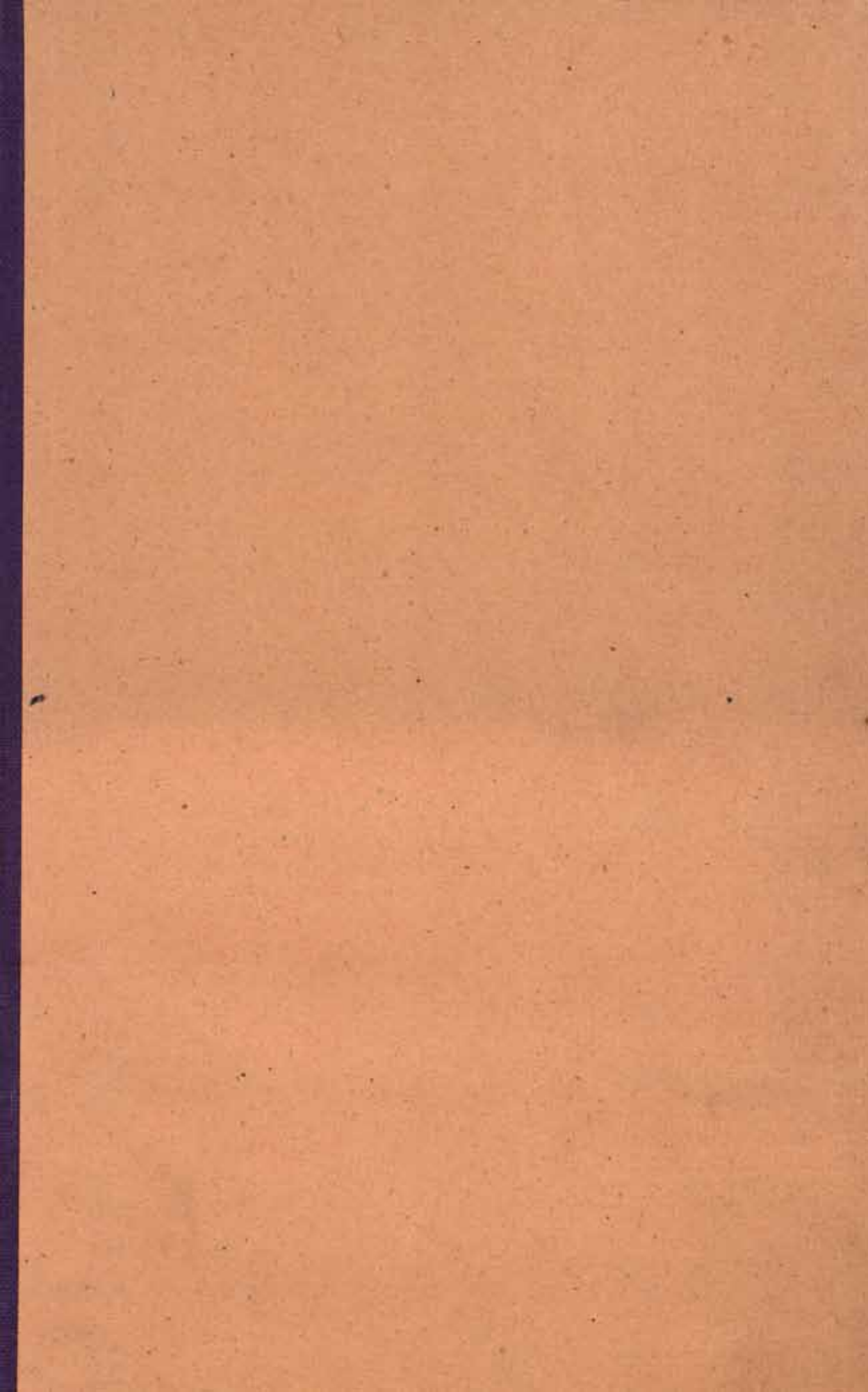


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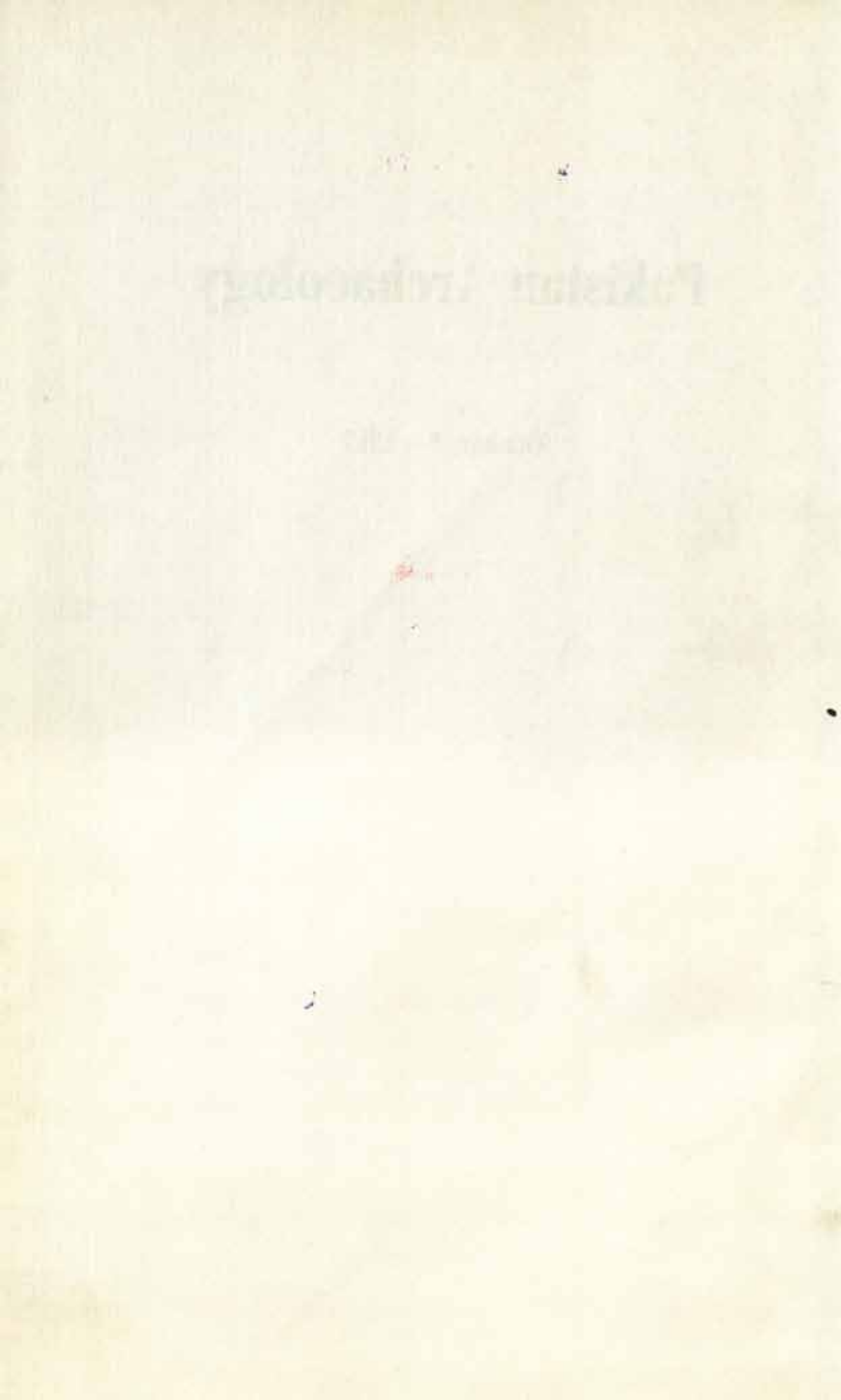
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GOVERNMENT OF PAKISTAN KARACHI

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EDITORIAL

The discovery of Gandhara Grave Culture opened a hitherto unknown chapter in the history of Pakistan. The work of Italian Archaeological Mission and that of the Peshawar University on several sites in the former States of Swat and Dir created an impression that this culture was confined to the hilly regions only. No doubt some cemetery sites in Peshawar plains had been identified but no excavation had been carried out on any one of them. The limited excavations and salvage work at Zarif Karuna site located in Peshawar District thus offer an opportunity to study it in different environment. The work had been briefly reported in the last issue. A detailed report by Mr. Gulzar Mohammad Khan finds a prominent place in this issue. It will be observed that while the basic traits of Gandhara Grave Culture are intact at Zarif Karuna, some new evidence by way of cult objects etc. has also come to light. The clear stratigraphical evidence at Zarif Karuna also confirms that inhumation and cremation ritual preceded fractional and multiple burials, as also witnessed at Timargarha.

Existence of several proto-historic sites in the vicinity of Karachi has been reported in the first issue of this Journal. None of these sites has, however, been subject to proper archaeological excavations. Allah-dino site also known as Nel Bazar, about 20 miles north-east of Karachi and close to the confluence of the Bazar Nadi and the main stream of the Malir River, offered a great promise. The Archaeological Mission of American Museum of Natural History, New York, undertook to probe into the site. Dr. Walter A. Fairservis Jr., leader of the Mission has presented a preliminary report on the first year's work at the site. As a small village site, it offers new vistas to our understanding of the great urban civilization that was Indus Civilization.

Preliminary report on the French Archaeological Mission's work led by late Mr. J. M. Casal at Pirak site in Kachhi plains had appeared in our issue No. 7. The present volume contains the report of last season's work by his successor Dr. J. F. Jarrige. No doubt, the comprehensive report on Pirak excavations is also expected to be out soon but the details offered here would also be found useful.

At Manghopir, 10 miles north of Karachi, traces of a small pre-historic site had been noticed previously. There is a small tank containing crocodiles and the place is very popular with the people as a 'healing resort'. Dr. Mahdihasan, a renowned scholar, considers the place to be the surviving counterpart of the crocodilopolis of ancient Egypt. This may or may not be so, but his paper makes an interesting study.

The printing of this issue has taken exceptionally a long time for reasons somehow beyond our control. The posts of Superintendent Publications, Assistant Superintendent Publications, Production Assistant-almost entire Publication Branch of the Department-remained vacant during this period. But for the help of Mr. Khurshid Hasan, Deputy Director (Admn), and the interest of Mr. M. A. Halim, Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology, the present volume may not have seen the light of the day. Mr. Niaz Rasool, Assistant Superintendent of Archaeology, and Mr. M. M. Baig, Librarian, Central Archaeological Library, were also helpful in many ways. To all of them I am deeply indebted.

MUHAMMAD ISHTIAQ KHAN
Director of Archaeology and Museums.

EXCAVATIONS AT ZARIF KARUNA

by

Gulzar Muhammad Khan

(Plates I—XX and Fig. 1 to 8)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It has been a rare privilege for me to have been asked by Mr. Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan, the Director of Archaeology and Museums, to undertake the writing of Report on Zarif Karuna Cemetery, near Peshawar. I am thankful to him for entrusting this responsibility to me. His discussions and inquiries, apart from being a source of inspiration, were of invaluable help for the completion of the report. I am greatly indebted to him for the remarkable patience, he displayed during the time, I took for writing.

I am specially indebted to Mr. M. A. Halim, who being the principal excavator of the site, agreed to the writing of the report by me. Apart from the preparation of the photographic and drawing record in the field, he lent practical help at every step towards the completion of this report. His assistance proved extremely useful for grouping the ceramic evidence and classification of the graves. Without his help it would not have been possible to complete the work undertaken by me. Also my personal gratitude to Mr. Fazal Qadir, T. I. whose hospitality I can never forget during my stay in Karachi and to Mr. Ata-ur-Rahman for providing me accommodation.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to Mr. Sh. Khurshid Hasan and Mr. Ahmad Nabi Khan whose scholarly discussions and learned discourses greatly proved useful for me. My thanks are due to Mr. Niaz Rasool and Mr. Mirza Mahmud Baig who came to my help at many occasions while I was busy in writing. Mr. Mahmud Baig readily made available the references from the Central Archaeological Library.

May I express my thanks to Dr. Rafique Mughal, my university days friend and classmate, for providing every facility in the Exploration and Excavations Branch and bringing certain important references and comparisons to my notice. His discussions while I was writing chronology portion, proved extremely useful.

Grateful thanks are also due to my colleagues in the Exploration and Excavations Branch for professional and technical assistance. Mr. Hasinuddin Qureshi prepared drawings of the pottery and antiquities. Pottery and Antiquities were photographed by M/s Ilyas and S. A. Siddiqui. For doing the typing work, I am grateful to Mr. Lateef and Mr. Muhammad Ali.



1. INTRODUCTION

The north-West frontier region of Pakistan has witnessed in the past many changes taking place in the history of South Asia. With the Aryans pushing through the mountain ranges bordering this area, there started a series of inroads into the sub-continent. These invaders stormed through the narrow defiles that break through the great rocky barrier and lead into the plains. As a result, the area gave birth to a variety of traditions in the sphere of customs, rites, arts, crafts and social structure. Archaeological excavations and explorations fully attest the presence of a rich cultural material and fabulous archaeological wealth illustrating the life pattern of the people of the region.¹ Renowned as a centre of Buddhism and for the artistic relics of the Gandhara Art, the north-West regions of Pakistan have assumed a new significance with the discovery of ancient cemeteries in Dir² and Swat.³ Apart from putting a number of ancient sites on the archaeological map of Pakistan, the excavations at Timergarha by the Peshawar University and at several cemetery sites in Swat by the Italian Archaeological Mission, have helped a great deal in narrowing down, if not completely filling up, the gap between the decline of the Indus Civilization, and the beginning of the historic era. Based on the data provided by these excavations, a fairly comprehensive picture of the life of the people inhabiting this area during this period has been reconstructed. Archaeologically, this culture is known as Gandhara Grave Culture. Until 1971, no cemetery site of this culture had been noticed

1. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, *Charsadda — A Metropolis of the North West Frontier*, Oxford University Press, London 1962.
2. A. H. Dani (ed.) *Timergarha and Gandhara Grave Culture*, Ancient Pakistan Vol. III - 1967, Peshawar 1968.
3. i. G. Stacul : Preliminary Report on the Pre-Budhist Necropolis in Swat (West Pakistan) East and West Vol. 16, (Nos. 1-2) 1966.
 ii. G. Stacul : Notes on the Discovery of a Necropolis Near Kharai in the Gorbard Valley (Swat - West Pakistan) E. W. Vol. No. 16 (Nos. 3 and 4) 1966.
 iii. G. Stacul : AN Archaeological Survey near Kalam (Swat Kohistan) E.W, Vol. 20 (No. 1 - 2) 1970.
- IV. C. Silvi Antonini — G. Stacul : The Proto-historic Graveyards of Swat (Pakistan) Description of Graves and finds, ISMEO Rome, 1972.

in the plains and the Gandhara Grave Culture was considered to be confined to hilly tracts of the region.⁴ The discovery of cemetery at Zarif Karuna (Fig. 1) in the Peshawar plains contemporaneous with Gandhara Grave Culture, has however considerably increased its geographical extent.⁵

2. DISCOVERY OF ZARIF KARUNA CEMETERY

In September, 1971, it was brought to the notice of the Department of Archaeology that during the levelling of the land for agricultural purposes, archaeological material was coming to light at a site near village Zarif Karuna in Peshawar district. To ascertain the archaeological potentials of the site, and to determine the desirability of further probing, the present writer was deputed to collect and study the artifacts so unearthed. When visited, the site was found being levelled with the help of a bulldozer and a large number of stone slabs and semi-dressed stones piled up in the field. Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Khan, the owner of the land handed over all the objects collected by him during the levelling operation, but expressed his reluctance to stop work in the fields. Examination of the site and study of the objects revealed that Zarif Karuna represented a cemetery site of Gandhara Grave Culture. This was indeed a valuable evidence. As stated earlier, no site of this culture had ever been reported in the plains.

In October, 1971, the Department of Archaeology constituted a team of the following members.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Mr. M. A. Halim, Leader. Field Officer, Exploration Branch, Karachi. | 2. Mr. Gulzar M. Khan, Deputy Leader. Asstt. Custodian, Archaeological Museum, Taxila. |
| 3. Mr. Abdul Qayyum, Member. Assistant Modeller, Exploration Branch, Karachi. | 4. Mr. Abdul Hamid, Member. Camp Supervisor, Exploration Branch, Karachi. |

The team was assigned the task of salvage operation and to conduct, if possible, regular excavation at an undisturbed spot.

4. A.H Dani, op. cit. pp 25-26. Dr. Dani thinks that Gandhara Grave Culture in general was conditioned more by the hill environments than by the possible developments in the plains. But nevertheless, he hints that with the future discoveries in the plains, new terms can be evolved to suit the change.
5. The large area covered by the Peshawar Valley has not been thoroughly scanned as yet, and its systematic exploration may result in establishing still wider distribution of the proto-historic cemeteries in the plains.

3. ENVIRONS

The modern village of Zarif Karuna (Fig. 1) is located 16 miles north of Peshawar city on a metalled road leading to Shabqadar. On north-east of the village flows a hill torrent in north-south direction. Along both the banks of this hill torrent are found remains of a vast cemetery representing the Gandhara Grave culture. The site is located in $71^{\circ} 27\frac{1}{2}'$ East longitude and $34^{\circ} 11\frac{1}{2}'$ North latitude and is 1118 feet above the mean sea level.

The Zarif Karuna cemetery is located on the north-west opening of the Peshawar valley, where the Mohamand hills gradually recede into the plains. The Peshawar valley measures 72 miles along its east-west axis and 52 miles on north-south axis, and is surrounded on all sides by barren hills, except on the east, where the river Indus serves as a boundary. It covers an area of 2600 square miles of rich alluvial soil, well watered by the net work of the Kabul-Swat rivers. Peshawar valley thus constitutes an ideally suited region for human habitation.

The Kabul river which is the main benefactor of the Peshawar valley, flows through its middle in south easterly direction. Before this river emerged from its gorge in Mohamand hills near Warsak, it is already carrying the combined drainage of Hindu-Kush and northern slopes of Sufed Koh. On entering the plain, the Kabul river slows down to such a degree that it immediately begins dividing up into a number of channels. These, take shape as two main channels — the Adezai to the north and the Negoman to the south. Near the village of Nisatta, not only do these main channels link up again, but a few miles up stream at Charsada, Adezai is also joined by the Swat river. Below Nisatta, the joint Kabul-Swat river flows in a single channel, locally known as Landai. It joins the Indus above Attock.

It is on the northern bank of Adezai that the modern village of Zarif Karuna is located. The site has been named after this village.

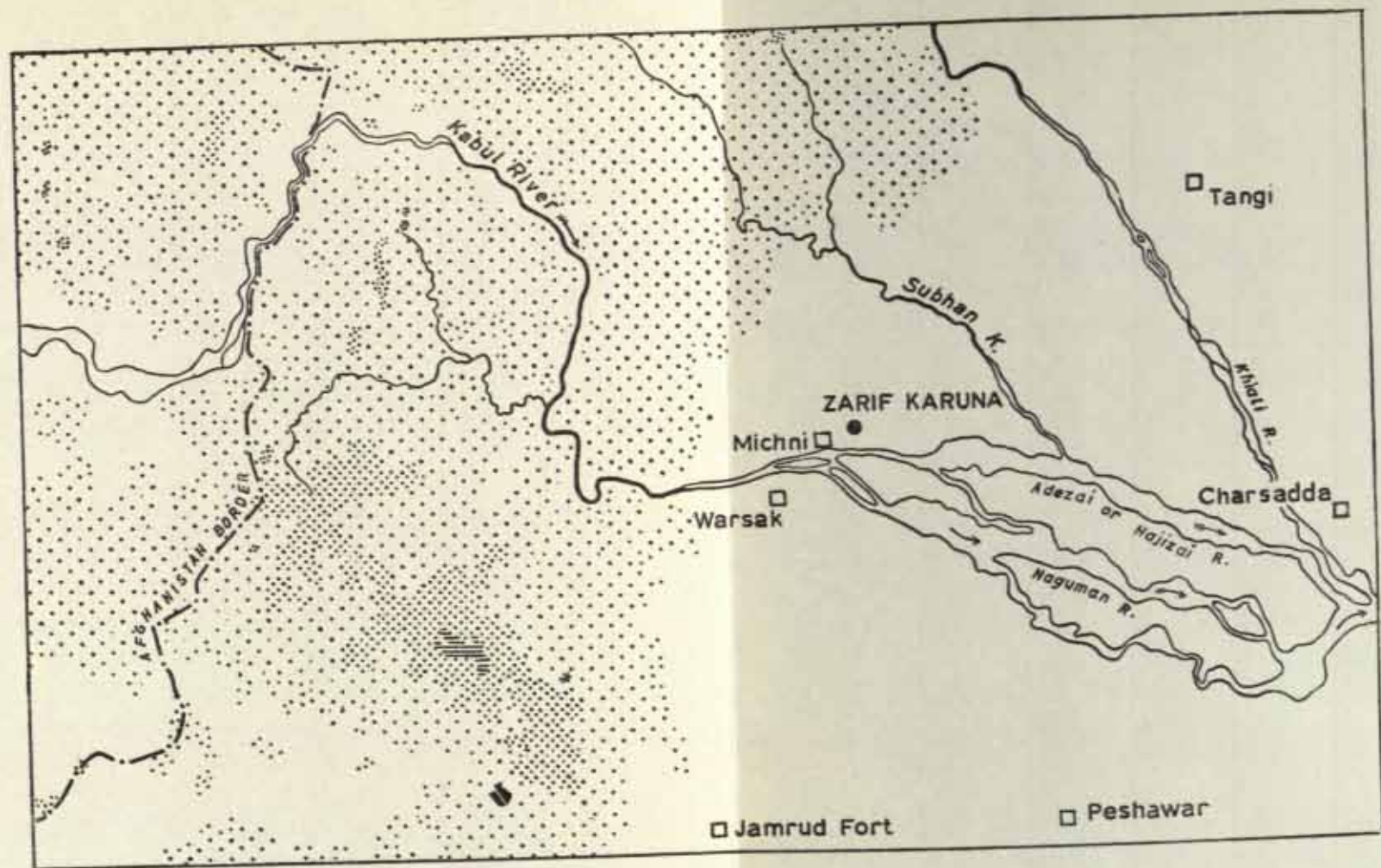
The hill torrent which flows on the north-eastern side of Zarif Karuna, empties into Adezai about half a mile south of village Zarif Karuna. Locally known as 'Khawr' it has cut through the cemetery eroding its considerable portion (Pl. IA). At places, the deep cuttings made by the channel have exposed alluvial deposits resting on the river gravel and fans (Pl. IB and IIA) suggesting that the cemetery existed before the channel took its present course. Large scale levelling operations carried out around the site do not permit an accurate assessment of the extent of the cemetery. The available remains of the cemetery, however, suggest that it approximately covered an area of 1320 yards in north-south and 800 yards in east-west direction. Originally, it might have covered a much larger area.

4. EXCAVATIONS

The digging operation of Zarif Karuna was started in the first week of November, 1971 and completed by the end of the month, when the work had to be closed because of the 1971 war. The main objectives of the operation had however been already achieved. Most of the area of the cemetery had already been disturbed by the natural and human agencies, save for a small portion on the bend of the channel, about 700 yards north-west of the modern village of Zarif Karuna. This partially undisturbed portion was considered best to obtain the stratigraphical sequence⁶ of the cemetery (Pl. IIB).

The area north-east of the village located on the left bank of the Khawr, was in the process of levelling by the owners, who reluctantly permitted to retrieve archaeological objects from the graves. Thus the cultural material and other related information was salvaged from 12 graves only. But regular excavations in the undisturbed area, (Fig. 3), yielded rich material.

6. The author is greatly indebted to Mr. Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan for raising some of intriguing questions of stratigraphy, which greatly contributed towards better understanding of the stratigraphical distinction of the various periods of the Zarif Karuna cemetery.



PESHAWAR VALLEY SHOWING LOCATION OF ZARIFKARUNA CEMETERY

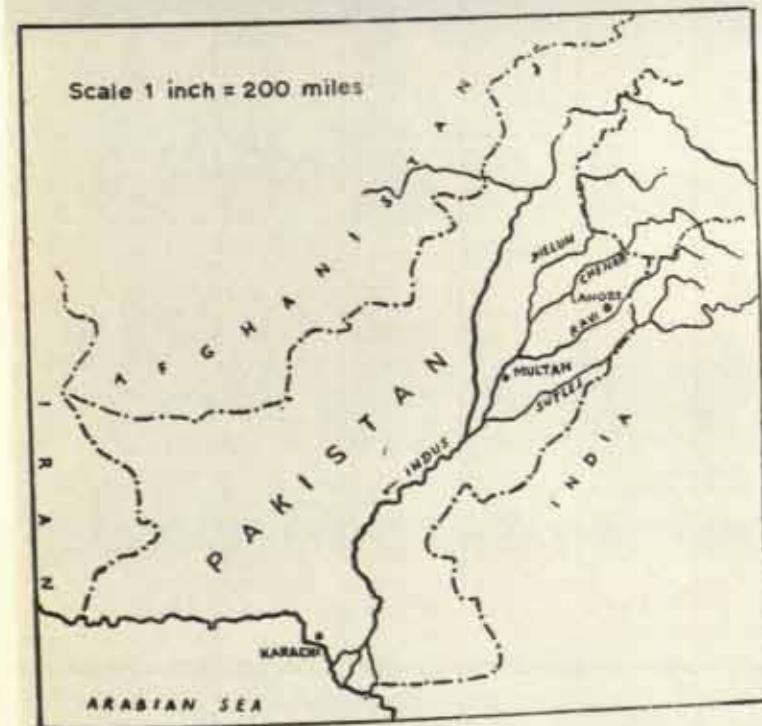
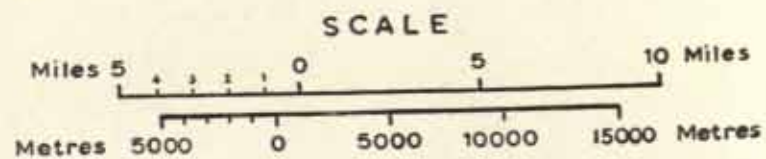
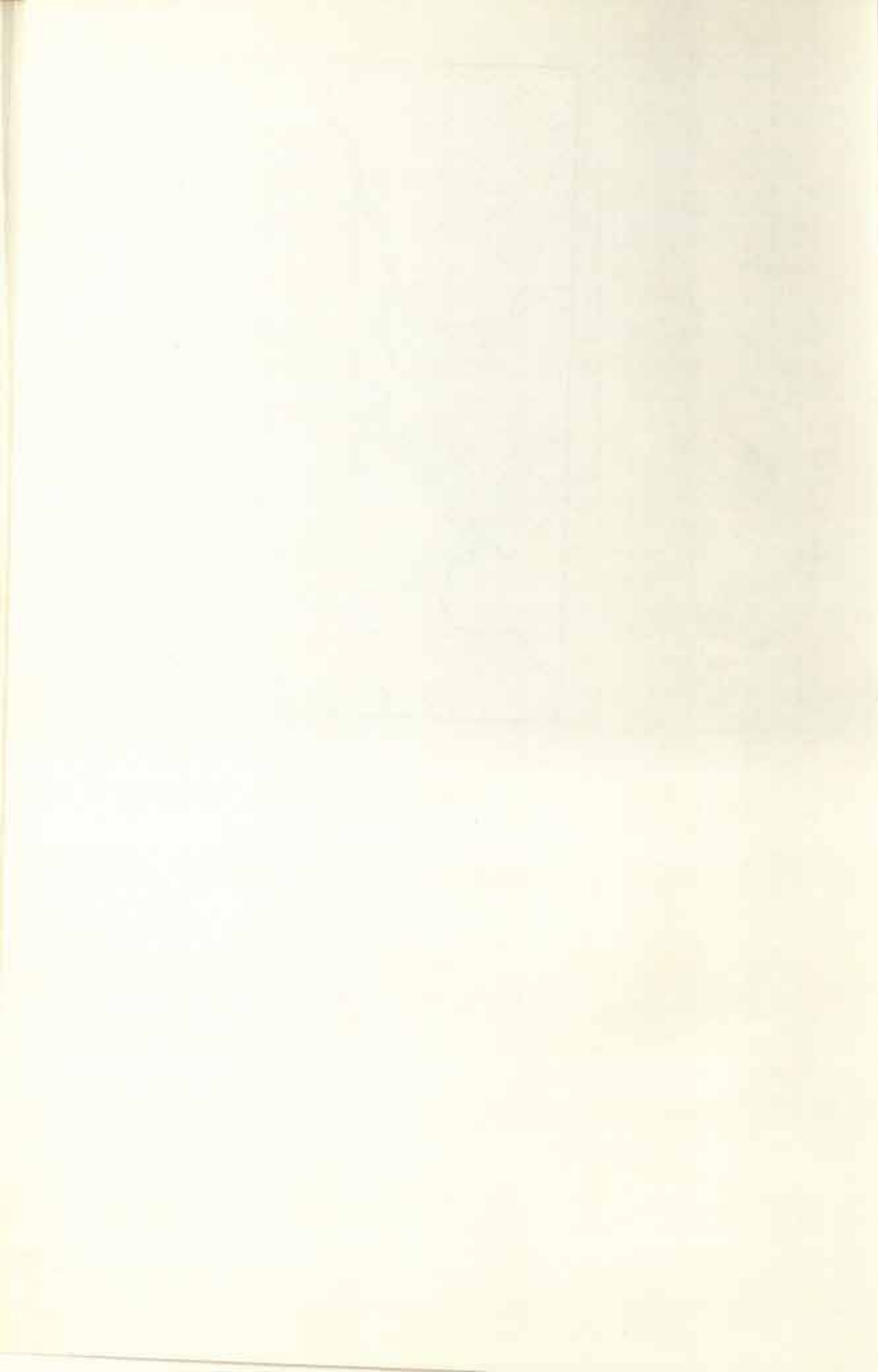


Fig. 1



The excavations at Zarif Karuna were undertaken with the following main objectives in view.

- (i) To obtain the stratigraphical sequence of the cemetery at Zarif Karuna.
- (ii) To determine the place of Zarif Karuna cemetery in the Gandhara Grave Culture.
- (iii) To explore the region around Zarif Karuna for possible location of the habitation settlement of the Gandhara Grave Culture.
- (iv) To retrieve the maximum possible cultural material from the disturbed graves, before it was lost to the posterity.

A. SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

During the limited period at our disposal and in the difficult circumstances as mentioned elsewhere, the excavations were carried out successfully yielding a wealth of information and cultural material. The results are summarized below.

- (i) In the stratified excavations where 32 graves were encountered, three different periods of the cemetery at Zarif Karuna were determined.

Period I.

The authors of the Period I constructed their graves in double chamber in dry stone masonry and observed the practice of inhumation burial.

Period II.

During this period, two different modes of grave construction were adopted, double chamber rectangular graves in dry stone masonry and single chamber circular graves. The practice of cremation was observed and before finally interring the remains in the grave, the cremated bones were placed in the specially prepared urns for this purpose.

Period III.

In Period-III, the double chamber rectangular graves were constructed in dry stone masonry. No evidence of cremation was observed in this period. Only single fractional or multiple fractional burial practice was followed.

- (ii) The material evidence gathered from the Zarif Karuna cemetery has made significant contribution to our knowledge of the Gandhara Grave Culture. Apart from this important fact that the presence of Gandhara Grave Culture has been established beyond the hilly regions in the plains, new ritual evidence of the bull and Eye Goddess has also been recorded, thereby lending a new horizon to this culture.
- (iii) The area around Zarif Karuna within a radius of 5 miles was thoroughly examined but no habitation site of the period was found. This may be so primarily because most of the area had already been disturbed.

B. AREAS AND TRENCHES

Before starting excavation, the entire area was thoroughly surveyed. The undisturbed portion of the site north-west of the village was designated as Area 'A' and rest of the disturbed portion of the site was designated as Area 'B'.

i. Area 'A'.

Located on the bank of the 'Khawr' (Pl.IA), the area 'A' measured 150' X 40'. The northern side of this particular spot is eroded by the channel (Pl.IB and IIA). A trench measuring 30' X 20' was laid in this area (Pl.IIB).

ii. Area 'B'.

Since, the owners of the land did not agree to stop the levelling of the land to facilitate the salvage operation, it was decided to retrieve as much the cultural contents of the graves as possible. Thus material from 12 graves was salvaged.

C. STRATIFICATION

Stratigraphical sequence of cemetery at Zarif Karuna was obtained from the trench laid in Area A, whereas, it was not possible to build any stratified sequence from the graves salvaged in 'Area B'. Digging in Area A was carried down to the depth of 7 ft. and 8 inches, where the virgin soil was encountered (Fig. 2). A complete sequence has been established from layers (1) to (4).

The details of excavations carried out in Area A are given below :—

The entire trench measuring 30' X 20' was dug to the depth ranging from 1'—6" to 2'—6" exposing layers (1) and (2). A total of 32 graves was encountered during the course of digging. They have been numbered as G-1, G-2, G-3, G-4 and so on. The graves have been numbered in order of their discovery. For further examination of the cultural deposit, the area was reduced and excavation was confined to an area measuring 12' X 8'. This reduced area was excavated to the depth of 7 ft. 8 inches exposing layers (3) and (4). Below Layer (4), it was all natural soil, totally devoid of any cultural material. During the course of digging in the reduced area, the earliest grave of the Zarif Karuna cemetery (G-30) was recorded in layer (3) (Fig. 2, Pl.IV).

Layer (1).

Layer (1) is composed of sand mixed light brownish soil with small stones and gritty material. It primarily represented the accumulation of the washed material. It sealed the earlier deposit of layer (2). Layer (1) being a recent deposit, did not contain any cultural material, because the original deposit of (1) had been washed away.

Digging in layer (1) laid bare stone assemblage throughout the trench with well marked out-lines of the graves in rectangular and circular formation (Pl. IIB). These stone formations were found sealing the lower chambers of the graves. The rectangular graves were found containing fractional remains of single or multiple burials. Stratigraphically, the rectangular graves were found disturbing the circular graves containing urn burials (Fig. 2 and 3). In view of the

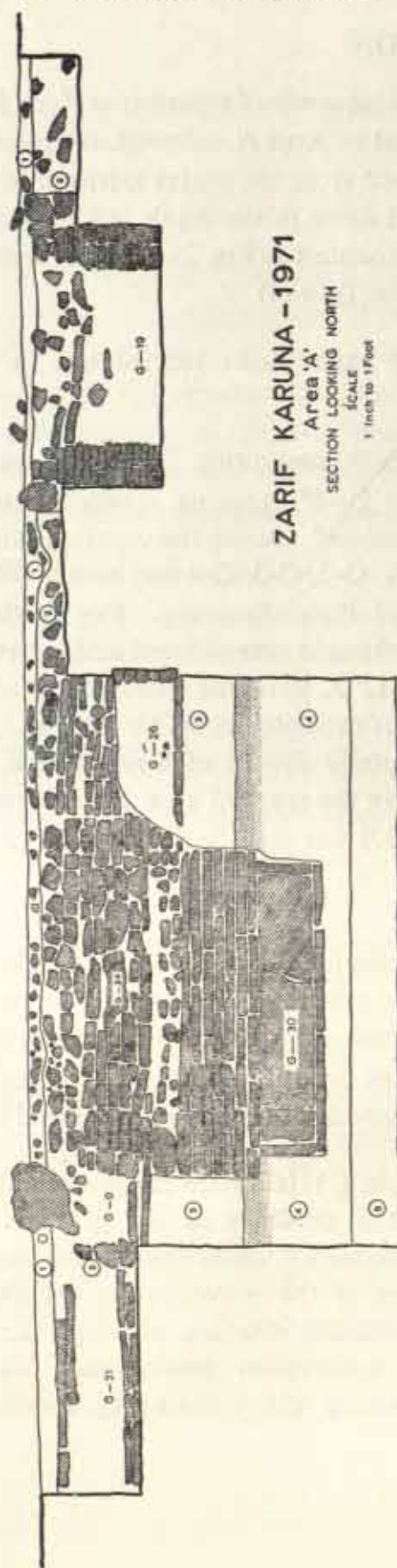


Fig. 2

5. GRAVES

During the course of stratified excavations and salvage operation, 33 and 12 graves respectively were encountered. The distribution of graves, on the basis of stratified sequence obtained from the regular digging in area 'A' and the typological comparison of material from area 'B' is as under.

Period I G - 30 and G-6B.

Period II G - 1 to G - 9, G - 18, G - 21, G - 22, G - 26,
G - 28, G - 29, G - 31, G - 32, G - 1B, G - 2B
and G - 11B.

Period III G - 10 to G - 17, G - 19, G - 20, G - 23 to
G - 25, G - 27, G - 3B, G - 4B, G - 5B, G - 9B,
G - 10B and G - 12B.

Grave No. G - 33, G - 7B and G - 8B were recorded in section or only sealings of their lower chamber were exposed.

A. METHOD OF GRAVE CONSTRUCTION

A total number of 45 graves were encountered at Zarif Karuna. Except for one grave (G-30) belonging to Period I, all other graves were found fairly disturbed by the graves of subsequent period or by the natural and human activities. However, on the basis of the present evidence, it has been possible to reconstruct the different methods of grave construction prevalent during different periods. All the graves except the circular ones, have been found in north west-south east orientation.

The details of the method of grave construction are as under :—
Period I.

In Period I, the graves were constructed in double chamber. A rectangular area of the required size was dug to approximate depth of 3 feet (Fig. 2). The area of the grave was further reduced for the lower chamber, which was dug to the varying depth ranging from 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet. On the floor of the lower chamber, which was either

paved with stone slabs (Pl. VA) or rammed (Pl. IVB) the dead was placed on the side in inflexed posture (Pl. IVB and VA). For the completion of the lower chamber of the grave, two methods were adopted. Either vertically positioned slabs were used to serve the purpose of the sides of the lower chamber (Pl. IVB) or the sides were built in stone slab masonry (Pl. VA). The chamber was covered with large size slabs (Fig. 2). The upper chamber was filled with slabs placed one above the other upto the surface (Fig. 2). The remaining portion of the upper chamber was filled with small stones (Pl. IVA).

Period II.

Two methods of grave construction were followed in Period II. In addition to the method as already described above, the second method observed in Period II was that a circular pit was dug to the required depth. The urns or the pots containing the cremated remains of the dead were put in middle of the grave pit placed within three large stones (Fig. 3, Pl. III B, VB and VII B). The top was sealed by slabs and stones.

Period III.

The method of grave construction in Period III was identical to that of Period I. It may be remarked here that upper chambers of graves of Period III are invariably found disturbed (Fig. 2 and 3), except in case of G-19, where a portion of upper chamber was indeed found (Fig. 2).

Generally speaking, the methods of grave construction as recorded in different periods of cemetery at Zarif Karuna are comparable with those observed at Timergarha and in the cemeteries of Swat. The stone lined circles used as sealing stones of the graves at Timergarha have however not been found at Zarif Karuna. Their absence may be attributed to the later disturbance or washing away of the upper deposit. But an important feature at Zarif Karuna not observed in the graves of Timergarha or Swat, is that, in case of cremation, the urns containing calcined bones were placed in a pit within the formation of three or four large stones. Whether there was any ritual significance of these stones or they simply served to keep the Urn firm

two different burial traditions, and from the fact that the rectangular graves disturbed the circular graves, it is reasonable to deduce that there were more cultural strata which have since long been washed away, including fairly good portion of the upper part of the circular graves. Here, it may be emphasized that in no case, circular graves have been found to disturb the rectangular graves (Fig. 3) to suggest that these two different modes of burial were in vogue during one and the same period. Hence, it is reasonable to infer that the rectangular graves containing fractional burial are later than the circular graves of urn burials.

Layer (2)

Layer (2) is composed of light brown soil containing a great frequency of river pebbles and stone slabs and is found frequently disturbed by the graves of layer (1) (Fig. 2).

Layer (3)

Since it was not possible to excavate further without removing most of the graves the area was reduced. Even so three graves G-9, G-24 and G-26 had to be removed after properly recording their contents.

Layer (3) is composed of compact alluvial soil of considerable thickness ranging from 4'-3" to 4'-10" and is separated from layer (4) by a thin gritty streak (Fig. 2). In layer (3), only one grave (G-30) was recorded (Pl.IVA) which contained individual burial in inflexed posture (Pl.IVB).

Layer (4)

There is no difference between the composition of layers (3) and (4). In fact the composition of layer (3) and (4) constitute a very thick alluvial deposit, separated by the thin gritty streak. Below Layer (4) is river deposit containing sand and boulders.

On the basis of stratigraphical evidence, the cemetery at Zarif Karuna represents three distinct periods. These periods are also distinguishable by different mode of burials and cultural material found in association with each period graves. The details of each period are as under :—

Period I.

Period I is represented by a single grave in layer (3). The grave has been dug in layer (3) disturbing layer (4). The grave is numbered G - 30, the upper portion of the grave is partly disturbed by grave G - 26 of Period II and grave G - 24 of Period III (Fig. 2). The excavation of G - 30 (Pl. IVA) revealed a complete skeleton of a fairly aged individual lying in inflexed position (Pl. IVB). Obviously inhumation mode of burial was practised in Period I.

Period II.

There appears to be a time lag between the graves of Period I and II (Fig. 2). The excavation of graves of Period II brought to light a secondary burial tradition indicating a complete departure from the early tradition of inhumation burial. In Period II the rite of cremation was observed and the cremated remains were disposed in the pottery urns placed in the graves with accompanied grave furniture (Pl. VID).

Period III.

The graves of the last period were found disturbing the graves of Period II (Fig. 3) and were obviously dug in the subsequent deposit of layer (2). Since, only the lower chambers of most of the graves of Period III were encountered (Fig. 2 and 3), it is reasonable to presume that quite a major portion of layer (1) and part of layer (2) have been washed away. This has resulted in completely obliterating the remains of the upper chambers of the graves of Period III, and in certain case of Period II also (Fig. 2). In Period III, the practice of fractional and multiple fractional burials was followed.

in the middle of the pit, is difficult to say at the present state of our knowledge. But the fact remains, that not a single pot burial within large stone formation has been recorded from Timergarha or from any cemetery in Swat.

B. MODE OF BURIALS

Different period graves at Zarif Karuna represent different modes of burials which are comparable with the modes of burial recorded at Timergarha. However, the position of cemeteries in Swat is different, where two modes of burial have been recorded in one period.⁷

Period I: Inhumation.

In Period I at Zarif Karuna, only inhumation burial in inflexed position has been observed. In north-west south-east oriented graves, complete human skeleton in inflexed position were placed on either sides with head pointing towards north-west, feet towards the south-east and hands drawn towards the face. It is however, not possible to ascertain whether the dead were wrapped in cloth or buried naked. Similarly, no special reason can be attributed to the placing of the dead in inflexed position. It may, however, be remarked that the inflexed position of the dead bear close resemblance with the embryo stage of a child in mother's womb. The inflexed position of the dead in the grave may suggest entering into the womb of the Mother Earth indicating the belief in life after death.

Period II: Urn Burials.

Period II marks a complete departure from the burial traditions of Period I. In Period II, after the completion of the cremation rite, the residual materials consisting of long bones, skull and ashes were put in the specially prepared urn for their final disposal into the graves. From the material remains recorded from the urns, it is evident that in

7. G. Stacul; Preliminary report on the Pre-Buddhist Necropolis in Swat (West Pakistan) E. W. Vol. 16 No. 1-2, 1966 p. 66. The evidence of the different mode of burials as reported by Stacul is given below:

Period I. Cremation prevailed over inhumation.

Period II. Inhumation prevailed over cremation.

Period III. Almost absolute prevalence of inhumation burial over cremation.

some cases, the dead was specially prepared for the cremation by bedecking him with objects of personal ornaments. However, it does not appear to be the general practice, because in certain cases, the urn contained charred bones and ashes only.

Period III : Fractional and Multiple Burials.

In the graves of Period III, unburnt fractional bones of one or more persons were found placed in the anatomical order in inflexed position (Pl. VIIC and IXA). Sometimes, fractional bones have also been found heaped in the middle of a grave along with the grave furniture (Pl. VIIID). In one grave, two fractional skeletons were found in reconstructed position facing each other (Pl. XIB). Here, it may be suggested that in case of multiple fractional burials, the graves were re opened for the subsequent burials (Pl. VIIIA, XA and XIA) or two dead perhaps belonging to one family were buried together in one grave (Pl. XIB).

It may be mentioned that the reconstructed inflexed position of fractional burials in Period III (Pl. VIIC and IXA) should not be confused with those of complete burials in Period I (Pl. IVB and VA).

