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CONTENTS

Additional Notes and Items for Discussion

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The authors are responsible for the linguistic and technical qualities of their texts. The editors only tried to ensure minimum coherence to the articles. The editors always reserve the right to make all the changes in the manuscripts to maintain the standards of the Journal. Papers under the serial numbers are evaluated through the blind reviews to ensure compliance with the ethical rules of this Journal and the guidelines of Higher Education Commission (HEC), Pakistan. The Editors would like to thank Dr. Serena Autiero for her invaluable help in editing this volume.

A Reassessment of the Zoomorphic Motifs on Ceramics from Rehman Dheri, Gomal Plain, Pakistan

Nuzhat Haroon / Zakirullah Jan

Abstract

The proto-urban settlement of Rehman Dheri (early Bronze Age) in the Gomal Plain, Dera Ismail Khan, has yielded a rich repertoire of ceramics from the surface as well as from archaeological excavations, depicted with a variety of geometric, floral and faunal decorative designs. This paper on the faunal/zoomorphic motifs painted on the ceramics of all three identified periods of the Rehman Dheri cultural sequence (Durrani 1988). The study of animal motifs on ancient pottery is very interesting since it gives valuable information regarding the social, cultural, religious and economic aspects of the society that produced it, while it also provides information on the ecology and environment of the referenced period.

Keyword: Rehman Dheri, ceramics, Tochi-Gomal, Kot Diji, zoomorphic,

1. Introduction

Rehman Dheri, located 23 km north of Dera Ismail Khan city, is a significant South Asian protohistoric settlement where traces of the first urban fabric inhabited by a literate society were unearthed. The entire settlement was enclosed by a massive mud brick wall (Durrani et al 1994-95). Radiocarbon dates indicate that Rehman Dheri was established sometimes between 3400 and 3300 BCE. Stratigraphically, the profile of the site is divided into five successive levels designated as RHD IA; IB; II; IIIA and IIIB. The excavations at Rehman Dheri revealed a rich culture with an array of antiquities related to the Tochi-Gomal, Kot Dijian and evolved Kot Dijian periods in the Gomal Plain. Besides other artifacts, it contains a large proportion of wheel made pottery of well levigated clay, beautifully and skillfully crafted; well fired in slightly different shades of red-buff ware; with medium to fine texture and fabric; slipped in red, brown, sepia and white/cream colors; plain and painted in simple and complex geometric, zoomorphic and floral motifs and symbols in bi-chrome and polychrome colors. The popular shapes include globular jars, carinated and spherical bowls, dishes, basins, etc. The zoomorphic motifs on these ceramics include cattle, sheep, mountain goat, donkey, deer, bear,

probably lion, dog, fish, birds, snake, scorpion, frog, and centipede etc. (Durrani 1977, 1981a, b, 1988 and Durrani Ali & Erdosy, 1990, 1994-95).

2. Styles of Representation and Depiction of Painted Zoomorphic Motifs on Pottery of Rehman Dheri.

The zoomorphic figures have broadly been classified in the following groups.

Horned Deity (with Head and Horns)

One of the popular styles of representation of animals/cattle at Rehman Dheri is the depiction of horned deity on pottery in variation with the head /face of bull, buffalo, cow, mountain goat, deer as well as donkey. The faces are depicted in a simple, long, two dimensional or stylized shapes, sometimes with a beard and a dot on the forehead probably for the eye, and big out-curved horns and ears hanging on the side of the face.

Fig. 2 shows the frontal view of a horned deity with an abstract/ two-dimensional face in black with eyes marked as white circles with black dots depicted on a bowl. The top of the head is in white/cream color with black outlines and short growing black hair and upward incurving horns with pointed ends depicted in white with black outlines (RHD Period IA). Another sherd has a frontal view of an animal (probably a donkey) with two big ears on the sides with long face, and a black dot on the forehead, painted carefully in black on a dull red slip (RHD Period IA). Fig. 3 shows a profile head of a mountain goat or a dear with wavy horns painted in black on a cream band of a fine red slip jar. The horns, neck and the face are carefully depicted. The rest does not survive (RHD Period IA). A frontal view of a horn deity in Fig. 4 shows a large and upward curving horns on the sides of the face (only one horn survived), carefully drawn with a soft flow of the brush, painted in black with polished dark red slip, having a stylized long face, two hanging ears and two dots for the eyes in the forehead, all carefully drawn (RHD Period IB). Another one (Fig. 5) shows horns and ears of a possible horned deity in a more naturalistic style (Durrani 1988: Fig LVI, 6; RHD Period IB). A frontal view of a horned deity (Fig. 6) depicts a cow/ or buffalo with stylized upward horns painted in black with a white dot on the forehead (Durrani 1988: LVI, 7; RHD Period IB). Face and horns of a Markhor, ‘a

high-altitude mountain goat' (Durrani 1988: 87; Fig VI, 9; RHD Period IB), in black outline and white filling is painted on a bowl (Fig. 7) with a stylized face having small ears and a dot on the forehead. The horns are curving upward from the head and then down to the sides of the face (Durrani 1988: Fig VI, 8; RHD Period IB). A profile view of an animal-head (Fig. 8) probably a mountain goat or a gazelle is depicted on another fragment in black outlines and white filling, with slanting outward ears and growing hair on the face (Durrani 1988: Fig VI, 14; RHD Period IB). Fig. 9 shows a depiction of a mountain goat (only head survived) in profile showing both eyes, and long delicate horns gracefully curved up and down to the front sides (RHD Period II). A frontal face of a horned deity (Fig. 10) with two dots on the face as eyes and nose or mouth is depicted with hanging ears and a beard or extension of the face, stylized in an abstract with lines drawn with a thick brush or overdrawn (RHD Period II). Frontal view of an animal head, probably cattle/ buffalo, with two relatively short horns curved up on sides is painted on another sherd (Fig. 11). It has two ears, a beard/extension of the face and a dot (probably an eye) on the forehead, carefully drawn in a stylized manner (RHD Period II). A jar fragment bears an incised horned deity (Fig. 12), carefully drawn with upward curving short horns (RHD Period IIIA/IIIB). A bowl shows a horned deity (Fig. 13) drawn probably by an unskilled potter, as the face, horns and ears are distorted (RHD Period IIIA/IIIB). There is also a depiction of a stylized horned deity (Fig. 14) painted on a grooved jar (RHD Period IIIA/IIIB; Durrani 1988: Fig. VI, 6). Another grooved jar (Fig. 15) has a depiction of a horned deity in black outlines and white filling with hanging ears and stylized face with a black round spot and a long pointed beard dated to the RHD period II (Durrani 1988, Fig VI, 3).

Horns of the cattle or buffalo

Another prominent style is the depiction of single painted horns without head/ or face. Fragments of carinated bowls, dated to the period RHD IA, have horn motifs in graceful upward curves and pointed ends, painted in black outlines with cream filling. (Fig.1: 1, 2, 3 and 4: Depiction of single horn).

Full figures of the animals are rare except for small cattle i.e. either a cow/ or a buffalo, mountain goat, pig and dog as a single figure or a few with more than one figure. A fine jar (Fig. 16) is decorated with two wild

boars (Durrani1988; 56, Fig. XIV, 1), painted in black, one is shown with a frontal face with the two eyes together, and the other one is in profile (RHD Period IA). The ears and the hair on the body are depicted carefully and seem to be realistic in style. Another sherd (Fig. 17) shows a cattle figure in profile on a bowl with horns pointed frontally and a short-pointed tail (RHD Period IB). A profile view (Fig. 18) of a stylized mountain goat with frontal face, two eyes and large ears, is painted in black on a fine jar. The body is cross- hatched and the two frontal legs joined (RHD Period II). Figure of a small mountain goat with a short-pointed tail, small ears, and long horns curved to the front, and body decorated with hatched triangles, is painted carefully with four legs and one eye (as a dot), on a jar (Fig. 19) (Durrani 1988: Fig III, 9; RHD Period IIIA/IIIB). Similarly, a bowl is decorated with a mountain goat (Fig. 20) in combination of two scorpions with turned up tails, and Maltese crosses (Durrani 1988: Fig, LVI, 16; Period IIIB). The horns are turned frontally, and the face is carefully depicted, RHD period IIIB (Durrani 1988: fig. LVI, 10). One beautifully carved ivory seal from Period IB shows two mountain goats, an arrow, I' and T symbol and on the reverse, it shows a frog, two scorpions and T symbol (Durrani, 1988: Fig, XIX) (Fig. 21).

Fish Motifs

Fish motifs are painted on fine thin carinated bowls with almost polished red slip in white and black colors (Fig. 22:1-10). This decoration is unique to the ceramics of Rehman Dheri and has not been recovered from any other Bronze Age site in South Asia. The white paste used, seems to be fugitive and was probably applied after firing. Durrani calls these types of fish "Rehman Dheri Fish" (Durrani 1988: 245). Some fish in black outlines and white fillings are depicted in X-Ray fashion with two eyes shown together. They are skillfully depicted in a soft, smooth and fluent motion of the brush probably in a single long curved stroke from head to tail, in a beautiful two-dimensional shape, showing the thoughtfulness of the artist. A different type of Rehman Dheri fish motif is drawn in a wavy pattern, symbolizing perhaps the flowing water as in the Near Eastern Mythology (Durrani 1988: 84). A stylized fish motif with delicate long, cross-hatched body depicted in black/brown on cream slip plate, at RHD IIIB, bears similarity with Mehregarh VII (Durrani 1988: p.286: Fig.

XXXVI, 4, 10). A grooved jar has a simple small fish motif depicted in black outlines on red slip (Durrani 1988: Fig III, 9; RHD Period IIIB).

Bird Motifs

Bird motifs are also depicted in good number on the pottery from Rehman Dheri (Fig. 23). A bird, probably an eagle, is depicted in stylized or abstract shape in black outlines with white filling (Period RHD IA/IB). Another bowl shows a peacock depicted on a white paste band on the interior of a spherical bowl, showing the hind part decorated with thin horizontal lines drawn from its left side (or back), and a thin curved band is drawn from the top of this shape with several fine lines sprouting from it like a branch, all painted in chocolate brown (RHD Period IB). A jar fragment in red buff ware with bright red slip shows "a procession of peacocks" (Durrani: 1988: Fig. XXIV, 8; RHD Period IIIA). A peacock head is seen on a bowl (Durrani, 1988: Fig XXIV, 10; probably RHD III).

Snake Motifs

Fragment of a thick bowl (Fig. 24) with bright red slip has a snake painted in black, which is very carefully drawn in a curly wave, with a head slightly thicker than the tail, probably created with one stroke of the brush from head to tail (Durrani 1988: Fig. LVI, 1; RHD Period II).

Dog Motif

The motif of a dog or perhaps a wolf with open mouth and visible teeth is also painted on a bowl (Durrani 1988: Fig. LI, 1: RHD Period IA). Another sherd shows a thin animal with a thin tail, perhaps a dog painted in black outlines and white filling (Durrani, 1988: Fig. LI, 2: RHD IA). (Fig. 25)

Scorpion Motifs

Scorpion motifs are carefully and skillfully depicted on a number of sherds as a sketch in black and also in black outline and white filling on red slip, belonging to Period IA and II respectively. (Fig. 26)

Centipede Motif

A grooved jar with red slip (Fig. 27) is decorated with a black painted linear design "resembling either a stylized centipede or a fish skeleton" (RHD Period II).

3. Artistic Qualities of Painted Zoomorphic Motifs

The flow and spontaneity of thick and neat lines, in a single continuous curved strokes and softness of the brush show skilled and well-developed quality of line. The two dimensional, naturalistic and linear shapes of the snake, scorpion, birds and stylized or abstract or simplified faces of the animals, especially the horned deity with curving horns, and naturalistic and X-ray like motifs of fish with wavy lines (symbolizing the flow of water), show the sensitivity, aesthetic sense and emotions of the artist(s). All these motifs are painted in bi-chrome or mono-chrome colors, i.e. black and white/or brown and white on red slip, and brown on white slip or black on red slip (all neutral colors) painted on the body of medium size globular jars and carinated bowls and on the interiors of the dishes. The curves of lines, the use of neutral colors and black outlines around the white color have made the motifs prominent, harmonious and attractive. In the case of the horned deities, the emphasis is placed on the horns. The two-dimensional shapes are carefully drawn, giving a naturalistic effect with artistic beauty. The shapes and color of the horns have become prominent with black outlines. The fluency and smoothness of the lines show spontaneity, strong hold, and control of the brush which is achieved with a talent, careful observation and practice.

The use of black and white paint on red slip is also a characteristic feature of the 'Sothi Ware' in Rajasthan, which bears similarity with pottery from Rehman Dheri I and II (Tochi-Gomal and Kot-Dijian phases) while the use of black and white or white on dark slip is also found at Mehregarh IV-V and Damb Sadaat I-II (advanced Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age of the Mehregarh sequence) probably in the same time period as RHD I-II or slightly earlier while the Kot-Dijian period of Kalibangan (Rajasthan) probably comes later than RHD II.

