formed by a horizontal slab. The top cannot be reached with ease, as one must first cross a dangerously inclined surface to arrive there. This place would have the physical features of a 'hermitage'; however, the vocabulary of the three shelters, typical of a descriptive and secular character, excludes this option. From a stylistic point of view, one notes in this shelter, as in those at Palangai (Sites 27 and 29), figures in profile (in this case, therefore, one can speak in terms of a 'complex linear' style). Figures of caprids (male ibexes or goats of Site 38) have the same curvilinear body seen at Palwano-gata (12). The first shelter (Site 38) shows a scene of intercourse with an animal in a pastoral environment, under the aim of a horseback rider with the arrow nocked in his bow. Beneath, horsemen gallop to the right. The second shelter (Site 39) is somewhat more complex and, stylistically, show affinities with Palangai 1 (41). The figures, in 3 groups, form as many scenes which are not clearly identified: the upper one places an archer with bodily modifications and a chignon with a geometric pattern next to the horseback rider; the central group shows the opposition between the human element and the wild element (large and wild ungulates), expressed specularly through the killing of an animal and the act of crowning (?) a human figure by a second animal. Below, one clearly recognizes only a wolf, perhaps next to an anthropomorph and a horseback rider. A horse with a bird-like head mounted by a warrior holding a spear is a *unicum* in Swat-Malakand. More horseback riders, archers and wildlife dominate the third shelter (Site 40).

Public Painting Places Complexes

The Dandi-sar 1 Site (09) presents a series of ideograms on a vertical niche, primarily *triśūla*-like (top right), grid- and dotted-squares. Among these one sees a *triśūla* with an apsidal base, also found in a grid-rectangle below the preceding design. Permutations of dots, crossed wheels and other ideograms (one with a globular crescent-shaped termination) complete a disorganized series of pictures. An analogous lexicon, but with the prevalence of *stūpas* was found in Sites 20 and 21 (Ram-dunai 1 and 2). *Triśūla* with dots and a *stūpa*-like structure, appear in the vertical niche at Site 10 (Malak-ziarat).

Large *stūpas* are found at Site 13 (Kafir-kot 1) and 31 (Gweluno-ghar); in particular, at the latter Site, on a large vertical wall where they are protected by an overhanging rock ledge. To the left of the paintings there is a cavity prepared to collect percolating water. The paintings of Talang (Site 18) are completely lost, but they certainly shared the same degree of visibility.

The paintings at Site 12 (Palwano-gata) are also visible; the scene represents a flock dominated by at least one large anthropomorph and several wild animals.

Unfortunately the pictures at Site 37 (Chowra-dab), a large stone wall open to S, are poorly preserved. Here, too, one recognizes a *stūpa* and two large wild animals (a markhor and a deer).

At Site 48 (Trema-palangai), scenes of hunting on horseback (although not uniquely) ibex and markhor appear in a lower register, while the upper scenes represent at least five *stūpa*. The style can be defined as 'complex linear,' with typical figures in profile.

Site 49 (Dwo-qunbojai) is much less organized, in that its syntax is strongly affected by the limited space at the artist's disposal: horseback riders, *stūpas*, scenes of combat with association lines and anthropomorphs, are painted in the rock ledges which progressively protrude from the wall.

The Tahkt-gat shelter (Site 26) (the place-name refers to the summit above) consists of a high ceiling to protect the passage to the main path, which runs from the slope S of the Doplai Saffar range. The figures (two individuals dueling at the presence of a bi-triangular personage with *triśūla*-like spear) are painted on the ceiling's surface.

In general, all these shelters have pictures of Buddhist buildings, sometimes in association/opposition with armed men. Ideograms and *tamḡas* are also on record, as at Kafir-kot 1. The dominant lexicon is like that of sites with rock carvings (on open-air

walls or spaces which are perpendicular to the ground, therefore of public value, like for example Muhammad-patai).¹¹⁰ Contrarily to what others¹¹¹ have stated, we cannot speak of ‘Buddhist paintings.’ There is nothing of ‘Buddhist’ in the depiction of architecture typical of monasteries, even less when such buildings are in association/opposition with armed figures. These images and scenes should be seen as depictions of a context which is foreign to the authors of the paintings, who plausibly knew more about the armed figures and their symbols than about the Buddhist architecture flourishing in the valleys.¹¹² Sacred buildings appear in the background and when they play a role they are to a great extent symbolic antagonists rather than symbols of devotion. It should be noted that the figure of Buddha never appears, nor do other protagonists of the cult, which are so common in other contexts of the iconographic panoramas of Swat. *Vice-versa*, there are complexes where non-Buddhist ideograms (associated or not with the Buddhist erections) dominate. If in such pictograms ‘*stūpa*’ are represented, these will be diminished, in my opinion, by the presence of ideograms intended as a hierarchically superior (being ideograms ‘stronger’ than pictograms). In the same way, the use of the large boulder of Palwano-gata (Site 12) has a public value.

Casual (and Short-term) Place Complexes

As we have seen, there are three distinct Sub-groups. The first Sub-group includes paintings with few figures, made up of pictograms of a secular nature with a redundancy of association lines and bodily modification.

Sites 23, 24, 25 e 32 exploit the lexicon of horsemanship, livestock, and, above all, hunting scenes. These small shelters are near the path which crosses the upper Kandak valley (from Ilam, then through the important areas of Buddhist settlements of China-

¹¹⁰ AMSV 131: OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 86. As to the inherent public nature of the engravings, in respect to paintings in general, see the Paragraph ‘Question of Style’ in the Chapter ‘Methodological Issues’.

¹¹¹ NASIM KHAN 2000.

¹¹² OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; OLIVIERI 2008: 23. In this work, an ‘ideological collision’ was mentioned in reference with Karl Jettmar’s statements (lastly in JETTMAR 1997).

bara and Amluk)¹¹³ through the Saffar and Cherat mountain passes in the area of Mardan, and the course of Kabul.

Sites 33, 34, 35 e 36 are also located in the same area. In all cases these are simple shelters easily accessible near paths to springs on the side of an embedded defile, which separates the village of Loe -banda from Site 27 (Lal -kamar). The 4 shelters show a 'complex linear' style and share an elaborate use of body modifications, staged to indicate conflict between individuals whose capabilities, strengths and skills are precisely rendered with this ideogrammatic stratagem; it is the single most immediate tool for attributing the value of an action (verb) and quality (adjective) to a pictogram. This type of ideogram, common to all paintings, is emphasized in some locations. However, it is absent in shelters with public value (except the shelter at Site 49), and it sometimes appear in 'sanctuaries' and 'hermitages.' To a certain degree, its frequency in paintings with a private value, and in sites with casual choice, suggests that these pictures have a stronger narrative purpose. One expressed an event (almost always a conflict), in a context that, to judge from the lexical context (the presence of Buddhist architecture), should be already quite late. There is a large iconic difference between these paintings and those of the so-called 'sanctuaries'. In these latter, everything converges to describe a deliberate action, beginning with the choice of the site, followed by the a readable syntax (which others, probably with the same expertise, should be able interpret), and by the adoption of a conventional lexicon. The use of body modifications and association lines suggest in itself the reading of a more personal language, variable and not necessarily replicable, and therefore not ritual – ultimately private.

Note the heroic figures or anthropomorphs – for example, at Site 36. Here the central figure, a warrior with a double-feathered helmet, shield and body modifications appears in profile and in the act of screaming, in a 'terrifying' pose. These features link this painting on one hand to that at Takht-gat, and on the other hand, to Lal-kamar. The feline on the lower right is also very similar to those at Lal-kamar.

However, not only the lexical and stylistic similarities make these paintings similar to Lal-kamar, few meters to the S. At Site 34, beneath the two fighters, lies an individual with a body modification typical of a state of *trance* or pre-death. Similar modifications

¹¹³ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 148; BARGER/WRIGHT 1941: 18-24.

are found on the figure with triangular face at Lal-kamar (and also involve two figures at Site 49).

A small group of 2 paintings (Sites 45 and 47), not far apart from each other, share the same 'complex linear' style, as the works mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

There are also paintings in shelters or cavities, which may have served as temporary shelters. These include the Hinduano-hatai grotto (Site 17) with its pictures of *stūpa*; the Busus-smast shelter, which as the name suggests (see DI CHIARA, Appendices, this volume) is distinguished by its spaciousness and comfortableness, still used as a shelter for livestock by Gujar herders (here, there are scenes of hunting and horseback riders, but also of horses with crenellated manes); finally, Khaista-kamar shelter (Site 46). Here, too, through a 'complex linear' style, there are bundles of scenes of hunting and combat; their rendering is quite similar to that at Lal-kamar (Site 27). In this latter Site, there are other two pictures within vertical niches and on the ceiling, under the protection of a large rock cap, located E of the rocky pocket where the pictures from Site 27 lie. On the ceiling (Site 29) images of pastoral farming are well preserved: a bowman and a horse intervene in defense of a herd of humped bulls attacked by a large feline. Also a Palangai (Site 41), there are other two pictures, possibly simply explained by the hospitality provided by this ample shelter. Sites 42 and 43 host scenes of men on horseback in series, as well as of hunting with 'simplified linear' style. At Site 43, to the extreme left, there is a man with a raised arm his left hand depicted with outstretched fingers behind an animal, possibly a dog. To the extreme right, the hunting ability of a horseback rider is celebrated through the extension of his arm, which transforms itself a type of gigantic claw to capture or kill a feline. As seen both at the Lal-kamar boulder and at the Palangai boulder, the paintings of the accessory Sites do not share themes or their lexicon with the principal sites, hence can be considered the result of a secondary and later activity.

Map No.	Site	Horse. riders	Warriors	Hunt.	Anthr.	Body Modif.	Wild Animals	Livestock	Buddhist Architecture or Struct.	Geom. Patterns
29	Lala-kamar 3									
30	Bara Loe-banda									
31	Gweluno-ghar									
32	Banj-smast									
33	Lal-kamar-china 1									
34	Lal-kamar-china 2									
35	Lal-kamar-china 3									
36	Loe-banda									
37	Chowra-dab									
38	Dab 1									
39	Dab 2									
40	Dab 3									
41	Palangai 1									
42	Palangai 2									
43	Palangai 3									
44	Haji-smast-banda									
45	Saffar-kandao									
46	Khaista-kamar 1									
47	Khaista-kamar 2									
48	Drema-palangai									
49	Dwoqumbo-jai									

Chart XI

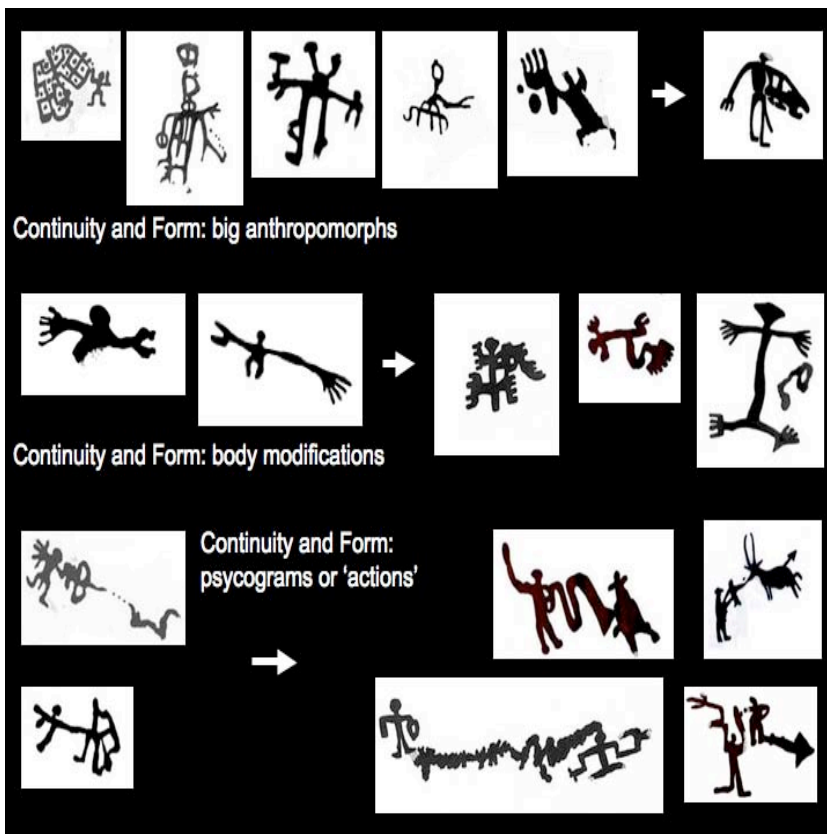
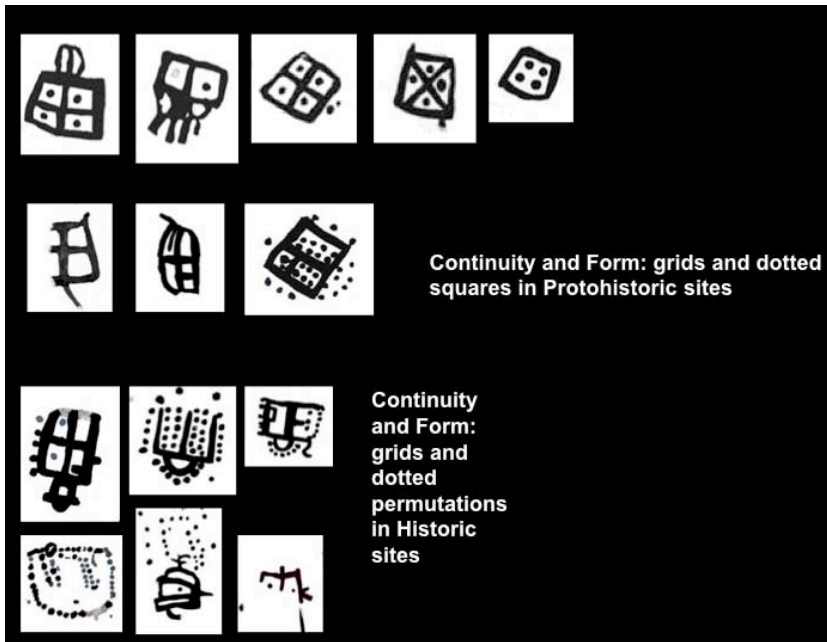
Distribution chart of the major themes or groups of figures

Map No.	Site	Deep Shelter	Vert. Shelter or Niche	Open-air Wall	Cave	Figs.	Optical range (m)	Difficult access	Difficult set	Landmark	Pass or waymark	Springs or water access
01	Dwolasmane-patai 1					<10	<1					
02	Dwolasmane-patai 2					<10	<1					
03	Kakai-kandao					>10	<3					
04	Sargah-sar					>20	<3					
05	Kamal-china					>20	<1					
06	Badze 1					<10	<1					
07	Badze 2						3					
08	Dandi-sar 1					>10	<1					
09	Dandi-sar 2					<10	3					
10	Malak-ziarat					<10	5					
11	Gwarejo-patai					<10	1					
12	Palwano-gata					>20	3					
13	Kafir-kot 1					>20	1					
14	Kafir-kot 2					<10	<1					
15	Marano-tangai					<10	3					
16	Shamo					<10	<1					
17	Hinduano-hatai					<10	<1					
18	Talang						3					
19	Churkhai (Kabbal-dab)					>20	<1					
20	Ram-dunai 1					<10	3					
21	Ram-dunai 2						<1					
22	Ram-dunai 3						1					
23	Bacha-kot					<10	1					
24	Busus-smast					>20	3					
25	Kwar-patai					>10	<1					
26	Thakht-gat					<10	1					

Map No.	Site	Deep Shelter	Vert. Shelter or Niche	Open-air Wall	Cave	Figs.	Optical range (m)	Difficult access	Difficult set	Landmark	Pass or waymark	Springs or water access
27	Lal-kamar 1					>50	<1					
28	Lal-kamar 2					<10	>1					
29	Lala-kamar 3					<10	>1					
30	Bara Loe-banda					<10						
31	Gweluno-ghar					<10	5					
32	Banj-smast					<10	1					
33	Lal-kamar-china 1					<10	1					
34	Lal-kamar-china 2					<10	1					
35	Lal-kamar-china 3					<10	1					
36	Loe-banda					>10	<1					
37	Chowra-dab					<10	3					
38	Dab 1					<10	1					
39	Dab 2					<10	1					
40	Dab 3					<10	1					
41	Palangai 1					>10	<1					
42	Palangai 2					<10	<1					
43	Palangai 3					>10	1					
44	Haji-smast-banda					<10	1					
45	Saffar-kandao					>20	<1					
46	Khaista-kamar 1					<10	3					
47	Khaista-kamar 2					<10	<1					
48	Drema-palangai					>20	3					
49	Dwoqumbojai					>20	5					

Chart XII

Distribution chart according to the physical site features



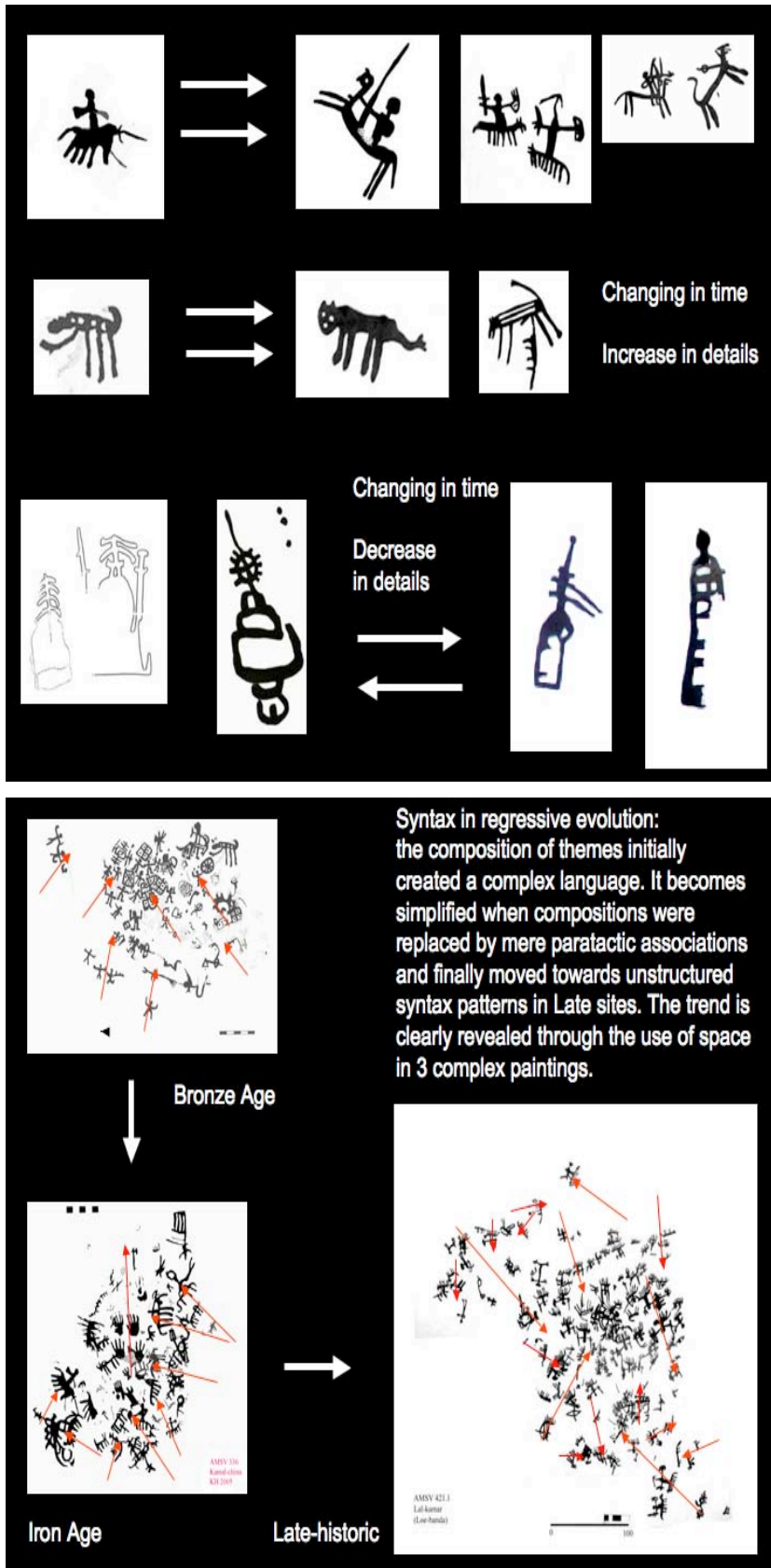


Chart XIII

Lexical and syntactical continuity/discontinuity (after OLIVIERI 2010: figs. 10-14)

CONCLUSIONS

A Preliminary Summary

The following summary is based on evidence discussed above.

a) On the basis of published information, active Buddhist buildings did not exist in Swat before the 3rd-2nd century BCE and after the 10th century CE. Paintings with images of Buddhist architecture should fall within this time range, and more precisely – according to the most likely probabilistic estimate - between the 1st and the 4th to 5th centuries CE.

b) Figures of horses are not positively documented in Swat, and in the entire Sub-Continent, before the second half of the 2nd Millennium BCE. Horses are represented with increasing frequency in Swat only after the first half of the 1st Millennium; however, horseback riders do not appear before the end of the same Millennium. Moreover, horses with crenellated manes and covered tails should not appear before the 4th to 5th centuries CE. Consequently, the horses in our paintings were made after the 5th century BCE, but not later than the late 1st Millennium CE.¹ However, some of the paintings might well date back to a period before the 5th century CE.

c) Figures with a long tunic (bi-triangular), and bearing a *trisūla* and other *trisūla*-like items are datable between the 2nd and 7th -10th century CE; based on archeological evidence I am inclined to propose the earlier dating.

d) The iconography of pastoral or sheep-farming activity is in convincing agreement with late 'Kafir' -Dardic themes, which I would tentatively place within the late -1st

¹ Certainly a *terminus ante quem* may be found in the overlapping of paintings and engravings, both obliterated by the engraved inscription of Talang (s. 'Gazetteer').

Millennium CE.

The emerging chronological range spans from the 2nd half of the 1st Millennium BCE (?) to the 2nd half of the 1st Millennium CE. Within this chronological period, various coherent groups can be distinguished. However, a few Sites remain outside this proposed chronological framework: these are paintings with no representations of horses, Buddhist architecture, pastoral contexts, which contain composite ideograms and pictograms That I proposed should be referred to an agricultural context. In such cases (represented only by Sites 03 and 04) I hypothesized a more ancient dating in the 2nd or even in the 3rd Millennium BCE, although a precise term, at present, cannot be stated with certainty.

Furthermore, we may assume that:

a) The pictures present at Site 04 can be considered earlier than the nearby incisions containing horses; these, in turn, were hypothetically deemed as contemporary to the pictures in Site 05, based on an important iconographic element (Fig 63). In short, Sites 03 and 04 have a focus on agricultural ideograms, while indicators suggesting breeding, horsemanship, and Buddhist structures are totally absent. Site 04 also shows an outstanding anthropomorph linked to an agricultural rite, and possibly refers to a cult of the ibex (however the scene is interpreted).

b) In Sites 05, 08 and 19, next to agricultural ideograms, there are also images indicating horsemanship and breeding (Sites 05, 19), figures of heroes and large anthropomorphs, in the absence of Buddhist structures. All these Sites share the features proper of 'Hermitages'.

c) The other Sites, with the exclusion of Site 12, have in common the presence of Buddhist structures, horsemanship, war scenes, hunting, breeding/livestock/farming and sheep-farming; and all these forms are constantly enriched with loud body modification. Among these sites, Sites 09, 10, 26 and 41 contain representations of *triśūla*-like ideograms; in two cases (Sites 10 and 41) these symbols are associated with depictions of Buddhist buildings. Site 26 is the only site which, besides ignoring horsemanship, farming or pastoralism and Buddhist architecture, has representations of a *triśūla*-like object. Site 12, moreover, is the only site that, making no reference to horsemanship,

Buddhist structures or to complex *triśūla*-like ideograms, contains an iconographic horizon totally dedicated to sheep-farming.

Marginality and Acculturation: Space and Time

Even if the Swat-Malakand paintings do not represent a “culture” (see note 6 from the preceding Chapter), they nonetheless are a long duration phenomenon. The paintings fall within a time range that witnessed a series of historical and cultural macro-processes, studied in depth on archaeological grounds (and possibly, just because of this reason, partially over-estimated, although their impact on the social history of the antiquity of the Swat Valley as well as the neighboring and afferent areas is beyond discussion). It was through these processes that Swat came to share ideologies and forms of material adaptation with the principal bordering regions of Eurasia. These macro-phenomena may be considered as many phases of acculturation, alternating with periods of relative cultural marginality, or with the late persistence of earlier cultural forms, particularly in the more remote areas of the valley.²

² Some concepts of this conclusive chapter were inspired to me by the reading of FUSSMAN 1994, YOUNG 2003 (see also ID. 2010), FALK 2006b, WITZEL 2006), PRATAP 2009 and RATNAGAR 2004. The main points expressed here were already anticipated in OLIVIERI 2011. For the concept of acculturation see TUSA 1979 (and also RATNAGAR 1998: 39). The idea that our rock-painting corpus might be spread over two thousand years, seems to have been received with a certain degree of skepticism. I would like to quote Bhimbekta, where painting activity in different sites within the same area is documented from prehistory to post-Gupta period (MATHPAL 1984; CHAKRABARTI 1999 (2006): 113-116), while rock-art activity (in the form of cup-marks and grooves) might be there documented since a Middle Palaeolithic or even an Acheulean context (BEDNARICK 1993b, CHACKRABARTI 1999 (2006): 88-89; GIRIRAJ ET AL. 2005). The early phases of rock painting production in Eastern Vindhyas (and especially at Bhimbekta) may be linked with Mesolithic cultures, i.e. to the early Holocene, although the microlithic industries that are their chronological marker chronologically range between the early Holocene and the early Iron Age (5th-3rd Centuries BCE?). ‘[Microliths in India] [...] certainly occur widely till the early Iron Age levels, which is not an uncommon situation even in Iron Age England. In certain areas, however, the use of microliths could have continued till the early medieval context [...] The tradition of making microliths out of bottle glass has been documented in the Andaman Islands in the nineteenth century’ (CHACKRABARTI 1999 (2006): 94). It is evident is that some cultural contexts can survive for centuries, in isolated environments, even in modern post-contact phases (like the Andaman Islands example suggests).

These macro-phenomena may be listed in the following historical order:

- 1) The development of small agricultural settlements and centers of trade -exchange, contemporary to the Late Harappan phase (Localization Era) (Period IV). These settlements were mainly located along the terraces of the main valley. The main settlement in Period IV was the Barikot site (Bir -kot-ghwandai), followed by the Aligrama site, located on the right bank of the Swat.³
- 2) The so -called ‘Gandhara Grave Culture’ (henceafter: the ‘graveyards’) was dated between the second half of the 2nd Millennium BCE and the second half of the 1st Millennium BCE; large graveyards are found in the valleys on both banks of the Swat River. One of the largest settlements contemporary to such graveyards was equally found in Barikot, the other was Aligrama, in direct continuity with the previous phase.
- 3) The progressive intrusion of Buddhism with its cultic foundations. Although present during the Maurya period (3rd century BCE) at least at Butkara I, Buddhism reached its peak, both in demographic and cultural terms, from the 1st to the 4th-5th century CE, under the local patronage linked to the various sovereigns, first Saka, Parthian, then Kushana and finally Kushano -Sasanian. At this time, major centers were the three settlement areas of Barikot, Mingora and Manglawar. Later, after the 5th century CE, the distribution of the active Buddhist foundations gradually shrunk, to be finally limited to the valley off the left bank, N of Barikot.⁴
- 4) The permanence of the urban settlements created and linked to the same local power system described above. Such centres remained in use between the 2nd century BCE and 5th century CE. The most important documented sites are the well -known sites of Barikot, Udegram and Mingora/Barama I.⁵
- 5) The foundation of Brahmanic cultic centers as early as the 7th century CE, that remained in use until the arrival of Ghaznavids in 11th century. These cultic centers were apparently connected to a new system of organized power, first under the Turki Shahi rulers, then under the Hindu Shahi. So far, we know only three Brahmanic cultic centers: at Tindodag -Manyar, Barikot and Hati-dara (Thana).⁶ The Hindu-Shahi phase saw the rise of a system of fortifications that covered the N, especially the ridges which

³ See STACUL 1979, TUSA 1979.

⁴ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; OLIVIERI 2010b.

⁵ See ref. in OLIVIERI 2006c, 3.1.

⁶ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; FILIGENZI 2006.

dominates the right bank of the Swat River as far as the Jandul and Talash Valleys in Dir. They reached northwards up to Sure-tangai; towards S, the line of fortification runs along the northern heights of Buner.⁷

These five macro-phenomena obviously do not account for a comprehensive history of ancient Swat and its entire chronological range. At present, in fact, it is impossible to state whether Swat played any direct role in the development of the early Harappan or Harappan culture, even in its late phase, or that the culture(s) of Late Bronze age graveyards had roles different from generalized domination in the principal valleys, or even assume that they were the only cultural expression in Swat at their time.⁸ Similarly, we cannot presume that Buddhism was the only religion practiced there for 500 years, as we cannot infer that Brahmanism was a direct result of the Turki-Shahi rule. As we have seen, forms of 'popular Hinduism' (whatever this term might imply) may have been present in Swat-Malakand since prehistoric times. Later in the cities, Hinduism flanked the more monumental testimony of Buddhism.⁹ Three macro-phenomena, which appear from the 1st century BCE onwards, are coherent, contemporary and related, namely: 1) the foundations of the urban centers, initially fortified, then at least at Barikot, demilitarized, and connected with the 2) appearance of money and 3) forms of writing (Indian and foreign, Greek).¹⁰ Contemporarily, Buddhism slowly gained a role of protagonist on the scene, in that it was the only religious macro-phenomenon to know how to positively confront these new media and highly dynamical contexts of social evolution.

In the iconography of our paintings such macro-phenomena are not reflected, if we exclude Buddhist architecture, and the ideograms and deities of the late Brahmanism. In the Late Harappan period, partially corresponding to Swat's Period IV, without doubt, the Barikot area was part of medium-distance exchange networks, as evidenced by the discovery of numerous fragments of black-on-red Late Harappan (Cemetery H) style pottery. It is not clear whether this pottery was locally produced, and its style was influenced by the Harappan style, or imported. However, similar fragments were found elsewhere, and are an important marker of the Period IV at Barikot. This Period

⁷ OLIVIERI 2003

⁸ TUSA 1979.

⁹ See 'Discussion', fn. 44.

¹⁰ OLIVIERI 1996, 2007.

witnessed a strong expansion of agriculture and the use of new polished stone utensils such the so-called ‘perforated knives’, scythes typical of the Northern Neolithic (Kashmir and Sino-Tibetan area); the dominant role of agriculture is recognized both by those who hold that the Period IV culture, although not uniform was fundamentally sedentary, as well as by those who believe it to be a semi-nomadic adaptation.¹¹ For what is known of the 2nd Millennium in Swat (besides to the discovery of a plowed field for cereal close to Aligrama), agriculture, carried out mainly in the valley floor, without major investments in artificial irrigation.¹² Therefore, agriculture might be the only possible element of contact between the dominant culture in this phase in the valley and two Sites with rock paintings (03, 04).

It is possible that the role of agriculture during the period of the graveyards (late Bronze- (Early) Iron Age - was reduced for the sake of livestock. At the same time, large tracts of farmland were dedicated to the funerary rites (this, for example exactly at Barikot at the mouth of the Kandak Valley).¹³ This may have led, at least in the Barikot area, to a necessary phase of expansion in the external areas (i.e. Kandak and other valleys) in search of new available fertile lands.

The lexical and graphic heritage of our paintings has only few elements that can be put in connection with the phase of the graveyards (referring to specific icons in Sites 05, 08, and 19). However, there are connecting elements, although weak, for example between the decorative language of the terracotta female figurines found in burials, and the graphic language of linear incisions in general at Gogdara I (late phase). The latter, together with the overwhelming spread of cup -marks, were probably a minor phenomenon and occasional form of expression of some values of the world of the protohistoric graveyards.¹⁴

¹¹ STACUL 1987, 2005; CONINGHAM/SUTHERLAND 1998; YOUNG 2003, 2010.

¹² TUSA 1990. The most economically rewarding areas in Swat are the double-cropping areas in the main valley of Middle Swat and in the major tributary valleys. These actually coincide with the area of diffusion of the Buddhist complexes, and, more recently, with the settlement area of the Yusufzai clans between 16th and 20th Century (STACUL 1987: 15).

¹³ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006.

¹⁴ OLIVIERI 1998; OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004. On the symbolic language of protohistoric Swat, see STACUL 2005b and VIDALE/MICHELI/OLIVIERI 2011.



Fig. 78

In the other hand, the sites of Muhammad-patai and Gogdara I (mature phase) might represent an exception. Here the carvings share important icons like hero figures (Muhammad-patai, Fig. 78) and the binomial opposition ibex-feline (in both sites) with the earliest paintings. Moreover their carving style is different from the simplified linear style typical of the majority of the rock-carving sites.¹⁵

The few elements of contact between engraving and painting (Sites 04, 12 e 18) also exclude a major cultural contiguity between the two phenomena. The diffusion area of the pictures is different from that of the graveyards, if one excludes the case of Site 05. In this case, as in the case of other graveyard sites in the mountains (both in Kandak as well as in other valleys), we deal with a limited overlapping with minor and peripheral burial areas, perhaps a tentative intrusion at higher altitude, of the lowland communities in search of pasture lands.¹⁶ Also in the areas S and SE of Malakand (Swabi and Mardan), the distribution area of the culture of the graveyards, according to the available data, stopped at the slopes of the mountains (Jamal-gahri, Panjpir, Adina, Tarbela).¹⁷

An indirect influence of the culture of the graveyards in the lexical patrimony of painted shelters, is the appearance of the horse and of scenes of horsemanship. The horse and its breeding became part of Swat's local culture, and hence the horse's icon (if not the actual animal) easily spread even to less privileged areas.

The graveyards, which lasted in Swat for more than a millennium, did not have

¹⁵ In relation to Muhammad-patai s. OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004: 151, fig. 24; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 125, fig. 19.

¹⁶ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006.

STACUL 1966, 1967, 1969, 1970; IHSAN ALI/BATT/CONINGHAM/YOUNG 2002.

¹⁷ SHAH NAZAR KHAN 1993, ALIA JAWAD 2006; MÜLLER-KARPE 1983.

homogeneous characteristics over time. Their funerary practices and the attached material culture evolved at least in three major stages; in Swat they had appeared as suddenly as they disappeared. There is no sound information of the funeral rites of Period IV; there only is sporadic evidence of secondary burial and cremation in a peripheral area in Ghorband. Nonetheless, cremation and the scattering of ashes, or some other type of ritual disposal of the dead, which did not leave taphonomic traces, must have prevailed.

With the arrival of Buddhism, from the Maurya era onward, there is finally a positive element marking at the same time a change and a form of continuity: the passage to funerary practices which did not directly leave material traces (probably cremation, followed by dispersion of the ashes). As earlier prehistoric burial grounds are often overlaid with the foundations of Buddhist sacred areas (as for example Saidu Sharif I and Butkara II), and because of the cognitive model of the *stūpa* as a macrantropical burial, the idea of a straight continuity seems to be reliable enough.¹⁸ As a consequence of this major change in funerary practices, large tracts of fertile terrain were returned to cultivation (at least in the areas of Barikot and in the Kandak valley).¹⁹ The rapidity of the disappearance of the graveyards ultimately would imply that these sites were not the only scenarios of the funeral rituals practiced in Swat in the 1st Millennium BCE. Other communities outside the valley probably had continued to practice unknown forms of ritual without leaving material traces. Actually, the total number of known burials and the local spread of the graveyards is statistically irrelevant for a territory of approximately 160 sq. km, especially if one considers the large span of time involved (at least 1000 years).

We have already discussed the persistence of a popular non-Buddhist religion in a historic period, which eventually supported the late Brahmanic revival of the 7th Century CE (see note 44 in the preceding Chapter). Of course, the diffusion of Buddhism in the Swat Valley, even during its peak of popularity, had its limits; these latter will be discussed in detail, with special reference to the area of the valleys near Barikot (Karakar, Najjigram, Kandak, Kotah).

¹⁸ See also SCHOPEN 1994a.