C. DESCRIPTION OF GRAVES

In all 45 graves were encountered at Zarif Karuna. The graves in Area A were numbered as G - 1, G - 2, G - 3, G - 4, and so on and the graves in Area B as G - 1B, G - 2B, G - 3B, G - 4B and so on. The period-wise description of the graves is as under :-

Period I.

Grave No. G - 30 (Fig. 2, Pl. IV).

Located at the depth of 2'.7" from present surface, it was found partly disturbed in its upper part by the later grave G-24. The upper chamber was found sealed with seven courses of stone slabs and it measured 7' by 2'-8" and 2½' deep. The lower chamber measured 6' by 1'-10" and 1'-6" deep. The side walls of the lower chamber were built with stone slabs laid in vertical position. The floor of the grave was paved with schist slabs, and on the floor was found a complete

ZARIF KARUNA EXCAVATION - 1971

PLAN SHOWING GRAVES OF PERIOD II & III

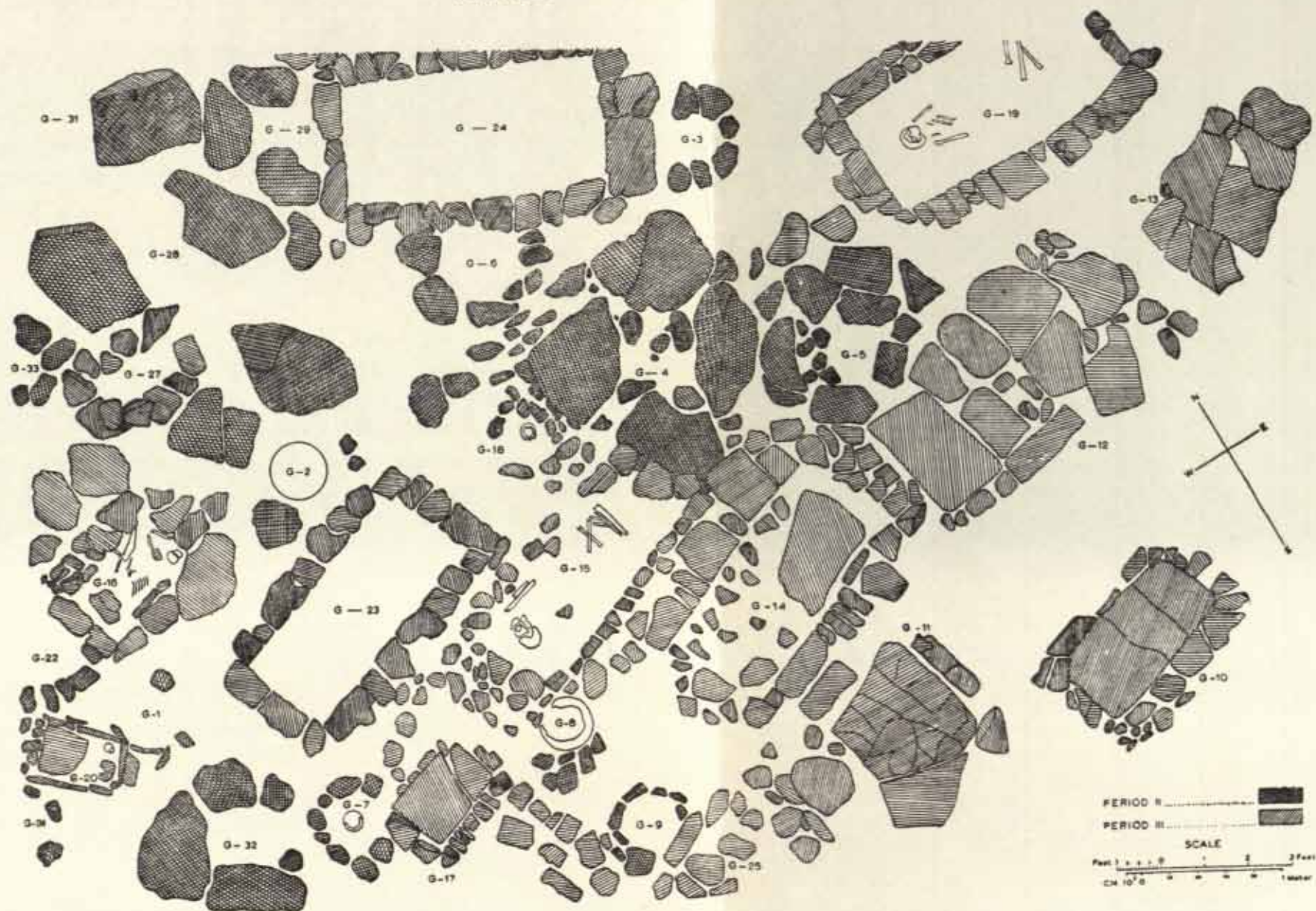


Fig. 3

skeleton lying in inflexed position on its right side with hand drawn near the face. No associated material was recorded in the grave.

Grave No. G - 6B (Pl. VA).

This grave was found in disturbed condition, only lower chamber existed measuring 6' by 2'—8" and with surviving depth 1'—5". The chamber was built in dry stone masonry in 11 courses. On the slab paved floor a complete skeleton lay on its left side in inflexed position. The grave furniture consisted of red ware goblet ZK-50 (Fig. 4 No. 1 and Pl. XIII. No. 1).

Period II.

Grave No. G - 1 (Fig. 3).

Located in the western corner of the trench, it was found disturbed by the later graves G - 16, G - 20 and G - 23. Only an urn (Type XII) was recovered from the grave. The burial urn contained cremated bones along with personal ornaments which included 2 gold rings (Pl. XXB No. 3 and 4), 6 gold beads (Pl. XXB No. 9) and 1 bone hair - pin (Pl. XIXB No. 2).

Grave No. G - 2 (Fig. 3).

Located in the middle of the north western half of the trench, it was partly disturbed by G-16 and G-23. The burial urn ZK-29 (Type XII) was found placed in the circular pit, lined with large size boulders. The burial urn contained cremated bones and personal ornaments which include 1 gold (not illustrated) and 5 stone beads (Pl. XXA Nos. 4, 6 and 7) only three illustrated, 1 silver ring (Pl. XXB No. 8) and 4 hair pins of bone, only 3 illustrated (Pl. XIXB Nos. 3, 4 and 7).

Grave No. G - 3 (Fig. 3).

Located in the middle of the trench near its northern section it was partly disturbed by G-24. The burial urn ZK-44 (Pottery type XII) was found placed in circular stonelined pit. The burial urn contained a few cremated bones.

Grave No. G - 4 (Fig. 3).

It was located in the middle of the trench. The burial urn (Type XII) was found completely broken under the sealing stones placed within the usual circular stone formation. The burial urn contained cremated bones and ashes.

Grave No. G - 5 (Fig. 3).

Located east of G-4, it was partly disturbed by G-12. The burial urn (Type XII) partly broken at the shoulder, contained cremated bones and ashes. The lower portion of pottery bowl on stand (Type III) was found placed on the urn as lid. But due to later disturbance, the pot was found broken into pieces.

Grave No. G - 6 (Fig. 3).

Located in the northwestern half of the trench, it was partly disturbed by G-4 and G-24. The burial urn with its upper part missing contained in its fragmentary lower portion, cremated bones and ashes, and personal ornaments including 2 gold rings (Pl. XXB Nos. 1-2) 9 gold (Pl. XXB No. 6) and 17 stone beads (Pl. XXA Nos. 1 and 3) and 5 bone hair pins (only 4 illustrated. Pl. XIXB Nos. 1, 9, 10 and 11).

Grave No. G - 7 (Fig. 3).

Located in the north-western half of the trench, near southern section it was found disturbed by G-17. The burial urn, placed within circular stone lined pit, was found broken in pieces.

Grave No. G - 8 (Fig. 3)

Located near the southern section, it was partly disturbed by G-15. The burial urn (Type XII) partly broken in its upper part, contained cremated bones and ashes.

Grave No. G - 9 (Fig. 3).

Located in the middle of the southern section, it was partly disturbed by G-27. The burial urn was found in broken condition and contained cremated bones and ashes.

Grave No. G - 18 (Fig. 3, Pl. VIC).

Located in the middle of the trench partly disturbed by G-4, G-15 and G-23. The burial urn (Type XIV) was found placed within stone lined circular pit. The burial urn containing cremated bones and ashes was found covered with upper portion of a bowl on stand ZK-49 (Type III Fig. 5 No. 6).

Grave No. G - 21 (Fig. 3).

Located in the south-western corner of the trench, it was partly disturbed by G-20. The burial urn was recovered in fragmentary condition from the section, which contained ashes only.

Grave No. G - 22 (Fig. 3).

Located in the western section of the trench, it was partly disturbed by G-16. The burial urn contained cremated bones and ashes.

Grave No. G - 26 (Fig. 3, Pl. VID).

This grave was located near the northern section of the trench, 1'-10" below the present surface. It was found disturbed in its upper part and north-western side of lower chamber by the later grave G-24. G-26 being a rectangular grave, its sealing of lower chamber consisted of stone slbs. Due to later disturbance, the measurements of upper or lower chamber of the grave were obliterated. However, G-26 which was excavated in layer (2), for the construction of its lower chamber, layer (3) was also disturbed. The depth of the lower chamber measured 1'-9". In the lower chamber, the burial urn ZK-8 (Type XII) was found along with the grave furniture consisting of pottery wares. It includes pottery ware ZK-67 (Type IA Fig. 4 No. 2), ZK-66 (Type IIIC Fig. 5 No. 10), ZK-65 (Type V Fig. 6 No. 12), ZK-63 (Type VIII Fig. 6 No. 15), ZK-62 (Type VIIIA Fig. 6 No. 16), ZK-61 (Type IX Fig. 7 No. 17) and ZK-61 (Type IXA Fig. 7 No. 18). The burial urn contained cremated bones and ashes of an individual.

Grave No. G - 28 (Fig. 3).

It was located in north-western portion of the trench (Fig. 3). The burial urn (Type XIII) covered with handled lid, was found placed

within large stone lined circular formation, partly disturbed by Grave G-27. Other items of grave furniture included a pottery ware of Type IIA (Cf. Fig. 4 No. 5).

Grave No. G - 29 (Fig. 3).

Located near the northern section of the trench it was found disturbed by G-24 and G-31. The burial urn (Type XII) placed in stone lined grave a chamber, was found in damaged condition. The grave furniture consisted of pots ZK-74 (Type IV Fig. 6 No. 11) ZK-75 (Type VII Fig 6 No. 14), ZK-78 (Type IX), (Type X Fig. 7 No. 19) and ZK-88 (Type XVI Fig. 9 No. 26).

Grave No. G - 31 (Fig. 3, Pl. VIIA).

Located in the north-western corner of the trench, it was found disturbed by G - 28. The burial urn (Type XII) covered with the upper portion of a bowl on stand, only stand (Type III) was found placed on stone paved floor. It was usual rectangular grave with paved floor and stone slab sealing. The broken burial urn was recovered from the section and contained cremated bones and ashes only.

Grave No. G - 32 (Fig. 3).

Located near the south-western section of the trench it was disturbed by G-23. The burial urn placed within the usual circular formation was recovered in fragmentary condition and contained cremated bones and ashes.

Grave No. G - 33 (Fig. 3).

This grave was located in the middle of the western section of the trench from which urn could not be recovered.

Grave No. G - 1B (Pl. VIIB).

From this grave which was salvaged in Area B, burial urn ZK -96 (Type XIIIA Fig. 8 No. 22) was recovered placed within large stones. The urn was covered with pedestalled bowl (Type I). Inside the jar cremated bones and ashes were found.

Grave No. G - 2B.

This grave was salvaged from Area B. The disturbed grave contained burial urn ZK-31 (Type XIII Fig. 8 No. 23 and Pl. XVIA No. 1) covered with dish ZK - 32 (Type XV Fig. 9 No. 25 and Pl. XVIA No. 2.) along with the grave furniture of pottery wares ZK - 52 (Type IIIA Fig. 5 No. 8), ZK - 53 (Type II Fig. 4 No. 4) and ZK - 55 (Type IIA Fig. 4 No. 5). The burial urn contained ashes only.

Grave No. G - 11B.

This grave salvaged from Area B, was found badly disturbed. The burial urn (Type XII) was found broken in fragments.

Period III.**Grave No. G - 10 (Fig. 3, Pl. IIIA).**

It was located near the south-eastern corner of the trench. The sealing stones encountered 4" below the present surface, covered the rectangular lower chamber measuring 3'-2" by 1'-10" and 1'-10" deep. The lower chamber was completed in 7 courses of dry stone masonry. The floor was paved with small stone slabs but no skeletal remains were found.

Grave No. G - 11 (Fig. 3, Pl. IIIA).

This grave was located near southern section of the trench, 10 inches below the present surface. Since the grave was partly in the section, it could not be excavated to expose its contents.

Grave No. G - 12 (Fig. 3, Pl. IIIA and VIB).

This grave is located in the middle of the eastern half of the trench. The sealing stones encountered 5" below the present surface covered the lower chamber of the grave measuring 5'-9" by 2'-9" and 1'-2" deep. The chamber was completed in seven courses of dry stone masonry. On the floor, the small and large bones of an individual were found placed in the reconstructed inflexed position with skull pointing towards west.

Grave No. G - 13 (Fig. 3, Pl. IIIA and VIB).

Located in the north-western corner of the trench, the sealing stones of the grave were encountered 6" below the present surface. Since major portion of this grave was in the section, it was not fully exposed.

Grave No. G - 14 (Fig. 3, Pl. IIIA and VIA).

It is located in the middle of the trench. The sealing stones of lower chamber, partly disturbed, were encountered 3" below the present surface. The lower chamber, completed in six courses of dry stone masonry, measured 5' - 6" by 2' - 6" and 1' - 7" deep. On the rammed floor, small and long human bones were found placed in the reconstructed inflexed position.

Grave No. G - 15 (Fig. 3).

Located in the middle of the trench, it was found disturbing G - 4, G - 8 and G - 18 of Period II. The grave being fairly disturbed, the surviving lower chamber was encountered 3' below the present surface, and measured 5' - 2" by 2' - 2" and about 9" deep. The lower chamber was constructed in dry stone masonry of which only 4 courses were recorded. On the rammed floor, a skull resting on its left and long bones were found.

Grave No. G - 16 (Fig. 3, Pl. VIIC).

About 5" below the present surface near the western section of the trench, it was found disturbing G - 1 and G - 22 of Period II. The lower chamber which measured 2' - 9" by 1' - 10" was completed in dry stone masonry of which five courses were recorded. The surviving depth of lower chamber was recorded as 8". On the stone paved floor was found a skull and fractional bones. In the left corner was found a red ware pedestalled bowl ZK - 56 (Cf. Type I).

Grave No. G - 17 (Fig. 3, Pl. VIID).

It was located 4" below the present surface, near the southern section of the trench with its sealing slab sunk in the lower chamber. It disturbed the earlier grave G - 17. The lower chamber measuring

2' - 1" by 1' - 2", and 10" deep, was completed in four courses of dry stone masonry. Inside the grave, only fractional bones were recovered.

Grave No. G - 19 (Fig. 2, 3 Pl.VIIIA).

It was located partly in the northern section of the trench, about 3 inches below the present surface. The upper chamber being fairly disturbed, survived to two courses of dry stone masonry. The lower chamber about 1 foot below the present surface was found with its sealing collapsed in it, which measured 5' - 9" by 2' - 7" and 1' - 7" deep. It was completed in 11 courses of dry stone masonry.

On the hard rammed floor of the lower chamber, a skull and fractional bones of an individual were found in middle of the grave in disturbed condition. The long bones found placed slightly at raised floor of the grave in the north eastern corner, belonged to another individual.

Grave No. G - 20 (Fig. 3, Pl.VIIIB and C).

It was located in the south-western corner of the trench, 3' below the surface. Considerable portion of the grave was in the Section. It was found disturbing G-1 and G-21 of Period II. The caved-in sealing slab was found covering box like grave with its lower chamber completed in vertically positioned slabs. After making a niche in the section, skull of a child with pedestalled vase (Type I) was recovered. The lower chamber being 1' - 5" wide and 1' - 8" deep.

Grave No. G - 23 (Fig. 3, Pl. VIIID).

Located in the middle of the western half of the trench, it was found about 7 inches below the present surface. The lower chamber of G - 23 was found disturbing G - 1, G - 2 and G - 18, and measured 5' - 4" by 2' - 3" and 1' - 5" deep. On the slab paved floor, two small and fractional bones of two individuals were found piled up in the middle of the grave chamber.

Grave No. G - 24 (Fig. 2, 3 and Pl. IXA).

Located 5' below the present surface along northern section of the trench. The lower chamber, constructed in 8 courses of dry stone

masonry, measured 6' by 3' and 2' - 3" deep. On the rammed floor were found fractional bones of an individual with skull pointing towards north-west. Three terracotta bull figurines (Pl. XVIIIB, XVIIIA Nos. 2 and 3) were found placed near the feet.

Grave No. G - 25 (Fig. 3 and Pl. IXB).

Located 6 inches below the present surface in the middle of the southern section it disturbed G - 9 of Period II. Only one course of the lower chamber was recorded which measured 1' - 8" by 1'. Inside the grave chamber, fractional bones with one red ware bowl ZK - 53 (Type IIA Fig. 4) were recovered.

Grave No. G - 27 (Fig. 3 and Pl. IX C).

It was located 6' below the present surface near western section of the trench. The lower chamber of the grave measured 2' by 1' and was constructed in dry stone masonry of which only one course survived. On the rammed floor were found fractional bones and one red ware pottery bowl ZK - 68 (Type IB Fig. 4 No. 3).

Grave No. G - 3B (Pl. XA).

This grave was salvaged from Area B. Only lower chamber was located measuring 4' - 4" by 2' - 2" and 1' - 2" deep. It was built in 10 courses of dry stone masonry. Inside the grave, two fractional burials were recorded and a skull with three long bones were buried after reopening the grave. This later fractional burial was encountered 6' above the original floor level of the grave in its south eastern part. The earlier burial was found placed on the original floor level of the grave with one skull and a long bone placed in its north-western corner along with one red ware pottery vessel (Pottery Type VI Fig. 6).

Grave No. G - 4B and G - 5B (Pl. XB).

These graves were salvaged in Area B and were found in fairly disturbed condition. From G-5B, which disturbed G-4B nothing was recovered. However, in the surviving portion of lower chamber of G-4B, measuring 2 feet 3 inches wide and 1½ feet deep, a skull was found resting on stone slab floor in a bad state of preservation.

Grave No. G - 7B and G - 8B (Pl. XC and D).

Only sealing stones could be exposed and photographed, because the owner of the land did not permit further salvage operation.

Grave No. G - 9B (Pl. XIA).

This grave was salvaged in Area B, encountering only its lower chamber measuring 6' by 2'-8" and 1'-5" deep. It was constructed in 11 courses of dry stone masonry and the floor was paved with stone slabs. On the floor were found fractional bones of two individuals along with the terracotta female figurine (Fig. 10 Nos. 1,2,3, Pl. XVIIIA) and one female grey alabaster figurine of Eye Goddess ZK-82 (Fig. 10 No. 7, Pl. XIXA).

Grave No. G - 10B.

This grave was salvaged in Area B and was found fairly disturbed. The lower chamber, constructed in dry stone masonry, measured 5'-4" by 2'-2". Nothing was found on the rammed hard floor.

Grave No. G - 12B (Pl. XIB).

This grave was salvaged in Area B. Only lower chamber, constructed in 11 courses of dry stone masonry, measuring 5' - 8" by 2' - 3" and 1' - 8" deep, was encountered. On the stone slab paved floor were found two skulls and fractional bones of two individuals, placed facing each other in reconstructed inflexed position along with grave furniture which included one red ware bowl ZK - 46 (Type VI Fig. 6) 9 terracotta animal figurines, only 6 illustrated (Pl. XVIII A Nos. 1,4,6,7, and 8, of bulls and No. 5 that of wild boar).

6. THE POTTERY⁸

The pottery used as grave furniture clearly falls into two groups- Red ware and Grey ware. Some of the principal specimens are represented by the burials urn, (Fig. 7 No. 21, Fig. 8 No. 22,23 and Fig. 9

⁸For the typological comparison of the ceramic data from the Zarif Karuna cemetery with the ceramic data of the Swat and Timargarha cemeteries, please see the section describing Pottery Types.

No. 24 Pls. XVA and B and XVIA and B), pitcher shaped large jars, pedestalled goblets, bowls on pedestal and stem, cups and vases. The ceramics from Zarif Karuna with its distinctive and prominent features has significantly contributed towards the understanding of funerary practices in vogue in the north west regions of Pakistan during this period.

In the pottery collection from the Zarif Karuna cemetery, special mention may be made of the burial urns depicting human face in abstract form. It is interesting to note that the facial depiction was obtained by the simple method of piercing three holes in triangular formation on the shoulder of the urn. But in certain cases, (Fig 8 No. 23 and Pl. XVIA No. 1) the face representation was accomplished by moulding high projecting nose from the pot, flanked by two holes to indicate eyes. These cinerary jars are strictly restricted to Period II of the Zarif Karuna cemetery with the ritual of cremation.

It is interesting to observe that a total number of 45 graves (inclusive of 12 graves salvaged) have yielded 52 pottery specimens (Table 1), embracing most of the pottery types recovered from other cemetery sites. These pots of varying form, shape, size, surface treatment and other attributing features, have been divided into 16 main types and 9 sub types (Table 1). Considering the limited number of graves examined, the 16 type and 9 sub type mentioned above, speak for the wide variety of forms of the Zarif Karuna pottery assemblage. Of these types and sub types, an interesting feature which emerges is that in Period I, only pottery type I occurs which continues in Period II and III also.

In Period II of the Zarif Karuna cemetery all the main types with their sub types occur (Table 1). Alongwith the new pot forms in red ware, Period II marks the introduction of Grey ware represented by the elegantly accomplished vases and bowls (Fig. 7 No. 17, 18, 19, 20 and Pl. XIVB No. 1, 2, 3, 4.). This introduction of new ware, prominent by the disc base and incised decoration marks a complete departure from the ceramic traditions of Period I.

An important feature noted in the grey ware pottery types and sub types is that all the specimens are invariably provided with the

Table 1 : Frequency of Pottery type according to the numbers at Zarif Karuna

| TYPES → PERIOD ↓ | I | IA | IB | II | IIA | III | IIIA | IIIB | IIIC | IV | V | VI | VII | VIIA | VIIIA | IX | IXA | X | XI | II | IIA | IIIX | IIIX | IX | IXA | Total |
|---------------------|---|----|----|----|-----|-----|------|------|------|----|---|----|-----|------|-------|----|-----|---|----|----|-----|------|------|----|-----|-------|
| III | 3 | — | 1 | — | 1 | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 6 |
| II | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 45 |
| I | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| TOTAL | 6 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 52 |

disc base (Pl. XIVB Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4) and incised decoration. Only sub type IXA (Fig. 7 No. 18 Pl. XIVB No. 2) is without incised decoration. Incised and grooved decoration have been employed on Red Ware also (Pl. XIIIB No. 1 and Pl. XIVA No. 1). On some specimens corrugation design has been used (Pl. XIIA No. 1, 2 and Pl. XIIB No. 1).

In Red Ware pottery group, the pottery type XII with its sub type XIIA and type XIII are distinctive for depiction of stylized human face achieved by the simple device of three holes in the triangular formation or by the nose-bridge projection flanked by two holes for the eyes. They were specifically used for housing the cremated bones. The shoulder decoration of pottery type XII (Fig. 7 No. 21 Pl. XVA.) is worthy of special note. Below neck, cordon runs around the shoulder portion, interrupted by the finger impressed marks and knob in the alternate order.

The pottery type XIV (Fig. 9 No. 24, Pl. XVIA No. 2) is characterized by the string mark decoration around the middle portion of the jar, also used for the burial of the cremated bones.

In the red ware pottery group, the pottery types I with its sub types IA and IB (Fig. 4 Nos. 1, 2, 3), pottery types III and sub types IIIA, IIIB and IIIC (Fig. 5 Nos. 6, 7, 9 and 10), are very important due to high and low pedestal base, provided to these vessels. The pottery type III with its sub type IIIA is conspicuous for the long stem provided to the open mouthed bowls. Their occurrence is confined to Period II (Table 1) and functionally perhaps associated with some offering ceremony in relation to the ritual of cremation. Particular mention may also be made of a globular vase with high vertical neck and rim slightly out turned (Fig. 6 No. 14 and Pl. XIVA No. 1). It is a thin textured ware, light in weight and its surface is treated with deep red slip.

The frequency of the various pottery types show marked decline in Period III, in which the ritual of fraction burial was practised. Out of 16 main types and 9 sub types, only pottery type I and sub types IB, IIA and IIIB occur in Period III. In fact, most of the pottery types and their sub types belong to Period II (Table 1). The statistical analysis of the various types and their occurrence in different period clearly brings out the rich traditions of Period II with the contrasting picture of impoverishment in Period I and III.

A. DESCRIPTION OF THE POTTERY TYPES.

Type 1 :— Red Ware Globular Goblets. (Fig. 4 No. 1 and Pl. XIIA No. 1)

This type includes red ware goblets of globular shape. invariably with hollow pedestal base. The clay used for moulding these elegantly finished goblets, is well levigated and of fine quality. The firing is also uniform and even. As regards the surface treatment, the ware is red slipped, both internally as well as externally. Some specimens of smoothened surface indicate that the burnishing technique was also applied (Pl. XIIA No. 1 and 2). The corrugation on the shoulder is the only decoration.

Our goblets of type I have been recovered from all the three periods of the Zarif Karuna cemetery (Table 1). Here, it may be relevant to point out that not a single specimen comparable, in the strict sense, with our type I, has been recorded from any of the cemetery site in Swat, Dir and Chitral. However, some analogous specimens from the cemeteries of Loebanr⁹, Katelai¹⁰ and Butkara II¹¹, do provide a basis for general comparison on account of certain common traits. With the common elements of pedestal base and globular shape, the specimens from the Swat cemeteries, clearly differ from our type I. Firstly, in case of Swat specimens the mouth is incurved or tends to be vertical and secondly these are decorated with cordon or incised group of angular and oblique lines. On the other hand, the pottery type I from Zarif Karuna is totally devoid of any decoration, except in case of two specimens (Fig. 4 No. 1 and Pl. XIIA No. 1 and 2) which are corrugated on the shoulder.

Sub Type IA :— Red Ware Goblet on low Pedestal Base. (Fig. 4 No. 2 and Pl. XIIA No. 3)

The distinctive features of this sub-type are that its pedestal base is shorter than its main type and rim almost vertical. The solitary

9. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul : The Protohistoric Graveyards of Swat (Pakistan) Part I, ISMEO Rome, 1972.c. f. Fig. 4 b, c and e Plate VII a, b, c and d and Plate CXXIV b T22/2.

10. Ibid. c.f. Plate CCXII a T1/2 and Plate CCXXXI d T 143/2.

11. Ibid. c.f. Plate CCLII c T 14/11.

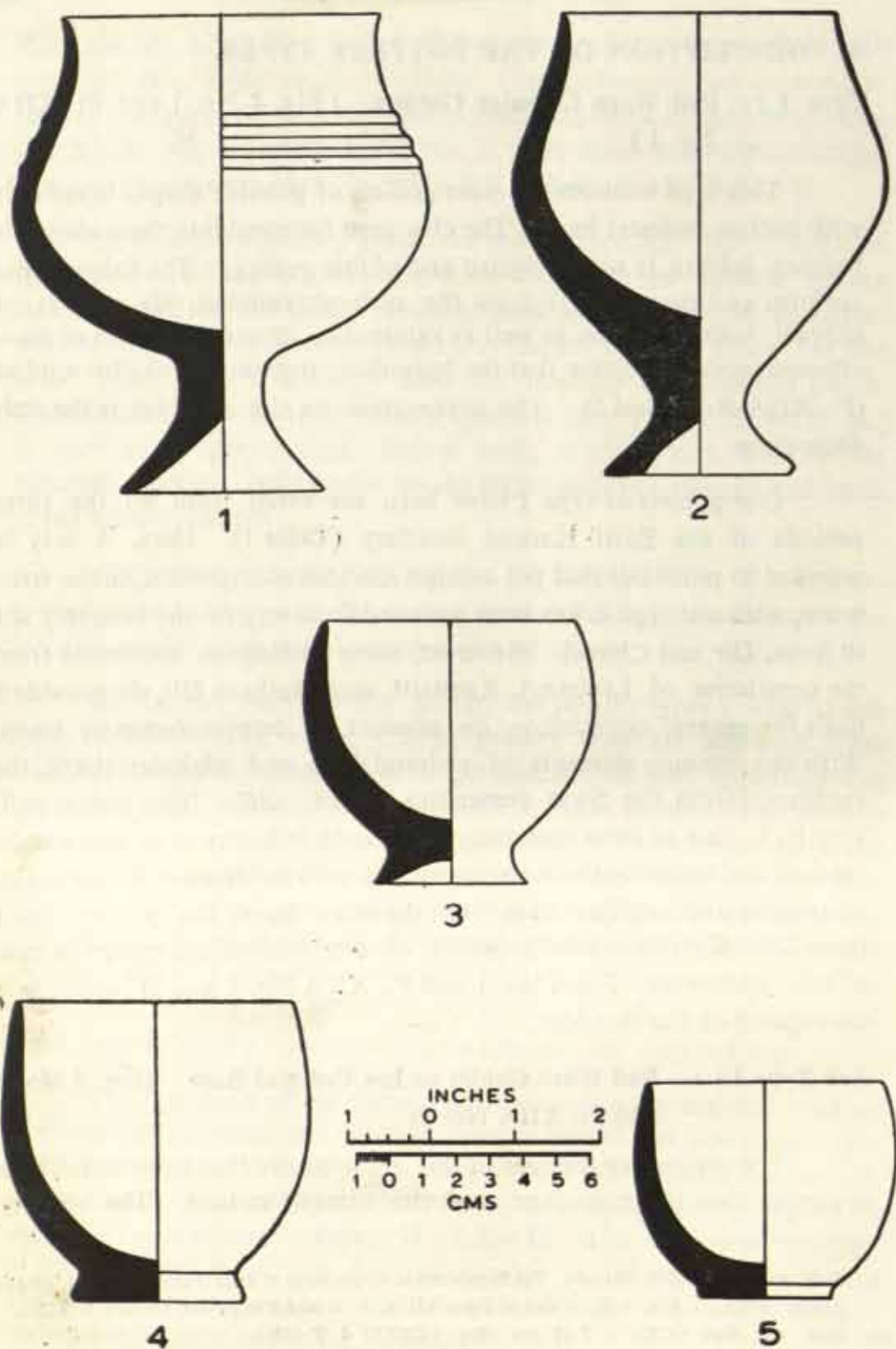


Fig 4. Zarif Karuna. 1-Pottery Type I, 2-Pottery sub-type IA, 3-Pottery Sub Type IB, 4-Pottery Type II, 5-Pottery sub type IIA.

specimen representing this sub type belongs to Period II of the Zarif Karuna cemetery.

The comparable specimens in this sub type come from the Katelai¹² cemetery and Wheeler's excavation at Charsada. Apart from the resemblance in form and shape, the specimen from the Katelai cemetery is provided with high pedestal base, and its rim is out curved. The specimen from Charsada¹³ and Sari Dheri (Fig. 13 No. 8), in general form and shape, bear close resemblance to Zarif Karuna specimen.

Sub Type IB :- Red Ware Cup with Low Pedestal Base. (Fig. 4 No. 3 and Pl. XIIA No. 6)

This pottery sub type is made of well levigated clay which shows sign of husk mixing. It is medium textured and treated with red to pale red slip. The ware is not well fired. Its occurrence is confined to Period II and Period III only.

The comparable specimens of this sub type have been recorded from Loebanr¹⁴ and Katelai¹⁵, which bear general resemblance in form and shape. Of the two specimens from Loebanr, the one illustrated in (Pl. CXXVI, C.T. 33/3), bears closer resemblance than the specimen illustrated in (Pl. CCXIV, C.T. 23/2) which tends to be tapering rather than incurved. However, the Katelai specimen (Pl. CCXXVI d: T 217/2) provides a close parallel to Zarif Karuna sub type IB. This sub type does not seem to occur in the cemeteries at Timergarha and Thana.

Type II :- Red Ware Cup With Disc Base. (Fig. 4 No. 4 and Pl. XII No. 4)

This type includes red ware cup with vertical rim and disc base. The ware is medium textured and well fired. This type comes from Period II only. No comparable material has been reported from the

12. Ibid. c.f. Fig. 4 d T 17/1.

13. Sir Mortimer Wheeler : Charsada, A Metropolis of the North-West Frontier, Oxford University Press, 1962 : c. f. Fig. 12 No. 24 and Fig. 13 No. 8.

14. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c. f. Plate CXXVI C T 33/3, Plate CCXXIV, C T 23/2.

15. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c. f. Plate CCXXVI: d T 217/2.

cemeteries of Loebanr, Katelai and Butkara II. However, close parallels to our type have been documented in the cemeteries at Kherai¹⁶ and at Thana¹⁷ and the settlement site at Charsada¹⁸. It may, however, be pointed out that it is not possible to form any idea of the base provided to the specimen from Charsada, because it is not complete, and its lower portion is broken. But, in general form and shape, it is in close resemblance with the Zarif Karuna type II.

Sub Type IIA :- Pale Red Ware Cup With Disc Base. (Fig. 4 No. 5 and Pl. XIII A No. 5)

This type is not made of well levigated clay which is profusely mixed with gritty material. Even the firing is sub-standard. The comparable specimens have been recorded from the Katelai cemetery¹⁹, Balambat settlement²⁰ and Tepe Hissar²¹.

Type III :- Red Ware Bowl on Long Stem (Fig. 5 No. 6 and Pl. XIIB No. 6)

This type is represented by bowls on long stem made of well levigated clay which shows sign of husk mixing. As regards the surface treatment, the exterior of the bowl is coated with red slip. The deep bowl is flaring out and is decorated with corrugated lines in relief. Sometimes, the stem bears cordon decoration. This type is restricted to Period II only.

No complete specimen of this type was found from Zarif Karuna. However, the specimens illustrated in (Fig. 5 Nos. 6 and 7) represent its complete form and enable us to compare this type with

16. G. Stacul : Notes on the Discovery of a Necropolis near Kherai in the Gorbard Valley (Swat - West Pakistan) E W Vol. 16 Nos. 3 & 4, 1966. c. f. Fig. 5 d and e. p. 270.

17. A. H. Dani, Timergarha and Gandhara Grave Culture, 'Ancient Pakistan' Vol. III, 1967 c. f. Fig. 46 No. 16.

18. Sir Mortimer Wheeler : op. cit. Fig. 48 and 513.

19. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c. f. Plate CCXXXIII a T. 229/3.

20. A. H. Dani op. cit. c. f. Fig. 50 Nos. 4 and 5.

21. A. H. Dani, Ibid c. f. Fig. 61 and 4115 and 4338. While comparing ceramic type from the Timergarha cemetery, Dani reproduces analogous pottery specimens from the Iranian Sites.

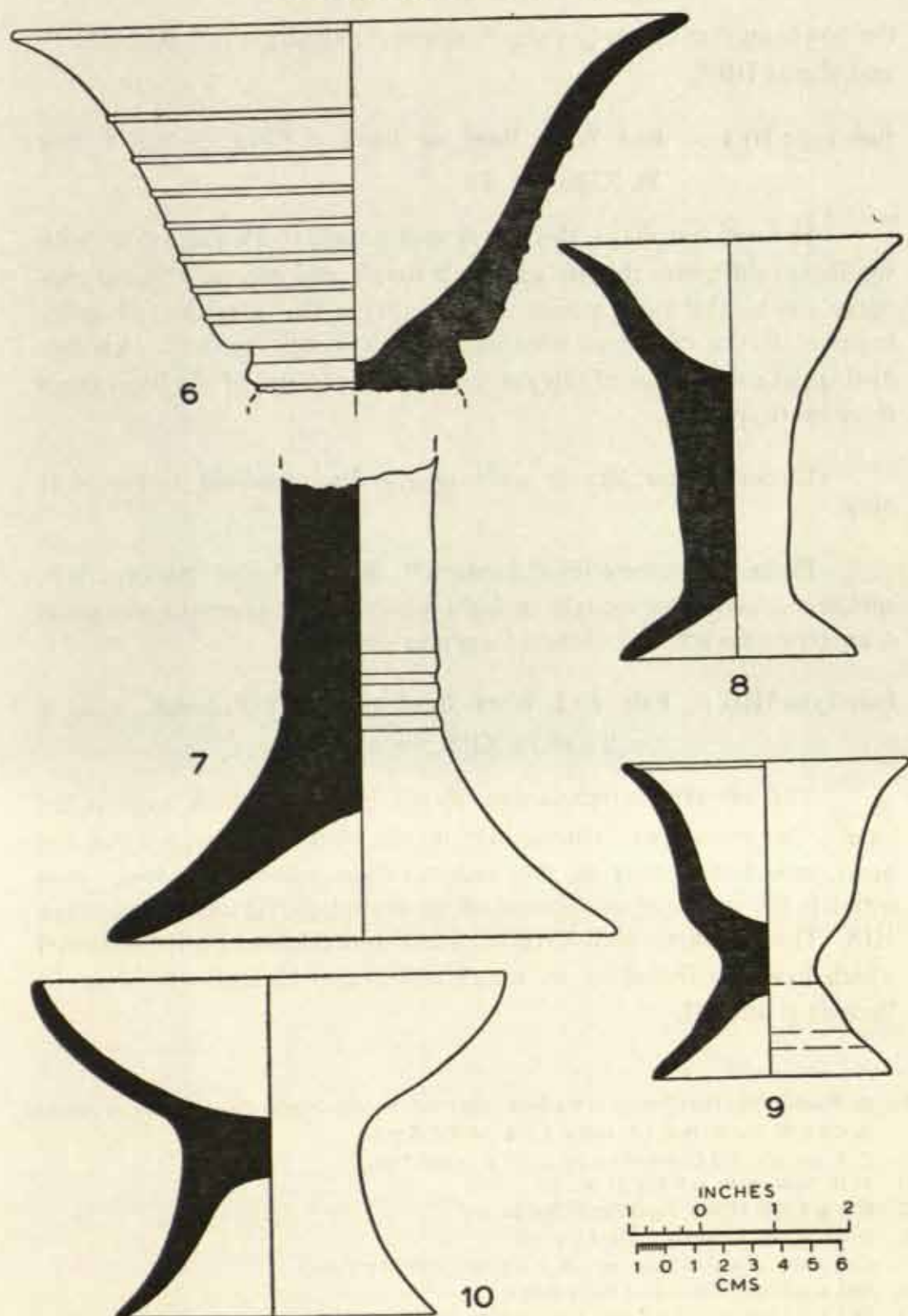


Fig. 5. Zarif Karuna. 6-7 Pottery type III, 8-Pottery Sub-Type III-A, 9-Pottery Sub-Type IIIB, 10-Pottery Sub-Type IIIC.

the bowls on stand from Loebanr²², Katelai²³, Timergarha²⁴, Balambat²⁵, and Hissar IIB²⁶.

Sub Type IIIA :- Red Ware Bowl on Stem. (Fig. 5 No. 8 and Pl. XIIB No. 3)

In form and shape, this sub type is similar to its main type with significant difference that its surface is rough and coarse, which is probably due to the husk mixing in the clay. The presence of gritty material in the clay also contributed to its rough surface. Another distinguishable feature of this sub type is that the rim of the bowl tends to be more splaying.

Its occurrence, like its main type, is also confined to Period II only.

From the cemeteries at Loebanr²⁷, Katelai²⁸, and Butkara II²⁹, specimens have been brought to light which afford general typological comparison on account of their form and shape.

Sub Type IIIB :- Pale Red Ware Bowl on Hollow Pedestal. (Fig. 5 No. 9 and Pl. XIIB No. 4)

This sub type is represented by the bowl on hollow pedestalled base. The prominent distinguishing feature of this sub type is that the bowl immediately rests on the pedestal base without the long stem which is the characteristic feature of the main type III and the sub type IIIA. The clay is not well levigated and shows mixing of gritty material which has contributed to its rough and coarse surface. It occurs in Periods II and III.

22. G. Stacul : *The Grey Pottery in the Swat Valley and the Indo-Iranian Connections* (ca 1500-800 B. C.) E W. Vol. 20 Nos. 1-2, 1970 e. f. Fig. 1 d T 32/5 p. 95.
23. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c. f. Fig. 2a and Plate IIa.
24. A. H. Dani op. cit. c. f. Fig. 21 No. 9.
25. Ibid. c. f. Fig. 52 Nos. 3 and Fig. 55 No. 2.
26. G. Stacul 1970 op. cit. c. f. Fig. 1 h p. 95.
27. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c. f. Plate CXXVIII c T 40/2.
28. Ibid. c. f. Plate CXXVIII a T 9/14 c T 15/4.
29. Ibid. c. f. Plate CCLII c T 14/4, 5, 7 and Plate CCLIII d T 16/6.

The comparable specimens have been recorded from Katelai³⁰ only.

Type III C:- Red Ware Bowl on Hollow Pedestal Base. (Fig. 5 No. 10 and Pl. XIII A)

This sub type is represented by the medium textured bowl on pedestal base of medium height. The clay is not well levigated and shows sign of husk mixing. Like sub type IIIB, this sub type is also without the long stem, which we find in type III and sub type IIIA. The form of the bowl is also in sharp contrast to its main type III and sub types IIIA and IIIB. The common feature of the flaring rim in the main type III and its other sub types we do not find in IIIC. On the other hand the bowl tends to be concave sided. Its open mouth terminates in straight rim.

The sub type IIIC is comparable with the specimens from Loebanr³¹, Katelai³², and Kherai³³.

It may be remarked that the pottery sub types IIIA, IIIB and IIIC do not occur in the cemeteries at Timergarha, Thana and Swat. For that matter, these sub types have not been reported from the settlement site of balambat. But it may be noted that for general typological comparison of certain traits, some of the specimens recorded from the Timergarha cemetery do bear resemblance with the Zarif Karuna pottery sub type IIIA, IIIB and IIIC. These specimens from the Timergarha cemetery³⁴ like Zarif Karuna specimens represent bowls on high or long stem. But the form of the bowl is in sharp contrast to each other. Moreover the Timergarha specimens tend to become semi globular with mouth incurved and some times globular with mouth terminating in vertically or with slight tilt inward. On the other hand, all the specimens of Zarif Karuna pottery type III and its sub types

30. Ibid. c. f. Plate CCXXX c T 228/2.

31. Ibid. c. f. Plate CXL b T 119/4.

32. Ibid. c. f. Plate CCXXVIII a T 160/3, c T 163/1.

33. Stacul op. cit. 1966 c. f. Fig. 4 e p. 269.

34. A. H. Dani op. cit. c. f. Fig. 21 No. 2 Fig. 22 Nos. 15, 16, Fig. 24 No. 3, Fig. 27 No. 164 and Fig. 33 No. 2.

IIIA, IIIB and IIIC are invariably broad mouthed with rim flaring considerably. (Fig. 5 Nos. 6 to 10 and Pl. XIIIB Nos. 1,2,3,4. Pl. XIII A). The only exception in case of flaring rim is the sub type IIIC.

Type IV :- Red Ware Carinated Bowl. (Fig 6 No. 11 and Pl. XIIIB No. 1)

This type is represented by the solitary bowl of red ware with disc base and slightly carinated below the shoulder. Its sides slightly taper inward and terminate in sharp rim. The clay is well levigated but shows prominent sign of husk mixing. As regards its surface, both exterior and interior are treated with deep red slip. Below shoulder, the vessel is grooved.

It comes from the graves of Period II.

On the basis of its form and shape, this type can be compared with the bowls from the Timergarha cemetery³⁵ and the Balambat settlement³⁶. Dr. Dani has also compared it with specimen from Shah Tepe³⁷.

Type V :- Red Ware Concave Sided Bowl. (Fig. 6 No. 12 and Pl. XIIIB No. 2)

This type is represented by the concave sided bowl with disc base and blunted rim. The clay used is of poor quality and it is mixed with husk and sand. The interior is treated with deep red slip, whereas, its exterior has become rough and coarse due to the burning of husk during the firing. This type occurs in Period II only.

The ceramic specimens comparable with this type occur in the cemeteries at Loebanr³⁸, Katelai³⁹, Timergarha⁴⁰ and Balambat⁴¹. Dr.