Frequency Chart of different Animal Motifs Painted on Rehman Dheri Pottery

Animals	IA	IB	II	IIIA	IIIB	Total
Horn motifs of cattle	4	1				5
Horn deity of cattle	1	2	4	1 grooved 2 painted		10
Horn Deity of an Ass	1					1
Horn Deity of Markhor		1				1
Horn deity of Mountain Goat	1	1	1			3
Bears Motif	1					1
Cattle/goat, full body			1 goat 1 Cattle	1 goat	1 goat	4
Dog/or wolf motif	2					2
Total motifs	10	5	7	4	1	27

Frequency Chart showing motifs of Small Animal on Rehman Dheri Pottery

Fish motif	3	4			4	11
Eagle/bird motif	1	1			1	3
Peacock motifs		1	1	1		3
Scorpion motifs	1	1		1		3
Snake motifs		1		1		2
Centipede motif			1			1
Total	**5**	**8**	**2**	**3**	**5**	**23**

4. Summary of the Evolution of Zoomorphic Motifs at Rehman Dheri

These animals, depicted on the ceramics of Rehman Dheri, might have been domesticated or occurring in the everyday environment of the region. It was the choice of the people or of the potter/artist to depict thoes animals that attracted them the most or the ones that appeared more frequently in their surroundings and played a role in their daily life.

Beautiful upcurving single horn motifs of cattle without the face; horned deities with donkey and markhor features, wild-boars and dog motifs seems to be present only in period IA and IB i.e. the Tochi-Gomal

Phase. The horned deities of cattle are in greater frequency and consistently found throughout the cultural sequence at the site i.e. the Tochi-Gomal, Kot-Djian and Late Kot-Dijian Phases, and the horned deities of mountain goats and full figures of cattle and mountain goats are found in period II and III as well.

Rehman Dheri fish motif is greater in frequency and mostly evident in period I. No such example appeared in period II whereas period IIIB has a rare and peculiar style of fish with cross-hatched body which have similarity with Mehregarh VII (Durrani 1988: 286). The representation of birds is rare, among which the eagle only appears in RHD I, while the peacocks seems to be present throughout the sequence and becames more common in period II (Durrani 1988: 104, 284, Fig. XXXVI, 1). Scorpions and snakes are also rare but seem to be found throughout the sequence. Two scorpions in composition with a frog and two mountain goats are engraved on an ivory seal from period IB. Centipede motif only appears one instance in period II.

According to the present sample as a whole the greater frequency of zoomorphic motifs is found in period IA-IB and continued through period II till period III B, decreasing in frequency. These motifs are depicted on very fine and thin vessels with fine red slip and painted in black outlines with white filling in period IA-IB. The pottery slowly decreased in frequency and slightly became thicker and coarser with time, and black painting on red slip became common in later periods (II-III). The color of the slip became dull while the zoomorphic motifs became rare towards the final phase and also lost the fluency and beauty of line, shape and style. The face of a deity is distorted in one example on a bowl (Fig. 21), and the other one is carved on an unslipped plain jar in period III (Fig. 20). The bowls and jars with zoomorphic motifs are comparatively finer than the other pottery in period IA and IB but the bowls with the fish, single horns, birds and scorpion motifs are exceptionally fine and unique with almost polished bright red slip.

5. Other Evidence of the Presence of Animals at RHD

A proof of these particular animal depictions in the form of sculpture at Rehman Dheri is also shown by terracotta animal figurines from period IA/IB that include short horned, and humped cattle, dogs and birds, which continued in period II and became common in period III. Likewise, the

faunal remains from Rehman Dheri period IA include buffalo, cattle, sheep, goat and fish, period IB has cattle, sheep, fish and perhaps fowl and various other birds of different sizes, which also continued in Period II and III.

6. Zoomorphic Motifs from Coeval Sites in the Gomal, Bannu and Indus Valley

Among all the coeval Kot Dijian (early Harappan) sites in the Gomal, Bannu and Indus Valley, Rehman Dheri is the most prosperous one, as evident from its rich cultural material, especially the pottery. The zoomorphic motifs in Gumla include depiction of single horns, horned deity of a donkey and mountain goats (similar to RHD), full figures of a lion, fish, bird and peacock motifs and some unidentified animal and plant motifs in Gumla II (Tochi-Gomal) and the horned deities of cattle on jars in Gumla IIIa (Dani 1970-71: Pl. 1a, 1b; Fig. 16, 76- 90: p. 108). The quality of depiction is deteriorated towards Gumla III-IV (Kot Dijian and late Kot Dijian). At the site of Hathala in the Gomal plain, a horned deity with cattle figures is depicted on a sherd (contemporary with Gumla Period II/III) similar to Rehman Dheri (Dani 1970-71: 63), and a procession of birds in a circle is painted in black on a cream slipped dish of the Kot Dijian period. Jhandi Babar I (period II) and Jandi Babar II (period I) also have a bird motif painted on a bowl.

Lak Largai site in the Bannu Basin has a bird motif painted on a bowl in Period I, the Tochi-Gomal Phase (Khan et al, 1991:24- 28). The pottery from Lewan in the Bannu (Khan et al, 1986: 210-52) has horned deities of cattle and a procession of fish painted around the interior of a bowl-on-stand in period I (Tochi-Gomal). A unique style composition at Lewan II (Satyawadi 1994: 129) where two horned deities with two pairs of different style of curved horns (no faces) probably of bull and cattle supplemented by a mountain goat, are beautifully depicted in a horizontal band. The sun symbols are hanging from the ends of the pair of out-turned horns, and a branch with three pipal leaves is sprouting between the middle of the pair of incurving horns (Allchin et al 1986: 190-191). Besides Rehman Dheri, this depiction has a similarity of style and decoration with the horned deity depicted on pottery of Kot-Diji in Sindh, and Tali-Bakun in Iran (Langdorff, 1932: Plates 69-76).

The pottery from Amri (period ID and IIA) in Sindh has depiction of humped bulls, some stylized and elongated (contemporary with RHD II - III). Dogs and birds are also depicted on yellow or brown surface. Jalilpur, the Kot Dijian site in the Punjab has a lizard/turtle motif depicted on a jar, belonging to period II (Mughal 1972, 1974). Kalibangan, the Kot Dijian site in Indian Punjab, has fish, birds, stags, ibex, bull, duck and one human, all depicted in black in period I and Period II (Lal, 1979: 65).

The type site of Kot-Diji has animal motifs on pottery, contemporary with RHD IIIA/IIIB (Khan, 1965: fig. 14, 5: fig. 16, 6: fig. 17, 13) i.e. goats with cross-hatched body; a dog and peacock; the horned deity of cattle is in a very unique style with the face of cattle/water-buffalo depicted with beautiful curved horns and flowers between them. The eyes, nose and ears are carefully drawn but showing no mouth. It bears similarity in style and design with the deity from Lewan and partially from Rehman Dheri.

Harappa site, in the Ravi Phase (contemporary with RHD I), has bird motifs on jars. Motifs of a dog, goat, deer and a lady with a child are depicted in the Harappan period. Pottery from Mohenjo-Daro also has painted motifs of goat, ibex, fish with a goat, humped and hump-less bulls and goats depicted with cross-hatched elongated bodies. An example shows a goat depicted with a jackal and a fish, and one with a snake (Mackay, 1937-38: 217- 18: Plate LXVIII).

A horned deity of cattle on a jar found at Kili Gul Muhammad (Satyawadi 1994) is carefully depicted with a small, neat face and beautiful stylish curved horns, similar to Rehman Dheri. Other figures include mountain goats, a dog, and humped cattle with crisscross lines (Damb Sadaat II) (Fairservis, 1956: 169, 325, 437). Periano Ghundai in Balochistan also has a horn deity depicted on a buff ware oval jar. Rana Ghundai and sites in Loralai, Balochistan, have cattle motifs depicted in thin and elongated style (Asthana 1985: 63). Rana Ghudai have bull, dog, stylized humped and hump-less Indian domestic cattle, black bucks and sheep of typical moufflon type of horns depicted in period II, (the Chalcolithic) (Ross, 1946). Mehregarh site has humped cattle motif with birds and sun symbols, a procession of fish in a circle in MR VI, stylized goat motifs, caprids and gazelles composed along with geometrical motifs, birds, leaves, and fish, usually with water plants or water animals and a lion figure from Mehrgarh VI-VII (Jarrige, 1981: 81, 82; fig. 1.12, f; fig. 1.18, a, b, c, d;). Nal pottery (Fairservis 1975: 79) has animals and birds,

Sindy ibex, Persian gazelle, fish, winged lion, tortoise, humped bulls, cow and goat. The beautiful complete figure of a bull is very carefully drawn with plants and bird motifs (Hargreaves 1929: 17; Sankalia 1974: 320). A horned deity with the face and curved horns has similarity with RHD horned deity. At Kulli and Mehi (Early- Harappan sites), pottery shows highly stylized humped cattle/bull and black bucks/goat motifs (Asthana 1985: Figs. 3.39; 3.40; and 3.41; Satyawadi 1994).

7. Conclusions

The animal motifs on the pottery and figurines and the faunal remains of these animals show that "subsistence economy was based on agriculture, supplemented by domesticated cattle, sheep, goat, wild ungulates and a variety of fish and birds" (Durrani 1988: 347). The depiction of painted zoomorphic motifs is an important aspect of the rich cultural complex of the early Harappan/Kot Dijian people of Rehman Dheri (Gomal Valley). Ideologically and technologically they already had achieved growth in the field of agriculture, domestication of animals, town planning crafts making, producing wheel made pottery of good quality, styles and shapes, plain and painted, with simple as well as complex geometric, zoomorphic and floral motifs in monochrome, bi-chrome, and polychrome colors. The development of visual art i.e. the decoration of pottery with designs and especially the depiction of animal motifs on pottery is a milestone of their achievements. It shows prosperity, peace, and the intellectual and social sstance of the community. It was socially an interactive society at Rehman Dheri that developed competition with the surrounding regions, achieved excellence and improved the standard of living. Beside other luxuries, it gave way to the aesthetic sense and artistic qualities, i.e. the decoration and beautification of objects of everyday use, and as a result the creation of art came into being. The depiction of zoomorphic motifs on pottery, must have been developed due to the demand and appreciation of the community especially the upper class, because the pottery with these motifs, mostly carinated and spherical bowls, dishes and some medium-small globular jars, are extra fine, and these vessels were probably used for serving the food or drink on special occasions.

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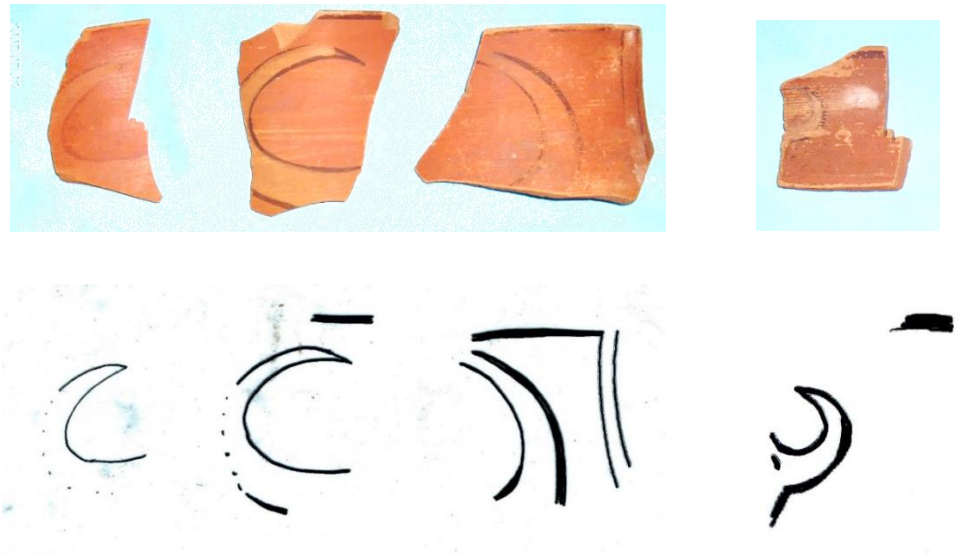


Fig. 1 - Rehman Dheri, depiction of single horns.

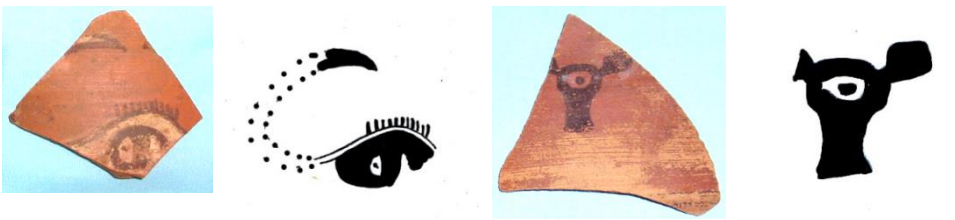


Fig. 2 - Rehman Dheri, horned diety with face and profile view.

Fig. 3 - Rehman Dheri, head of mountain goat.

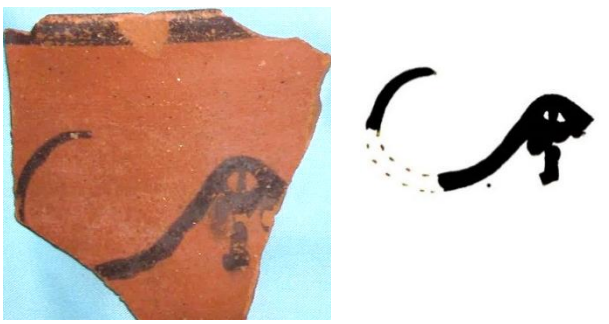


Fig. 4 - Rehman Dheri, frontal view of horned deity.

Fig. 5 - Rehman Dheri, horns of a deity.

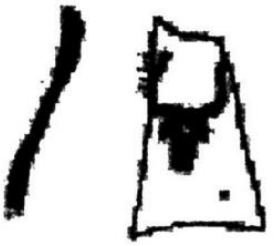


Fig. 6 - Rehman Dheri, frontal view of a horned deity.

Fig. 7 - Rehman Dheri, horned deity as markhor.