¹⁹ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006; SCHOPEN 1996. The formal coincidence between Iron Age graves and *stūpas* seems to be more and more convincing, especially after the excavations at Gogdara IV (OLIVIERI/VIDALE, FORTHCOMING).

The diffusion of the Buddhist foundations halted slightly N of the Khazakhela area, at Tirat. In general the Buddhist sacred areas along the right bank of the Swat river are located along the foot of the slopes of the ridges overlooking the river (such as Parrai and Gumbatuna) or along the tributary valleys (as Tutano-Bandai in the territory of Nipki-khel, Dodeharra near Swegalai, Nimogram in the territory of Shamozaï). The presence along the left bank is more pervasive and widespread, but it generally stops, with few exceptions at the average altitude of 1000 m asl. The main exceptions are: perhaps the Karakar pass, and certainly the areas around the Saffar, Cherat, Gunyar and Shahkot passes. Two other significant exceptions are found at Amluk and China -bara, sacred areas in the high mountains, but far from the passes.²⁰ In the mountains E of Khazakhela, there is only the sacred area of Malam-jaba, and in Ghorband and Kana, few sites documented by Sir Aurel Stein in 1926.²¹ Buddhist foundations are present in the Puran valley, and in the sub -valley, which runs from Puran westwards, toward Buner (Gokand).²² Buner is different: here, thanks to the availability of large areas of flat land, the Buddhist presence is constant and pervasive, at least up to the granite mountains that separate the flat alluvial plains of this valley from the plains of Kabul river, which lie further S (and therefore the area of E Mardan and Swabi).²³

Coming back to the territory of Barikot (s. figure 82), here Buddhist foundations tend to be built outside the agricultural terrain or planes, on rocky reliefs or alluvial terraces, on average below 1000 m asl. Several of these foundations (among them Kanderai, Najigram, Tokar -dara, and Abbasahab -china) host or control monumental hydraulic facilities in masonry: ducts, dams, wells (an activity that should be initiated with the 1st Century CE) or natural water ponds.²⁴ Similar description apply to other areas as well, for example to Buner and Puran; the establishment of Buddhist foundations went hand in hand with a capillary control on water supply and fertile terrain. While its exploitation was a noticeable source of income for the monastic community, the ancient city of

²⁰ See OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006 and ref.

²¹ STEIN 1930; ASHRAF KHAN 1993.

²² STEIN 1930; CALLIERI 1985; OLIVIERI 1994.

²³ STEIN 1896, 1930; OLIVIERI 1994; SAEED-UR-REHMAN/KHAN KHATTAK/FAIZ-UR-REHMAN 1996.

²⁴ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 129-138

Barikot, as excavations suggest, was the commercial hub, the main market of the whole economic network.²⁵

The spatial relationship between the Buddhist complexes and the painted shelters is a complex issue. At least for the paintings of the historic period, the Sites fall in the only available and marginal free areas left by the spatial expansion of the Buddhist interests. In some cases, the paintings are located just on the outskirts of the area occupied by a Buddhist foundation. This phenomenon of marginality is repeated, other than in Swat, also in two other areas of clustering of these pictures, at the foot of the Mt. Karamar, between Swabi and Mardan, and in Tanawal, Hazara, on the other bank (E) of the Indus River, S of the Black Mountains. At Chargul (Chargul -dheri), N of Karamar, the paintings, set in a sort of extended rock sanctuary, are found immediately outside the limits of a Buddhist sacred area.

The phenomenon is easily understandable when considered within the chronological window of the 1st-5th century CE; it only remains to see if it is a recurring association, found also in other phases.

For a moment, let us imagine that the communities, which we credit with the paintings, lived in the main valley, far from the area where the painted shelters are, and that the shelters were visited by the valley communities for ritual purposes. This possibility is not currently supported, the points of contact between the lexicon of the painting and the graphic and ideological heritage of the cultures that lived in the main valley are not substantial. On the other hand, the painted shelters are an expression of peripheral societies, or groups subordinate to the cultures of the main valley; at any rate, partially segregated or bound to the living space of the middle and upper valleys of Kandak, Kotah and Thana. The same context may be applied to the rock paintings of Swabi and Mardan as well as for Tanawal in Hazara. The ecological space coincides with the economic areas dedicated to hunting and gathering, pastoralism/sheep-farming, and subsistence farming: in short words, with the wild.

This situation is similar to that of Swat. Until today (but the situation is rapidly changing), the best agricultural lands, even in the lateral valleys and the along the main roads of communication, are owned by ethnic Yusufzai landlords (*khans*). The right of possession is legitimated by two historical facts: the 16th century Yusufzai military

²⁵ OLIVIERI 2007, 2010b, 2011.

conquest, and the permanent distribution of the lands amongst the khans during the Miangul rule in the first half of the last century (Yusufzai State of Swat). These lands are traditionally worked by farmers who are affiliated to the landlords' lineage. Landlords and farmers live mainly in the main valley, as they have means of communication and mobility; they speak Pashto and their principal market town (in the study area) is the urban center of Barikot. In addition to these farmers, the area is occasionally populated by seasonal workers who are semi-nomads from Sindh, who come to the area during harvest period and live in large camps on the outskirts of villages along the main valley. The third group consists of people who are ethnic Kohistanis, and speak Dardic languages such as Torwalak, Khowar and Busharik, and who are related to the possession of pastures, forests and land in Upper Swat. Shepherds from these areas (mostly Ajars, see below) practice seasonal transhumance. They pass through the territories of the Yusufzai khans in the main valley directly to winter pastures in the plains S of Swat. The access is paid for with products and especially timber rights (these also pass through the territories of Barikot, both via waterway and inland passage). These traditional exchanges, and the related conflicts, represent the main sphere of interaction between the society of the main valley and the population of Kohistan.

The true stable stakeholders of the khans of the Barikot area in the main valley are the communities of the upper valleys of Kotah and Kandak. The mountain areas with their quite valuable conifer forests are considered important common pool resources of the *khans* of Barikot. They are awarded to semi-nomadic communities, Gujars and Ajars, which have come and gone during their various phases of displacement from Kashmir and Punjab. The Gujars are semi-sedentary pastoralist group, who also cultivate products typical of non-irrigated terrains. The Ajars, a semi-nomadic community, are mainly shepherds and breeders. Traditionally considered by the Yusufzais as Swat's aboriginals and slaves, in reality, both groups have only lived stably in the area of study as a recognized community for approximately one hundred years. Their presence in the area of Barikot is due a new conditions of economic stability and safety, particularly in the period following the formation of the Yusufzai State of Swat (1917 -1969) and its accession into Pakistan (1969).²⁶ The Gujars live in small groups affiliated by kinship in

²⁶ See the description of the Gujar settlements in Swat in 1926 (STEIN 1929: 72).

For the ethno-botanical and phyto-geographical aspects, see HUSSEIN/IQBAL/DURRANI 2006, IBRAR/HUSSEIN/SULTAN 2007, HAMAYUN ET AL., s.d.

isolated hamlets (it takes approximately 20 minutes to walk from one to another); the villages are made of three to five houses, single-unit dwellings with adjoining stables or rock shelters, closed or enlarged erecting walls in stone or clay (Figs. 79-80).²⁷ They are tied to the Yusufzais by relationships of patronage and *corvées*, from which their licence to use the land in exchange for services (among other things the sale of bush products like timber, fruit, and berries, wild grapes as well as medicinal herbs), of milk and butter, and lamb, honey. The two valleys of Kandak and Kotah, where this community live, were held in a state of underdevelopment (without asphalted roads, for example) by the *khans*.



Fig. 79



Fig. 80

During the last thirty years, however, since the end of the system of guarantees offered by the State of Swat, serious conflicts arose between these communities and the families which form the society of the main valley; with the return from the Gulf States of the emigrants, many Gujari communities had the cash to purchase or redeem land, increasing its economic worth with the installation of motor pump systems. Thus broken the traditional system of social subalternity, this subverted the relative value between different plots of land, and caused armed conflicts. Between 1989 and 1992-93 the access to the Kandak valley was actually restricted. From 1998-2006, a series of armed clashes forced the abandonment of most Gujari settlements in the Kotah valley, and their

²⁷ Note the remains of a a clay *tandur* (oven) in Fig. 78.

reconstruction on the Mardan side of the Saffar-Kandao, out of the reach of the *khans* of Swat. (Fig. 81).



Fig. 81

Within a similar frame of social and economic relationships, which processes would imply material outputs that could be decoded and interpreted in archaeological grounds? Only occasional camps of seasonal workers from Sindh – anyhow, difficult to be characterized at an ethnic level - would leave remnants of 'exotic' imports: painted pottery, tin bowls, glass paste bangles, etc. Except in the rare case of the discovery of typical crescent-shaped adzes, little else would remain of the biannual passage of Kohistani and Ajari shepherds with their flocks. The only traces of the Gujari presence would probably be represented by scanty remains of their huts and hovels, and few locally-made coarse potsherds. Too little to suggest, in contrast to the substantial traces left by the urbanized communities of the main valley, the actual existence of such a complex network of social and economic relationships.

Before comparing the present situation to the ancient framework, consider that the present environment is also affected by 2 new factors. First, all the involved parties fall within the sphere of influence of Islam, although with several regional differences. The original carriers of the Islamic faith were the Yusufzais, who conquered the main valley from the 16th century onwards. At least until the early 19th century, the Kohistani-Dardic community continued to practice their 'pagan' faith. Was Buddhism equally pervasive and entrenched in ancient Swat? Second, the Yusufzai migration was not the occasional achievement of an elite, but a real shift of a population, which moved to Swat with its leaders and its subordinate castes. The migration actually brought about an important ethnic change in Swat, as the majority of the indigenous population shifted to Hazara (the 'Swati' tribe, Pashto- and Hindko-speakers) and a minority became part of the lower castes (tenants, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, barbers, cleaners, etc.) or was reduced to the rank of slaves.²⁸

It is hard to imagine which relationships had been established between the groups of the painted shelters and the people settled in Barikot and other urbanized centers, who traded or produced fine ceramics, sophisticated craft items and cultivated rice, barley and wheat in the fertile soils of the main valley during Period IV. As far as we know, they might have begun to paint rock shelters, perhaps a symbolic reminder of the figures painted on the black-on-red ceramics of the late Bronze Age; certain images in Sites 03 and 04 could be the fruit of the same religious milieu. Certainly, both the main valley and the surrounding mountain areas in Period IV, shared a burial ritual that did not leave substantial archaeological traces.

Moreover, if elements of cultural contiguity between the rock paintings in their pre-Buddhist or proto-historic phase and the culture(s) of the graveyards were very limited, the two phenomena (painted shelters and graveyards) coexisted and (as in the case of the icon 'horse') the first became acculturated to elements typical of the second one. I imagine a scenario, in which the main valley was occupied (for different purposes, grazing, agriculture and funeral rituals) by the community of the graveyards' culture, while the external areas were inhabited by indigenous communities or anyhow by different groups.

²⁸ On the 'pagan' persistence in Swat, s. CACOPARDO/CACOPARDO 2001: 35-37. On the relationship between the different parts of the present-day Swat society s. BARTH 1956 e 1960, JETTMAR 2000, and INAM-UR-RAHIM/VIARO 2002 (104 ff.); on the modern history of Swat, s. SULTAN-I-ROME 2008 and OLIVIERI 2009.

The presence of small graveyards in remote areas could be explained by an attempted intrusion, a temporary occupation of grazing areas, such as during the summer season, carried out by small groups associated with the community of the main valley, or as an expression of the process of acculturation to the new burial customs on the part of small groups.²⁹ In both cases, this could explain the small size of the mountain graveyards (as observed in Kandak), the simplicity of the cysts, sometimes having a megalithic character, the scarcity of the burial furnishings, as well as the partial modification of the symbolic heritage of the paintings.³⁰ In some Sites (05 for example), in addition to already familiar themes, were introduced icons focusing on pastoralism and war-like themes (quite compatible with the cultures of the graveyards). Images of carts, banners, horses and riders, in fact, are typical of rock carving activities contemporary to the graveyards.

When these icons are carved inside a Site with earlier paintings (Site 04), the available external space is reserved for them, without interference with the previously painted spaces. Assuming that agriculture played an important role in the ideology of the authors of some paintings (those envisaged as the earliest, i.e. Sites 03, 04), the occupation of privileged areas (i.e. the main valley) by alien groups was a loss for the communities of the early painters: we do not know if it could be considered an economic loss, but it was certainly a loss of prestige. This may explain the partial acculturation/subalternity of the mountain communities with respect to those of the main valley.

This complex relationship is explained on the firmer ground of the long period of contact between the painters' communities and the Buddhist groups, including the monastic communities. The first group was not only composed of Buddhists, as the images referring to the world of Buddhism are depicted solely through architecture, while the icons of the cult, or representations of the Buddha and Boshisattvas, are completely absent from the graphic repertoire of the corpus.

In their language, architecture represents an exterior representation, we would call it documentary, as it refers to physical, open evidence; their inner purpose, their psychological motivation are unclear. The figures might be mere descriptions, the ri-

²⁹ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 121-22. According to TUSA 1979 (690), the passage from Period IV to Period V was slow and progressive, and it didn't imply the obliteration of the earlier cultural forms.

³⁰ Megalithic cysts have been found in the graveyard of Adina, Swabi, in Buner and in Dir, and always in remote or secluded areas; s. OLIVIERI 1998.

creation of a faraway scenario, although this would not fit given, given the isolation in which these paintings are commonly found. However, we never find designs of Buddhist architecture in the contexts above defined as ‘Sanctuaries’ or ‘Hermitages’, but rather in ‘Public painting places’. Before proposing my solution to the riddle, I will briefly review the process of expansion of the Buddhist communities between the 1st and the 4th-5th centuries CE in the study area.

When the lowlands communities intruded into the ecological space of the painted shelters’ people, this latter entered in a phase of contact, not unlike other stages defined in rock-art as ‘post-contact phases,’ typical of areas colonized by Europeans in the recent past. These early contacts might have given birth to various form of conflict. The two communities, one Buddhist and the other directly involved with the paintings, were probably competing for the control of the mountain areas.³¹ In the later phases, the Buddhist communities had expanded in the upper mountain territories (for example Kafir-kot ad Amluk and China-bara, and along the rocky highlands between Toplai and Saffar-kandao) in a process of acquisition of visual and vital space, which at this point included control of mountain passes, springs, summer pastures and forests, as a part of

³¹ See below fn. 47. A paragraph of OLIVIERI 2008 read: ‘[In post-contact rock art production] ‘alien’ pictograms such as auto vehicles, firearms, European soldiers and ships are frequent. Leaving aside the issue of chronology, chariots and mounted warriors [*and Buddhist architecture*] in Swat may also be interpreted as indicators of a cultural disparity rather than signs of acculturation. Ultimately, they might represent a kind of psychological response of the rural communities facing fast transformations affecting the most privileged areas of their territory’ (23). S. also OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 134 and fig. 79.

The ideas that the painters were possibly non-Buddhist, and that their work does not necessarily reflect a Buddhist ideology, faced a certain degree of skepticism. Some objected that, for instance, in Kashmir-smast there are Brahmi lines painted in red ochre inside a deep rock cave (see Nasim Khan 2008). This is exactly the proof of the contrary, in my view. If Buddhist monks and their associates might have had a good command of the art of writing, the context of our painted shelters is totally a-literate (or, more precisely, co-literate, see ‘Introduction’, fn. 25). In some caves used as *viharas* by early Buddhist monks near Sanchi, rock art was ascribed to the activity of earlier cave-dwellers (SCHOPEN 1994c: 550).

Presence and absence of Buddhist faith and customs in late-ancient Swat was discussed by G. Tucci (1977: 68-70). In a chapter of the *Weishu* dedicated to the kingdoms of the ‘Western Regions’, it is said that the people of Shemi (between Dir and Chitral?) encountered by SongYun (518-520 C.E.), do not believe in Buddhism but devote themselves ‘solely to the deity of paganism’ (KUWAYAMA 2006: 114).

the economic wealth of the monastic communities.³² At this time, the societies of the painted shelters were gradually forced to retreat into the woods.³³

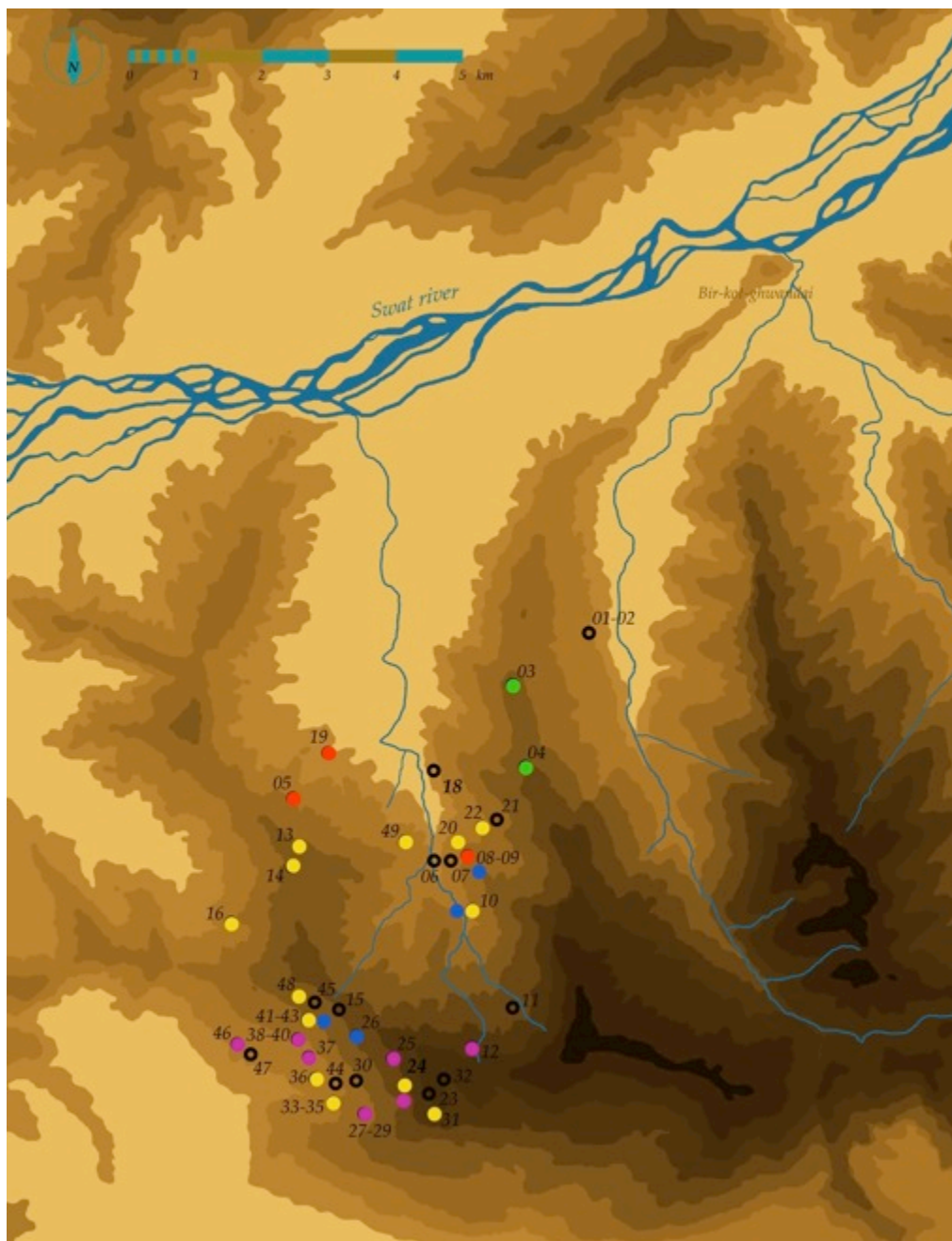


Fig. 82

(Green: Agriculturalist icons; Red: Protohistoric horsemanship icons; Yellow: Buddhist Architectures; Blue: Brahmanic symbols; Violet: Pastoralist icons)

³² About the chronology of these sites, see 'Discussion', fn. 63.

³³ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 133-4.

The majority of the paintings, later, or those of group c) in the summary at the beginning of this Chapter, are on the S side of the ridge between China-bara and Saffar-kandao. We witness a progressive shift of the location of the paintings, quite evident in the Kotah valley. While the oldest shelters were found in the middle of the valley (for example Sites 03, 04, 05, 09, 19), others (where the representations of Buddhist architecture prevail) are in the higher portion of the valley. In a later phase (as suggested by details on horsemanship, or by the association of *triśula*-like ideograms), the mountains welcomed elements of Brahmanism, (thanks to a pre-existing common religious substratum). At the time, paintings were almost entirely outside the valley of Kotah, on the S slopes that divide the Swat basin from the Buner-Mardan basin. In almost all these pictures complex body modifications prevail. In the same area (Fig. 82) paintings often refer to a pastoral, or ‘Kafir’-Dardic, graphic vocabulary (Sites 12, 38 and 46).

On the Existence of a ‘Tribal Belt’

In short:

- 1) The painted shelters spanned approximately 2000 years, and their authors – in terms of social identity – did not change radically over time;
- 2) The communities to which the painters belonged were not otherwise known, and were non-literate;³⁴
- 3) 3) These communities had a mixed economy as gatherers, subsistence-agriculturalists (‘Agricultural Community’) and ‘Pastor-Breeders’ (see ‘Methodology’);
- 4) These communities were variably affected by the mentioned historical macro-phenomena, which also brought about the progressive reduction of their economy and land, and indirectly changes in the iconographic lexicon. Such macro-phenomena evolved through consistent cultural patterns, and, in regard to space, in the area encompassing the main valley Swat and its Southern tributary valleys.

I am talking of an area that otherwise, especially in South Asia, would be shortly labeled, in a non-scientific language, as ‘tribal.’ The question, at this point, is the actual presence, extension and role of a ‘Tribal belt’ in these areas of ancient Swat. Besides the rock paintings, did these tribal societies leave any other substantial evidence? The answer is

³⁴ Non-literate, or, better, co-literate see ‘Introduction’, fn. 25.

complex. Interacting with the main actors of such historical macro-phenomena, did they assume well defined roles, that could explain their resistance in a substantially reduced territory over such long period? As the shelter paintings begun in a precise moment, and at a certain point disappeared, which social and demographic processes could have been in play.³⁵

Even a partially literate culture, urbanized, religiously coherent, economically differentiated, and politically organized, cannot be considered as a whole, monothetic and omni-pervasive entity. We tend to consider historical subjects only the societies which have left substantial landmarks of their existence. The efforts of historical reconstruction have demanding constraints in the economy of research, and this latter, almost by definition, cannot be comprehensive – or, better, that comprehensive. Of course, there are many cases of negative acknowledgements of the subalterns. The ‘tribal communities’ of lower Hindukush, such as the ‘Kafirs’ of Nuristan, gave up their traditional roles of passive actors, when they were attacked and had to choose between assimilation or disappearance, when Nuristan was created in the 16th century. The tribal communities in India, in modern times, assumed a passive role when affected by the administrative needs of the Government of British India, through their legislative definition of ‘Scheduled Tribes’. In contrast, the case of the shelter paintings is a case of positive conservation of material culture.

The existence of ancient Indian tribes of the NW is known through Greek sources, mainly the Alexandrographs.³⁶ In these texts there is no clear distinction between tribes organized as chiefdoms and those organized in groups/bands or clans. For ancient Swat, for example, the classical sources focused on a list of people, such as the *Gureoi*, the *Aspasioi*, etc: among these, the *Assakenoi* (identifiable in the area between Mingora and Barikot in the 4th century BCE) had a formal organization with a clear leadership.³⁷ The perception of ‘different’ in the Hellenistic age was too strongly biased by the idea of a deep cultural fault line between Europe and Asia, to provide useful information, with the

³⁵ Recently, Indian archaeologists introduced the concept of an ‘Indigenous Archaeology’ or better ‘Archaeology of the Subalterns’, according to the definition molded by PRATAP 2009. S. also RATNAGAR 2004.

³⁶ See TUCCI 1977 and OLIVIERI 1996. see also Megasthen, Frg. LVI A: MCCRIDLE 1877: 129-154. See also Arrian, *Indiké*, I 1, ff.

³⁷ OLIVIERI 1996.

exception of rare and isolated cases. The viewpoint of Indian sources is more interesting, as their distinction is sharply bound to the two opposed categories of ‘civilization’ and ‘non-civilization.’ ‘Civilians’ are those who live in cities or those that contribute directly to their livelihood (farmers and shepherds), but in a more general acceptance, ‘civilians’ are the people whose role is regulated by the order of rituals and hierarchy, in other words, by the *dharma*: in Vedic terms, the two upper *varṇas*.



Fig. 83

Sanchi 2, *stūpa* railing E
(Photo by A. Shimada)

The human groups belonging to the sphere of ‘non-civilization’ are *dasyu*. Sometimes their social ‘involution’, or loss of the original purity, is caused by the (ancestral or recent) oversight or neglect of the correct marriage prescriptions. This is the case of the anthropological category of the ‘fallen/decayed *kṣatriyas*’ given here specifically by Panini, to the mountain people of NW India, such as Darada and Kamboja.³⁸ An interesting list of downgraded tribes is provided in *Maṇu*, X, 44; among these are the

³⁸ AGRAWALA 1953: 41; TUCCI 1977: 37-38. Panini was native of North-West India, apparently from the Swabi area, and his information on the local tribes should be regarded as highly reliable. Two other important contributions are ERDOSY 1989 and WITZEL 1995. R. Thapar writes: “[...] demarcation between what was called *grama*, village and the *aranyar*, forest or wilderness, and later the *khsetra*, literally field, and the *vara*, forest, reflects a perceived opposition between the two systems. In actual practice the dichotomy was not so sharp and the one faded into the other, but the divide was maintained in theory (THAPAR 2002: 56).

Kamboja, the Yavana, the *kirata* (or ‘mountain people’) and the *darada*, a term that can be translated as ‘people of the cliffs (i.e. the Darada of Panini)’.³⁹

In literature, the land inhabited by these people is called *mleccha-deśa*, but this, rather than the forest with the mountains, is the land of foreigners or decayed people. Also in *Maṇu*, X, 45-56, one sees how the lowest anthropological category does not refer to peoples or nations (only the groups referred to a *varṇa* have a name), but to human types. These were apparently coined due to the perception of the inhabitants of the wild, as sub-human symbols of being: the ‘hunter’, the ‘terrible,’ the ‘tribal,’ or ‘wild rooster/grouse’ (which live in mounds, trees, mountains, and woods), or the ‘wild,’ the ‘cooker of dogs’ (who live outside the village).⁴⁰ In general, Brahmanic India lacks a true anthropology of ‘different’ unless they in some way have a role in the national and religious epic. Therefore, they are likely to search in vain for possible literary traces of the communities as elusive as ours, unless they are among those recognized or until they play a somehow recognizable role. This point, i.e. the community of the painted shelters belonged to the category of *mlecchas*, or the people of the forests, will be addressed shortly. In any case, a circumstance of greater visibility must have occurred during a phase of contact with Buddhism, as one can infer from the appearance of the Buddhist depictions of architecture in our paintings.

In general, Brahmanic India lacks a true anthropology of a ‘social difference’ unless the peoples recognized as anomalous have a role in the national and religious epics. Therefore, one would search in vain for possible literary traces of communities as elusive as ours. Were the groups of the painted shelters assimilated to the category of *mlecchas*, or the people of the forests? This question will be addressed shortly. In any case, they might have been more recognizable during their phase of contact with Buddhism, when Buddhist depictions of architecture appeared in our paintings.

In the Maurya era, in *Arthaśāstra* one finds a first form of recognition besides that of *mlecchas* (the people which speak different languages and the people deprived of rank: it is the mention the *aranyacāraḥ*, the populations of the forests. The text recommends to use with them a paternalistic policy; the same attitude is recognizable in Aśoka's policy.

³⁹ DONIGER/SMITH 1996; TUCCI 1977: 37; AGRAWALA 1953.

⁴⁰ DONIGER/SMITH 1996.

This is explained both by the tradition and the political necessities of an empire, with the greater elasticity granted by the Buddhist approach.⁴¹ In Buddhist literature, one finds three new attitudes. First, the *mleccha-deśa* was going to be the land of expansion of Buddhism (as it was of the Mauryan Empire), especially towards NW India. Secondly, in doctrinary terms, Buddhism attached less importance to the problem of legitimate descent, rather focusing on the ethical side (the decadence is reversible, as it is demonstrated by the case of the *Aṅgulimāla*). Lastly, Buddhism sided with the ascent to power by *mleccha* dynasties, such as the Saka, the Parthians, and the Kushanas, all in the NW.⁴² These three issues well explain the new Buddhist approach to the problem of the tribes and why the Buddhist communities, as we shall see, tended, if not to integrate, to symbiotically interact with mountain tribes in our study area.

Buddhism, however, continued in the line of the tradition, and to search for traces of these ‘others’ we have to look within characterizations and portrayals of genre. The ‘other’ is assumed as a symbol, and the man of the tribe becomes a character in the tales, a type of *homo selvaticus* or *Wilde Mann* - both the main actor of a story and symbol of an ethical category. A good example, among the few fully studied is the story of *Aṅgulimāla*: according to Pia Brancaccio, ‘The Taming of the Forest’.⁴³ Rather than a *Wilde Mann*, it is an idealization of the same character in a mythical story, linked on one side to other events of previous lives, and on the other to false asceticism: also here the ‘other’ must fall within easily recognizable categories and, in this way, he will be eventually tamed. This story has been rightly viewed as ‘...one of the few instances where members of jungle tribes are incorporated in the Buddhistic milieu’ and put in connection with the ancient NW, as it is common in the representations of Gandhara (*Aṅgulimāla* himself is said to be a native of Taxila)⁴⁴, thus following the same traditional

⁴¹ For the references. s. fn. 56 and fn. 57 in THAPAR 1971. See also THAPAR 2002: 196-98.

We ignore if the painted shelters, at least those of Swat-Malakand, were within the borders of the Maurya empire (but what ‘border’ exactly meant in Mauryan time?). The Tanawal paintings are only few kilometers NW of the Aśokan rock edicts of Manshera.

⁴² THAPAR 1971: 418-19.

⁴³ BRANCACCIO 1999. We refer to the seminal THAPAR 1971.

⁴⁴ ID: 108, 115.

‘The story of *Aṅgulimāla* offers also interesting insight into the way Buddhists perceived the wilderness. The forest was the realm of the unknown that extended beyond the *limes* demarcated by agricultural land. The wilderness as a whole was regarded as a threat: real and fantastic attributes of various categories of

Brahmanical ‘anthropology.’ Another example of this story, apparently set in NW India, was found at Sanchi. Here, as elsewhere (Bharut for example) the monastic foundation was part of a spatial expansion that came to interfere with the rights of earlier settlers, whether they were nobles (as at Bharut) or the ancient forest people, as perhaps occurred at Sanchi (Fig. 83).⁴⁵

Subsistence and Role of the ‘Tribal Belt’

What about the spatial expansion of the Buddhist foundations in Swat and especially in the area of Barikot? Since the beginning of our era, and for approximately four centuries, the archaeological data display a building boom, with more than 100 sacred areas identified within about >300 sq km (s. Fig. 84).⁴⁶ As mentioned above, territorial expansion was not uniquely related to individual constructions, but rather to the acquisition of agricultural land to control, irrigate and exploit. Moreover, the same expansion involved access to mountain passes, springs, pastures, forests, and their products (e.g. butter, timber, fruit, and honey).⁴⁷

forest dwellers merged together within the popular imaginary. The woods were populated by wild animals, ghosts, strange Human beings, *yakṣas* and other living entities that nurtured the fears and the fantasies of villagers. Buddhism developing within growing urban communities, again perceived the sylvan environment with a mixture of fear and respect. The forest became a challenge for the rationale doctrine promulgated by the Tathāgata. Therefore, the strategy that Buddhism adopted towards the unknown world of the jungle was to tame and incorporate its chaos within the folds of the *dharma*’ (ID.: 116-17).

⁴⁵ A. Shimada has kindly pointed out to my attention a relief of the *stūpa* railing (E) at Sanchi 2, where is clearly depicted a representative of the tribes (Fig. 83). A scene representing the acquisition of a plot of land by the Buddhist community, in a famous *médaille* from Bharut, was recently discussed by G. Schopen (‘The Buddha as a Businessman’; UCLA Faculty Research Lectures, April 16, 2009).

⁴⁶ Amongst the entries of the Sites List published in OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 98-115, and here displayed in Fig. 82, only 24 are the sites labelled as ‘Settlements’.

⁴⁷ There are various examples of spring management in the study area, e.g. the spring of Gumbat, Kandak, that displays two tanks, one – probably protohistoric - carved onto a small flat granite boulder, the second one in masonry work (1st-4th CE) (OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004: figs. 18, OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 131-35, figs. 54).

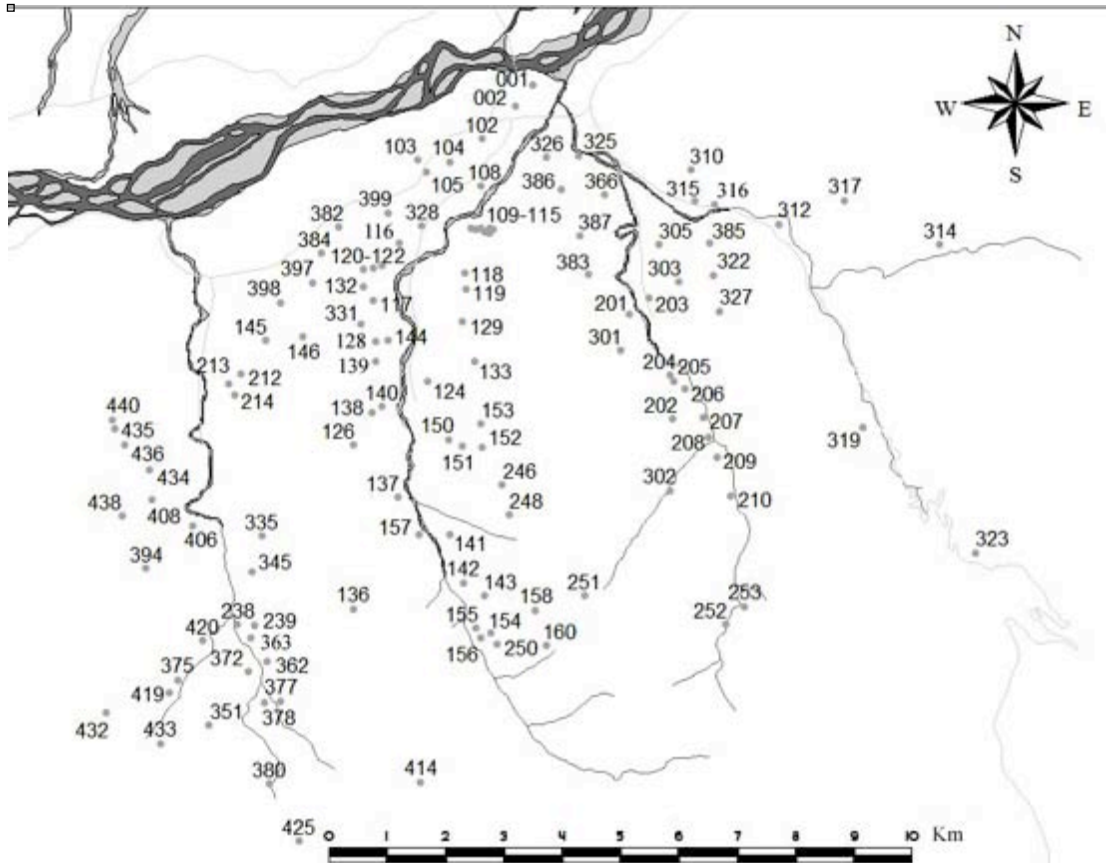


Fig. 84

(After OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2006: fig. 46)

The political framework, between the 2nd century BCE and the 4th century CE, sees the territories in question were under the political control of local aristocrats linked first to the Indo-Greeks, then to the Saka and Parthians, followed by the power of the Kushanas and their successors.⁴⁸ These must have been be the original legal owners of the lands that was acquired over the time (through donations or transactions) by the Buddhist community. A post -2nd century CE inscription from Malakand, recently published, shows that also hydraulic infrastructures could be part of the system of donations and liberality towards the Buddhist community.⁴⁹ This fits perfectly with the AMSV survey work in the Barikot area of Swat in 2006.⁵⁰ Once the land became part of the monastic

⁴⁸ One refers, in the Saka-Parthian period, to the dynasties of Apraca and Ođi (CALLIERI 2002 and ref. cit.).