35. Ibid. c.f. Fig. 31 No. 5.

36. Ibid. c.f. Fig. 54 No. 2 and Fig. 59 Nos. 3, 6.

37. Ibid. c.f. Fig. 61 Shah Tepe Fig. 309.

38. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c. f. Fig. 18 a, b.

39. Ibid. c. f. Plate CCXII b T 3/1.

40. A. H. Dani. op. cit. c.f. Fig. 32 No. 8.

41. Ibid. c.f. Fig. 54 No. 1.

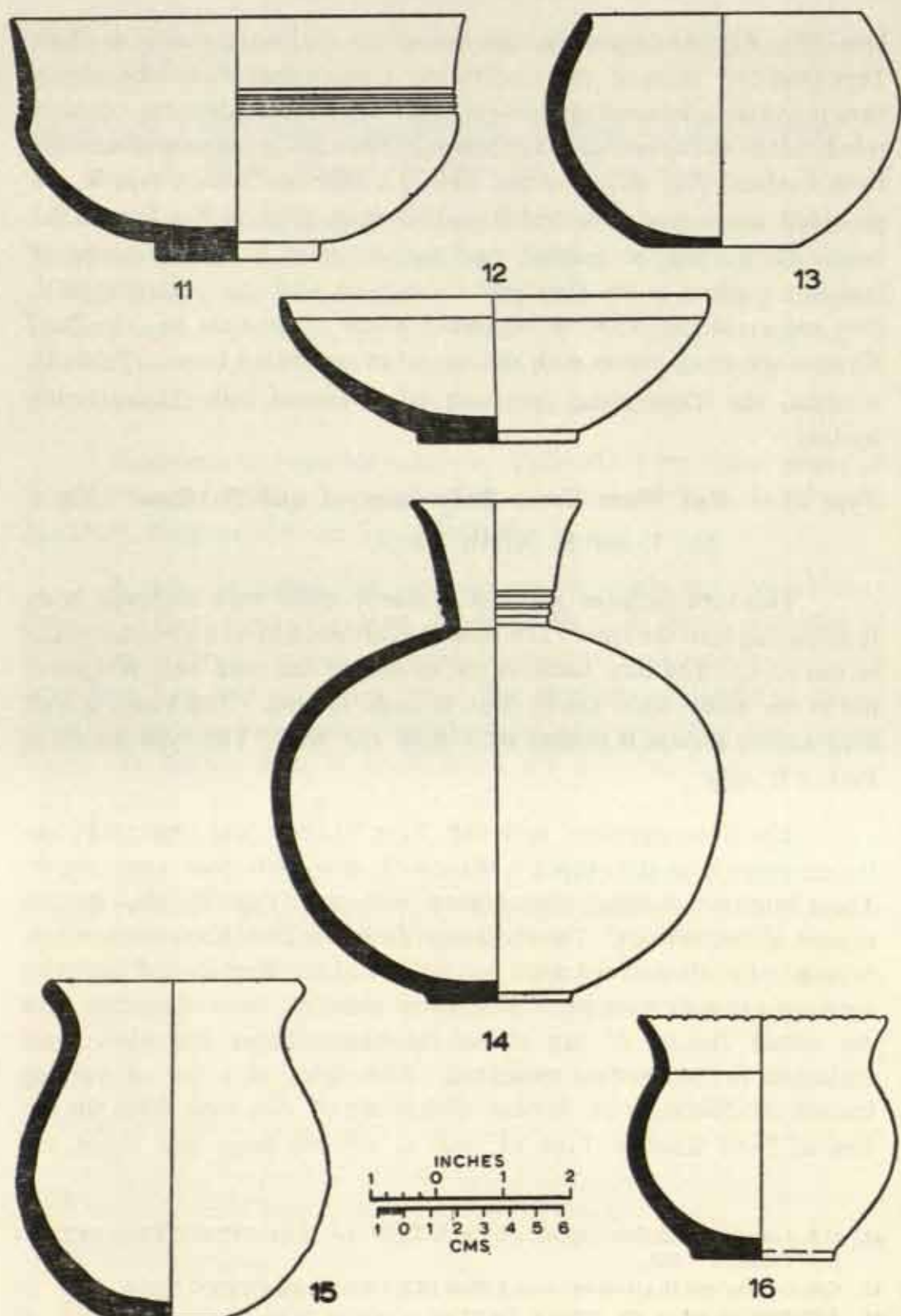


Fig. 6. Zarif Karuna. 11-Pottery type IV, 12-Pottery type V, 13-Pottery type VI, 14-Pottery type VII, 15-Pottery type VIII, 16-Pottery Sub-type VIIIA.

Dani (Fig 61) has documented its connection with specimen from Shah Tepe (466 b). Most of the specimens, documented from the above sites provide an interesting comparison. Invariably, they are concave sided, but at the same time, contrasting elements in certain specimens from Loebanr (Fig. 8a) do occur which, unlike our pottery type V, are provided with round base, and from Balambat (Fig. 54 No. 1) with flat base. Here it may be pointed out that in spite of the presence of common features in the Timergarha specimen and our pottery type V, they are associated with two different mode of burials i.e., the Zarif Karuna specimen comes with the burial of cremated bones (Table I), whereas, the Timergarha specimen is associated with the fractional burials.

Type VI :- Red Ware Bowls Body Incurved and Flat Base. (Fig. 6 No. 13 and Pl. XIIIB No. 3)

This type includes medium textured bowl with incurved body terminating into the rim. The central protrusion gives a globular shape to this type. The clay used for its making is fine and well levigated, but at the same time shows sign of husk mixing. The vessel is well fired and its surface is treated with pale red slip. This type occurs in Period II only.

The close parallels with our Type VI have been reported from the cemetery sites at Loebanr⁴², Katelai⁴³, and Balambat settlement⁴⁴. These bring out striking resemblance with our Type VI, with certain variant characteristics. The specimens from the Zarif Karuna cemetery, belong to the class of red ware pottery. But from Katelai and Loebanr, specimens in grey ware have also been recorded, in certain cases with the added feature of lug above the base. There are also some variations in their surface treatment. Although, they are of varying texture and fabric, with further distinction of disc base from the flat base of Zarif Karuna Type VI, yet in general form and shape, the

42. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c.f. Fig. 5a T 12/7 and Plates CXXVI C T 33/3, CXXX d T 12/7, CXXXI C T 46/6.

43. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c.f. Plate IX b T 205/4, Plate CCXII C T 1/10.

44. A.H. Dani, op. cit c.f. Fig. 50 No. 4, Fig. 52 No. 11 and Fig. 57 No. 17.

parallels pointed out from other sites bear striking resemblance with the Zarif Karuna specimens.

Type VII :- Red Ware Globular Vessel, High Neck and Disc Base. (Fig. 6 No. 14 and Pl. XIVA No. 1)

This type is represented by the "surahi" shaped globular vessel with high vertical neck and rim slightly everted. The vessel is made of well levigated clay of fine quality. The smooth and finely finished surface, treated with deep red slip, indicates that the clay selected for this particular type of vessel was purified from impurities. Lower part of the vertical neck is decorated with incised groovings.

Specimens comparable with our Type VII have been recorded from the cemeteries at Noghormuri⁴⁵ in Chitral Valley, Loebanr⁴⁶, Katelai⁴⁷, Butkara II⁴⁸ and Timergarha⁴⁹.

A globular shaped and vertically narrow neck pot from Hissar (No. 3525 Dani Fig. 61), at least on the basis of its form, is similar to our Type VII with the difference that the narrow neck terminates into a lip rather than into a flaring rim. The specimens referred to above from the various cemeteries include this type with flat and curved bases. In certain cases, in addition to the grooved lines, wavy lines also appear. The occurrence of this type, in association with the fractional burials, has been suggested as an introduction of new ware by the people who were fully conversant with the iron technology⁵⁰. The globular (surahi shaped) vessel from Zarif Karuna however comes with a different mode of burial (cremation). Apart from the significance of this ware occurring with iron at Timergarha, it is important to note that it is widely distributed in the protohistoric cemeteries in the north west regions of Pakistan.

45. G. Stacul : Discovery of Proto-historic cemeteries in Chitral Valley E W Vol. 19 Nos. 1-2, 1969, c.f. Fig. 2 a,c,d,e, pp 92-99.

46. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul. op. cit c.f. Fig. 12 a,b,d and Plate XXIX a, b, c.

47. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. Plates XXXVI a and XXXVII e.

48. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. 12, c, d, Plates CCLII b, CCLIII a, CCLV a, CCLVIII b, XXXX c and CCLXII b.

49. A.H. Dani, op. cit. c.f. Fig. 31 No. 2, Fig. 34 No. 3.

50. A.H. Dani, op. cit p. 123.

**Type VIII :- Pale Red Ware Spherical Vase. (Fig. 6 No. 15
Pl. XIVA No. 2)**

This type is represented by the medium textured spherical vase with slightly out curved rim and flat base. The ware is very coarse and uneven which is perhaps the result of the poor quality of clay not well prepared. It contains sand and gritty material. Improper and uneven firing has also marred the quality. Lower portion of the body and base bear soot marks, which indicate its functional aspect.

It comes from Period II.

No comparable specimen has been found from the cemeteries at Swat or Timergarha. However, one specimen from the Timergarha⁵¹ cemetery is close to our Type VIII with certain differing features. Its rim is comparatively less out-curved and is decorated with ripple design also.

**Sub Type VIIIA :- Pale Red Ware Spherical Vase. (Fig, 6 No. 16
Pl. XIVA No. 3)**

This sub type is characterized by the pale red ware spherical vase with its body being less spherical and its mouth wider than the main type. The frill or notched pattern decorates the rim, which we do not find in the main type. The soot marks are also less prominent. This ware is also ill fired with more prominent mixing of sand in the clay.

The comparable specimens with this sub type have been recorded from Loebanr⁵², Katelai⁵³, Timergarha⁵⁴, and Balambat⁵⁵. Some of these specimens bear frill or notched pattern on their rims.

51. A.H. Dani op. cit. c.f. Fig. 21 No. 4.

52. C.S Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c.f. Fig. 3 b.

53C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c.f. Plate IX c.

54. A.H. Dani op. cit c.f. Fig. 22 No. 4 Fig. 39 No. 2.

55. A.H. Dani, op. cit c.f. Fig. 49 No. 4 and Fig. 52 No. 1.

Type IX - Grey Goblets. (Fig. 7 No. 9 and Pl. XIVB No. 1)

This type is represented by grey ware goblets of globular body with slightly out curved rim and disc base. Its lower body is curved. A notable feature in its form is that its sides are concave. The ware is made of finely levigated clay. The shoulder of the vessel is decorated with the parallel ridges. The decoration of parallel ridges and grooved or incised lines are common feature observed, in the pottery of this type from other cemetery sites in Dir and Swat. The specimens from Katelai⁵⁶, in certain cases, are decorated with the incised lines and ripple designs obtained by corrugation. The Katelai⁵⁷ cemetery in Swat provides by far the most comprehensive documentation of our pottery Type IX. A few specimens have also been recorded from Timergarha⁵⁸, Balambat⁵⁹ and Loebanr⁶⁰. Of the two goblets from Hassanlu⁶¹, although they represent handled ware, the one without carination is comparable with Type IX, and the specimen with carination bears resemblance with our Type IXA.

Sub Type IXA :- Grey Ware Carinated Goblet. (Fig. 7 No. 18 and Pl. XIVB No. 2)

This sub type is represented by the grey ware goblet of Type IX with the distinctive feature of carination below the shoulder. This particular feature of carination was obtained by removing the extra clay from above the crination with sharp edged tool.

The specimens both from the main and sub type are of exquisite finish and reflect considerable advancement in the technique of pottery making.

56. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate CCXXXVII a,b,c,d,e,f.

57. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit Plate CCXVI d T 217/3, Plate CCXXVIII b and Plate CCXXIX b,c,d.

58. A.H. Dani op. cit c.f. Fig. 22 No. 12, Fig. 27 No. 150, 1166 Fig. 28 No. 7 and Fig. 41 No. 3.

59. A.H. Dani, op. cit c.f. Fig. 52 No. 7.

60. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit. c.f. Plate CXXXVIII f T 180/1, Plate CXL III C T 179/2.

61. A.H. Dani op. cit c.f. Fig. 61.

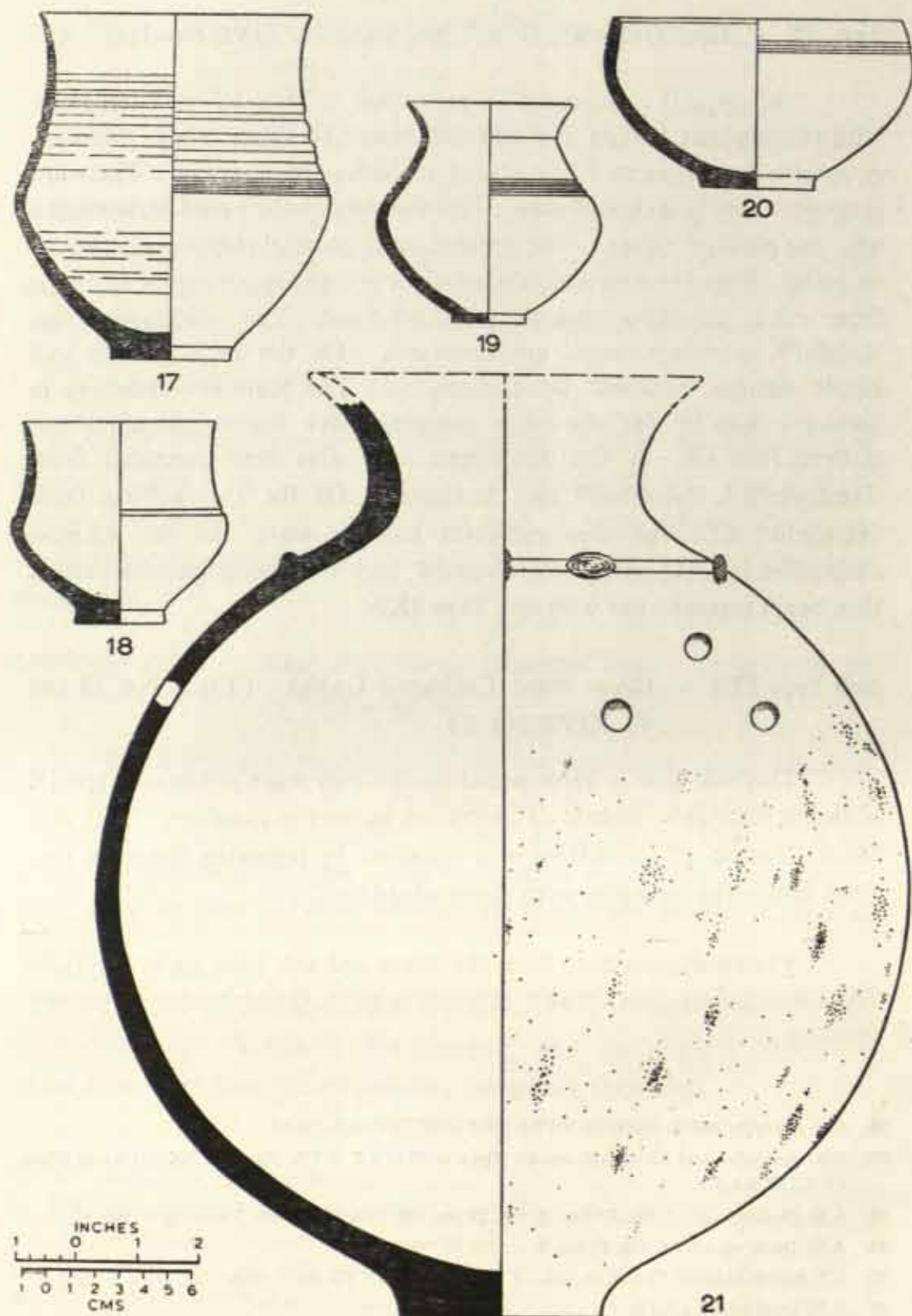


Fig. 7. Zarif Karuna. 17-Pottery Type IX, 18-Pottery sub-type IXA, 19-Pottery type X, 20-Pottery type XI, 21-Pottery Type XII.

The comparable specimens with our sub type IXA have been recorded from Katelai⁶², Thana⁶³, and Balambat⁶⁴.

Type X:- Grey Ware Small Vase. (Fig. 7 No. 19 and Pl. XIVB No. 4)

This type is represented by small vase globular in shape with rim out curved and disc base. The ware is made of well levigated clay and is thin in texture. Its shoulder is accomplished with elegant grooved decoration.

Type X is comparable with the specimens from Loebanr⁶⁵ which has been described as globular or pear shaped bottle with flaring rim and disc base. Grooved lines on the specimens from Loebanr and Zarif Karuna, are the common decorative feature, though executed on different parts of the body. Rim variation has also been noted, which in case of Zarif Karuna, is out curved, but in case of Loebanr⁶⁶ specimen it is flaring. The same distinguishing rim feature we observe in the specimens from the Katelai⁶⁷ and Butkara II⁶⁸ cemeteries. However, it is interesting to note that two specimens from Butkara II⁶⁹ bear close similarity with the Zarif Karuna specimen, type X. No comparable specimen has been reported from Timergarha and Thana, but one specimen from the Balambat⁷⁰ settlement can be compared for general form and shape.

Type XI :- Grey Ware Bowl. (Fig. 7 No. 20 and Pl. XIVB No. 3)

This type is represented by the open mouthed bowl with rim almost vertical and disc base. The ware is thin in texture and its fine

62. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. 8 c, Fig. 12 a, Plate XVIII a.

63. A.H. Dani op. cit a.f. Fig. 47 No. 37.

64. A.H. Dani op. cit c.f. Fig. 49 No. 3, Fig. 55 No. 5.

65. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. 12 f.

66. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate XXX d, CXXI a T 15/5.

67. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate CCXXXI a T 182/2.

68. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate CCLIII d T 16/1.

69. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit Plate CCLX a T 38/24 and CCLVIII b T 28/18.

70. A.H. Dani op. cit c.f. Fig. 49 No. 8.

finish indicates its moulding from well levigated clay. Smooth surface suggests burnishing effect. Below rim the ware is decorated with groovings.

Limited numbers of comparable specimens with our type XI have been recorded from Katelai⁷¹ (CCXVIb 16/4), Butkara II⁷² and Balambat⁷³.

It may be remarked that the specimen referred to above from Katelai bears grooved lines on the shoulder like our type XI.

Type XII :- Red Ware Globular Burial Urns. (Fig. 7 No. 21 and Pl. XVA)

This type includes pitcher shaped globular narrow necked jars with out-curved rim and disc base. Thick in texture, the ware is well fired and is made of clay containing husk. The jars are treated with red slip. Most of the specimens are devoid of any decoration, but in certain cases, shoulder portion is decorated with cordon (Fig. 7 No. 21) interrupted by four knobs and four finger impressed marks in the alternate order. Below the cordon line, the body is pierced with three holes triangular formation, which seem to represent abstract depiction of human face. These jars were specifically made to serve as jars for housing the residual material after the completion of the cremation ritual.

No comparable specimens from the cemeteries at Dir and Swat have been reported. A wide variety of burial urns, with three or more than three holes has however been reported from the cemeteries at Katelai⁷⁴ and Loebanr⁷⁵. A specimen from Loebanr⁷⁶ bears close resemblance to our pottery type XII. But it must be pointed out that Loebanr specimen is without hole and its shoulder is decorated with tripple cordon. It of course comes with the ritual of cremation.

71. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul Plate CCXVI b T 16/4.

72. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f, Plate CCLVI c T 21/5, 8.

73. A.H. Dani, op. cit c.f, Fig. 54 No. 2 and Fig. 59 No. 3.

74. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f, Plate XXXVI b, XXXVIII a, b, c, d.

75. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f, Plate XXXVII a, b, c.

76. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f, Plate XLI d.

Sub Type XII A :- Red Ware Globular Burial Urns. (Fig 8 No. 22)

This sub type includes water pitcher shaped jars made of well levigated clay mixed with husk. The prominent distinguishing features are characterized by the surface treatments, the exterior being coated with mud containing heavy concentration of pottery bits and grit. The neck is comparatively broader with rim tending to be splaying. Like its main pottery type XII, the common trait of three pierced holes signifies an important characteristic of the jars used for the disposal of cremated remains.

Some specimens comparable with our sub type XIIA have been recorded from the cemeteries at Loebanr⁷⁷, Katelai⁷⁸ and Timergarha⁷⁹. But it may be remarked that the Loebanr⁸⁰ specimen is identical in surface treatment with two small holes for the eye and comparatively larger rectangular opening to indicate mouth.

Type XIII :- Hand-made Red Ware Globular Jars (Visage Urns). (Fig. 8 No. 23 Pl. XVIA No. 1)

This is the only hand-made type of red ware burial jar recorded from the Zarif Karuna cemetery. It is open mouthed with sharply out curved rim. Made of well levigated clay and well fired. The most prominent and distinctive feature of these visage urns is that on the shoulder portion, stylised human face has been depicted. The nose is represented by the applied high projection flanked by two pierced holes to indicate eyes. Immediately below the nose projection, another hole has been pierced to suggest mouth. The crescent shaped line in low relief represents eye brows. The portion of the rim above nose is red slipped; whereas, the remaining portion is treated with simple wash.

These visage urns are widely distributed in the cemeteries excavated in Swat and Dir. But it must be emphasized that they are associated with the ritual of cremation only and in no case, so far, these have found in association with other modes of burial. In the

77. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. 17a.

78. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate CCXXI b T 39/7.

79. A. H. Dani op. cit c.f. Fig. 26 No. 1.

80. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate XXXVII c T 13/2.

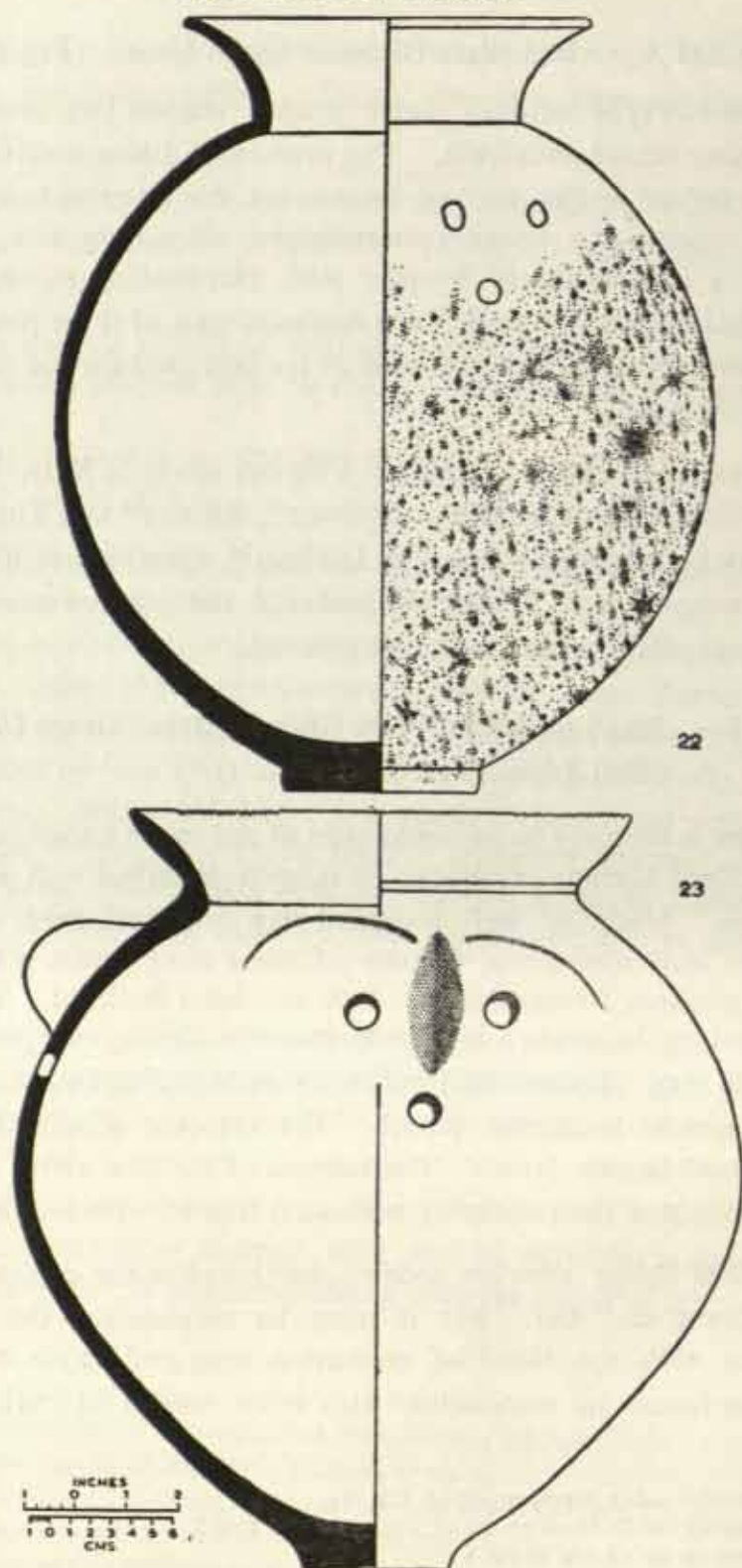


Fig. 8. Zarif Karuna. 22-Pottery Sub-type XIII A, 23-Pottery type XIII.

comparable specimens from cemetery at Timergarha⁸¹ the opening to indicate the mouth has been made rectangular. Specimens from the Loebanr⁸² cemetery have also been reported. Though analogous in form but certain clearly distinguishing features in the Swat cemeteries and Timergarha specimens have also been noted. While the visage urns from the Zarif Karuna cemetery are invariably pierced with three holes to represent human face, in the comparable specimens noted from the Loebanr cemetery, apart from the rectangular mouth opening, the number of holes also ranges between five to eight. Then again in case of certain specimens⁸³, a cordon line runs around the shoulder, which is interrupted after regular intervals with high conical knobs. It may be pointed out that the presence of three or more holes in the terracotta rectangulars from the Katelai cemetery⁸⁴, seem to suggest that the holes were also pierced with other ritual or sanctimonious significance, rather than the simple depiction of human face. The significance of these cinerary jars with holes exceeding the mark of three, has not been properly appreciated. But at our present state of knowledge no tangible explanation can be offered on this phenomenon.

Various interpretations have been offered on the representation of human face of these jars. While hinting at the totemic importance of this representation, Dr. Dani suggests a special role played by them in relation to the rite of cremation⁸⁵. But G. Stacul considers these holes as passage⁸⁶ for the soul. As a preliminary remark it may be observed that these jars which are characteristically associated with the rite of cremation only, were perhaps connected with some special feature considered to be of sanctimonious ceremony highlighting the process of cremation.

Type XIV :- Red Ware Open Mouthed Burial Jar. (Fig. 9 No. 24 and Pl. XVIA No. 2)

This type is represented by the globular shaped open mouthed jar with low pedestal base. The open mouth is incurved. The ware is

81. A. H. Dani, op. cit c.f. Fig. 25 No. 1 Fig. 27 No. 128 Fig. 38 Nos. 1 and 2.

82. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate XXXIX a, b, c, d.

83. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate XL a.

84. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate XLIV a, b, c, d, e, f.

85. A.H. Dani, op. cit p. 27.

86. G. Stacul : Preliminary Report on Pre-Budhist Necropolis E W Vol. 16 Nos. 1 — 2, 1966, p. 66.

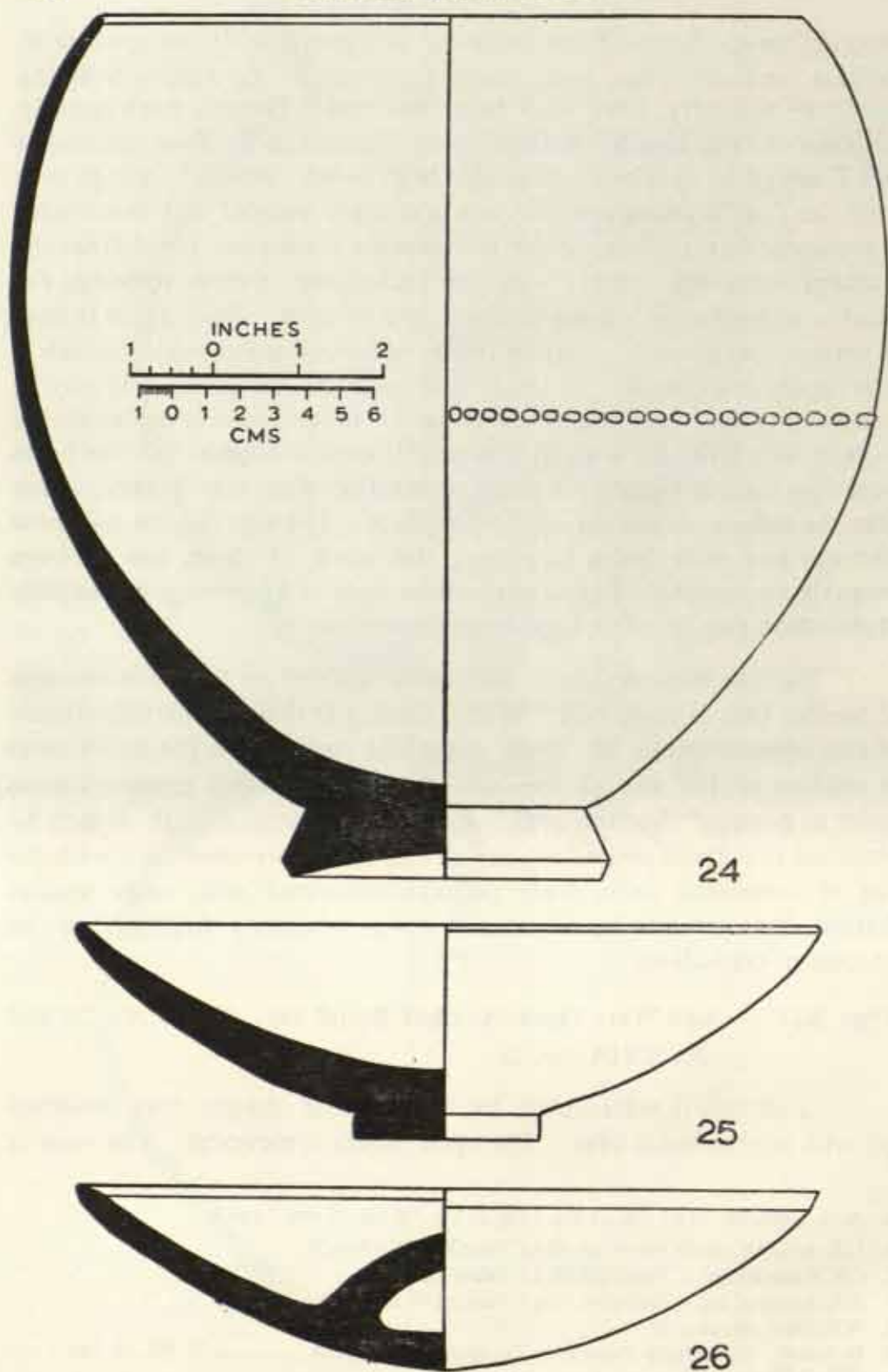


Fig. 9. Zarif Karuna .24-Pottery Type XIV, 25-Pottery Type XV
26-Pottery Type XVI.

made of well levigated clay. Since its exterior is much encrusted, it is rather difficult to form any idea of the surface treatment. The middle portion of its body is decorated with string mark.

No comparable specimen has been reported from the cemeteries in Swat and Dir.

Type XV :- Red Ware Concave Sided Lids. (Fig. 9 No. 25 and Pl. XVIB No. 1)

This type represented by concave sided dishes use as lid for the burial jars. They are made of tempered clay and treated with pale red slip. The surface is coarse and uneven.

The comparable specimens of this type have been recorded from the cemeteries of Loebanr and Katelai⁸⁷. Another Loebanr⁸⁸ specimen bears close resemblance to our type XV.

Type XVI :- Red Ware Lids with Handle.

This type is represented by lid made of sand tempered clay. The dish is provided with handle in the middle. This type served as lid for our Type XIII.

Similar lids have been recorded from the cemeteries at Loebanr⁸⁹, Katelai⁹⁰, Butkara II⁹¹, and Timergarha⁹².

B. CATALOGUE OF SELECTED SPECIMENS OF POTTERY

Fig. 4

Type I

1. Red ware goblet mouth slightly out curved, hollow pedestal base, thin texture and red slipped. Three relief lines around. Ht. 5.10 inches. (Pl.XIIA No. 1)

ZK-50 from G-6B Period I.

87. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Plate XL a.

88. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. 18 a, b.

89. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. 18 c, d, Plate CXL a T, 132/8, CXX a T 10/1 and b T 12/3.

90. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. 18 e.

91. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit c.f. Fig. 18 f.

92. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul Fig. 24 No. 5 and 6.

Sub-Type I A

2. Red ware vase (resembling wine cup) on hollow pedestal base, body slightly in curved and thin textured. Red slipped. Ht. 4 inches (Pl. XII No. 3)

ZK. 67 from G-26 Period II.

Sub-Type I B

3. Red ware cup with low pedestal base, body slightly in curved. Red slipped. Ht. 3.2 inches (Pl. XIIA No. 6)

ZK. 68 from G-27 Period III.

Type II

4. Red ware cup, coarse surface and body slightly in curved and disc base. Ht. 3.10 inches (Pl. XIIA No. 4)

ZK. 53 from G-2B Period II.

Sub-Type II A

5. Pale red ware cup, medium texture and coarse surface due to the mixing of gritty material in the clay. Disc base. Ht. 2.9 inches. (Pl. XIIA No. 5)

ZK. 55 from G-2B Period II.

Fig. 5**Type III**

6. Red ware bowl on long solid stem (stem broken) surface red slipped and decorated with low relief line forming corrugation. Ht. 5.2 inches. Dia 7.7 inches (Pl. XIIB No. 1)

ZK. 49 from G-18 Priod II.

7. Red ware, lower portion of solid stem (broken), decorated with three relief lines forming corrugation on the portion immediately above the splaring base. Ht. 6.9 inches. Base dia 7 inches. (Pl. XIIB No. 2)

ZK. 79 from G-31 Period II.

Sub-Type III A

8. Red ware flaring bowl on solid stem and flaring base. Ht. 5.12 inches. Mouth dia 4.12 inches (Pl. XIIB No. 3)

ZK. 52 from G-2B Period II.

Sub-Type III B

9. Pale red ware bowl on high hollow pedestal base, Coarse surface due to the mixing of gritty material in the clay Ht. 4.7 inches. (Pl. XIIB No. 4)

ZK. 70 from G-9B Period III.

Sub-Type III C

10. Red ware open mouthed bowl with high hollow pedestal base. Externally and internally red slipped. Ht. 4.12 inches. Dia 7.10 inches (Pl. XIII A)

ZK. 66 from G-26 Period III.

Fig. 6**Type IV**

11. Red ware open mouthed bowl, convex sides, medium texture and disc base. Externally and internally treated with red slip. Four grooved lines around shoulder. Ht. 3.9 inches. Dia 9 inches. (Pl. XIIB No. 1)

ZK. 74 from G-29 Period II.

Type V

12. Red ware open mouthed bowl, medium texture and disc base. Internally treated with red slip. Coarse and uneven exterior. Ht. 2.2 inches. Dia 7 inches (Pl. XIIB No. 2)

ZK. 65 from G-26 Period II.

Type VI

13. Red ware bowl, mouth incurved and body centrally protruded. Medium texture and flat base. Traces of red slip. Ht. 3.8 inches. Dia 4.2 inches (Pl. XIIB No. 3)

ZK. 51 from G-1B Period II.

Type VII

14. Red ware globular vase (surahi shaped) thin texture and disc base, lower portion of the vertical neck is grooved. Red slipped. Ht. 8.2 inches (Pl. XIVA No. 1)

ZK. 75 from G-29 Period II.

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Type VIII

15. Pale red ware vase, thick textured, out curved rim and flat base. Coarse and uneven surface due to gritty mixed clay. Soot marks. Ht. 5.4 inches. Dia 4 inches (Pl XIVA No. 2)

ZK. 63 from G-26 Period II.

Sub-Type VIII A

16. Pale red ware vase, thick texture, out curved rim decorated with frill or notched pattern. Coarse and uneven surface. Ht. 3.12 inches. Dia 3.11 inches (Pl. XIVA No. 3)

ZK. 62 from G-26 Period II.

Fig. 7

Type IX

17. Grey ware vase, out curved mouth and disc base. Thin texture. Shoulder grooved with hold lines forming corrugation Middle portion of body also grooved in mild sterve. Ht. 5.12 inches. (Pl. XIVB No. 1)

ZK. 61 from G-26 Period II.

Sub-Type IX A

18. Grey ware vase moth slightly out-curved and disc base. Carinated Ht. 3.7 inches (Pl. XIVB No. 2)

ZK. 64 from G-26 Period II.

Type X

19. Grey ware vase, rim outcurved and disc base shoulder grooved. Ht. 3.9 inches (Pl. XIVB No. 4)

ZK. 78 from G-29 Period II.

Type XI

20. Grey ware bowl mouth in curved, medium texture and disc base. Below rim grooved. Ht. 3 inches (Pl. XIVB No. 3)

ZK. 77 from G-29 Period II.

Type XII

21. Red ware globular jar (pitcher shaped), thick texture narrow neck and disc base. Below neck runs around cordon interrupted by four knobs finger impressed marks in alternate order. The shoulder portion is pierced with three holes to indicate human face in abstract form. Surface coated with mud. Ht. 15.9 inches. (Pl. XVA).

ZK. 46 from G-8 Period II.

Fig. 8**Sub-Type XII A**

22. Red ware globular jar, splaying rim and disc base. Shoulder pierced with three holes to indicate human face. Surface coated with mud containing pottery bits. Ht. 14.8 inches (Pl. XV No. B)

ZK. 96 from G-1B Period II.

Type XIII

23. Red ware open mouthed globular jar, out curved rim and disc base. Rim bears traces of notched or frilled decoration. Surface is coarse and uneven. Shoulder is pierced with three holes to indicate human face. Long projected nose is moulded from the pot and the eyebrows are indicated by two curved lines in low relief. Ht. 14.10 inches (Pl. XVIA No. 1)

ZK. 31 from G-2B Period II.

Fig. 9**Type XIV**

24. Red ware large vase open mouth and low pedestal base. Medium texture. String design runs around middle portion of body. Ht. 10.4 inches. Mouth Dia 8 inches (Pl. XVIA No. 2)

ZK. 48 from G-18 Period II.

Type XV

25. Red ware concave sided dish, medium texture and disc base. Surface treated with pale red slip. Used as lid for S. No. 23, Ht. 2.3 inches. Dia 9 inches (Pl. XVIB No. 1)

ZK. 32 from G-2B Period II

Type XVI

26. Red ware lid with handle provided in the middle of the dish. Clay tempered with sand. Ht. 2 inches. Dia 8.11 inches (Pl. XVIB No. 2) ZK. 88 from G-29. Period II.

7. THE MINOR OBJECTS

During the course of excavation and salvage operation, an interesting variety of objects of personal nature and ritual significance have been recorded from different periods of the cemetery (Table 2). The objects of personal nature such as beads of stone and gold, ear rings of gold, silver and copper and bone hair pins formed part of the grave furniture. The objects of ritual importance, included mostly terracotta bull figurines, one specimen of Mother Goddess and one stone figurine depicting human form in abstract geometric rendering (Fig. 10 No. 7, Plate XIXA). Most of the objects put as grave furniture, belong to period II of the cemetery, during which the ritual of cremation was followed (Table 2). This is equally true in case of pottery vessels also. Of the total number of 147 objects recovered (52 pottery vessels and 95 minor objects), only one pedestalled goblet (Fig. 4 No. 1 and Plate XIIA No. 1), comes from Period I, signified by the inhumation burials. The remaining items in the category of personal objects, represented by beads of gold and stone, rings of gold and silver, and bone pins come from Period II (Table 2). The total grave furniture of Period III, in the category of minor objects, consist of 12 animal figurines, one Mother Goddess, one stone figurine (Table 2) and one copper ring. Here it may be emphasized that all cult objects have been recorded from Period III associated with the ritual of fractional burials.

Quite a major portion of the grave furnishing in the nature of personal objects are in gold and stone. Silver and copper objects are in negligible quantity; each represented by one ear-ring in Period II and III respectively. The material-wise break-up of various minor objects is given below:

| Material | Gold | Silver | Copper | Stone | Terracotta | Bone | Total |
|----------|------|--------|--------|-------|------------|------|-------|
| Numbers | 21 | 1 | 1 | 47 | 13 | 12 | 95 |

The above break-up shows that gold was used frequently by the people of Period II for making objects of personal nature. In fact, all the gold and stone objects belong to Period II (Table 2). Only one exception of stone object representing Eye Goddess,⁹³ which belongs to period III, has been noted. No iron object has been recorded from any of the three periods of the cemetery, even copper and silver are scarce in the grave furnishings (Table 2).

A. Metal Objects

In the total collection of 23 metal objects, 21 are in gold and one each in copper and silver. Gold objects include 16 tiny beads and 5 ear-rings. Silver and copper are represented by one ear-ring each.

Delicately manufactured objects of metal certainly speak for the skill in the metal technology acquired by the peoples of Period II. This proficiency in metal technology is fully demonstrated by the manufacturing of tiny gold beads and rings. It appears that the thin wires of gold, silver and copper were twisted to make ear-rings. In case of gold beads, it seems quite probable that a small lump of gold was beaten to form thin and delicate sheet, folded into the bead shape. The same technique was adopted while making rings of gold, silver and copper with the difference that instead of sheets, the metal was converted into thin wire for twisting into rings or coiled rings. The solitary silver ring from G-2 Period II is in the coiled form (Table 2, Plate XXB No. 8)

It may be remarked that the rings of gold, silver and copper have been reported from the Timargarha⁹⁴ and various cemeteries in Swat.⁹⁵ The Zarif Karuna specimen are comparable with the corresponding specimens from Timargarha and Swat cemeteries. As regards tiny gold beads recorded in Period II, no comparable specimen has been reported from any of the other cemetery sites. It may however

93. M.E.L. Mallowan : Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar. Iraq Vol. IX 1947, pp. 150-159 and pp. 198-210. The author is grateful to Dr. Mohammad Rafique Mughal for drawing attention to the Eye Goddess specimens from Brak and Chagar Bazar comparable with the Zarif Karuna specimen from Period III.

94. (Ed) A.H. Dani, Ancient Pakistan Vol. III. A. Rahmān pp. 191-192.

95. G. Stacul. Preliminary Report—Pre Buddhist Necropolis E.W. Vol. 16 Nos. 1-2 1966 p. 58.

ii. G. Stacul : Notes on the Discovery of a Necropolis near Kherai in the Gorbānd Valley, Swat E.W. Vol. 16 Nos. 3-4 1966 p. 271.

be noted that whereas the metal objects, both from the cemeteries at Zarif Karuna and Timargarha,⁹⁶ have been found associated with the ritual of cremation and fraction burial, the evidence from Swat is different. In Swat, gold and copper rings have been found in association with tripple inhumation burials, cremation and single inhumation burials.⁹⁷ This variation of metal occurrence with the mode of burials is in sharp contrast to the evidence recorded from Timargarha and Zarif Karuna. Varying features recorded from the Swat cemeteries assume special significance, in view of the consistency observed in the cemeteries at Timargarha and Zarif Karuna. The problem deserves serious attention of the scholars interested in the protohistoric cemeteries in north-west regions of Pakistan.

B. Stone Objects

A total number of 47 stone objects has been recovered, out of which 46 are beads of various shapes, belonging to Period II. Only one stone object representing abstract human figure in geometric rendering comes from Period III (Plate XIXA) This stone figurine, when viewed in vertical position looks like symbolic human representation with two pierced circular holes in the upper portion. Below these holes, five dots have been punched in angular formation. Middle of the triangular base is pierced with narrow hole, which does not penetrate to the other side. The stone used is of light grey colour, possibly alabaster. Its surface is polished or rubbed to smooth slippery surface. It resembles very much with the Eye Goddess specimens from Mesopotamia (Plate XVIII B)

A variety of agate, quartz, light grey stone (perhaps schist) and carnelian was used for making beads. Most of the beads are of agate and banded agate in short barrel shape with ends truncated. In carnelean beads have also been manufactured in bi-conical and globular shapes (Plate XXA)

96. Dani op. cit. p. 191-192.

97. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul : The Proto-historic Graveyards of Swat Part I Text.

i. Katelal Grave No. 237, Copper ear ring 237/10 with tripple inhumation burial pp. 415-416.

ii. Katelal grave No. 247, gold ring 244/32 with cremation pp. 420-422.

iii. Katelal grave No. 81, gold ring 81/9 with single inhumation burial. pp. 292-293.

iv. G. Stacul : Notes on the Discovery of a Necropolis near Kheral (Gorband Valley) Fig. 6, 3. gold rings with inhumation E.W. Vol. 16 Nos. 3-4 1966 p. 271.