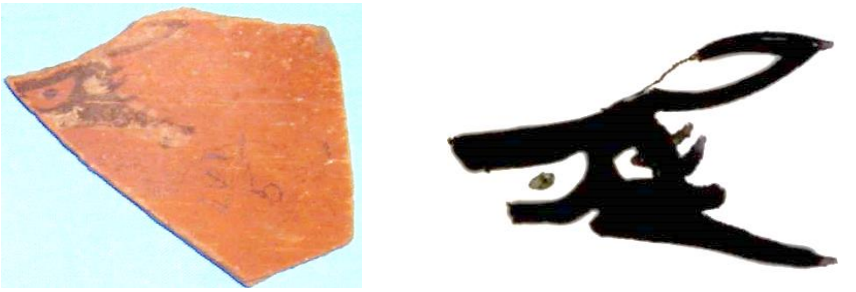


Fig. 8 - Rehman Dheri, animal head.

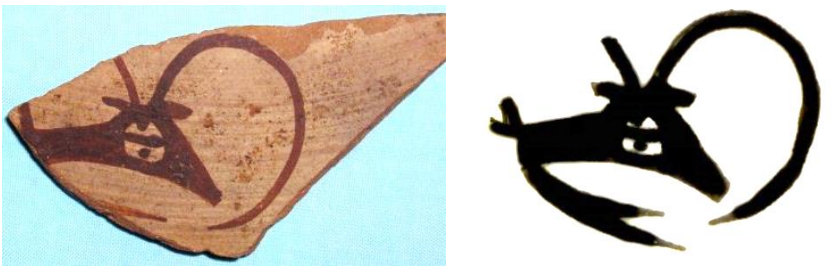


Fig. 9 - Rehman Dheri, long delicate horns of mountain goat.

Fig. 10- Rehman Dheri, horn deity frontal face.

Fig. 11- Rehman Dheri, head probably cattle.

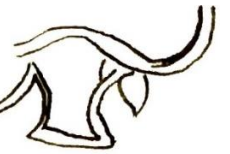


Fig. 12 - Rehman Dheri, incised horned deity.

Fig. 13 - Rehman Dheri, distorted horn.

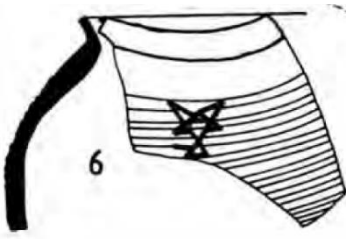


Fig. 14 - Rehman Dheri, grooved sherd with horned deity.

Fig. 15 - Rehman Dheri, stylized face of horned deity.

Fig. 16 - Rehman Dheri, wild boars.

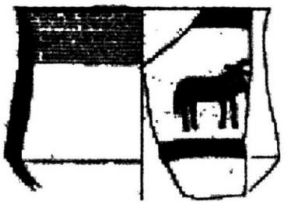


Fig. 17 - Rehman Dheri, short pointed tail animal.

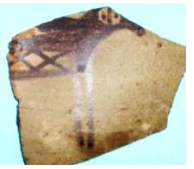


Fig. 18 - Rehman Dheri, stylized mountain goat.

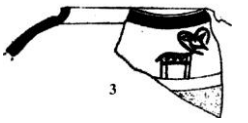


Fig. 19 - Rehman Dheri, small mountain goat.

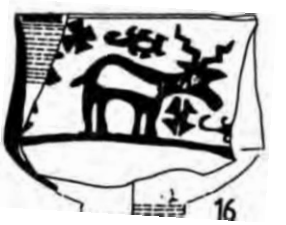
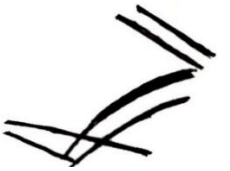


Fig. 20 - Rehman Dheri, scorpion & mountain goat with Maltese cross.



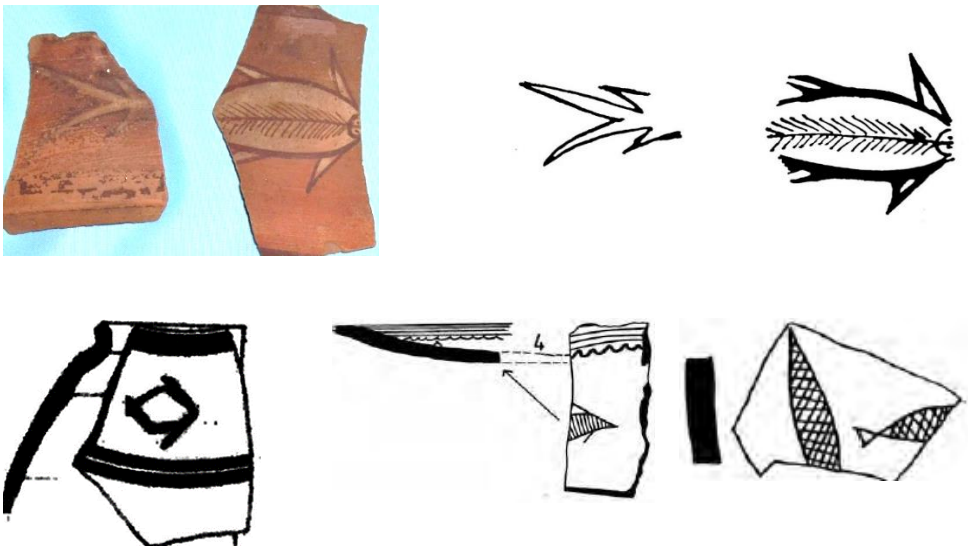


Fig. 21 - Rehman Dheri, 1 to 10 - different shapes of fish motifs.

Fig. 22 - Rehman Dheri, mountain goat with arrow, I and T symbols with frog and scorpions on a seal.

Fig. 23 - Rehman Dheri, 1 to 4, bird motifs.

Fig. 24 - Rehman Dheri, snake motif.

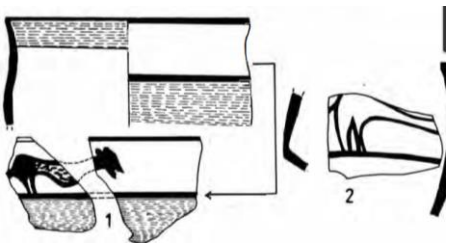


Fig. 25 - Rehman Dheri, dog motifs.

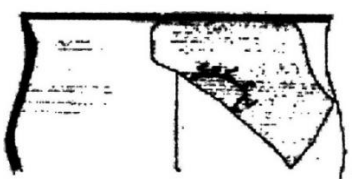


Fig. 26 - Rehman Dheri, scorpion motif.

Fig. 27 - Rehman Dheri, centipede motifs.

Between Gandhāra and Xinjiang
Notes on the Upper Indus Petroglyphs, Buddhism and Globalization

Serena Autiero

Abstract

The Buddhist petroglyphs of the Upper Indus area are representative of the dynamics of transcultural interaction among figurative systems in antiquity. Starting from this specific category of cultural products, this paper aims at providing new perspectives on global interactions, especially looking at the diffusion of Buddhism along the Silk Roads. The iconography of the Buddhist petroglyphs along the capillary roads of the Upper Indus area suggests that traders and pilgrims across the mountains contributed to opening up the path to the development of a Chinese Buddhist visual culture. Buddhist iconography travelled from Greater Gandhāra to China also through not-official representations such as these. The representation of Jātaka stories in the Upper Indus petroglyphs and in paintings in Kizil provides the case study for the present contribution. A final section of this paper focusses on the role of the Karakorum in the transregional contacts between the Indian Subcontinent and Chinese Central Asia, highlighting the role of Buddhism as transcultural force in this process. The circulation of Buddhist iconography functions as catalyst for change and innovation and provides fresh insights toward an integration of the Upper Indus petroglyphs into the wider phenomenon of transculturation along the ancient Silk Roads.

Keywords: petroglyphs, jātaka, visual culture, globalization, Upper Indus, Gandhāra, Buddhism

1. Introduction

Petroglyphs and inscriptions along mountain routes of the Upper Indus and neighbouring valleys of Northern Pakistan typify an important transit area between South Asia and Eastern Central Asia (nowadays Xinjiang region of China). These roads were a crucial passage for travellers, traders and pilgrims; the identification of Buddhist themes in this large corpus of rock art stimulates a special interest in the scholarly community. Buddhist

visual culture in this remote area worked as agent of transcultural transmission, bridging distant areas across the ancient world.

In 1984 the Heidelberg Academy for the Humanities and Sciences established a special research unit (*Forschungstelle*) to document and study those petroglyphs and inscriptions clustered along the Upper Indus roads, an area made more accessible thanks to the opening of the Karakorum Highway in 1978.[1] The work of the Heidelberg team is particularly precious considering the endangered status of this rock art treasure, threatened by the imminent construction of the Diamer-Basha Dam (Rogers Kolachi Khan 2012, 21).

The Upper Indus region was a crucial node in ancient trade network. Encased among the Western Himalaya, the Hindukush and the Karakorum mountains, the area was cut by interconnected capillary routes linking the North-western corner of the Indian subcontinent to the Tarim Basin in modern day Xinjiang province of China. The study area lies partly in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and partly in Gilgit-Baltistan regions of Northern Pakistan, extending in a west east direction for approximately 110 km along the course of the Indus River before it turns northwards on the way to Gilgit and the Chinese frontier (Fig. 1).

This relevant portion of the course of the Indus River has a peculiar role in history, since – despite isolation and apparent inaccessibility – it constituted a fundamental crossing on the way between Greater Gandhāra and Eastern Central Asia (Neelis 2014, 52). In particular this route was crucial in the Early Historic Period.

2. Petroglyphs from the Upper Indus Area

Over 30,000 petroglyphs and 5000 inscriptions have been recorded in the Upper Indus area; this huge archive records the history of these mountains, witnesses the movement of people and cultures, and reflects tremendous linguistic and cultural diversity on a millennium long timespan (Hauptmann 2008, 353). Drawings include animals (mostly simplified mountain goats), human figures, architectures and symbols; inscriptions cover several languages such as Indian and Iranian idioms, Tibetan, Chinese. Both inscriptions and petroglyphs are obtained by abrasion of the dark patina of high mountain desert varnish covering the rocks. Inscriptions are mainly dated on a palaeographic basis according to the

[1] Cfr. MANP 1-11 and ANP 1-3.

scripts and languages used; moreover some of them include dates and datable elements. Most of the inscriptions just record names.[2] Information about the age of the petroglyphs comes from multiple data; when possible their association to datable inscriptions is a precious help. Intricate representations also show superimposition of petroglyphs in subsequent periods, confirming the long use of some peculiar places.

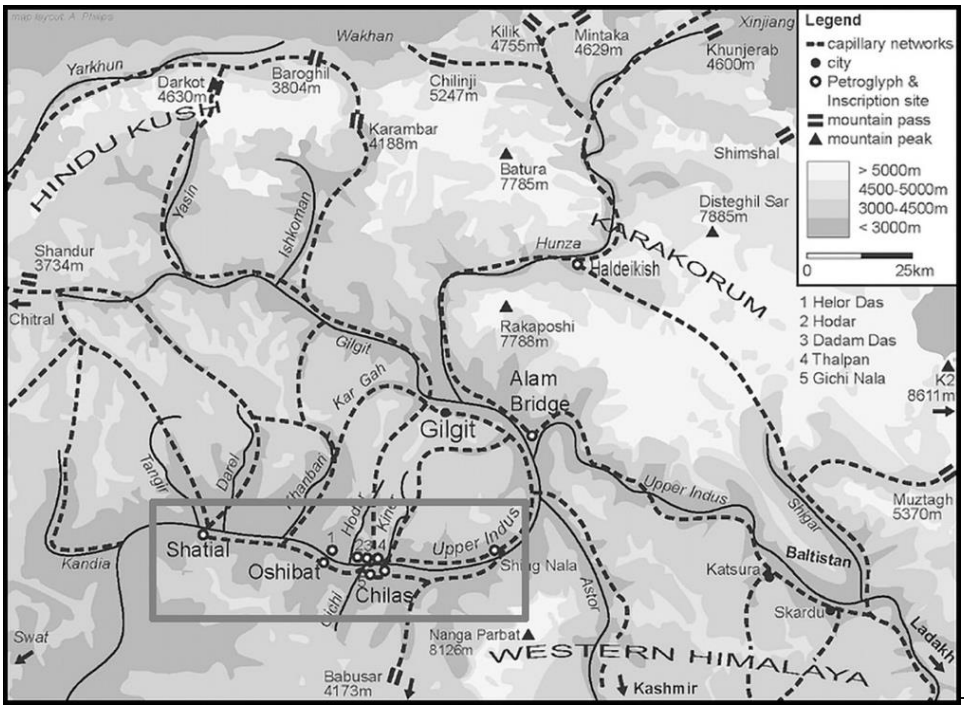


Fig. 1 - Capillary Routes in Northern Pakistan; framed in grey the area of the petroglyphs object of the present study (after Neelis 2014, 52, Map 2).