⁴⁹ FALK 2003: 79-80. About the donations of monastic buildings in the site of Kashmir-smast, see ID. 2008.

The water and land management in the Sanchi area is now well known thanks to the work of Julia Shaw (e.g. SHAW 2000, 2001); for the relationship between Buddhist communities, agriculture and land ownership in ancient India, s. also RAY 2004, FOGELIN 2004, and their references.

⁵⁰ OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 131-35.

properties, the monasteries managed the properties and were active in their economic improvement.

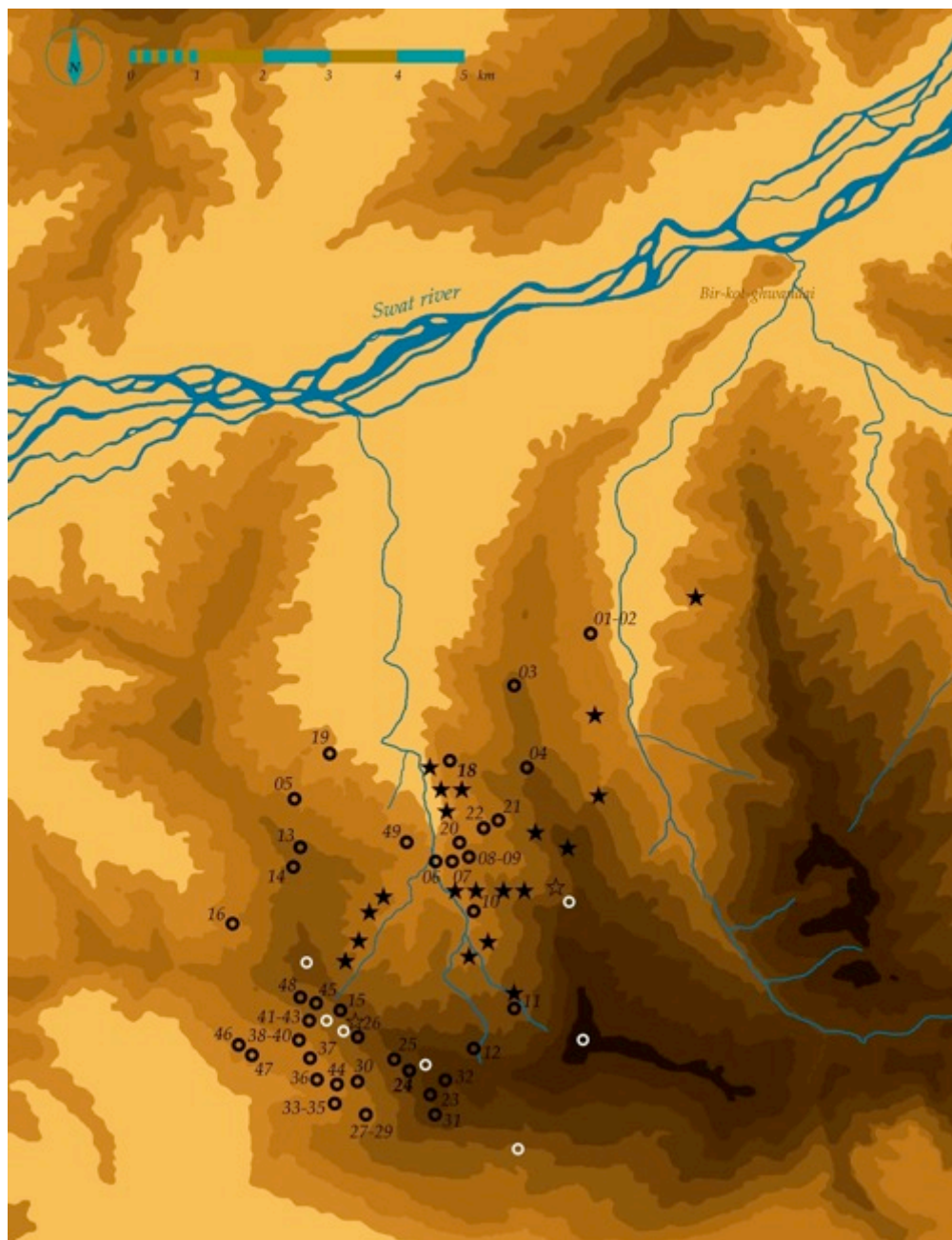


Fig. 85

(Key★: ★: wine-presses;☆: vat circles: main high-mountain Buddhist sites)

The Buddhist territorial expansion not only must have eroded the living space of mountain communities, but must have also forced them, to a certain extent, to become involved in agricultural work, and in other related activities. We ignore if this resulted in their conversion. Buddhism, maintaining a popular character, did not have universalistic

ambitions: at least in similar contingencies, its main target was to have on its side the political elites, merchants and craftsmen (in other words, the residents of the cities). But if even these forms of popular religion persisted, as the evidence at Barikot shows, the groups of mountains or forests, although involved in the activities of the monasteries, were not converted.⁵¹

In the shelters, as I stated above, designs of Buddhist buildings appear as 'alien' objects, something 'other' than the world of the authors of the paintings. In Site 15 I recognize a scene of armed conflict in which armed horsemen surround a sacred Buddhist area. This possible scene of conflict is reinforced by an ideogram of a crossed disk on a horizontal line surmounted by a crescent, a kind of *tamṅa*.⁵² An analogous scene was found in the Bangh-dogal engravings. However, such conflicts might have been observed by the painters from the neutral perspective of a 'third party'.⁵³

Representations of Buddhist architecture do not indicate conversion, nor a sign of conflict. They might rather signal coexistence, certainly subordinate, but positively oriented. One may imagine that, even if the gradual expansion of the foundations of Buddhist eroded the vital space of the mountain communities, it was accompanied by an integration of the communities on the outskirts of the monastic life. Such might have been, for example, the performance of semi-servile *corvées*, i.e. procuring goods necessary for the monastic economy (fruit, honey, etc) which probably was far from being autarchic. In short, the mountain community may have found in the Buddhist community a natural 'market,' for the skills and products of their natural world. Their roles were probably analogous to those played today by Gujars.⁵⁴ A similar relationship between the Buddhist monasteries and the tribes (Dards) is recorded until modern times in Ladakh (Zanskar).

⁵¹ See 'Discussion', fn. 44. The coexistence of different religious creeds even within areas dominated by Buddhist communities in ancient India is confirmed in RAY 2008: 248-250, with ref.

⁵² ABDUL NASIR KHAN ET AL. 1995.

⁵³ For similar conflicts in Upper Indus see JETTMAR 1997.

⁵⁴ Among others agricultural activities range the cultivation of mustard plants, typical in Swat at this altitude, from which in the recent past oil was extracted for lighting and used in the rituals of the Hindu community. Fuel for these lamps, used also for ritual purposes, was obtained from mustard seeds (cultivated in India since protohistoric times) or from butter, but it might also be extracted from grape seeds (on the grape harvest and post-harvest activities see below). For the presence of unskilled workers in Buddhist monasteries in Gandhara, see SCHOPEN 2006: 228-230.

Amongst the possible productive activities carried out by the tribes, we may consider also the extraction of quartzite stones used as a flint (today called *bakrai*), and the production of oil for the miriads of lamps found by the archaeologists in the Buddhist monasteries and coeval settlements (see above fn. 54).

The relationship between Buddhist communities and the people living ‘into the wild’ was certainly of mutual exchange. The presence of semi-forced labor related to the activities of the monasteries is well known.⁵⁵ Perhaps less known is the network of collateral activities that could be associated with this people in the countryside, just as agricultural work, maintenance of the water infrastructures, mountain passes and springs, and various other corvées or duties related to the forest activities.⁵⁶

In this sphere of integration, images of the Buddhist world pervading the lower valleys came to acquire a ‘mythical’ dimension, as they could be linked to welfare of the painters’ community. Buddhist sacred areas - like a beneficent spirit - might have been supported recognizing their merits through the activity of painting. As often occurred in ancient India, a holy place or a sanctuary is also revered by the worshippers of different creeds. Through the work of the the painters, the images of the Buddhist architecture were endowed with a sort of influential spiritual power.

The creation of monumental cultic centres is the major revolution that Buddhism brought into the traditional Indian world (a fact so far under -estimated, to the best of my knowledge). Monumental cultic centres were unknown before Mauryan Buddhism, and we have to wait for Gupta times before finding something similar in other Indian religious contexts.⁵⁷ These imposing monuments, with their multiple golden umbrellas

⁵⁵ SCHOPEN 1994b. Consider also that the tribal villages could have been (theroretically) legally owned by the Buddhist communities (ID. 1995: 476)

⁵⁶ Several ancient axe-sharpener stations, were found in Kandak and Kotah valley (e.g. OLIVIERI 2006: figs. 21, 22; OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004: fig. 35; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: fig. 27).

Our recent survey of the Tanawal painted shelters revealed a new interesting element. In the niche 2 of the Fundstelle 1 there is a pictogram depicting a pine-tree, probably a *cedrus deodara*. In the Fundstelle 2, the same pictograms are present, but represented upside down, while some of the human figures are depicted holding axes. In both Fundstellen are depicted pictograms representing Buddhist architecture. Maybe, in Buddhist times, timber was a relevant economic activity of the communities of Tanawal.

⁵⁷ Considering also the data from early Taxila reassessed by CALLIERI 2006. See what G. Schopen says (ID. 1994c: 550 -552): the development of monumental Buddhist foundations apparently starts only at the beginning of the Common Era.

reflecting the morning rays of the sun, might well have mesmerized, with a shocking impact, the imagination of several marginal groups.

Going back to the activities required by the monasteries, ranges the harvest of wild grapes and their crushing or pressing. AMSV, between 2000 and 2006, recorded 20 infrastructures for pressing grapes in the high valleys of Kandak and Kotah (Fig 84) that could produce (if contemporary) up to 6-8.000 hl of wine per year.⁵⁸ The majority of these presses clusters in an area of 50 hectares. There are two types of structures: a tub (or tank) carved from a boulder of gneiss or granite, with a drain hole at the bottom (Fig 86), and ‘scoop’, or rectangular carved grooves, having the same size as the tanks, joined by an overflow canal, carved out of the surface of flat sub-horizontal gneiss or granite boulders (Fig 87).



Fig. 86



Fig. 87

The latter type, known also as ‘palettes’ in the specialized literature, might have belonged to ‘tribal’ environments, where the production of wine was part of rituals tied to the winter solstice, as amongst the ‘Kafirs’. Among these latter, in fact, on similar grooved surfaces were mounted wooden panels (or bulkheads) sealed by clay, to build, a

⁵⁸ S. OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 142-46. A ‘palette’-type infrastructure was found at the same altitude in the Jambil valley, while other tank-like infrastructures have been documented in the upper Saidu valley (IBID.: figs. 42, 43, 83).

temporary wine-pressing infrastructure.⁵⁹ The two types coexist next to each other but the tanks are typical of the lower altitudes, while the ‘palettes’ are located in the mountains. A low tank or ‘palette’ was found inside a shelter at the base of the wall that houses a painting (Site 11). The output channel is a cavity in the shelter, a type of funnel under which the containers were placed for collecting the juice. The community (or tribe) which made the paintings, also picked the grapes and squeezed them to produce wine.

But who were the recipients of the production? Was the wine produced only for use within the community or was it also distributed elsewhere? The two types of infrastructures are very different, and the tank implies the use of metal carving tools; similar tanks, except for the exit hole, appear within or near the Buddhist sacred areas (e.g. at Amluk-dara in Karakar, at Amluk, Gumbat and at Chuwa in the valley of Kotah).⁶⁰ Tanks for pressing were made by the same people who had cut the tanks without the exit hole nearby the sacred areas. The latter might have been used as vats for fermentation of the grape juice, similarly to the rougher structures documented in ‘Kafir’ environments.⁶¹

The grape harvest, probably, took place in the mountains, where the grapevines grew, semi-wild, as they still grow today, along with holly-oaks and other local species. Grapes were pressed inside the cultivation areas and the juice transported for fermenting to more furnished working stations. These had, as at Amluk, multiple series of tanks, or surfaces with tanks and holes, as at Amluk-dara (Fig. 88). The latter could be meant for posts utilized to set-up tripods to suspend filtering pots.

⁵⁹ ROBERTSON 1886: 558-59. On the location of similar infrastructures within the Shin village of Sazin (Indus Kohistan), see ANDREWS 2000: 36.

⁶⁰ Photographic documentation is available in OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2004: 156-57, figs. 23, 32 ; OLIVIERI 2006: 148-49, figs. 18, 19, 20. OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: fig. 11. Other tanks were found in a similar ecological context at Ranigat, a well-known Buddhist site on the mountains between Buner and Swabi. Ranigat has a lot of elements in common with Amluk: the pseudo-isodom granite blocks masonry technique, the presence of tanks and excavated basins, rock hermitages and cells.

⁶¹ EDELBERG 1965: fig. 3.



Fig. 88

The distribution of the wine-presses corresponds approximately to the area of the painted shelters contemporary to the Buddhist presence, while they are not found southwards, in the Mardan watershed, where later pictures prevail. If the last point is true, wine production, as an economic activity, was performed in a well defined historical period, the golden age of Buddhism in Swat. However, the terrains on the S watershed are also less suitable for grape cultivation due to the humid winds prevalent in the monsoon summer season.

Just few data suggest a whatsoever relationship between Buddhism and the products of the grapevine in the highlands of ancient NW India. A passage in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya* - a text generally dated to the 2nd century CE and to ancient NW India. This passage presents the production of non-alcoholic (boiled) grape-juice as direct teachings of the Buddha.⁶² These traditions within a Buddhist environment reflect an attempt by the

⁶² BRANCACCIO/LIU 2009: 225-227. “These are fruits from the northern region. They are called grapes. One can eat them after having purified them with fire”. Apparently, after the Buddha and his monks ate some of the grapes, and there were some left, he added: “The grapes should be pressed to extract the juice,

monasteries to channel local drinking habits towards temperance.

The famous silver ‘drinking goblet’ with a conical cover and an ibex, dated by its inscription mentioning Indrvasu of the Apraca dynasty, donated as a reliquary to a Buddhist community, probably in Bajaur⁶³ may help us to understand a) the production of wine or liquor, b) a valuable type of ‘Kafir-like’ metal goblet and c) a Buddhist monastic environment in the 1st Century CE. This type of goblet, well known in Gandhara, recalls the *ūrei* or ritual ‘Kafir’ cups utilized in the solstice libations.⁶⁴ Similar traditions in a Buddhist environment may perhaps reflect an attempt by the monasteries to integrate local traditions in order to ease the relationship with the local groups (without necessarily foreseeing a conversion process).⁶⁵

As previously stated, Swat has experienced specific phases of marginalization and acculturation.⁶⁶ I have discussed such phases in terms of a ‘regional globalization’. We may speak of acculturation when Swat shared its material culture and ideologies with the major cultural centers of Eurasia (Iran, Central Asia, Indo-Gangetic Plain, Tibet, China). The macro -phenomena at the beginning of this Chapter often represent, in local perspective, fleeting moments in the history of Swat. For instance, the people of the graveyards, in demographic terms, would be considered a group and not a people; certainly, a dominant group due to their knowledge of new military technologies and their links with metallurgy, breeding of horses, and perhaps (as inferred from rock art at Gogdara I and Lekha-gata) the light cart.

and then the fluid should be heated and removed from the fire before it is completely cooked [...] To store the syrup and serve it to the samgha out of the proper time, one should heat the juice until it is completely cooked” (IBID.: 226; s. TUCCI 1977: 34). See also XUANZANG II, 17.

⁶³ SALOMON 1996; other coeval examples of ‘drinking goblets’ (also in silver) come from Taxila (MARSHALL 1951: pl. 188, no. 5b). Amongst the beautiful examples of wine goblets or cups from Taxila, Sirkap, see the one published in JANSEN/LUCZANITS 2008, Cat. No. 40 (copper, 1st century CE).

⁶⁴ SALOMON 1996, with ref.); EDELBERG 1965: figs. 4-8. Dionisiac representations and/or practices in Gandharan art are not rare; according to Salomon (ID. 1996: 436) these are linked to the assimilation of ‘local folk traditions of the remote river valleys of the far northwestern regions, where, unlike the rest of the Indian cultural area, viticulture and wine festivals were widely practised’.

⁶⁵ Luxury pottery certainly meant for consuming intoxicating drinks are common in the funerary goods of the Swat graveyards. In particular, we consider the so-called ‘brandy bowls’, that can be regarded as morphological antecedents of both the Saka-Parthian ‘drinking goblets’ and the ‘Kafir’ cups (TUCCI 1977: 32-33).

⁶⁶ TUSA 1979.

In the 2nd half of the 1st Millennium BCE the ruling entities of Swat must have depended upon the states of the Achemenids and then of the Macedonians. These latter probably did not maintain control for more than a few months (and this may explain why their traces, so far, were not found). The founding of Indo-Greek cities (certain are Barikot and Udegram) only witness a minor contact with Greek culture (Greek graffiti letters, introduction of a Greek metrology).⁶⁷ Before the period of the graveyards (1400th – 4th Century BCE), and only during Period IV, Swat must have found itself in a phase of acculturation.⁶⁸ The elements of affinity with the Kot-Dijian phase of Stacul's Period II (late 3rd Millennium) and those of the 'Neolithic Kashmir', his Period III (early 2nd Millennium BCE), unfortunately, do not share the same archaeological record.

What role could Swat have played during the late Harappan phase or even earlier? Certainly, it could have been a source of some raw materials required by an urbanized civilization as economically complex as that of Harappa. G. Stacul mentioned an economic interest in *Cedrus deodara*, actually found at Harappa. Swat continues to be rich of this wood, one of the finest materials exported from the mountains of the NW.⁶⁹ Recently, R. Law discussed the sources of soapstone (steatite) in and nearby the Indus basin. Steatite was material of particular value, needed to fabricate the Harappan seals and tablets, and might have been the principal item traded from the area of Swat.⁷⁰ Among the various areas Law identified as sources of soapstone there are the mountains NW of Peshawar, N of Mardan, Swat, Bajaur and Hazara. Soapstone continued to be exported to Harappa during the Localization Era, or Late Harappan phase (Cemetery H; coeval to Swat Period IV), although to a lesser extent, but next to this stone, others came from the surrounding areas.⁷¹ This trade might have involved the groups living on the mountain ranges dividing Swat from Buner and the Mardan plain, such as those living on the granite peaks above Swabi and in the Tanawal. Although these areas may not coincide with the sources of steatite so far identified, they stand on the easiest thoroughfares to

⁶⁷ All of these points have already been discussed in OLIVIERI 1996, to which we refer. As to Gogdara I, see OLIVIERI 1998, on Lekha-gata, see: 154-55, fig. 29.

⁶⁸ STACUL 1987: 75-77.

⁶⁹ STACUL 1987: 76.

⁷⁰ LAW 2002, 2008.

⁷¹ LAW 2008: fig. 13.7. Note also that the role of the Dardic tribes as intermediaries in the search of lythic material was already discussed (TUCCI 1977: 18-21).

trade with the Punjab plains.

The same statements can be valid for timber. At the height of Chakdarra, there was probably a port where timber was landed, after being sent there by waterway. Close to this point, there are the easiest passes (Cherat and Shah-kot) to proceed to the plains of Mardan and to reach Kabul, where wood could travel again by water, floating as far as Attock. After Chakdarra, Swat channels its waters into inaccessible gorges, perhaps poorly known in ancient times, as Greek sources witness. Greek geographers apparently lost the traces of the river in their reconstructions of the geography of the area, confusing the Swat River with Panjkora.⁷²

Who were the Makers of the Painted Shelters?

Various sources (Greek, Old Indian, Buddhist, Brahmanic, etc.) provide elements for a rational reconstruction of the various substrata that developed and intersected in time (but perhaps not crossed, if one accepts the idea that esogamy was generally avoided if not formally forbidden). But their utility, for the reasons mentioned above, is questionable.

Until other epigraphic evidence is found, as happened in the area of Gilgit and Chilas, on the local dynasties of Paṭola and Darada, we will be unable to name any of the peoples and nations (with the exception of the great dynasties) that have succeeded in Swat. The only exception is the Assakenoi at the time of Alexander and the house of Oḍi at the beginning of our era. Even the last works by Giuseppe Tucci on Swat have produced new questions rather than answers.⁷³

If, instead, we try to combine the information provided by the painted shelters in a single picture, we move to a coherent overview. If we cannot give a name to these groups, we will at least focus their cultural context.

Running the risk of being redundant, I summarize and stress what follows.

- 1) The rock paintings are characterized not only in stylistic and technical terms, but also in terms of their spatial setting as a quite coherent expression.
- 2) Within such coherence, I singled out a stylistic trend from a simplified linear-style to another with a substantial enrichment of the details, including figures in profile. This is

⁷² OLIVIERI 1996: 60.

⁷³ TUCCI 1977: 11-12, 15-18.

seen in paintings dated to a later time by horsemanship and offensive weapons, as well as by the presence of *trisula* -like symbols. The later paintings demonstrate a consistent use psychograms (body modifications); however, they develop a less ordered syntax.

3) I stressed a continued use of a vocabulary made of recurrent ideograms, pictograms and psychograms. Among the recurrent ones, there are anthropomorphs in a central or dominant roles. In the earlier paintings, grid-like ideograms are prominent.

4) In this framework of coherent continuity, paintings demonstrate a power of osmosis, in the face of important innovations introduced by the cultures of the main valley. This ability to integrate results in a progressive enrichment and/or mutation of the inherited lexicon.

5) Recurrent scenes, not representing 'the others' (as in the case of Buddhist architecture or late warriors on horseback) can be classified into the following categories: agricultural rituals (Sites 03 and 04), cultic role of the ibex, heroic figures, anthropomorphs, hunting scenes, farming scenes. These are self-representations by the culture which also produced the painted shelters.

6) The first category is associated in one case (Site 04) to a heroic figure and to a scene involving the cult of the ibex. Hunting and pastoral scenes are diffused in many shelters. The latter two categories are also represented within the same shelters. At least in one case, scenes of sheep-farming were found also in isolation (Site 12).

7) The first three categories never show lexical items of the main valleys. The latter two categories are also mingled with figures of warriors on horseback and of Buddhist architecture, with few exceptions: Site 12, and Sites 05 and 13. In the last two Sites possession of the cattle is accompanied by a large anthropomorph in a dominant position and in one case (05) by ideograms of battle axes and handprints.

8) Despite the fact that the physical setting of the paintings is similar, I envisage a gradation of isolation and visibility among the various shelters. Some paintings belong to 'Sanctuaries', others to 'Hermitages'; another group was found in 'Public or signaling sites', while others again are set in less significant locations. The self-representative paintings are mainly found in the first three types of shelters. The first two types are found solely in Kotah's central valley. The other types are equally present in the upper valley of Kotah. Generally, the paintings located on the S side of the valley, overlooking the plains of Mardan, are housed in 'Casual/Private painting places', belong to a very late context.

9) The living space of the painters shifted from the middle valley of Kotah, toward the S, and then again, to rest S of the watershed between Mardan and Swat at a later phase. This shift was accompanied by a progressive de-ritualization of the shelters, from ritually significant paintings housed in privileged places, morphologically meaningful, to more descriptive paintings in accessible, comfortable locations, with no special character. However, even these 'representative' paintings, as we have seen, may have had an apotropaic function (or as a form of 'recognition of merit', as for the images of Buddhist architecture).

10) The shift coincided with the ingression of Buddhist communities into the high valleys. Its peak falls in the second half of the 1st Millennium CE.

11) It is not possible to ascertain to which prehistoric/protohistoric periods the oldest paintings belong. Those emphasizing possession or riding of livestock, and the horse, could be contemporary to the macro-phenomenon generally known as 'Gandhara Grave Culture'.

12) One of the oldest painting (Site 04), has also carvings, made outside the main complex. The wealth of rock engravings in middle Swat and Kandak and Kotah, in my opinion cannot be ascribed to the same communities which made the paintings (except, perhaps in the case of Muhammad-patai). Almost all the incisions are the self-expression of a culture emphasizing war, cattle and horses, as below Site 04.

13) If the most ancient paintings are ascribed to a pre-contact horizon, then all others should be discussed in terms of post-contact phases. During the spread of the Buddhist foundations, the makers of the paintings were subordinate to the monastic communities. At this stage, they may have played an important role in the economy of the Buddhist establishments, managing semi-wild grapevines, and the harvesting and pressing of the grapes, as they were familiar with these processes. Of great economic significance for the Buddhist communities, these activities ended when they moved to the southern slopes, towards Mardan.

14) The later contact phase occurs simultaneously with the diffusion of Brahmanic forms in lower Swat, and can be roughly placed at approximately the 7th Century CE.

More is provided by the self-representations of painted shelters, if we, again, may proceed by the following bits of information:

1) agricultural worship was expressed through two types of actors (Site 04): one of high-

- ranking individuals which carried out the seeding (priests?), another of a lower rank that proceeded with the plowing (the difference in rank perhaps expressed through specific features of the sowers and the great anthropomorph at the center of the agricultural field);
- 2) the cultic role of the ibex was emphasized through an anthropomorph, or a scene of ritual slaughtering; the antinomy ibex-leopard was stressed by the representation of an isolated hero holding a radial shield or a *chackra* (Site 04);
 - 3) large anthropomorphs are represented in a dominant position either with radial shields or *chakra*, or in a state of near-death as well as with impressive body modifications;
 - 4) grape pressing was carried out in secluded areas and marked by painted shelters (Site 11), and besides the economic value, had a ritual significance, if the product was consumed by the community itself;
 - 5) the role of sheep farming was not secondary; in a scene, a flock of sheep is dominated by a large anthropomorph (as in Site 12);
 - 6) ritual activities, in moments of seclusion, were bound to rock shrines ('Sanctuaries' and 'Hermitages').

All this speaks of hierarchically structured tribal communities, living in an ecologically undisturbed area. They worshipped agriculture, and perhaps the ibex, with special rituals; the production of rock art had some ritual character too. Relevant or recurrent local deities have not been identified: the anthropomorph in a cultivated field and the couple leopard-ibex appear only once, but in highly a representative 'Sanctuary'. However, dominant anthropomorphs are recurrent. Self-representative symbols, such as axes or handprints, are only seen once, but also in this case, in a very significant context. The community was for the most part permanent, and involved in agricultural activities, hunting, and harvesting (grapes). It was a non-literate society, with a significant mythopoeic heritage. It had a strong sense of rock landscape symbolism. Its religion involved forms of shamanic or magical asceticism, (dominant anthropomorphs and body modifications). Rock shelters were places of isolation at particular moments of the life cycle, and painting created emotional scenarios for the rituals that accompanied these transitions. The shelters were visited several times, and the paintings in these occasions were altered, possibly on the occasion of seasonal celebrations. The data might suggest that this people had funerary rituals which left little or no traces.



Fig. 89

All points to an early form of the otherwise defined ‘Kafir’ -Dardic environment, including the *ādivāsī* communities of ancestral Swat. Although I cannot discuss here the linguistic and cultural differences between the two contexts, nor their chronological correlations,⁷⁴ many agree that these ancient languages were common in ancient NW India as early as the 2nd Millennium BCE. At various stages, the ‘Kafir’-Dardic cultures were gradually marginalized until they shrunk to an area coinciding with the Hindukush-Karakorum mountains and their piedmont. In Swat, the existence of these cultures is

⁷⁴ According to A. Parpola, the population speaking Dardic languages (Early-Proto-Rgvedic = Early Proto-Dardic; corresponding to the culture of Swat Period IV) preceded the arrival of those speaking spoken Nuristani (‘Kafir’ or Proto-Nuristani = Late Proto-Dardic; the makers of the ‘faced’ urns of Swat Period V) (PARPOLA 1988: 243-48; ID. 1995: 373). From an Indological point of view, the ‘Kafir’ or Nuristani/Dardic background (let aside their distinction) were recently studied according to two main models. The first one thinks that this complex echoed the traits of the Indo-Iranian ‘myths, ritual and society, and [...] many aspects of R̥gvedic [religion]’ (WITZEL 2004: §1.5.6; s. also PARPOLA 2009). The second one considers the complex of myths, ritual and society, as a partial echo of the post R̥gvedic religion (FUSSMAN 1977). S. also fn. 106 and fn. 107 in the ‘Discussion’.

positively attested since very early times, and are still recorded in modern times (in the 15th, the 19th and 20th centuries).⁷⁵

In a nutshell, the authors of the Painted Shelters in Malakand-Swat can be found in this cultural context. All the cultural elements discussed above are consistent with this hypothesis, together with the rock symbology (consider the zoomorphic rocks of the Swat, e.g. at Palwano-gata, Fig 89), the use of paintings in holy places (the recent paints of ibex in red ocher in *Jestakhan* of the Kalash), identified as the most sacred of the non-Buddhist locations in the valley of Kotah, the principal sanctuaries of prehistoric/protohistoric Swat. This scenario, too, links the agricultural rites of Site 04 to a possible early 'Kafir' -Dardic context, without precluding a Rgvedic substrate, as proposed in previous pages. At the end of the 1st Millennium AD, the phenomenon of the painted shelters in the study area ceases. We do not know whether this is due to the abandonment area, a migration or other reasons.

* * *

Our painted shelters were not used after their abandonment, nor they were damaged or modified for being re-used (with the exception of the recent use as shelter for sheeps and goats by Gujari families). We do not know if the area, as above Swabi and Mardan, was abandoned until the Gujars re-settled there (it certainly happened between the 19th and 20th century, as observed at Site 46 and in the Fundstelle 2 of Tanawal shelters).

However, after the arrival of the Yusufzai, the painted shelters perpetuated their uncommon character until present days through their Pashto toponyms (see Di Chiara, Appendices, this volume 2). Some names, dated after the 16th century by the new occupants and rulers of the Swat valley, are merely descriptive (i.e. 'Kakai -kandao', 'Kamal-china', 'Busus -smast'), but others reveal a certain degree of respect for the painted places. These toponyms define both sacred ('Malak-ziarat') and cursed spaces ('Badze', 'Kafir-kot'); they can also display a sort of naïve admiration for the paintings ('Khaista-kamar', 'Lal-kamar'), deemed as belonging to the fairy world ('Palwano-gata',

⁷⁵ For their antiquity in Swat, see TUCCI 1977. For their presence in modern times, see TUCCI 1940; JETTMAR 1960; OLIVIERI/VIDALE ET AL. 2006: 138-142; CACOPARDO/CACOPARDO 2001: 35. For the 'Kafir' religion, we refer to JETTMAR 1958, 1960, 1961, 1975, FUSSMAN 1977, WITZEL 2004, CACOPARDO/CACOPARDO 2001 and ref.

but also ‘Bacha -kot’ and ‘Thakt -gat’), either to the Hindu imagery (‘Hinduano-hatai’, ‘Ram-dunai’). In one case, ‘Sargah-sar’, the Pashto toponym decodes perfectly the meaning attributed by the aboriginal community to this outstanding natural sculpture.⁷⁶

In Tanawal, Hazara, another area which hosts painted shelters, there was a large influx of people from Swat in the 16th century: these were the Swati of Hazara, who had been, according to the tradition, driven out from Swat by the arrival of the Yusufzais. At least one shelter (Tanawal, Fundstelle 1) was ceremonially re-used: within the shelter the mullahs celebrate benediction ceremonies, carry out the ritual slaughtering of animals for the Eid holiday, as well as popular rituals of a more antique flavor. The description of one of these ceremonies provided by a modern witness, tells us how little we in fact know regarding the function and the original significance of our painted shelters, and how everything said so far is just an attempt to answer many questions on an information that is little more than a silent skeleton.

‘Beneath the protection of one rock, collective congregational prayers take place for the rains during the drought season. One part of the prayer is also performed by the mullahs in the pool of the adjoining *nullah*. In this ceremony the youth of the area throw water on the mullahs, completely drenching them. Once the mass prayers of nearly 1,000 participants are completed, some 25-30 stay behind and continue praying under the rock until it begins to rain’⁷⁷. Surprisingly, the prayers are reported to have been successful.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ See DI CHIARA, Appendices, this volume.

⁷⁷ AYAZ KHAN 1998: 282-83.

⁷⁸ The description of these worship activities recalls what Xuanzang wrote about a site, curiously located more or less in the same area of Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, between Besham and Taxila, i.e. in Hazara Division: ‘North-west of the capital about 70 li [approx. 30 km] is the tank of the Naga-*raja* Elapatra (I-lo-po-to-lo); it is about 100 paces round, the waters are pure and sweet; lotus flowers of various colours, which reflect different tints in their common beauty (*garnish the surface*); this Naga was a Bhikshu who anciently, in the time of Kashyapa Buddha, destroyed an Elapatra tree. Hence, at the present time, when the people of that country ask for rain or fine weather, they must go with the Shamans [*Śramaṇas*] to the side of the tank, and then cracking their fingers (*or*, in a moment), after praying for the desired object, they obtain it.’ (XUAN ZANG, Book III).

Post-scriptum₁

Recently (2012) I documented some head-stones in one of the Muslim graveyards inside the old village of Manglawar. Seven head-stones appear to be quite ancient and their decorative pattern is different from the elaborate floral designs typical of most of the later grave stones (Figs. 90-92).



Fig. 90



Fig. 91



Fig. 92



Fig. 93



Fig. 94



Fig. 95



Fig. 96



Fig. 97



Fig. 98

These old stones bear symbols related to the role of the deceased: in one case there is a solar shield with a dagger and a torque (?), accompanied by a poorly written Arabic inscription (Stone 6: Figs. 94, 99), in two cases a flask or a *kuza* (Stone 1: Fig. 93; Stone 3: Figs. 97, 100). Abstract symbols are also present, like a labyrinth (Stone 5: Fig. 95) as well as motifs and patterns similar to the ideogrammatic patrimony of our paintings, like grids and crossed circles (Stone 3: Figs. 96-97, 100; Stone 4: Fig. 98). These grave stones might belong to an early Islamization phase of non-Yusufzai, most probably Dardic (Torwali?), communities (17th Century?).

I am thinking, for instance, to Torwali-speaking people, the same communities now living in the Bahrain area. Folk-tales preserve the memory of their early settlement in the Barikot-Kandak area. Were these people the remnants of the original inhabitants of Kandak and Kotah valleys? Were these people the descendants of the authors of our rock-paintings?



Fig. 99

(Photo by E. Loliva)



Fig. 100

After our first visit, the ancient graphic was revisited by the local artistic sensibility.

(Photo by E. Loliva)

ADDENDUM 5

Map No.	Contact Phase Late Horsemanship Milieu (2nd half 1st Mill. CE)	Pastoralist (Recent 'Kafir'- Dardic) Milieu (1st Mill. CE)	Contact Phase Brahmanical/ Syncretic Milieu (2nd half 1st Mill. CE)	Contact Phase Buddhist Milieu (1st half 1st Mill. CE)	Early Horsemanship Milieu (1st Mill. BCE)	Agriculturalist Milieu (end-2nd Mill. BCE ?)
01						
02						
03						
04						
05						
06						
07						
08						
09						
10						
11						
12						
13						
14						
15						
16						
17						
18						
19						
20						
21						
22						
23						
24						
25						
26						
27						
28						
29						

Map No.	Contact Phase Late Horsemanship Milieu (2nd half 1st Mill. CE)	Pastoralist (Recent 'Kafir'- Dardic) Milieu (1st Mill. CE)	Contact Phase Brahmanical/ Syncretic Milieu (2nd half 1st Mill. CE)	Contact Phase Buddhist Milieu (1st half 1st Mill. CE)	Early Horsemanship Milieu (1st Mill. BCE)	Agriculturalist Milieu (end-2nd Mill. BCE ?)
30						
31						
32						
33						
34						
35						
36						
37						
38						
39						
40						
41						
42						
43						
44						
45						
46						
47						
48						
49						

Chart XIII

Distribution chart according to the major recognized cultural horizons

APPENDICES

1. TOPONOMASTIC LEXICON

MATTEO DE CHIARA

Bacha-kot: ‘children fort (*koṭ*, also ‘castle’)’.

Badze: ‘bad (*bad*) place (*zay*)’.

Banj-smast: ‘Cave of the *banj*’; *banj*, ‘*Quercus dilatata*’, fam. *fagaceae*, typical bush of the semi-arid terrains of NW Pakistan.¹

Bara Loe-banda: ‘big (*loi*) upper (*bara*) shepherd hut (*banda*)’.