It is significant to note that the entire bead collection is associated with the ritual of cremation practised in Period II.

Occurrence of stone beads have been reported from the Katelai and the Timargarha cemeteries and the Balambat⁹⁸ settlement. Stone beads from Timargarha have been mostly recorded with the fractional burials, but they occur with the cremation also.⁹⁹ From the Katelai cemetery, they come with the single inhumation and double inhumation burials¹⁰⁰ from graves 81 and 146 respectively.

C. Bone Objects

From the grave furniture of Period II, 12 bone pins have been recorded. A prominent feature of these pins is that all are round in section with top completed in the circular flat, oval flat, convex and concoid shape (Plate XIXB). Despite this difference in shape of the top, one common feature consistently present in every specimen, is globule like raised surface below the top. It appears that to obtain the globule like feature below the top, deeping grooving was made. In certain cases (Plate XIXB Nos. 1,2,7) where grooving has not been made deep enough, the result is just a line in low relief below the top. The association of these pins with ritual of cremation is certain and indeed some of the specimens (Plate XIXB Nos. 3, 4) are charred to black colour.

In the cemeteries of Katelai, Loebanr, Butkara II¹⁰¹ and Timargarha, copper pins predominate. A negligible quantity of bone pins has also been found. Only one specimen of iron has been reported from grave No. 81 of Katelai cemetery. It may be remarked that, apart from the varying features of copper pins occurring in the cemeteries referred to above, an element of contrast in the burial ritual has also been noted. In the Zarif Karuna cemetery, their occurrence is restricted to Period II only with the ritual of cremation (Table 2). But in the cemetery of Timargarha, copper pins have also been found

98. A.H. Dani, *op. cit* pp. 279-280.

99. A.H. Dani, *op. cit* pp. 192-193.

100. C.S. Antonini and Stacul *op. cit* p. 292-293 and p. 337-339.

101. C. Antonini and Stacul *op. cit* Figs. 24 and 25.

associated with fractional burial.¹⁰² In case of the Katelai cemetery, bone pins have been found associated with double-tripple inhumation and cremation burials.¹⁰³

In view of what has been stated in the foregoing, the bone or metal pins cannot be associated with a particular mode of burial. It may, however, be noted that all the pins found from the Zarif Karuna Cemetery were made of bone only (Table 2).

D. Terracotta Objects

Out of total number of 13 objects of terracotta all, except one female figurine and one indeterminate animal, are representations of bull in various sizes (Table 2). Generally speaking, these bull figurines are well moulded of finely levigated clay and are well baked. In certain cases, clay is mixed with husk and gritty material. High humped, (sometimes irregular lump and sometimes conical), and stout in appearance, the horns of these bull figurines are well moulded and curved in semi-circular formation. By appearance, they seem set poised in all ferociousness.

Special mention may be made of a large size specimen (Plate XVIIIB). It is stoutly built in thick set body with high hump of irregular lump slightly tilted to the back. Its legs are stoutly moulded. Pointed incurved horns terminate after completing nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of a circle. It is a finely moulded and well baked specimen and on the body bears traces of red slip.

An indeterminate animal figurine needs be examined carefully (Plate XVIII A No. 5). It is without horn and hump. By appearance, its body is stocky. The tail is broken, and on the neck, it wears mane-like feature. Front head portion is broken. Its back resembles to that of a wild boar. However, it can be said with certainty that it does not represent bull.

Another important object in terracotta is a female figurine representing Mother Goddess¹⁰⁴ (Plate XVII A). Its fan shaped headdress

102. A.H. Dani op. cit pp. 186-188.

103. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit Katalai Grave No. 83 Double inhumation burial p. 294-295 Katalai Grave No. 101 Tripple inhumation burial pp. 205-206. Katelai Grave No. 168 cremation p. 356.

104. The author is grateful to Sheikh Khurshid Hasan, who during the discussions brought many interesting features of incised decoration on the female figurine from the Zarif Karuna Cemetery.

reminds the head gear of the Indus Valley Civilization. The headdress is incised with three groups of double lines in oblique strokes. The same decoration is repeated on neck and belly. The incised decoration in the form of a combination of oblique strokes and horizontal lines on the front waist portion is repeated on the back also. The face and the breasts are applied; the face being in long projection and the breasts in short conical formation. Lower portion i.e. thighs and legs are conjoined. The belly down to the navel is incised with a group of five angular lines forming triangles within the margin obtained by the oblique strokes. It may be significant to note that all terracotta objects belong to Period III and are associated with the ritual of fractional burial (Table 2).

It may be emphasized that in the terracotta collection from the Zarif Karuna cemetery, bulls and the solitary specimen of Mother Goddess symbolize the cults of bull and Mother Goddess so widely known in the ancient world. Bull figurine from the Timargarha cemetery is conspicuous by its absence. However, one specimen of bull from the settlement site of Balambat has been reported.¹⁰⁵ The cultural data from the Swat cemeteries is totally devoid of bull figurine. However, terracotta anthropomorphic figurines have been reported from the Timargarha¹⁰⁶ cemetery Period III and Balambat¹⁰⁷ settlement also. The anthropomorphic figurine, from the Timargarha cemetery Period III associated with the ritual of fractional burial, is in conformity with the occurrence of the Zarif Karuna female figurine recorded with the fractional burial in Period III. But the human figures in the Katelai and Loebanr cemeteries, are associated with single and double inhumation burials, cremation burials, burials with no traces and the burial type not ascertainable.¹⁰⁸ This contradictory evidence from the cemeteries of Swat to the coeval evidence of fractional burial from the Timargarha and the Zarif Karuna cemeteries, in relation to the

105. (Ed) A.H. Dani op. cit A. Rahman p. 276.

106. (Ed) A.H. Dani, op. cit A. Rahman Grave 183 p. 195.

107. (Ed) A.H. Dani, op. cit A. Rahman p. 277.

108. C.S. Antonini and G. Stacul op. cit Katelai Grave No. 207 Single inhumation, p. 391. Katelai grave No. 168, cremation p. 356. Loebanr Grave No. 66. Burial with no traces of bones p. 126. Loebanr grave No. 97 Single inhumation pp. 158-160. Loebanr grave No. 135. Double inhumation p. 198-200. Loebanr grave No. 36 Burial not ascertainable pp. 94-95.

anthropomorphic figurines is a phenomenon of peculiar cultural implication which needs be examined by the scholars working on the Proto-historic cemeteries in north west region of Pakistan. In this context, it may be relevant to point out that the presence of Bull and Eye Goddess in the grave furniture of the Zarif Karuna cemetery, is new evidence, hitherto not reported from any of the cemeteries located in Swat or Timargarha. These cult objects of Period III culturally separate the people of Period III from Period II. The Period III people while retaining some pottery vessels of Period II (Table I) brought about a significant change reflected in their cult objects and different mode of burial.

E. CATALOGUE OF MINOR OBJECTS

a. TERRACOTTA OBJECTS

Plate XVIIA

1. A female figurine of Mother Goddess with small portion of belly, waist and ribs broken. The fan shaped head is decorated with a tripple horizontal set of double incised lines within which oblique strokes are used, The incised triangles decorate the belly. The same decorat on is repeated below neck and on the waist. The applied face bears close resemblance with the goat face (Fig. 10 No. 1). The applied breasts are represented by two small conical mounds. Ht. 7.10 inches.

ZK. 83 from G-9B Period III.

Plate XVIIIB

2. A bull figurine, high humped, horn curved forming crescent and tail flushed with back. The thick set body bears traces of red slip. Ht. 5 inches. Length from front to tail 9.8 inches.

ZK. 58 from G-24 Period III.

Plate XVIII A

1. A bull figurine with high conical hump and one hind leg broken. Clay contains husk. Ht. 2.3 inches. Length 3.11 inches.

ZK. 40 from G-12B Period III.

Table No. 2 Showing Distribution of Minor Objects in Zarif Karuna Cemetery

| Period | grave | Metals | | | | Stone | | Bone | | Terracotta | | Total | |
|--------|-------|--------|------|--------|--------|-------|---------------|------|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|-------|--|
| | | gold | | silver | copper | Bead | Misc. objects | Pins | Human figurines | Animal figurines | | | |
| | | Bead | Ring | Rings | Rings | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| G.19 | | | | | | | | | | | | 1 | |
| III | G.24 | | | | | | | | | | 3 bull figurines | 3 | |
| | G.9B | | | | | | | | | Mother goddess | | 2 | |
| | G.12B | | | | | | | | | | 8 bull 1 wild boar | 9 | |
| II | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | G.1 | 6 | 2 | | | | | | 1 | | | 9 | |
| | G.2 | 1 | | 1 | | 5 | | | 4 | | | 11 | |
| | G.4 | | | | | 1 | | | | | | 1 | |
| | G.6 | 9 | 2 | | | 17 | | | 4 | | | 32 | |
| | G.7 | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | | | 2 | |
| | G.18 | | 1 | | | 22 | | | 1 | | | 24 | |
| | G.26 | | | | | | | | 1 | | | 1 | |
| I | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| I | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | | | |
| Total | | 16 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 46 | | 1 | 12 | 1 | 12 | 95 | |

2. A bull figurine with high conical hump. Tail and horn broken. Ht. 2.4 inches. Length 4 inches.

ZK. 36 from G-24 Period III.

3. A bull figurine, upper portion, tail, horns and one hind leg partly broken. Gray section suggests ill firing. Ht. 3.8 inches. Length 5 inches.

ZK. 59 from G-24 Period III.

4. A bull figurine, horn, hump and one fore leg broken. One hole in left fore leg and one hole in the rear left leg probably for the string. Ht. 2.9 inches. Length 3.6 inches.

ZK. 33 from G-12B Period III.

5. A figurine representing an indeterminate animal. Tail broken. Its rear portion resembles with wild boar or elephant. Its neck wears mane-like feature. Ht. 1.10 inches. Length 1.11 inches.

ZK. 34 from G-12B Period III.

6. A bull figurine; horn, hump and rear legs broken. Clay used is mixed with husk. Its face moulding triangular. Ht 2 inches. Length 3.2 inches.

ZK. 55 from G-12B Period III.

7. A bull figurine with hump, horn and rear legs broken. Its face moulding is triangular. Ht. 2.5 inches. Length 3.7 inches.

ZK. 42 from G-12B Period III.

8. A bull figurine with prominently high conical hump. Its one horn and one front leg is broken. Clay is mixed with husk. Body in slight elongation resembling the specimen described at S. No. 4 Ht. 2.2 inches. Length 3.9 inches.

ZK. 38 from G-12B Period III.

b. STONE FIGURINE

Plate XIXA

Gray stone or gypsum figurine representing Eye Goddess. Two pierced circular holes indicate eyes. The polished and smoothened front is decorated with five punched holes (not through and through)

in angular formation. It depicts human form in abstract rendering. Ht. 1.11 inches.

ZK. 82 from G-9B Period III.

c. BONE PINS

Plate XIXB

1. Bone pin, round in section globular like raised surface below the broken top. Other end broken. Length 2.1 inches.

ZK. 11/1 from G-6 Period II.

2. Bone pin, oval headed and round in section. Low relief line around below the top. Other end broken. Length 2.1 inches.

ZK. 5 from G-1 Period II.

3. Bone pin, flat circular head and round in section. Prominent globule like raised surface below top. Charred to black colour. Length 1.10 inches. Head dia. 0.10 inch.

ZK. 27 from G-2 Period II.

4. Bone pin, convex head and round in section. Globule like raised surface below top. Charred to black colour. Other end broken. Length 3.3 inches.

ZK. 28 from G-2 Period II.

5. Bone pin, convex head and round in section. Globule like raised surface below top. Other end broken. Length 2.6 inches.

ZK. 22 from G-7 Period II.

6. Bone pin, convex head and round in section. Globule like nominally raised surface below top. Other end broken. Length 1.5 inches.

ZK. 20 from G-18 Period II.

7. Bone pin, convex head and round in section. Nominal globule like raised surface below top. Other end broken. It is slightly curved. Length 2.2 inches.

ZK. 1 from G-2 Period II.

8. Bone pin, oval head and round in section. Below top, globule like surface raised prominently. Other end broken. Length 1.2 inches.

ZK. 81 from G-26 Period II.

9. Bone pin, concoid head and round in section. Globule like raised surface below top. Other end broken. Length 2.2 inches.

ZK. 16 from G-6 Period II.

10 Bone pin, oval head partly broken. Below top, globule like raised surface prominent. Other end broken. Length 2.5 inches.

ZK. 18 from G-6 Period II.

11. Bone pin, oval head and round in section. Globule raising below top. Other end broken. Length 1.1 inches.

ZK. 11/2 from G-6 Period II.

d. STONE BEADS

Plate XXA

1. Eleven stone beads mostly of banded agate and short barrel shaped. Two agate beads, indicated by arrow, are of globule shape. A carnelian bead marked X is short barrel, biconical, with ends truncated.

ZK. 12/1-11 from G-6 Period II.

2. Twenty-two short barrel beads of banded agate. Ends truncated.

ZK. 19/1-22 from G-18 Period II.

3. Two beads on either sides of mark X are of white agate, short barrel biconical, ends truncated. The remaining 4 beads are of banded agate, short barrel shaped and ends truncated.

ZK. 17/1-6 from G-6 Period II.

4. Short convex bicone carnelian bead.

ZK. 30 from G-2 Period II.

5. Truncated long bicone carnelian bead.

ZK. 21 from G-4 Period II.

6. Etched banded agate barrel bead.

ZK. 9/1 from G-2 Period II.

7. Etched banded agate barrel bead.

ZK. 9/2 from G-2 Period II.

e. GOLD OBJECTS**Plate XXB**

1-2. Two gold ear rings made by twisting wire. Dia. 0.7 inch and 0.6 inches.

ZK. 13/1-2 from G-6 Period II.

3-4. Two gold ear rings made by twisting wire. Dia. 0.7 inch and 0.5 inch.

ZK. 7/1-2 from G-1 Period II.

5. One gold ear ring made by twisting wire. Dia. 0.5 inch.

ZK. 14 from G-18 Period II.

6. Nine gold beads made by folding a thin sheet.

ZK. 6/1-9 from G-6 Period II.

7. Six gold beads made by folding a thin sheet.

ZK. 6/1-6 from G-1 Period II.

f. COPPER RING**Plate XXB**

8. One copper ear ring made by twisting thin wire. Dia. 0.6 inch.

ZK. 57 from G-19 Period III.

g. SILVER RING**Plate XXB**

9. One silver ring made in the form of a coil by twisting thin wire. Dia. 0.6 inch.

ZK. 4 from G-2 Period II.

8 CHRONOLOGY

The examination of the archaeological data, the mode of burials and the rituals associated therewith, and above all, the stratigraphical evidence have led us to postulate three periods of cemetery at Zarif Karuna. But before we determine precisely the chronology of each period of the Zarif Karuna cemetery, it seems necessary to summarize the evidence recorded from various cemetery sites in Swat,¹⁰⁹ and Timargarha cemetery in Dir.¹¹⁰ First, we take up the periodization of the Swat cemeteries as postulated by G. Stacul.¹¹¹

Period I

Cremation prevailed over inhumation with copper.

Period II

Inhumation prevailed over cremation with copper.

Period III

Almost absolute prevalence of inhumation over cremation with copper and iron.

These Periods have been elaborated further by explaining funerary rites in vogue in each period.¹¹² It is relevant to mention the Ghaligai excavations where complete cross section of cultural sequence, from Period I (2400-2100 B. C.) to Period VII (ca 500-400 B. C.) has been obtained.¹¹³

It is interesting to note that the massive archaeological data from various cemeteries of Swat, on the basis of the typological comparisons, has been culturally integrated with the Ghaligai sequence from

109. G. Stacul: Preliminary Report on the Pre-Budhist Necropolis in Swat Pakistan. E.W. Vol. 16 (Nos. 1-2) 1966 pp. 37-79. The detailed data on the three cemeteries of Loebanr, Katelal and Butkara II has been presented by C. Silvi and G. Stacul in two volumes (Text and Plates) in the report published under the title "The Proto-historic Graveyards of Swat. ISMEO Rome 1972.

110. A.H. Dani (Ed) Timergarha and Gandhara Grave Culture Ancient Pakistan Vol. III 1967.

111. G. Stacul 1966, op. cit p. 66.

112. G. Stacul 1966, op. cit p. 48, 63.

113. G. Stacul: Excavation near Ghaligai (1968) and chronological sequence of Proto-historical Cultures in the Swat Valley. E.W. Vol. 19 Nos. 1-2 (1969) pp. 44-87.

Period IV¹¹⁴ to Period VII. The cultural Periods IV, V, VI and VII of the Ghaligai sequence are thus very important for making comparative study of the cultural data from the cemeteries at Timargarha and Zarif Karuna. The cultural integration of the data from the Swat cemeteries with the Ghaligai sequence has led G. Stacul to equate Period I of the Swat cemeteries with Period V of the Ghaligai sequence.¹¹⁵ Period II of the Swat cemeteries has been compared with Period VI¹¹⁶ of the Ghaligai sequence; whereas Period III has been co-related with Period VII¹¹⁷ of the Ghaligai sequence. Since the massive evidence gathered from the Swat cemeteries has been successfully integrated into the Ghaligai sequence further comparison of the periods of the Zarif Karuna and Timargarha cemeteries will be made to the Ghaligai sequence.

Next important evidence, in the realm of the protohistoric cemeteries of the north west region of Pakistan, comes from the excavations of the Timargarha cemetery. The periodization for the Timargarha cemetery, as proposed by A. H. Dani, is as under:-¹¹⁸

Period-I : (16th-1300 century B. C.) Complete burial with copper.

Period-II : (12th to 10th century B.C.) Cremation and burial with copper.

Period-III : (9th to the middle of 6th century B.C.) Fractional and multiple fractional burial with copper and iron.

The cultural data summarized above from the cemeteries of Swat and Timargarha enables us to make comparative study of the various

114. G. Stacul E.W. Vol. 19 Nos. 1-2 1969. While describing the prominent characteristics of Ghaligai Period IV, G. Stacul observes that "In Swat itself, there is a phase that is probably contemporary, that of the graveyard of Kherai, in the Gorbani Valley. p-83. This important observation made by G. Stacul makes the Kherai cemetery contemporary with Ghaligai Period IV, which has been typologically co-related with Burzhan Phase II and Tepe Hissar IIB-IIIIB. (E W Vol. 19 Nos. 1-2) p 84. It may be pointed out further from the Kherai cemetery inhumated burials in crouching position have been recorded and designated by G. Stacul as belonging to the earliest period with reference to the Proto-historic graveyards in Swat (E & W Vol. 16 Nos. 3-4) 1966 p. 272.

115. G. Stacul E. W. Vol. 19 Nos. 1-2 (1969) Period V-p. 84.

116. G. Stacul Ibid Period VI-p. 84.

117. G. Stacul Ibid Period VII p. 85.

118. A. H. Dani op. cit pp. 48 and 240.

features of the Zarif Karuna cemetery and to establish typological co-relationship of its data.

It may be stated in the outset, that the cultural material consisting of pottery vessels, objects of personal use and cult objects come, both from the stratified digging in Area A and salvage operation in Area B. The cultural material recovered from the salvaged graves, has been typologically fitted into the evidence obtained from the stratified digging in area "A". Thus, on the basis of the clear stratigraphical distinction (Fig 2 and 3), it was possible to postulate three different periods of the cemetery. Further confirmation of the stratigraphical differentiation between our three periods, was strengthened by the marked difference in the mode of burials in each period. The statistical analysis of pottery and minor objects (Table 1 and 2) and frequency of their occurrence supported the stratigraphical distinction of three periods of the Zarif Karuna cemetery. The important features of each period are as under :-

Period-I

Inhumated burials of single individual in inflexed position with the accompanied grave furniture characterised by red ware pedestalled goblets (Pottery Type I), double chamber graves in dry stone masonry. The presence of metal was not noticed.

Period II

Urn burials containing cremated bones interred in the graves of circular pit. The grave furniture comprise Pottery Types I to XVI including their sub-types. The burial urns also contained objects of personal use such as beads and ear-rings of gold, silver ear-ring, stone beads and bone pins. We find frequent use of gold in this period.

Period-III

This period is characterized by the ritual of fractional or multiple fractional burials. The method of grave construction is the same, as we find in Period I. Out of 17 Pottery Types and their sub-types only Pottery Type I, and sub-types IB, IIA and IIIB occurred in Period III. The pottery is less frequent in this period. (Table I), this

period presents unique evidence of alabaster figurine of Eye Goddess (Fig. 10 No. 7 and Plate XIXA), terracotta bull figurines (Plate XVIIB, Plate XVIIIA) and terracotta female figurine (Fig. 10 Nos. 1,2,3 and Plate XVIIA) with its fan shipped head-dress, very much akin to the Mother Goddess of the Indus Valley Civilization. At the present state of our knowledge, it is difficult to understand fully the significance of these cult objects. It may, however, be emphasized that the cult of Eye Goddess,¹¹⁹ Bull¹²⁰ and Mother Goddess¹²¹ were widely known to the Ancient world. Besides the cult object enumerated above, a solitary copper ring has also been recorded (Table 2) as an item of grave furniture from this Period.

These are in brief, the characteristic features of each of the three periods of the cemetery at Zarif Karuna. In the light of the above data, we shall make comparative study of the different periods and determine a chronological sequence.

Zarif Karuna Cemetery Period I :

Not much of archaeological data come from Period I of the cemetery. In ceramics, only Pottery Type I occurs with no other items of grave furniture. But, comparable evidence in the form of pottery,

119. The alabaster stone figurine from Period III at Zarif Karuna very much resembles with the representation of Eye Goddess from the Mesopotamian sites of Brak and Chagar Bazar, Iraq Vol. IX, 1947, Excavations at Brak and Chagar Bazar, M.E.L. Mallowan pp. 150 to 159, 198 to 211) prof. Mallowan describes six different types of the Eye Idol recorded from the above sites highlighting the sacred importance of each type. These representations of Eye Goddess, which were found on the podium of and Eye Goddess Temple, was a widely distributed phenomenon, and its occurrence has been traced by Prof. Mallowan at Cwara, Ur, Uruk, Kish, Lagash, Asmar and Khafjah. The Mesopotamian specimens of the Eye Goddess representation were primarily made in white and black alabaster, Shale, lime stone and terracotta. But its clay representations have also been recorded from Tell Bakum. The specimens from Chagar Bazar have been assigned the date of early phase of Jamdt Nasr, which comes about third millennium B.C. For further details on the cult of Eye goddess, See O.G.S. Crawford's Book on Eye Goddess.
120. (i) The cult of Bull was a widely distributed phenomenon. It was a sacred manifestation of power, strength and vitality for the ancient Babylonian. Different aspects of this cult have been comprehensively discussed by Leonard Cottel in his book, 'The Bull of Minos' and by Sir John Marshall in his monumental book on Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization Vol. I.
(ii) In late chronological context, it has been reported from Sarai Khola Period IV M. A. Halim (Pakistan Archaeology No. 7).
(iii) J. Maringer, The Gods of Pre-historic Man, translated from German by Mary Ilford pp. 148-150.
121. Like the cult of Bull and Eye Goddess, nevertheless, widely venerated and revered, was the cult of Mother Goddess, a symbol of fertility and sacred object of worship.
(i) E. O. James, The cult of Mother Goddess.
(ii) Sir John Marshall dwells at length on the subject of Mother Goddess. Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization p. 108.

common mode of burial and method of grave construction, have been recorded from the cemeteries at Timergarha, Loebanr, Katelai and Butkara II¹²². The rectangular grave for the inhumated burial of Timergarha, described as consisting of upper pit and the main chamber in north-west, south-east orientation, is similar to the graves of the Period I at Zarif Karuna. The same type of the grave in the cemeteries at Loebanr, Katelai and Butkara II containing inflexed burials have been described by G. Stacul¹²³ as the graves with upper cavity and lower cavity. In most of the cases, these rectangular graves were completed in dry stone masonry, but instances have also come to the notice, when vertically positioned stone slabs were also used for the construction of such graves.

Common mode of inflexed burials with identical method of grave construction, are important analogous features of Period I in the cemeteries at Timergarha and Zarif Karuna. But, it is interesting to note, that in the Swat cemeteries of Katelai, Loebanr and Butkara II, G. Stacul has, besides the inflexed burials, also recorded urn burials, containing cremated bones¹²⁴ in Period I of cemeteries (Period V of the Ghaligai sequence). This is an important evidence from the Swat cemeteries, because two different rituals have been found occurring in this Period. Here, it may be pointed out that no such combination of two different burial rituals, has been recorded from the Timergarha¹²⁵ or Zarif Karuna cemetery. On the basis of stratigraphy, at Timergarha cemetery, the graves with inflexed burials have been placed in the chronological sequence earlier than the graves containing cremated bones¹²⁶. It is in this context that the observation of Dr. Dani is very relevant, when he says that the fundamental change is seen in the rituals. It is possible that the people who practised inflexed burial in Period I began to adopt cremation in Period II¹²⁷. The chronological differentiation made by Dr. Dani by placing inhumation burials earlier than the crema-

122. A. H. Dani (Ed) F. A. Durrani *op. cit* pp. 32 and 65.

123. G. Stacul : Preliminary report on the Pre-Buddhist Necropolis in Swat (West Pakistan) *E W* Vol. 16 Nos. 1-2 1966 pp. 47-48.

124. G. Stacul, *Ibid* p. 48.

125. A. H. Dani *op. cit* p. 65.

126. A. H. Dani *op. cit* p. 65.

127. A. H. Dani *op. cit* p. 42.

tion burial, is fully substantiated by the stratigraphical evidence from the Zarif Karuna cemetery (see Fig. 2 and 3). Grave No. 30, which belongs to Period I of the Zarif Karuna cemetery, was found disturbed by the grave No. 26 of Period II, and grave No. 24 of Period III thereby presenting an irrefutable stratigraphical evidence, placing inhumation burial, chronologically earlier than the cremation burial. On the basis of the evidence recorded from the Kherai cemetery with inhumated burial, G. Stacul, places it as contemporary with Period IV and further observes that the Kherai cemetery belongs to the earliest period of the proto-historic cemeteries in the north west regions of Pakistan.

The analysis of the ceramic assemblage and minor objects (Table 1 and 2) confirms the cultural differentiation between Period I and II made on the basis of the stratigraphy. What clearly emerges, is the occurrence of Pottery Type I only in Period I. This paucity of ceramic is fully confirmed by the total absence of non-ceramic items of grave furniture. If for argument sake, it may be conceded that scanty occurrence of pottery as grave furniture and total absence of other items is due to the limited number of graves examined, (G. 30 and G. 6B), then how about the position of ceramic in Period III in which as many as 20 graves were examined, but the occurrence of pottery was restricted to Type I, sub-type IB, IIA and IIIB. This clear picture provided by the statistical analysis of the archaeological data chronologically separates Period I of the Zarif Karuna Cemetery from its Period II. Inhumation with inflexed burials, as chronologically earlier than the cremation has already been established in the Timergarha cemetery.

The Zarif Karuna cemetery, Period I, does not provide any evidence of the simultaneous occurrence of the ritual of inhumation and cremation; the combination of the two rituals as reported by G. Stacul¹²⁸. Our pottery types I and IA are in very close resemblance to the vases documented at Dashli,¹²⁹ in association with the inflexed

128. G. Stacul *E W Vol. 16 Nos. (1-2) p. 63.*

129. V. Sarianldy : *North Afghanistan in the Bronze Period*, published in the historical *Cultural Quarterly Afghanistan Vol. XXIV Nos. 2 and 3, 1971, pp. 26-38.*

The writer is indebted to Dr. Mohammad Rafique Mughal for making available the above reference.

burials¹³⁰ with heads mainly oriented to the north. The analogous ceramic evidence of the vases on pedestal from Dashli (Fig. 8, 9 and 10) have been compared by Sarianidy with pedestalled vases of Swat. The inflexed burials of Dashli have been compared with the Swat Proto-historic Period V, and the early burials (Period I) of Timergarha.¹³¹ Close similarity of Zarif Karuna Pottery Type I with the Dashli pedestal vases (Fig. 10 p. 8), common inflexed mode of burials, comparable with Period I of the Timergarha cemetery corresponding to Period V at Swat, places Zarif Karuna cemetery slightly earlier than the last quarter of the second millennium B.C. C-14 dating for the Timergarha cemetery¹³² for the lower burials (Period I) give 15th-14th century B.C. and for the upper burials (Period III) 8th-9th century B.C. Thus Period I of the Zarif Karuna cemetery is assignable to cir 13th century B.C.

Zarif Karuna Cemetery Period II

The Zarif Karuna cemetery Period II does not only mark a significant change in the burial ritual from inhumation to the cremation, but we find a considerable increase in the quantum of grave furniture. A wide variety of form and shape in ceramic data combined with sudden increase in the objects of personal use, are the characteristic features of Period II. All pottery types and sub-types occur in Period II alongwith the introduction of grey wares, represented by pottery types IX with its sub-type IXA, X and XI (Table 1). The occurrence of grey wares alongwith all the pottery types and sub-types of red ware, is a significant feature of Period II, which points to the introduction of new ceramic traditions. It is significant to note that in total 16 Types and their 9 sub-types, 14 pottery types and sub-types are with disc base (Fig. 4 to Fig. 9 Nos. 4,5,11, 12,14,16,17,18,19,20 21,22,23 and 25). Another important feature which emerges in the Zarif Karuna pottery assemblage is, that all the grey ware pottery types and sub-types are invariably with disc base (Fig. 7 No. 17,18,19 and 20). Element of disc base, observed both in the red and grey ware pottery

130. Ibid p. 31.

131. Ibid pp. 36-38.

132. A. H. Dani op. cit p. 37.

occurring in Period II at Zarif Karuna, is an important feature in view of the observations made by Dr. Dani, who separates the Timergarha cemetery from Charsada¹³³ due apart from many other distinguishing features, to the absence of grey ware from the latter. But the suggestions made by G. Stacul,¹³⁴ on the occurrence of grey and red ware with disc base, are very relevant in relation to the evidence recorded from the Zarif Karuna cemetery. He points out that the disc or button base is a specifically distinctive element in the red and grey production of cultural Period V in Swat Valley; it is not to be found in the earlier phase (Period IV) or in the following ones (Period VI and VII), which are marked by vases with flat or very slightly raised bases. It is significant to note in this context, that grey ware vases with disc or button base are characteristic of a period that definitely includes the last quarter of the 2nd millennium B.C. documented at Timergarha and Dir.¹³⁵ Their presence is further documented in the north western Iran in the characteristic production of the 5th phase of Hassanlu (Iron Age Period I) ca/- 1300/1250-1000 B.C.¹³⁶ It may be emphasized that the disc base grey ware vases (Fig. 7 No. 17 and 18) from the Zarif Karuna cemetery Period II, are typologically comparable with the analogous specimens from Swat¹³⁷ (Fig. 10 and 11) of Period V assignable to Iron Age I, thereby providing a chronological bracket of 12th-11th centuries B.C. to Period II of the Zarif Karuna cemetery. Biconical grey ware vases characteristic of cultural period VII at Swat¹³⁸ and Period III at Timergarha¹³⁹, in certain cases decorated with the incised triangles with white fillings have not been recorded from Zarif Karuna Period II. However, without making any basis for

133. A. H. Dani op. cit. It should be noted that grey ware continued in all the periods of the graves and is the hall mark of the grave pottery. Their absence from Charsada places the graves apart from the latter both in culture as well as in time. p. 40

It may be pointed out here that the evidence from Zarif Karuna is different to what has been stated above. The grey ware pottery group represented by Types/Sub Types IX, IXA, X and XI, is confined to Period II only with the ritual of cremation (Table 1).

134. G. Stacul: The Grey Ware Pottery in the Swat Valley and the Indo-Iranian Connections (ca 1500 B. C. to 300 B. C.) E W Vol. 20 Nos. 1-2 1970 pp. 92-102). He traces distribution of grey ware association as fitted into the Ghaligai sequence from Period IV to VII p. 93.

135. G. Stacul *ibid* p. 97.

136. R. H. Dyson: Problems of Proto-historic Iran as seen from Hassanlu, JNES, 1965, pp. 195-197.

137. G. Stacul E W Vol. 20 Nos. 1-2 1970. (Fig. 10 and 11)

138. *Ibid* (Fig. 2 g and 24.)

139. A. H. Dani op. cit Fig. 32 No. 3.

the chronological reference, an interesting similarity of form and general features, has been noted in grey ware vase¹⁴⁰ of Swat cultural Period IV Fig. 10f and Zarif Karuna pottery type IXA Fig. 7 No. 18. Carination is also a common element in both the specimens.

Biconical grey ware vases referred to above having incised triangle with white filling have been placed by G. Stacul in the cultural Period VII at Swat, with its comparable specimens from Timergarha and Agrab Tepe¹⁴¹ chronologically equating them with Phase IIIA at Hassanlu.

The pottery assemblage from Period II of the Zarif Karuna cemetery include pedestalled goblets, bowls on stand, and pedestalled cups (Fig. 4 Type I, IA, IB and II, Fig. 5 Type III, IIIA, IIIB and IIIC). It may be pointed out that all the pedestalled vessels and bowls on stand, belong to red ware group, and not a single specimen comes from the grey ware group. Bowls on stand from the Timergarha¹⁴² cemetery have been compared with the corresponding specimens from Hissar IIB. But remarkable typological parallels have been brought out by C Silvi, regarding the distribution of the pottery vessels with long stand and pedestalled base from Iran and Central Asia.¹⁴³ She refers to the area of Yahirbaj¹⁴⁴ and compares a red cup on a long stem with corrugated decoration on body of the stem with its Iranian connection from Tepe Hissar¹⁴⁵ IIB, from which the idea of high or low stem came to this region. Here it may be noted that we also find the corrugated decoration in our Pottery Type III (Fig. 5 No. 6 and 8). The exterior of the bowls and the body of the stem is decorated with corrugation.

140. G. Stacul. E W. Vol. 19 Nos. 1-2 1969. Excavations near Ghaligai (1968) and chronological sequence of Prothistorical Cultures in the Swat Valley. pp. 44-87.

141. G. Stacul: E & W Vol. 20 p. 100.

142. A. H. Dani, op. cit p. 43.

143. Chiara Silvi Antonini: Swat and Central Asia E W Vol. 19 Nos. 1-2, 1969. pp. 100-115.

144. Ibid p 102. Compare Zarif Karuna pottery Type III with Fig. 2 b - a bowl on stand from Tahirbaj 3.

The site of Tahirbaj is located in the Soviet Republics of Central Asia, north of the present delta of the Murgab River. The total life period for Tahirbaj 3 has been calculated about 200 to 250 years 1300-1000 B.C. or 1400-1100 B.C. with the graves containing inflexed burials as belonging to the oldest phase of the site.

145. C. S. Antonini Ibid.

This contention of the Iranian link is essentially based on the existing analogies between the high and low stemmed chalices from Swat and Tepe Hissar which are typologically similar p. 105.

In the ceramic data from the Zarif Karuna cemetery, Pottery Type VII, narrow neck globular vessel of surahi shape (Fig. 6 No. 14) has been reported from Chitral¹⁴⁶ in association with the inflexed burials and from Swat¹⁴⁷ with cremation. However, from the Timergarha cemetery¹⁴⁸, these vessels have been recorded from Period III with the ritual of the fractional burials. Dr. Dani has illustrated some of the analogous specimens from Hissar IIIA, IIIB and IIIC.¹⁴⁹

Pottery Type XII, Fig. 7 No. 21, sub-type XIIA and XIII Fig. 8 No. 22 and 23 are very important, because their occurrence in the Zarif Karuna cemetery is exclusively associated with the ritual of cremation in Period II. Characteristically, these types and sub-types represent pitcher shaped jars with stylized depiction of human face, indicated by three holes in triangular formation. Such jars were used for housing cremated bones to be interred in the grave. Presence of these visage urns has been documented in the cemeteries in Swat¹⁵⁰ and Timergarha¹⁵¹ with common feature of their occurrence with the cremation burial. Their exclusive association with the rite of cremation seem to suggest a special role connected with the cremation ceremonies.

Apart from their occurrence in the proto-historic cemeteries located in the north west regions of Pakistan, these jars with anthropomorphic representation are widely distributed phenomena in the cemeteries at southern Anatolia and Middle Danubian Basin¹⁵². But it is significant to note that in the areas of Balkan and the Middle

146. G. Stacul: *Discovery of proto-historic cemeteries in the Chitral Valley (West Pakistan)* E W Vol: 19 Nos. 1-2 1969 p. 98.

147. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul: *The Proto-historic Graveyards of Swat (Pakistan), Part I Text.* The Zarif Karuna pottery type VII the globular pot (Surahi shaped) with narrow vertical neck, body red slipped have been recovered from grave No. 14 and 19 (Loebanr)¹ and grave No. 1 and 38 from Butkara II in association with the ritual of cremation. From the Zarif Karuna cemetery also, it comes with cremation, the burial ritual practised in Period II.

148. A. H. Dani op. cit. p. 123. Characteristically, Dr. Dani signifies this vessel as a new introduction along with iron by the people who were fully conversant with the iron technology and practised the ritual of the fractional burial. But evidence from the Zarif Karuna Cemetery points to its occurrence with cremation and the presence of iron also could not be ascertained. Since this vessel has been documented with the inflexed, cremation and fractional burials (See foot note 147), its occurrence cannot be confined to a particular ritual burial.

149. A. H. Dani op. cit. Fig 61 Hissar 3525, 2164, 3987.

150. G. Stacul E W Vol. 16 Nos. 1-2 1966 p 65.

151. A. H. Dani op. cit. p. 27.

152. G. Stacul: *Cremation graves in North West Pakistan and their Eurasian Connections: Remarks and Hypotheses.* E W Vol. 21 Nos. 1-2, 1971.

It is significant that anthropomorphically inspired face urns containing cremation remains have been found in the Middle Danubian Basin datable to about 2000 B.C.

Danube, the use of anthropomorphic jars, traditionally goes back to the late Neolithic period, when the use of this type of container was not related to the burial rite¹⁵³.

From the above details on the occurrence of the cinerary jars in the cemeteries in north west regions of Pakistan and outside, it can be inferred that the practice of cremation for the disposal of the dead is very old. But in Pakistan the area under study seems to have come into contact with the rite of cremation¹⁵⁴, towards the closing centuries of the second millennium B.C. i.e. 12th-11th century B.C. It may be remarked that G. Stacul, while pointing out common elements of the rite of cremation, and occurrence of the cinerary jars in the early and middle Bronze Age in the Middle Danube, postulates 14th century B.C. as contact period¹⁵⁵.

Statistical analysis of the ceramics and minor objects provides a clear picture of the Zarif Karuna Period I and II as belonging to people, culturally different from each other. Marked contrast in the mode of burials, method of grave construction, considerable increase in the items of grave furniture and sudden introduction of new varieties of pottery types in Period II, clearly demonstrate that Period II is culturally a different phenomenon from Period I. Stratigraphical distinction is also very clear to indicate that the graves of Period I were disturbed by the graves of Period II (Fig. 2 and 3) In the face of all these features, urn burials containing cremated remains, have been chronologically placed subsequent to the inhumated inflexed burials of Period I. The typological comparisons of the ceramic data with the analogous specimens from Swat, greatly help in determining the chronological sequence from Period II. It has already been established on the basis of the rite of cremation and the occurrence of the visage urns, that our Period II fits in the chronological sequence of 12th-11th centuries B.C. Of the representative pottery vessel illustrations given by Stacul representing Period VII Ghaligai sequence only, one specimen of bowl on long stand is comparable with our type III (Fig. 5 No. 6-7). In pottery types representing

153. Ibid p. 12. For further details see G. Stacul's Article in E W Vol. 21 Nos. 1-2.

154. Ibid. p. 18.

155. Ibid. p. 18.

Period VI Ghaligai sequence, the elements of pedestal base and long stem are the common features, which we observe in one pottery type III and sub-types IIIA, IIIB and IIIC (Fig. 5 Nos. 6,7,8 and 9). But other features characterized by the vessel form and decoration, do not admit typological comparison. However, pottery specimens of Period V Ghalighai sequence make typological comparison possible with certain types of the Zarif Karuna pottery. The specimen illustrated against Period V is similar to our type VIIIA (Fig. 6 No. 16), whereas identical typological features including the incised decoration are observable in the vase below row first from left against Period V and our pottery type IX Fig. 7 No. 17. Again fourth specimen globular shape with high neck, is comparable specimen with our pottery type VII (Fig. 6 No. 14).

These typological comparison of the ceramic data between Period II of the Zarif Karuna cemetery and Period V at Swat combined with the evidence of the statistical analysis of the minor objects and definite stratigraphical distinction provides a chronological and sequence contemporary with the 12th-11th century phase of Period V of the proto-historic cultures of Swat.

In view of the evidence highlighted in the foregoing discussions, Period II of the Zarif Karuna cemetery is datable to 12-11 centuries B.C. contemporaneous with Period II of the Timergarha cemetery.

Zarif Karuna Cemetery Period III.

It is characterized by the ritual of fractional or multiple fractional burials with significant decline in the accompanied grave furniture. The ceramic data as compared to Period II is in negligible quantity. From the 16 main pottery type and 9 sub-types only pottery types I, sub-type IB, sub-type IIA and sub-type IIIB occur in Period III (Table 1 and Fig. 4 Nos. 1,3,4 and Fig 5 No. 9). Amongst the personal objects, Period III has yielded only one ear-ring of copper from Grave 19 (Table 2). It is, however, significant to note that Period III, which is very poorly represented in case of ceramic data and objects of personal nature, is very rich so far as objects of ritual importance are concerned. In fact, all the objects of ritual significance represented by the terracotta bull figurines (Plate XVIIIB and

Plate XVIII A), one terracotta female figurine of Mother Goddess (Plate XVII A) and one grey alabaster figurine of Eye Goddess (Plate XIX A) exclusively associated with the fractional burials of the Zarif Karuna cemetery. This profuse presence of cult objects, in the grave furniture associated with the mode of fractional burial is of great significance especially, when we observe that Period I and II are totally devoid of them.

Ceramic evidence characterized by the pottery type I, sub-types IB, IIA and IIIB are typologically comparable with the certain pottery types illustrated from the Ghaligai Sequence Period VI. Our pottery type I (Fig. 4 No. 1), which occurs in all the three periods of Zarif Karuna, is comparable with the pedestalled goblets of Period VI Ghaligai Sequence. But it may be emphasized that the Zarif Karuna Pottery types and sub-types (Table 1, Fig. 4 No. 1,3,5 and Fig. 5 and 9) do not possess common element for typological comparison with Ghaligai Period VII pottery specimens. Hence it seems more appropriate to correlate the Zarif Karuna cemetery Period III with 1000-900 B.C. phase of Period VI of the Ghaligai sequence.

Lack of ceramic data from Period III is fully explained by the near absence of the objects of personal use in the grave furniture. However, the cult objects are the main characteristics of the grave furnishings of Period III. It is significant to observe that the Eye Goddess and bull figures have not been reported from any of the proto-historic cemeteries probed so far in the north west regions of Pakistan. One terracotta figurine of a humped bull has been reported from Balambat Period III¹⁵⁶.

But presence of terracotta human figurine, from the fractional grave 183 of Period III of Timergarha cemetery,¹⁵⁷ is an important feature. This confirms the validity of correspondence of the Zarif Karuna cemetery Period III with the Timergarha cemetery Period III. But here, it may be noted that the anthropomorphic figurines from the Swat cemeteries have been recorded in association with the single inhu-

156. (Ed) A. H. Dani op. cit. A. Rahman p. 276.

157. Ibid. p. 277.

mation double inhumation, cremation burial with no traces of bone and burial described as not ascertainable.¹⁵⁸ But the confirmatory evidence of occurrence of the anthropomorphic figurines from the cemeteries at Timergarha and Zarif Karuna, signifies their sanctimonious importance¹⁵⁹ or some object of reverence with the peoples who practised the mode of fractional burials.