Petroglyphs are grouped in specific sites, mostly clustered on large rock faces and boulders, marking special places along the way, whose importance is dictated by geographical and symbolic meanings; concentrations of zoomorphic representations have been interpreted as possibly indicating hunting grounds or gaming areas; clusters of

[2] Most of the epigraphic material has been published either in the ANP or in the MANP volumes. For an overview of the graffiti findings refer to Neelis (2011, 268-71) and attached bibliography.

inscriptions and drawings located near settlements were likely produced by locals more than by visitors; while clusters located at passage points such as important river crossings can be attributed to travellers such as traders, pilgrims or itinerant monks (Neelis 2014, 54).[3]

Graffiti, donative inscriptions, *stūpa* drawings, iconic and narrative Buddhist images witness the passage and diffusion of Buddhism in this region. Devotional practices followed travellers (traders, itinerant monks, local donors) in an area where lack of resources and an inhospitable environment prevented the establishment of permanent *stūpas* and monasteries before royal patronage by the Palola Śāhis of Gilgit in the 6th-8th century CE (Neelis 2017, 13). Petroglyphs sites mostly appear at crucial crossings and stations along the routes. Ancient travellers marked these places with their passage not only leaving several inscriptions with their names, but also giving these areas a symbolic and religious meaning. This phenomenon is particularly clear in the Buddhist period, when the donation of Buddhist imagery was considered as a meritorious action largely performed by monks and laymen alike. Besides Buddhism, petroglyphs illustrate pre-Islamic religious diversity in the area; figures of Brahmanic deities associated to Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions dated to the 1st-3rd century CE have been identified at the site of Chilas II (Fussman 1989, 1-40). Buddhist petroglyphs date from the 1st to the 8th century CE.[4] The donation of imageries at Buddhist sacred places took the special form of petroglyph representation in the Upper Indus area clustering in actual wayside rock art shrines; this phenomenon shows how religious practice in this relevant area of the ancient world underwent a profound process of transculturation. Transcultural processes lead to the intermingling of visual, religious, technological and environmental elements that gave life to a peculiar manifestation of Buddhist culture, namely a neo-culture both 'global' and 'local' in nature. Buddhism indeed plays an important role along the ways of early globalization; the creation of Buddhist petroglyphs derives from this wide phenomenon, but it is deeply rooted in the local artistic language, resulting in a 'glocal' phenomenon. This particular cultural milieu provides interesting elements for the understanding of

[3] The most relevant sites being Oshibat, Shatial, Hodar, Shing Nala, Gichi Nala, Dadam Das, Chilas Bridge, Thalpan (MANP 1-11).

[4] For a brief overview on Buddhist petroglyphs refer to Jettmar and Thewalt 1987, 15-23.

transculturation in the areas involved in ancient globalization such as the so-called Silk Roads in the Buddhist period.[5]

3. Buddhist petroglyphs

Because of their implications for the understanding of cultural globalization, Buddhist imagery deserves special attention. Moreover Buddhist petroglyphs are particularly impressive and significant for the history they narrate.

Buddhist petroglyphs include symbols, architectural representations, iconic images and narrative scenes. Architectural representations mostly refers to *stupās*, but are also attested other kinds of structures whose identification is not always easy; some of them may be probably identified as *vihāras* or shrines (Bruneau 2007, 68).

Buddhist anthropomorphic representations include interesting petroglyphs of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, narrative scenes from Śākyamuni's lifetime and Jātaka stories of his previous births. Buddhist petroglyphs also include accompanying secondary characters and portraits of donors and worshippers.

This variety of themes and iconographies shows the profound impact of Buddhist doctrines on this area whose role as transit zone in the diffusion of Buddhism does not imply a passive participation to its passage and transformation. Looking at these rocks it is possible to read and follow a peculiar segment of Buddhist history.[6]

Architectural representations largely outnumber Buddhist anthropomorphic imagery. Often *stūpa* representations surround Buddhist scenes and they are clearly created by different hands at different times. This depends on a well-known Buddhist practice consisting in the donation of devotional object, or their representation, to a sacred site in

[5] The use of transcultural theories for the understanding of cultural interactions in the frame of ancient globalization proved successful in other contexts such as Indian Ocean trade (Autiero 2015, 2017, 2019); this paper marks the first step toward the study of the Karakorum petroglyphs through the lenses of transcultural studies.

[6] Clearly recognizable iconographies soon captured scholarly attention and have been promptly identified by the Heidelberg team (cf. ANP 1-3). Novel analysis and interpretation based on quantitative methods of Buddhist petroglyphs have been recently attempted (Van Aerde 2019 and Van Aerde et al. 2020), however, these works shows substantial shortcomings both regarding iconographical issues and in acknowledging previous literature.

order to collect spiritual merits. Many of the *stūpas* that have been sketched on the rocks along these mountain routes mark the passage of devotees that showed their respect and devotion to sacred places. Several hypotheses have been formulated on the criteria to determine the sacrality of these places. Buddhist sacred topography indeed is a fluid one, and throughout the history of Buddhism, and following its diffusion, new sacred places have been identified. Buddhist transmission adapted to fluctuating religious, economic and political conditions (Neelis 2014, 51). This phenomenon is particularly attested in the North Western areas of the Subcontinent where Buddhism prospered.

From a stylistic point of view Buddhist images are at first strictly related to Buddhist art in the Greater Gandhāra region and later show connections to the Kashmir and Western Himalaya styles (Fussman 1993, 1-60). Focussing on the early Buddhist period, the Karakorum routes are literally the corridor between Gandhāra and Xinjiang, and throughout these images we can follow the journey of Buddhist visual culture toward China along the ancient Silk Roads.

3.1 Stūpas

A typology of thirteen types of stupa representations in the Upper Indus area has been proposed by Laurianne Bruneau (2007) (Fig. 2), which based her study on 1359 engravings. While some of the types represented might be reproductions of *stūpas* actually seen by their creators in architectural or portable form (Fig. 3), an important source of typological variation is the repetition of the stupa motif starting from earlier petroglyphs, each copy causing a departure from the original model through mechanic reproduction and reinterpretation of architectural elements without an actual understanding (Bruneau 2007, 71).

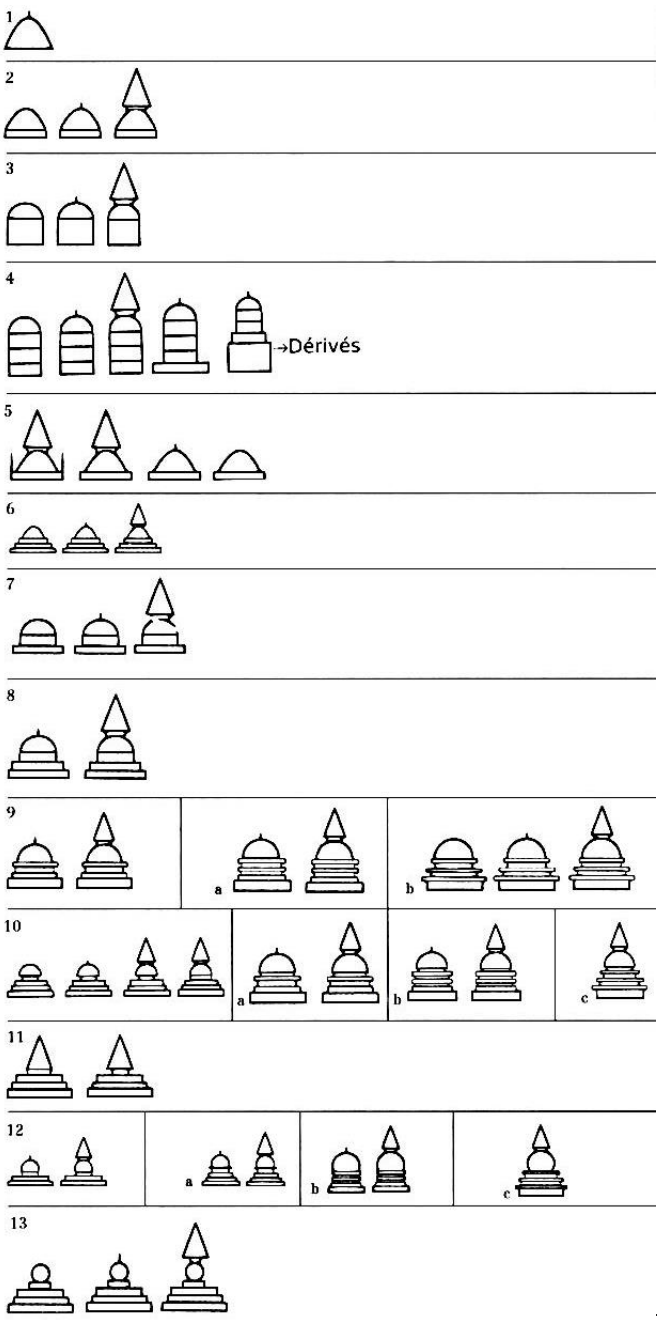


Fig. 2 - Typology of *stūpa* representations in the Upper Indus valley (after Bruneau 2007, 65, Tableau 2).

Fig. 3 - Comparison of *stūpa* architecture (After Van Aerde 2019, 465, Fig. 20.4). Left: petroglyph from Chilas bridge (Bandini-König 2003 (MANP 6), Tafel III). Centre: schist reliquary *stūpa*, Gandhāra, 1st–2nd century CE (Carlton Rochell Asian Art Gallery, private collection, New York). Right: rendering of petroglyph from Chilas bridge (Bandini-König 2003 (MANP 6), Tafel 25).

This phenomenon justifies also those cases of problematic identification of engraved architectures as *stūpas*; sometimes it is, indeed, difficult even to tell *stūpas* apart from other structures such as temples or *vihāras* (Fig. 4). Not all the *stūpa* petroglyphs are the same, besides numerous simple representations left behind by pious travellers, some peculiar *stūpas* are, instead, commissioned art pieces realized by professional artists.

Typological study on the *stūpa* petroglyphs suggests that early images date to the early centuries of our era, showing strong relations to North Western India; nevertheless only 10% of the *stūpa* petroglyphs can be dated to this early date (Bruneau 2007, 71). Buddhism appear particularly lively in the area from the 2nd to the 8th centuries. Especially in the later centuries this is justified by the establishment of royal patronage with the rise to power of the Palola Śāhi dynasty – as corroborated by manuscripts and bronzes from the Gilgit area (Von Hinüber 2004).

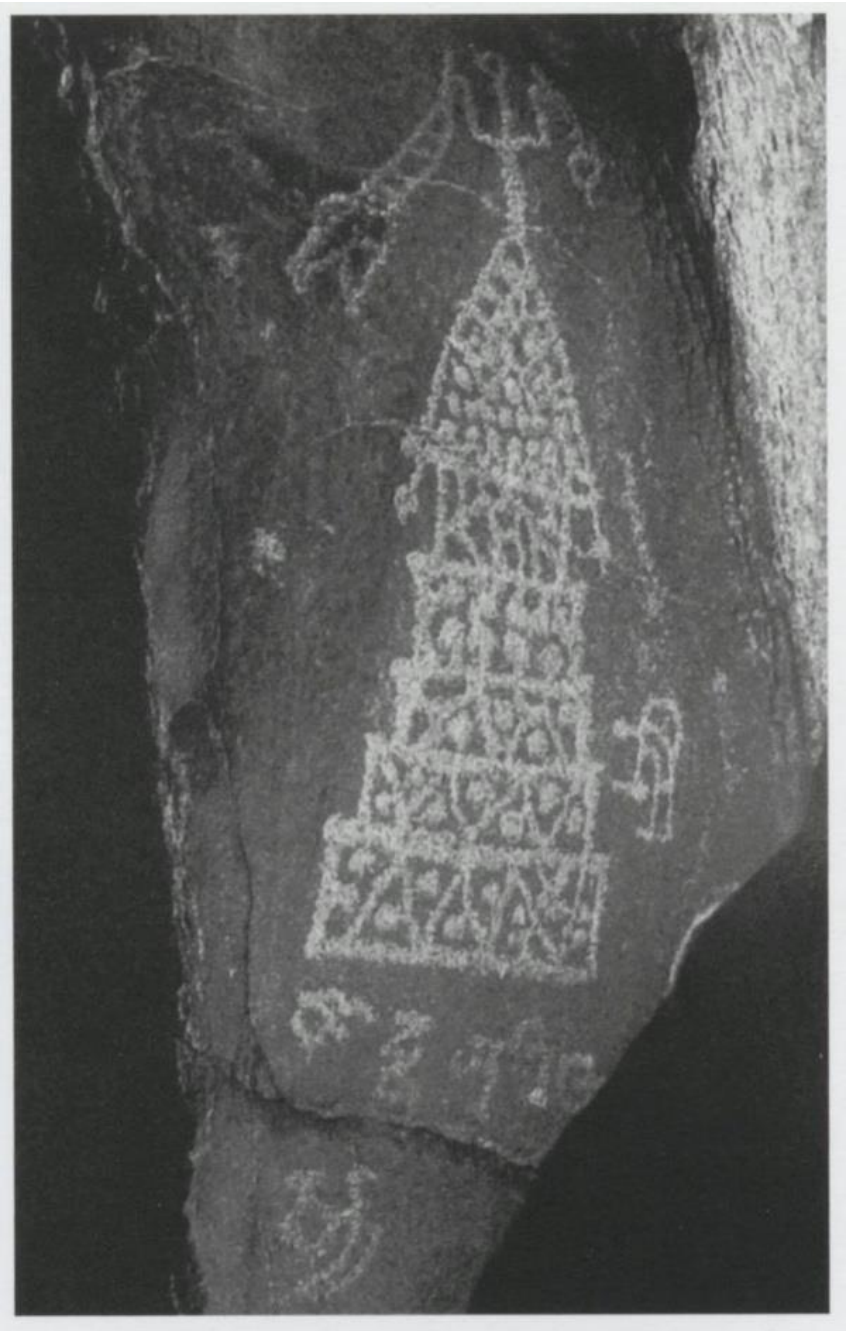


Fig. 4 - Buddhist petroglyph from Chilas representing probably a *vihāra* (after Bruneau 2007, 69, Fig. 18).