Buso-smast: ‘cave (*samist/smac*) of the bran’, cf. *bus* ‘bran, cheff’: probably a place where brans were stored by a Gujari family.

Chowra-dob: ‘dark (*čura*) meadow (*dab*: see below ‘Dob’)’.

Churkai: ‘ruin’; cf. *čur* ‘broken, scattered, etc.; fragment; dust; ruin; sack, pillage’ + suff. *-kai* (cf. *palân-kai* ‘un tel’, *khuṭ-kai* ‘bouillonnement’, *khapas-kai* ‘cauchemar’, etc.)²

Dandi-sar: ‘peak of the pool’: *dand-e* (‘pool’) + *sar*, s. *sargah-sar*.

Dob: ‘meadow’. See also ‘dipped, (*dub*)’; or ‘hollow, depression’ (*dab*).

Dwolasmene-patai: ‘field (*paṭay*) worth 12 (*dwolas*) *mane*’, i.e. ‘a rich, productive field’; *mana* is a weight unit; *maṇe* could be also read as ‘apples’.

Dwo-qumbojai: ‘two *qumbojai*’: the suff. *-ojay*, according to Darmesteter, is one of the ‘suffixes d’appellatifs et de qualifications’, e.g. *ast-âzai*, *ast-ôdzai* ‘apôtre’.³ *Qumb-*, could be interpreted following Urdu omophonemes like *kumbā* ‘family, tribe’, *kambu* ‘conch, shell’, *kumbha* ‘water-pot, jar’; see *kumbha-ja*, vulg. *kumbhaj*, adj. (f. *-ā*) ‘Born in a water-pot’.⁴

Gwarejo-patai: ‘field (*patay*) of the blossoms (*γwarejō*)’.

Gweluno-ghar: ‘mountain (*γar*) of the flowers (*gweluno*)’.

Haji-smast-banda: ‘shepherd hut of the Haji’s cave’. Haji is a person who has performed *hāji*, the holy pilgrimage.

Hinduano-hatai: ‘mound (*xat*) of the Hindu’.

¹ IBRAR/HUSSAIN/SULTAN 2007: 329-37.

² DARMESTETER 1888-1890: CXXXVI.

³ IBID.: CXXXII (*ôdzai*).

⁴ PLATTS 1884: 847.

Kafir-kot: ‘fort (*koṭ*) of the infidels’.

Kakai-kandao: ‘*kakai*’s (wife’s paternal uncle) pass (*kandao*)’.⁵

Kamal-china: ‘beautiful/perfect (*kamāl*) spring (*čina*)’.

Khaista-kamar: ‘very beautiful (*xaista*) rock’.

Kwar-patai: ‘grape’s (*kwar*) field’.

Lal-kamar: ‘red (deep crimson)/ruby’s rock’.⁶ *Kamar* ~ *sar* are both terms that originally indicate parts of the human body and are frequently used as connotative in topographical names.⁷

Lal-kamar-china: ‘spring of *Lal-kamar*’.

Loe-banda: ‘big shepherd hut’.

Malak-ziarat: ‘sanctuary (*ziyarat*) of the angel (*malak*)’.

Marano-tangai: ‘defile (*tangai*) of the snakes (*marāno*)’.

Palangai: ‘alcova’; cf. Urdu *palang* ‘bed’.

Palwano-gata: ‘boulder of the giant’.⁸

Ram-dunai: ‘bonfire (*dunai*) of Ram (?)’.

Saffar-kandao: ‘pass of the journey (*safar*)’.

Sargah-sar: ‘peak of the head’: *sarḡa* means ‘the place of the head, or face’, while the suffix *-sar* indicates any peak or hill top. See above *Lal-kamar*.⁹

Shamo: ‘pavilion’.

Talang: ‘quarter’; da *ṭal* ‘quarter, group of houses’ + suff. *-ang*.¹⁰

Thakht-gat: ‘boulder, rock, of the throne’.

Trema-palangai: ‘muddy (*trama*) *palangai*’.¹¹

⁵ Cf. BARTH/MORGENSTIERNE 1958: 125 (*kandów* ‘pass’).

⁶ Cf. EILERS 1954: 371 ff. (“*Kamar* ‘Kreuz, Rücken’ (Gürtelgegend) —> ‘Berg; Terrasse, Steilhang’ ~ *sar* ‘Haupt, Kopf’ —> ‘Gipfel’, auch ‘Vorgebirge’”).

⁷ Cf. also BARTH/MORGENSTIERNE 1958: *loc. cit.* (*kámer* ‘rock/cliff’).

⁸ Cf. IBID. (*gáta* ‘rock/pebble’).

⁹ See also EILERS 1987: 25 (*saxt(e)-sar* ‘difficult pass’).

¹⁰ See DARMESTETER 1888-1890: CXXIII (*gaṛ-ang* ‘abîme’, like *gaṛ-andai* ‘rapide’, in the Category ‘Suffixes abstraits de noms d’action’).

¹¹ In the two volumes *Pashto Qāmus* published in Kabul in 1952-54, *trama* is translated in Dari as ‘soft mud, wet clay’.

2. DIE FELSMALEREIEN VON TANAWAL (MANSHERA DISTRICT)

GERHARD PAYR

Vorbemerkungen

Der Verfasser war von 1992 bis 2000 im Rahmen der deutschen Entwicklungszusammenarbeit (GTZ) im Mansehra Distrikt in Hazara Division in einem Projekt zur Sicherung der natürlichen Bergwälder tätig. Angesichts der damals kaum erforschten Ruinen des Buddhistischen Bauten in und um Shinkiari und Baffa am nördlichen Ende der Pakhli Plain entstand ein großes Interesse für die frühe Geschichte und Kultur von Gandhara. Zudem erschienen die Relikte in unmittelbarer Nähe des Karakorum Highway als Chance für die Schaffung von Einkommensmöglichkeiten für die lokale Bevölkerung im Kontext eines kulturellen Tourismus. Mit Unterstützung des Deputy Commissioner von Mansehra sowie des DOAM konnten die noch immer eindrucksvollen Ruinen der *Stūpakomplexes* von Zar Dheri in Thamba bei Shinkiari, am Eingang zum oberen Siran- und zum Konshtal, als *Site of Archeological Importance* vor ihrer völligen Zerstörung durch fortlaufende Raubgrabungen bewahrt werden. Damit wurden auch die Voraussetzungen für die letztlich - ob der sensationellen Funde zahlreicher Skulpturen und Reliefs - so erfolgreichen Grabungsarbeiten des National Museum of Tokyo ab 1995 deutlich verbessert.¹

Ata ur Rehman aus Oghi ermöglichte dem Verfasser erstmals 1993 den Besuch bisher nicht publizierter Felsmalereien in der 50km von Zar Dheri entfernten Region von Tanawal. Dieses etwa 200 km² große Berggebiet im äußersten SW von Hazara, zum *tahsil* Oghi gehörig, ist identisch mit dem bis 1969 innerhalb Pakistans bestehenden Feudalstaat Amb (*Mulk-e-Tanawal*), dessen Hauptort Amb am rechten Indusufer vom Tarbela Stausee Anfang der 70iger Jahre überflutet wurde. Im Zuge vielfacher Besuche wurden die Felsmalereien vom Verfasser fotografiert, externen Besuchern immer wieder gezeigt, und pakistanische wie auch ausländische Archäologen wiederholt gebeten diese Fundstellen doch wissenschaftlich zu erforschen. Der Widerhall blieb jedoch enttäuschend gering und ging gegen Null. Einzig im veröffentlichten Bericht eines pakistanischen Kollegen des Verfassers, M. Ayaz Khan, wurden diese Fundstellen ohne weitere inhaltliche Beschreibung erstmals kurz erwähnt.²

¹ YOSHIHIDE 2009.

² AYAZ KHAN 1997.

Überraschend erreichte den Verfasser jedoch 15 Jahre später im April 2010 eine Anfrage von L.M.O. (IsIAO) in Rom betreffend die angeblichen Felsmalereien in Tanawal. Daraus entstand eine bis heute andauernde intensive Kommunikation per e-mail und ein Austausch des vorhandenen Photomaterials. Dies führte schließlich im Juli 2010 zu einem ersten Feldbesuch der Fundstätten in Tanawal durch L.M.O.

Der hier vorgelegte Bericht zielt darauf ab den Ablauf der Entdeckung von Felsmalereien in Tanawal/Hazara aufzuzeigen, die genauere Lage und das naturräumliche und soziale Umfeld der Fundstätten zu beschreiben und – angesichts des fehlenden fachlichen Knowhow des Verfassers – mit großer Vorsicht erste Überlegungen zu den Felsmalereien anzustellen.

Geographische Lage und Bevölkerung

Die hier beschriebenen Fundstätten mit Felsbildern liegen in Luftlinie etwa 8 km südlich von Shergar - im Bereich eines Seitentales des Unar Flusses, das in alten Karten als Khariala Khata bezeichnet wird und dessen Hauptort Nambal i st. Eine Ende der 1990iger Jahre erbaute, etwa 10 -12 km lange asphaltierte Strasse, führt von Shergar in zunächst südwestlicher, später südöstlicher Richtung in dieses Seitental. Nahe dem Ende der Strasse findet sich unmittelbar rechts ein mächtiger, etwa 8m hoher Felsblock aus Granit/Gneiss, der in seiner Form einem Schiffsrumpf/Kiel ähnelt (Fundstelle 1). Die anderen Felsmalereien finden sich am Ende der Strasse, etwa 200 m bzw. 1000 m entfernt auf der rechten Flanke des Tales (Fundstellen 2 und 3) in einer Seehöhe von etwa 1200–1600 m. Alle diese bisher bekannten Fundstätten befinden sich in einem Umkreis von etwa einem Kilometer. Zwischen den Fundstätten 2, 3 und 4 besteht eine Sichtverbindung. Das bisherige Fundgebiet von Tanawal wird großräumig im W durch das Stammesgebiet von Khala Daka am linksseitigen Indusufer gelegen, begrenzt. Das bereits außerhalb von Khala Daka liegende Dorf Darband an der Mündung des Unar-Flusses in den Indus bzw. den Tarbela Stausee ist etwa 8–10 km von den Fundstätten entfernt.

Der in nordwestlicher Richtung fließende Bach im Nambaltal hat den Charakter eines Gebirgsflusses mit vielen geschliffenen Granit/Gneissfelsblöcken., ist stets wasserführend und bildet nächst der Fundstelle 1 einen markanten, tiefen Tümpel, der von Kindern gerne zum Baden und gewagten Sprüngen von den umgebenden Felsen benutzt wird. Vom Ende der Strasse steigt das Gelände in östlicher Richtung stark an und erreicht im dicht bewaldeten Doga Forest, auf der Wasserscheide zum Siranfluss, dem sogenannten Bhingra Trakt eine Höhe von 2587 m.

Die mittelsteilen Talhänge sind durch unzählige Granit/Gneissfelsen und zumeist einzeln stehende Kiefern und Laubbäume stark gegliedert, sodass nur sehr kleine Felder für landwirtschaftliche Nutzung im Trockenfeldbau verbleiben. Die kleinen Terrassen werden als Grünland oder für den Anbau von Mais, Weizen und Gerste genutzt. Nur im Talbereich gibt es unbedeutenden Bewässerungslandbau für Reis. Die Mehrzahl der Kleinbauern besitzt Wasserbüffel zur Milcherzeugung, sowie Ziegen und

Schafe. Die Rinderhaltung ist unbedeutend. Der geschlossene, aus Kiefern und Tannen bestehende Waldbestand von 7862 ha war im Besitz des Nawab von Amb und wurde erst 1974 Staatsforst (*Protected Forest*) ohne Nutzungsrechte für die lokale Bevölkerung. Daraus und aus dem hohen Bevölkerungszuwachs erklärt sich der starke Rückgang der Holzbestände. Der erfolgreiche Modellversuch des Siran Forstprojektes die lokalen Dörfer in das Management und die Nutzung der Wälder einzubinden, musste aufgrund massiver Widerstände der so genannten ‚Timbermafia‘ wieder aufgegeben werden.

Die Bevölkerung von Tanawal gehört durchwegs zur Ethnie der Tanolis, die im 15.-16. Jahrhundert hier eingewandert sind. Bis zur Landreform von 1960 waren die meisten Bauern Pächter (*tenants*) auf den dem Nawab von Amb gehörenden Landflächen. Tatsächlich wurden bis heute nur für wenige Kleinbauern Besitztitel auch in den Grundbüchern der Patwaris eingetragen. Die meisten Familien sind deshalb de facto nur ‚Besetzer‘ des von ihnen bewirtschafteten Landes.³ Die Bevölkerungsdichte ist groß, selbst die Subsistenzproduktion von Getreide reicht nur für wenige Monate und zwingt die Männer ihren Lebensunterhalt zumeist als Tagelöhner in den größeren Städten zu verdienen.

Geschichte

Die schriftlichen Berichte über Tanawal aus der Kolonialzeit beziehen sich weitestgehend auf die Zeit ab der Machtergreifung durch die Sikhs Anfang 1800.⁴ Zur frühen Geschichte von Tanawal liegen keine unmittelbaren Quellen vor. Die vermutlich seit der Bronzezeit erstellten Felsmalereien lassen jedoch auf eine ähnliche Besiedlungsgeschichte und auf vielfache Beziehungen, bzw. Identität mit der ursprünglichen Bevölkerung rechts des Indus schließen. Die Voraussetzungen einer frühen Besiedlung – Nähe des Indus mit seinen Handelswegen, relativ gute kleinräumige Voraussetzungen für Landwirtschaft und Tierhaltung, die Möglichkeiten für die Jagd in den vormals wesentlich dichteren benachbarten Wäldern sowie die Nähe des klimatisch begünstigten fruchtbaren Tieflandes des Panjab – scheinen evident. Ältere Funde in Oghi lassen auch auf eine Besiedlung und bauliche Tätigkeiten in der buddhistischen Zeit schließen, bedürfen jedoch einer präziseren Überprüfung. Vermutlich bestand zwischen dem Gebiet von Batagram und Allei/Pokal village, aus dem zahlreiche Funde aus buddhistischer Zeit vorliegen - in südlicher Richtung durch das Gebiet von Agror über Oghi und Shergarh zum Indus schon sehr früh ein Verkehrsweg, zumal die direkte Verbindung am linken Ufer des Indus zwischen Takhot und Darband durch das stark gegliederte Gelände des Stammesgebietes von Khala Daka schon immer sehr schwierig war. Ähnlich wie im Swattal sind die Fundstellen der Felszeichnungen von Tanawal einige Kilometer von den Hauptflüssen, Indus und Unar entfernt.

³ WILD 2000.

⁴ WATSON 1908.

Diskussion der Felsbilder

Fundstelle 1 LIKKI-DILLI (Hindko: ‚*beschriebener Felsen*‘)

Lage: südlich der Hauptstrasse, talaufwärts rechts, der nahe Wildbach bildet südwestlich des Felsens einen etwa 150m² großen Wassertumpf (Teich, *pool*) (Abb. 1), nahe des Felsblockes im SW ein moslemischer Gebetsplatz im Freien.



Abb. 1

Beschreibung: großer Felsblock aus Granit/Gneis, ca.20x10x8m, stark überhängende Felsen mit bemalten Nischen im N und S.

Typus: ‚*deliberate painting place*‘ (s.o. das Kapiteln ‚Discussion‘).

Position: Nische 1 in NNW, Nischen 2-4 in SSO, die Felsmalereien finden sich fast ausschließlich auf der Südseite nahe dem Bach.⁵

⁵ Einige Meter von der Ostseite des Felsens entfernt bilden im Abstand von etwa 30cm gesetzte Steinplatten zwei auffallende, etwa 5–7m lange Linien in Nord-Südrichtung. Die senkrecht stehenden, oben konisch bearbeiteten (?) Steinplatten ragen etwa 50-70cm hoch und sind vermutlich tief gesetzt. Ihre Funktion ist unklar; möglicherweise standen hier ursprünglich noch mehr Steine.

Nische 1

Großflächige Übermalung mit roter Ockerfarbe lässt Einzelheiten einer ursprünglichen Bemalung nicht mehr erkennen. Darunter moderne Inschrift auf Paschtu (?): ‚Azrat Yufus Tufan nach Jambil, Swat; moslemische Gemeinschaft der Moschee 1999‘.

Nische 2

Einige Figuren in rotem Ocker an der rechten unteren Seite: Pferdereiter, stehende Figuren nach links blickend.

Nische 3

Nur eine lange Reihe von baumähnlichen Piktogrammen ist hier erkennbar.

Nische 4

Die Nische besteht aus zwei Sektoren.

Links sind zwei sich teilweise überlappende Cluster von Malereien sichtbar. Darunter sind karminrote Farbspritzer etwas schwierig zu unterscheiden (Abb. 2).

Diese stammen wahrscheinlich aus jüngster Zeit, da während der ersten Dokumentation (1993; Abb. 3, 4) die Fläche noch ungestört war und andere Figuren noch sichtbar waren (darunter zwei große rundschnädelige menschliche Gestalten mit in die Hüften angewinkelten Armen, ein berittener Krieger mit einem lang-gefederten Helm - eine Streitaxt haltend). Angesichts der Ähnlichkeit der verwendeten Farbe erscheint es möglich, dass der Verursacher dieser und anderer ‚zensurierender Interventionen‘ derselbe Muhammad Khan sein könnte, der auch seine Unterschrift in der Nische 5 hinterließ. Allerdings sind am unteren Rand noch karneolrote nach links blickende Figuren von Krieger und bewaffneten Reitern erkennbar. Eine dieser Figuren wird im Duell mit Schwert und langgefedertem Helm dargestellt.

Auf der rechten Seite ist ein *stūpa*-ähnliches Piktogramm sichtbar,⁶ zu ihrer Linken ist eine U-förmige menschliche Figur mit ausgestreckten Armen frontal dargestellt.⁷ Oberhalb sind orange-rote menschliche Figuren und Ideogramme dargestellt; unter letzterem, ein Gitter (*grid*) und gepunktetes Quadrat, beinahe identisch mit einem Ideogramm für ein ‚gepflügtes Feld‘ wie in den Swat-Malakand

Die flache Oberseite des Felsens kann relativ leicht bestiegen werden. Es finden sich dort einige etwa handgroße eingemeisselte Steinmulden, deren Zweck derzeit nicht geklärt ist.

Am tiefen Wassertumpf des Baches südwestlich des Felsens versammeln sich laut Aussagen der lokalen Bevölkerung bei längeren Trockenperioden die Mullahs der Umgebung und beten im Wasser stehend mit bis zu 1000 Gläubigen solange um Regen, bis dieser auch tatsächlich kommt. Möglicherweise spielte dieser Tumpf bereits in vormuslimischer Zeit eine kultische Rolle.

⁶ S.o. das Kapitel ‚Description of Materials‘, Fig. 41, fn. 46.

⁷ S.o. das Kapitel ‚Description of Materials‘, Sektion 1, Fig.3, fn. 5.

Ideogrammen von Fundstelle 4 dargestellt.⁸ Auch ein großes halbrundes Ideogramm (?) befindet sich auf der rechten Seite.



Abb. 2



Abb. 3

⁸ S.o. das ‚Description of Materials‘, fn. 50; s. auch das Kapitel ‚Discussion‘, Paragraph, ‚Syntax, Style and Meaning‘.



Abb. 4

Im gleichen Cluster ist eine gehörnte anthropomorphe Figur zu entdecken: es ist nicht auszuschließen, dass die Figur in die Darstellung einer Art von Umzäunung (*enclosures*) eingefügt wurde.⁹

Die Sequenz der Überlappung der zwei Cluster ist nicht klar. Rechts ein Cluster von karneolroten Figuren, meist nach links blickend: Krieger bewaffnet mit runden Schildern und Bogenschützen, die Mehrheit wird als auf dem Rücken der Pferde stehend dargestellt (Reiter?). Einige werden im Duell präsentiert, wie die zwei Paare dargestellt am untersten Ende im Zentrum rechts der Szene. Das Paar links besteht aus einer stehenden Figur (links) mit einem Schwert und einer Figur auf dem Rücken eines Pferdes stehend. Das Paar von Kriegern ist beritten. Zu ihrer Rechten steht eine große anthropomorphe Figur mit in die Hüfte gestützten Armen sowie eine menschliche Figur mit einem Schwert in der gleichen Pose.¹⁰ Man beachte auch, dass diese Pose auch verwendet wird für die Darstellung des rechten Armes eines sich duellierenden Kriegers in der gleichen Nische im linken Sektor, siehe oben aber auch bei zwei Figuren von Fundstelle 2, siehe weiter unten. Eine deutliche *Stūpa*darstellung mit einem Stiegenaufgang ist sichtbar.¹¹

⁹ S.o. das Kapitel ‚Description of Materials‘ Fig.65 und 66, fns.14 and 60.

¹⁰ S.o. die Figur von Site 13 der Malakand Gruppe.

¹¹ Dieser Typ einer *Stūpa* erinnert an die Darstellungen von Site 14 der Swat-Malakand Gruppe: s.o. das Kapitel ‚Description of Materials‘, Fig. 38.

Die Malereien sind teilweise überdeckt von modernen Zeichnungen mit weißer Kreide.

Nische 5

Die Malereien sind verblasst und sind in jüngster zum größten Teil mit roter Farbe übermalt worden.

Unten noch eine moderne Inschrift in Paschtu (?) ‚*Muhammad Khan*‘.

Fundstelle 2 **LIKKI-KHLA** (Hindko: ‚*beschriebener Stein*‘)¹²

Lage: von Site 1 etwa 1000 m, bergauf in Richtung NNW (Luftlinie maximal 500 m).

Beschreibung: markanter überkragender Felsen mit offener Höhle und Nische, Granite/Gneis.

Typus: Heiligtum (?; s.o. das Kapiteln ‚Discussion‘); Einsiedelei/Unterstand (noch heute von Hirten genutzt).

Position: Nische offen gegen S.

Anmerkungen: Die Malereien befinden sich vor allem auf der Vorderseite der großen Nische. Es finden sich zwei Farbentypen, nämlich Karneolrot und Orangerot. Die Malereien in Karneolrot dürften die älteren sein. Die nachfolgende Beschreibung erfolgt von links nach rechts.

Links oben eine Reihe von isolierten karneolroten Ideogrammen, (rechteckig, auch gepunktet, mehrfache Einzäunungen (*enclosures*) und eine ‚Rosette‘ bestehend aus vier Punkten) sowie Figuren.

Links unten eine Reihe von Quadraten mit mehrfachen Punkten, vermutlich Ideogramme zur Darstellung von eingesäten Feldern, ein gepunktetes gitterähnliches Ideogramm steht offensichtlich in einem Zusammenhang mit orangeroten Figuren dargestellt mit in die Hüften angewinkelten Armen.

Im Zentrum befindet sich ein halbrundes, gekreuztes Rad mit einem Punkt in jedem Segment.

Auf der rechten Seite Darstellungen von Berittenen und abgestiegenen Reitern in orangerot.¹³ Unter verschiedenen Karneolroten Ideogrammen fallen ein gitterähnliches quadratisches Ideogramm und drei baumartige gestürzte Ideogramme auf.¹⁴

Die Felsmalereien sind teilweise überdeckt mit modernen weißen Malereien in Form von zick-zack Linien und einer Komposition von Punkten mit möglicherweise apotropäischer Bedeutung. An der Oberseite des Felsens finden sich, ähnlich wie in Site 1, eine Reihe von kleinen halbrunden Mulden (*cup-marks*).

¹² Von Fundstelle 2 gibt es einen vorzüglichen Blickkontakt zu den tiefer liegenden Fundstellen 3 und 4 in etwa 800 -1000m Entfernung.

¹³ Man beachte die enge Übereinstimmung zwischen einer dieser Figuren mit denen von Site 45 der Swat-Malakand Gruppe.

¹⁴ Diese baumartigen Ideogramme finden sich auch in die Fundstelle 1, Nische 2, s.o.; zur Interpretation s.u. das Paragraph ‚Schlussfolgerungen‘ in diesem Papier.

Fundstelle 3 **KELLI-GATI** (Hindko: ‚*stehender, hängender Stein*‘)¹⁵

Lage: ca 800 m SW von Site 2, Sichtkontakt dorthin.

Beschreibung: Felsengruppe aus Granit/Gneis.

Typus: Heiligtum (?; s.o. das Kapiteln ‚Discussion‘); Einsiedelei/Unterstand (?).

Position: Nische offen gegen N.

Anmerkungen: Nur wenige Figuren in rotem Ocker sind erhalten, darunter vor allem eine große anthropomorphe Gestalt.

Fundstelle 4 **LASLI-GATI** (Hindko: ‚*glatter, rutschiger Stein*‘)¹⁶

Lage: 50 m W von Site 3, in der Nähe von Ruinen einer alten Moschee, Sichtkontakt mit Site 2.

Beschreibung: tiefe Höhle und hoch aufragender Felsen, Granit/Gneis.

Typology: Heiligtum (?; s.o. das Kapiteln ‚Discussion‘); Einsiedelei/Unterstand.

Position: Nischen auf der Nordseite, Höhle NO.

Anmerkungen: Einige Figuren sind erhalten; eine davon zeigt auf der linken Seite der Nische eine Duellszene mit vier Kriegern, die Kampfäxte in den Händen halten. Im Zentrum ein Berittener; auf der rechten Seite vier Ideogramme (?): drei Gitter, jedes davon von einer einzelnen Linie und vier unterteilten senkrechten Segmenten gebildet (zwei der Gitter sind durch eine Verbindungslinie verknüpft; schließlich noch eine halbrunde Figur.

Schlussfolgerungen

1. Die große Ähnlichkeit der Felsmalereien von Tanawal mit den Fundstätten im Swat und in Swabi lassen auf nahe Beziehungen mit der dort ansässigen Bevölkerung schließen. Nur eine verfeinerte vergleichende Untersuchung der Felsbilder in den geschützten Felsnischen und Höhlen auf regionaler Ebene würde eine spezifischere Herausarbeitung von Unterschieden ermöglichen. Demgegenüber fallen die größeren Unterschiede zu den künstlerisch und inhaltlich wesentlich komplexeren Felsbildern aus der Region um Chilas/Kohistan auf, die sich zumeist sehr nahe dem Indus finden und offensichtlich auch einen viel längeren Zeitraum abdecken.¹⁷

2. Weitere Fundstätten von Felsmalereien und anderen Artefakten im Bereich von Tanawal sind sehr wahrscheinlich und werden von Ortskundigen auch bestätigt. Dem Verfasser wurden etwa 1995 in Seri Mergul eine Reihe von Tonschalen gezeigt, die angeblich im Umfeld von Site 2 ausgegraben wurden.

¹⁵ Felsen sind teilweise ‚bearbeitet‘ um Zugänge bzw. Ausblicke aus den kleinen Höhlen zu ermöglichen. Vgl. FILIGENZI 2009: Abb. 5, S 301 (sie spricht von ‚Felsheiligtum und Unterstand‘ im Swattal).

¹⁶ Der felsige Vorplatz zu den Höhlen und Nischen wird bis heute für Schlachtungen und zur Lagerung von Getreidestroh/Dreschen (?) genutzt.

¹⁷ DANI 1983.

Eine nahe gelegene intakte Quellfassung dürfte ein hohes Alter haben. Felsmalereien aus Khala Daka sind bislang nicht bekannt geworden, doch dürfte sich auch dort eine systematische und vergleichende Erhebung lohnen.

3. Die zahlreichen Pictogramme für Bäume bzw. Wälder könnten auf deren früher wesentlich weitere Ausdehnung und Bedeutung hinweisen. Vermutlich war das Gebiet der Felsmalereien bis lange nach der Bronzezeit noch stark bewaldet und wurde erst allmählich gerodet und auch landwirtschaftlich genutzt. Dabei wäre an frühe agroforstliche Landnutzungssysteme in Verbindung mit Jagd und Fischerei zu denken. Es könnte sich hier aber auch um ‚Heilige Bäume‘ und damit um Hinweise auf den Buddhismus handeln.

4. Das Gebiet von Tanawal war vermutlich aufgrund seiner naturräumlichen Vorzüge, wie einem durch die Höhenlage gemäßigten und gesunden Klima sowie aufgrund der Verfügbarkeit von Wasser, Holz, Wild- und Fischreichtum bereits in vorgeschichtlicher Zeit besiedelt. Vorstellbar wäre aber auch, dass die Menschen damals in tiefer gelegenen Gebieten, wie z.B. an den Ufern des Indus ihren Hauptwohnsitz hatten und das Gebiet der Felsmalereien nur in der Monsunperiode als Waldweide, für Holzeinschlag und Jagd, im Falle einer Bedrohung oder aus religiösen Gründen aufsuchten.

5. Denkbar wäre auch die ständige Anwesenheit einer vorgeschichtlichen und in die geschichtliche Zeit hineinragenden Bevölkerung, die ähnlich wie seit dem 18. Jahrhundert die Gujaris im Swat und in Hazara, von einwandernden Eroberern schon viel früher in die abgelegenen Höhenlagen der Berggebiete abgedrängt wurden.

6. In den Felsbildern von Tanawal gibt es bisher nur Urdu-Schriften mit dem Charakter von Graffiti aus der modernen Zeit. Alte Schriften wie Karoshti u.a.m. scheinen bislang nicht entdeckt worden zu sein. Dies könnte darauf hindeuten, dass im Gegensatz zum ‚multikulturellen‘ Indus um Chilas das Gebiet von Tanawal weniger oder kaum ‚international‘ begangen wurde, oder dass sich die Felsbilder von Tanawal in einem relativ kurzen historischen Zeitraum entstanden sind.

7. Der Nachweis buddhistischer und hinduistischer Spuren in Tanawal kann derzeit noch nicht als gesichert gelten. Dazu müsste die Feinauswertung der vorhandenen Fundstellen abgewartet sowie eine längst überfällige ergänzende archäologische Feldforschung in Hazara endlich in Angriff genommen werden. Wie die Aśoka Steinmonumente in Mansehra, die jüngsten großartigen Funde im Bereich von Zar Dheri und zahlreiche Einzelfunde in der Pakhli Plain, in Pokhal/Allei, Batagram, Oghi, und Damtaur, etc. indizieren, war Hazara wohl mehr als nur ein Randgebiet von Ghandara und damit ein wichtiges Bindeglied zu den ‚indischen‘ Kulturlandschaften im Osten.

3. THE PAINTED SHELTERS OF CHARGUL (MT. KARAMAR N, SWABI DISTRICT).

L.M. OLIVIERI/A. NASIR KHAN

A Brief History

In 1958 D.H. Gordon wrote: ‘There are, however, rock paintings of a sort at Chargul in the Mardan District of the North West Frontier Province of Pakistan. They are very inaccessible, but good copies were made in 1882 and submitted to Alexander Cunningham, who dismissed them as “boyish sketches – a sort of Afghan Noah’s Ark”. Just what these signs did mean is hopeless to speculate, but they were certainly something more than that. Though the majority are stylised animals and riders on horseback, there are a number of alphabetiphorms [fn. 9: Maxwell, C. ‘Inscriptions painted in red on rocks on the Hill Doda near the village of Chargul’, 1882 (An Arch. Survey of India report in pamphlet form)]. These pictographs can probably be dated to much the same period as rock engravings of the Middle Indus which will now be discussed’.¹

Curiously Gordon forgot to quote the major contribution to the subject after the report of Maxwell. In 1947 A. Foucher wrote: ‘Dèjà, lors de notre premier voyage sur la Frontière du Nord-Ouest, en 1896-7, le Directeur du Musée de Lahore, M.F.C. Andrews, nous avait donné communication, à notre retour du Gandhâra, de copies d’inscriptions pictographiques révélées au beau milieu du district de Peshâwar. Les figures 40, 41 et 42 [herewith Figs. 1, 2] sont la reproduction des dessins n^{os} 5, 6 et 7 annexés au *Report on Buddhist Explorations in the Peshawar District* by the 10th Company, Sappers and Miners, under the command of Lieutenant C. Maxwell, R.E., during April 1882. Le moment nous a paru venu de les publier: mais, comme nous n’avions pas vu nous-même les originaux des ces documents, nous avons pris la précaution de demander au Directeur général de l’Archéologie de l’Inde de les faire examiner à nouveau. Voici le renseignements que, par lettre du 17 mars 1938, M. Dikshit a bien voulu nous transmettre sur leur compte: «Le Curateur du Musée de Peshâwar me fait savoir qu’il a vu les inscriptions en question avec l’aide de M. Azim Ullah Khan, B.A., fils de Maazullah Khan du village de

¹ GORDON 1960: 110 -111. Gordon here refers to the Ghariala, Mandab and Mandori; on the basis of two Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions ‘[...] a general dating of 200 BC to A.D. 200 can be put as reasonable to cover the whole of this artistic output’ (IBID.: 112). Excerpts of this text has been anticipated in NASIR KHAN/OLIVIERI, FORTHCOMING.

Chargul, lequel accompagna le lieutenant Maxwell jusq' à ces rochers en 1882. les inscriptions ne sont pas gravées dans le roc, mais tracées au moyen d'une peinture rouge (rubrique ou hématisite). Plusieurs d'entre elles sont très difficiles d'access. Aux termes du rapport qui m'a été adressé, elles sont encore en bot état et situées sur la colline de Doda, près du village de Chargul, *tahsil* de Mardân, district de Peshâwar, à environs dix milles au Nor-est de Shâhbâz-Garhî. La colline de Doda est une éminence détachée qui s'élève en arrière (c'est-à-dire au Nord) de la montagne de Karamâr»'.²

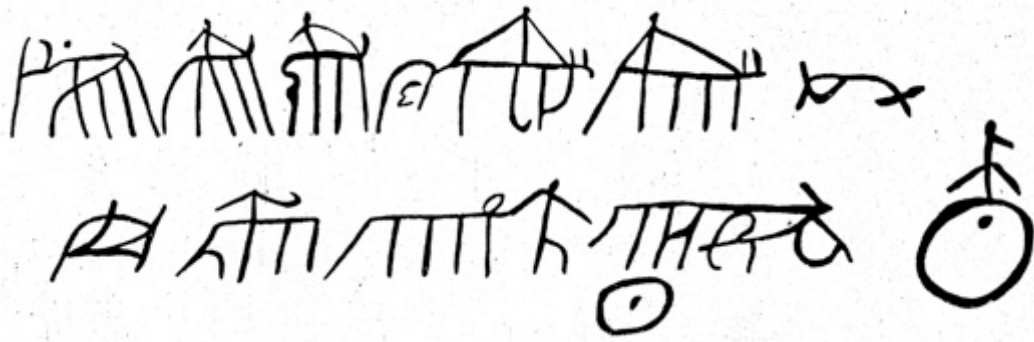


Fig. 1

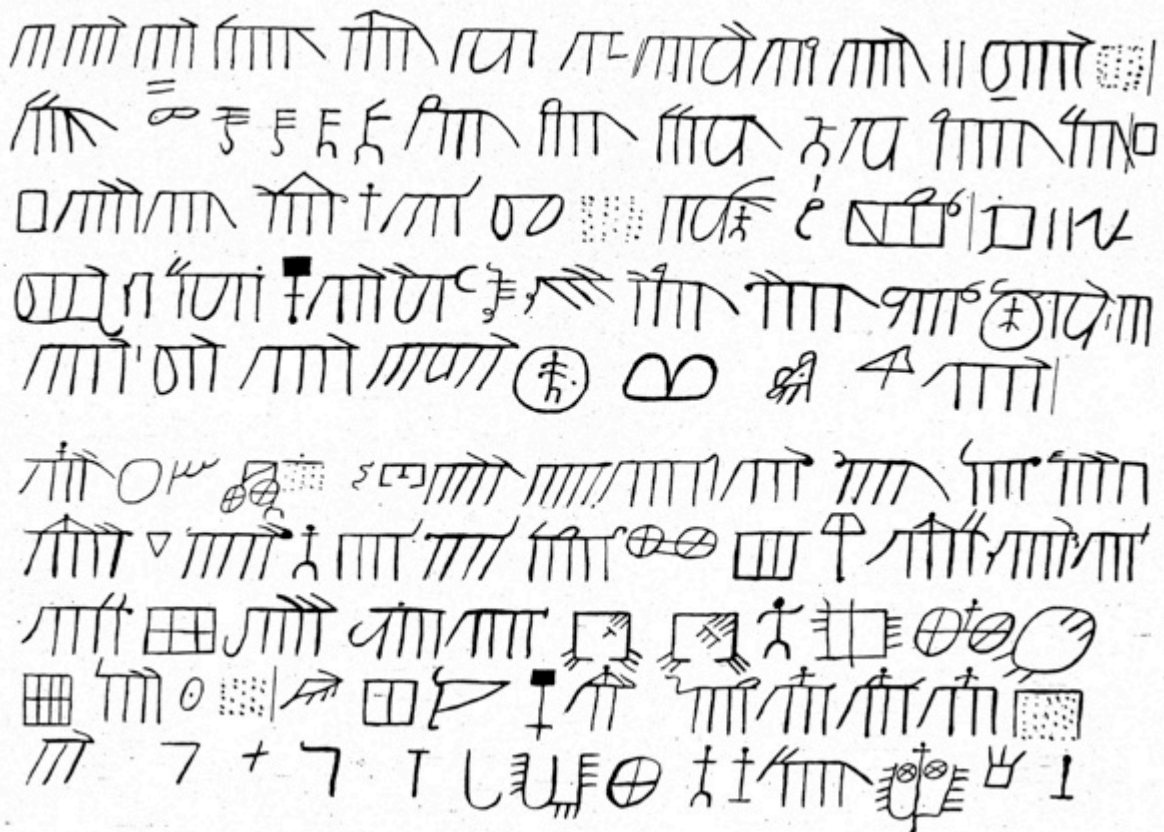


Fig. 2³

² FOUCHER 1942-47: 388-389.