Continuity of some of the pottery types and sub-types from Period II to Period III suggests that Period III at Zarif Karuna immediately followed Period II. But the presence of cult objects associated with the fractional burial of Period III, not documented in Period II and I, reflect a definite change, fully supported by the stratigraphical evidence (Fig. 2). Probably, there was not much gap between Period II and Period III which marks the advent of the new settlers in the area who brought about a definite change in the mode of burial from the cremation to the fractional burials.

At the present stage of our knowledge, it is not possible to assert that the people of Period III are associated with iron because no iron object was found. Nor possibly, the settlers of Period III can be termed as invaders because the grave furnishings of Period III do not include any weapon whatsoever to establish that any element of violence was involved during the process of change from Period II to III.

The remarks that no iron object was found from any period of the Zarif Karuna cemetery do not imply complete absence of iron in this period. In the face of the definite evidence of the occurrence of iron in the Swat and Timergarha cemeteries, the position at the Zarif

158. It is rather curious to note that whereas, the occurrence of human figurines have been recorded on both the Timergarha and Zarif Karuna cemeteries in association with the fractional burials, G. Stacul reports the occurrence of the anthropomorphic figurines with the mode of burials as detailed below :-

Loebanr Cemetery :-

- (i) Plate LI a, b from Grave No. 135 ; double inhumation.
- (ii) Plate LI c : Single inhumation from grave No. 97.
- (iii) Plate LI d : Burial with no traces of bone from grave No. 66.
- (iv) Plate XLVIII a, b, c, d : Burial not ascertainable from grave No. 36.

Katela Cemetery :-

- (i) Plate L a, b : Inhumation burial from grave No. 207.
- (ii) Plate L c, d : Cremation burial from grave No. 168.

The Proto historic Graveyards of Swat Pakistan (See Vol. on Plates for the plates referred to above and Vol. on text for the description of the graves.

159. A. H. Dani op cit pp. 27, Dani attaches totemic significance to these figurines and the cinerary jaro used for housing the bones after cremation.

Karuna cemetery is that probably iron was not found because of the restricted nature of the work carried out. Since iron has been recorded with the fractional burial of Period III of the Timergarha cemetery,¹⁶⁰ comparable with the fractional burial of Period III at the Zarif Karuna cemetery, it is reasonable to equate our Period III with Period III at Timergarha. Then again, Period III at Zarif Karuna is an immediate subsequent phenomenon to Period II its chronological bracket is earlier than Period III of the Timergarha cemetery¹⁶¹ i.e. (C. 10-9th century B.C.)

In the light of the details discussed in the foregoing, it may be summed up that Period III at Zarif Karuna immediately followed Period II, marked by the definite change in the ritual of burial with the occurrence of the cult objects. Since Period III was an immediate subsequent phenomenon, clearly differentiated by the stratigraphical evidence, it is appropriate to place the Zarif Karuna Period III in the chronological sequence of 10th-9th centuries B.C.

9. BURIAL RITUALS AND CULT OBJECTS

The investigations at Zarif Karuna, have revealed the presence of three burial rituals during its three different periods. Period I, the earliest period of the cemetery is represented by the inhumation burial of a single individual in inflexed or crouching position. There is no evidence to suggest that during this Period more than one ritual burials were practised.

That the inhumation burials are chronologically earlier than the cremation and the fractional burial has been fully established at the Timergarha cemetery¹⁶². But evidence from the cemeteries at Swat points to the simultaneous observance of the cremation and inhumation¹⁶³. This is in sharp contrast to burial rituals in the cemeteries at

160. A. H. Dani op. cit pp. 47 & 123. Dani assigns the introduction of iron to the people who observed the ritual of fractional burial.

161. A. H. Dani op. cit p. 41. It has been suggested that the people of Iron age (fractional burials) destroyed the earlier graves who had scant regard for the earlier people and possibly were invaders.

162. A. H. Dani op. cit p. 240.

163. G. Stacul: Preliminary report.....Pre-Buddhist Necropolis Swat E W Vol. 16 Nos. 1-2 1966 pp. 66.



A. Zarif Karuna. Area 'A' on the bank of hill torrent.



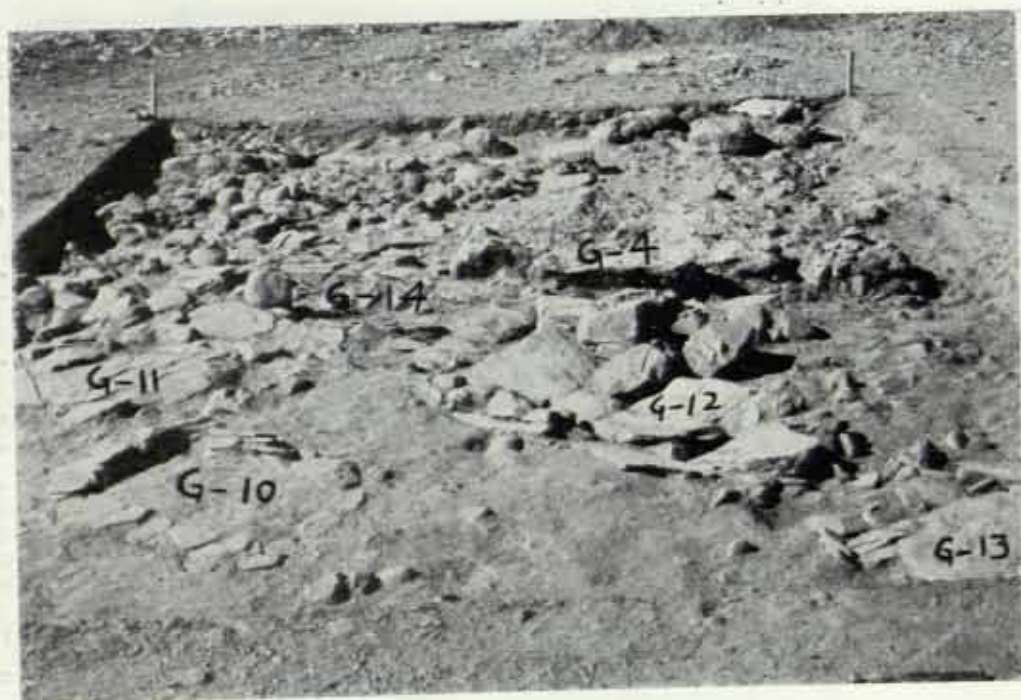
B. Zarif Karuna. Graves exposed by the erosion in the Area 'A'.



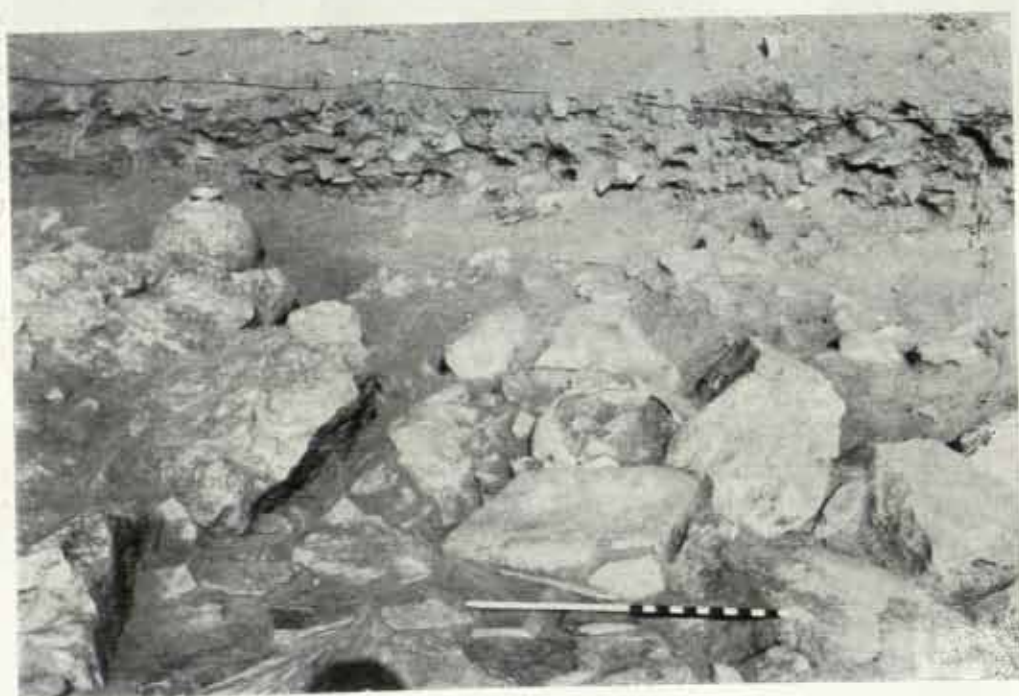
A. Zarif Karuna. Graves exposed by the erosion in Area 'A'.



B. Zarif Karuna. Trench lay-out in Area 'A'.



A. Zarif Karuna. Sealings and graves of Period II and III.



B. Zarif Karuna. Graves of Period II.



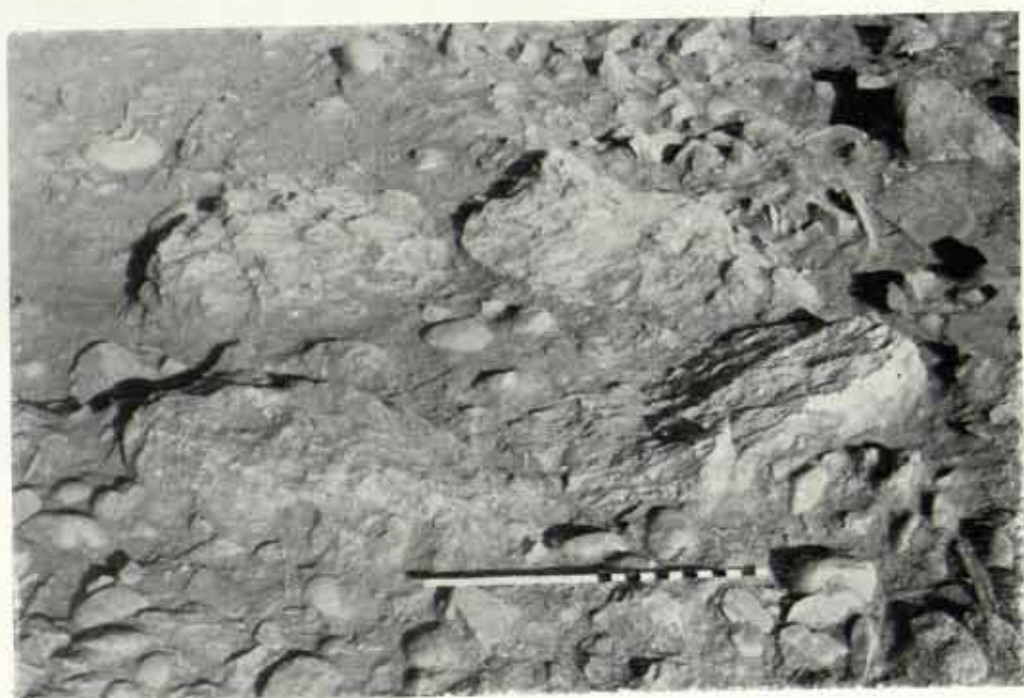
B. Zarif Karuna, Inflexed Burial in G-30 of Period I.



A. Zarif Karuna. Sealings of G-30 of Period I.



A. Zarif Karuna. Inflexed burial in G-6B of Period I.



B. Zarif Karuna. Circular stone lined Grave - 4 of Period II.



A. Zarif Karuna. Sealing of Grave - 14 of Period III.



B. Zarif Karuna. Sealings of Grave-12 and 13 of Period III.



C. Zarif Karuna. Urn in Grave-18 of Period II.



D. Zarif Karuna. Burial urn and grave furniture in Grave-26 of Period II.



A. Zarif Karuna. Burial urn in Grave-31 of Period II.



B. Zarif Karuna. Burial urn in Grave-1B of Period II.



C. Zarif Karuna. Fractional Burial in Grave-16 of Period III.



D. Zarif Karuna. Grave-17 of Period III.

Plate VIII



A. Zarif Karuna. Fractional Burial in disturbed Grave-19 of Period III.



B. Zarif Karuna. Partly excavated Grave-20 of Period III in the western section of the trench.



C. Zarif Karuna. A child skull in Grave-20 of Period III.



D. Zarif Karuna. Double fractional Burial in Grave-23 of Period III.



A. Zarif Karuna. Fractional Burial with three terracotta bull figurines in Grave - 24 of Period III.



B. Zarif Karuna. Fractional bones in Grave-25 of Period III.



C. Zarif Karuna. Fractional bones in Grave-27 of Period III.



A. Zarif Karuna. Two fractional burials in Grave-3B of Period III.



B. Zarif Karuna. A skull in disturbed Grave-4B of Period III.



C. Zarif Karuna. Sealings of Grave-7B of Period III.



D. Zarif Karuna. Sealings of Grave-8B of Period III.



A. Zarif Karuna. Two fractional burials one with terracotta female figurine and other with an Eye Goddess figurine (not in the picture) in G-9B of Period III.

B. Zarif Karuna. Double fractional burial with 11 terracotta animal figurines (8 bulls and 1 wild boar) in G-12B of Period III.





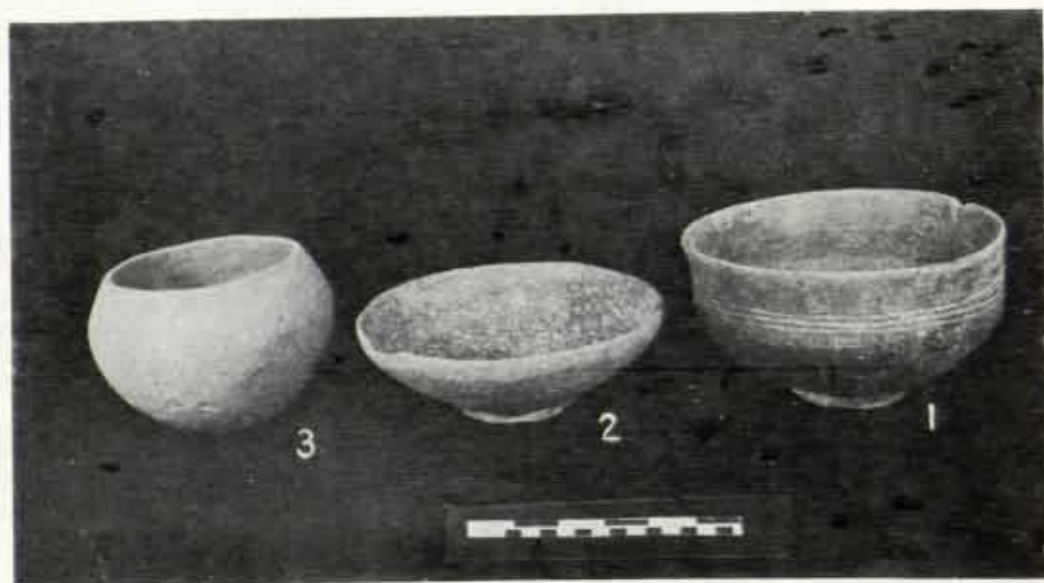
A. Zarif Karuna, Pottery types 1 & 2-I, 3-IA, 6-IB, 4-II and 5-IIA.



B. Zarif Karuna. Main pottery types III and its sub-types IIIA & IIIB.



A. Zarif Karuna. Pottery sub-type IIIC.



B. Zarif Karuna. Pottery types IV, V & VI.



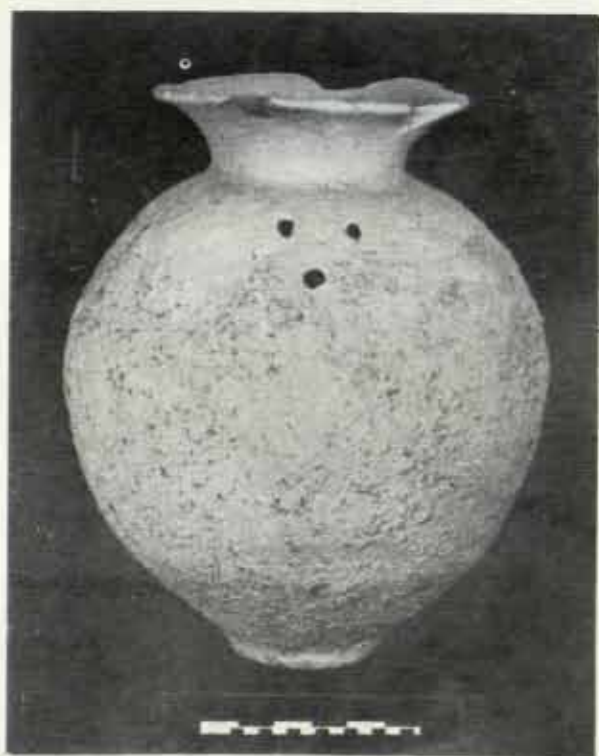
A. Zarif Karuna. Pottery types VII, VIII & VIIIA.



B. Zarif Karuna. Pottery types IX, IXA, X and XI.



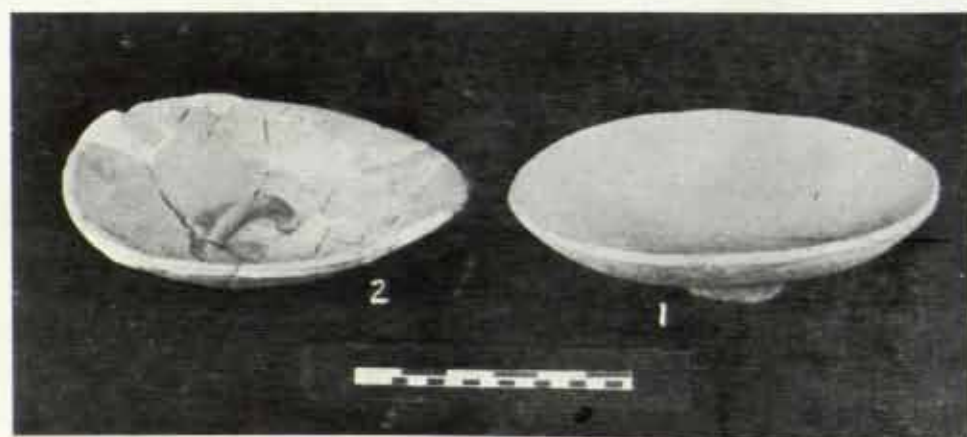
A. Zarif Karuna. Burial Urn pottery type XII.



B. Zarif Karuna. Burial Urn pottery type XII A.



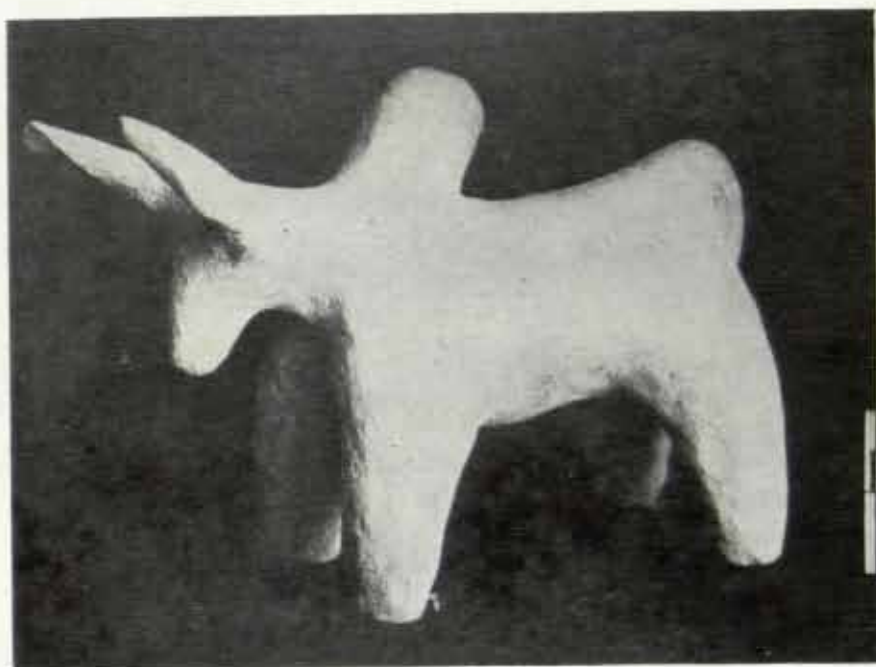
A. Zarif Karuna. Burial Urns-pottery type XIII and XIV.



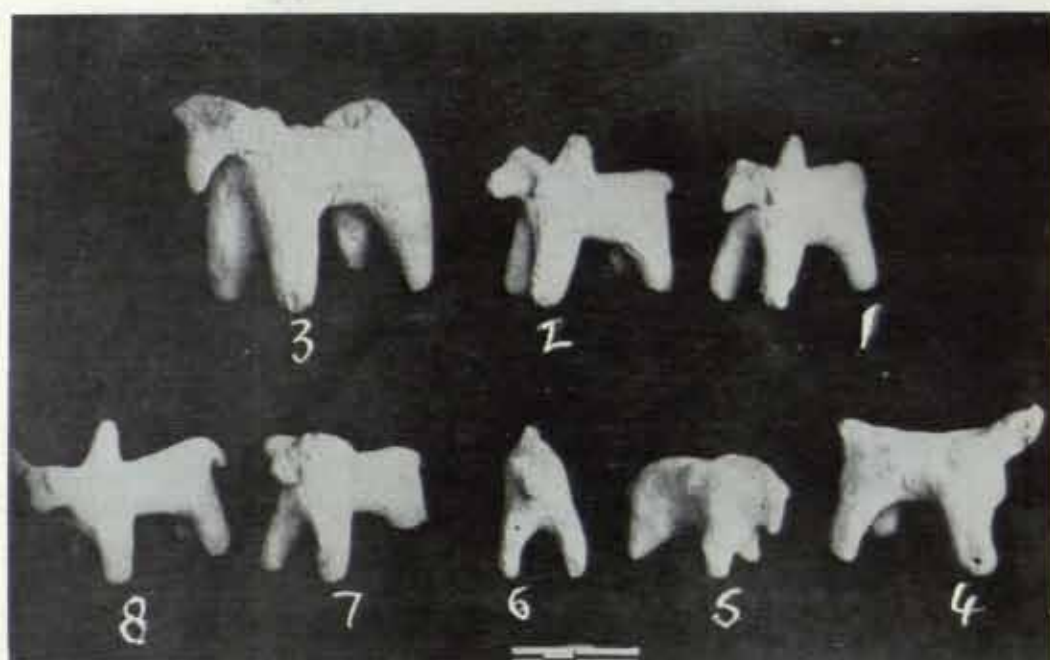
B. Zarif Karuna. Lids pottery types XV and XVI.



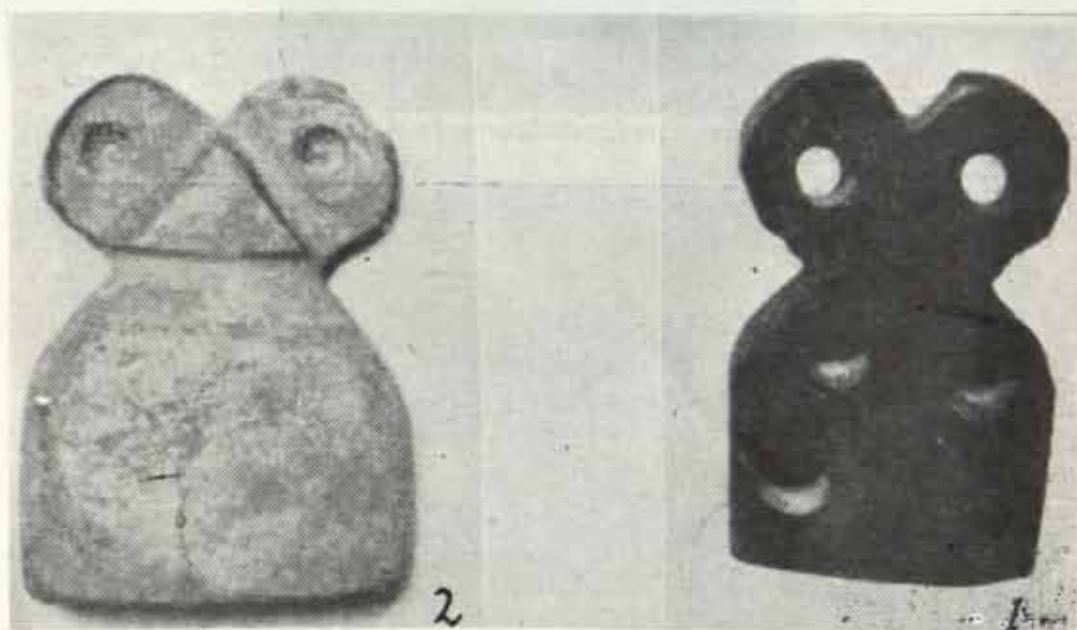
A. Zarif Karuna. Terracotta female figurine (mother goddess). Period III.



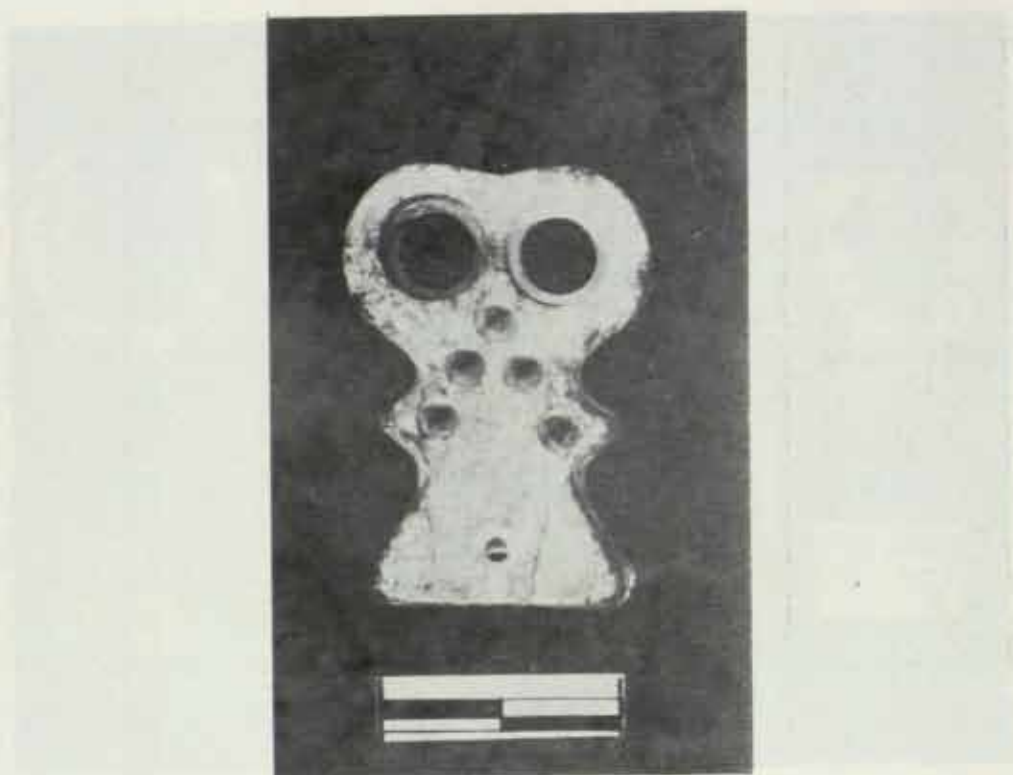
B. Zarif Karuna. Terracotta bull. Period III.



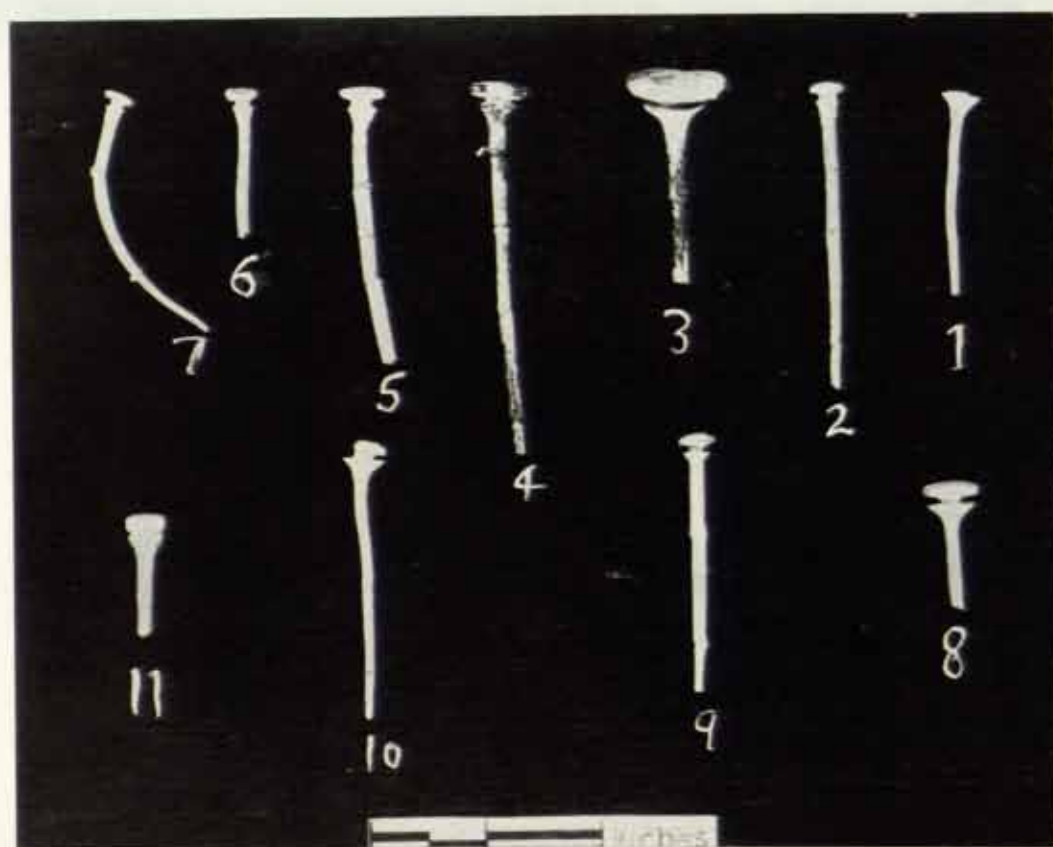
A. Zarif Karuna. 1-4 and 6-8 terracotta bulls and 5 wild boar, Period III.



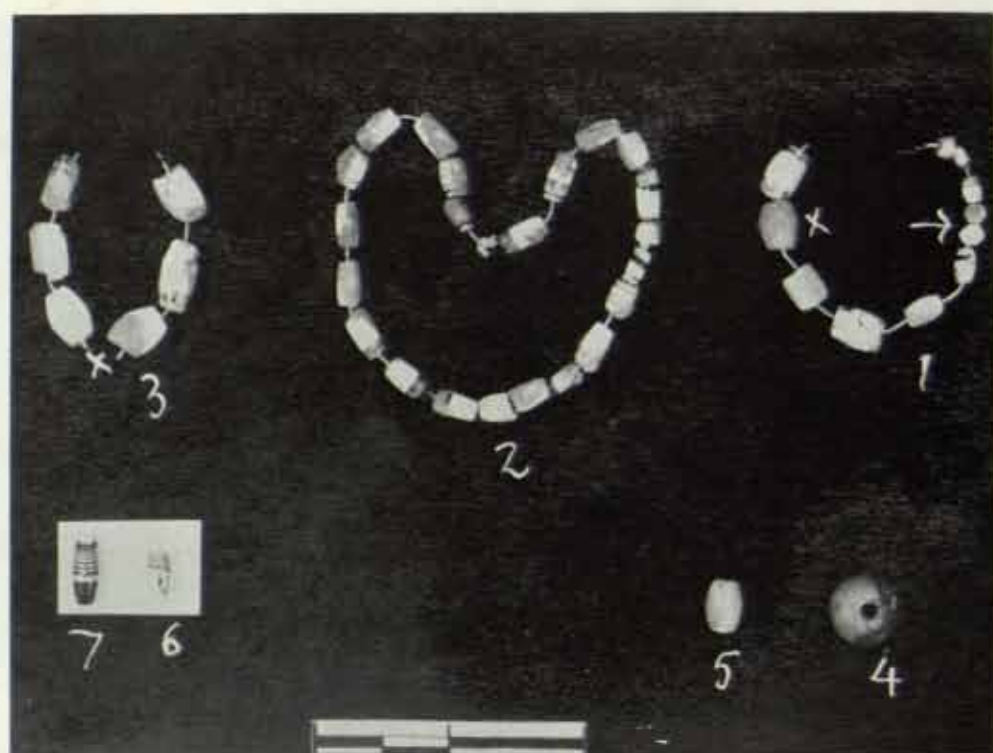
B. Eye Goddess images reproduced from Plate XXVI No. 4 and 3 Iraq Vol. IX.



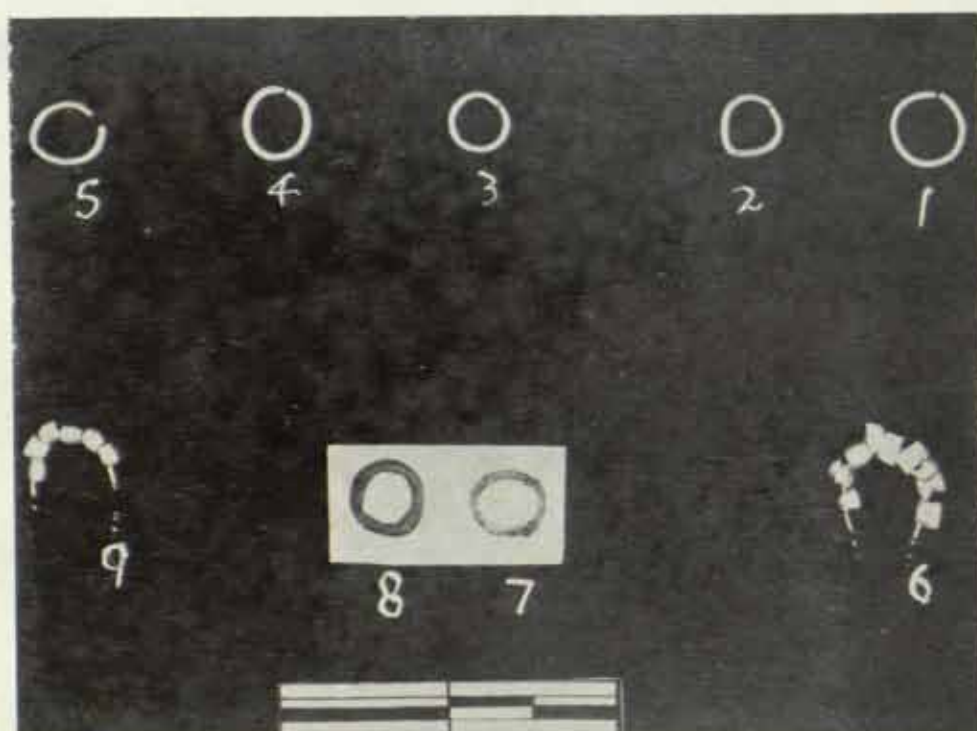
A. Zarif Karuna. Stone eye goddess Period III.



B. Zarif Karuna. Bone hair pins. Period II.



A. Zarif Karuna. Semi precious stone beads, Period II.



B. Zarif Karuna. 1-5 Gold wire rings, 6-gold beads, 7-copper rings and 8 Silver coiled rings, Period II.

Timergarha and Zarif Karuna. Inhumation burials were followed by the cremation burials in Period II, giving way to the fractional burials of Period III, both at Zarif Karuna and Timergarha.

Three different mode of burials observed in the Timergarha cemetery, have been fully confirmed by the stratigraphical evidence and typological and statistical analysis of the artifacts recovered from the Zarif Karuna Cemetery (Table 1 and 2).

The Zarif Karuna Cemetery in the Valley of Peshawar is not an isolated phenomenon in the archaeological discoveries of Pakistan. Ancient cemeteries are widely distributed in different parts of Pakistan. In Pakistan, early burial practices are represented by the cemetery R-37 at Harappa datable to the late third millennium B.C.¹⁶⁴ The cemetery H at Harappa belongs to the period subsequent the decline of the Harappans. Both the cemeteries at Harappa differ from the proto-historic cemeteries of the north west regions of Pakistan on account of the marked typological difference in the grave furniture. For the same reasons, the cemeteries in Baluchistan¹⁶⁵ also cannot be equated with the cemeteries under study. The Sarai Khola cemetery¹⁶⁶ (Period III) datable to 1000 B.C. presents altogether a different phenomenon due to the lack of associated archaeological data.

In the cemetery R-37 belonging to the Indus Civilization, the grave orientation is from north to south with extended burials associated with rich grave furniture, characteristic of the Harappans¹⁶⁷. This burial practice does not confirm to the burial practices observed at Timergarha, Swat or Zarif Karuna. In Cemetery H, Urn burials were found, but they contained residual material after the exposure of the corpse, unlike the calcined bones interred in the pot burials (cremation ritual) from Swat, Timergarha and Zarif Karuna. Below pot

164. M.S. Vats 'Excavations at Harappa' pp. 203-245.

165. Sir Aurel Stein : *Archaeological Tours in Gedrosia*, 1931 pp. 88-105.

166. M.A. Halim : *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 7, Excavation at Sarai Khola p. 36.

The cemetery at Sarai Khola stands conspicuous due to the total lack of the ceramic data in association with the graves. This poses a problem in making comparative study of the various characteristics of the cemetery. The only associated material recorded with the cemetery comprise two iron rings, one iron bar and one disc bead of paste, which led Mr. Halim to assign the date of 1000 B.C. to the Sarai Khola cemetery, primarily on the basis of the introduction of iron in the north west regions of Pakistan.

167. M.S. Vats op. cit.

burials of cemetery H at Harappa, inflexed burials were also found, akin to the inflexed burial practice of Period I at Timergarha and Zarif Karuna. Although the burial practice is similar yet the associated ceramic evidence is totally different. The painted pottery from the grave furniture of cemetery H, lends altogether a different cultural status to the cemetery H people. Here observations made by Dr. Dani¹⁶⁸ are very relevant to the point. The inflexed burials at Harappa must be traced from other source where from these people brought the painted pottery traditions. The same applies to the cemetery at Shahi Tump, where inflexed burials were found, with totally different cultural material. There is no evidence of cremation either at Harappa or at Shahi Tump. At a number of cemeteries in northern Iran, inflexed burials were found at Turang Tepe¹⁶⁹, Hissar Tepe¹⁷⁰ and Shah Tepe¹⁷¹.

The graves of the Zarif Karuna cemetery are in the north-west south-east orientation, which is similar to the grave orientations observed in Timargarha¹⁷² and Swat.¹⁷³ The inflexed burials of Zarif Karuna cemetery period I, have been found placed with face towards the west and the head to the mountain side. It may be remarked that the posture, of the body particular direction of the face, head or the feet, are not arbitrary actions, but are connected with some belief or traditions. G. Stacul has made an interesting observation on the position of the grave orientation and placement of the dead body.¹⁷⁴ He observes that the dead was placed in the grave with head pointing towards the hill and feet towards the valley.¹⁷⁵ The death follows the setting sun, the west is the side of the death and the east is the side of the life¹⁷⁶ The belief had a significant bearing on the orientation of the corpse, which on no account should be buried facing north to

168 A. H. Dani op. cit p. 42.

169. F.R. Wulsin: Excavation at Turang Tepe, near Astarabad, 1932.

170 E.F. Schmidt: Excavations at Tepe Hissar Dangan, Philadelphia, 1937.

171. T. J. Arne: Excavations at Shah Tepe, Iran, Stockholm 1945.

172. A. H. Dani op. cit p. 32.

173. G. Stacul: P. 48: Preliminary Pre-Buddhist Necropolis E & W Vol. 16 Nos. 1-2 1966.

174. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul: The Proto-historic Graveyards of Swat (Pakistan) Part I Text, p. 11.

175. In case of inflexed burials of Period I at Zarif Karuna, the phenomenon observed by G. Stacul is fully confirmed by the placement of the dead in the graves.

176. (i) E. O. James: Pre-historic Religions p. 18.

(ii) Maringer: The Gods of Pre-historic man: Translated from German by Mary Ilford p. 18.

south. Further more, it is an expression of the concept that journey from life to death is associated with the movement of sun across the sky¹⁷⁷. At Zarif Karuna cemetery Period II the disposal of the dead was through cremation and the residual material was put in the urn or pot. In cremation, the corpse is burned on the funeral pyre and the residual material is put in the pot for finally disposing to the grave. This method was the general practice widely known in the ancient world¹⁷⁸. In some cases after the cremation of the body, the ashes were stored in the urn or buried in the earth or thrown to the wind or smeared with the gum on the head of the mourners¹⁷⁹. Whether the pot burials containing cremated bones and ashes attest to any of the ceremony associated with the cremation, it is not possible to answer. But one thing is definite that pots contained burned bones and objects of personal nature establishing the ritual of cremation with firm belief in the concept of life after death, attested by the presence of grave furniture.

Different items of grave furniture including a wide variety of pottery vessels (Table I) and personal ornaments (Table 2) in Period II of the Zarif Karuna cemetery strongly suggest sudden blossoming up in the grave furniture, both quantitatively and qualitatively. The archaeological data of Period II reveals that it was followed by opulent society. Frequent use of gold (Table 2) indicates that the people who practised the ritual of cremation represented a prosperous phase. It may be apt to remark here, that cremation was more prevalent among the richer classes, because its various ceremonies involved expensive process.¹⁸⁰ This hypothesis is fully confirmed by the profuse use of gold in Period II (Table 2). In fact, gold and silver were the only metals used by the people of Period II. Gold objects have been recorded from Dir¹⁸¹ and Swat¹⁸² also.

The Zarif Karuna cemetery Period III again reflects a definite change in the ritual from cremation to the fractional burials. The practice of fractional burials signifies the custom of exposing the dead

177. Ibid p. 135.

178. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics 1935 Vol. IV P. 420.

179. Ibid p. 424.

180. Ibid p. 467.

181. A. H. Dani pp 89, 191.

182. G. Stacul: Preliminary Report.....E W Vol. 16 Nos. 1-2 1966. p 58

body on the trees, open places or on the platforms specially erected for this purpose.¹⁸³ After the completion of the exposure process, the bones were kept as relics or buried in the graves.

The archaeological data in terms of pottery vessels and objects of personal nature is negligible in Period III (Table 1 and 2). But the significant feature of this Period is that the grave furniture is very rich in cult objects. All the cult objects have been recorded in Period III. Occurrence of these cult objects in the Zarif Karuna cemetery assumes special significance, because, the terrecotta bull figurines and the image of stone Eye Goddess have not been reported from any other proto-historic cemetery in the north west regions of Pakistan. Anthropomorphic figurines have been recorded from the cemeteries at Swat and Timargarha.

A. CULT OBJECTS

The bull cult is a widely distributed phenomenon. It was a sacred manifestation of power, strength and vitality for the ancient Babylonian and Mesopotamian.¹⁸⁴ Mother Goddess and Bull were considered to be the manifestation of fertility and power, by the inhabitants of the Indus Civilization.¹⁸⁵ They were objects of worship with the ancient Egyptians, Babylonian and Assyrians.¹⁸⁶ Apart from being an object of worship before the advent of the Dynastic Period in Egypt, bull symbolized strength in war.¹⁸⁷

The terrecotta female figurines representing the cult of Mother Goddess are not uncommon in Pakistan. Plenty of them have been recorded from Harappa, Mohenjodaro and other sites of the Indus Valley Civilisation. They have been found from Baluchistan also.¹⁸⁸ The Zarif Karuna specimen of Mother Goddess (Fig. 10 No. 1,2,3 and

183. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, 1935 Vol. IV p 240.

184. i. For further details on the cult of bull, see The Bull of Minoes by Leonard Cottell and Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization by Sir John Marshall.

ii. J. Möringer, The Gods of the Pre-historic man p 148-150.