Among the many types, a very significant one is the so called "*stūpa* tower" whose direct comparison is to Turfan architecture developed during the 7th-8th century under Tang influence (Fig. 5). Several Chinese and Tibetan sources corroborated intensive contact between the Upper Indus region and China (Bruneau 2007, 71). Conflict between Chinese and Tibetan powers over the Palola Śāhi kingdom eventually led to its extinction in the middle of the 8th century.

Rock inscriptions in Chinese in the Upper Indus Area date from the late Han to the Tang dynasties (Höllmann 1993, 72). But it is from the 9th century onward that the role of the Upper Indus Valley in the itinerary between India and Eastern Central Asia declined.

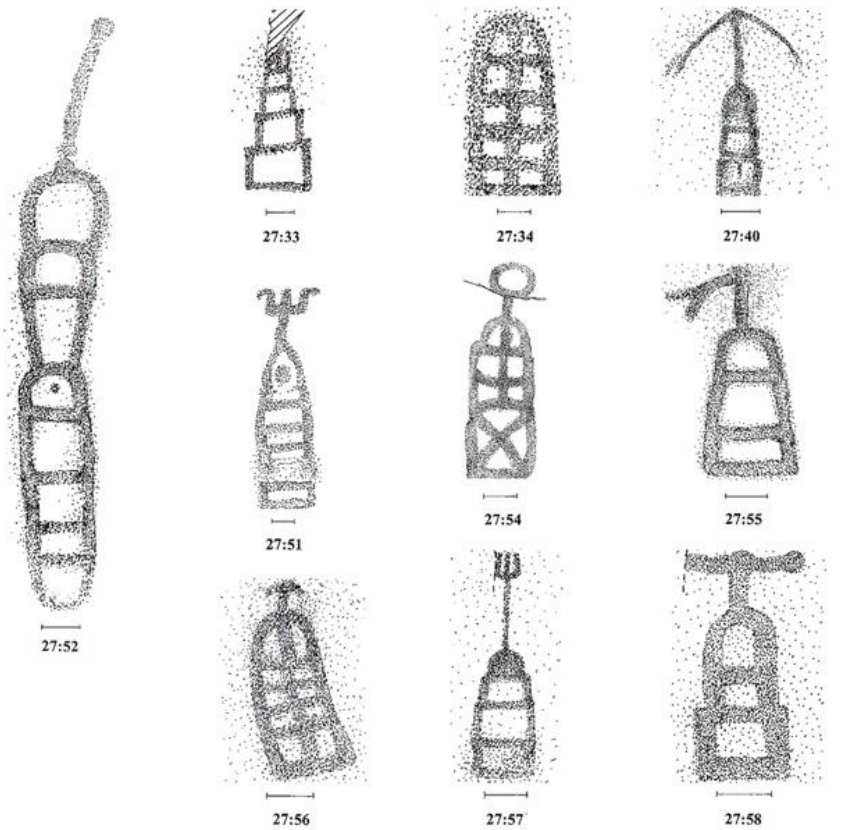


Fig. 5 - Drawings of '*stūpa* tower' petroglyphs (Bruneau type 4) from Chilas; graphic elaboration after Bandini 2003 (MANP 6), Tafel 18.

Clusters of *stūpa* petroglyphs in the sites of Shatial, Hodar, Chilas, Thalpan and Shing Nala ranging in date from the first to the eight centuries CE define these places as actual Buddhist sacred places or shrines.

In Shatial 138 *stūpa* drawings indicate the site's religious significance (Neelis 2014, 55); the most impressive Buddhist image at Shatial combines an intricate *stūpa* with a narrative scene (Śibi Jātaka) on the left, and another architecture of difficult interpretation on the right (Fussman 1994) (Fig. 6). This so called 'Shatial triptic' has been dated to ca. 350 CE on palaeographic ground.

At Hodar over 130 *stūpa*s have been abraded on the rocks as religious offerings from probably local inhabitants (Neelis 2014, 56). At Hodar is particularly evident that dedication of schematic representations of *stūpas* are not less meritorious than more elaborate drawings (ibid.). In the practice of meritorious donation, what really counts is the intention, and then the value of the gift itself is not fundamental.

Fig. 6 - The Shatial Triptic (after Fussman 1994, fig. 2).

At Chilas (site of Chilas II) the most ancient *stūpa* petroglyphs have been identified thanks to their association to approximately sixty Kharoṣṭi

inscriptions (Fussman 1989, 1-40). These early *stūpa*s make the absence of anthropomorphic images of the Buddhas significant suggesting a pre-iconic phase of Buddhist art in the Upper Indus (Carter 1993, 349-366; Neelis 2014, 57, note 33).

Fig. 7 - Śākyamuni under the *bodhi* tree, petroglyph from Thalpan (picture modified from Jettmar 1987, Photograph 18, plate 1).

Near the modern Thalpan bridge are located some of the most impressive Buddhist petroglyphs including *stūpas* as well as narrative and iconic representations (Fussman 1994; Maillard and Jera-Bezard 1994). At this site such artworks were commissioned by known patrons named Kuberavāhana and Siṅhoṭa.

These sites are all located at passage point along the Karakorum route and cover the role of wayside shrines (Neelis 2014). A further cluster of Buddhist petroglyphs is located away from the route at Shing Nala, approximately thirty kilometres upstream from Thalpan; at this site 156 *stūpas*, representing 41% of the total engravings, are accompanied by Brahmi donative inscription often defining them as "religious offerings". Since Shing Nala is not located along the main transit route, Ditte Bandini-König suggests that this site was not a wayside shrine but an actual pilgrimage place that attracted numerous visitors around 500 CE on the site where a Buddhist forest monk fixed his retreat (Neelis 2014, 57).

Data on Buddhist petroglyphs and sites in the Upper Indus region further add to our understanding of Buddhism in this relevant part of the world and adaptive nature to new and diverse environments.

Abundant representations of *stūpas* in the Upper Indus respond to the predominant role of this monument in Buddhist devotional practices. The *stūpa* is by far the most important element in Buddhist sanctuaries, even in places where iconic representations of the Buddha were widespread; indeed, the main *stūpa* is the principal object of cult also in Gandhāra. Therefore, the predominant role of *stūpa* images among the Buddhist imagery along the Karakorum Highway perfectly corresponds to a well-known tradition. Larger scale devotional icons are indeed a later development in Buddhist practice; these later icons took over later in time the function historically held by the *stūpa* (Behrendt 2007, 42).

3.2 Buddhist scenes

While conspicuously outnumbered by drawings of *stūpas*, the repertoire of Buddhist imagery in the Upper Indus area deserves some attention. Petroglyphs representing Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, stories from the life of Buddha Śākyamuni and his previous births add to our understanding of Buddhism in this area by a great extent. The already mentioned patron Kuberavāhana, besides donating drawings of intricate architectures, also commissioned impressive visual narratives including a representation of Śākyamuni's enlightment (Fig. 7) and first sermon (Fig. 8) at Thalpan (Maillard and Jera-Bezard 1994). At Chilas bridge Kuberavāhana and his teacher Mitragupta are portrayed alongside the representation of the Vyāghrī Jātaka (Fig. 9). Other Jātakas represented in this corpus are the Śibi Jātaka in Shatial (Fig. 10) and Thalpan (Fig. 11), and the Ṛṣipaṅchaka

Jātaka at Thalpan (Fig. 12). It has been suggested that these narratives may have been re-located to this area in the literary sources as an attempt (eventually successful) to further link Buddhism to an area very far from its Gangetic homeland (Fussman 1994, 14 ff.; Neelis 2014, 58, note 36). Another local donor named Siṅhoṭa left petroglyphs depicting the previous Buddha Vipaśyn and the Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya at Chilas Bridge accompanied by *stūpas* representations (Fig. 13) (Neelis 2014, 58). Inscriptions attest the cult of other Buddhas and Bodhisattvas associated to Mahāyāna such as Amitāba, Akṣobhya, Prabhūtaratna, and Ratnaśikhin (Von Hinüber 1989, 41-106; Neelis 2014, 58 note 37). The role of Bodhisattvas as protectors of travellers – and specifically of traders – is well-known in Buddhist literature, adding significance to their presence along the Karakorum routes (Neelis 2011, 31-32; Von Hinüber 1989b, 84–89).

Fig. 8 - First sermon in Sarnath, petroglyph from Thalpan (after Jettmar in ANP 2, pl. 8).

Fig. 9 - Vyāghrī Jātaka, petroglyph from Chilas (after Bandini-König 2003 (MANP 6), Tafel IV).

Fig. 10 - Śibi Jātaka, petroglyph from Shatial (picture modified from Fussman 1994, fig. 3).

Fig. 11 - Śibi Jātaka, petroglyph from Thalpan (after Bandini-König 2003 (MANP 6), Tafel XXII).

Fig. 12 - Ṛṣipaṅchaka Jātaka, petroglyph from Thalpan (after Jettmar in ANP 2, pl. 10).

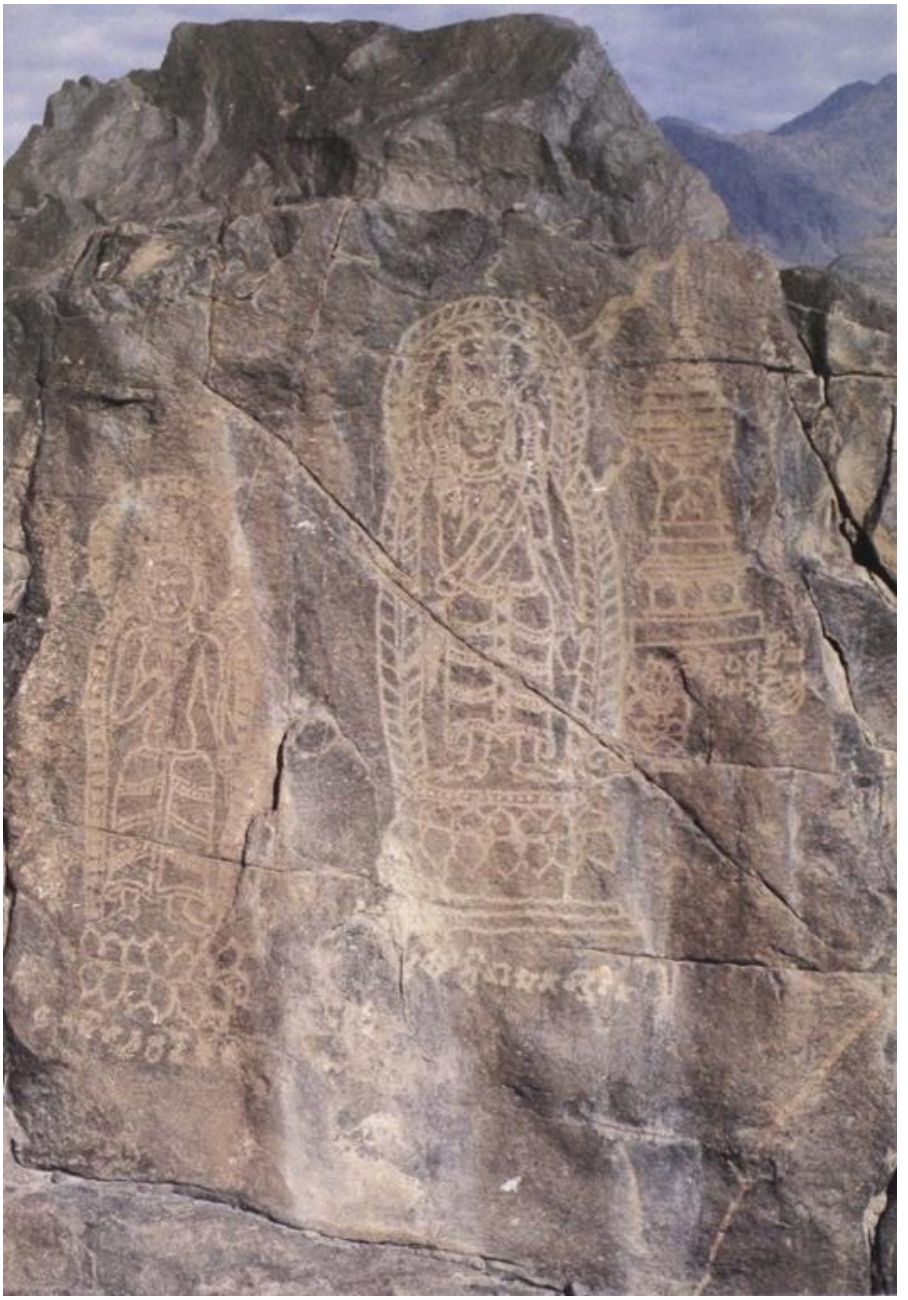


Fig. 13 - Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya at Chilas Bridge (Jettmar 1989 (ANP 1, part 2), Plate 158).

Iconography suggests that anthropomorphic imagery draws upon major art schools, starting from Gandhāra. Between Gandhāra and the Karakorum Area, a crucial transit point is the Swāt Valley. An interesting study by Anna Filigenzi (2006) puts forward the hypothesis that copies of famous and much admired works – such as the frieze of the *stūpa* of Saidu Sharif in her case study – were reproduced as models to copy that circulated in the Buddhist oecumene (Filigenzi 2006, 78). Filigenzi's hypothesis is very well formulated and supported by strong data pointing out how the frieze of Saidu Sharif was the model for paintings in Miran (located in the easternmost part of the southern route of the Silk Roads in the Tarim Basin, in what is nowadays Xinjiang region of China; Filigenzi 2006, 74). Particularly interesting in the Saidu Sharif-Miran connection is the time discrepancy; as a matter of fact, the frieze is dated to the second quarter of the 1st century CE, while paintings at Miran were executed in the 3rd-4th century (cfr. Filigenzi 2006, 73 with previous literature). This circumstance attests to a long lasting success of masterpieces such as the Saidu Sharif frieze, and the repetition of successful iconographic models over the centuries.