³ Note that figs. 41 and 42 were published together (IBID.).

Recent Documentation

In 2001 the area of Chargul, now in the Swabi District, was targeted for a rescue excavation carried out by the DOAM and directed by Abdul Azim, Mehmood-ul-Hassan and A. Nasir Khan (Fig. 3). While the remains of a late ancient Buddhist monastery were unearthed (the site was labelled 'Chargul-dheri'), A. Nasir Khan noticed the presence of a small painted niche uphill the digging (Site 1). In summer 2010 A. Nasir Khan accompanied L.M. Olivieri on the spot where six other painted niches were then documented (Sites 2-6). These latter are located on scattered boulders along a shallow defile overlooking the area E of Chargul-dheri.

The niches are naturally carved onto granite boulders of different sizes; the figures are all painted in red-ochre.



Fig. 3

Site 1

It is located roughly 300 mt SE of the remains of Chargul-dheri. Inside a deep hollow-like arched niche naturally carved onto a boulder, there few, almost vanished painted figures. Amongst them, square ideograms and animals are discernible. The boulder is located above an artificial terrace supported by a rough stone-masonry wall.

The whole area between Site 1 and Sites 2-6 is covered by ruins of similar walls and structures (Fig. 4).

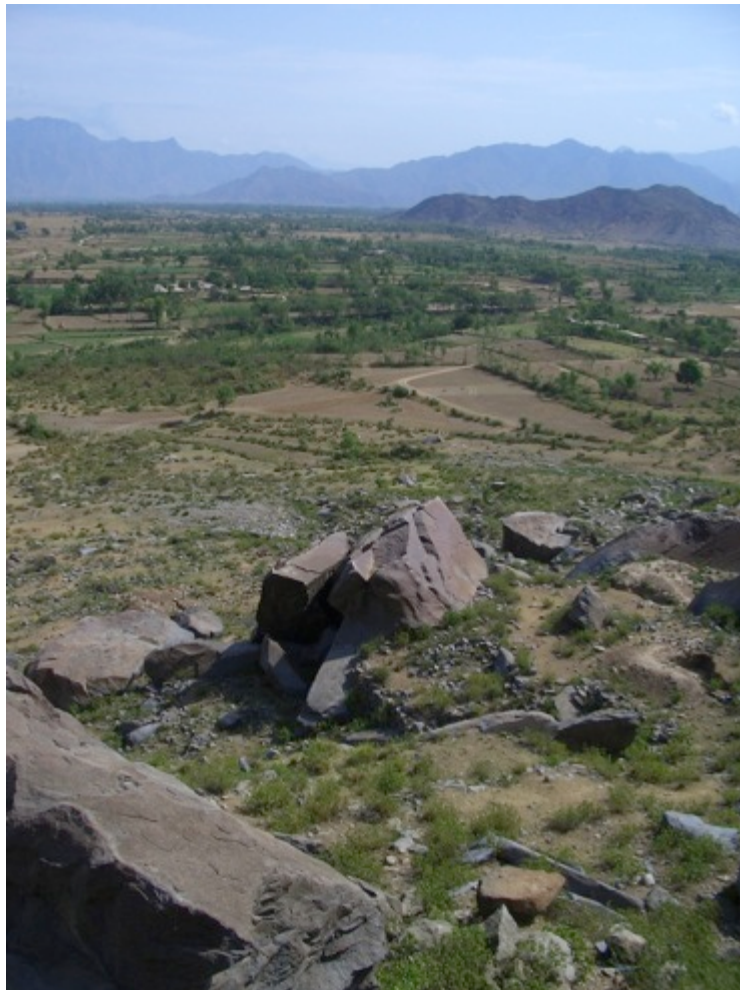


Fig. 4

Site 2

An isolated boulder on the top of the ridge. Inside a round hollow-like niche open to the N, few isolated figures are painted: a horseback hunter heading to the right in direction of an ibex. Above the latter, to the right, a strange pictogram is depicted (a boat?): a triangle turned upside down surmounted by a T-

shaped pole (a mast with the sail?); at the angles, there is an unidentified object.

Site 3

Less than 100 mt below Site 2 one comes across a very large boulder, almost round in shape and marked by three natural round niches, one on the top, the others at the bottom of its N face. Within the lower niches only few figures are visible. Within the right niche (A) a grid-like ideogram, an anthropomorph and a horse are the only recognizable figures. The left niche (B) hosts almost two dozens of figures: amongst them multiple rows of horseback riders, a radial disk, and an anthropomorph.

Site 4

About 50 mt below Site 3 there is a second boulder. The round niche is fully crowded with dozens of figures, mostly horseback riders, grid-like ideograms, animals, circles and a crossed-wheel. The painting is probably one of those reproduced by Foucher (fig. 42 corresponding to the last five lines of Fig. 2).⁴

Site 5

Immediately below Site 4 lays an elongated granite boulder; on its concave N face open two niches. Within the left one, shallow and triangular, facing N, a cluster of figures is almost vanished.

Sites 6

At the very bottom of the defile, one encounters a peculiar elongated boulder featuring multiple shallow concave surfaces. The main concavity, facing N, shows a set of circular niches. Both are covered with groups of figures, unfortunately almost invisible. The right niche (A) shows a set of unclear figures surrounding a central ideogram, a radial wheel, whose spokes converge towards a round hub. The left niche (B) is marked by a permutation of dots and crossing lines, probably pertaining to grid-like figurations.

Conclusions

The ‘inscriptions pictographiques’ discovered by Maxwell in 1882 are doubtless the same of the group of painted Sites presented in these pages. Their early documentation suffered from an evident lack of objectivity. The complex and somewhat indistinguishable clusters of figures were artificially ordered and transformed into something completely different. Their fluidity was frozen into lines of apparently intelligible pictograms, following probably a psychological need for order and clearness. This misinterpretation was actually driven by an unconscious fascination for the archaeological discoveries of the late 19th century in Egypt and in the Near East.

Nonetheless, all these paintings resemble those of Swat-Malakand and Tanawal. Their physical and

⁴ IBID.: fig. 42.

chronological relationships with the ruins of the nearby site of Chargul-dheri are hard to define. If in Swat-Malakand, the painted areas are outside the range of Buddhist communities, here they appear at the immediate periphery of a possible monastery. The second intriguing aspect, partially linked to the latter, is the geographical setting of the paintings. The whole complex of the Sites 2-6 represents a unity. The five boulders may be interpreted as deliberate painted places (see the 'Discussion', this volume), and as a whole, they could be considered as a complex of sanctuaries, or worship places (Fig. 5).



Fig. 5

4. *POST SCRIPTUM*₂:

PAINTED SHELTERS IN AND AROUND MT. ILAM

L.M. OLIVIERI

Introduction

In 2011, the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan re-started its activity within a Pakistan-Italian Debt-Swap funded project (ACT-Field School).¹

As the security conditions improved, we resumed not only the excavations (2011) but also, to some extent, a survey activity (2012).

The main objective of the survey activity, was to ascertain the authenticity of the various reports we had received since 2007 on the existence of painted shelters in and around the Mt. Ilam.²

In April and May 2012, while busy with the excavation at Amluk-dara (see above fn. 1), I took some hours off to visit a couple of sites, where painted shelters had been reported.

The shelter nearby Amluk-dara, Mt Ilam N (Swat District)

The shelter lies approximately 300 mt SSE of the archaeological site of Amluk-dara, just across a stream at the back side of the Main Stupa (Fig. 2). The site was labeled as AMSV 706. The shelter is a large and open natural niche facing N (Fig. 1). We observed surviving traces of white and ochre traits. Three clusters of ideograms were recognized. On top left, a square ideogram is surrounded by permutations of dots delimited on the left side by a continuous series of left-flipped L-shaped segments (hooks). Below there is a complex permutation of grid-like ideograms. To the right one sees an ideogrammatic pattern formed by 4 inverted L-shaped segments (hooks) flanking a dotted grid-like ideogram. This cluster is heavily darkened by soot.

¹ OLIVIERI 2009, OLIVIERI/VIDALE 2012.

² OLIVIERI 1996, OLIVIERI 2012. A. Stein pointed out that the position of Mt. Ilam, as well its religious importance for both the Buddhist and the Hindu communities, was one of the reasons of the long-enduring life of the monument of Amluk-dara, a Buddhist sacred area, maybe converted into a multi-religious complex around the 10th Century (STEIN 1930: 19).



Fig. 1

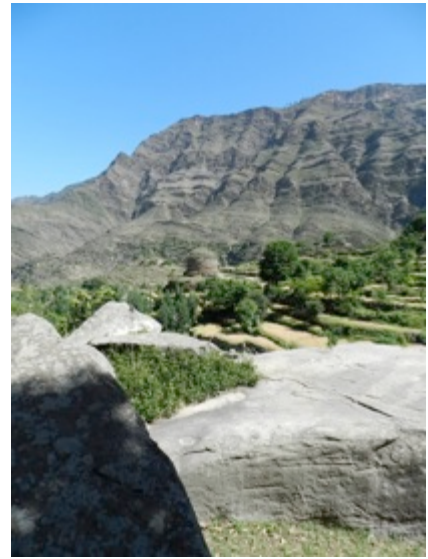


Fig. 2



Fig. 3

he shelters at Marghan, Mt. Ilam S (Buner District)

These paintings were documented on the S side of Mt Ilam, in the *tahsil* of Char, in district Buner, on the side of Mt. Ilam opposite to Amluk-dara, at the height of approx. 1,500 mt asl. Two groups of red-ochre paintings are housed within two large boulders, both opening to the N, facing the Ilam top. Both boulders lie about 5 mt from each other, on a sub-horizontal granite plaque or platform overlooking the Buner plain (Fig. 4). This plaque is at the top of a meadow plain surrounded by cedar-trees and cut by

the deep course of a stream, whose waters fall down in a crystal-clear lake. To the E the turreted tooth of the Halek-sar peak is clearly visible.



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6

The first boulder, located W (AMSV 704; Fig. 5) has two niches, one opening northwards (niche 1), the second one to E (niche 2). The second boulder (AMSV 705; Fig. 6) has two niches too, both opening to N (niches 1 and 2). In the first boulders only the pictograms painted in niche 1 are distinctly visible. Mounted warriors and standing individuals are well recognizable (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7

n the second boulder figures are preserved in both niches. Niche 1 is also distinguished by a couple of (natural?) cup-marks on the vertical wall at the bottom of the niche. Red-ochre splashes fill both the cup-marks and large portions of the niche wall (Fig. 8). The second niche, similar to a funnel-like shallow gallery, hosted paintings on both sides. Those on the left side are partially weathered, whereas those on the right are heavily encrusted with soot. Human figures are visible with noticeable difficulty on both sides, and only by digital color enhancing I saw under the darkened surface, on the right side, a mounted figure (Fig. 9).



Fig. 8



Fig. 9

LIST OF PLATES

- A – The rocky face of Sargah-sar seen from E (photo by M.V., September 2000).
- B – The landscape surrounding Cherat Pass (photo by L.M.O., August 2006).
- C – The hill of Barikot seen from middle Kandak valley (photo by L.M.O., September 2010).
- D – The highest point reached by the Buddhist foundations in the study area:, the rocky pinnacle of Topialai, SE end of the Kotah valley (photo by L.M.O., August 2006)
- E – The ridge dividing Kotah (right) and Thana (left) valleys seen from N (Kafir-kot) (photo by L.M.O., July 2006).
- F – Toward the end of the Kotah valley (a ‘palette-type’ wine-press in the foreground) (photo by L.M.O., August 2005).
- G – The Mardan plain seen from N (Chowra-dab) (photo by L.M.O., August 2006).
- H - Exploring the Cherat pass with A. Nasir Khan and Faiz-ur-Rehman
- J – AMSV photographic documentation of the middle Kandak, left bank (seen from N; photo by L.M.O., August 2005).
-
- 1 – Dwolasmane-patai 1, Site 01 (drawings by M.V. and F.M., 2000).
- 2 – Dwolasmane-patai 3, Site 02 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 3 – Kakai-kandao, Site 03 (drawings by M.V. and F.M., 2000).
- 4 – Sargah-sar, Site 04 (drawings by M.V. and F.M., 2000).
- 5 – Kamal-china, Site 05 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 6 – Badze 1, Site 06 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 7 – Dandi-sar 1, Site 08 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 8 – Dandi-sar 2, Site 09 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 9 – Malak-ziarat, Site 10 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 10 – Gwarejo-patai, Site 11 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 11 – Palwano-gata, Site 12 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 12 – Kafir-kot 1, Site 13 (drawings by L.M.O., 1993, not to scale).
- 13 – Kafir-kot 2, Site 14 (drawings by L.M.O. and M.V., 2005).
- 14 – Marano-tangai, Site 15 (drawings by L.M.O., 1993, not to scale).
- 15 – Shamo, Site 16 (drawings by L.M.O., 1993, not to scale).
- 16 – Hinduano-hatai, Site 17 (drawings by L.M.O., 1993, not to scale).

- 17 – Churkhai (Kabbal-dab), Site 19 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 18 – Ram-dunai 1, Site 20 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 19 – Bacha-kot, Site 23 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 20 – Busus-smast, Site 24 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 21 – Kwar-patai, Site 25 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 22 – Thakht-gat, Site 26 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 23 – Lal-kamar 1, Site 27 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 24 – Lal-kamar 3, Site 29 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 25 – Gweluno-ghar, Site 31 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 26 – Banj-smast, Site 32 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 27 – Lal-kamar-china 1, Site 33 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 28 – Lal-kamar-china 2, Site 34 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 29 – Lal-kamar-china 3, Site 35 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 30 – Loe-banda, Site 36 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 31 – Chowra-dab, Site 37 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 32 – Dab 1, Site 38 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 33 – Dab 2, Site 39 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 34 – Dab 3, Site 40 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 35 – Palangai 1, Site 41 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 36 – Palangai 2, Site 42 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 37 – Palangai 3, Site 43 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 38 – Saffar-kandao, Site 45 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 39 – Khaista-kamar 2, Site 47 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 40 – Khaista-kamar 2, Site 47 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 41 – Khaista-kamar 1, Site 46 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 42 – Drema-palangai, Site 48 (drawings by L.M.O., 2006).
- 43 – Dwo-qumbojai, Site 49 (drawings by L.M.O. and R.M., 2006).

- I – The two shelters of Dwolasmane-patai (above: Site 01, below: Site 02) seen from SE (photo by M.V.).
- II – Dwolasmane-patai 1, Site 01: the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- III – The shelter of Kakai-kandao (Site 03), seen from NNW (photo by L.M.O.).
- IV – Kakai-kandao, Site 03: the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- V – Kakai-kandao, Site 03: the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
- VI – In the background: the shelter of Sargah-sar (Site 04) seen from NNW (photo by L.M.O.).

- VII – The shelter of Sargah-sar (Site 04) seen from E (photo by L.M.O.).
- VIII – Sargah-sar: the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- IX – A detail of Pl. VIII (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- X – The shelter of Kamal-china (Site 05) seen from W (with Dr M. Vidale) (photo by L.M.O.).
- XI – Kamal-china (Site 05): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XII - Kamal-china (Site 05): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XIII - Kamal-china (Site 05): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XIV - A differently processed image of Pl. XII (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XV – The cliff of Badze 1: the low elongated shelter of Site 06 is visible just below the cliff's edge (photo by L.M.O.).
- XVI – The rock of Dandi-sar: the position of the Site 08 is marked by the presence of a man; Site 09, not visible, is on the top of the upper terrace (photo by M.V.).
- XVII – The shelter of Dandi-sar 2 (Site 09) seen from NNW (photo by M.V.).
- XVIII – Dandi-sar 2 (Site 09): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XIX - The niche of Malak-ziarat (Site 10) seen from W (photo by L.M.O.).
- XX – Malak-ziarat (Site 10): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XXI – The shelter of Geawrejo-patai (Site 11) seen from ESE (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXII – Gwarejo-patai (Site 11): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XXIII – Palwano-gata (Site 12): the boulder seen from ENE (photo by M.V.).
- XXIV – The shelter of Palwano-gata (Site 12) seen from N (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXV – Palwano-gata (Site 12): the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXVI- Pl. XXV after processing (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XXVII – The shelter of Kafir-kot 1 (Site 13) seen from W (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXVIII- Kafir-kot 1 (Site 13): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XXIX - Kafir-kot 1 (Site 13): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XXX - Kafir-kot 1 (Site 13): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XXXI – The shelter of Kafir-kot 2 (Site 14) seen from E (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXXII – Kafir-kot 2 (Site 14): the (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XXXIII – The shelter of Talang (Site 18) seen from W (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXXIV – The shelter of Churkai (Kabbal-dab; Site 19) seen from E (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXXV – The cliff of Churkai overlooking the area known as Kabbal-dab; the boulder of Site 19 is visible on the top of the upper terrace (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXXVI - Churkai (Kabbal-dab; Site 19): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XXXVII - Churkai (Kabbal-dab; Site 19): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).

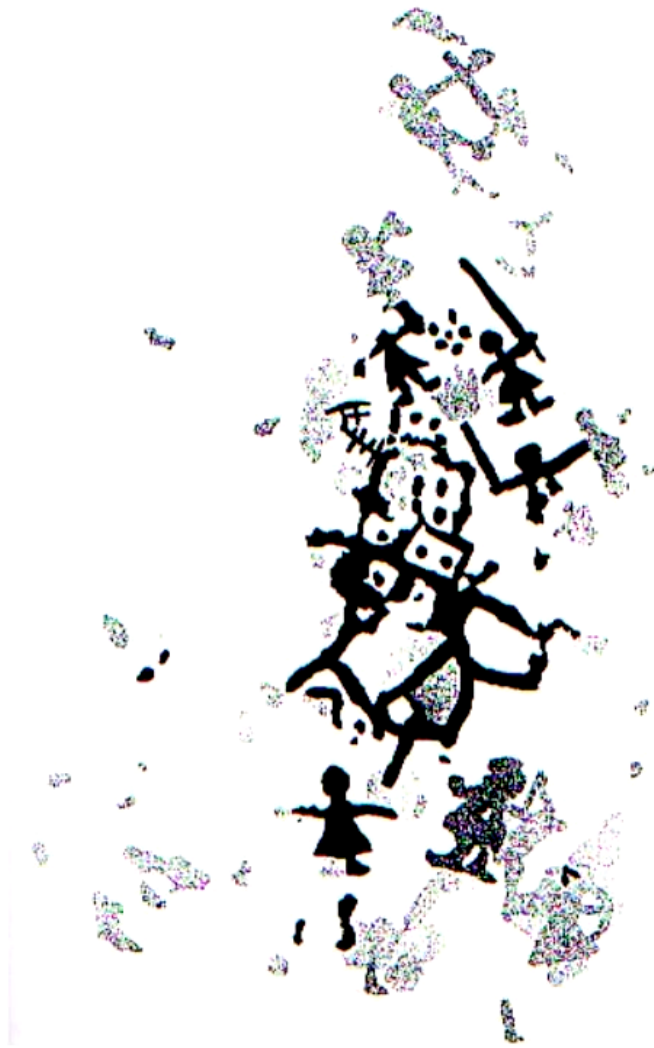
- XXXVIII – The shelter of Ram-dunai 1 (Site 20) seen from N (with Mr Akhtar Munir) (photo by L.M.O.).
- XXXIX – Dandi-sar 1 (Site 20): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XL – The shelter of Bacha-kot (Site 23) seen from N (with Mr Akhtar Munir, Mr Azim and Mr Falzal Malik) (photo by L.M.O.).
- XLI – The shelter of Busus-smast (Site 24) seen from E (with Mr Akhtar Munir) (photo by L.M.O.).
- XLII – Busus-smast (Site 24): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XLIII - Busus-smast (Site 24): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XLIV - Busus-smast (Site 24): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XLV – The shelter of Khwar-patai (Site 25) seen from E (with Mr Akhtar Munir) (photo by L.M.O.).
- XLVI – Kwar-patai (Site 25): detail of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XLVII- Thakt-gat (Site 26): the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
- XLVIII- Pl. XLVII after processing (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- XLIX – The boulder of Lal-kamar (Sites 27-29) seen from S (photo by L.M.O.).
- L – The shelter of Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27) from inside, E side (in the foreground, Mr Azeem) (photo by L.M.O.).
- LI – Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LII - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LIII - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LIV - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LV - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LVI - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LVII - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LVIII - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LIX - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LX - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXI - Lal-kamar 1 (Site 27): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXII –The shelter of Lala-kamar 2 (Site 28) seen from S (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXIII – The shelter of Lala-kamar 3 (Site 29) seen from E (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXIV - Lal-kamar 3 (Site 29): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXV – The boulder of Gweluno-ghar (Site 31) seen from S (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXVI – Gweluno-ghar (Site 31): the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXVII – The shelter of Banj-smast (Site 32) seen from S (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXVIII – Banj-smast (Site 32): the painting (photo by L.M.O.).

- LXIX – The boulders of Lal-kamar-china 1-3 (Sites 33-35) seen from N (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXX – The shelter of Loe-banda (Site 36) seen from E (with Mr Azeem) (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXXI – Loe banda (Site 36): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXII – The boulder of Chowra-dab (Site 37) seen from S (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXXIII – The boulder of Dab 1-3 (Sites 38-40) seen from W (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXXIV – Dab 1 (Site 38); the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXV – Dab 3 (Site 40); the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXVI – The pinnacle of Palangai 1-3 (Site 41-43) seen from N (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXXVII – Palangai 1 (Site 41): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXVIII - Palangai 1 (Site 41): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXIX - Palangai 1 (Site 41): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXX - Palangai 3 (Site 43): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXXI – Khaista-kamar 1 (Site 41): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXXII – The shelter of Khaista-kamar 1 (Site 41) seen from SE (with Mr Faiz-ur-Rahman) (photo by L.M.O.).
- LXXXIII – Saffar-kandao (Site 45): the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXXIV – Drema-palangai (Site 48): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXXV - Drema-palangai (Site 48): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXXVI - Drema-palangai (Site 48): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXXVII - Drema-palangai (Site 48): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
- LXXXVIII – The paintings of Drema-palangai (Site 48) during the tracing (photo by C.P.).
- LXXXIX – The shelter of Dwoqumbo-jai (Site 49) seen from NE (photo by L.M.O.).
- XC - The shelter of Dwoqumbo-jai (Site 49) seen from E (photo by L.M.O.).
- XCI - The shelter of Dwoqumbo-jai (Site 49) seen from N (note the presence of some cup-marks) (photo by L.M.O.).
- XCII – Dwoqumbojai (Site 49): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
- XCIII - Dwoqumbojai (Site 49): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
- XCIV - Dwoqumbojai (Site 49): details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).

Appendices (with exclusion of Appendix 7, *Post scriptum*₂)

- XCV – Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, the boulder seen from NE (photo by L.M.O.).
 XCVI – Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, Nische 1: details the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 XCVII - Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, Nische 2: details the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 XCVIII - Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, Nische 3: details the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 XCIX – Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, Nische 3: details the paintings (photo by L.M. O.).
 C – Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, Nische 3: details the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CI – Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, Nische 4: details the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CII - Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, Nische 4: details the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CIII – Tanawal, Fundstelle 1, Nische 3: details the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CIV - Tanawal, Fundstelle 2, the shelter seen from SE (photo by L.M.O.).
 CV – Tanawal, Fundstelle 2: the paintings (photo by L.M.O., processed by C.P.).
 CVI – Tanawal, Fundstelle 3, the shelter seen from E (photo by L.M.O.).
 CVII – Tanawal, Fundstelle 3: the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CVIII – Tanawal, Fundstelle 4, the shelter seen from W (photo by L.M.O.).
 CIX – Tanawal, Fundstelle 4: details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CX – Tanawal, Fundstelle 4: details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXI – Chargul, Site 2, the shelter seen from N (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXII – Chargul, Site 2: details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXIII – Chargul, Site 2: details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXIV – Chargul, Site 3, the niche seen from N (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXV – Chargul, Site 3: details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXVI – Chargul, Site 4, the shelter seen from N (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXVII – Chargul, Site 4: details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CVIII - Chargul, Site 5, the niches seen from N X(photo by L.M.O.).
 CXIX - Chargul, Site 5: details of the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXX – Chargul, Site 6, the niches seen from N (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXXI – Chargul, Site 6, right niche: the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).
 CXXII – Chargul, Site 6, central niche: the paintings (photo by L.M.O.).

GRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION



AMSV 138-1
Dwolasmene-patai
KK 2000



AMSV 138-2
Dwolasmene-patai
KK 2005

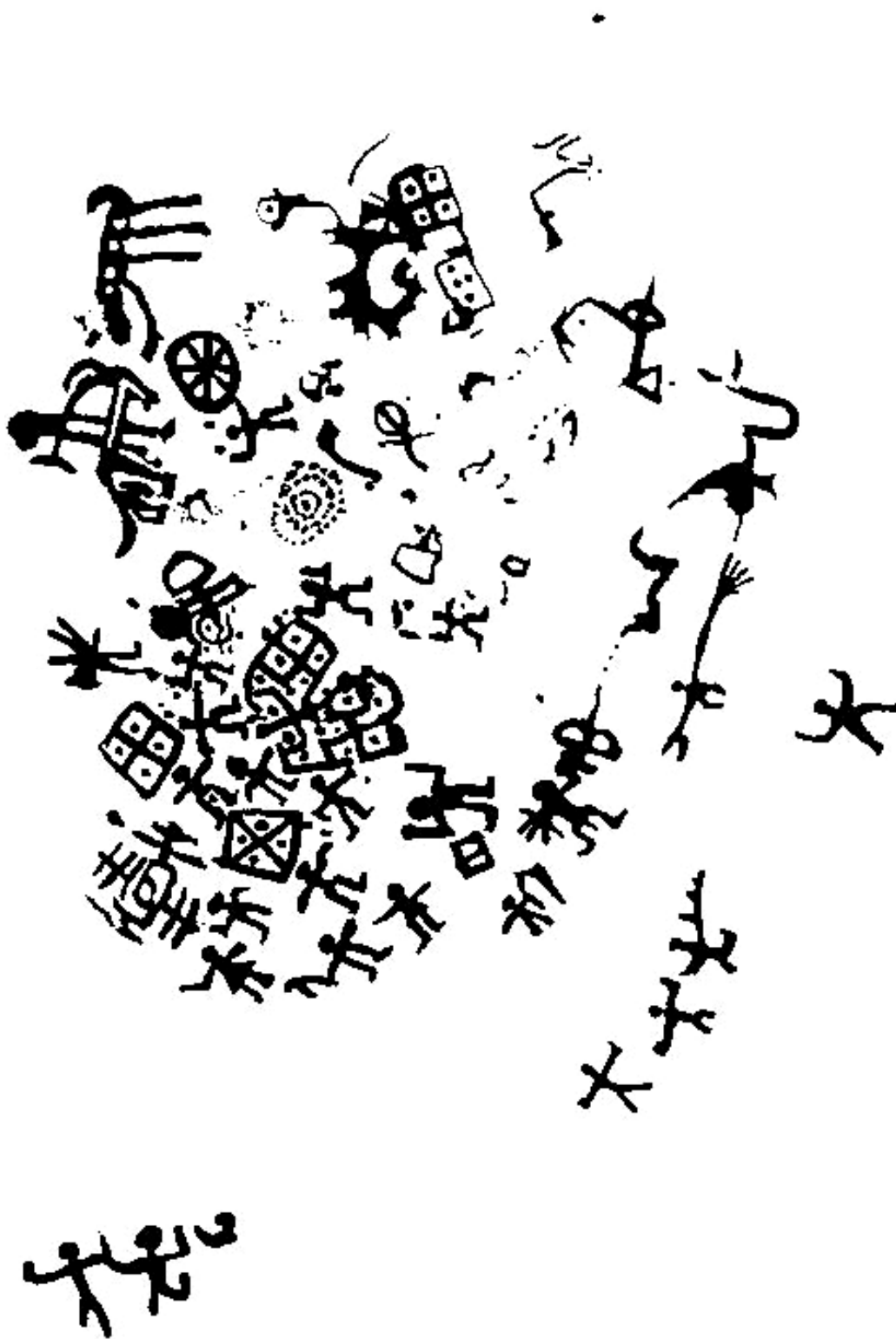


Pls. 1-2

AMSV 130
Kakai-kandao
KH 2000-2004



Pl. 2



AMSV 1121-1
 Saugah-sar KH 2000-2004



AMS 336
Kamal-china
KH 2005



AMS 343
Badze
KH 2005



AMSV 344-1
Dandi-sar
KH 2005

Pl. 7

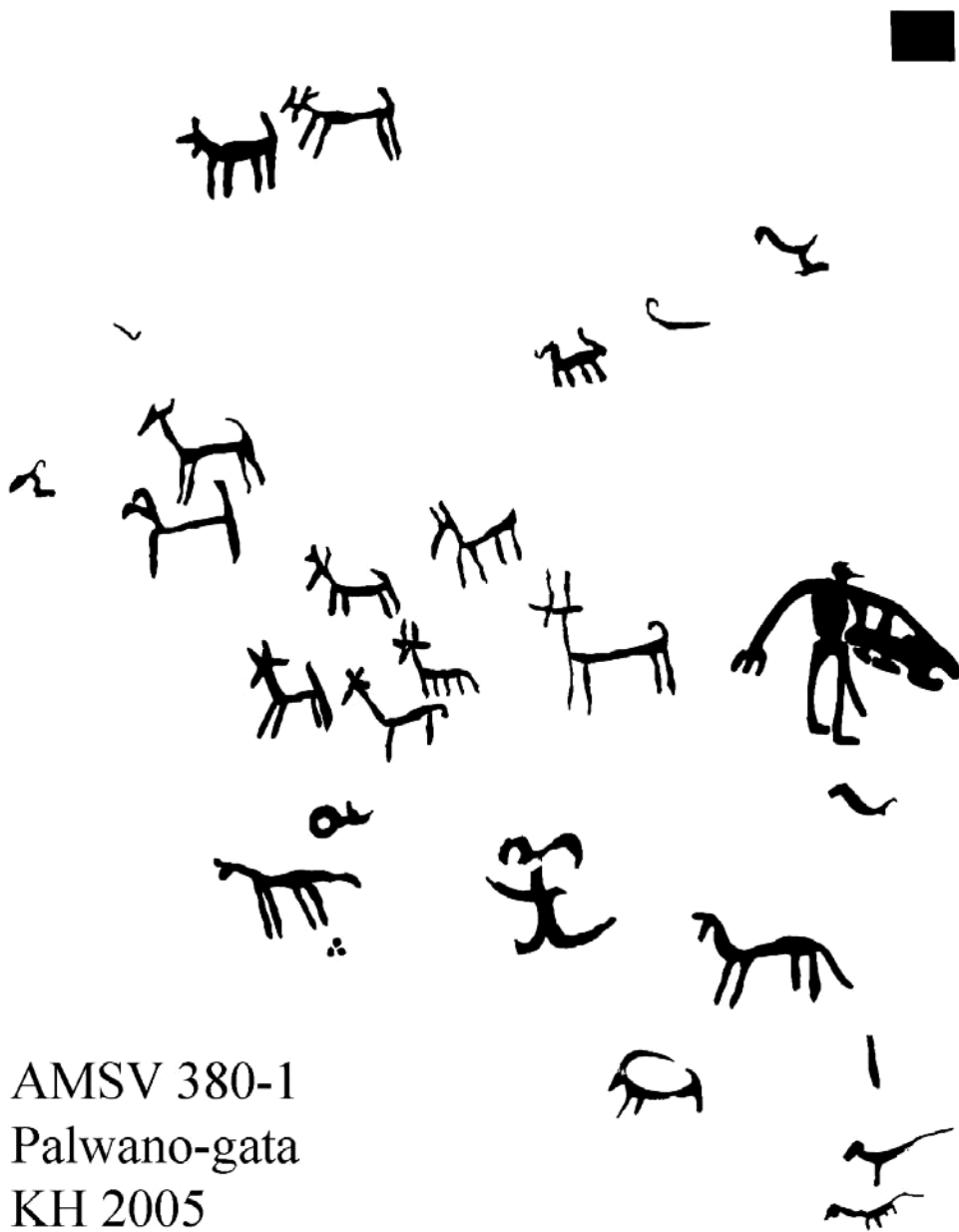


AMSV 344-2
Dandi-sar
KH 2005



AMSV 362
Maha-sarant
KH 2005

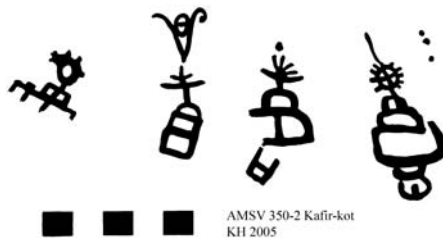
AMSV 379 Ghwarcjo-patai
KH 2005



AMSV 380-1
Palwano-gata
KH 2005



AMSV 350 Kafir-kot
KH 1993/2005



AMSV 350-2 Kafir-kot
KH 2005



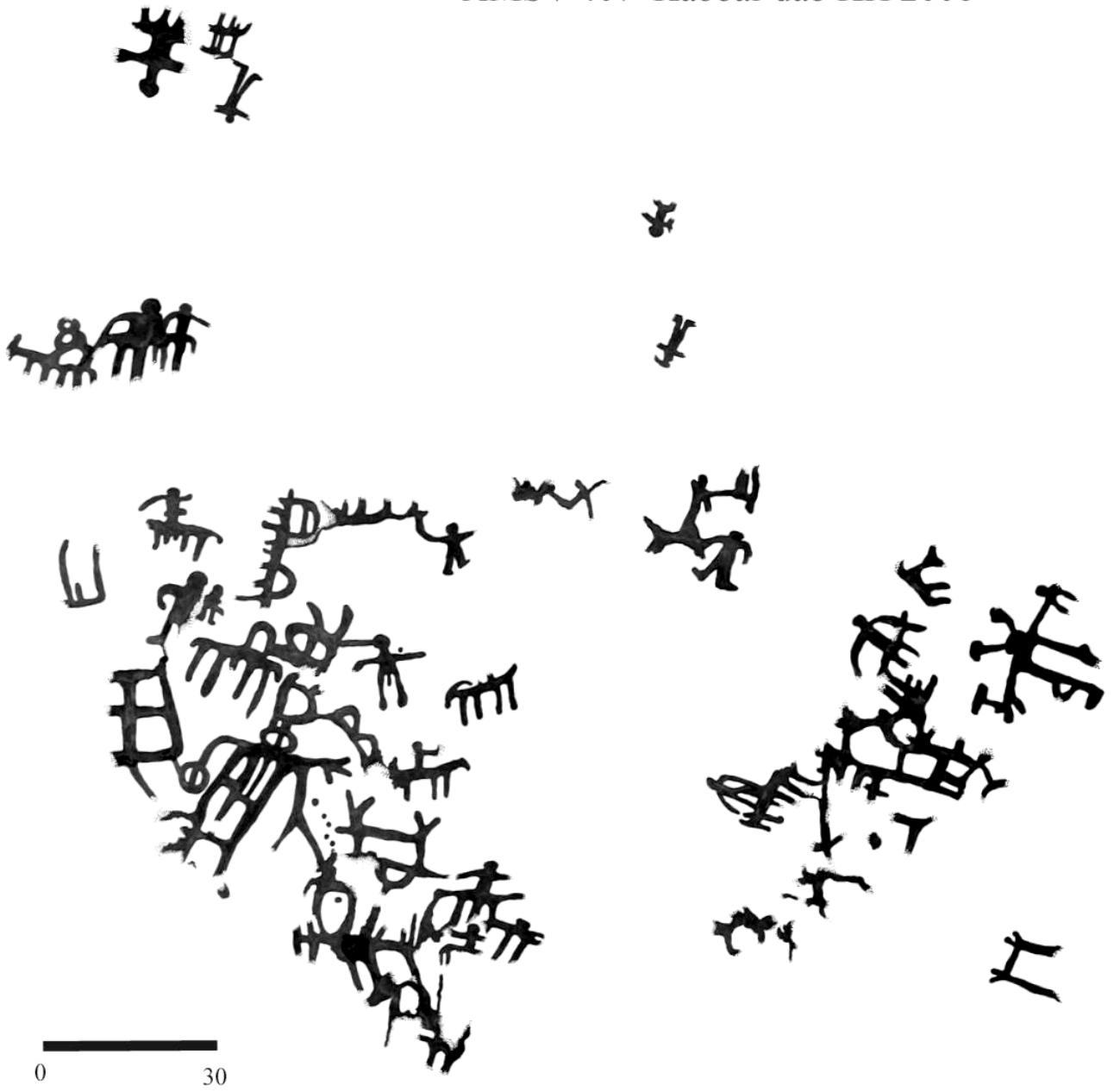
AMSV 352 Marano-tangai
KH 1993/2005



AMSV 006 Shamo
TH 1993



AMSV 007 Hinduano-hatai
TH 1993



Pl. 17



AMSV 409
Ram-dunai
KH 2006

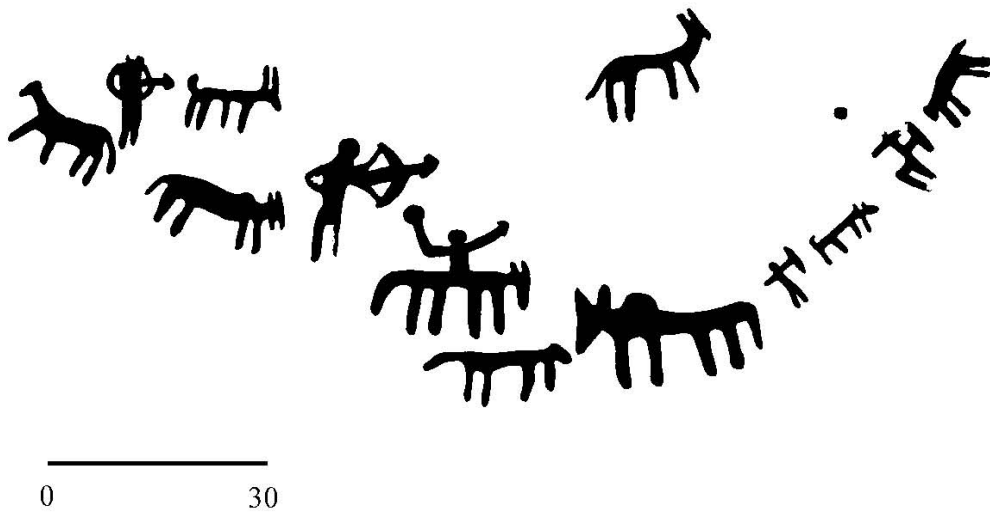


AMSV 415 Gwela-parangai (Bacha-kot)