185. Sir John Marshall : Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization p 108.

186. E. O. Jans : The cult of Mother Goddess.

187. W. B. Emery : Archaic Egypt p. 124.

188. Stuart Piggot : Prehistoric India pp 126-127.

Plate XVIIIA) by virtue of its fan shaped haed-dress, reminds the famous specimens of Mother Goddess from Harappa and Moenjodaro.¹⁸⁹ Its conjoined legs remind the famous female figurines from Charsada,¹⁹⁰ which fall in the late chronological context. The cult of Mother Goddess in relation to Mesopotamia, is regarded to be the divine power in fertility in its manifold forms and is incarnation of the re-productive forces of nature.¹⁹¹

Another cult object is represented by the alabaster image of Eye Goddess from Period III, which viberates an echo of important cult from the distant land of Mesopotamia.¹⁹² It is geometric figure of human body in alabaster. The head portion is pierced with who disproportionately large circular holes to indicate awe inspiring eyes, perhaps commanding on the spot submission from her devotees. How this solitary specimen made its way into the life of the people of Zarif Karuna Period III, is difficult to account for. Was it an object of worship or simple object of veneration or reverence with no religious significance, are the questions which may be solved only by discovering the settlement site of the Zarif Karuna cemetery or comparable specimens from other sites in Pakistan. However, at this stage, on the Mesopotamian analogy, it may be inferred that the cult of Eye Goddess, without having any chronological relevance, in relation to Period III at Zarif Karuna, enjoyed some degree of sanctimonious status or position of reverence. Even if it is taken as a simple item of grave furniture, it certainly was a valued object, which was placed in the grave of the decease probably on the basis of personal likeness. In Mesopotamian context, it was certainly an object of worship because a vast majority of them have been found from the podium of Eye Temple. At Brak and Chagar Bazar, the Eye goddess images have been recorded as belonging to the early phase of Jamdt Nasr. Its clay representations have also been recorded from Bakun.¹⁹⁴

189. i. op. cit Sir John Marshall.

ii. Sir Mortimer Wheeler : *The Indus Civilization* 1968. p 91.

190. Sir Mortimer Wheeler : *Charsada* pp 104-106 c.f. Plates XXA, XXI and XXII.

191. E. O. James. *The cult of Mother Goddess*. p. 51.

192. Mallowan op. cit p 200-219.

193. Mailowan ibid p. 201.

194. Mallowan ibid Foot note p 201.

The Eye Goddess specimen from Zarif Karuna (Fig. 10 No. 7 Plate XIXA) is comparable with the analogous specimens from Chagar Bazar and Brak (Fig. 10 Nos. 8,9,10 and 11 Plate XVIIIIB No. 1 and 2). The Brak specimens are simpler in forms. Their body composition is either flat or rounded, and is surmounted by a pair of circular holes to indicate two eyes. This feature we observe in the Zarif Karuna specimen also.

What is the significance of the occurrence of Eye Goddess with the fractional burials of Period III? Was it worshipped as a sacred object or as a manifestation of some deity or some super-natural power? How did it come to the distant land of the frontier regions of Pakistan from its home town in Brak in Syria? Can its presence be attributed to the movement of some migratory tribes from Mesopotamia or it is a stray intrusion? These are some of the problems posed by the Eye Goddess from Zarif Karuna and answer to this multiple question is vitally connected with the settlement site of the people buried in the Zarif Karuna cemetery.

B. THE CONCEPT OF GRAVE FURNITURE

The concept of grave furniture is governed by the idea of life after death and is shared all over the ancient world¹⁹⁵. The genesis of the concept of grave furniture goes back to the palaeolithic period because they placed stone implements possibly with the belief that the dead lived on and had the same needs as the living.¹⁹⁶ But it was left to the ancient Egyptians to surpass all others in this respect. Apart from raising huge and monumental structures to house their dead, their tombs were richly furnished with objects used by the particular individual in his life time.¹⁹⁷ There is another common belief that the various articles of grave furniture destroyed or buried with the body are meant for use in the land of the dead, weapons and tools in case of male and personal ornaments in case of female. The idea of grave furniture seems to serve perhaps as a criterion to determine the relationship between dead and living.

195. i. Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics p. 428.

ii. J. Maringer: *The Gods of Pre-historic man*, 1960 p 51.

196. Encyclopedia Britannica Vol. 7 p. 96.

197. Walter B. Emery: *Archaic Egypt* pp 128-164.

In Egpt, the idea of life after death can be traced to the 5th millennium B. C. as evidenced from the cemetery of the desert.¹⁹⁸ The Babylonian concept of the life of hereafter was that of semi-conscious survival in the House of Darkness.¹⁹⁹ From this related information on the concept of grave furniture, it may be inferred that the bestowal of grave furniture was the characteristic feature of funeral rituals. The presence of rich and fabulous grave furniture was thought to be a status symbol for the deceased and his prestige and position was to be ascertained in terms of quantum of grave furnishings, which the deceased brought to the grave. Generally, a very wide variety of the grave furniture was placed, since the idea was governed by the necessity for sustenance on the journey to the next world, and efficacious for the renewal of the life of the body. The cemetery at Zarif Karuna fully illustrates and conforms to the concept of the grave furniture by presenting a wide variety of ceramics and personal ornaments.

It is rather curious phenomenon that iron has not been found from the graves excavated in the Zarif Karuna cemetery. Evidence regarding the knowledge of iron technology from Swat²⁰⁰ and Timargarha,²⁰¹ is so conclusive that the only tangible reason for not finding iron at Zarif Karuna seems to be the restricted nature of the work conducted there. Whether the use of iron was known to the cemetery people of Zarif Karuna or not, new evidence of cult objects hitherto not reported from the Swat and Timargarha cemeteries, have been recorded from period III at Zarif Karuna. Since iron has not been found from the Zarif Karuna cemetery it raises many questions. Does absence of iron signify that the Peshawar Valley was an iron free zone in the period under study? or its absence is a case of local omission. That brings us to the crucial problem of the introduction of iron in the north west frontier regions of Pakistan. It is necessary to emphasize here that, whereas, the majority of the pins, both from Swat and Timargarha cemeteries were made in copper and iron; they

198. E. O. James, *Pre-historic Religion* p. 244.

199. E. O. James *Ibid* p. 246.

200. G. Stacul "Preliminary Report EW Vol. 16 Nos. 1-2, 1966 pp 88 and 82.

201. A. H. Dani *op. cit* p. 47.

were made from bone, as is attested by the grave furniture from Zarif Karuna (Table 2).

As early as first half of the third millennium B.C. man made fragments of iron appear in Tell Asmar, Tell Chagar Bazar and Asia Minor (Alaca HUYUK) and possibly Egypt.²⁰² It is generally believed that the difficult process involved in the slagging of the iron ore, its smelting and quenching delayed the commencement of the Iron Era. But there seems to be a sudden boom in the spread of iron around 1200 B.C. following the destruction of the Hittite empire. Between 1200-1000 B.C. there is quick growth of iron industry in Iran, Transcaucasia, Syria and Palestine.²⁰³ In northern Iran, the table for Iron Age ranges from 1300 B.C. to 1100 B.C.²⁰⁴ The spread of iron in Iran is well attested by the cultural material from two cemeteries A and B at Silak datable to 1200-1000 B.C.²⁰⁵

In view of the foregoing, it is difficult to determine precise time table for the commencement of iron age in the north west regions of Pakistan. There are strong proofs of the existence of iron in the Rig Vedic Age²⁰⁶ Another opinion is that iron was used when Yajurveda and Atharveda were in the process of being composed²⁰⁷ As back as 1950. Gordon did not find any evidence of the use of iron prior to 250 B.C.²⁰⁸ Sir Mortimer Wheeler, after discounting all the previous arguments asserted that iron was used in the north west regions of Pakistan in the third quarter of the 6th century B.C.²⁰⁹ The occurrence of iron has been recorded from the Sarai Khola cemetery (Period III) assignable to 1000 B.C.²¹⁰ The cheek piece of a snaffle from the Timargarha cemetery has been assigned the date of 7th-6th century

202. Robert H Dyson Jr. *The Cambridge Ancient History Vol. I and II. The Archaeological Evidence of the second millennium B.C. on the Persian Plateau*, p 29.

203. R. G. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity*, p. 417.

204. R. G. Forbes, *Ibid* p 419.

205. Robert H. Dyson Jr. *op. cit* p 29. Fig. 2 p 28.

206. Bridget and R. Allchin : *The Birth of Indian Civilization* p 207.

207. R. J. Forbes *op. cit* p 436.

208. D. H. Gordon, *The Early use of Metals in India and Pakistan. The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland LXXX 1950 (1952)*.

209. Wheeler, Charsada. pp 33-34.

210. M. A. Halim, *Excavations at Sarai Khola (Part I)*, Pakistan Archaeology No. 7, 1972

B.C.²¹¹ If we follow the gradual stages of iron working and its spread in Iran, it looks almost certain that iron was introduced in these regions of Pakistan in about 1000 B.C.

In view of this related information on the spread of iron technology and the occurrence of iron objects in Period III of the Timargarha and Swat cemeteries make definite case for the knowledge of iron technology for the people of period III of the Zarif Karuna cemetery. Further confirmation of use of iron, almost contemporaneous with period III of the Timargarha cemetery, comes from the Sarai Khola cemetery (Period III)²¹² Needless to emphasize that because of geographical position and its location on the routes to Pakistan, the knowledge of iron technology, possibly could not have by passed the people buried at the Zarif Karuna cemetery. Their proficiency in metal technology is fully demonstrated in the use of gold. Scarcity of iron during the early stage of its use and the difficult process involved in the iron technology may also be a reason for the absence of iron from Zarif Karuna.

10. CONCLUSION

The archaeological probings near the village Zarif Karuna, have yielded cultural data attesting the presence of a proto-historic²¹³ cemetery in the plains of the Peshawar Valley. The cemetery belongs to three different periods. This division into Period I, II and III is based on the stratigraphy. The graves of Period I were found disturbed by the people of Period II, whose graves were cut through by the people of Period III. The stratigraphical distinction is fully confirmed by the difference in the burial ritual of each period. Its further confirmation has been obtained by subjecting cultural data from the Zarif Karuna cemetery to typological and statistical

211. A. H. Dani (Ed) op. cit Karl Jettmar p, 207.

212. M. A. Halim op. cit.

213. G. Stacul : The fractional burial custom in the Swat Valley and some connected problems. E W Vol. 25 Nos. 3-4 1975. Stacul takes an exception to the use of the term "Gandhara Grave Culture" by Dr. Dani, the nomenclature he used to describe the results of his excavations at the Timergarha cemetery. Stacul considers it single culture nomenclature of Gandhara Grave culture as premature and unsuitable on the basis of what may be cultural aspects that mark different successive cultures. p 329.

analysis of the ceramics and minor objects (Table 1 and 2). The occurrence of the various items of the grave furniture in association with marked difference in the burial ritual of each period, strengthened the stratigraphical distinction.

The stratigraphical distinction of the Timargarha cemetery has not been considered valid by Stacul²¹⁴. But definite stratigraphical evidence at the Zarif Karuna cemetery, confirms the occurrence of the burial rituals as inhumation chronologically earlier than cremation, followed by the fractional burials.²¹⁵ The picture which emerges in the light of the cultural data from the Zarif Karuna cemetery is as under :-

PERIOD I.

The earliest period of the cemetery is represented by the inhuman burials in inflexed position. This period of the cemetery is not so well documented as the cultural material recorded with the inhumation burial is very meagre (Table 1 and 2). But adequate archaeological data recovered in association with the inflexed burials from Timargarha and Swat help in making fair assessment of our Period. A pedestalled goblet of elegant form and shape (Fig. 4 No. 1 Plate XII No. 1) found from this period suggests fairly developed pottery traditions. Its smooth surface obtained by the coating of red slip speaks for the skill involved in the delicate process of the surface treatment. Specimens comparable with pedestalled goblet of Period I, have been recorded from Dashli²¹⁶ with the inflexed burial datable to the second half of the second millennium B. C. The comparable mode of inflexed burials have been documented at Tepe Hissar,²¹⁷ Shah Tepe²¹⁸ and Turag Tepe.²¹⁹

214. G. Stacul Ibid p 329 (Please also see his Foot Note 35).

215. G. Stacul rightly brings out some of the pottery vases occurring throughout all the periods of the cemetery (See Foot note 36 Stacul op. cit p 329). He argues that same type of vases and objects are found in the graves that Dani placed in the ancient, middle and also late periods, as if the typology of the funerary furnishings had undergone no change whatsoever in the course of over a millennium.

216. Afghanistan Vol XXIV Nos. 2 and 1971.

Historical and Cultural Quarterly V. Sariandy. North Afghanistan in the Bronze Period pp 31-38 c.f. Fig. 10 p 38.

217. E. F. Schmidt, Excavations at Tepe Hissar Danghan, Philadelphia, 1937.

218. T. J. Arne : Excavation at Shah Tepe, Iran Stockholm, 1945.

219. F. R. Willains : Excavation at Turag Tepe Near Astarabad 1932.

PERIOD II.

The Zarif Karuna cemetery Period II ushers in an era of Prosperity fully demonstrated by the rich cultural data (Table 2), reflecting the existence of a well organized opulent society. It appears probable that Period I gave way to the new coming wave of the people with well developed technique of pottery making because we find a sudden increase in the quantum of pottery vessels of varying form and shape, predominantly in red ware. Of the 25 pottery types and sub-types, all occur in Period II (Table 1). Pottery vessels of elegant form, represented by the pedestaled goblets and bowls open mouthed bowls with disc base and globular high (Surahi shaped) vase are the hall mark of the pottery of Period II. Period II also marks the introduction of grey ware represented by the pottery types and sub-types (Fig. 7 Nos. 17 to 20). Cinerary or visage jar used for housing the cremated bones represents another feature of the pottery of this period. Dr. Dani hints at the totemic importance of the cinerary jars. A peculiar feature of these jars is that their shoulder portion represents human face in abstract form, achieved by making three pierced holes in triangular formation or sometimes by the prominent projection of nose (Fig. 8 No. 22 and 23).

Period II also marks a complete departure in the burial ritual. The inhumation burial gave way to the ritual of cremation. Here, it may be pointed out that the rites and ceremonies related with the inhumation and cremation, are fundamentally so different from each other, that their coeval existence is hardly conceivable. These two different burial rituals belong to two different people falling in separate cultural groups. As remarked elsewhere, the ritual of cremation was practised by the rich and opulent society.

Apart from the wide variety of ceramic vessels, the grave furniture of Period II abounds with objects of personal nature, which were made predominantly in gold and stone (Table 2). Occurrence of bone pins has also been noted in the grave furniture of this Period. Delicately made rings and beads of gold do not only speak for the advanced stage achieved in the metal technology, but also suggest the sophistica-

ted taste of a flourishing society, consistent with the multi-ceremonial disposal of their dead through the ritual of cremation.

From the cultural date of Period II, absence of weapons of offence and defence is significant. It appears that change from Period I to II was peaceful because the usual weapons such as arrow heads and daggers, knife blades, spear heads and rectangular axes, reported from the Swat cemeteries,²²⁰ are totally absent from the Zarif Karuna Cemetery Period II. One iron spear-head has also been reported from the Timargarha cemetery.²²¹ Since no weapons have been found from the Zarif Karuna cemetery, it looks probable that change from Period I to II and Period II to III, was peaceful.

Grave furniture of Period II include grey ware vase of medium to thin texture. Invariably, all the grey ware specimens (Fig. 7 Nos. 17, 18, 19 and 20) are of disc base. Occurrence of grey ware, particularly with disc base, is a significant feature in establishing link with the Iranian Sites.²²² The disc or button base is a distinctive element of cultural Period V at Swat.²²³ Grey-ware vases with disc base documented in the Swat and Timargarha cemeteries are comparable with the characteristic production of Hassanlu V.²²⁴ Typologically grey wares from Zarif Karuna are comparable with the grey-ware pottery from Swat and Timargarha.

On the basis of the ceramic data of Period II characterised by stemmed bowls, pedestalled vases and plain grey ware, a reasonable ground exists for the Iranian contact, especially with the Tepe Hissar.²²⁵ On the evidence of pedestalled bowls, Sariandi also establish link to Shah Tepe II, Yurang Tepe II and Tepe Hissar III.

220. C. S. Antonini and G. Stacul *op. cit.* pp 39-40 Fig. 22.

221. A. H. Dani (ed.) A. Rahman *op. cit.* p 194.

222. G. Stacul: Grey ware Pottery in the Swat Valley and the Indo Iranian Connections (ca 1500-300 B. C.) E W Vol. 20 Nos. 1-2 1970 pp 92-102.

223. G. Stacul *Ibid* p 97.

224. G. Stacul *Ibid* p 97.

225. C. S. Antonini *op. cit.* (Swat and Central Asia).

Period III.

The cultural data from the Zarif Karuna cemetery Period III include the new evidence of cult objects signified by the stone image of Eye Goddess and Bull figurines. One terracotta female figurine with fan shaped headdress is another cult object. Period III, during which we find a change in burial from cremation to the fractional, is characterised by marked reduction in the grave furniture in terms of pottery vessels and objects of personal use. The solitary object of personal nature is represented by copper ring (Table 2). However, the cult objects recorded with fractional burials of Period III, present a cultural phenomenon of some significance, especially when, we notice that Period I and II are devoid of cult objects (Table 2). Change in the burial ritual, presence of cult objects and sparse grave furniture in terms of ceramic and personal objects, culturally separate Period III from Period II, and strongly suggest the special significance of the cult of Bull, Mother Goddess and Eye Goddess in relation to the fractional burial. Whatever may be the significance of these cult objects in context of Period III, the cult of Bull,²²⁷ Mother Goddess²²⁸ and Eye Goddess²²⁹ were widely venerated in the ancient world. Does it indicate the tri-belief concept prevalent amongst the people of Period III? The true significance can be understood after the discovery of the settlement sites of the people buried at Zarif Karuna. This point needs to be emphasized, because these cult objects with the exception of anthropomorphic figurines, have not been reported either from Swat or Timargarha.

To sum up, the discovery of Zarif Karuna cemetery and cultural data

226. V. I. Sarianidi op. cit p 33.

227. The cult of bull has been widely documented as a sacred manifestation of power, strength and vitality for the Babylonian and Mesopotamian. It was considered to be a sacred animal.
i. More details of this cult can be seen from the Bull of Minos by Leonard Cottrell.
ii. Sir John Marshall, Moenjodaro and the Indus Civilization Vol. I. iii. J. Maringer 'The Gods of Prehistoric Man' pp 148-150. iv. W. B. Emery op. cit p 124.

228. i. Sir John Marshall op. cit p 108.

ii. E. O. James The cult of Mother Goddess Throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegian, the cult of Mother Goddess predominated, where the occurrence of Sacred Bull as also been represented as a virile symbol of Pro-creation.

iii. E. O. James Pre-historic Religion p 329.

229. Mallowan op. cit pp 198-210.

assignable to (c, 13th-10th century B.C.) has made a significant contribution to our knowledge of ancient life in the frontier regions of Pakistan in the period under study. Already the cultural data documented in the proto-historic cemeteries in Swat and Dir points to flourishing of a well established cultural horizon in the post-Harappan era, remaining almost unaffected by the painted pottery traditions. The cultural data from the Zarif Karuna cemetery with the new evidence of cult objects, when seen in the total perspective of the data from the proto-historic cemeteries, provides a major step forward in the realm of archaeological researches. The Mother Goddess from the Zarif Karuna cemetery Period III, by virtue of fan-shaped headdress, characteristic of the female figurines and the bull figurines from the sites of the Indus Valley Civilization, certainly contribute in narrowing down the gap between the period after the decline of the Harappans, and early historic period. The occurrence of Eye Goddess, through whatever contact it crept into life of the people buried in the Zarif Karuna cemetery, is a unique evidence of a cult vibrating from the distant land of Mesopotamia, chronologically datable to the early Phase of Jamdt Nasr. Perhaps further discoveries of Eye Goddess from the contiguous areas of Afghanistan and Iran, might solve the significance of the problematic occurrence of the Eye Goddess. It may, however, be concluded that the occurrence of Bull and Mother Goddess as reminiscent of the Harappan, combined with the evidence of Eye Goddess and the absence of iron at Zarif Karuna, even its occurrence in the north west regions is debatable issue, are the features of the cultural data, which would be better appreciated in the light of the future archaeological discoveries.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS AT ALLAHDINO

(FIRST SEASON, 1973)*

by

Walter A. Fairservis, Jr.

The initial season at Allahdino had two essential parts: a land survey with emphases on geomorphological features in order to understand the site in its physical environment, and the proper excavation. The first part was substantially accomplished during the course of the season; the second part involved only approximately one-sixth of the projected excavation plan.

THE SURVEY

Allahdino is situated close to the junction of the Bazar Nadi, a tributary and the main stream of the Malir River. Both water courses remain dry most of the year though flood conditions can occur for a few days during the monsoon season. These streams, as well as the other tributaries of the Malir, drain out of the hills of the Kohistan which are to the north, distant some 5—10 miles, in a generally south-eastern direction. Owing to the clayey content of alluvial soils in the broad plain south of the Kohistan, the run-off from the hills as well as that derived from whatever seasonal rains there are runs close to the surface and provides the moisture basis for the rather sudden growth of grass in the summer months. A common practice of local farmers, who mostly live in temporary villages and camps during the

*In this work the cooperation of Mr. S. A. Naqvi, Former Director of Archaeology for the Government of Pakistan, and his successor Mr. M. Ishtiaq Khan was particularly important in meeting the exigencies of an initial field season. Dr. Rafique Mughal, Superintendent of Archaeology, was most helpful in many important ways. Special acknowledgment must be made to Mr. Ghulzar Mohammad Khan, Pakistan field representative, who did more than his share in maximizing our efforts at Allahdino. To all these officials colleagues, and friends a most heartfelt appreciation must be expressed.

summer months, is to retain some of this moisture by constructing earthen dams (called kach) at right angles to the gradient. This results in the creation of kach fields of considerable fertility. Of the three Harappan sites known in the Malir region two, Amiliano and Hasan Wali, are situated in the midst of the 'kachable' area, and Hasan Wali may very well have been responsible for at least one surviving kach dam.¹ Allahdino, the third site, is located to the southeast of the others (Hasan Wali, ca. 2 miles; Amiliano, ca. 6 miles) in an area where the gradient is minimal and therefore unkachable. The water table here is 40–50 feet down in an old alluvium. During the British period, steam energy was used to raise the water to the surface from where it was conveyed to surrounding fields by specially made channels. This is continued today by the Damlotti public works administration though gasoline engines have replaced the old steam engines. The Damlotti irrigation system extends to the vicinity of the modern town of Malir and up to the boundaries of a military cantonment; in effect almost up to the area on the south where brackish waters created by the proximity of the Arabian Sea preclude their use in agriculture.

Allahdino by its location in the midst of modern fertile fields but not in a kachable situation poses a problem. Unless one to advocate climatic shifts which brought greater rainfall in Harappan times it would appear that the answer to Allahdino's existence as a village in the midst of cultivated fields—which the excavation suggest was the situation, was owing to the presence of an irrigation system not unlike that of today. This appears to have been the case if our initial excavation results are any indication.

In addition to the work on the Harappan sites, a number of what appear to be sites representative of non-Harappan cultures were discovered or investigated. Three of these were located in the foothills of the Kohistan and were distinctive in their lithic industries which were characterised by diminutive blade cores and the presence of a plain red polished pottery. Broadly the assemblage suggests that known at Tharro Hill in the Thatta region to the east.

1. Walter A. Fairservis, Jr., "The origin, Character, and Decline of an Early Civilization, American Museum Novitates, No. 2302, American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1967 p. 10.

Botanical sampling and the identification of sources of raw materials such as flint, shell, and certain minerals—all of which were obtained locally, were specific parts of the survey.

THE EXCAVATIONS

The site is a low mound ca. 15 feet high above the surrounding cultivation at its highest (i.e. western) extent (Fig. 10). It is some 200 yards square. Partially because some walls were apparent on the undisturbed surface suggesting structures whose character and position would make useful points of reference for excavation strategy and partially because there was need to investigate the problem of why most of Harappan sites are higher on their western sides.² The

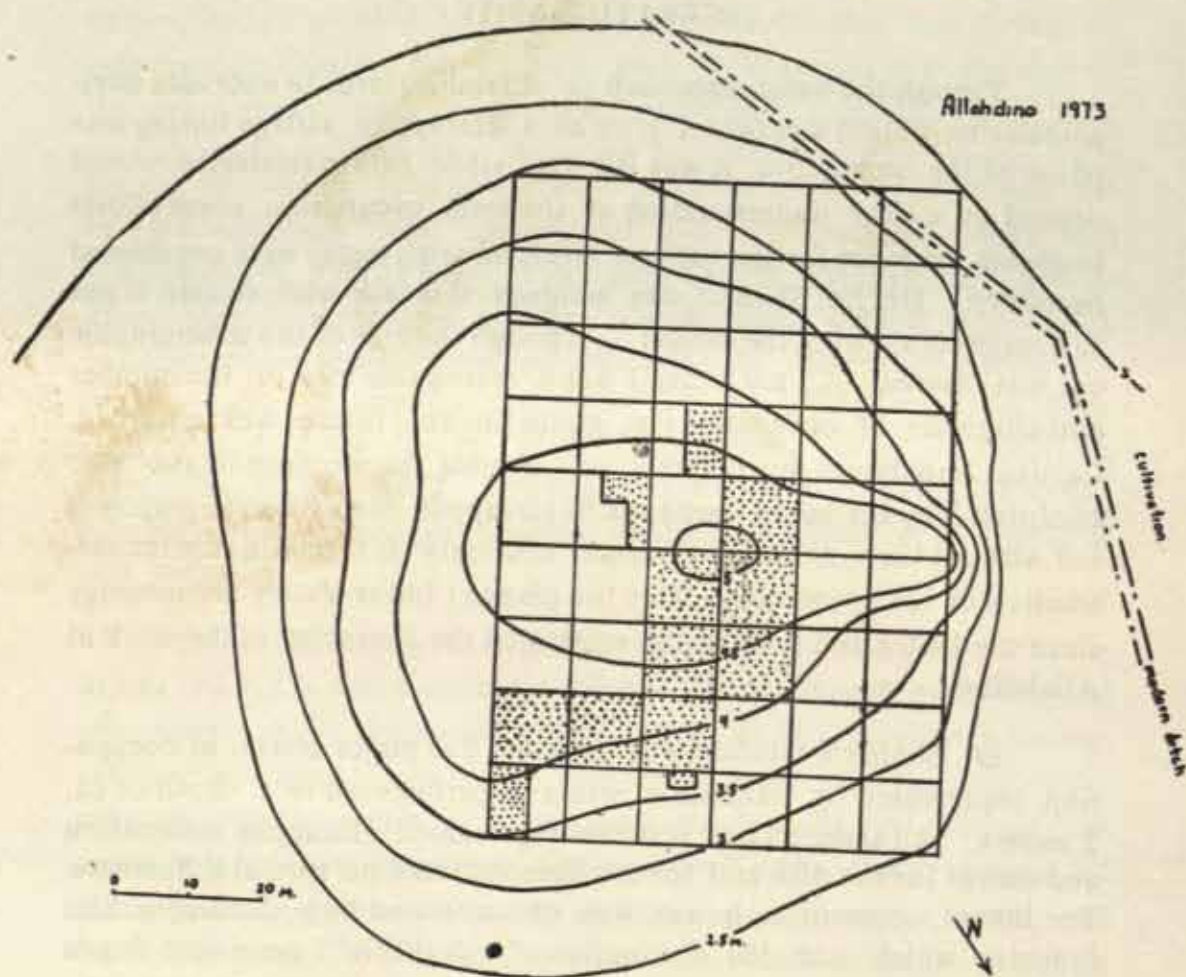


Fig. 10 Contour plan and lay-out of trenches at Allahdino.

2. Ibid.

excavation grid (10 meter squares) was laid out over the western half of the observable site between boundaries set by the modern cultivation (Fig. 10). The initial excavations were begun on the northern side of Allahdino in squares whose position made possible the uncovering of adjacent areas of the site on a diagonal running from the lower part of the mound to the highest. This need to interrelate the excavated portions at all times during the season prevented sampling of other than the northern side and top of the site in 1973. The advantage gained in revealing a reasonably coherent settlement plan in the excavated portion of the site outweighed other disadvantages.

STRATIGRAPHY

Though the basic approach to Allahdino was to excavate horizontally to obtain a coherent plan of a Harappan village during one phase of the occupation, it was felt that since future strategies would depend on a clear understanding of the total occupation some efforts to obtain evidence for the various levels of settlement were considered necessary. Dr. Jim Shaffer was assigned this task who carried it out to completion during the season. Though the size of the stratigraphic cut was limited (4.5 x 9 meters) but a reasonable idea of the number and character of occupations as guide for the future was obtained. Certain impatience must necessarily trouble the anthropologist who confronted by the heavy emphasis in Harappan sites on stratigraphy is left without the synchronic evidence necessary for reasonable reconstruction of Harappan life. This has plagued Indus Valley archaeology since the 1930's and it certainly motivated the character of the work at Allahdino.

Dr. Shaffer's careful study revealed five major phases of occupation represented by habitation strata superimposed to a depth of ca. 2 meters. All these phases however represented Harappan occupation and except for the fifth and lowest demonstrated no special differences. The lowest occupation, however, was characterised by a distinctive flint industry which included diminutive "microlithic" geometric blade tools, and by significant changes in ceramic types as well as in the character of some of the plebeian artifacts such as clay bangles and clay bicones. Posthole structures were also present.

Shaffer quantified the ceramic sample in its entirety and his final study should reveal in detail some of the more subtle changes that mark the overall stratigraphy. Work on the small finds is in progress while the study of the organic remains will be carried out at the American Museum of Natural History in New York.

THE STRUCTURES

The heaviest excavation emphasis was upon clearance of the latest coherent settlement on the site. Thus results here were dependent on the revelation of structures and their clearance horizontally. This work was carried out under the direction of Dr. M. Hoffman and the present author assisted by R. Brunswig, E. Bookwalter, and E. Walters (surveyor-architect). Early in this work it was clear that the bulk of the structures encountered ran on an east-west orientation and at least on the northern side were bounded by non-contiguous stone walls which collectively formed a kind of perimeter. On the southern side of this 'perimeter' were located the walls of structures (stone and mudbrick) (Pl. XXIA) familiar to students of the Harappan civilization. These include bathrooms, cell-like compartments, a street, and a brick platform whose special character could not be determined during this initial season. Special features within this complex of buildings included covered house drains (Pl. XXIB), firepits, ovens (Pl. XXIIIA), storage vessels, (Pl. XXII) and one or two "factory" localities representing probably a copper smelting center and a place for the firing of clay balls.

Most interesting among the features revealed were two stone drains (Pl. XXI) which connected close to the mudbrick platform and were obviously for the conveyance of water since that use was evidenced both by capacity and by the presence of a workable sluice gate for the divergence of water to either channel. Though the source of the water is not yet revealed (we assume a well since that is typical of Harappan settlements generally), it does appear from the position of the drains along the slope of the mound and the terminus of the drains at the level of what is assumed for the ancient land surface that we are dealing with an irrigation system not unlike the situation in Damloti today. This is perhaps a hint as to the reason why the anci-

ent inhabitants were capable of maintaining their agriculture outside of the kachable area previously mentioned. Much more evidence on this question will of course be sought for in the next season.

As yet the plan of the structures to the south of the 'perimeter' is not clear because like-up between all of the excavated quadrants could not be made in the present season. In the last weeks of the season a stone wall was encountered in the newly opened quadrant F-4, the farthest point to the south reached during the season. This wall as large in size as those forming the 'perimeter' along the south is in the same east-west orientation. Thus it does appear that there was a certain coherent plan followed in laying out the settlement at Allahdino and that we can expect a reasonable orientation of thoroughfares, residences, etc. in accordance with that plan. It is already clear, however, that variation within this general orientation certainly occurred in the level we have so far concentrated upon. This is evidenced by newer walls running across what appears to have been streets and alleys, and by different overbuilding on previous structures.

Small finds, while numerous, were generally unexceptional. Most prevalent among these finds were the clay and shall bangles, clay model carts' biconical discs, flint blades, figurines of cattle (Fig. 11 No. g&h), and the typical pottery (Pl. XXII & XXIV B) which are the usual objects of Harappan settlement. Some fine copper and bronze objects include axes, spearheads (Fig. 11 No. a), beads, pins, and hooks (Fig. 11 No. b). Most interesting were the occasional finds of iron (pins, bands, amorphous fragments) which at first we regarded as due to later intrusions but in view of some of the contexts involved were possibly of Harappan vintage. Beads of carnelin, agate, lapis, gold, shell, bone, etc. were found in habitation context unassociated with other objects. A series of fine stone weights (Fig. 11 No. d) was one of the most interesting finds of an excavation season which gained considerable local publicity when a "classic" Harappaa seal (Pl. XXIVA) carved in paste was discovered. All in all, however, one is struck by the plebeian character of most of the finds—an indication perhaps of the essentially domestic utilitarian character of the settlement.

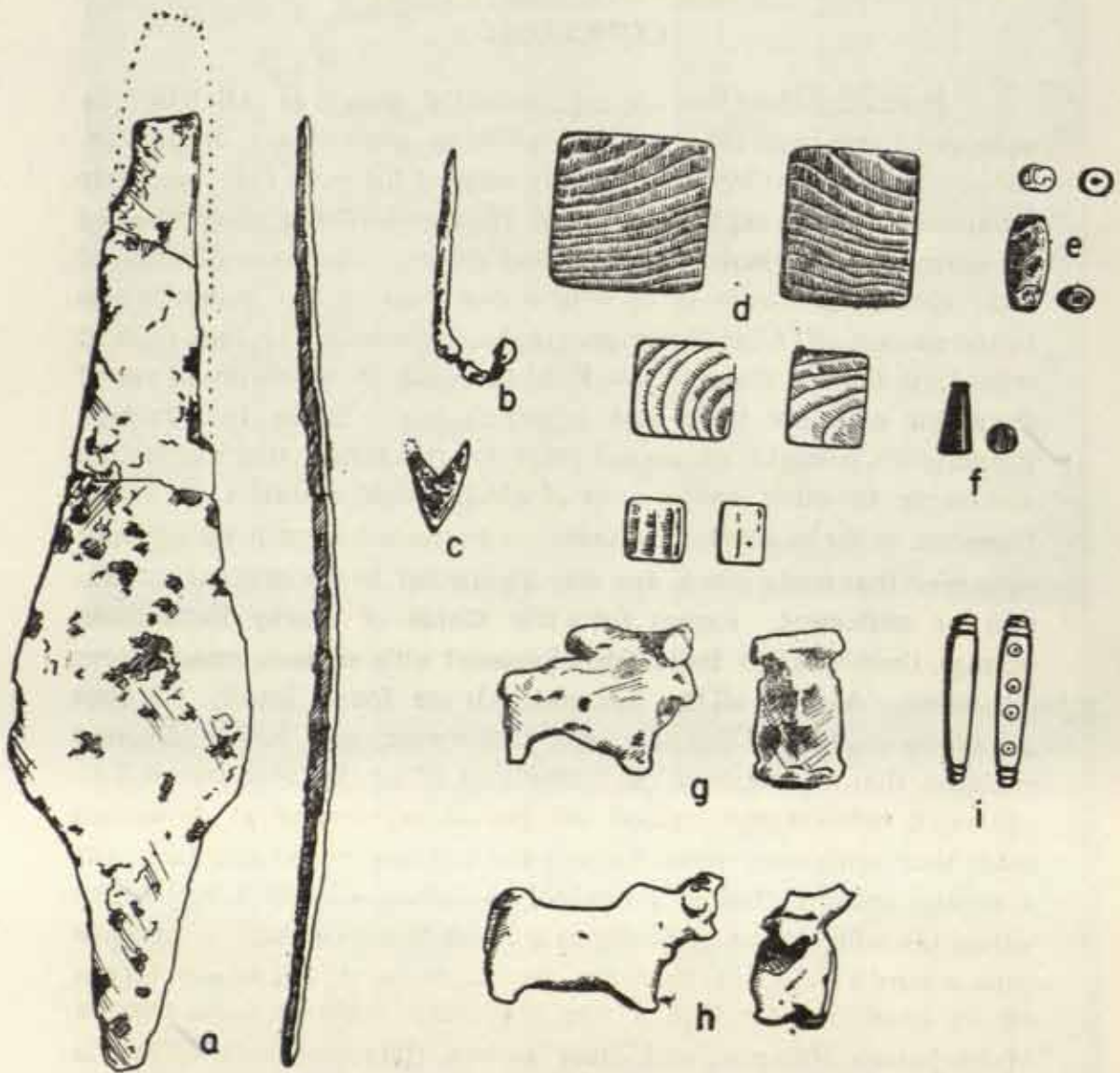
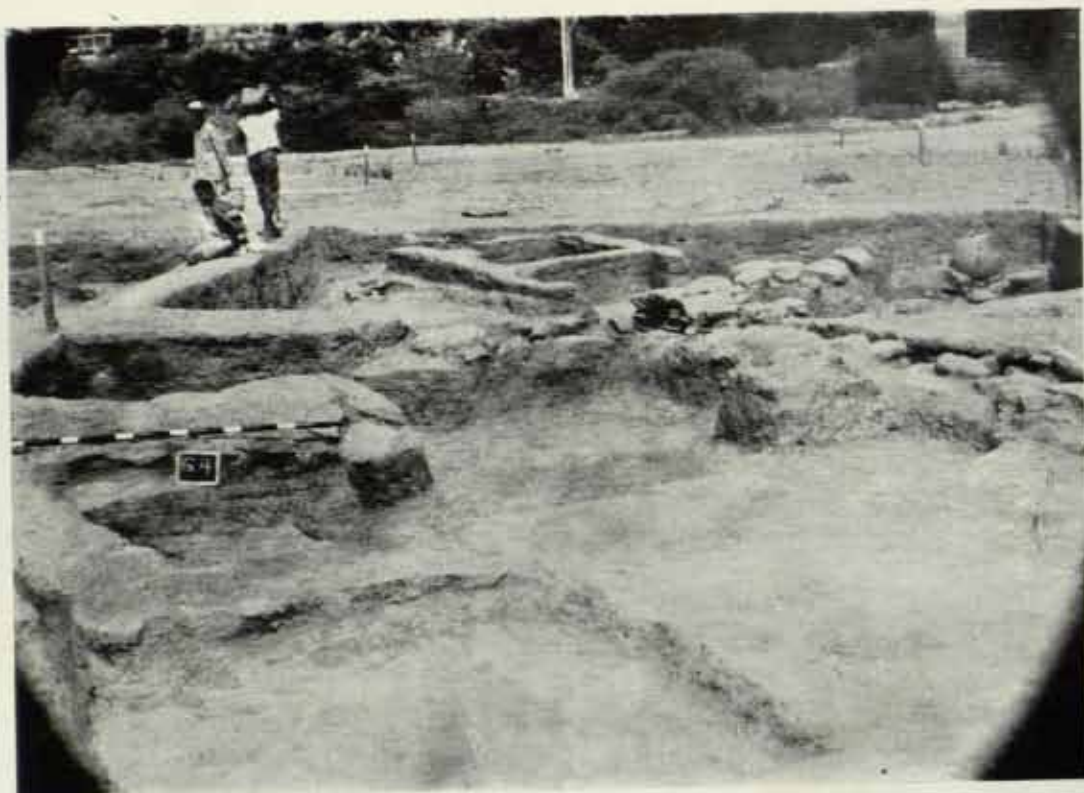


Fig. 11 Small Finds from Allahdino.

It is further confirmed by the large quantity of animal bone (sheep, goat, cattle, rodents, lizards, fish, birds are evidenced) found amid and within the houses. Interestingly the areas outside the 'perimeter' may well have been used for informal and even perhaps seasonal occupancy since there is some evidence for temporary pole houses, campfires, and possible barn stables. The bone and other organic material will have its final analysis in New York. During the season laboratory analysis included flotation of ashy soils, soil analysis, and some initial review of the organic material generally.

CONCLUSION

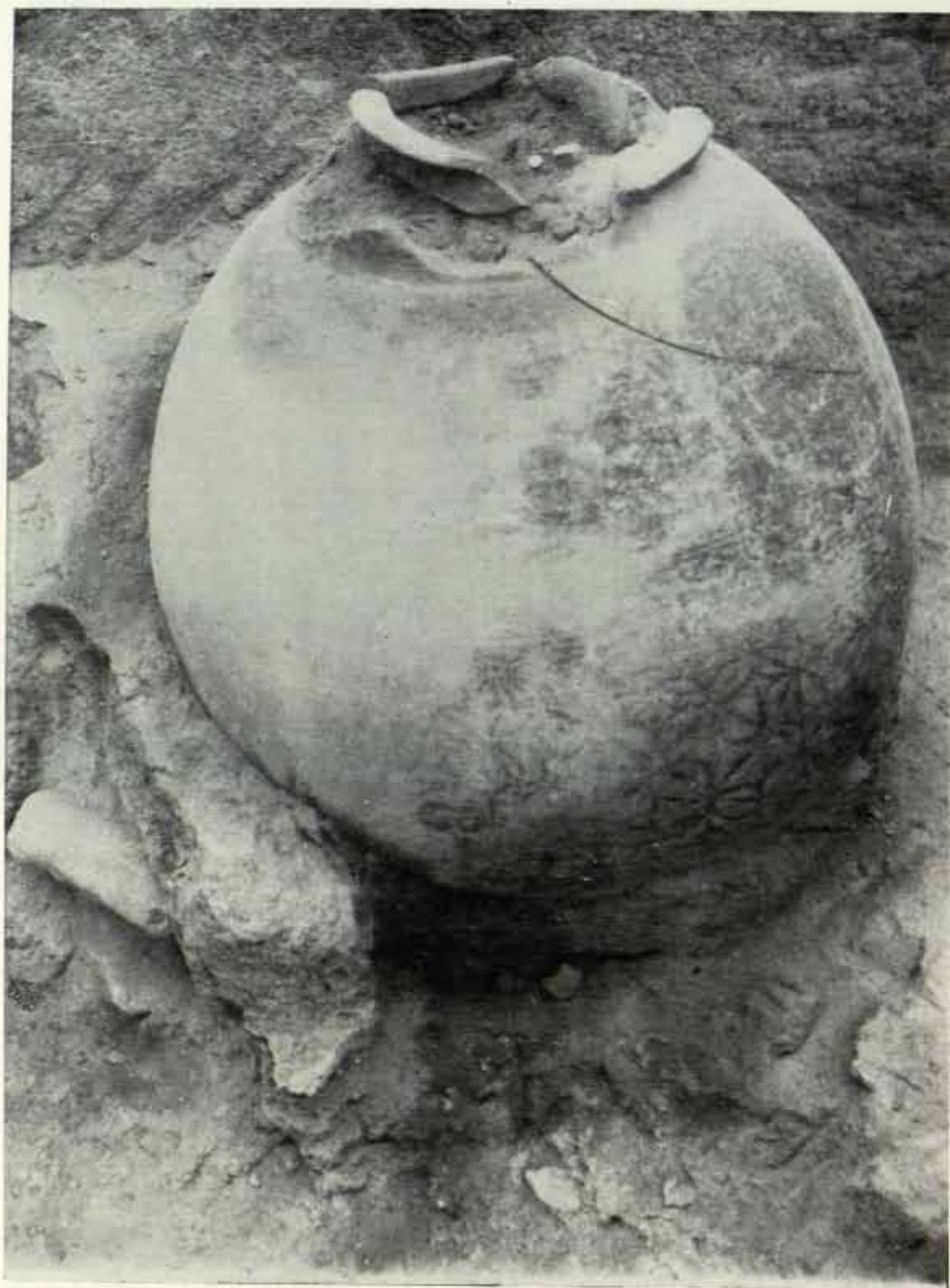
It was significant that during the initial season at Allahdino we were able to evidence the essentially plebeian goals of the original inhabitants. It is clear even at this early stage of the work that there were significant adaptive capabilities in the Harappan culture which allowed for settlement in a variety of ecological niches. The determination of what these capabilities is of course one goal of our future work. In the context of Allahdino's geographical position, i.e. less than 10 miles from the sea, close to the Kohistan, and in proximity to one of the major east-west trade and migration routes in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands, it might be argued prior to excavation that its location was owing to other causes—one of which would certainly be trade. However, so far as this initial season is concerned there is no evidence to suggest that trade was in any way significant to the original motivation for settlement. Except for a few sherds of nearby Baluchistan vintage, there was no indication of contact with regions remote from Allahdino. Almost all the raw materials are found locally. It does appear on the face of this new, still incomplete, and hardly digested evidence that sometime in the latter part of the 3rd millennium B.C. (we await radio-carbon results) the people represented at Allahdino made their settlement there because the soil was fertile and water was accessible because of already established methods of obtaining it. ✓The village life which arose partially as a result of a successful subsistence basis is hardly definable from our present evidence but what evidence we do have suggests that it was not much different from that at Mohenjodaro, Harappa, and other known Harappan sites. ✓There is more than a hint of a local style in the gracility of some of the pottery and certain artifact emphases, but the measurement of the degree of local variation awaits further work on the village itself—the purpose of next season's projected field work.