This strong case witnessing to the circulation of models between the Swāt Valley and Xinjiang, supports the hypothesis that the same possibility existed in the transmission of visual culture between Gandhāra and the Karakorum range. Along these mountain routes established iconographies arrived and were reproduced on the available support, namely rock faces and boulders, before royal patronage made actual architectural sanctuaries possible. The likely circulation of 'cartoons' clearly not only does not deny a strong link between sculpted material in the main Buddhist sanctuaries and rock carvings in the Upper Indus, but provides a common origin and common pattern of diffusion that embraces the wider phenomenon of expansion of Buddhist visual culture.

Another relevant example of the iconographic link between Gandhāra and Xinjiang comes from the representation of Buddha's life in the so-called "Stairs Cave" at Kizil (cave 110) that employs a Gandhāran narrative system (Santoro 2003, 117). Santoro concludes that although the pictures of the Kizil grotto are clearly linked to Gandhāran models, they are never a mere copy of the models themselves (Santoro 2003, 122). Also in this case, Central Asian paintings, while clearly connected to Gandhāran models, are dated to later periods (the painting in the Stairs Cave have been dated at the earliest to the 4th-5th century by Chinese scholars; Santoro 2003, 125). It is not surprising that hagiographic

material in visual form remains a valid source and model for a long time, as it happens with written sources.

Permanence of models and valorisation of earlier artistic accomplishments is also seen in the reuse of stone relief in the decoration of the main *stūpa* of Butkara I at least three centuries after their creation (Faccenna 1980/1981, 82).

In conclusion chronological discrepancies supported by palaeography between the early Gandhāran production and the Karakorum petroglyphs, don't rule out a direct connection between the two artistic productions, since portable models circulated between Gandhāra and Chinese Central Asia as demonstrated by the cited examples. These models were possibly used over long time spans, since their sacral subjects prolonged their life and appeal to devotees and possible patrons.

The whole artistic production from Gandhāra – as it happens in cognate artistic traditions – shares a great amount of stylistic and iconographic conventions that belong to widespread canons shared both on a regional and interregional scale. Repetition of motifs and patterns tells a story of wide circulation of models, possibly actual reproductions of famous masterpieces whose transposition in other contexts followed local conventions and adapted to new environments. While in later Xinjiang the Gandhāran lesson was put in practice through painting, along the mountain routes of the Upper Indus these models were reinterpreted in the local rock art idiom.

4. Case Study: Jātaka Stories Between the Karakorum and Kizil

In order to trace a direct connection between Upper Indus visual culture and Chinese Xinjiang it is interesting to look for iconographic correspondences. As previously stated the huge pictorial treasure of the Silk Roads offers indeed several examples corroborating the fact that visual culture from Greater Gandhāra travelled along the Silk Roads toward China.

In this paper I present some preliminary considerations from the comparative study of jātaka representations in the petroglyphs in the Upper Indus and in mural paintings in Kizil grottoes in Chinese Xinjiang.[7]

[7] The examples reported in this paper only represent a first part of a wider ongoing research.

Previous studies demonstrate that Kizil became a major iconographic bridge between India and China (Bell 2000, 56).

Buddhist imagery found among the petroglyphs include representation of three jātaka stories: Vyāghrī Jātaka (at Chilas Bridge) (Fig. 14), Śibi Jātaka (at Shatial (Fig. 15) and Thalpan (Fig. 16)), and the Ṛṣipañchaka Jātaka (at Thalpan) (Fig. 17).[8] Albeit a very limited sample, it is a significant one, first of all because – as already stated – the relocation of some of these jātakas in and around Gandhāra was part of the eventually successful attempt to establish Buddhism in these areas.[9] Among those represented in the Karakorum petroglyphs, only the Ṛṣipañchaka Jātaka does not appear in Gandhāra reliefs, while it is represented in Kizil.[10]

Looking at the jātakas, the evidence is too scant for obtaining conclusive results, nevertheless this preliminary works opens the way to further analysis. Among the stories included in this research only the Ṛṣipañchaka Jātaka gives more precise comparisons between the two areas, and this must be considered as a first step toward a precise reconstruction of the various mountain routes that took Buddhist iconography along the Chinese Silk Routes.

[8] Where not otherwise specified, main source for jātaka representations in the Upper Indus is Thewalt 1983, 622-634.

[9] According to Chinese pilgrims four jātaka stories took place in Gandhāra: Vyāghrī Jātaka, Śibi Jātaka, Dīpankara Jātaka, and Chandraprabha Jātaka; among those represented in the Karakorum only the Ṛṣipañchaka Jātaka did not undergo such relocation, but in this case its mountainous setting might have played a role in its local success.

[10] For a synthesis on jātaka representations in Gandhāra please refer to Bell 2000, 32 ff. (ill. of Vyāghrī Jātaka in Kurita 1990, 310; ill. of Śibi Jātaka in Kurita 1990, 277).

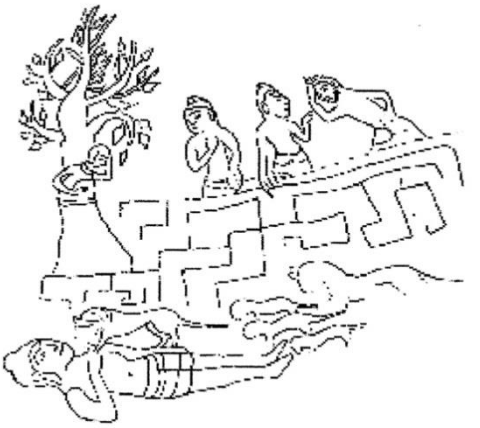


Fig. 14 - Drawing of the Vyāghrī Jātaka at Chilas Bridge (after Thewalt 1983, fig. 5).

Fig. 15 - Drawing of the Śibi Jātaka at Shatial (graphic elaboration of the author after Thewalt 1983, fig. 3 and 4).

Fig. 16 - Drawing of the Śibi Jātaka at Thalpan (after Thewalt 1983, fig. 2).

Fig. 17 - Drawing of the Ṛṣipañchaka Jātaka (after Thewalt 1983, fig. 1).

4.1 Vyāghrī Jātaka

The Vyāghrī Jātaka – also known as Mahasattva Jātaka – tells the story of prince Mahasattva, actually the Bodhisattva, who sacrificed his life to feed a dying tigress and her two cubs.[11] The prince threw himself off a rocky escarpment, and let the tigers eat his flesh. Only the bones remained behind for the prince's family to collect. A *stūpa* was erected at the place of his self-sacrifice.

The Vyāghrī-Jātaka petroglyph in Chilas shows the legend with many details; besides the protagonists of the story, the artist also represented three further persons and a tree deity watching the scene. The Bodhisattva is represented as a Buddha lying on his back on the ground; his left arm lays next to his body, while his right rests on his chest, in a posture suggesting acceptance and willingness to feed the beast. Both legs are stretched out, overall the body position is rather stiff.

There are five animals of different size ready to dismember the body, according to Thewalt´s analysis two of the felines – namely the last two on the left – are later addition (1983, 629).

The tigress – only slightly bigger than the two original cubs – stands on the upper body of Mahasattva; behind her the cubs approach the legs. The scene is set at the foot of a rocky outcrop, rendered in stylized form by means of meandering right-angled lines. On an upper level of the escarpment on the left rises a tree. From its trunk projects the upper body of a mourning female tree deity. On top of the rocky outcrop there are three persons, probably Mahasattva's brothers and father; all of them gesticulating in despair and trepidation.

[11] This is a very short summary of a known story with more than one version; the most important variant is the identity of the Bodhisattva as either a prince or a Brahmanic ascetic (for a summary of the extant version please refer to Matsumura 2012, 49-50.

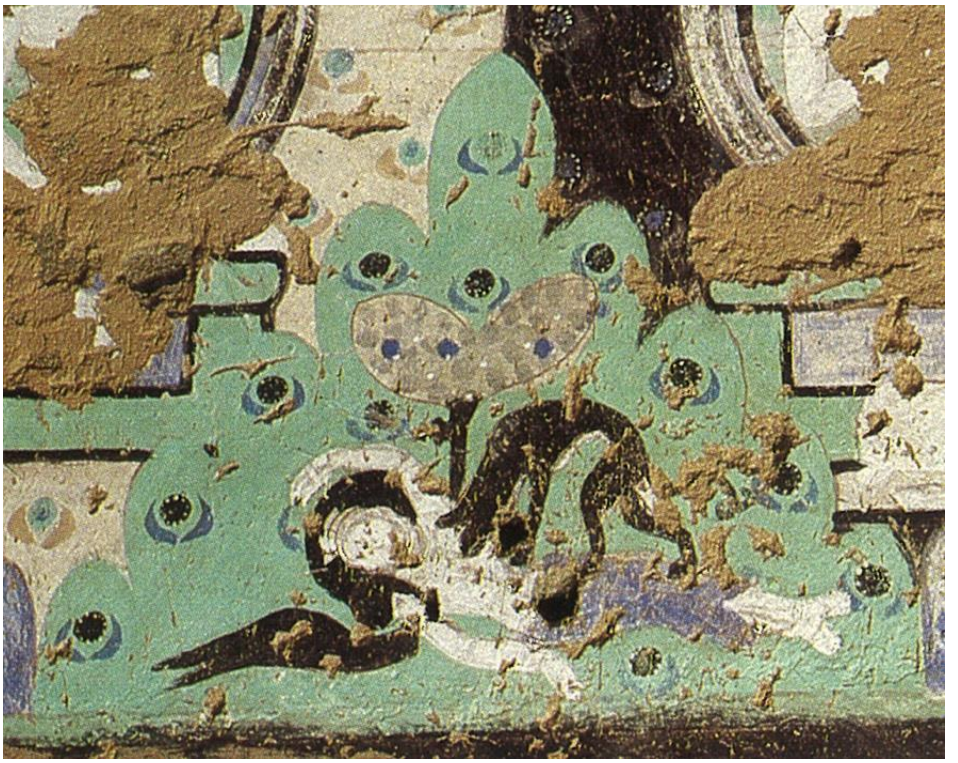


Fig. 18 - The Vyāghrī Jātaka at Kizil, cave 8 (author's elaboration after Kizil Grottoes 1983-1985, vol. I, fig. 32).

The Vyāghrī Jātaka is represented eight times in Kizil (in cave 8, 17, 34, 38x2, 47, 114, 184). These eight representations show some iconographic variations, for the scope of the present research the most interesting is the position of the prince's arms: indeed, in four of the Kizil paintings Mahasattva is shown with the right arm raised over his head (Fig. 18), while in the others he is not (Bell 2000, 53) (Fig. 19). The position with the right arm raised is used in Gandhāra (Kurita 1990, 310); while in Chilas the arm lays on the chest. In cave 38 in Kizil the Vyāghrī Jātaka appears twice showing two specular images. It is evident that different versions circulated at the same time, reflecting iconographic liberty in the rendering of the story.

Fig. 19 - The Vyāghrī Jātaka at Kizil, cave 114 (author's elaboration after Kizil Grottoes 1983-1985, vol. II, fig. 146).

In Kizil jātakas are represented inside lozenges whose juxtaposition mimics a mountainous landscape;[12] in the limited space of each lozenge the story is reduced to its central scene, and often different moments are shown simultaneously. In the case of the Vyāghrī Jātaka the prince is often shown twice at the same time: laying on the ground with the tigers, and during the fall from the rocky outcrop (Fig. 20). Either the limited space and the already redundant mountainous landscape might have favored this narrative choice.

Fig. 20 - The Vyāghrī Jātaka at Kizil, cave 38 (author's elaboration after Kizil Grottoes 1983-1985, vol. I, fig. 116).

[12] From the Chinese point of view, indeed, Buddhism came from the mountains, and this might have influenced the iconographic choice of the pattern encasing Buddhist stories in cave murals.

Not only a stylistic preference, but also the wider freedom guaranteed by painting if compared to rock engraving, makes Kizil murals of the Vyāghrī Jātaka much more lively and sinuous than their Chilas counterpart.

No precise iconographic comparison can be made between the Chilas Vyāghrī Jātaka and the murals in Kizil suggesting a direct contact; nevertheless, the variety seen in the Xinjiang caves suggests that more than one iconographic model circulated along the Silk Roads. Only one known Gandhāra relief depicts this story, but it is not possible to exclude that there were more lost sculptural or painted example with iconographic variety in Gandhāra itself.

4.2 Śibi Jātaka

King Śibi – one of the many previous births of the Buddha – saves a dove pursued by a hawk, but, in order to save also the hawk from starving, he decides to donate his own flesh to the hawk in an amount equal to the weight of the dove. The jātaka story continues with a miraculous twist: God Indra had indeed turned himself into the hawk, and the dove was one of his vassals; the transformation was a way to test king Śibi's virtue. When the king decides to give the hawk the same amount of his flesh as the weight of the dove, Indra causes the dove to be heavier and heavier, ultimately leading the king to step with his whole body on the scale. After having assessed the willingness of the King to perform the ultimate sacrifice, Indra reveals himself and heals the king, who is then praised by gods and humans.