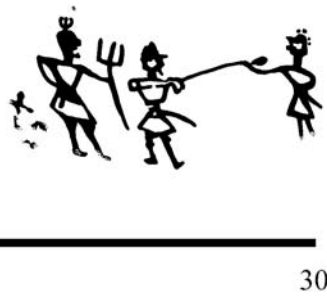


AMSV 416 Bubus-smast (Bacha-kot)





AMSV 417 Kwar-patai (Bacha-kot)



AMSV 418 Takht-gat (Bacha-kot)

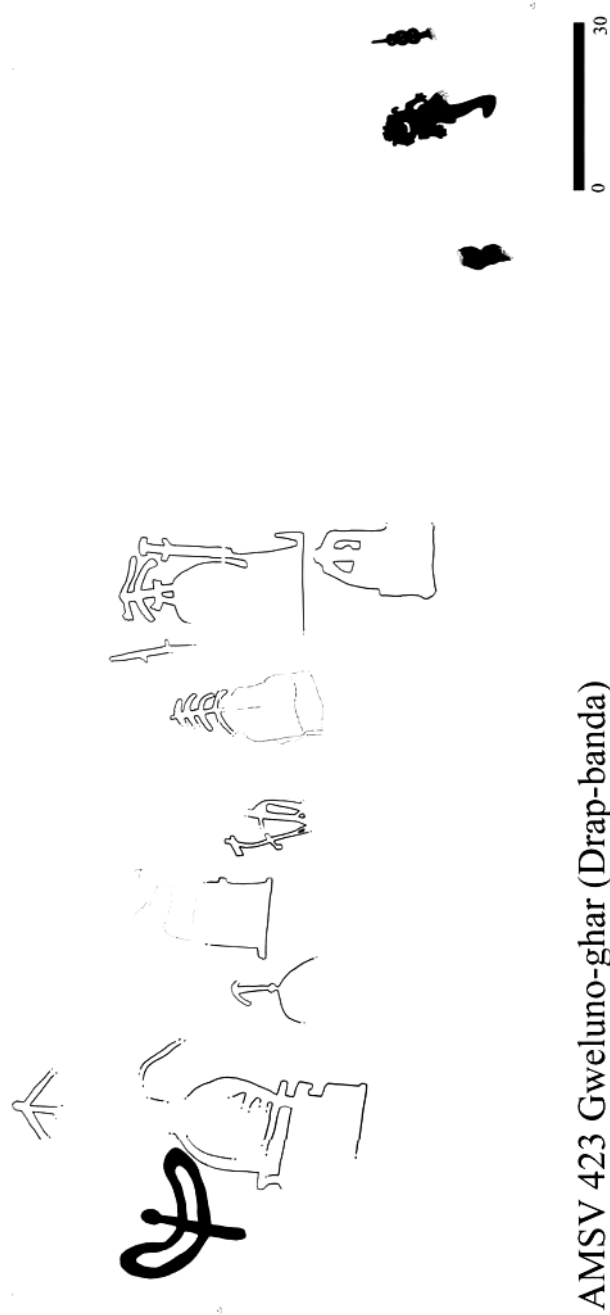


AMSV 421.1
Lal-kamar
(Loe-banda)

0 100

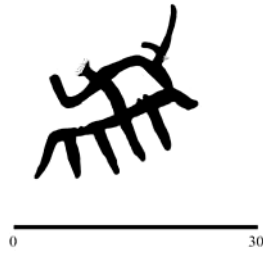


AMSV 421.3
Lal-Kamar
(Loe-banda)

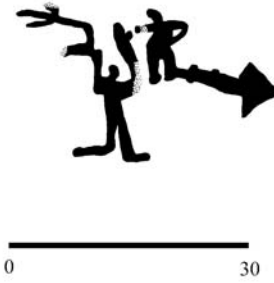


AMSV 423 Gweluno-ghar (Drap-banda)

AMSV 424 Banj-smast (Bacha-kot)



AMSV 426.1
Lal-kamar China
(Loe-banda)



AMSV 426.2
Lal-kamar China
(Loe-banda)



AMSV 426.3
Lal-kamar China
(Loe-banda)



AMSV 427
Loe-banda

0 30



AMSV 428
Chowra-dab
(Loe-banda)



0 30



AMSV 429.1 Dab (Loe-banda)



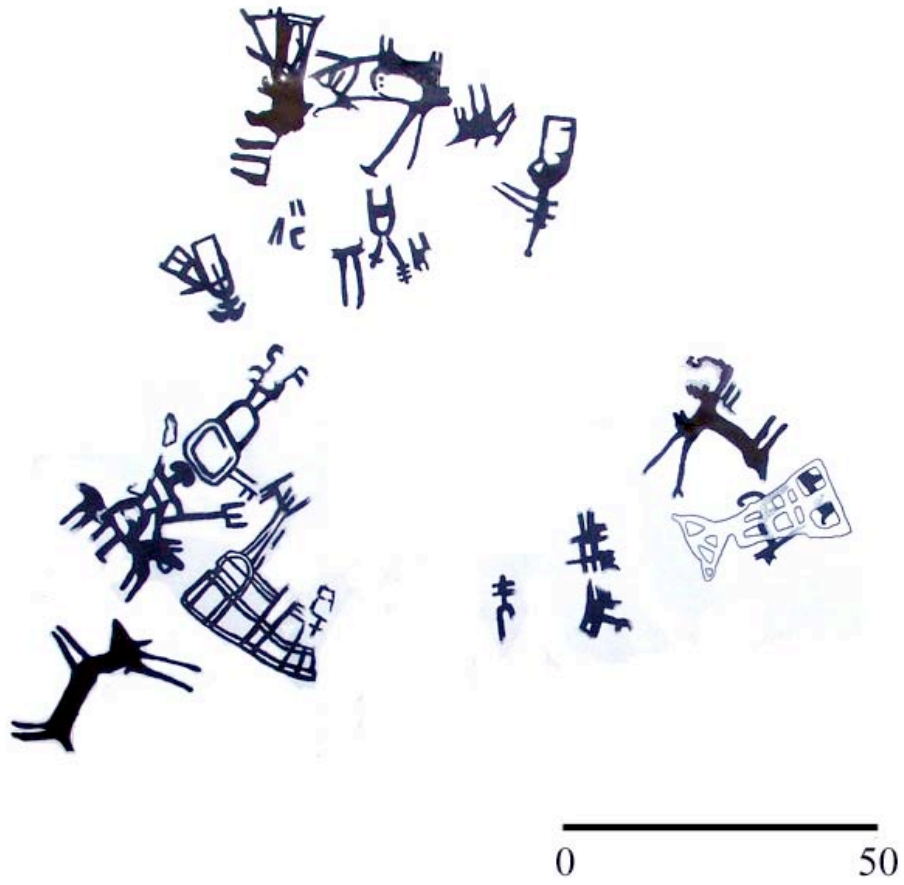
AMSV 429.2
Dab
(Loe-banda)



AMSV 429.3
Dab
(Loe-banda)



AMSV 441.1
Palangai (Saffar-kandao)



AMSV 441.2
Palangai (Saffar-kandao)

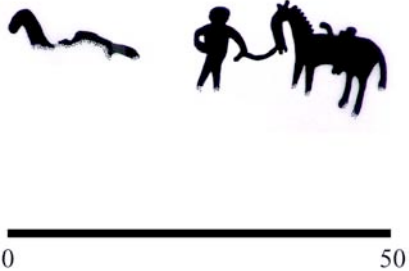


AMSV 441.3
Palangai (Saffar-kandao)

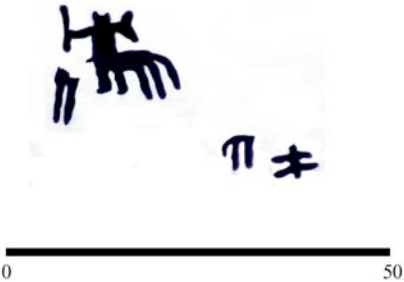


Pl. 37

AMSV 443.1
Dwema-palangai (Saffar-kandao)



AMSV 445.1
Khaista-kamar 2 (Saffar-kandao)



AMSV 444.1
Khaista-kamar (Saffar-kandao)



Pl. 41

AMSV 446
Trema-palangai (Saffar-kandao)



PHOTOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTATION

SWAT-MALAKAND



Pls. I-II



Pls. III-V



Pls. VI-IX



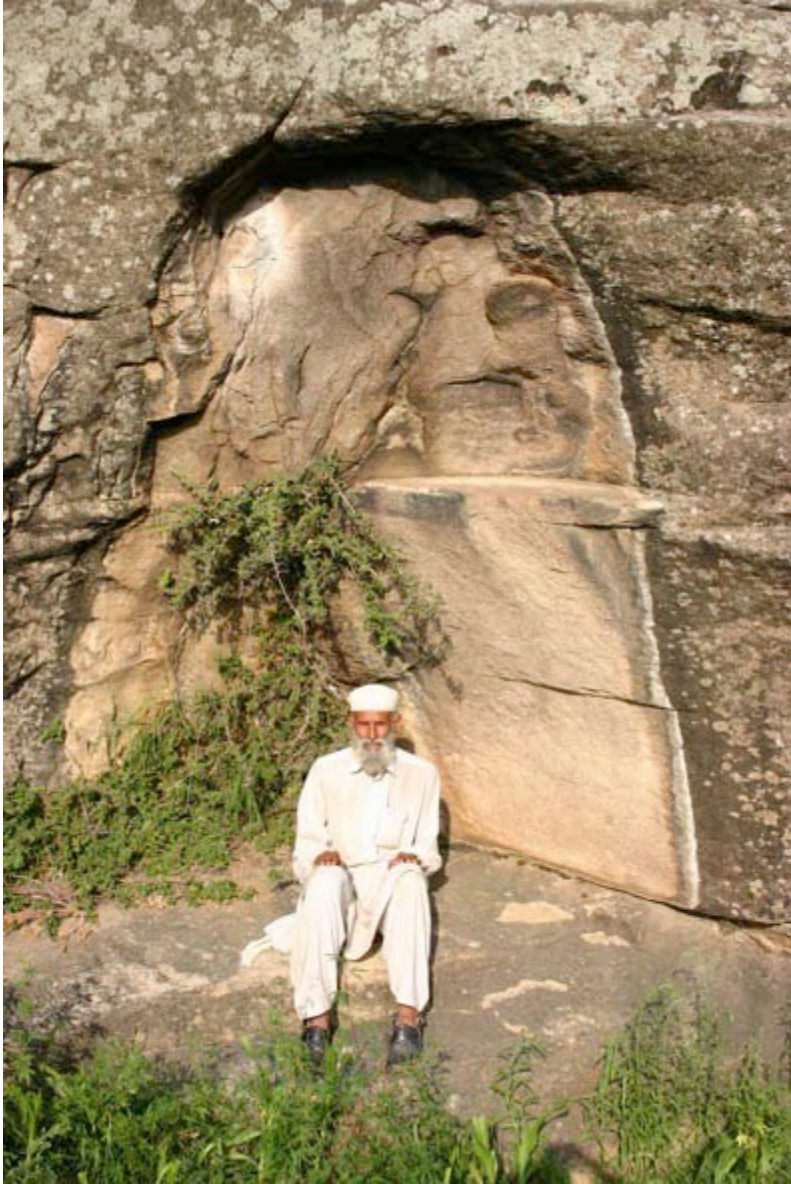
Pls. X-XIV



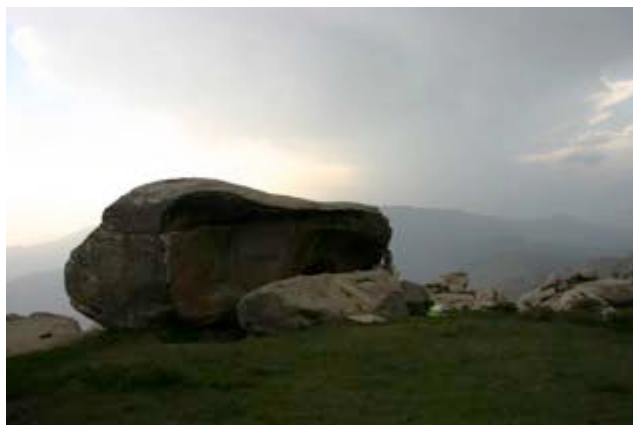
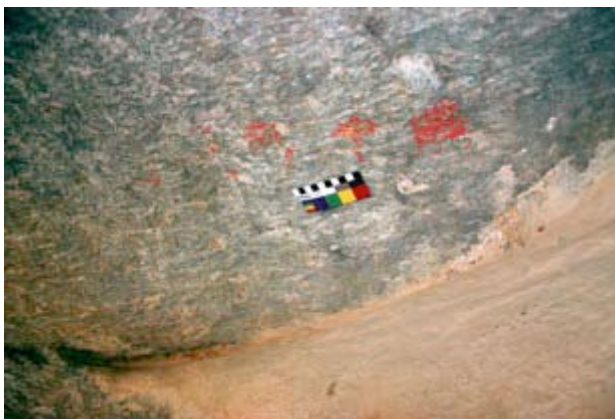
Pls. XV-XVI



Pls. XVII-XVIII



Pls. XIX-XX



Pls. XXI-XXIV



Pls. XXV-XXVI



Pls. XXVII-XXVIII



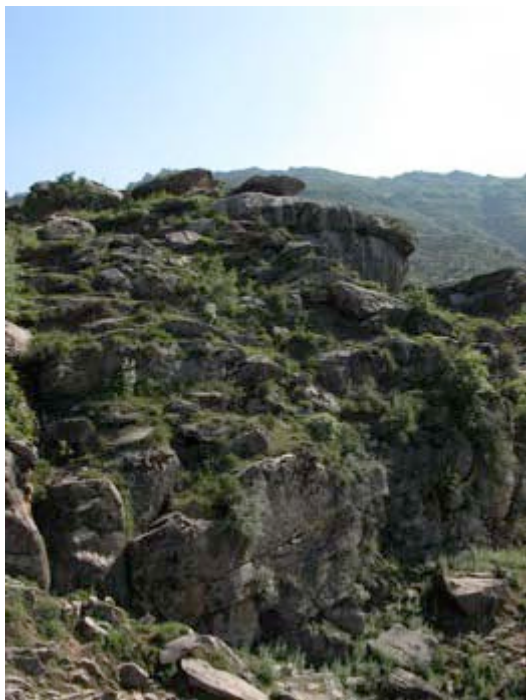
Pls. XXIX-XXX



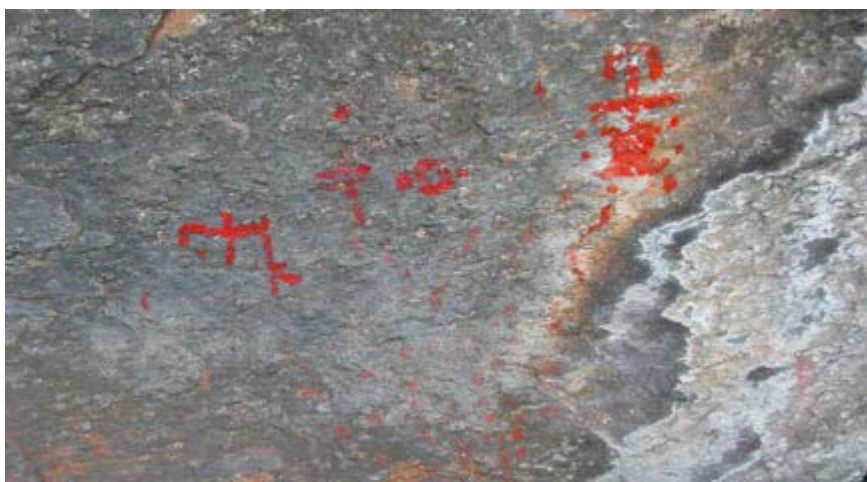
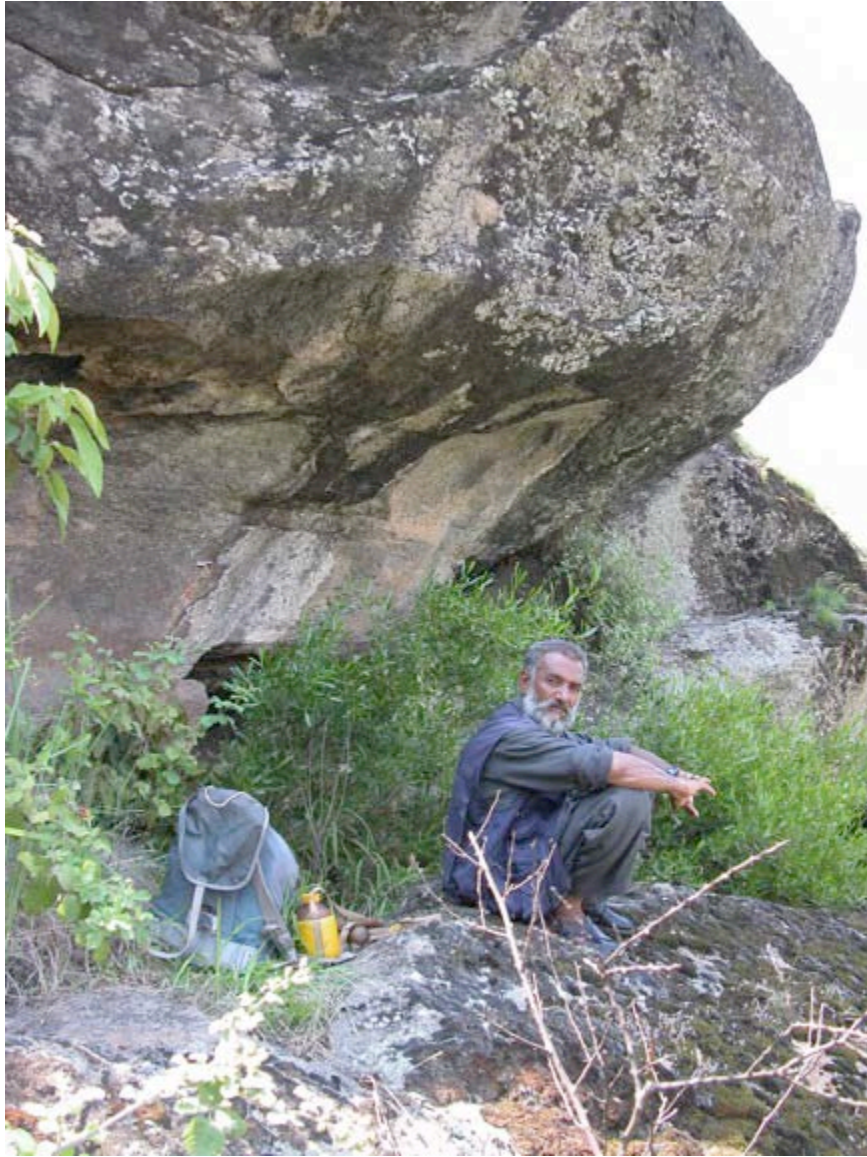
Pls. XXXI-XXXII