A. Allahdino. View across quadrant G 4 and into G 3.



B. Allahdino. View of Drain in quadrant G-4.



Allahdino. Large painted Storage Vessel in quadrant G 4.



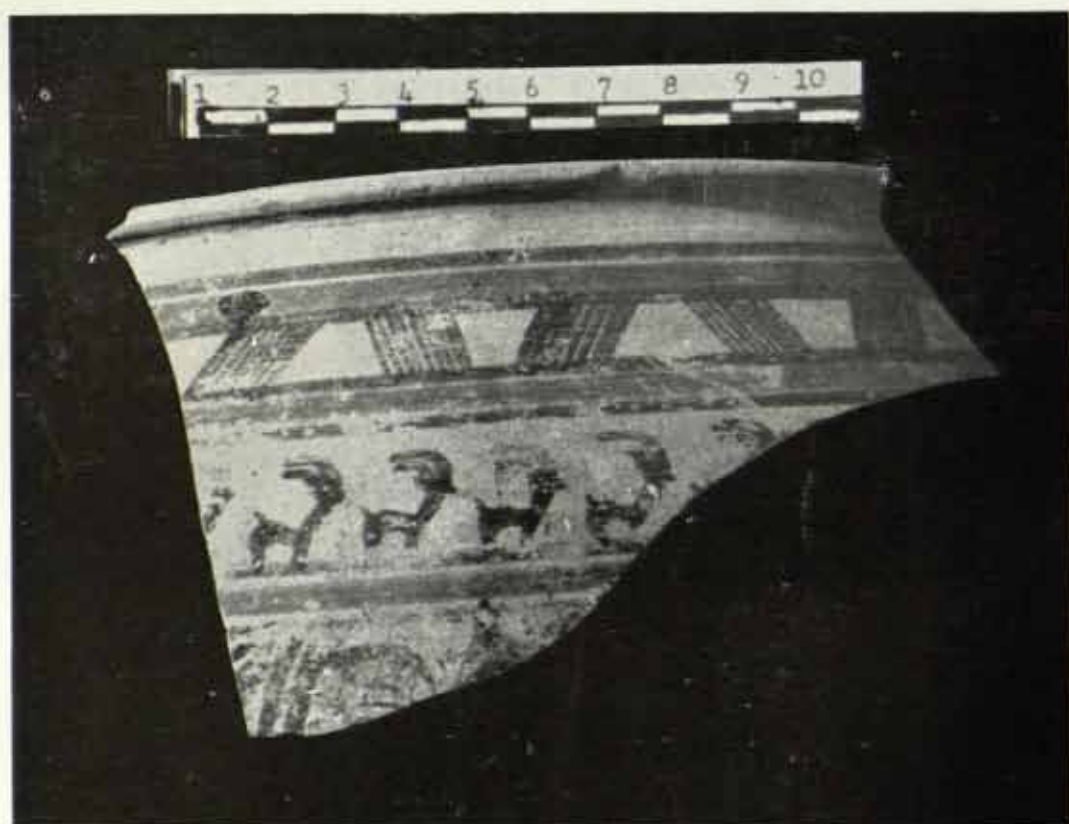
A. Allahdino. View of stone structures and an oven in quadrant H 5.



B. Allahdino. View of mudbrick and stone structures in quadrant J 6.



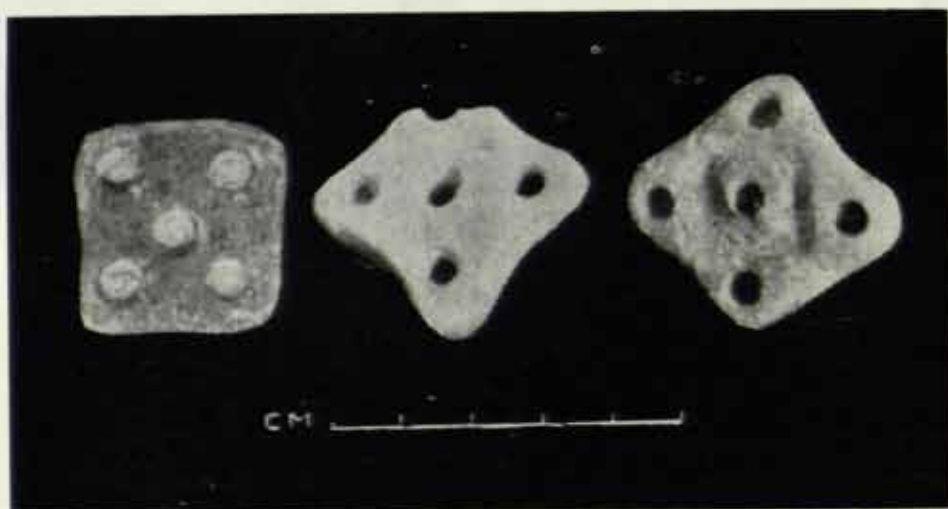
A. Allahdino. Harappan Seal.



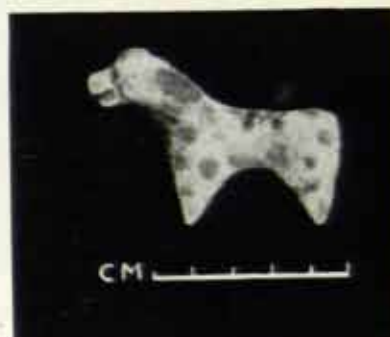
B. Allahdino. Potsherd painted with a typical design.



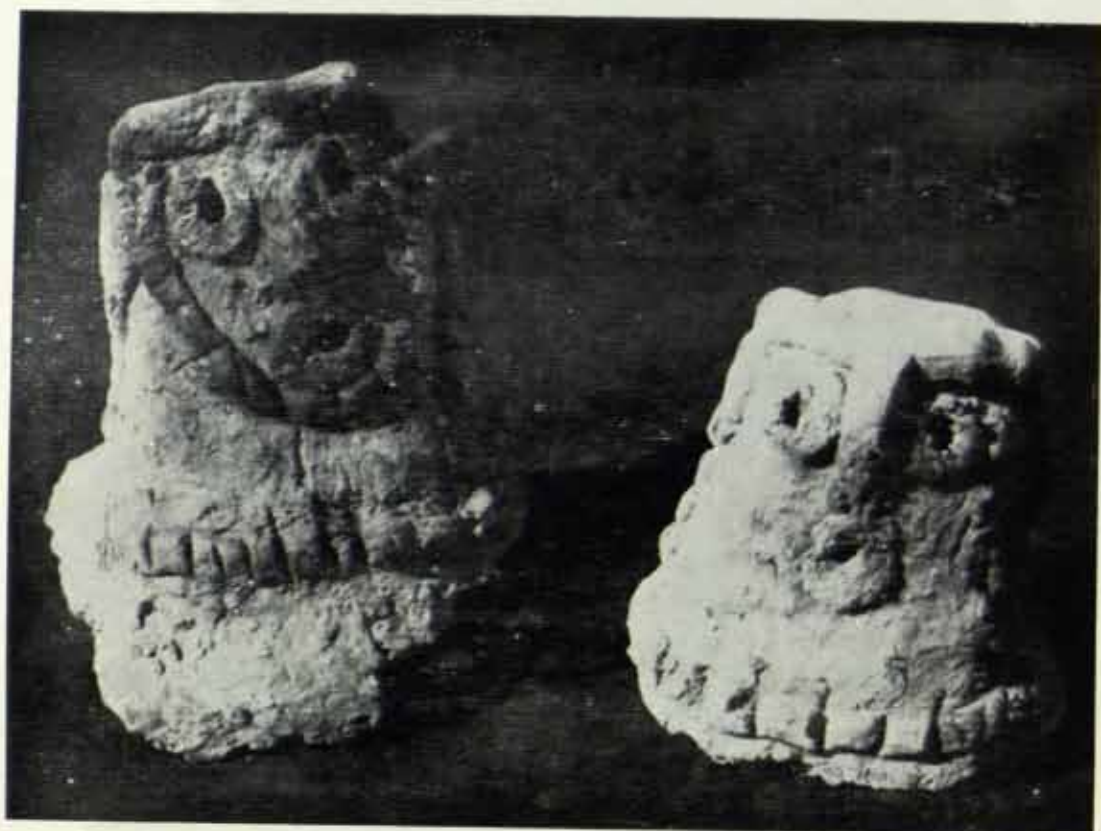
A. Pirak. Monochrome painted pottery.



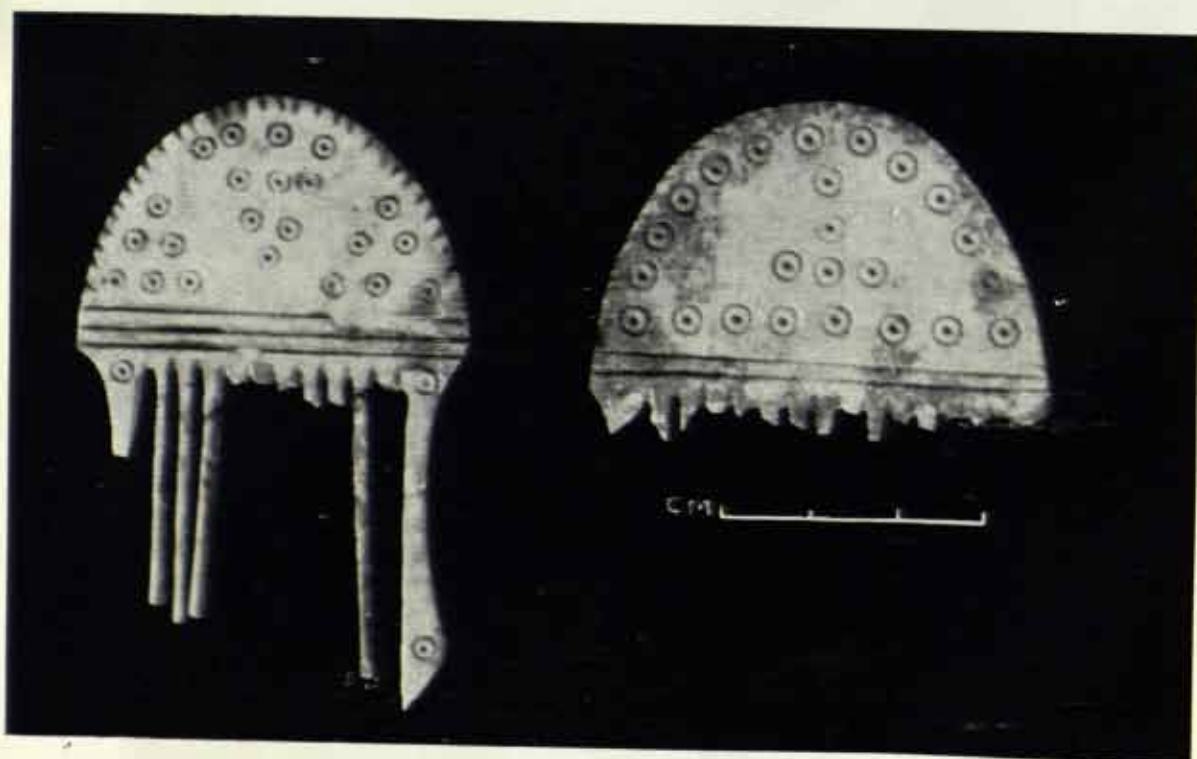
B. Pirak. Terracotta Seals.



C. Pirak. Terracotta horses.



A. Pirak. Terracotta Heads.



B. Pirak. Ivory combs.

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS AT PIRAK

(FIFTH SEASON—1972-73)*

by

Dr. J. F. Jarrige & J. F. Enault

Excavation work resumed on the 22nd November 1972 and lasted till the end of the first week of March 1973. Rectangular trenches were opened in several parts of the mound, but the most extensive work was carried out in a series of rectangles numbered Pk.A 3G to 3K, in continuation of the 1970-1971 excavation. The newly opened trenches were situated on the western slope of the central part of the mound and its southern and eastern sides. Such works in previously untouched parts of the mound were undertaken in order to check up whether the results which had been obtained in the main dig were relevant for the whole site, and also to collect more data to solve questions raised by the finds of a good deal of potsherds obviously much clearer than the cultural deposits known at Pirak. These potsherds are usually found at sites dated from the third millennium B.C. in the Quetta, Zhob or Loralai valleys. Such wheel-made sherds will be referred in this report as Chalcolithic (referring to the so-called Chalcolithic cultures of Baluchistan) in order to simplify and to distinguish them from the hand-made bichrome or monochrome painted Pirak ware. A brief summary of the results obtained in the different areas of excavation will be given below, before tackling the question of the "Chalcolithic" potsherds at Pirak, and also before trying to draw a few provisional remarks as a conclusion.

*The preliminary report of first three seasons-1968-71 is published in *Pakistan Archaeology* No. 7-1970-71 pp. 90-98 and whereas field work for the fourth season-1971-72 could not be undertaken. The participants to the fifth season at Pirak of the French Archaeological Mission, led by J. M. Casal, Director were Mrs. Casal (restoration work), Mrs. Jarrige (excavation in Pk.C and photography), Miss Santoni (excavation in Pk.A), Mrs. Enault (excavation in Pk.B and Pk.E), Mr. Masood-ul-Hasan, Field Officer, Department of Archaeology, Pakistan (recording of Antiquities and excavation in Pk.H), J. F. Enault, architect and J.F. Jarrige, Field Director.

AREA PK. A

About seven metres of occupation Layers had been already excavated from the top of the mound down to the point where the work had to be stopped at the end of the last season in 1971. No major cultural break had been so far noticed despite important changes as the disappearance of iron tools from the 7th level downwards. The trial trench of the first year, bordering the present excavation, led us to expect little more than two metres of deposits before reaching the virgin soil.

As for the previous season, the work in Pk. A was carried out on a surface of 240 square metres. Once more, no major cultural break was revealed. Two main architectural levels were uncovered and were arbitrarily numbered, for the time being, 12 and 13 (the top-most level being 1); but, in addition, a partial rebuilding and fragmentary structures often associated with casual bonfires were noticed. The building technique showed continuity with the upper levels; the orientation of the structures is almost the same, the walls are built of mud bricks of a standard size, laid in regular courses. The 11th level, where the work was stopped for the last season, presented massive walls formed of irregular clay blocks enclosing spaces full of post-holes. That could be thought of as a break with the typical architectures of pirak characterized by the use of deep niches. But in fact, juts underlying a space filled as a platform in the 11th level a room appears with niches. This room has been rebuilt thrice. In its earliest stage (12th level) the room numbered LVIX has deep niches and a door opening on to other rooms of a building which is standing mostly outside the excavated area. To the west the room is bordered by large spaces cut by straight angles using dilapidated walls, forming yards. These yards have been used for intensive kitchen activities. There, three big square hearths and platform carefully built with alternatively, big bricks (22.5 x 22.3 x 9 cm) were exposed. In the centre of each one, a circular hole (about 16 cm diameter) was full of ashes and probably it was used for keeping permanent embers. Close to the hearths were lying a few perforated bricks with one convex side and decorated with a groove. It appears more and more as will be confirmed by the excavation in Pk. C. that this type of brick, found in plenty on the site, was baked while being used as

support for cooking pots. Near and along a rectangular hollow fire-place, hundreds of bones of butchered animals were spread. The whole area was covered with ashes, charcoal and decayed plants, straw. A few post-holes apparently placed at random, were traced. The utilitarian character of these yards was also shown by finds such as grinding stones and crude whitish pots, often bearing at the shoulder a raised cordon with finger-tip impressions; many of these pots had the external surface burnt. In a corner of two walls in the south-western part of the excavation it came as a surprise to find a heap (about 1 square metre and 20 cm thick) with hundreds of "Chalcolithic" wheel-made pot sherds. This heap, probably made on purpose, is an apparently isolated cultural deposit in which the hand-made bichrome painted pottery so typical of Pirak, even in the later iron-age layers, was still in use.

Below the 12th occupation level, we observed on almost the whole surface a succession of strata of compact earth, mixed with whitish debris of organic and vegetal matter and ashes from casual fire-places. The fragmentary structures and the finds from these layers seem to be residual material from a neighbouring area of buildings, outside the limit of our excavation.

In the lowest level of organised architecture, numbered 13, well constructed walls built of regular mud-brick measuring as before 45 x 5 x 9 cm, were dug out (Fig. 12). The eastern part of these buildings seems to have been a courtyard, rather poor in finds, its floor being covered with patches of decayed straw and organic matter such as goat-dung; many post-holes, apparently placed at random, could be traced. Room LXXV, LXXIII produced only a small quantity of occupation debris. Room LXXIII communicates by a door with a sort of courtyard (LXXII); four circular mud structures are most probably the lower parts of bins and such structures are quite common at Pirak. Two of them have their external surface lined with monochrome painted potsherds. Against the south wall of the yard, two low, bench-like wells form what seems to be a place for vassels and jars. As identical structure still supporting many pots and jars, was found in later level in PK,C (Room CXIII), as will be mentioned below. The floor there was covered by ashes coming from a small square hearth with, as usual, a hole in the centre, and by decayed straw. The rooms

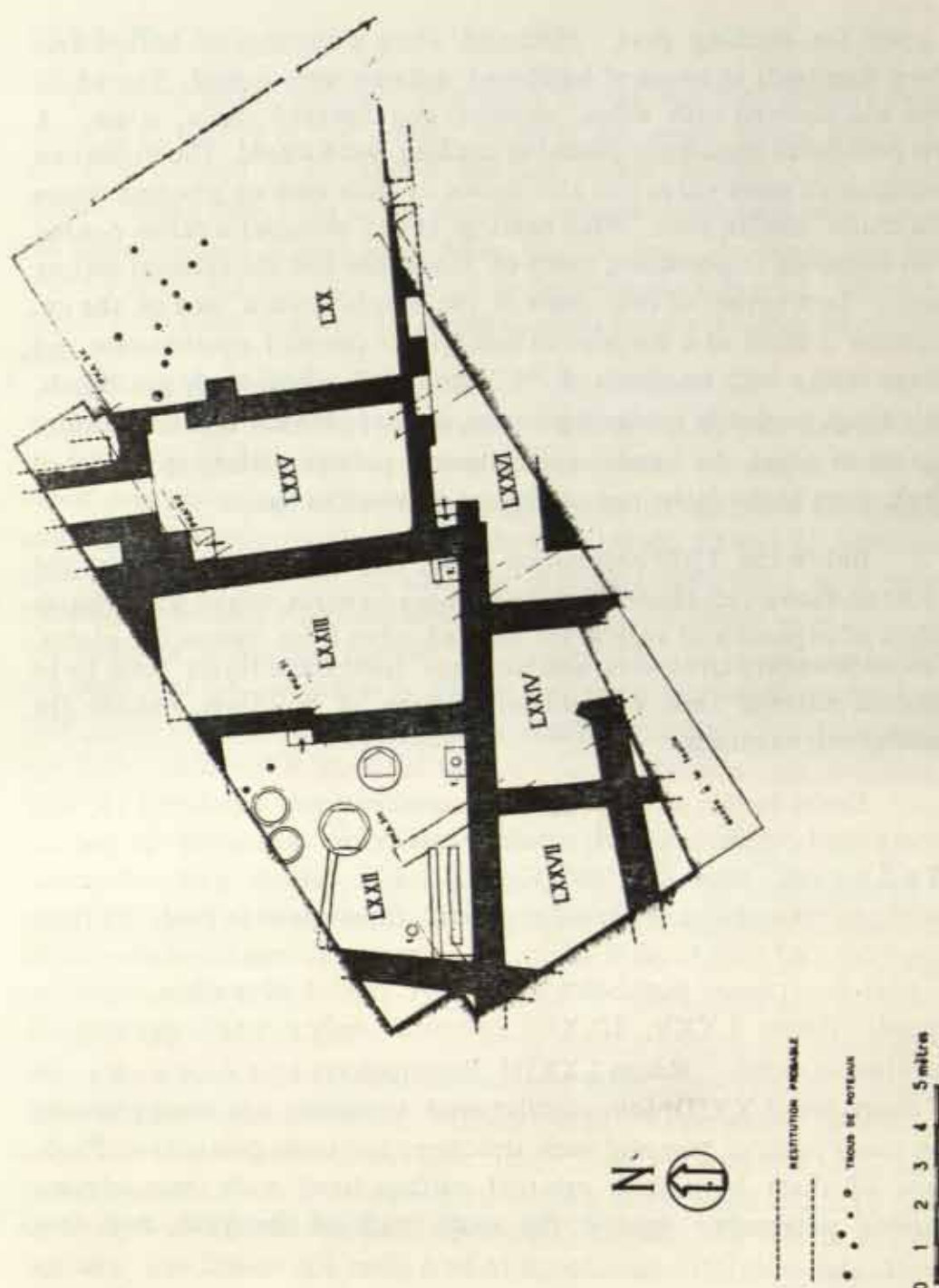


Fig. 12 Pirak. Plan of the 13th occupation level. Area Pk. A

LXXIV, LXXVI and LXXVII yielded more finds, a good deal of well decorated monochrome potsherds, few seals and even a large fragment of an ivory tusk.

Below the 13th level we found only fragmentary walls, associated with residul material presumably coming from buildings outside our trenches. In the centre of the excavated area PK.A 31 the layers bend and form a deep hollow reaching 85 m below the actual ground level; the bottom and the sides of this hollow rest against a fine, barren sand. It seems that the ground when Pirak was first occupied was formed by sand dunes and a general profile connecting the measurements, taken in all the different trenches, will give good indications in this respect.

As we said before, the archaeological material collected in the trench of PK.A does not display any break with what has already been noticed in the intermediate levels dug during the previous seasons. The crude whitish pottery, often bearing a raised cordon with finger impressions, represents at least 50 to 70 of the sherds, down to the virgin soil. These big jars or very large basins often with four ears are decorated with two or three parallel incisions, have been described with reference to the previous seasons. In the layers connected with the 12th level, some of the most typical pettery of the intermediate and even upper levels are still met with; these hand-made pots the rather poor fabric of which is hidden behind a geometric decoration painted in two colours on a buff background, have also been previously decribed. This bichrome painted pottery, mostly convex-aided bowls, straight-aided medium size pots, or very large carinated basins, bears geometric decorations in a style showing a larger variety in design then in the upper levels(Fig. 14). This fact had already been noticed in the intermediate levels during the previous campaign. A rather fine pink ware, already mentioned in connection with the intermediate levels is still found in good quantity in the 12th level. It is very different from the bichrome painted pottery and is made of an earth containing vegetable matter which has pitted the surface, otherwise carefully smoothed, and the core remains west of the cases black. This surface is often decorated with obique strokes or rows of hatched lozenges in deep plum-violet (Fig.14 Nos. 1-3). Nevertheless there are some changes as was pointed out in the previous report and the proportion of sherds bearing geometric decoration painted in one colour increases as one goes deeper. So, in the 12th level, the bichrome

painted pottery decreases in number, and below, almost disappears. This evolution is confirmed in all the other trenches of the mound and it is obvious that the bichrome pottery of the intermediate levels is an offshoot of the monochrome painted pottery of the early levels, evolving under the influence of new decorative tastes. In the deepest layers the monochrome painted pottery is often a little finer and that is also true of some of the pots uniformly slipped with a dull plum red on the whole exterior surface. The monochrome painted pottery displays wide geometric decoration in red or brown on a buff background. The painting is sometimes fugacious and with different shades due to irregular backing. One also notices new patterns, squares, chevrons, plain circles or dots besides the hatched lozenges and triangles so popular in the bichrome painted pottery of the intermediate levels. Some patterns often having in the centre a sort of plain or hatched maltese cross, are in many cases executed in a very careful and minute way comparable with embroidery work. In a few other instances, the paintings are very stylised, sometimes in a childish way (Fig. 14 No. 8). Of special interest is a group of designs only used in the lowest layers as is confirmed by the other trenches. Some medium-size pots show, on their external surface, three or four parallel registers enclosing a wavy or chevron line (Fig. 15 Nos. 1 & 2). In a few cases such designs are painted in white on a deep red background (Pl. XXVA). A fish-bone like votive appears on cups or bowls (Fig. 14 No. 11). All the designs remain purely geometrical and only one sherd shows red plum patches resembling leaves (Fig. 15 No. 3).

As was noticed in the previous season, no iron object has been found below the 7th occupation level. The finds of copper/bronze objects in the trenches of PK.A are rather scanty and one arrow-head with a tang and a few fragments have been recovered. The stone-tools include a few chert blades with a serrated cutting similar those found in plenty in the upper and intermediate levels, and a larger number of parallel-sided blades. A small number of laurel-shaped arrow heads in black schist are probably to be associated with the "Chalcolithic" potsherds found in these layers. Two or three well finished bone points with a small chafing-hole, already one of them bears five small incised circlets.

A few terracotta figurines came from the layers connected with the 12th level, fragments of camel with, as seen before, a body painted with a bichrome geometric pattern, and a human figurine of a rider with a bird-head. Another rider, from a lower layer, has also an animal head but is difficult to identify. A very large number of unbaked clay figurines were present in almost all the layers.

About fifteen terracotta seals have been discovered, a rather large number for the limited area excavated this year in PK. (Pl. XXVB). As in the intermediate levels, some of these seals are circular with a perforated boss at the back and bear incised cross designs. But from the 12th level downwards new types of seal occur which have still a back with a hole but with a rectangular or square shapes. Another set of seals has curvilinear sides and a general shape sometime resembling a Saint-Andrew's cross. In most cases, five deep dots are drilled out on the surface. A circular seal in copper/bronze presents radiating loops on its edge and has a general shape somewhat recalling the compartmented seals found at the "third millenium" sites. It is the only metallic seal found so far in the excavations, but on the surface was a fragment of a copper/bronze seal with a circular shape bearing a cruciform incised pattern identical with the terracotta specimens.

AREA PK.C

On the west side of the central part of the mound, five and a half rectangular trenches numbered PK.C 1E to 3H (176 square metres) have been opened and in two rectangles the dig was carried out down to the virgin soil.

The dig led first to the exposure of a massive mud brick wall running east to west, 2.60 metres wide with a remaining height of 2.10 metres. In such a restricted area it was not possible to deduce what the exact purpose of this wall was, but one may wonder if it could not be connected with an equally massive wall exposed in the trial trench of the first season (1968) which had a north-south orientation and which could have met, at right angles, the wall excavated this year in a part of the site not yet explored. If this be correct, it would mean that the

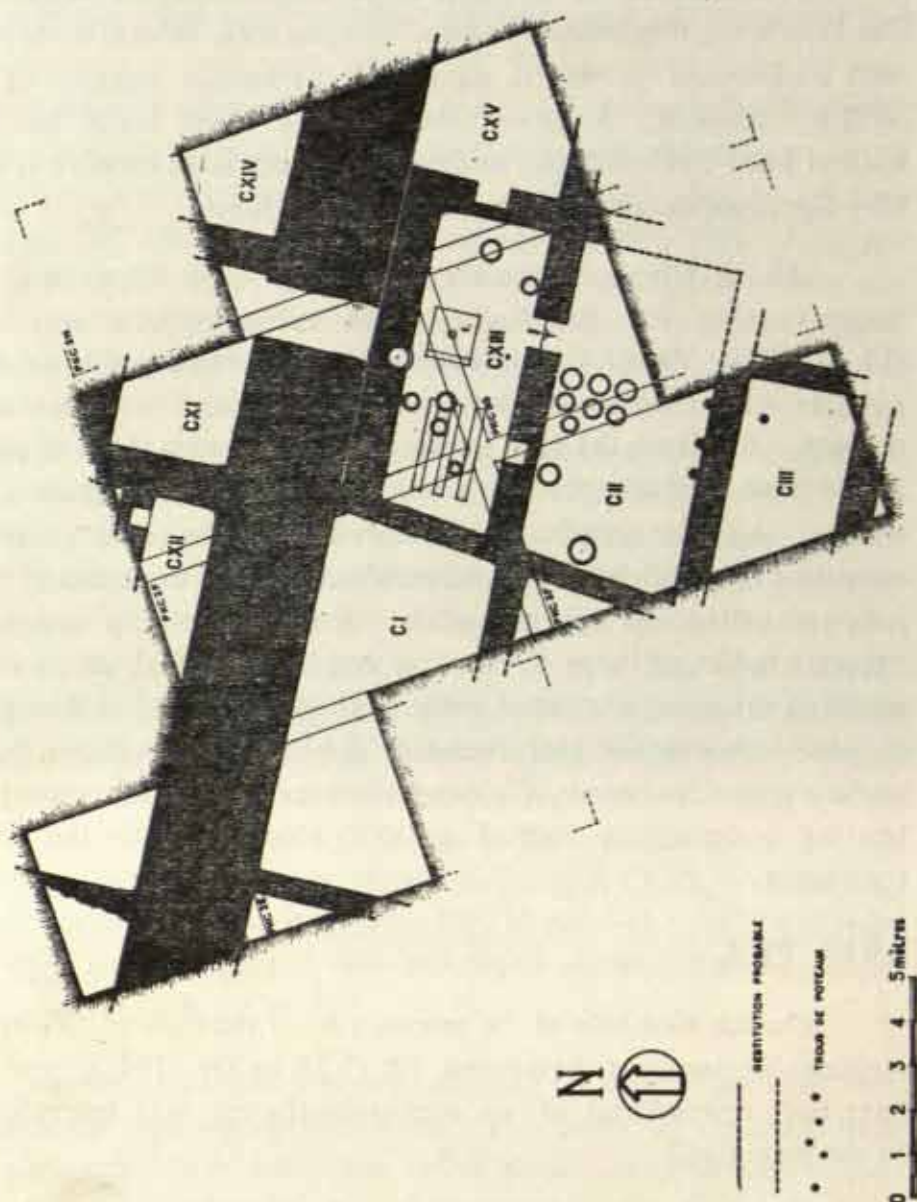


Fig. 13 Pirak. Plan of the 2nd level. Area Pk. C.

northern part of the site had, at one time, been surrounded by walls. In the upper layers, the massive wall apparently fell into disuse and is just a support for later buildings. In the first architectural level encountered here, deep niches were built on to the wall, but erosion has removed much evidence.

The 2nd level offers one of the most interesting set of rooms ever excavated at the site and they were part of a building complex lying to

the south of the massive wall. Due to a fire, roofs and walls collapsed on the floors burying interesting material (Fig. 13). Room CXIII was most probably a big kitchen. In its northern wall, there is a cupola-roofed oven filling a space which previously was a door in the massive wall. The fire was lit in the lower part of the oven which is still full of charcoal, and the upper internal surfaces were most probably used for baking cakes of bread, as in a modern tandoori oven. Close to it, the square platform of a hearth presents a few of these bricks with a convex side surrounding the central hole which were obviously fire-dogs. Three parallel low mud benches were probably jar supports, several broken but otherwise complete jars were still resting on these structures. The eastern part of the same room was covered by the remains of huge, crushed storage jars on the floor two carbonized beams were lying one with a mortised extremity, many traces of wattle, most probably fallen from the roof, were visible. A door leads from the room CXIII to a store-room (CII) where eight crushed storage jars were found. Next to room CXIII to the east, room CXV was filled by collapsed bricks, in which an iron chisel was discovered.

✓ The find of an iron tool there would point towards a rather late date for this group of rooms, but the black carinated pottery usually associated with the upper levels was almost entirely absent. On the other hand, the quality of the bichrome painted pottery from room CXIII contrasts with the rather poor quality of the bichrome decorations from the upper levels of Pk.A. Further, the only iron object comes from a filling and no other iron sample has been found on the floors which otherwise yielded a large number of artifacts. In comparison with what we know from Pk.A, we are disposed to think that there we had a level forming a transition between the upper and intermediate levels. Other metal finds are in copper/bronze and includes a long sword with a marked mid-rib, and one flat blade-axe with a double-slope, applied lunate edge, both from room CXIII. For the stone tools grinding stones, a well polished pestle, and, found together, six small bent points in chert, a few blades with a serrated cutting edge were noticed. One or two samples with both edge serrated have also been found.

The bichrome painted pottery is identical with what has been described in connection with excavation in Pk.A, but as previously

remarked, room CXIII yielded a set of almost complete jars and carinated basins which give good evidence of the taste for sophisticated geometric decoration so typical of the intermediate levels (Fig. 16). But, like everywhere else, the large majority of the sherds belongs to the whitish crude ware. One entire basin with a spout is worth mentioning being rarely found so far. Kilos of unbaked figurines were collected in this area including anthropomorphic figurines and several riders and animals, like humped-bulls, horses and camels are quite numerous. A horse in terracotta from room CXIII bears a painted plum coat (Pl. XXVC) and another rather fine specimen of a horse has a mottled coat and comes from a neighbouring room (Pl. XXVC). North of room CXIII, in the filling of a door in the massive wall, two exceptional terracotta heads, about 8 cm high, were found (Pl. XXVIA); they bear a crown, ear-rings forming a long spiral, neckless and one of them has a beard, all these details and the features of the faces being applied. The two heads are so closely alike the beard excepted, than they look like a pair. They are in a grey earth and show on their surface traces of burning. Despite their strange look, they are much more realistic than the other terracotta heads found at the site. The delicate ivory combs, decorated with very fine incised circlelets, one from room CXIII, the other from room CXI are articles of a refined workmanship, only witnesses so far in the bone-points (Pl. XXVIB). In the same area, beside terracotta seals, mud blocks, which have been stamped by seals, were found for the first time.

Going deeper in these trenches, we had to restrict the excavation to two rectangles (PK.C 2F and 3F). In such a limited surface, it was not possible to assume the exact significance of the structures dug out there. Square rooms, bordered to the north by the massive wall, were connected to the south by a door and a few steps to a passageway. Fire-places and post-holes were common features of these structures. One of them (CI) had a floor covered by a thick accumulation of strata of decayed cereals plants of different species and complete ears of corn could be traced. Was this a threshing-floor or a storage room. Through the strata of grain and straw a hole with the skeleton of mouse was noticed.

As in PK.A, the bichrome painted pottery decreases in quantity, the lower we go monochrome painted pottery becomes more in frequency. The percentage of "Chalcolithic" potsherds increased likewise. The layers on which the massive wall lies yield no more bichrome painted potsherds.

Below the building-floor of the massive wall, a group of circular structures was cleared corresponding to those found in the 13th, level of Pk.A. They are apparently the lower parts of bins and in the southern part of the excavation, the bottom of one of these structures was covered with a layer of decayed cereal plants. A few grinding stones and a terracotta stainer were also found there. The pot-sherds among this debris includes some fine samples of monochrome painted geometric decoration identical with that already met in the 13th level in Pk.A.

Below, a few worn out walls were the only architectural remains visible along with floors where an increasing number of "Chalcolithic" sherds were lying but, as in the Pk.A area, the monochrome painted pottery and the crude whitish pottery with applique decoration were still in use. The deepest layer is of compact clay, apparently a water deposit, but containing material such as copper/bronze arrow-head, many "Chalcolithic" sherds but only one monochrome painted pot sherd. It is worth noticing that all the "Chalcolithic" pot sherds in the deepest layer of Pk.C as also seen in Pk.A have a rolled and worn surface.

AREA PK.E.

Two rectangular trenches covering 68 square metres were opened at the south-east extremity of the mound, 1.80 m above the plain level. The purpose of this excavation was to learn the sequence in that part of the site and to try to locate the "Chalcolithic" potsherds found in large quantity on the surface in that area. From the surface down to the virgin soil, three architectural phases were met with. The first one displays a room orientated as in the other parts of the site north to south, with incise deep symmetric niches. In the 2nd phase, two parallel running walls are symmetrically cut by two doors or gates. They look like a street or a passageway and a gully for flood-water passes

through the two doors. In the third phase, the oldest, a long wall running north-east south-west and turning at right angle near the southern section, displays a succession of deep niches on each side of a central door.

In the layers belonging to the first phase, the bichrome painted pottery is found in plenty along with the crude whitish ware, but the black carinated pottery, so common in the upper layers of Pk.A, is almost entirely missing here. The second phase is characterised by the disappearance of the bichrome painted pottery and an increasing number of monochrome painted sherds (Fig. 15 No. 1) and about 20 to 30% "Chalcolithic" potsherds. From these layers also came a terracotta camel figurine, terracotta painted beads, a big barrel-shaped bead of banded agate, one copper/bronze knife, and an X-shaped seal in terracotta bearing five deep drilled holes. All these finds fit in what has been collected in the 13th level of Pk.A. The third phase was very poor in finds, mostly plain and crude sherds. Nevertheless, it is of great interest to see the use of deep niches combined symmetrically in the same context as the deepest layers of Pk.A since niches had been so far been mostly seen in the intermediate and upper levels.

AREA PK B.

At the western corner of the southern part of the mound, two rectangular trenches, Pk B 90 and 9R were opened for the same reasons as in Pk.E. The architectural phases have been identified there. In the first, one room CXXX built in mud bricks apparently moulded (45 x 27 x 9 cm) has a wall cut by deep niches and, opposite, another wall with a door and a threshold. In the north-west corner, there is a square hearth. The second phase shows only a sort of platform and a series of large steps.

In room CXXX a few sherds of black carinated pottery were found along with bichrome painted pot sherds, and a very large portion of crude whitish ware. One parallel-sided blade and one with a serrated cutting edge, one copper/bronze spear-head, a terracotta camel figurine, terracotta beads come from this place. One crude unbaked human figurine with hands clasped at the back was lying in a

sort of very coarse mould. In the second phase, the monochrome painted pottery appears but in association with the bichrome painted pottery. In the deepest layers, a few "Chalcolithic" potsherds were collected.

AREA PK.H

On the eastern flank of the site two rectangular trenches were opened. For the first time the orientations of the structures were not the same as in the other parts of the site so far excavated. Walls running south-east to north-west were laid around a massive block built of mud bricks and associated with three architectural phases. Due to the restricted area of excavation, it was not possible to determine the purpose of these structures. In the second phase, a large number of postholes, regularly set out, could be traced.

As far as the pottery is concerned, the sequence is the same as in PK.B, but the percentage of monochrome painted pottery from the first layers is very large. "Chalcolithic" sherds were found in good number, but always associated with the hand-made monochrome painted pottery. In the lowest layers, the "Chalcolithic" sherds have a worn out surface.

The "Chalcolithic" wheel-made potsherds.

The previous provisional report mentioned the discovery of many wheel-made potsherds belonging to the ceramic industries of the third millenium cultures of Baluchistan. As these cultures have often been termed as Chalcolithic, we have for convenience called these sherds "Chalcolithic" (Fig. 15 Nos. 4 — 17) to distinguish them from the hand-made "Pirak" pottery. Besides a few sherds showing a Harappan influence, many grey sherds bearing decoration painted in black obviously belong to what is termed Quetta ware of more precisely, what is called, after Fairservis, the Faiz Mohammad grey ware. Other sherd in large number are in Wet ware, often with circle-stamped motifs. Sherds in buff or in red, displaying geometric designs or the so-called pipal leaf motifs, remind us of finds either from the Quetta or Lorelei valley.

Where do such potsherds come from? First it is obvious that many of them are not in situ. For instance, during the previous season,

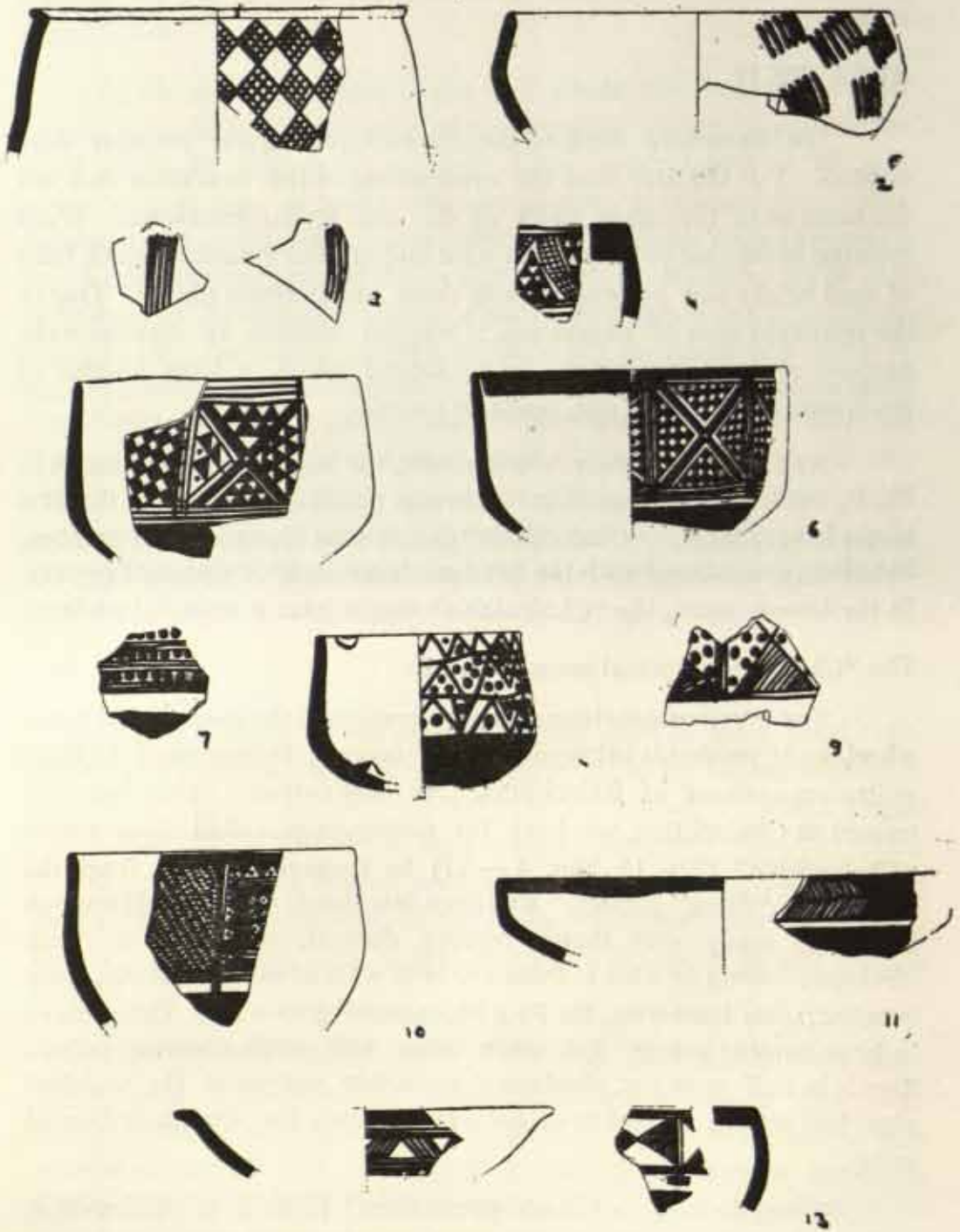


Fig. 14 Pirak. Monochrome pottery.