The story of king Śibi appears in two of the Karakorum petroglyphs. In Thalpan the artist depicted the most important event of the story: the cutting and weighting of the flesh; the focus is entirely on the king's self-sacrifice. Śibi sits on a low stool or cushion on the left. His royal status is shown by the headgear. The king is shown cutting flesh from his left arm. On the right of the drawing a servant holds a beam balance: on the right plate stands the dove, while on the left probably is represented the cut flesh.

The same jātaka is also represented in Shatial in a very different way. Here the style is completely different, the drawing is not a pure outline as in Thalpan. In Shatial there is a clear attempt at creating a *chiaroscuro* using the natural patina and different filling patterns. The story is identified from the presence of the dove in Śibi's lap and of the

servant holding a balance; the iconography here is very peculiar since Śibi is not represented as a king but as Buddha. The moment of the self-sacrifice is suggested but not explicit, and the focus in this case is on the role of Śibi as future Buddha, as implied by the overlap of the different time sequences: the life as Śibi and the future life as Śākyamuni.[13]

In Kizil there are four representations of the Śibi Jātaka (Bell 2000, 54-55) (Fig. 21). No precise comparisons to the iconographic peculiarities seen in Shatial and Thalpan are to be seen; indeed, the cutting of the arm instead of the leg is to my knowledge unique. One important point to stress is that also in this case the story shows some iconographic variants either in the Karakorum and in Kizil. The dove ransom version of this story seems to have originated in Gandhāra, while in the Pali canon is reported a story of Śibi giving away his eyes. No trace of the eyes story has been found either in the Karakorum and in Kizil, further showing how Gandhāra is a crucial point for the transmission of Buddhist stories in the eastern Silk Roads.

Fig. 21 - The Śibi Jātaka at Kizil, cave 114 (author's elaboration after Kizil Grottoes 1983-1985, vol. II, fig. 128).

[13] As previously said also in the Vyāghrī Jātaka from Chilas this same phenomenon happens, and the bodhisattva – Mahasattva in this case – is represented with the typical iconography of the Buddha. Despites this circumstance, style rules out the possibility that the two illustration might be the work of the same artist.

4.3 Ṛṣipaṅchaka Jātaka

The Ṛṣipaṅchaka Jātaka – which does not appear in the Pali canon – tells the story of an ascetic revealing to a group of animals (a dove, a crow, a snake, and a gazelle) that the greatest evil is bodily existence. In Thalpan the scene is very clear: on the left sits the emaciated ascetic, his legs are crossed, he only wears a loincloth, in his left hand he holds a *mala* (prayer bead rosary), while the right hand is raised in a posture that indicates teaching. The ascetics is rendered in three quarters and faces five superimposed animals: from the top a boar, a bigger bird (likely a crow), a smaller bird (likely a dove), and a gazelle (whose horns recall also the ibex or mountain goat, the most represented animal in the Karakorum).

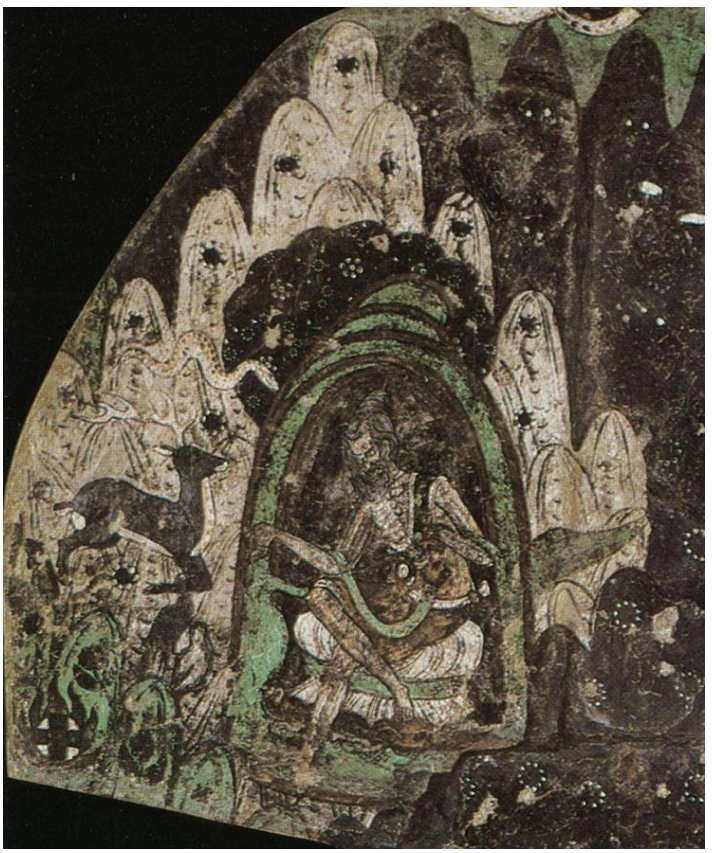


Fig. 22 - The Ṛṣipaṅchaka Jātaka at Kizil, cave 114 (author's elaboration after Kizil Grottoes 1983-1985, vol. III, fig. 197).

This scene from the Ṛṣipaṅchaka Jātaka is painted in five caves in Kizil; while in cave 17 and 114 there are all four animals (Fig. 22), in cave 171 there are five (Fig. 23), while in cave 38 and 14 only the deer is represented in what has been interpreted as a condensed version of the story (Yaldiz 1987, 78, note 116). The sequence of the animals – always superimposed, except for cave 171 where they clearly surround the ascetic in a semi-circle – varies in every painting, and never corresponds to the sequence in Thalpan. This variety simply attests to the little importance this information has for the narrative, maybe no single version circulated also in written form. This fact also justifies the addition of the boar in Thalpan and of the parrot in Kizil 117, as well as the presence of only one animal twice in Kizil; these representations, no matter their variability, maintain their role as memory aid for an already knowledgeable audience, or alternatively for an audience accompanied by a teacher/monk explaining the stories.

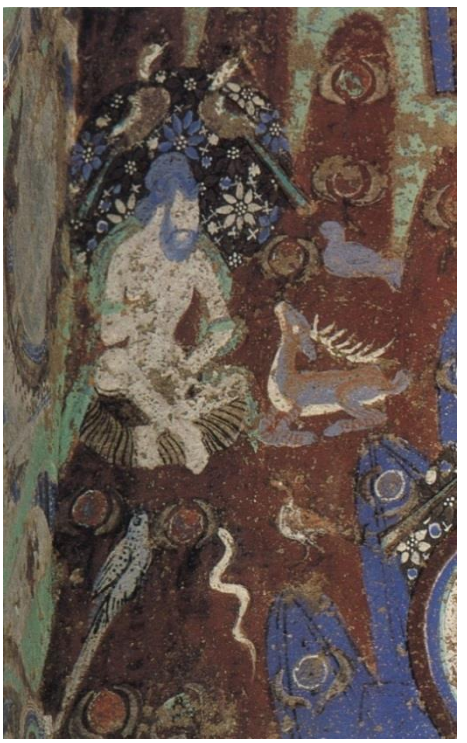


Fig. 23 - The Ṛṣipaṅchaka Jātaka at Kizil, cave 171 (author's elaboration after Kizil Grottoes 1983-1985, vol. III, fig. 10).

The comparisons between representation of the Ṛṣipaṅchaka Jātaka in Thalpan and Kizil is the most fruitful among the three stories analyzed. In particular the ascetic, besides the usual emaciated appearance, holds the exact same position and attribute in Thalpan and in Kizil 171 (despites the image is mirrored). In both representations the ascetic has a tree on the back to suggest him being in a forest environment. His hair from the forehead falls on the back in large curls, a difference being the visible chignon in Kizil that is absent in Thalpan. In general, in the Kizil mural there is a better rendering of tridimensionality, but this is also due to the better possibilities offered by painting if compared to engraving. Both versions bear five animals instead of four, there is no conclusive evidence about the significance of this datum, but we can imagine that maybe a version with a fifth unspecified animal might have circulated. In both cases it is unclear the reason for the fifth animal to be added. Also representations of the ascetic in caves 17 and 114 are comparable to the iconography seen in Thalpan.

4.4 Final observations

From the comparison between the almost coeval jātaka representations in the Karakorum and in Kizil it can be noted that the only story not attested in Gandhāra – the Ṛṣipaṅchaka Jātaka – finds more precise correspondence to the Kizil iconography. Despites the sample is limited to only three stories, this datum is an important starting point: in the future comparisons will be expanded to other Xinjiang sites, and will include – besides jātakas – also the other Buddhist themes encountered along the mountain routes of the Karakorum, such as scenes from the life of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and architectures. Our preliminary observation is that both the Karakorum petroglyphs and the Kizil murals, reflect the same phase of Buddhist transmission, and in both places it is likely that the same texts and ‘cartoons’ circulated at almost the same time.

Three (out of four) jātaka representations in the Karakorum were the work of one and the same artist: the Vyāghrī-Jātaka in Chilas, the Ṛṣipaṅcaka-Jātaka and the Śibi Jātaka in Thalpan. He was likely an itinerant artist, travelling with his set of ‘cartoons’. He was probably from the Greater Gandhāra region and he was travelling along known trade and pilgrimage routes making a long stop in the Thalpan area that according to Jettmar was an important religious center at that time (Jettmar and

Thewalt 1987, 18). His drawings are executed in simple outlines, but the composition, three-quarter views, and the rendering of curves, all reveal the artist's high drawing skills. This leads to a series of questions: was painting his primary medium of choice? How would his work appear if painted? It is indeed not very likely that drawing on rocks was the technique the artist was originally trained on; it makes more sense that a painter, familiar with Buddhist texts and iconography, took on the task of drawing on rocks under his patron's request.[14] The artist might have been a painter from a famous monastery in Greater Gandhāra and might have been travelling with other monks toward the Tarim basin in that lively period of Buddhist transmission that is the 4th to the 6th century

5. Buddhist Transit Zone on the Karakorum: A Passage to China

5.1 Data from Chinese Pilgrims' Accounts

Epigraphic and petroglyphic evidence qualifies the Upper Indus routes as trans-cultural and trans-regional passages; this evidence is corroborated by the literary accounts of Chinese pilgrims of their travels to and from South Asia (Neelis 2011, 272 and ff.; Tansen 2006 and 2015, 60 ff.). Pilgrims' accounts date from the fourth to the eight centuries.

Chinese sources and higher frequency of petroglyphs also suggest the presence of a holy Buddhist site near the Thalpan station, as speculated at first by Karl Jettmar (Jettmar and Thewalt 1987, 18). Nevertheless this suggestion remains speculative, since unsupported by archaeological evidence. Faxian described his passage across the mountains between Khotan and Swāt around 403 CE, but exact identification of its itinerary remains uncertain. In particular is interesting his visit to Tuo-li where he reports a large wooden image of Maitreya venerated by local rulers (Neelis 2011, 273); as already said there is no archaeological record of a sanctuary in this area, but it could have been located between Shatial and Chilas next to a crossing on the Indus (ibid.).

[14] In January 2021 archaeologists of the KP Directorate of Archaeology (Pakistan) released, via social media, news of the remarkable discovery of mural paintings at the site of Abba Sahib Chena, in the Swat Valley, probably dated to the 1st century CE; this preliminary information is very promising also for the understanding of painting traditions and their relations to other artistic media in Gandhāra and neighbouring areas.

Another Chinese pilgrim named Zhimeng left Chang'an (modern Xi'an) in 404 CE and roughly followed Faxian's itinerary throughout the Upper Indus reaching probably Gandhāra (the name 'Jibin' he uses has been intended also as Kashmir). More Chinese monks named Dharmavikrama and Hui-lan travelled the same route from China to Jibin in the fifth century. In the sixth century Song Yun and Huisheng travelled from the southern Tarim Basin to Swāt and Gandhāra. Song Yun described the direct route from Swāt in terms similar to Faxian's description (Neelis 2011, 274).

A common element in these descriptions is the 'hanging passage' (probably a temporary rope bridge on the Indus), whose simple view may have caused travelers to change their itineraries (Kuwayama 1987, 718, 721; Neelis 2011, 275). The difficulties of mountain itineraries have been described also by Xuanzang who traveled from 627-645 CE referring to the route from Swāt to the Indus River.

Difficult and scary crossing and passageways may correspond to the main clusters of Buddhist petroglyphs, as pointed out by several scholars including Fussman and Jettmar (Neelis 2011, 272). These clusters grew to the role of sacred shrines.

The Chinese accounts are important in confirming the long lasting use of the Karakorum routes as one of the many branches of the ancient Silk Roads.

5.2 Xinjiang

The capillary network of transit routes in the Upper Indus links the North Western corner of the Indian Subcontinent to the overland routes of Chinese Central Asia in the Tarim Basin of modern-day Xinjiang. The history of the transmission of Buddhism along the Southern and Northern branches of the silk routes in the Tarim Basin is enigmatic since Buddhist *stūpas* and monasteries are conspicuous by their absence during the early Han phase (Neelis 2011, 289). The paucity of early archaeological records raises many questions on how Buddhist religious and visual culture flourished and evolved in this transit zone eventually developing a distinctive religious culture and playing a central role in trans-regional connectivities at a later date (Neelis 2011, 289).

As highlighted by Jason Neelis, the Xinjiang routes in the early centuries played the role of transit zone, where Buddhism did not expand

by contact and foundation of monastic establishments, but long-distance transmission allowed the penetration of Buddhist religious and visual culture elements (Neelis 2011, 291-302).

Transit zones such as the Karakorum and the Tarim Basin constituted the backbone of transculturation between South and Eastern Asia – linking areas where Buddhism had an early institutional establishment such as Gandhāra, Swāt and, on the eastern end, Chang'an and Luoyang. Petroglyphs from Northern Pakistan make this pattern of connection visible; "however many scholars still consider indirect routes from Taxila through the Hindu Kush in present-day Afghanistan to the Oxus valley the most likely path for the propagation of Buddhism to western Central Asia, eastern Central Asia and China" (Neelis 2011, 303). Data actually support the idea that different routes coexisted and alternate in a fluctuating pattern, confirming that the importance of the mountain routes of the Karakorum in Buddhist transmission is undeniable.