Pls. XXXIII-XXXIV



Pls. XXXV-XXXVII

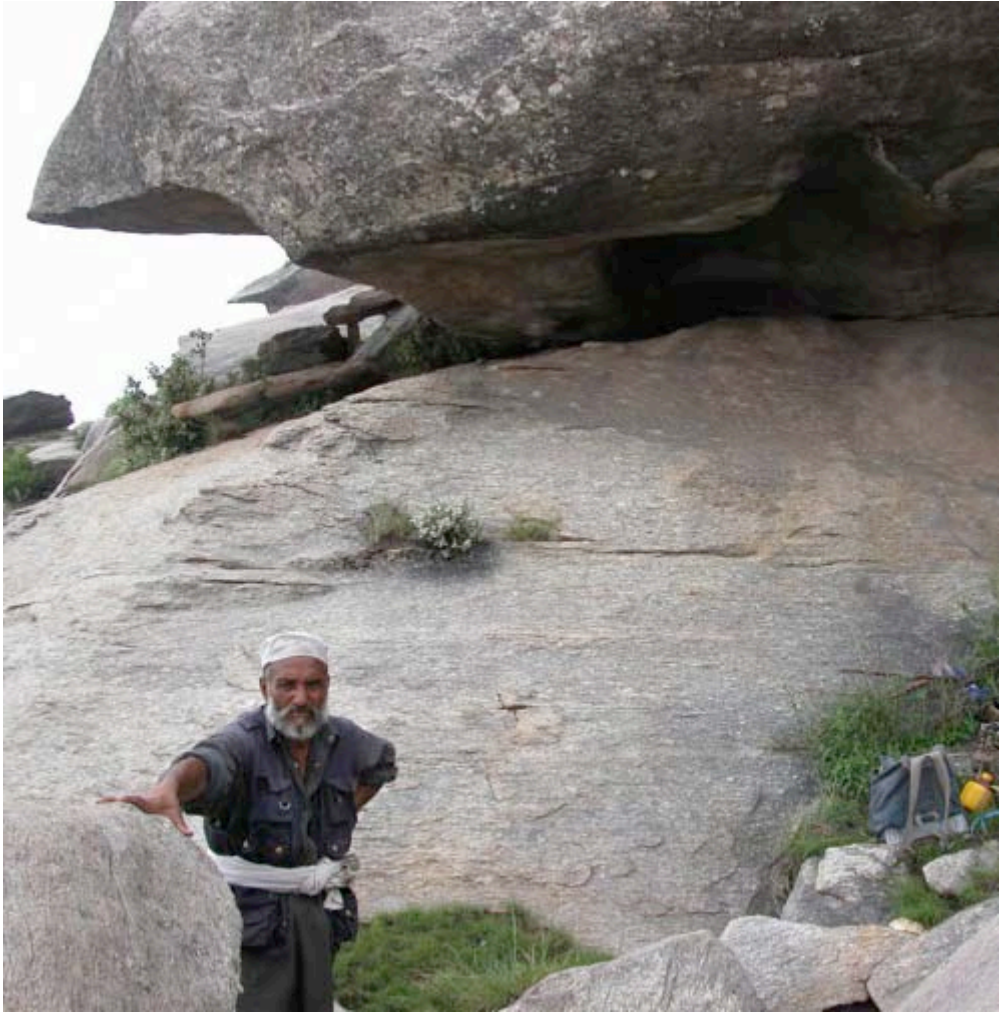


Pls. XXXVIII-XXXIX





Pls. XLII-XLIV



Pls. XLV-XLVi



Pls. XLVII-XLVIII



Pls. XLIX-L



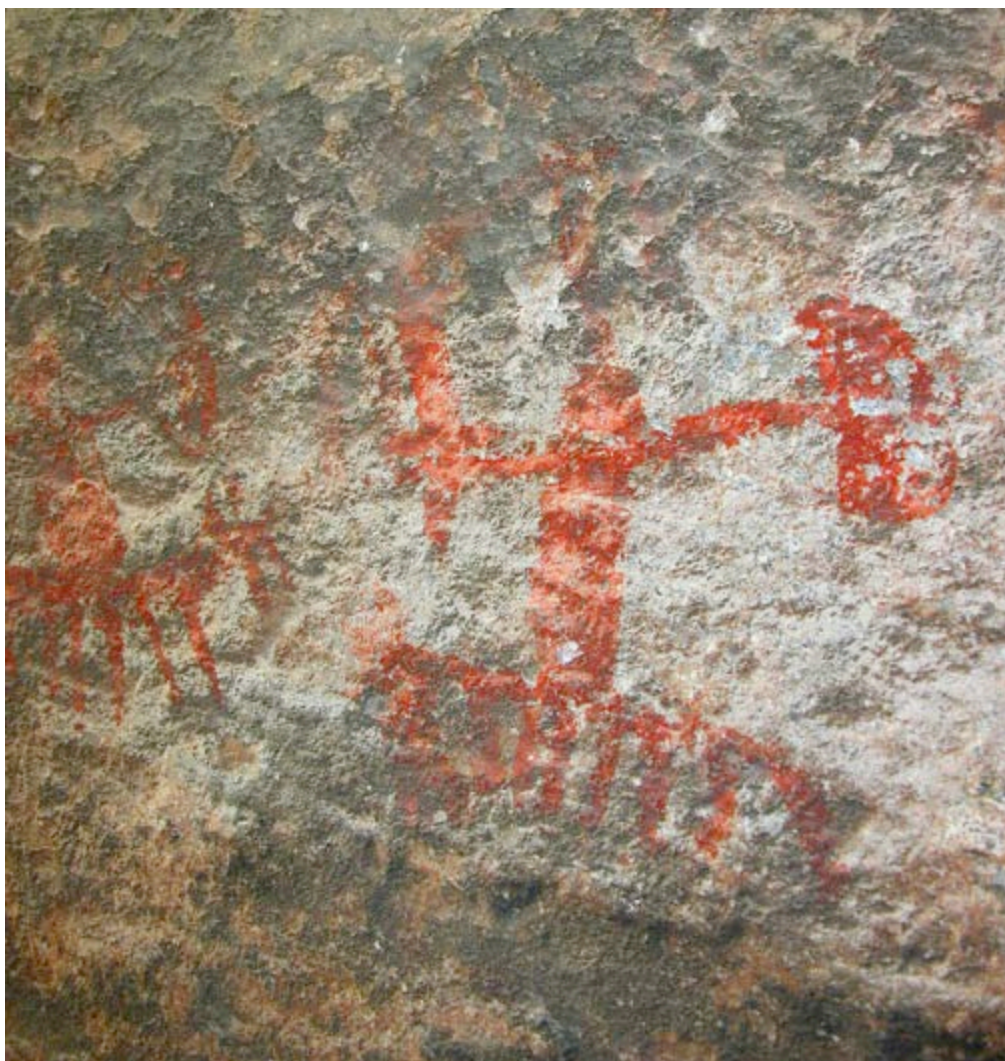
Pls. LI-LII



Pls. LIII-LIV



Pls. LV-LVI



Pls. LVII-LVIII



Pls. LIX-LX



Pls. LXI



Pls. LXII-LXIV



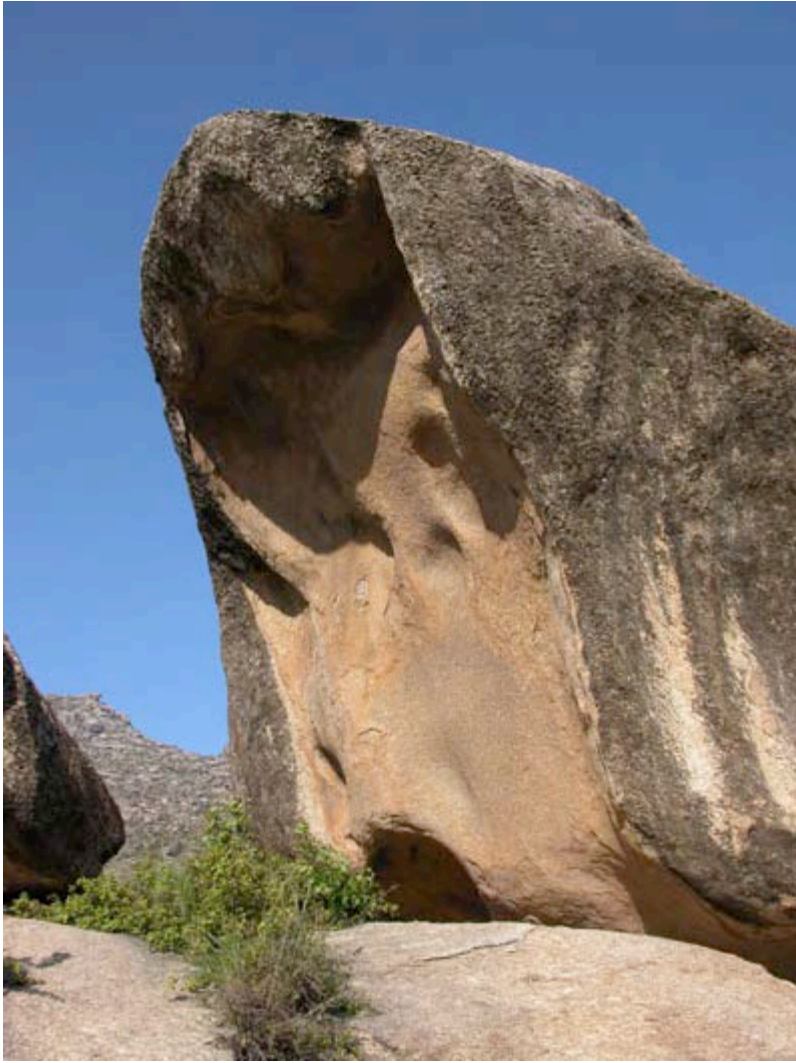
Pls. LXV-LXVI



Pls. LXVII-LXIX



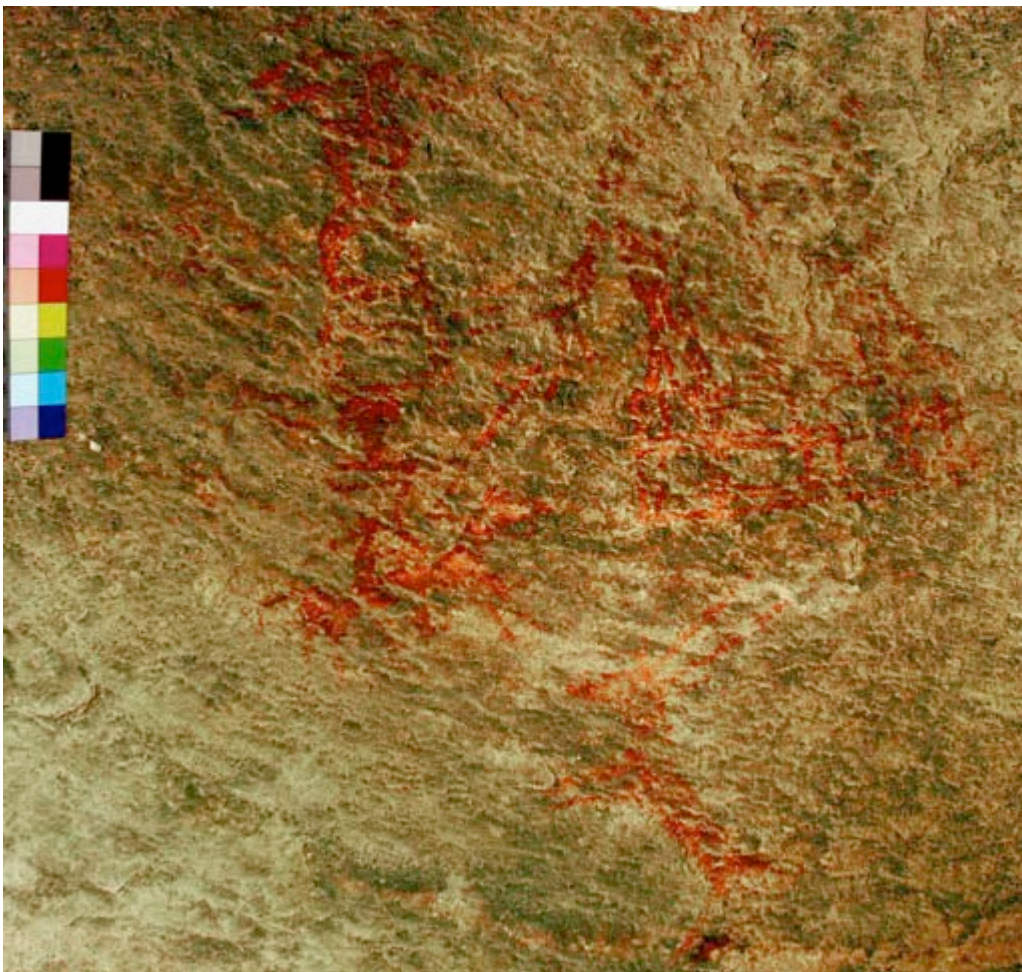
Pls. LXX-LXXI



Pls. LXXII-LXXIII



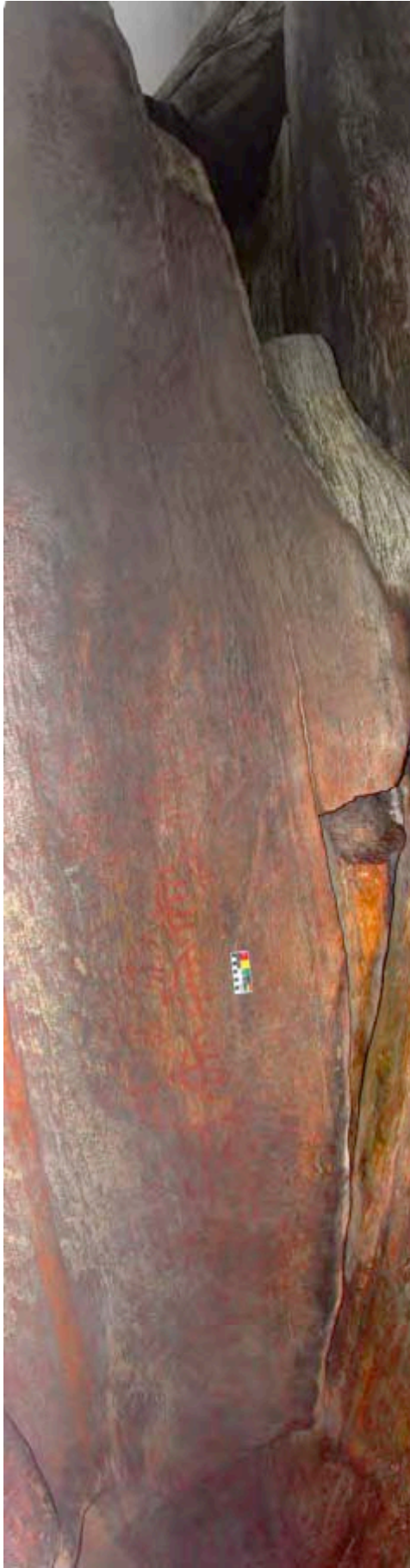
Pls. LXXIV-LXXV



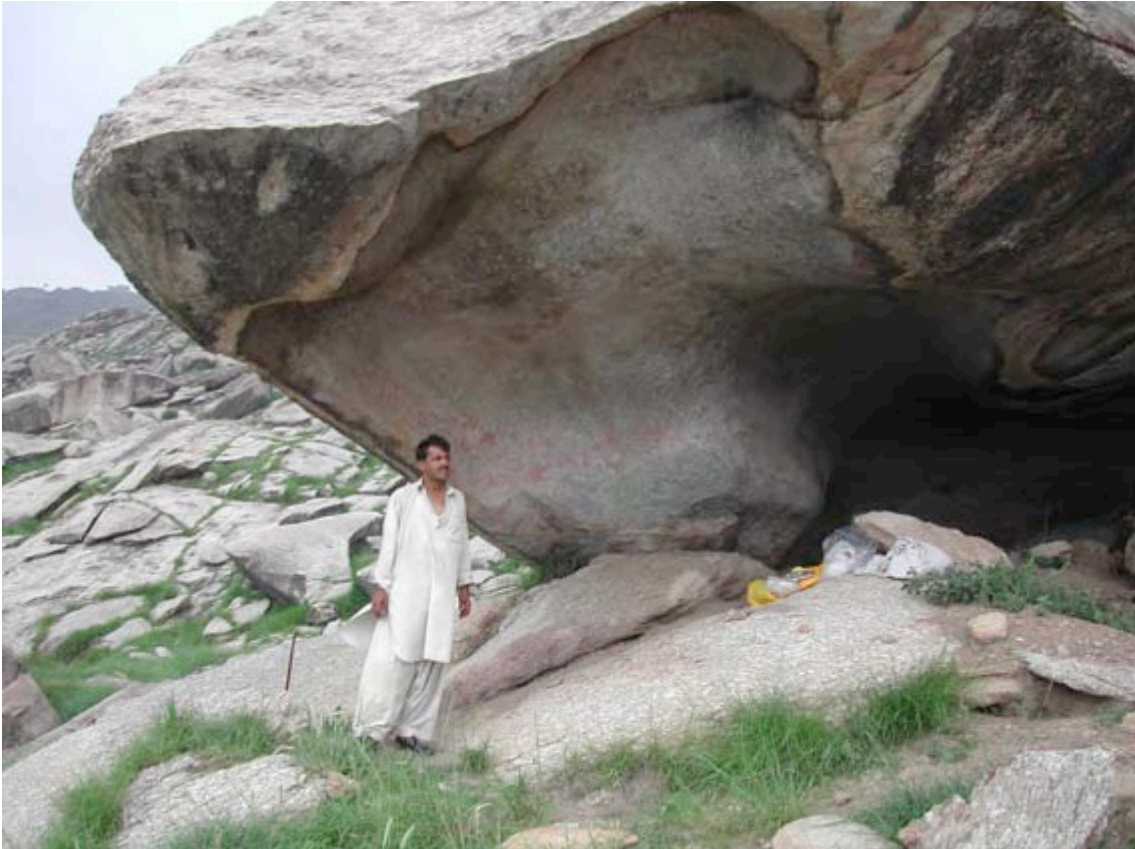
Pls. LXXVI-LXXVII



Pls. XXVIII-LXXIX



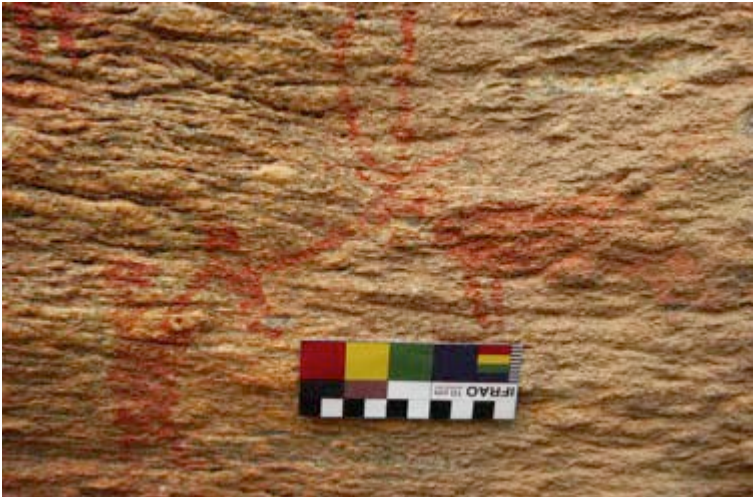
Pls. LXXX-LXXXI



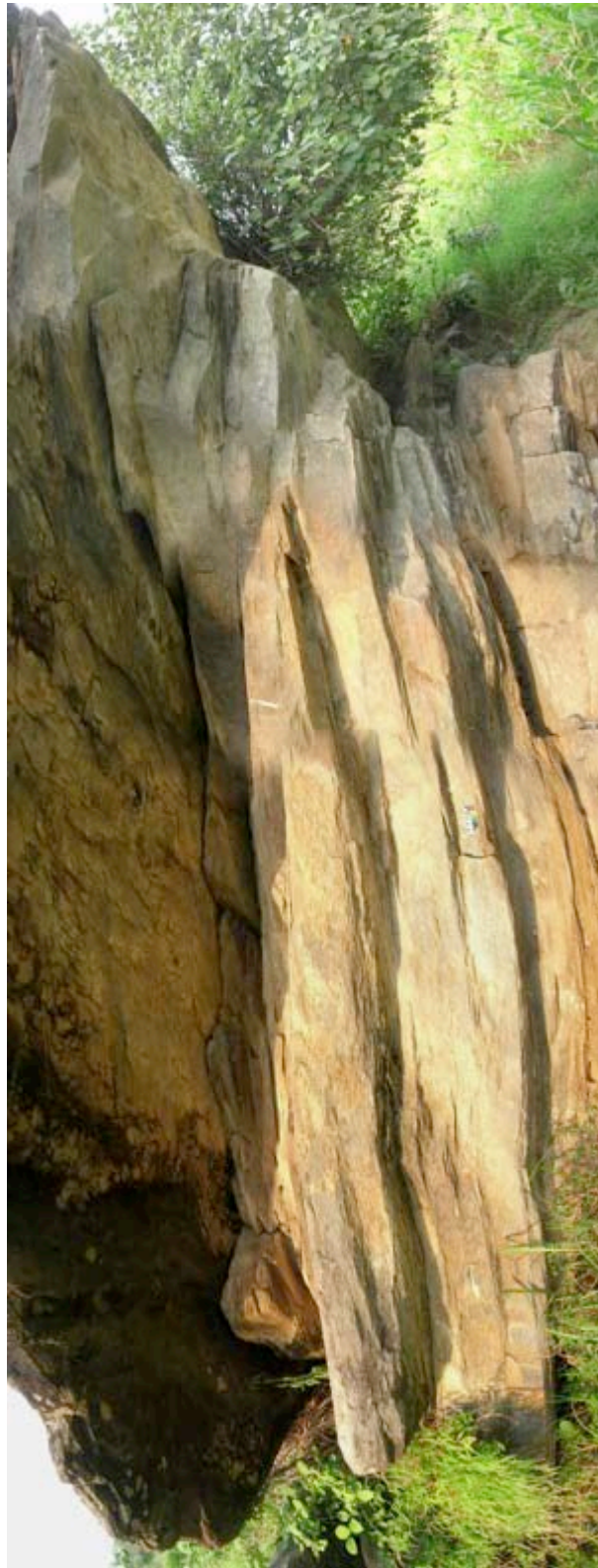
Pls. LXXXII-LXXXIII



Pls. LXXXIV-LXXXV



Pls. LXXXVI-LXXXVIII



Pls. LXXXIX-XC



Pls. XCI-XCIV

TANAWAL

(Appendix 4)



Pls. XCV-XCVII



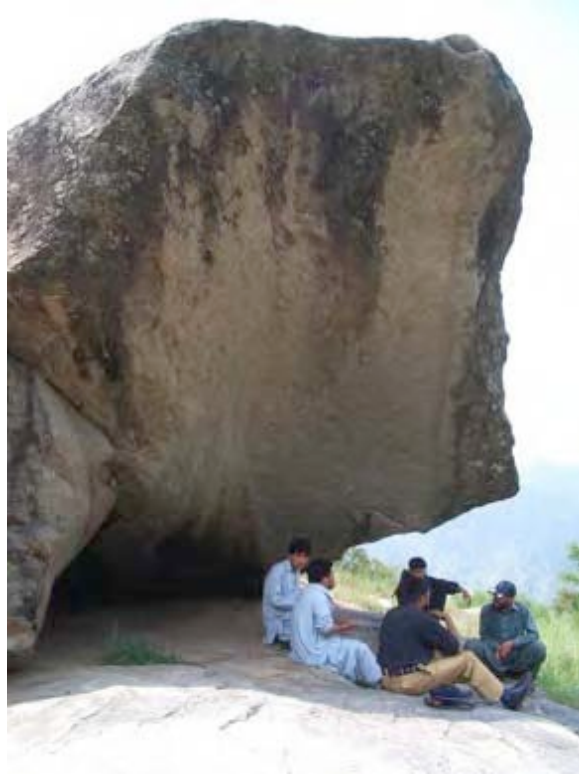
Pls. XCVIII-C



Pls. CI-CIV



Pls. CV



Pls. CVI-CVII



Pls. CVIII-CX

CHARGUL

(Appendix 5)



Pls. CXI-CXIII



Pls. CXIV-CXVI



Pls. CXVI-CXVII



Pls. CXVI-CXVII



Pls. CXVIII-CXX

ABBREVIATIONS

Reference Abbreviations:

AA: *Ars Asiaticae*

ALRAM ET AL.: M. ALRAM, D. KLIMBURG-SALTER, M. INABA and M. PFISTERER, eds., *Coins, Art and Chronology II. The First Millennium CE in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, Wien 2010.

AMIT: *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*.

Annali: *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*.

ANP: *Antiquities of Northern Pakistan. Report and Studies*.

ANP 1: ed. by K. JETTMAR, I-II, Mainz 1989

ANP 2: ed. by K. JETTMAR, Mainz 1993.

ANP 3: ed. by G. FUSSMAN and K. JETTMAR, I-II, Mainz 1994.

ANP 4: ed. by K. JETTMAR in collaboration with M. BEMMAN and E. KATTNER, Mainz 2000.

ANP 5: ed. by H. HAUPTMANN, Mainz 2004.

AP: *Ancient Pakistan*.

Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei: *Atti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei. Memorie, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*.

AURANET: Australian Rock Art Research Association, Inc.

(webpage: <http://mc2.vicnet.net.au/home/aura/web/index.html>).

AVA-Materialien: *Materialien zur Allgemeinen und Vergleichenden Archäologie*.

BRANCACCIO/BEHRENDT: P. BRANCACCIO and K. BEHRENDT (eds.), *Gandhāra Buddhism*, Vancouver 2006.

CALLIERI: P. CALLIERI (ed.), *Architetti, Capomastri, Artigiani. L'organizzazione dei cantieri e della produzione artistica nell'Asia ellenistica. Studi offerti a Domenico Faccenna nel suo ottantesimo compleanno*, SOR, C, Roma.

CHIPPINDALE/NASH: C. CHIPPINDALE and G. NASH (eds.), *The Figured Landscapes of Rock-Art*, Cambridge 2004.

CHIPPENDALE/TAÇON: C. CHIPPENDALE and P. S. C. TAÇON (eds.), *The Archaeology of Rock-Art*, Cambridge 1998.

DE CHIARA: DE CHIARA, M., Appendix 2, this Volume

EFEO: École Française d'Extreme-Orient

EW: East and West.

GHANI-UR-RAHMAN/OLIVIERI: GHANI-UR-RAHMAN and L.M. OLIVIERI (eds.), *Italian Archaeology and Anthropology in Northern Pakistan*, Special Issue of *Journal of Asian Civilizations*, 34, 1, 2011.

INORA: *International newsletter on Rock Art.*

IsmeoRepMem: Reports and Memoirs (IsMEO, Centro Studi e Scavi Archeologici in Asia).

IsiaoRepMem: Reports and Memoirs (IsIAO, Centro Scavi e Ricerche Archeologiche in Asia).

JA: Journal Asiatique.

JAC: Journal of Asian Civilizations.

JCA: Journal of Central Asia.

JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

JISRS: Journal of the Institute of Silk Road Studies

LUCZANITS/JANSEN: LUCZANITS, C./M. JANSEN (eds.), *Gandhara. Das buddhistische Erbe Pakistans. Legenden, Klöster und Paradiese*. Mainz 2009.

MANP: *Materialien zur Archäologie der Nordegebiete Pakistans* (ed. by H. HAUPTMANN).

MANP 1: BEMMAN, M./KÖNIG, D., *Die Felsbildstation Oshibat*. Mainz 1994.

MANP 2: FUSSMAN, G./KÖNIG, D., *Die Felsbildstation Shatial*. Mainz 1997.

MANP 3: BANDINI KÖNIG, D., *Die Felsbildstation Hodar*. Mainz 1999.

MANP 4: BANDINI-KÖNIG, D./O. VON HINÜBER, O., *Die Felsbildstationen Shing Nala und Gichi Nala*. Mainz 2001.

MANP 6: BANDINI-KÖNIG, D., *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan I. Kataloge Chilas-Brücke und Thalpan (Steine 1-30)*. Mainz 2003.

MANP 7: BANDINI-KÖNIG, D., *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan II. Katalog Thalpan (Steine 31-195)*. Mainz 2005.

MANP 8: BANDINI-KÖNIG, D., *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan III. Katalog Thalpan (Steine 196-450)*. Mainz 2007.

MANP 9: BANDINI-KÖNIG, D., *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan IV. Katalog Thalpan (Steine 451-811)*. Mainz 2009.

- MANP 10: BANDINI-KÖNIG, D., *Die Felsbildstation Thalpan V. Katalog Ziyarat, Thakot, Komar Das, Gichoi Das, Dardarbat Das*. Mainz 2012.
- MDAFA: *Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologiques Française en Afghanistan*.
- MMAFAC: *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologiques Française en Asie centrale. Répertoires des pétroglyphes d'Asie Centrale 5.1-5.6* (ed. by H.-P. FRANCFORT).
- MMAFAC 1: SHER, J./BLEDNOVA, A., N./LEGTCHILLO, N./SMIRNOV, D., *Sibérie du Sud 1: Oglakhty I-III*. Paris 1994.
- MMAFAC 2: BLEDNOVA, N./FRANCFORT, H.-P./LEGTCHILLO, N./MARTIN, L./SACCHI, D./SHER, J.A./D. SMIRNOV/SOLEILHAVOUP, FR./VIDAL, P., *Sibérie du Sud 2: Tepsej I-III, Ust'*. Paris 1995.
- MMAFAC 3: KUBAREV, V.D./JACOBSON, E., *Sibérie du Sud: Kalbak – Tash (République de l'Altai)*. Paris 1996.
- MMAFAC 4: SHER, J. A./SAVINOV, D., *Sibérie du Sud: Cheremush Log, Ust'. Stèles de Khakassie*. Paris 1999.
- MMAFAC 5: MAR'JASEV, A.N./GORJACEV, A.A./POTAPOV, S.A., *Kazakhstan 1: choix de pétroglyphes du Semirech'e (Felsbilder Im Siebenstromland)*. Paris 1998.
- MMAFAC 6: JACOBSON, E./KUBAREV, V./TSEEVENDORJ, D., *Mongolie du Nord-Ouest, Tsagan Salaa/Baga Oigor*. I-II. Paris 2001.
- MASI: Memoires of the Archaeological Survey of India.
- Memorie: Memorie della Società Italiana di Scienze Naturali e del Museo Civico di Storia Naturale di Milano.
- NTS: *Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*, Oslo.
- OLIVIERI: OLIVIERI, L.M. (ed.), *EW*, 56, 1-3 (Special Issue dedicated to the Golden Jubilee of the IAM).
- OLIVIERI/BRUNEAU/FERRANDI: L.M. OLIVIERI, in collaboration with L. BRUNEAU and M. FERRANDI (eds.), *Pictures in Transformation. Rock Art Research Between Central Asia and the Subcontinent, SAA 2007, Special Session 1*, BAR, International Series, 2167, Oxford.
- OLIVIERI/NASIR KHAN: OLIVIERI, L.M./NASIR KHAN, A., Appendix 5, this Volume.
- PA: *Pakistan Archaeology*.
- PARPOLA: A. PARPOLA (ed.), *SAA 2005, Migration, Trades and People, 3, Aryans and Nomads*, London 2009.
- PAYR: PAYR, G., Appendix 4, this Volume.

- PRICE: N. PRICE (ed.), *Archaeology of shamanism*, London-New York.
- RAY/SINOPOLI: H.P. RAY and C. SINOPOLI (eds.), *Archaeology as History in Early South Asia*, New Delhi 2004.
- RENFREW/ZUBROW: C. RENFREW and E.Z.B. ZUBROW (eds.), *The Ancient Mind. Elements of cognitive archaeology*, Cambridge 1994.
- SAA: *South Asian Archaeology*.
- SAA 1975: J.E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1975*, [Paris], Leiden.
- SAA 1979: M. TADDEI (ed.), *South Asian Archaeology 1977*, [Naples], IUO, Series Minor, VI, 1-2, Naples.
- SAA 1983: J. SCHOTSMANS and M. TADDEI (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 1983*, [Brussels], IUO, Series Minor, XXIII, 1-2, Naples.
- SAA 1987: M.TADDEI and P. CALLIERI (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 1987* [Venice], SOR LXVI, 1, 2, IsIAO-IUO, Rome 1990.
- SAA 1997: M. TADDEI and G. DE MARCO (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 1997* [Rome], SOR XC, 1-3, IsIAO-IUO, Rome 2000.
- SAA 2001: C.JARRIGE and V.LEFÈVRE (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 2001* [Paris], I-II, Paris 2005.
- SAA 2003: U. FRANKE-VOGT and H.J. WEISSHAAR (eds.), *South Asian Archaeology 2003* [Bonn], *Forschungen zur Archäologie Außereuropäischer Kulturen*, Band 1, Aachen 2005.
- SAS: *South Asian Studies*.
- SAEED-UR-REHMAN: SAEED-UR-REHMAN (ed.), *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Gandhara*. DOAM, Karachi.
- SCHOPEN: G. SCHOPEN, *Buddhist Monks and Business Matters. Still More Ppers on Monastic Buddhism in India*, *Studies in the Buddhist Traditions*, The University of Michigan, Honolulu 2004.
- SOR: Serie Orientale Roma (IsMEO and IsIAO)
- XUANGZANG II: XUAN ZANG (HIUEN TSIANG), *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I., Book II, translated by S. BEAL. London 1906, 69-118 (= BEAL 1906).
- XUANGZANG III: XUAN ZANG (HIUEN TSIANG), *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I., Book III, translated by S. BEAL. London 1906, 119-164 (= BEAL 1906).

Other Abbreviations:

Abb.: Abbildung

ACT Project: “Archaeology, Community, Tourism – Field School Project”

AMSV: “Archaeological Map of the Swat Valley Project”

c.: circa

C.P.: Claudia Primangeli

DOAM: Department of Archaeology & Museums, Ministry of Culture, Government of Pakistan

EFEO: École française d'Extrême-Orient

FORTHCOMING : FORTHCOMING

F.M.: Francesco Martore

fn.: footnote, Fußnote

IAM: Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan

IFRAO: International Federation of Rock Art Organizations

IsMEO: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente

IsIAO: Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente

IUO: Istituto Universitario Orientale (presently: UNO: Università degli Studi di Napoli ‘L’Orientale’)

KH: Kotah valley

KK: Kandak valley

L.M.O.: Luca Maria Olivieri

loc. cit.: *loco citato*

MAE - DGCC: Ministero degli Affari Esteri (Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs) - Direzione Generale Cooperazione Culturale

MD: Malakand Ridge

M.V.: Massimo Vidale

NAs: Northern Areas (presently: Gilgit-Baltistan)

NWFP: North-West Frontier Province (presently: Khyber Pukhtunkhwa)

m, km, ha: meter, kilometer, hectar (Meter, Kilometer, Hektar)

sqm, sqkm: square meter, square kilometer

m², km²: Quadratmeter, Quadratkilometer

N, S, E, W: North, South, East, West

N, S, O, W: Norden, Süden, Osten, Westen

R.M.: Roberto Micheli

ṚV: Ṛigveda

s.: see

s.d.: *sine datum*

s.o.: siehe oben

s.u.: siehe unten

suff.: suffix

TH: Thana valley

vd.: *vide*

REFERENCES

AAS L. R.

2008 *The Rock Carvings of Taru Thang. The Mountain Goat: A religious and social symbol of the Dardic speaking people of Trans-Himalayas*. Vår.

ABDUL NASIR, K./NAZIR KHAN/L.M. OLIVIERI/M. VITALI

1995 The Recent Discovery of Cave Paintings in Swat. A Preliminary Note. *EW*, 45, 333-53.

AMAN-UR-RAHMAN

2009 Gandhāran Deities in the 4th Century BCE - 2nd Century CE. *AP*, XX, 155-78.

AGRAWAL, D.P./KHARAKWAL J.S.

1998 *Central Himalayas. An Archaeological, Linguistic and Cultural Synthesis*, New Dehli.

ALIA JAWAD

2006 A Preliminary Report on First Excavation Season (1993) of Adina Grave Complex (District Swabi). *Journal of Asian Civilizations*, 29, 2, 14-54

ALLCHIN, F.R.

1970 A Piece of Scale Armour from Shaikhān Dherī, Chārsada (Shaikhān Dherī Studies 1), *JRAS*, 2, 113-120.

ALLCHIN, F.R.

1995 *The Archaeology of Early Historic South Asia. The Emergence of Cities and States*, Cambridge.

ANDREWS, P.A.

2000 A Survey of Sazin, Indus-Kohistan. A Fortified Village of the Shin in the Western Himalayas. in: MANP 4 (*Sazin. A Fortified Village in Indus Kohistan*), 13-108.

ARCÀ, A.

2004 The Topographic engravings of Alpine rock -art: fields, settlements and agricultural landscapes, in: CHIPPINDALE/NASH, 318-342.

ARIF, M.

- 2001 Shivaism through rock carvings in Northern Pakistan, *JAC*, XXIV, 2, 112-121.

ARNHEIM, R.

- 1954 *Art and Visual Perception: A Psychology of Creative Eye*. Berkeley-Los Angeles.

ARSHAD MUGHAL, M.

- 1999 Rock-carving on the bank of the Chenab River, Chiniot “a new discovery”, *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, XII, 2, 113-114.

ASHRAF KHAN, M.

- 1993 *Buddhist Shrines in Swat*. Saidu Sharif.

ASHRAF KHAN, M./MUHAMMAD BAHADUR KHAN/AZEEM, A.

- 1999-2000 Newly Discovered Rock Engravings and Inscriptions in the Bajaur valley, Gandhara, Pakistan, *AP*, XIII, 11-25.

ASHRAF KHAN, M./KHAN KHATTAK M.H./MAHMOOD-UL-HASAN

- 2002 Archaeological Survey and Documentation in District Attock, Punjab – Pakistan. *JAC*, XXV, 1, 93-96.

ASHRAF KHAN, M./MAHMOOD-UL-HASAN

- 2008 A New Discovery in the Taxila Valley: Archaeological Excavations at the Buddhist Monastery of Jinan Wali Dheri, in: JANSEN/LUCZANITS, 302-307.

AYAZ KHAN, M.

- 1998 The Resonance of Gandhara Culture in Manshera District of Hazara Division, in: STELLRECHT, W. (ed.), *Karakorum, Hindukush, Himalaya. Dynamics of Change*. Culture Area Karakorum, Scientific Studies, 4 II, 279-280.

AZZAROLI, A.

- 1975 Two Proto-Historic Horse Skeleton from Swāt, Pakistan, *EW*, 25, 3-4, 353-357.

BADSHAH SARDAR

- 2000 A Review of Research on Rock Art in Swat, Pakistan, *JAC*, XXIII, 2, 181-188.

IN PRESS Painted Rock Shelter in the Tributary valley of Saidu, District Swat (N.W.F.P, Pakistan), *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture*.

- BAHADUR KHAN, M./KHAN KHATTAK M.H./ABDUL NASIR, K./FAIZ-UR-REHMAN
 1999 *Malakand Agency. Archaeological Survey and Documentation of Sites and Monuments, Preliminary Report 1, DOAM, Karachi.*
- BANDINI-KÖNIG, D./BEMMAN, M./HAUPTMANN, H.
 1997 Rock Art in the Upper Indus Valley in: H. HAUPTMANN (ed.), *The Indus. Cradle and Crossroads of Civilizations. Pakistan-German Archaeological Research*, 29-70, Islamabad.
- BARGER, E./WRIGHT, PH.
 1942 *Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan. MASI*, 64, Delhi-Calcutta.
- BARTH, F.
 1956 Ecological Relationship of Ethnic Groups in Swat, North Pakistan, *American Anthropologist*, 58, 1079-1089.
- BARTH, F./MORGENSTIERNE, G.
 1958 'Vocabularies and specimens of some SE Dardic dialects', *NTS*, 18, pp. 118-36.
- BAUTZE, J.
 1990 Some Observations on Female 'Maurya' Terracotta Figurines, in: *SAA 1987*, 2, 611-626.
- BEAL, S. (TRANSL.)
 1906 *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World, translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsiang (A.D. 629)*. London (=XUANGZANG)
- BEDNARICK, R.G.
 1991 The IFRAO Standard Scale, *Rock Art Research*, 8, 78.
 1993a Geoarchaeological dating of petroglyphs at Lake Onega, Russia, *Geoarchaeology* 8, 6, 443-463.
 1993b Palaeolithic Art in India, *Man and Environment* 18, 443-463.
 1994a About rock art dating, *INORA* 7, 16-18.
 1994b A taphonomy of paleoart, *Antiquity* 68, 68-74.
 1995a The age of the Côa Valley petroglyphs in Portugal, *Rock Art Research* 12, 2, 86-103.
 1995b The Côa petroglyphs: an obituary to the stylistic dating of palaeolithic rock art, *Antiquity* 69, 877-83.

BEDNARICK, R.G.

2005 The lasting legacy of V.S. Wakankar, *Purakala*, 14-15, 5-12.

s.D. Interpretation of rock art, AURANET.

BELL, J.A.

1994 Interpretation and testability in theories about prehistoric thinking, in:

RENFREW/ZUBROW, 15-21.

BELLEZZA, J.V.

1997 Notes on Three Series of Unusual Symbols Discovered on the Byang thang, *EW*, 47, 1-4, 395-405.

2002a *Antiquities of Upper Tibet. An Inventory of Pre-Buddhist Archaeological Sites on the High Plateau*. Delhi.

2002b Gods, Hunting and Society. Animals in the Ancient Cave Paintings of Celestial Lake in Northern Tibet, *EW*, 52, 1-4, 347-396.

BENASSI, A./SCERRATO I.E.

2008 Some brief notes on a survey of the Middle Indus Valley: the connection between petroglyphs, foundation myths and the ritual practices of the brok-pas, in: F. LUGLI and A. STOPPIELLO (eds.), *Atti del 3° Convegno Nazionale di Etnoarcheologia, Mondaino, 17-19 marzo 2004 / Proceedings of the 3rd Italian Congress of Ethnoarchaeology, Mondaino (Italy), 17-19 March, 2004*, BAR S 1841, Oxford.

BINFORD, L.R.

1964 A Consideration of Archaeological Research Design, *American Antiquity*, 29, 425-445.

BOURGEOIS, J./BOUGEOIS D.

1971 Les Inscriptions et Dessins Rupestres de la Vallée du Laghmān, *Afghanistan* 24, 2-3, 52-59.

BRANCACCIO, P.

2010a The pottery from Bajaur: a window into the late Gandhara tradition, in: ALRAM ET AL., 329-340.

2010b *The Buddhist Caves at Aurangabad: Transformations in Art and Religion*, Leiden.

BRENTJES, B.

1977 On the Petroglyphs of Gogdāra I in Swat, *EW*, 27, 1-4, 92-93.

BRUNEAU, L.

2007 L'architecture bouddique dans la vallée du Haut Indus: un essai de typologie des représentations rupestres de *stūpa*, *AA*, 62, 63-75.

2011 Influence of the Indian Cultural Area in Ladakh in the 1st Millennium AD: The Rock Inscription Evidente, *Purātattva*, 41, 179-190 (and plates).

FORTHC. *Ladakh (etat du Jammu et cachemire, Inde) de l'Âge du Bronze à l'introduction du Bouddhisme: une étude de l'art rupestre.*

BRUNEAU, L./VERNIER, M.

2010 Animal style of the steppes in Ladakh. A presentation of newly discovered petroglyphs, in: OLIVIERI/BRUNEAU/FERRANDI, 27-36.

BUSSAGLI, M.

1984 *L'arte del Gandhāra*, Torino.

CACOPARDO, A.M./CACOPARDO A.S.

2001 *Gates of Peristan. History, Religion and Society in the Hindu Kush.* IsiaoRepMem, Series Minor, V, Rome.

CALEGARI, G.

1999 *L'arte rupestre dell'Eritrea. Repertorio ragionato ed esegesi iconografica,* Memorie, Milano.

2000 Liberare l'arte rupestre (quasi un Manifesto), *Archeologia africana. Saggi occasionali*, 6, 5-10.

CALLIERI, P.

1985 Osservazioni su un rilievo su roccia presso B ūnerwāl (P ūran, N.W.F.P., Pakistan), in: G. GNOLI and L. LANCIOTTI (eds.), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memorae dicata*, SOR, LVI, 1, 199-207.

1990 Archaeological Activities at Bīr-kot-ghwandai, Swāt: A Contribution to the Study of Pottery of historic Age from the NWFP, in: *SAA 1987*, 2, 675-692.

2005 Barikot, An Indo-Greek Urban Center in Gandhāra, in : SRINIVASAN, D.M. (ed.), *On the Cusp of an Era. Art in the Pre-Kuśāṇa World*, 133 -164, Leiden-Boston.

2006 Buddhist Presence in the Urban Settlements of Swāt, Second Century BCE to Fourth Century CE, in : BRANCACCIO/BEHRENDT, 60-82.

- CALLIERI, P. (with contributions by ERRINGTON, E./GARBINI, R./ GIGNOUX, PH./SIMS-WILLIAMS, N./ZWALF, W.)
 1997 *Seals and Sealings from the North-West of the Indian Subcontinent and Graeco-Persian, Roman*, Dissertationes, 1, IUO-IsIAO, Rome..
- CALLIERI, P./BROCATO, P./FILIGENZI, A./NASCARI, M./ OLIVIERI, L.M.
 1992 Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, 1990-1992. A preliminary Report on the Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission, IsMEO, *Annali*, 52, 4, suppl. 73, Napoli.
- CALLIERI, P./COLLIVA, L./MICHELI, R./ABDUL NASIR, K./ OLIVIERI, L.M.
 2000 Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat, Pakistan. 1998-1999 Excavation Report, *EW*, 50, 1-4, 191-226.
- CALLIERI, P./COLLIVA, L./ABDUL NASIR, K.
 2000-01 Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat, Pakistan. Preliminary Report on the Autumn 2000 Campaign of the IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan, *Annali*, 60-61, 215-232.
- CALLIERI, P./COLLIVA, L./GALLI, M./MICHELI, R./MORIGI, E./L.M., OLIVIERI (eds.)
 2006 *Valleys of Memory. Ancient People, sites and Images from Swat. 50 Years of the IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan*. IsIAO, Rome.
- CAMBI, F./TERRENATO, N.
 1994 *Introduzione all'Archeologia dei Paesaggi*. Roma.
- CAMPETTI, S./BORZATTI VON LÖWENSTERN, E.
 1983 *L'altra umanità. Origini, storia ed arte dei nomadi della tenda nera*, Firenze.
- CASTALDI, E.
 1968 *La necropoli di Katelai I nello Swat (Pakistan). Rapporto sullo scavo delle tombe 46-80 (1963)*, Atti dell'Accademia dei Lincei, Anno CCCLXV, Serie VIII, XIII, 7, Roma.
- CHAKRAVARTI, K.K./BEDNARIK R.G.
 1997 *Indian Rock Art And its Global Context*, New Delhi.
- CHAKRABARTI, D.K.
 1996, *India. An Archaeological History. Palaeolithic Beginnings to Early Historic Foundations*, Oxford-New Delhi.

CHASE, B.A.

- 2004 Ethno-Archaeology in South Asia: An Introduction and Review, in: RAY/SINOPOLI, 280-301.

CHEN ZHAO FU

- 1987 *Cina. L'arte rupestre preistorica*. Milano.

CLEGG, J.

- 1998 Making sense of obscure pictures from our own history: exotic images from Callan Park, Australia, in: CHIPPENDALE/TAÇON, 336-346.

CONINGHAM, R.A.E./SUTHERLAND, T.

- 1998 Dwellings or Granaries? The pit phenomenon of the Kashmir -Swat Neolithic, *Man and Environment*, 22, 29-34.

CREMASCHI, M.

- 2001 La rivincita del deserto, *Archeo*, XVII, 11, 68-85.

CLOTTES, J.

- 1998 The 'Three Cs'. Fresh avenues towards European palaeolithic art, in CHIPPENDALE/TAÇON, 112-129.

DANI, H.A.

- 1983 *The City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar)*, Islamabad.

DARMESTETER, J.

- 1888-90 *Chants populaires des afghans*, Paris.

DEANE, H.

- 1896 Note on Udiyāna and Gandhāra, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society for 1896*, Art. XVI, 655-675.

DESIO, A.

- 1985 Nuovi reperti di graffiti rupestri nel Karakorum occidentale e nell'Hindu Kush, in: G. GNOLI and L. LANCIOTTI (eds.), *Orientalia Iosephi Tucci memoriae dicata*. SOR, LVI, 1, 232-54. Roma.

DÈVLET, M.A.

- 1976 *Petroglify Ulug-Chema*, Moskva.

- 2001 Rock Art and the material culture of Siberian and central Asian shamanism, in: PRICES, 43-55.

DE MARCO, G.

- 1987 The Stūpa as a Funerary Monument: New Iconographical Evidence, *EW* 37, 1-4 191–246.

DIEN, A. E.

- 1986 The Stirrups and its effects on Chinese Militare History, *Ars Orientalis*, 16, 33-56.

DISERENS, H.

- 1986 A Rare and Unpublished Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī at Chhatrarī (Chambā) und Two Connected Problems, *Annali*, 46, 457-474.

DONIGER, W./SMITH B.K.

- 1996 *Le Leggi di Manu*. Biblioteca Orientale, 3, Milano (It. ed.).

DOOLIN, M.

- 2009 Qualitative THM-GC-MS Analysis of Proteins and Amino Acids in Rock Painting Binders. Senior Honor Thesis, Eastern Michigan University, Digital Commons @ EMU).

EDELBERG, L.

- 1965 *Nuristanske Sølvpokaler*. Kuml, Yearbook for the Yutland Archaeological Society, 153-201.

EDELBERG, L./JONES, S.

- 1979 *Nuristan*. Graz.

EILERS, W.