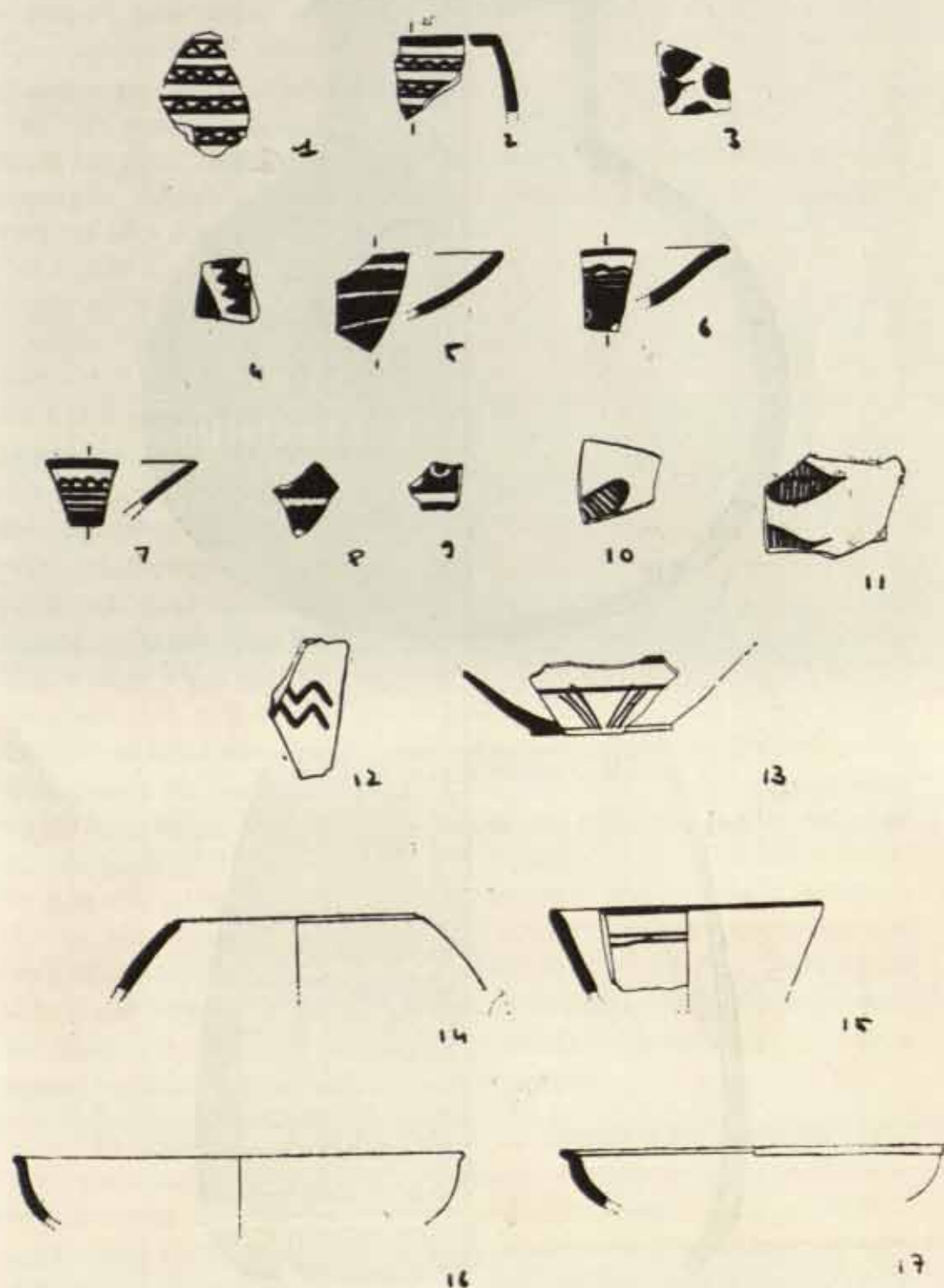


Fig. 15 Pirak. Monochrome pottery and "Chalcolithic" sherds.

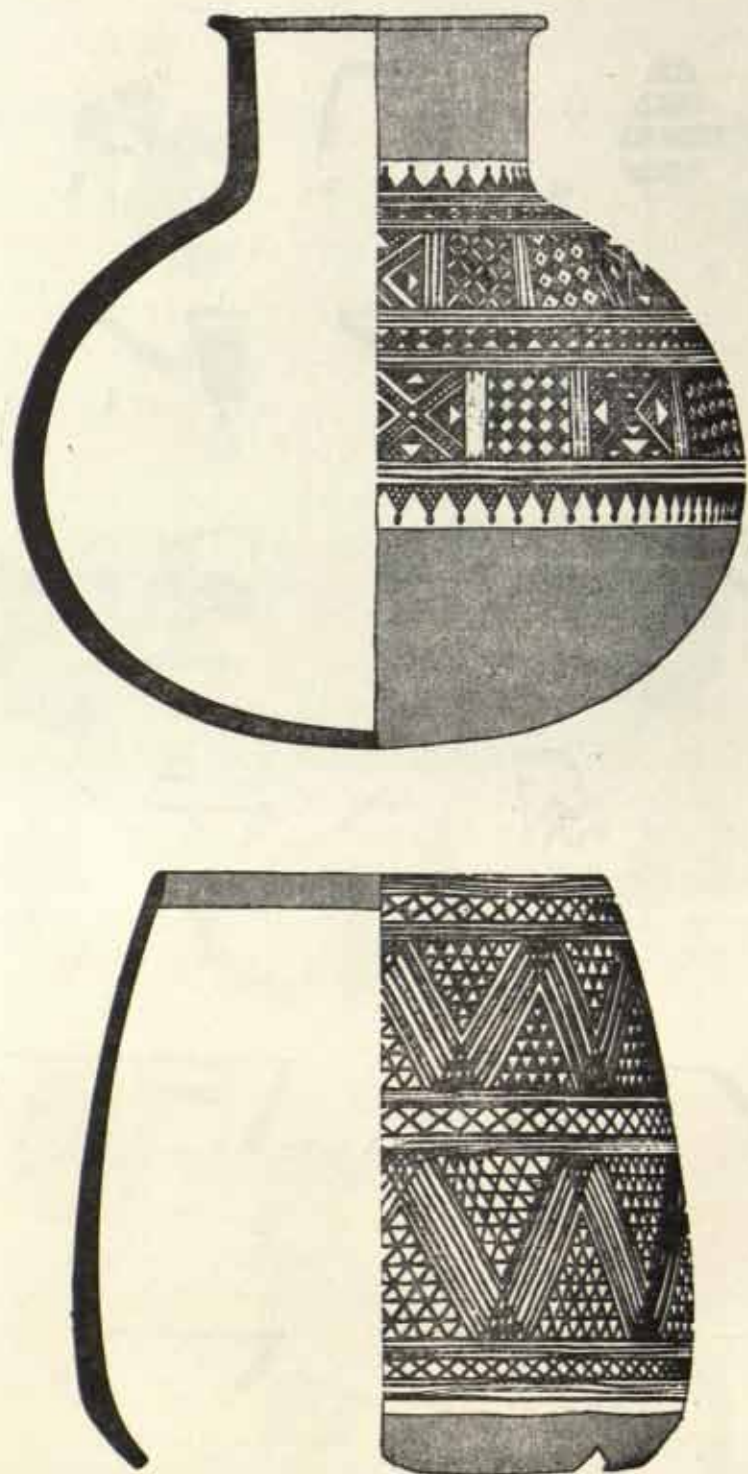


Fig. 16 Pirak. Bichrome painted pottery.

several parts of a broken pot decorated with a Harappan design (tree and birds) were found scattered in a layer associated with iron objects. The trial trench of the first season failed to show any separate level containing material belonging to the third millenium B.C. and down to the virgin soil only most of the typical features of the "Pirak" culture could be seen. Should we admit them that the monochrome painted pottery in 'Pirak' fabric was, in the lower layers, contemporaneous with the Wet ware and the Quetta ware? More than one thousand and five hundred years of continuous occupation of the site without and major cultural break was hard to believe. We may recall here that charcoal from the 9th level, which is already much below the layers where iron was found gave a date of about 1975 ± 155 (half life 5730 ± 40) and it may be an early settlement of a much smaller size was hidden somewhere below the present mound, but all the new trenches opened this year gave negative evidence. In all the trenches we noticed the same phenomena everywhere in which the number of "Chalcolithic" potsherds increased in the lower layers, but in layers just above the virgin soil these sherds were without exception worn and had a rolled section. On the other hand, "Chalcolithic" sherds found above, in the 12th level of Pk.A area for instance were in a much better state of preservation with still clearly visible painted decorations. So we may be tempted to think that the "Pirak" people settled close to an older site from which the weathered sherds lying scattered on the plain surface would have come. The "Pirak" people may in some instances here dug out the earth of the older mound for building purposes a filling, platform raising or brick making. In some cases, they may have taken out the sherds before using the earth, so it could be possible to explain the heap of wheel-made sherds in the 12th level of Pk.A. Therefore, it should not surprise us that the potsherds brought directly from a possibly older site were in a better condition than those which had been spread by flood or erosion on the plain surface.

In order to get more evidence, we opened a few trenches in the flood-plain itself, south of the mound, to see what sort of material had been brought there by the floods of the river Nari. After a layer of sand mixed with debris from trees, we came across a burnt layer of agricultural origin and below, in clayish soil, we met sherds among which were hand-made bichrome painted specimens, but just before reaching

the virgin soil we came across a thick carpet of only wheel-made potsherds all of them worn and obviously rolled, but their fabric and shapes belonged apparently to the third millenium B.C. ceramic industries. Unless new discoveries are made, it seems possible to conclude that before the "Pirak" occupation started, floods had already washed away parts of an older mound that we can tantatively locate to the west of the present site. Due to erosion, floods, digging by later settlers ("Pirak" people, during the 2nd millenium) and the raising of the plan level, this older mound may have not totally disappeared. It is of course too early to draw any definite conclusion about "Pirak. More work is needed but one can see that this seasons has been especially rewarding for the study of domestic aspects of life. Never before have we been lucky enough to find so many traces of cereals and other plants or such well organised kitchen-areas. There is no doubt that the results of laboratory analysis of plants, pollens or bones will be of a great interest. As far as the bones are concerned, it would be interesting to know if the camel-bones found at the site belong to two-humped camels or to dromedaries. One may recall here that almost all the terracotta figurines of the camel found at Pirak have two humps. To-day, the Kachi plain where Pirak stands is a country of dromedaries far away from any place where the camel is known, but the travellers Ibn Hauqal (mid 10th century) and Al Idriess (1150-51) when they visited this area, said that the country west of the Indus river was famous for the breeding of two-humped camels which were in demand as far as Khurasan or Iran.¹ It may be this was so some two thousand years before these travellers.

A good amount of charcoal has been collected even in the deepest layers and reliable results for assigning dates can be expected. So far, besides results from examples coming from the Iron Age levels (published in the previous report, we have only one relevant result from the 9th level (intermediate period) giving 1073 ± 155 B.C. The continuity between this level and the deepest is such that it would be hard to belive that the beginning of the "Pirak" occupation could have been much before the middle of the second millenium B.C.

I. H. G. Raverty, "The Mihran of Sind and its Tributaries", *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1893, LXI. I. p. 22.

The fifth season has corroborated the exceptional importance of the site as perhaps one of the only witnesses left of life in the alluvial stretches on the western side of the Indus, in the second half of the second millenium and the beginning of the first millenium, viz, the end of the Copper Bronze period and the beginning of the Iron Age of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Pirak was at that time obviously part of a settlement network which has been almost entirely destroyed by streams rushing down at the flood-season from the hills of Baluchistan such as the Mari or the Bolan rivers. Every year floods take away villages or mounds. In less than a century, Kalachi village, where the French Mission is living, has been destroyed twice by the Narl river and has had to be rebuilt on new sites.

From what we already know, it is possible to say that the cultural and economic bases of the community living at Pirak were well developed. Right from the beginning of the occupation the buildings were made of standardized bricks laid in regular courses; rooms are communicating and seem often parts of large habitation units, with store rooms and well-equipped kitchen areas much bigger than could be expected in poor dwellings. Despite the medium size of the mound, Pirak has never been one of these small semi-permanent hamlets of huts and hovels which were often thought to be the prevailing type of settlements between the end of the Harappan civilization and the historical period. Moreover, the finds at Pirak do not reflect a village living in isolation. The large amount of seals may be connected with some sort of commercial activities while the weapons and the tools in copper/bronze, the very delicate ivory combs, the finely incised bone-points attest to a good level of craftsmanship. It is interesting also to notice the part that the horse seems to have played in the daily life of people as shown by bones or teeth of this animal and the many terracotta figurines whereas now-a-days horse is not an animal fitting the ordinary needs of villagers in the Kachhi plain.

One could expect to find in the neighbouring parts of Baluchistan some artifacts or potsherds comparable with the material from Pirak, but so far there is very little evidence in that respect. But it must be pointed out that Pirak is yielding for the first time material which can be used for reference and comparison. Hand-made pot-

sherds with geometric painted decoration were collected at many sites and were sometimes thought to be of great antiquity or, in other instance, of a very late period. Thus, many of the hand-made painted sherds of "Ghul" were found in Shob and Loralai by Fairservis² resemble the Pirak pottery and are also associated with a crude ware decorated at the shoulder by a raised cordon with finger-tip impressions. It is worth noting, in such a context, the discovery at Dabbar Kot of a terracotta figurine of a rider³.

The problem of the origin of Pirak culture has not made definite progress through the work carried out in the lower layers during the last season. It seems evident now that there is no direct connection at least at Pirak between the ceramic industries of the third millennium B.C. and the hand-made monochrome painted pottery. For chronological reasons as well as for technical considerations, the gap seems obvious, but in exploring the lowest layers we came across elements showing that the break is possibly not so definite. For instance, some sherds were, thought in "Pirak" fabric, finer and display motif such as wavy lines in registers, sometimes painted white or with other geometric decorations which could be survivals of older ceramic traditions. Many of the seals, either in terracotta or in copper/bronze can be linked with older specimens found in Baluchistan. The discovery of an entirely new culture raises more questions than it solves, in the first stage, but step by step the work carried out at Pirak is opening new perspectives for further studies of the post-Harappan periods in that part of the sub-continent.

2. W. A. Fairservis, *Archaeological Surveys in Zhob and Loralai District, West Pakistan*, New York, 1959, p. 322, fig. 30.

3. *Ibid*, p. 325, fig. 33, f.

A CROCODILOPOLIS NEAR KARACHI

by

S. Mahdihassan

Some marine animals that lived and became extinct millions of years ago have left their skeletons as fossils. However, a few appear to have survived, living in the deep sea, and have been accidentally caught alive. They then came to bear the paradoxical designation of "living fossils". Now, it seems that even civilization can reveal "living fossils" of culture and one such instance would be the crocodilopolis of ancient Egypt having, as its surviving counterpart, the healing-resort of Mangho-peer, (the resort of the crocodile-saint) near Karachi.

L. Casson writes that, "Sobek, a crocodile-god, was worshipped in cities that depended on water, such as the oasis city of crocodilopolis, where the reptiles were kept in pools and adorned with jewels"¹ In fact "during much of Egyptian history live animals associated with gods were maintained in temples where they dwelt in pampered luxury. A crocodile representing a god of the Sun, Earth and Water, was lotted in the temple at Crocodilopolis"². Briefly the crocodile-god was three gods the one a Trinity, which deserved to be designated Trismegistus, a classical term, meaning thrice-great, but signifying the most powerful one. Since no fourth factor, such as air, was considered important to vegetation and thus for crop production, the thrice-great was the limit of benevolence, when the crocodile-god became the recipient of the greatest adoration. This explains the importance of crocodile worship and the potentiality of its migration elsewhere.

Sobek, the crocodile-god, (Pl. XXVIIA), bearing three solar discs, one for each of his attributes. The three discs become the in-

1. L. Casson, *Ancient Egypt, Time—Life International*, 1965 p. 185.

2. *Ibid*, p. 71.

signia of Trismegistus one, large and central, for the sun-god, with a smaller one on either side for the gods of water and of earth. Moreover, Sobek is again represented where the crocodile's head bears a huge solar disc (Pl. XXVIIB) as though the mammoth disc here is equal to the three discs (Pl. XXVIA). Accordingly we find two possibilities, equal to each other, three smaller discs or one large disc, but there can also be a third in which the three smaller discs fusing into a Trefolium. Here, the three units partly retain their original circular shape, yet constitute a Unity existing in its own right. Such a resultant design we expect to find everywhere in the ancient Middle East. Hathor³, the cow-goddess, found in Tutankhamen's grave, bearing the large solar disc on her head, and her body is decorated with trefolia revealing that the two symbols are identical in value. The Mesopotamian bull-god⁴ bears the Mesopotamian crown of five sets of horns, as befitting a god of the highest rank, equal to the mammoth solar disc of Egypt. His body is decorated with trefolia and the bull-god of Mesopotamia thus easily compares with the cow-goddess of Egypt. Finally, we have the priest-god of Mohenjodaro⁵. He has a solar disc on his forehead, another on his right arm, while his tunic is stamped with trefolia. The priest's decoration is not however uniform. Besides, the trefolia are isolated discs, the elements out of which the trefolium has been evolved. Hence the trefolium, as a complex of three solar discs also becomes the insignia of Trismegistus.

Turning to Crocodilopolis, life in an oasis is more dependant upon water than on any other single factor. Accordingly, the crocodile, originally the god of water, ex-officio became the god of sun and earth as well thereby representing powers that cannot be excelled. By giving full importance to the crocodile, as an aquatic animal, we are well supported by Prof. W. Pagel's pregnant remark that, "water creatures, such as the salamander, symbolize the transformation both of humid matter outside and the blood bound soul inside men⁶". The crocodile, as the largest river animal, would come first to represent such

3. Ibid, p. 175.

4. M. Nile Rutten, *Ancient Mesopotamian Art*, Encycl. Photogr. de L Art, Paris, 1935, p. 218.

5. Sir, John Marshall. *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization*, Arthur Probsthain, London, 1931.

6. Walter Pagel, *Isis*, 1948, p. 39.

a creature which was then deified. Emphasis, in the first instance, is to be placed on the virtues assigned to water and in the New Testament we read of a chronic patient hoping to be cured by being the first to bathe in the annual floods of a spring, but due to infirmity he could not compete with others, and Jesus had otherwise to save him. Water then was a healing agent, and even baptism is an extension of such a belief. To give due credit to the power of water is also to give credit to the power of aquatic animals and above all to the crocodile.

At Mangho-Peer there are hot spirings which must have made a deep impression upon the primitive mind. The temperature of the water reaches 133°F, and being saturated with carbon dioxide, bubbles of this gas give the impression of water boiling. These features, added to a mysterious subterranean origin gives a magical qualities to the water if not even a divine quality. Moreover this water have properties which seemed beneficial. It consists no sulphur nor iron but the traces of arsenic while its curative properties seem to be due to carbon dioxide. At any rate, Mangho-Peer became a healing resort attracting sufferers with skin diseases and, above all, lepers. On this account a leper asylum has arisen there supplementing with modern treatment the old system of hydropathy in which the people continue to have much faith. Even patients with other diseases use the water for bathing and drinking, apparently with much benefit. The spring water accumulates in adjoining ground forming a pool. The overflowing water irrigates a small area creating an oasis (Pl. XXVIII A). Some date-palms are seen above the growth of a scrue jungle and to the left is a small stream which is directly fed by the pool and thus indirectly by the spring. There is no connection between the oasis and any river not even when floods occur since rivers are far away from the site. The crocodiles must have been brought in prehistoric times to create a Crocodipolis in those days. The pool with a shallow boundry permitted the crocodiles to be aggressive enough to inflict injuries upon visitors but now the pond has raised walls, and the wall on the right separates the pond from an adjoining road. There are only half a dozen animals at present (Pl. XXVIII C). They are regularly fed with meat as before, which invites cats from the neighbourhood to pick up whatever is left over.

"The Nile crocodile is *Crocodylus niloticus* but that of Mangho-Peer "*Crocodylus palustris*, the mugger or marsh-crocodile. It lies in swamps and reservoirs and may be kept in semi-captivity. Near Karachi, a reservoir or tank surrounded by a high wall contains many muggars that live and breed in a sandy corner of the enclosure. Centuries ago this reservoir was in the midst of a large swamp inhabited by hundreds of these crocodiles whose descendents have been protected because of the presence of a hermit"⁷. On the contrary, the theory here maintained starts with the locality as begin a desert. The spring still found to this day made it an oasis. Since the water was hot, and appeared to be boiling due to the bubbling carbon dioxide gas, it was assumed to have magical healing properties and the place became a healing resort. Crocodiles, as an emblem of healing power, were brought there and kept as sacred animals, much like the crocodiles at Crocodilopolis. *Crocodylus palustris* is naturally found in the river Indus, from where it could have been easily brought. There is no need to assume the existence of swamps in prehistoric times which could not afford food to a large population of crocodiles. Regarding ancient Syria and Mesopotamia Prof. Mallowan writes that "since the dawn of history there have been no radical climatic changes on the Khabur steppe"⁸ of Syria. The gradual deforestation was due to man who has left "now a nearly tree-less region which was at one time reasonably well covered"⁹. Of contemporary Sind, we learn from Dr. Mughal that, according to "Raikes and Dyson there has been no appreciable change in the climate of South Asia and also of the Near East in the past nine thousand years"¹⁰. Thus crocodiles did not exist naturally in any swamp at Mangho-Peer just as they did not at Crocodilopolis in Egypt.

The Gazetteer of Sind states that, "Peer Mangho, or Peer Muggar, Crocodile Saint, ten miles north of Karachi is the tomb of Haji Mangho, a hermit who had settled about the 13th century"¹¹.

7. C. H. Pope, "The Reptile of World", 1957, p. 35.

8. M. E. L. Mallowan "Iraq, 9, 117, pl. XVI and Fig. 8 & 9".

9. Ibid, p. 15.

10. M. R. Mughal, Present State of Research on the Indus Valley Civilization, Department of Archaeology, Pakistan, Karachi, 1973, p. 16.

11. Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, Karachi District, Bombay, 1927, p. 73.

Dr. M. Rafique Mughal, of the Archaeology Department of Pakistan, kindly informs us that, "the saint bore the name of Kamaluddin and came from Khorasan and was a contemporary of Shaikh Bahawal Haq Zakaria of Multan"¹². Thus the saint acquired the popular title of "Crocodile-saint" as the counterpart of "Crocodile-god". It was definitely a complementary designation for the crocodile was emblem of healing power and "Crocodile-saint" meant the "healing saint". Then respecting the healer, and also the tradition which would not allow crocodiles to be ignored, these were dubbed "Lice of the Saint". Such a term fully depicts the hideousness of the creatures, crocodiles as lice, and also places the saint and the reptiles into intimate association with each other. Moreover, if the Egyptians adorned the living crocodiles with jewels, even Muslim visitors to Mangho-Peer some times follow the pagan custom of garlanding the reptiles. Thus there cannot have been a better survival of an ancient Egyptian tradition. However, the saint now becomes the healer and the crocodiles his regalia. The saint went there much as a noble nurse would join a leper asylum as volunteer and as such he deserved all the veneration that tradition has showered upon him.

Even before the Muslim period, according to Burton "this place was an old pilgrimage of the Hindus who still worship Lala Jasraj (Crocodile) and in reverence to the holy water"¹³. Finally, Dr. Mughal has traced its history upto the "Bronze Age or about 2500-1700 B.C., when the Indus Valley civilization was at its zenith. There are two spirings in the valley near Karachi, one just beneath the shrine, another four miles to the south-west of Mangho-Peer"¹⁴.

In Egypt there was Crocodilopolis obviously with a much longer history, which is to be linked with Mangho-Peer of the bronze Age. The Egyptian city became famous due to its acquisition of fertility, the Karachi resort because of its healing powers, both on account of their water. The crocodile, being reared in both these places, implies a

12. M. Rafique Mughal, History Revealed at Mangho-Peer, Morning News, Magazine Section, Karachi, July 31, 1966.

13. H. F. Burton, Sind Revisited, 1877, Vol. 1, p. 94.

14. M. Rafique Mughal, op. cit.

cultural connection between Egyptian civilization and that of the Indus Valley. This problem is being independently studied but it is necessary to explain how an agriculturist would conceive Trismegistus as the highest power possible. We start with conditions necessary for vegetative growth and thus for the cultivation of grain crops. The sun provides the source of light without which no blade of grass can grow and as such the sun becomes identical with heaven. But the element that keeps the farmer ever anxious is the supply of water, be it through flood, irrigation or rain. Accordingly, the Egyptian farmer had to venerate the water-god in the form of a crocodile. To his water-god, he assigned one solar disc worthy of such but in the capacity of water-god a second disc was assigned. Then god-soil means fertile-soil so that earth was the third indispensable element for crop production and as earth-goddess the water deity was assigned a third disc. As a consequence, Sobek, the crocodile god (Pl. XXVIIA), bears a crown of three discs, as god of water, god of sun and goddess of earth. Air to be of no consequence to crop cultivation so that a Trinity of Sun, Earth and Water fully suffice for the farmer as the most powerful god-head. Sobek is such a Trinity and Trismegistus with none to excel in importance and we can further confirm this in the light of comparative cosmology.

Just as Egypt is the western boundary of the ancient world so China is that on the east. We learn from Henry Dore that, "according to Taoism there are three regions of existence, Heaven, Earth and Waters"¹⁵ the last word is used in the plural probably implying water from heaven, as rain, and water from the earth, as springs and as rivers. While we admit Heaven and Earth to comprise the entire Universe, the fact that Water should be equal to these two, has to be noted. Moreover, Heaven is usually represented by the Sun and often when early man meant Heaven, he spoke instead of the Sun. In art, this identity is almost a rule. On reflection, it becomes obvious that these three regions of Taoism are nothing other than those over which Sobek ruled as god of the Sun, of earth and of water. Thus the cosmology of China is in full harmony with the mythology of Egypt and this

15. Henry Dore, *Chinese Superstitions*, Shanghai, 1914, Vol. I, p. 37.



A. Sobek—the Egyptian Crocodile-god.



B. Crocodile's head with a large circular disc.



C. Crocodilopolis at Mangho-Peer Near Karachi.



A. General view of the Shrine of Mangho-Peer.



B. Figure of Buddha with radiating halo.



A. Bust of Buddha with halo encircled by elongated leaves.



B. Ganga—goddess of the river Ganges.



C. Indra : Jaina Cave, Elura.



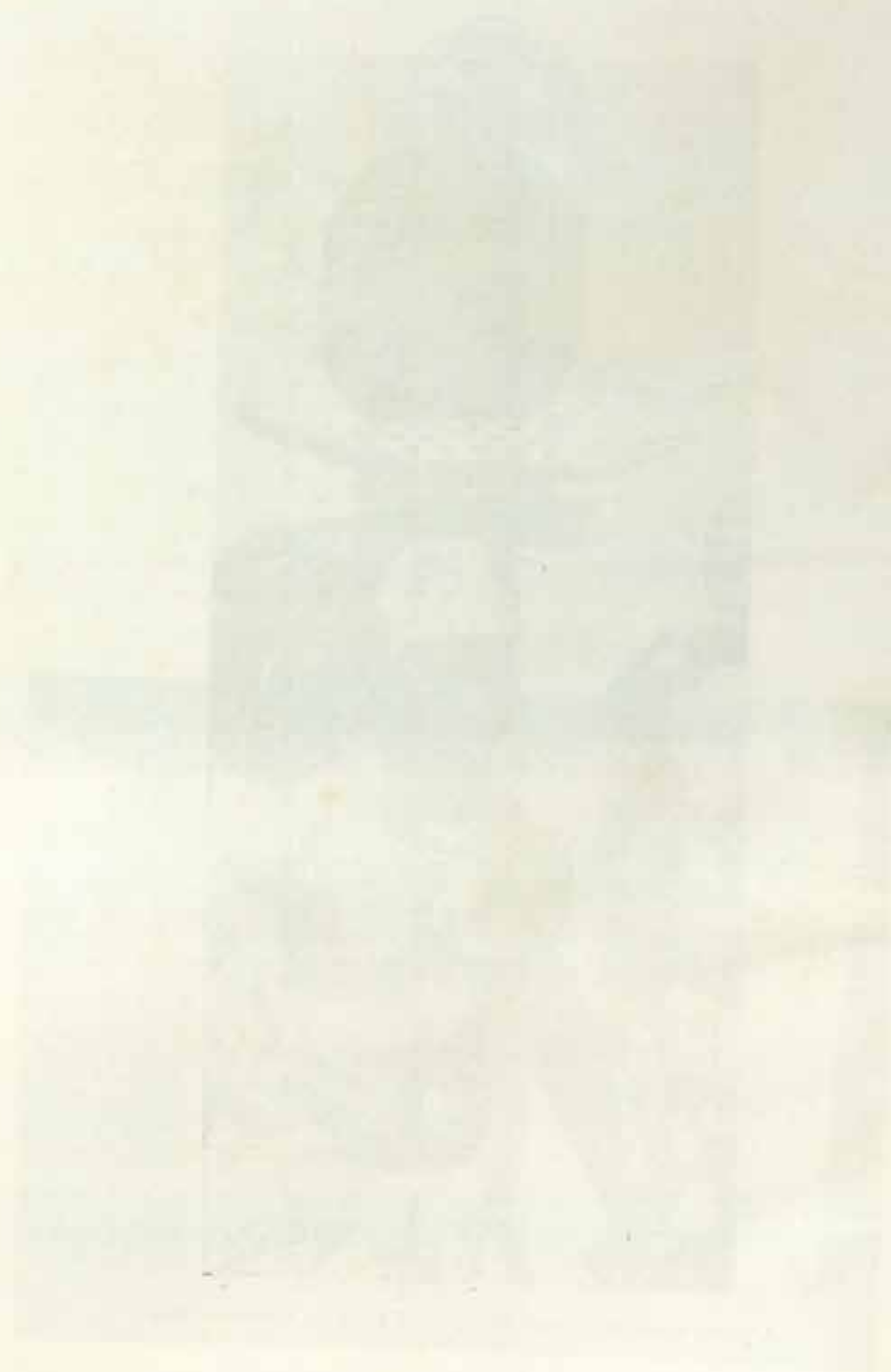
A. Peacock—Sun-bird with an additional disc shaped tail decorated with Trefolium design.



B. Grave of the successor of Mangho-Peer.



A participant of Congo National Freedom Celebrations



harmony can also be explained. The Chinese thinker as cosmologist and the Egyptian thinker as mythologist was in each case as agriculturist at heart who wished to assign to water a position as explicit that its importance could not be ignored. However, critically considered Water cannot match sun and earth in significance, since, these two are Heaven and Earth and thus constitute the Universe.

Having these considered in the light of comparative cosmology it is necessary to consider him again in the light of comparative mythology. There is a Sun-god in Egypt, but Sobek is more, a Trinity incorporating the Sun-god himself. In Hindu mythology Vishnu is a Sun-god but also a member of the Hindu Trinity, with Brahma the the creator, Vishnu the preserver and Shiva the resurrector (not merely the destroyer). Now Vishnu, as During-Caspers explains, was originally Varuna. About the latter we learn that, he was "god of growth in nature. As god of vegetation he was at the same time god of waters (or more than one), of these on earth (as springs and rivers) and in cosmos which bring the rain"¹⁶. Hence when Varuna became Vishnu, it was a water-god that developed into a sun-god. Something almost identical occurred when the Crocodile-god, obviously a water-god, enlarged his powers to play the role of sun-god. In Indian mythology Vishnu is also a separate god besides constituting a Trinity. In Egypt the god of water also constitutes a Trinity, incorporating the sun-god. From these considerations emerges the fact, of primary importance pertaining to the role of water in fertility, which on being achieved becomes so powerful that everything attributed to it is possible. Nothing is more important in cosmology than the five cosmic elements, five as recognized in Greece, India, China and even in ancient Mexico. But of these five, the one claiming priority all over the ancient world, has been water and obviously, the philosopher who conceived this belonged to agricultural people. Briefly, the farmer found by experience that water was the element most essential to his crop and, in fact, to vegetation and to all life forms. But he could also realize that, theoretically the sun is the source of all growth energy. Thus, when water

16. C. L. During Caspara, *The Tortoise—Symbol of Eternity*, Btn. No. 2, Asia Institute of Phalvi University, Shiraz, Iran, 1971.

became a god, it developed also into a sun-god, or the latter was incorporated into a Trinity with the water-god being primary. Thus sun as growth-inducer and water as life-supporter became the two indispensable powers. Since plants can grow in water, earth seems an additional element next in importance to the above two but for field crops mother-earth as fertile soil was absolutely necessary and earth became a goddess. This explains Sobek as the Trinity as Water, Sun and Earth gods. Only when we appreciate such a unification can we also understand the fusion of their insignia: Trinity represents a triple godhead and their triple insignia is the Trefolium.

We are now faced with another psychological fact namely the content, often less obvious, is expressed by that which contains it. Correspondingly, the producer may more easily be recognised by the produce, which may be more apparent to us. Thus Sun, the growth-inducer, up in heaven, is virtually identified by vegetation, its produce on earth. In art, this identity is frequently met with and whenever there is vegetation we are made to think of the sun, the grower. Circular halo of Buddha image (Pl. XXVIII B)¹⁷ represents the sun. The disc is full of light rays radiating from a centre occupied by Buddha's head who is thereby depicted sun-like, or as a deity and an immortal. In Pl. XXIX A taken from Marshall¹⁸, the solar disc is relatively small but instead of light rays we find conspicuously long and broad leaves. Here, light the growth energy, is replaced by its produce, the vegetation. In Pl. XXIX B¹⁹, a goddess is characterized by the solar disc of divinity, but the disc resembles a round tray full of vegetation and this is tri-elemental, three branches being connected together. That the disc, in Pl. XXIX B, does not carry four branches has to be noted. When emphasis has been shifted from the sun, the grower, to vegetation, as growth, a degree of refinement further takes us from foliage to flowers (Pl. XXIX C)²⁰. It represents an arch of flowers. Its genesis can be explained as follows. The solar disc is reduced to a circular outline, usually as a halo and a parallel change replaces the sun's rays by

17. Harold Inghold, *Gandharan Art in Pakistan*, 1957, opp. p. 33.

18. Sir J. Marshall, *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, 1960 pl.

19. Yveronica Ions, *Indian Mythology*, Paul Hamlyn, London, 1967, p. 109.

20. Louis Frederic, *Indian Temples and sculptures*, 1959, p. 152.

vegetation. As a consequence, the solar halo is substituted by wreath of leaves which is otherwise a well recognized object. Later, leaves were replaced by flowers and a circular garland came into being. When it is small it serves to decorate the head, but when long it decorates neck, as a necklace. The flowers, as such, or as garland, finally represent the sun. An arch of flowers would be a part of a large circular wreath and a part can signify the whole. Thus an arch of flowers (Pl. XXIXC), serving as the insignia of a goddess. It is a garland projected.

Plate XXXA²¹, depicting peacock as sun-bird or an emblem of the sun. It carries its side wings, then its long tail tracing the ground; yet another tail is seen spread out like a fan recalling its dancing pose. This additional tail is clearly a substitute for a solar disc, but what has been further stressed in the symbolism is a single plant with a flower to represent its full maturity. The plant carries just three leaves and there cannot be given a more impressive symbol of the resultant trefolium design.

We now try to interpret the symbolism found on the grave of a successor of Mangho-Peer (Pl. XXXB). At one end, a huge bundle of cloth represents the head-dress or *Pagri* of the successor saint. On it is placed a disc showing a triple stalked plant. The disc is white recalling the bright sun. The three stalks represent the triple-produce of a triple-producer or triple-sun. In Pl. XXXA, a plant bears three leaves as one complex, the Trefolium. Since produce stands for the producer, the triple produce represent the triple solar disc. But in Pl. XXIXB the complex is constituted by three sub-branches borne by the same stem, whereas in Pl. XXXB one plant carries three stalks instead. Thus in Pl. XXIXB and XXX we have a tri-elemental complex as Trefolium or its modified version. It is to be realized that a tri-elemental symbol is worthy of Trismigistus who represents the highest power. This is worthy of a goddess like Hathor and of a Priest god, as at Mohenjodaro. Its one version as a triple-branched stem decorates a goddess

21. Mrs. Jamila Brij Bhushan, *Costumes and Textiles of India*, Bombay, 1958.

(Pl. XXIXB), and another as triple-stalked plant serves to resurrect a saint (Pl. XXXB).

Many authorities have observed that customs die hardly. Such seems to be the case with the worship of the Trinity, composed of the gods of the sun, earth and water. Kenny²² illustrates an article on the National Celebration of the Congo Republic where a leader (Pl. XXXI), partaking in the procession, is carrying the effigy of a crocodile, the god of water. Below the crocodile, and above the head of the leader, is a bunch of feathers, probably ostrich, as sun-bird. The Earth, as globe, is conspicuous enough. Thus gods of water, sun and earth have all been duly represented by the uppermost object seems to be a bird, possibly representing air as the fourth item, so that all the cosmic elements constituting the powers of Heaven as a whole, are recalled to bless the occasion. The three powers originally recognized, and in which we are interested, are duly present to partake in the procession and, above all, water appears by its crocodile emblem. This emblem must have been kept alive for J. C. Wilson informs us that "natives of Ibadan worship the sacred crocodile²³" and Ibadan is in Nigeria which is only a little north of the Congo.

Our main object of interest has been the symbolic role of the crocodile, from Egypt to Karachi. If we associate Crocodilopolis with the crocodile as water-god, there may be other water-animals, and correspondingly, other sites similar to Crocodilopolis. Now there is the shrine of a Muslim saint at Cittagong where, in an adjoining pond, according to an eye witness, turtles are fed with meat as though it was Turttilopolis. It is also said that, in Oudh, India, a temple preserved fish as a sacred creature so that it could be entitled Ichthspolis. On seals of ancient Mesopotamia there are figures of the crocodile, fish and the turtle, but not of the tortoise. Tortoise is a land animal and herbivorous and could more easily be reared than turtles but this does not seem to have been done. This is evidently so because the god of fertility would be the god of water, and the turtle, an aquatic animal, would have precedence over the tortoise, a terrestrial creature. In

22. H. T. Kenny, *Nat. Geog. Mag.* Sep., 1960, p. 325.

23. J. C. Wilson, *Nat. Geog. Mag.* Jan. 1934, p. 50.

Indian mythology Vishnu, the sun-god, is the creator, and among his incarnations are those of fish and turtle, both water animals. To quote again from Daring-Caspers "Vishnu created all living things (only) after he had taken the form of a turtle"²⁴ (not tortoise as given). In effect it means that whosoever became the water-god, enjoyed the prerogative to become the creator or sun-god, not vice versa. This finds full support in the fact that the first element recognized all over the world, from China to Peru, including Greece, is water. In Egypt, the water-god who evolved into a Trinity incorporating the sun-god. Now, the Hindu god, Vishnu, was born of fish and again of the turtle, both aquatic animals, and as such would initially be the counterpart of the crocodile-god. And if the crocodile-god evolved as a Trinity, Vishnu became the sun-god, and also a Trinity. Moreover, Vishnu was originally Varuna²⁵, a god of vegetation, and vegetation is mostly dependent upon water whence the vegetation-god would be a synonym of water-god. Thus Veruna, virtually the water-god, became Vishnu as sun-god and a Trinity close enough to Sobek.

Any serious reader will wonder what enables old beliefs to persist through the ages. Water sustains fertility and the crocodile is its emblem. Prof. Mallowan and others have identified the crocodile as fertility symbol and thus it excels all reptiles. In India, the crocodile has become Makara and in China a Dragon. Hence it appears that the Dragon is to China what the crocodile was to Egypt and in fact the Dragon is otherwise a four legged reptile, like the crocodile, and no fish. The Indian Makara is half fish and half crocodile, which doubly makes it the emblem of fertility, fecundity, rejuvenation and immortality. The most renowned alchemic preparation in India is called Makara-Dhawaja, literally the Emblem of the Crocodile, which is supposed to be a panacea and even a rejuvenator. There is no drug conceived as superior.

SUMMARY

Water sustains fertility, increases food-crops and heal the sick.

24. C. L. Daring—Caspers, op. cit.

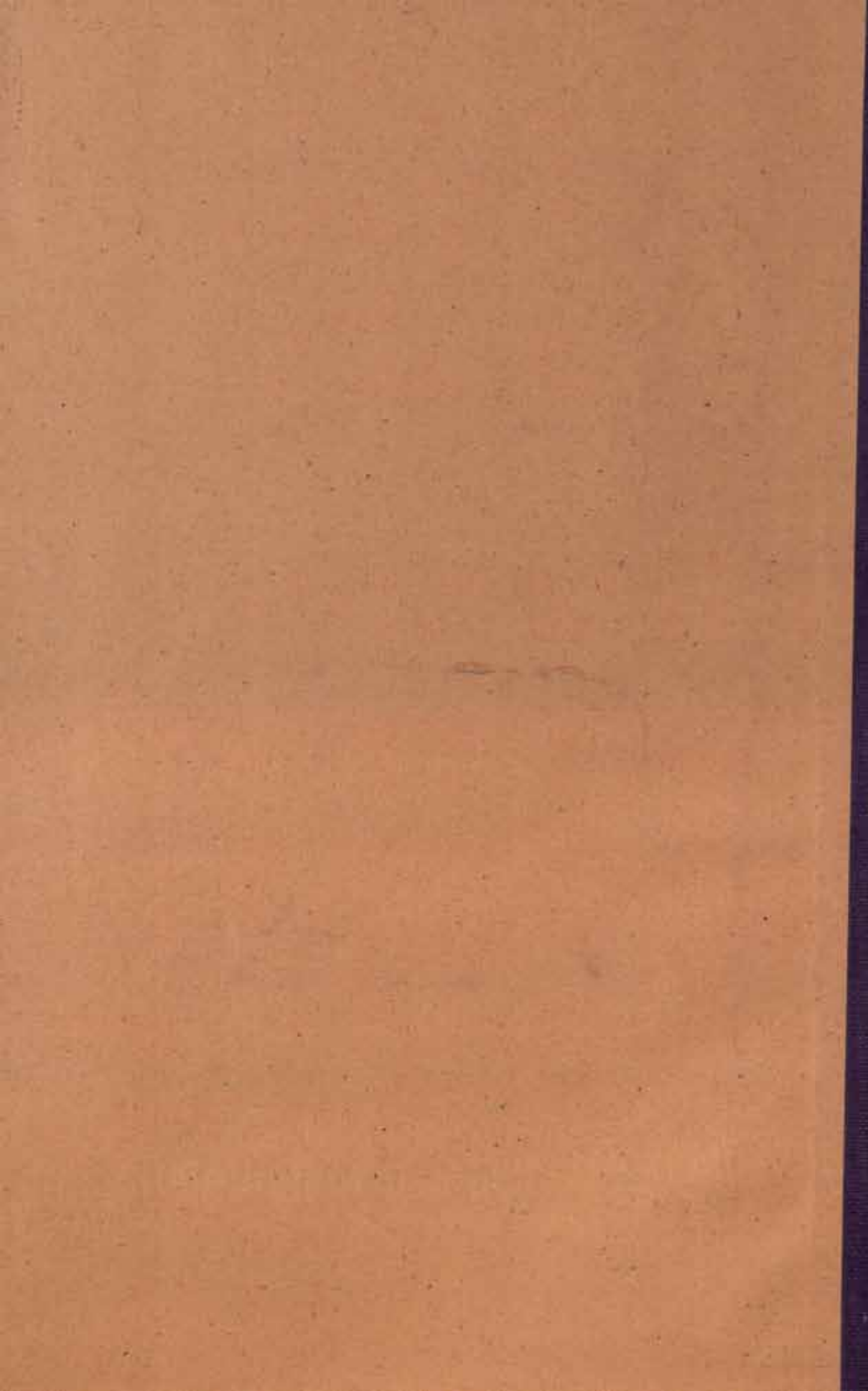
25. Ibid.

Sobek in Egypt was a crocodile-god but really the water-god. He became the god of sun, water and earth, three gods as one, a Trinity, Trismegistus, or thrice great, bearing three solar discs, one for each god. At Crocodilopolis, an oasis city, crocodiles were kept as sacred animals. At Mangho-Peer, Karachi, hot springs made it a healing resort, and overflowing water created an oasis. Crocodiles are kept again as sacred animals. Mangho-Peer mean Crocodile Saint, a substitute of Crocodile-god.

The Egyptian cow-goddess, Hathor, carries two kinds of insignia. A huge solar disc on its head, which the crocodile also does (Pl. XXVIIB). The other insignia is a "three solar disc complex" appearing as a Trefolium. This symbol characterizes Trismegistus, as Trinity, and is found decorating the goddess Hathor, of Egypt, the bull-god of Mesopotamia and the Priest-god of Mohenjodaro. Now the sun, as a growth-inducing power, can be represented by its produce, or vegetation. At Mangho-Peer the tomb of a saint is decorated with a plant with three stalks, another version of the Trefolium, recalling triple solar discs. Being a symbol of fertility it can also serve as the symbol of resurrection. Moreover the crocodile itself became a symbol of fertility which at Mangho-Peer functions as the emblem of healing power. There are innumerable cases of a symbol of fertility functioning in more than one sense, as increasing food, curing the sick, and conferring prosperity. Here, it is also shown that the effigy of the crocodile was carried to bless the Congo nation's prosperity (Pl. XXXI). In India the drug, Makara-Dhawja, Emblem of the Crocodile, is the drug of rejuvenation and a panacea. In China the crocodile, evolved as the Dragon, is virtually the water-god conferring prosperity.

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