- 1954 Der Name Demawend, *Archiv Orientální*, 22, 267-374 (repr. in *Der Name Demawend*, Hildeshem-Zürich-New York 1988).

EILERS, W.

- 1987 *Iranische Ortsnamenstudien*, Wien.

ELIADE, M.

- 1968 *Le chamanisme et les techniques archaïques de l'extase*, Paris.

ERDOSY, G.

- 1989 Ethnicity in the Rigveda and its Bearing on the Question of Indo-European Origins, *SAS*, 5, 35-47.

FACCENNA, D.

- 1980-81 *Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan) 1956-1962*, IsmeoRepMem, III, 1-5.2, Rome.

FACCENNA, D.

- 1986 Note gandhariche -3. Lo *stūpa* a colonne dell'area sacra buddhistica di Saidu Sharif I (Swāt, Pakistan), in: G. BRUCHER, W.T. MÜLLER, H. SCHWEIGER and B. WAGNER (eds.), *Orient und Okzident im Spiegel der Kunst. Festschrift Heinrich Gerhard Franz zum 70. Geburtstag*, 55-80, Graz.

FACCENNA, D./NABI KHAN, A./NADIEM, I.H.

- 1993 *Pānr I (Swāt, Pakistan)*, IsmeoRepMem, XXVI, Rome.

FACCENNA, D./FILIGENZI, A.

- 2007 *Repertorio terminologico per la schedatura delle sculture dell'arte gandharica sulla base dei materiali provenienti dagli scavi della Missione archeologica dell'IsIAO nello Swat, Pakistan/ Repertory of Terms for Cataloguing Gandharan Sculptures Based on Materials from The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat, Pakistan*, IsiaoReports and Memoirs, New Series, Rome.

FACCENNA C./LORENZONI, S./OLIVIERI L.M./ZANETTINI LORENZONI, E.

- 1993 Geo-archaeology of the Swat Valley (NWFP, Pakistan) in the Charbagh-Barikot Stretch, *EW*, 43, 1-4. 257-270.

FALK, H.

- 2003 Five new Kharoṣṭhī donation records from Gandhāra, *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, 9, 71-86.
- 2006a *Aśokan Sites and Artefacts. A Source-Book with Bibliography*, Monographien zur Indische Archäologie, Kunst und Philologie, 16. Mainz.
- 2006b The Tidal Waves of Indian History: Between the Empires and Beyond, in: P. OLIVELLE (ed.), *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 B.C.E. to 400 C.E.*, South Asia Research, New York, 145-166.
- 2008 Money can buy me heaven. Religious donations in late and post-Kushan India, *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, 40, 137-148.

FERRANDI, M.

- 2010 Rock Art in Afghanistan and Hindukush: An Overview, in: OLIVIERI/BRUNEAU/FERRANDI, 59-67.

FILIGENZI, A.

- 2000 Marginal Notes on the Buddhist Rock Sculptures of Swat, in: TADDEI/DE MARCO, III, 1065-1085.
- 2005 Stone and Stucco Sculptures from the Sacred Building of Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai, Swat, Pakistan, in SAA 2001, II, 453-461.
- 2006 Sūrya, the Solar Kingship and the Turki Śāhis. New Acquisitions on the Cultural History of Swat, in : OLIVIERI, 195-203.
- 2009 Buddhistische Kunst im sozialen Kontext, in : LUCZANITS/JANSEN, 298-301.

FILIGENZI, A. (with contributions by OLIVIERI, L.M./ROCKWELL, P.)

- FORTH. *Art and Landscape. The Buddhist Rock Art of the Swat Valley.* IsiaoRepMem, Rome.

FLORENSKIJ, P.

- 1923-24 (Italian translation: *Lo spazio e il tempo nell'arte*, Milano 1995).

FOGELIN, L.

- 2004 Sacred Architecture, Sacred Landscape : Early Buddhism in North Coastal Andhra Pradesh, in : RAY/SINOPOLI, 376-391.

FOUCHER, A.

- 1901 *Sur la frontière indo-afghane*, Paris.
- 1942-47 *La vieille route de l'Inde à Taxila*, I-II, MDFAFA, 1, Paris.

FRANCFORT, H.P.

- 1998 Central Asian Petroglyphs : between Indo -Iranian and shamanistic interpretations, in : CHIPPENDALE/TAÇON, 302-318.
- 2003 Les pétroglyphes d'Asie Centrale : limites des interprétations indo-iraniennes et chamaniques, in : J. GUILAINE (ed.), *Arts et symboles du Néolithique à la Protohistoire*, 189-214, Paris.
- 2007 Arts, Archéologie et la question du chamanisme ancien en Asie intérieure, in : M. LORBLANCHET, J.-L. LE QUELLEC, P.G. BAHN, H.-P. FRANCFORT, B. DELLUC and G. DELLUC (eds.), *Chamanisme et Arts Préhistorique. Vision Critique*, 137-192, Paris.

FRANCFORT, H.P./KLODZINSKI, D./MASCLE, G.

- 1990 Pétroglyphes archaïques du Ladakh et du Zanskar, AA, XLV, 5-27.

FUSSMAN, G.

- 1977 Pour une problématique nouvelle des religions indiennes anciennes, *JA*, CCLXV, 21-70.
- 1989 Les Inscriptions Kharoṣṭī de la Plaine de Chilas, in: ANP 1, 1-39.
- 1994 Upālya-Kauśalya. L'implantation du bouddhisme au Gandhāra, in: F. FUKUI and G. FUSSMAN (eds.), *Bouddhisme et cultures locales. Quelques cas de réciproques adaptations*. Actes du colloques franco-japonais de septembre 1991, Études thématiques 2, EFEO, 17-51.

GARIMOLDI, G./GUALDONI, N.G./MANTOVANI, R.

- 1991 *Alpinismo italiano in Karakorum. Italian mountaneering in the Karakorum*. Cahier Museomontagna, 78. Torino.

GIMBUTAS, M.

- 1988 *The Language of the Goddess*, San Francisco.

GIRIRAJ, K.,/R.G. BEDNARIK/A. WATCHMAN/R.G. ROBERTS

- 2005 The EIP Project in 2005: A Progress Report, *Purakala*, 14-15, 13-68.

GIULIANO, L.

- 2004 Studies in Early Saiva Iconography: (I) The origin of the triśūla and some related Problems, *JISRS*, 10.

GORDON, D. H.

- 1932 Some Terra -Cottas from Sari-Dheri, North -West Frontier Province, *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, 62, 1, 163-171.
- 1938 The Age of the Frontier Terra-Cottas, *Iraq*, 5, 85-88.
- 1960² *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*. Bombay.

GORDON, D. H./GORDON, M.E.

- 1941 The Rock Engravings of the Middle Indus, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VII (Letters), 197-211.

GULLINI, G.

- 1962 Udegram, in: FACCENNA, D./GULLINI, G., *Reports on the Campaign 1956-58 in Swat (Pakistan)*, IsmeoRepMem, I, Rome.

HANDA, D.

- 2009 Temples as Depicted on Yaudheya Coins, in: D. DESAI and A. BANERJI, eds., *Kalādarpaṇa: The Mirror of Indian Art: Essays in Memory of Shri Krishna Deva*, 12–29, New Delhi.

HODGDSON, D.

- 2000 Art, perception and information processing: an evolutionary perspective, *Rock Art Research*, 17, 3-34.

HAMAYUN, M./AFZAL KHAN, S./ILYAS IQBAL/GOHAR REHMAN/TARIQ HAYAT/MIR AJAB KHAN

- s.d. *Ethnobotanical Profile of Utror and Gabral Valleys, District Swat, Pakistan.* (<http://www.ethnoleaflets.com/leaflets/swat.htm>).

HAMAYUN, M./ AFZAL KHAN, S./ HABIB AHMAD/DONG-HYUN SHIN/IN-JUNG LEE

- 2006 Morel collection and marketing: A case study from the Hindu-Kush mountain region of Swat, Pakistan, *Lyonia*, 11, 2, 7-13.

HUSSEIN, F./IQBAL, I./DURRANI, D.J.

- 2006 Ethobothany of Ghalegay, District Swat, Pakistan, *Acta Botanica Yunnanica*, 28, 3, 305-314.

IBRAR, M./HUSSAIN, F./SULTAN, A.

- 2007 Ethnobotanical Studies on Plant Resources of Ranyal Hills, District Shangla, Pakistan, *Pakistan Journal of Bothany*, 39, 2, 329-337.

IFRAO

- s.d. *IFRAO Rock Art Glossary*, AURANET.

ILYASOV, J.

- 2003 Covered Tails and 'Flying' Tassels, *Iranica Antiqua*, XIII, 259-325: 264-6).

JETTMAR, K.

- 1961 Ethnological Research in Dardistan 1958, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 105, 1, 79-97.
- 1975 *Die Religionen des Hindukusch Die Religionen der Menschheit*, 4, 1, Stuttgart.
- 1981 Neue entdeckte Felsbilder und –inschriften in den Nordgebieten Pakistans. Ein Vorbericht, *Allgemeine und Vergleichende Archäologie*, Beiträge II, 1980, 151-199.

JETTMAR, K.

- 1985 Non-Buddhist Traditions in the Petroglyphs of the Indus Valley, in: SAA 1983, 2, 751-77, Naples.
- 1997 Symbolic Systems in Collision: Rock Art in the Upper Indus Valley, in: R. ALLCHIN, B. ALLCHIN, N. KREITMAN and E. ERRINGTON (eds.), *Gandharan Art in Context. East-West Exchanges at the Crossroads of Asia*, 55-69.
- 2000 Historical Comments, in : MANP 4 (*Sazin. A Fortified Village in Indus Kohistan*), 109-128.

JETTMAR, K./THEWALT, V.

- 1985 *Zwischen Gandhāra und den Seidenstrassen. Felsbilder am Karakorum Highway*, Mainz.

JUNG, M.

- 2003 Breve disanima delle ricerche sull'arte rupestre in Afghanistan con una nota sui graffiti della valle di Lagmān, in: M.V. FONTANA and B. GENITO (eds.), *Studi in Onore di Umberto Scerrato per il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno*, II, UNO-IsIAO, Series Minor LXV, 485-502, Napoli.

KALHORO Z. A.

- 2009 Rock Carvings and Inscriptions of Sado Mazo in Johi, Dadu, Sindh, Pakistan. *JAC*, 32, 2, 94-125.
- 2011 Initial Report of the Archaeological Survey of Sallari Valley, Khirthar Sindh. *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society*, LIX, 3, 79-96.

KELLOG, R./KNOLL, M./KUGLER, J.

- 1965 Form-Similarity between Phosphenes and Pre-School Children's Scribbles, *Nature*, 208, 1129-1130.

KLIMBURG-SALTER, D.

- 2005 Mahākāśyapa and the Art of Bāmiyān, SAA 2001, 535-449.

KÖNIG, D.

- 1994 Zu den Tierdarstellungen auf den Felsen am Oberen Indus. Versuch einer zoologischen Bestimmung, ANP, 3, pp. 73-172.

KHUZHANAZAROV, M.

- 1999 Ancient rock art in Uzbekistan. *AMIT*, 31, 9-22.

KLASSEN, M.A.

- 1998 Icon and narrative in transition: contact-period rock-art at Writing-On-Stone, southern Alberta, Canada, in CHIPPENDALE/TAÇON, 42-72.

KOSAMBI, D.D.

- 1965 *The Culture and Civilization of Ancient India in Historical Outline*. New Delhi.
- 1975² *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, (Bombay) Mumbai.

KUZ'MINA, E.E.

- 2007 *The Origin of the Indo-Iranians*, III, (J.P. MALLORY, ed.), Leiden.

KUMAR, G.

- 2010 Recent developments in rock art research in India with special reference to the EIP Project, in: OLIVIERI/BRUNEAU/FERRANDI, 1-12.

KUWAYAMA, S.

- 2006 Pilgrimage Route Changes and the Decline of Gandh āra, in: BRANCACCIO/BEHRENDT, 107-134.

INAM-UR-RAHIM/VIARO, A.

- 2002 *Swat: An Afghan Society in Pakistan. Urbanisation and Change in a Tribal Environment*, Karachi.

IHSAN ALI/BATT, C./CONINGHAM, R./YOUNG, R.

- 2002 New exploration in the Chitral Valley, Pakistan: an extension of the Gandharan Grave Culture, *Antiquity*, 76, 647-653.

LAW, R.

- 2002 Potential Steatite Sources for the Indus Civilization, in: M. HALIM AND A. GHAFOR (eds.), *Indus Valley Civilization*. Collection of Papers presented in the International Colloquium on Indus Valley Civilization at Islamabad (6th-8th April 2001), 158-167, Islamabad..
- 2008 *Inter-Regional interaction and Urbanism in the Ancient Indus Valley: A Geologic Provenience Study of Harappa's Rock and Mineral Assemblage*. PhD Dissertattion Thesis (unp.).

LENSSEN-ERZ, T.

- 2004 The landscape setting of rock -painting sites in the Brandberg (Namibia): infrastructure, *Gestaltung*, use and meaning, in: CHIPPINDALE/NASH, 131-150.

LEWIS-WILLIAMS, J.D.

1981 The Thin Red Line: Southern San Notions and Rock Paintings of Supernatural Potency, *South African Archaeological Bulletin*, 36, 5-13.

1983 Arte della savana. Le pitture rupestri dell'Africa Australe, Milano.

LITTAUER, M.

1981 Early Styrrups, *Antiquity*, 55, 99-105.

LITVINSKIJ, B.A.

2001 *Chram Oksa v Baktrii (Južnyj Tadžikistan), 2. Baktrijskoe Vooruženie v drevne-Vostočnom v grečeskom Kontekste*. Moskva.

LORBLANCHET, M./BAHN, P. (eds)

1993 *Rock art studies: the post-stylistic era, or, Where do we go from here ?*, Oxford.

LUMLEY, H. DE

1995 *Le Grandiose et le Sacré: gravures rupestres protohistoriques et historiques de la région du Mont Bego*. Aix-en Provence.

LUFT-UR-REHMAN

1997 Bajaur rock carvings. *JCA*, 20, 28-53.

MAENCHEN-HELFEN, O.

1957 Crenelated Mane and Scabbard Slide. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 3, 2, 85-138.

MANI, B.R.

2010 Authors of Petroglyphs in Ladakh and Baltistan, in: OLIVIERI/BRUNEAU/FERRANDI, 37-42.

MANUEL, J.

2005 Background rock morphology as a tool in interpreting rock art: Some examples from Bhimbetka, *Purakala*, 14-15, 77-82.

MARAINI, F.

1997 *Paropàmiso. Spedizione romana all'Hindu-Kush ed ascensione del Picco Saraghrar (7350m)*, Torino.

MARSHALL, J.

1951 *Taxila. An Illustrated Account of Archaeological Investigations carried out at Taxila under the Orders of the Government of India between the Years 1913 and 1934*, I-III, Cambridge.

MATHPAL, Y.

1984 *The Prehistoric Rock Art of Bhimbetka, Central India*, Delhi.

1995 *Rock Art in Kumaon Himalaya*, New Delhi.

MAZIN, A.I.

1986 *Taezhnye pisanicy Priamur'ja*, Novosibirsk.

MIAN SAID QAMAR

1974-86 Rock Carvings and Inscriptions from Tor-Derai (District Loralai), *PA*, 10-22, 168-178.

MICHELI, R.

2006 Early Lithic Tools from Lower Kandak, in: OLIVIERI, 43-61.

MIZUNO, S. (ed.)

1962 *Haibāk and Kashmir Smast*, Kyōto.

MEISTER, M.W.

2007 Image Iconopraxis and Iconoplasty in South Asia, *Res: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, 51, 13–32

2010a Gumbat, Tālāsh Valley, Dir: An Indus Temple in Greater Gandhāra, *Gandhāran Studies* 4: 245–254

2010b *Temples of the Indus: Essays in the Hindu Architecture of Ancient Pakistan*. Leiden.

MORIGI, E.

2009 The evolution of moulding techniques in the ceramic sequence of the Swat Valley (North-West Pakistan), in: PARPOLA, 19-30.

MÜLLER-KARPE, H.

1983 *Jungbronzezeitlich-früheisenzeitliche grabfelder der Swat-Kultur in Nord-Pakistan*, AVA-Materialien, München.

NASIM KHAN, M.

2000 *Buddhist Paintings in Gandhara*, Peshawar.

2006 *Treasure from Kashmir Smast. The Earliest Śaiva Monastic Establishment*, Peshawar

2008 Painted Inscription from Kashmir Smast: Study and Analysis, *Gandhāran Studies*, 3, 127-159.

NASIR KHAN, A./L.M. OLIVIERI

FORTH. The Painted Shelters of Chargul Dheri (Sites 617b and 617c) (Mt Karamar N, Swabi District), *Frontier Archaeology*, V, 2009-2011

NAZIR KHAN

1983 Rock Engravings from Hathiano Kandao (Elephant Walk), *JCA*, VI, 2, 59-67.

1994 Rock Paintings at Nokkono Ghwand (Swat), *ANP* 3, 213-216.

NOUGIER, L.-R.

1993 *L'art de la Préhistoire*, Paris.

NOWGORODOWA, E.

1980 *Alte Kunst der Mongolei*. Leipzig.

NEUMAYER, E.

1991 Wheeled Vehicles and Mounted Animals in Prehistoric Indian Rock Art, *Man and Environment*, XVI, 2, 39-69.

ODANI, N.

2000 New Discoveries from the Excavations at Rānigāt, Pakistan, in: TADDEI/DE MARCO, 831-841.

OKLADNIKOV, A.P.

1969-70 *Petroglify Zabajkal'ja*. Cast' 1, 2. Leningrad.

OKLADNIKOV, A.P.

1979 *Petroglify dolini r. Elangaš*. Novosibirsk.

OLIVIERI, L.M.

1994 Recent Discoveries of Rock-carvings in Buner and Puran, *EW*, 44, 2-4, 455-466.

1996 Notes on the Problematical Sequence of Alexander's Itinerary in Swat. A Geo-Historical Approach. *EW*, 46, pp. 45-78.

1998 The Rock-Carvings of Gogdara I (Swat). Documentation and Preliminary Analysis. *EW*, 48, pp. 57-92.

2001 (Review) M. Oppitz, ed., *Robert Powell. Himalayan Drawings*, Zurich 2001, *EW*, 51, 3-4, 430-433.

2002 (Review) : Nasim Khan, *Buddhist Paintings in Gandhara, Peshawar 2000*, *EW*, 52, 1-4, 452-453.

OLIVIERI, L.M.

- 2003 *The Survey of the Bir-kot Hill*. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai Interim Reports, I. IsiaoRepMem, VI, Series Minor. Rome.
- 2004 Late Protohistoric Painted Shelters from Swat Valley (North Pakistan), in: E. ANATI (ed.), *XXI Valcamonica Symposium*, 373-375, Capo di Ponte.
- 2005 Gogdara I and beyond. The Cultural Sequence of the non-Buddhist Rock Art in Swat Valley. Preliminary Conclusions, in: SAA 2003, 215-222.
- 2006a *Per Saxa: Il contributo della Missione Italiana allo studio geo-archeologico e dei manufatti rupestri dello Swat*, in: CALLIERI, 137-156.
- 2006b Outline History of the IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (1956-2006), in: OLIVIERI, 23-41.
- 2006c The IsIAO Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan. A Selected Bibliography (1956-2006), in: OLIVIERI, 301-318.
- 2007 ‘Scale Armour’ from Bir-kot-ghwandai and Correlated Finds. Clues for a Tentative Historical Reassessment, *Gandhāran Studies*, 1, 23-43.
- 2008 Hanging Rocks and ‘Intoxicating Drinks’: The Rock Art Sequence of the Swat Valley, *SAS*, 24, 15-26.
- 2009 *Swat. Storia di una frontiera*. Il Nuovo Ramusio, IsIAO, 10. Roma.
- 2010a (in collaboration with FAIZ-UR-RAHMAN) Painted Shelters from Lower Swat (Pakistan). Recent Discovery in the frame of the AMSV Project, in: OLIVIERI/BRUNEAU/FERRANDI, 13-26.
- 2010b Late Historic Cultural Landscape in Swat. New Data for a Tentative Historical Reassessment, in: ALRAM ET AL., 129-141.
- 2011 Beyond the Buddhist Communities. Subalternity and Dominancy in Ancient Swat, in: GHANI-UR-RAHMAN/OLIVIERI, 127-156.

OLIVIERI, L.M./M. VIDALE

- 2004 Beyond Gogdara I. New Evidences of Rock-Carvings and Rock-Artifacts from the Kandak Valley (Swat). *EW* 54, 1-4, 121-180.

OLIVIERI, L./M. VIDALE (with contributions by ABDUL NASIR, K./TAHIR SAEED/COLLIVA, L./GARBINI, R./LANGELLA, L./MICHELI, R./MORIGI, E.)

- 2006 Archaeology and Settlement History in a Test Area of Swat the Swat valley, in: OLIVIERI, 73-150.

- OLIVIERI, L.M./M. VIDALE (with contribution by M. MEISTER)
- FORTH. ACTing practically. The first steps of a wide-scope archaeological project in the Swat valley (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan), in J.M. Kenoyer, ed., *Archaeology and Cultural Heritage in Pakistan and Ajaacent Regions*, American Institute of Pakistan Studies, International Conference, Islamabad January 5-7 2012.
- OLIVIERI, L.M./M. DI CHIARA (with contributions by BEHRENDT, K./BRANCACCIO, P./DE CHIARA, M.)
- FORTH. *M.A. Stein and the 'Lord of the Marches'. The beginning of archaeology in and around Swat in the Political House documents, Malakand (former NWFP, Pakistan)*, *Repertoria ac Bibliographica*, 4, Rome.
- ONG, W.J.
- 1982 *Orality and Literacy. The Technologizing of the Word*, London-New York.
- OROFINO, G.
- 1990 A Note on Some Tibetan Petroglyphs of the Ladakh Area, *EW*, 40, 1-4, 173-200.
- OUZMAN, S.
- 1998 Towards a mindscape of landscape: rock -art as expression of world - understanding, in: CHIPPENDALE/TAÇON, 30-41.
- PANDE, B.M.
- 1971 Neolithic Hunting Scene on a Stone Slab from Burzahom, Kashmir, *Asian Perspectives*, XIV, 134-138.
- 1972 A Neolithic 'Tectiform' from Burzahom, District Srinagar, Kashmir, *Journal of the Indian Anthropological Society*, 7, 2, 175-177.
- PARPOLA, A.
- 1998 The Coming of the Aryans to Iran and India and the Cultural and Ethnic Identity of the Dasas, *Studia Orientalia* 64, 195-302.
- 2009 The Face Urns of Gandhâra and the Nâsatya Cult, in: PARPOLA, 150-162.
- PATERSON, T.T./DRUMMOND H.J.H
- 1962 *Soan: The Palaeolithic of Pakistan*, DOAM, Karachi.
- PIZZO RUSSO, L.
- 1988 *Il disegno infantile. Storia, teoria, pratiche*, Palermo.

PLATTS, J.T.

1884 *A Dictionary of Urdū, classical Hindī and English*, London.

POTTS, D.T.

2007 *Cataphractus and kamandar: Some Thoughts on the Dynamic Evolution of Heavy cavalry and Mounted Archers in Iran and Central Asia*, 21, 149-158.

PRATAP, A.

2004 Ethno -archaeology as History: The Case of Santhal Parganas, in RAY/SINOPOLI, 302-315.

2009 *Indigenous archaeology in India: prospects for an archaeology of the Subaltern*, BAR S 1927, Oxford.

QASIM JAN MUHAMMADZAI, M.

2005 Discovery of Rock Carvings at Chingai Banda and Shaikh Shanda, AP, XVI (Professor Farid Khan Felicitation Volume, ed. by M. FAROOQ SWATI), 181-197.

RAY, H.P.

2004 The Archaeology of Sacred Space: Introduction, in RAY/SINOPOLI, 350-375.

2009 *Colonial Archaeology in South Asia. The Legacy of Sir Mortimer Wheeler*, New Delhi.

RAY, H.P./SINOPOLI, C.

2004 Preamble, in RAY/SINOPOLI, 1-11.

RAPIN, C.

1992 *Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum. VIII. La Trésorerie du Palais Hellénistique d' Aï Khanoum*, MDAFA, XXXIII, Paris.

1995 Hinduism in the Indo-Greek Area: Notes on Some Indian Finds from Bactria and on Two Temples in Taxila, in: A. INVERNIZZI (ed.), *In the Land of the Gryphons: Papers on Central Asian Archaeology in Antiquity*, Monografie di Mesopotamia, 275-292, Firenze.

RATNAGAR, S.

1998² Archaeological perspectives on Early Indian Societies, in: R. THAPAR (ed.), *Recent Perspectives of Early Indian History*, 1-59, Bombay.

2004 *The Other Indians. Essays on Pastoralists and Prehistoric Tribal People*. New Delhi.

RENFREW, C.

1994 Toward a cognitive archaeology, in: RENFREW/ZUBROW, 3-12.

ROZWADOWSKI, A.

2001 Sun gods or shamans? Interpreting solar-headed petroglyphs in Central Asia, in: PRICE, 65-86.

SADASIBA PRADHAN

2001 *Rock Art in Orissa*, New Delhi.

SAEED-UR-REHMAN/ASHRAF KHAN, M./AZEEM, A.

1996 The Archaeological Exploration in Bajaur Agency, in: SAEED-UR-REHMAN, 122-176.

SAEED-UR-REHMAN/HABIB-ULLAH KHAN KHATTAK./FAIZ-UR-REHMAN

1996 The Archaeological Exploration in Buner, in: SAEED-UR-REHMAN, 1-79.

SALOMON, R.

1996 An Inscribed Silver Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 116, 3, 418- 452

SAMASHEV, Z.

1993 *Petroglyphs of the East Kazakhstan as historical sources*, Almaty.

SCHNAPP, A.

1994 Are images animated? The psychology of statues in Ancient Greece, in: RENFREW/ZUBROW, 40-44

SCHOPEN, G.

1994a The Monastic Ownership of Servant and Slaves. Local and Legal Factors in the Redactional History of Two *Vinayas*, *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies*, 117, 2, 145-173 (repr. in SCHOPEN, 193-218).

1994b Ritual Rights and Bones of Contention. More on Monastic Funerals and Relics in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, 22, 31-80 (repr. in SCHOPEN, 285-328).

1994c Doing Business for the Lord. Lending Interests and Written Loan Contracts in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 114, 4, 527-553 (repr. in SCHOPEN, 45-90).

SCHOPEN, G.

- 1995 Deaths, Funerals, and the Division of Property in a Monastic Code, in: D.S. LOPEZ (ed.), *Buddhism in Practice*, Princeton, 473-502 (repr. in SCHOPEN, 91-121).
- 2006 On Monks and Menial Laborers. Some Monastic Accounts of Building Buddhist Monasteries, in: CALLIERI, 225-245.

SHAH NAZAR KHAN

- 1993 Preliminary Excavation Report of a Megalithic Burial Site near Adina, District Swabi, *AP*, VIII, 161-180.
- 1995 Report on the Archaeological Survey of Swabi District. *AP*, XI, 75-174.

SEGAL, E.M.

- 1994 Archaeology and cognitive science, in: RENFREW/ZUBROW, 22-28.

SEVERI, M.

- 2004 *Il percorso e la voce. Un'antropologia della memoria*, Torino.

SHAW, J.

- 2000 Sanchi and its Archaeological Landscape: Buddhist Monasteries, Settlements and Irrigation Works in Central India, *Antiquity*, 74, 775-776.
- 2001 Ancient Irrigation Works in the Sanchi Area: An Archaeological and Hydrological Investigation, *SAS*, 17, 55-75.

SHENNAN, S.

- 1985 Experiments in the Collection and Analysis of Archaeological Survey data: the East Hampshire Survey, Sheffield.

SIDDIQUI, M.F./ AHMED, M./ WAHAB, M./ NASRULLAH KHAN/ UZAIR KHAN, M./ NAZIM, K./ HUSSAIN, S.S.

- 2009 Phytosociology of *Pinus Roxburghii* Sargent in Lesser Himalayan and Hindu Kush Range of Pakistan, *Pakistan Journal of Botany*, 41, 5, 2357-2369.

SILVI ANTONINI, C.

- 1963 Preliminary Notes on the Excavations of the Necropolises Found in Western Pakistan. *EW*, 14, 1-2, 12-26.

SILVI ANTONINI, C./STACUL, G.

- 1972 The Proto-historic Graveyards of Swāt (Pakistan). *IsMEO IsmeoRepMem*, VII, 1-2, Rome.

SPAGNESI, P.

- 2006 Aspects of the Architecture of the Buddhist Sacred Areas in Swat, in: OLIVIERI, 151-175.

STACUL, G.

- 1966 Notes on the Discovery of a necropolis near Kherai in the Gorbānd Valley (Swat, West Pakistan), *EW*, 16, 3-4, 261-274.
- 1967 Discovery of Four Pre-Buddhist cemeteries near Pachā in Buner (Swāt, W. Pakistan), *EW*, 17, 3-4, 220-232.
- 1969 Discovery of Protohistoric Cemeteries in the Chitral Valley (West Pakistan), *EW*, 19, 1-2, 92-99.
- 1970 An Archaeological Survey near Kālām (Swat Kohistan), *EW*, 20, 1-2, 87-91.
- 1979 The Sequence of the Proto-historical Periods at Aligrama (Swāt, Pakistan), in: SAA 1975, 87-90.
- 1983 Richiamo al Gandhara: testimonianze di una iconografia 'rigvedica' (c. XV a.C.), *Atti dei Civici Musei di Storia e Arte di Trieste*, 13, 2, 1-10.
- 1987 *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Swat, Pakistan (c. 3000-1400 B.C.)*. IsmeoRepMem, XX, Rome.
- 2005a Human Figurines from Early Swat (2nd -1st Millennium B.C.), in: SAA 2001, I, 303-309.
- 2005b Symbols of Early Swāt (c. 1700-1400 B.C.), in: SAA 2003, 211-214.

STEIN, M.A.

- 1899 Detailed Report of an Archaeological Tour with the Buner Field Force, *The Indian Antiquary*, XXVIII, 14-28, 33-46, 58-64.
- 1930 *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hill Tracts*, MASI, 42, Calcutta.

STEIN, R.A.

- 1988 Grottes-Matrices et liux saints de la déesse en Asie Orientale, EFEO, CLI, Paris.

SHVETS, I.

- 2010 Kazakh Petroglyphs in the Light of Recently Discovered Stations and Their Dating, in: OLIVIERI/BRUNEAU/FERRANDI, 77-81.

SRINIVASAN, D.

1997 *Many Heads, Arms, and Eyes*. Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology , 20, Leiden.

SULTAN-I-ROME

2008 *Swat State (1915-1969). From Genesis to the Merger. An Analysis of Political, Administrative, Socio-Political, and Economic Developments*. Karachi.

TAÇON, P.S.C./CHIPPENDALE, CH.

1998 An archaeology of rock-art trough informed methods and formal methods, in: CHIPPENDALE/TAÇON, 1-10.

THAPAR, R.

1971 The Image of the Barbarian in Early India, *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 13, 4, 408-436

2002 *Early India. From the Origins to AD 1300*. Berkeley-Los Angeles.

THEWALT, V.

1985 Rockcarvings and Inscriptions along the Indus. The Buddhist Traditions, in: SAA 1983, 779-800.

TILEG, C.

1994 Design Structure and narrative In Southern Scandinavian Rock Art. *University College London. Institute of Archaeology Bulletin*, 31, 61-87.

TSUCHIYA, H.

1993 Preliminary Report on Field Researches along the Ancient Routes in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and Related Historical and Art Historical Information (September 1991), *Sophia International Review*, 15, 27-40.

1994 Preliminary Report on Field Researches along the Ancient Routes in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and Related Historical and Art Historical Information (September 1992), *Sophia International Review*, 16, 81-101.

1995 Preliminary Report on Field Researches along the Ancient Routes in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and Related Historical and Art Historical Information (September 1993), *Sophia International Review*, 17, 59-77.

1996 Preliminary Report on Field Researches along the Ancient Routes in the Northern Areas of Pakistan and Related Historical and Art Historical Information (September 1994), *Sophia International Review*, 18, 21-50.

TUCCI, G.

- 1958 Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swat. *EW*, 9, 4, 279-328.
- 1963 Oriental Notes II: An Image of a Devī Discovered in Swat and Some Connected Problems, *EW* 14, 3-4, 146-82.
- 1977 On Swāt. The Dards and Connected Problems. *EW*, 27, 1-4, 9-85, 94-103.

TUSA, S.

- 1979 The Swāt Valley in the 2nd and 1st Millennia B.C.: A Question of Marginality, in: SAA 1979, 675-695.
- 1990 Ancient Ploughing in Northern Pakistan, in: SAA 1987, 349-376.

VERARDI, G.

- 1983 The Kuṣāṇa Emperors as *Cakravartins*. Dynastic Art and Cults in India and Central Asia: History of a Theory, Clarifications and Refutations. *EW*, 33, 1-4, 225-94.

VERNIER, M.

- 2007 *Exploration et documentation des pétroglyphes du Ladakh*, Quaderni Fondazione Carlo Leone et Mariena Montandon, 4, Como.

VIDALE, M./LAURENZA, S.

- 2003 Towards An Archaeological Map of Swat: a Preliminary Field Test in The Kandak Valley, in: SAA 2001, I, 171-177.

VIDALE, M./OLIVIERI, L.M.

- 2002 Painted Rock Shelters of the Swat Valley: Further Discoveries and New Hypotheses, *EW*, 52, 1-4, 173-224.
- 2005 Analytical Recognition or visual *māyā*? A Cup-marked Megalith in the Kandak Valley (Swat, Pakistan), in: P. CALLIERI and A. FILIGENZI, *EW*, 55, 1-4 (Commemoration Volume for the 5th Anniversary of the Parinirvāṇa of Maurizio Taddei), 445-463.

VIDALE, M./MICHELI, R./OLIVIERI, L.M.

- 2011 Symbols of Protohistoric Swat and the Agricultural Intensification of Period IV (2nd Millennium BCE), *Journal of Asian Civilizations*, 34,1, 99-126.

WANG BIHUA

- 2005 The Polychrome Rock Paintings in the Altay Mountains, *The Silk Road*, 3, 1, 16-23.

WATSON, H.D.

1908 *Gazzetter of the Hazara District 1907*, London.

WHITLEY, D. S.

1998 Finding rain in the desert: landscape, gender and far western North American rock-art, in: CHIPPENDAL/TAÇON, 11-29.

WILD, U.

2000 *Landnutzungskartierung und Analyse dörflicher Betriebssysteme in Nordwestpakistan, Mansehra District*, Diplomarbeit, Institut für Geographie und Geoökologie, Universität Karlsruhe (unp.).

WINNET, F. V./REED, W.L.

1973 An Archaeological-Epigraphical Survey of the Hā'il area of Northern Sa'udi Arabia, *Berytus*, 22, 55-113.

WITZEL, M.

2004 The Ṛgvedic Religious System and its Central Asian and Hindukush Antecedents, in: A. GRIFFITHS and J.E.M. HOUBEN (eds.), *The Vedas: Texts, Language and Ritual*. Groningen, 581-636.

2006 Brahmanical reactions to foreign influences and to social and religious change, in: P. OLIVELLE (ed.), *Between the Empires: Society in India 300 B.C.E. to 400 C.E.*, South Asia Research, New York, 457-499.

YOUNG, R.

2003 *Agriculture and Pastoralism in the Late Bronze and Iron Age, North West Frontier Province, Pakistan*, Bradford Monographs in the Archaeology of Southern Asia, 1, BAR International Series, 1124, Oxford.

2010 Transhumant Groups and Subordination in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan, *AP*, XXI, 123-138.

YORSTON, R./GAFFNEY, V.L./REYNOLDS, P.R.

1990 Simulation of Artefact Movement Due to Cultivation, *Journal of Archaeology Science*, 17, pp. 67-83.

YOSHIHIDE, K.

2009 Die Funde von Zar Dheri, in: LUCZANITS/JANSEN, 308-313.

ZELALEM, T.

2002 Rock Art Sites in the Area of Addi Keyih, Eritrea, *Journal of Eritrean Studies* I 1, 1-28.

ZILHÃO, J.

1995 The age of the Côa valley (Portugal) rock-art: Validation of archaeological dating to the Palaeolithic and refutation of 'scientific' dating to historic or proto-historic times, *Antiquity* 69, 883-901.