The Tarim Basin during the first centuries CE worked as a transit zone for Buddhism because no established power was strong enough to foster and support an institutional establishment of Buddhist sanctuaries. As a matter of fact, during the Han Dynasty, Chinese control on Eastern central Asia fluctuated, but this lack of established political control, and alternating power between imperial China and local dynasties, never halted connectedness along the Silk Routes as shown by archaeological and artistic findings (Neelis 2011, 294). As an example *stūpa* remains in Kashgar clearly show cultural links with the northwestern Indian subcontinent. These five large *stūpas* derive from models developed in Gandhāra and Swāt (Rhie 1999, 249). Petroglyphs of *stūpas* at Chilas and Thalpan also show the same features, further strongly suggesting that the Upper Indus routes were an effective node in the pattern of diffusion of Buddhist visual culture.

Also deserve mention the numismatic evidence from Khotan where bilingual Saka and Kuśāna coins and Khotanese coins in Chinese and Kharoṣṭi suggest ties as early as in the first century (Neelis 2011, 295; Cribb 1984–5, 153–157). Again these coins provide evidence for direct contacts between Gandhāra and the Tarim Basin through the Karakorum, and not across the northernmost passages between Western and Eastern Central Asia.

Several settlements along the Xinjiang Silk Routes show contacts with Gandhāra and Swāt through inscriptions, numismatics and archaeological evidence; such direct connectedness invites for further

research on the Karakorum transit zone, and calls for new research and surveys further east along the mountain traits before entering the Tarim basin.

Evidence so far suggests that the principal Buddhist cultural hubs were in direct contact at an early historical phase by way of a series of transit zone, where – at least at the beginning – political and environmental situations did not allow the establishment of large Buddhist centers. Exploring the transit zones in the first two centuries CE largely adds to our understanding of cultural transmission during the heyday of Early Historic Globalization.

6. Buddhism as Mercantile Religion

In the study of Buddhism many efforts have been devoted to the understanding of its relations to trade networks; mobility is inherently linked to Buddhist tradition and message (Neelis 2011, 3). Religion is an institution that affects also economic activity, such as long distance trade, and, thanks to religion, cultural exchange finds new paths of diffusion (Lewer and Van den Berg 2007, 765).

Buddhism is a universalistic religion with a strong soteriological message; this message is the promise of an eternal spiritual bliss or liberation from life sufferings that goes far beyond the earthly existence. It is typical to find this characteristic in religions traditionally associated to trade and traders (Autiero 2016, 160).

Many religions, aimed to the fulfillment of spiritual accomplishments, deter the quest of immanent wealth. From a mercantile point of view, therefore, the quest for wealth and material riches can be an obstacle to a fulfilled religious life. However this line of reasoning does not apply to pious laity; in order to guarantee the well-being of the whole society (including not-productive monks and nuns), people must undertake activities like specialized production and trade (Lewer and Van den Berg 2007, 765). These general observations help to understand the success of Buddhism in Early Historic India. Since approximately the middle of the first millennium BCE, new heterodox religions appeared in India, causing a real revolution in the religious as well as in the social domain (Kulke and Rothermund 2004, 54).

The diffusion of religions along the commercial routes is a history of movement, meeting, reciprocal reaction and confrontation, adaptation and change. Although long distance trade is not the only reason for the spreading of religious ideas, it is definitely an important factor, so trade deserves attention even in the study of cultural context characterized by specific religious backgrounds (Foltz 1999, 7). Jason Neelis (2011, 3 ff.) concludes that models – such as long distance transmission and contact expansion – mostly overlap and coexist involving trans-cultural transformations according to separate chronologies, socioeconomic conditions, geographical and environmental settings.

One specific way in which religion can influence international trade is through its network effect (Eakin 2003). The sharing of religious ideas by people living in distant countries creates networks of trust that aid economic transactions (Lewer and Van den Berg 2007, 765). Trade contacts based on a common religion that works as guarantee of trustworthiness, may have even resulted in mass conversion at commercial posts (Autiero 2016, 161). Long distance trade is a concurring factor to the spread of religious ideas. In particular the diffusion of proselytizing religions – like Buddhism, Christianity and Islam – followed trade routes: traders themselves where pioneers in adopting new religious doctrines, then labeled as "mercantile religion". Soteriology and universalism in a "mercantile religion" help the traders to maintain a moral behavior even during long travels far away from the rules of their homeland. Buddhism was born as anti-nomistic and non-traditional movement, against orthodox beliefs focused on rituals and sacrifice and deeply rooted on local social organization, from which merchants temporarily living abroad were actually cut out.[15] Religions in order to deal with the spiritual world of traders have to be human-centric so that the entrepreneurship and the self-realization can be pursued and justified also from a moral point of view.

These observations concur to a better understanding of the great value of Buddhist petroglyphs along the Karakorum routes; in this remote

[15] Long distance can be on the other hand an obstacle to the radiation of not-universalistic religious doctrines, and of the related moral teachings. Indeed, traders, when away from their societies and their religious moral rules, have the chance to behave irrespectively of the rules of their homeland. Ancient traders, when abroad, lived in a limbo where the social control, conveyed by a religious ethic, needed to find new ways to be effective. Personal beliefs, after the encounter with different gods, rites and myths, can be strongly questioned, especially when the respect of the rules relies upon the fear derived from a divine investiture of the political elite (Autiero 2015, 161).

area local beliefs and multiple doctrines coexisted, but Buddhism, due to its major connection to trade, eventually became dominant in the centuries of major development of the so-called Silk Roads.

7. Conclusions

Data derived from the petroglyphs of the Upper Indus border region of Northern Pakistan show how significant this transit zone was for the initial phase of Buddhist transmission beyond the Indian Subcontinent. From a commercial point of view the strengths of this area were precious gems and metals, probably the real incentive to cross these difficult routes (Neelis 2011, 286).

While Chinese accounts refer to actual Buddhist shrines in the area, archaeology so far does not corroborate this piece of information. Apparently socioeconomic conditions in the Upper Indus did not allow the establishment of Buddhist institutions before the royal patronage of the Palola Śāhi dynasty of Gilgit in the 7th and 8th century (Neelis 2011, 287). Buddhist petroglyphs and inscriptions nevertheless demonstrate that – using a different and glocal language – travelers, pilgrims, traders, and local patrons established new narratives and religious topologies in this arduous transit zone.

The corpus of petroglyphs from the Upper Indus area provides several clues for further studies on pattern of cultural diffusion, on phenomena of transculturation in non-urban contexts, and on the role of transit zones in the transmission of major doctrines such as Buddhism. The development and success of universalistic religions as Buddhism in the context of ancient globalization shows the functioning of a network effect in religious transmission and its role in the diffusion of religious imagery and material culture. In particular the Upper Indus petroglyphs suggest that traders and pilgrims crossing the mountains carried with them not only portable objects and icons, but also actual models and 'cartoons' of Buddhist narratives and icons, opening up the path to the development of a Chinese Buddhist visual culture. The present study suggests that the circulation of portable objects functions as catalyst for change and innovation. On the crucial topic of the transmission of the anthropomorphic image of Buddha, rock art from Upper Indus shows that it was not a univocal phenomenon; indeed, the image of Buddha travelled from Greater Gandhāra to China and Central Asia also through not-

institutional contact transmission (meaning that was not a passage of information between monastic institutions); acts of devotion paid to petroglyphs along trade routes facilitated the image of the Buddha to travel outside of South Asia.

These clusters of images are Buddhist sacred places and constitute actual shrines even if not in architectural form; rock art was likely the focal point for devotion and worship, not accessory to other physical monuments. This is corroborated by several records of donations at major Buddhist sites, all in the form of rock art (*stūpa*, symbols or inscriptions). This phenomenon shows an adaptive strategy of Buddhist practice to the mountain environment. Adaptability is one of the keys to the success and diffusion of Buddhism.

Further research is needed to identify connections of Upper Indus rock art to neighbouring areas. This work would also help in tracing shifting routes and itineraries, especially following the establishment of the Śāhi dynasties in Northern Pakistan. This paper suggests a network approach to the study of this area, whose isolation was clearly only apparent.

The Buddhist petroglyphs of the Upper Indus-Karakorum range must be studied in a wider context. Further research on neighbouring areas may provide further data on the expansion of Buddhist visual culture. In particular the easternmost outreaches of these mountain routes in Western China, before entering the Tarim Basin, deserve attention.[16] This effort would be an important step in order to reconstruct the still missing links among the many routes of the ancient Silk Roads. In recent years a growing support for a network approach has made clear that we cannot understand ancient connectivities with a compartmentalised view. Very promising results are expected on the adaptability of Buddhist visuals and narratives to different context in this interconnected wide network.

[16] Unfortunately recent research in Chinese Xinjinag might be hidden in publications in Chinese; inaccessibility of recent scientific literature to the international community because of the linguistic barrier is a great obstacle for research on this geographical area.

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A Mathuran Style Buddha from Badalpur, Taxila Valley: A Reassessment of the Evidence and New Tentative Dating

Abdul Ghafoor / Arshad Ullah / Ashraf Khan

Abstract

Among the many flourishing Buddhist complexes in the Taxila Valley, the Badalpur monastic complex seems to be one of the largest, spreading over an extensive area of 2.9 acres (1.17 hectares) on the left bank of the Haro River, around 10 km north-east of Taxila Museum. The Badalpur complex could accommodate at a time more monks and pilgrims than any other monastery in the vicinity. Small scale salvage excavations were first undertaken at this site by V. Natesa Aiyar but with no significant findings in term of artifacts. However, more extensive excavations carried out by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan from 2005 to 2009 provided scholars with plenty of artifacts for them to study, and revealed that actually the site consists of two separate monasteries, obviously to accomodate the needs of the growing community of monks and pilgrims. Amongst the most notable findings, the Badalpur complex preserved a Buddha statue of Mathuran style in dhyanamudra *carved in red sandstone. Some important and unique details of this precious sculpture are missing in earlier descriptions, as well as those details useful to tentatively date this sculpture. This paper aims at outlining: (a) the links between Taxila and Mathura regions during the peak period of Buddhism, (b) reassess the details visible on the sculpture, and (c) to attempt to date our Buddha figure through comparisons with similar known Mathuran Sculptures. This preliminary assessment paves the way to further research.*

Keywords: Taxila, Badalpur, Mathura, Seated Buddha, Red Sandstone

1. Introduction

Taxila Valley is rich of Buddhist religious and secular establishments; this area is predominantly famous for the many splendid monasteries and impressive stupas, an eloquent testimony that Taxila was once one of the most flourishing centers of Buddhism and that it was flooded by a diverse plethora of visitors, individuals as well as groups, including pilgrims, students, traders, scholars, researchers and tourists etc. These visitors were also agents of exchange in terms of ideas and material culture, bringing

new elements from outside and taking back Taxilan artefacts on their way back.

It is noteworthy that the reputation and importance of the Taxila Valley in the Greater Gandhara region in antiquity seems to be unmatched, for a variety of reasons; Taxila can – first of all – benefit from its favourable geographical position in close proximity to major ancient trade routes since remote times. Such position not only brought economic prosperity, but also determined its role as a place of great cultural interaction and exchange, with contributions converging here from almost all directions. Its reputation and standing as a great centre of learning – with many famous universities and teachers of unparalleled reputation – attracted people interested in knowledge and science. The importance of Taxila is futher confirmed by the relocation of relevant Jataka stories to the area, as reported by the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang (Beal 1884: 137-38; Khan 2019: 70-80).

Hermann Goetz (1959: 77) states that Mathuran sculptures and sculptors found their way into the Gandhara region, basing this observation on earlier excavations such as the one of the Dharmarajika stupa in 1915; at the site of the most famous and oldest stupa in Taxila Valley, Sir John Marshall, indeed, found the first head of a statue in the style of Mathura in Gandhara. Further subsequent excavations carried out by him at the same site and at other sites, such as Bhir Mound and Sirkap, yielded more specimens of Mathuran School sculptures (Marshall 1951, Vol.I: 278, Vol.II: 724 and 1960: 400-445).[1]

2. Archaeological Investigations at Badalpur Monastic Complex

Three institutions carried out archaeological investigation at Badalpur monastic complex starting in 1863-64 and up to 2020.

a. Archaeological Survey of India,
b. Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums Pakistan[2] (hereafter DoAM), and

[1] See below, pp. 71-72.
[2] On 5th April 2011, after the constitutional amendment act of the year 2010, after the devolution of the Federal DoAM, administrative jurisdiction on the site of Badalpur was transferred to the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (Formerly known NWFP).

c. Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-e-Azam University Islamabad.

Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first investigator to document Badalpur site during his archaeological survey in 1863-64 (Khan 2019: 73). Before excavation, the main stupa of Badalpur had been already completely deprived of its stone facing (Cunningham 1871, II: 144-46). A salvage excavation at the stupa complex of Badalpur was first carried out during the 1916-17 season by V. Natesa Aiyar, then superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India. The finds recovered in the first season include ten copper coins of the Kushan period, 43 clay sealings, and pottery (Marshall 1960: 400-445; Arif and Khattak 2009: 119). Dr. M. Arif, Director of the Exploration and Excavation Branch of the DoAM, also unearthed large quantity of clay sealings from Badalpur in the 2005/06 excavations. The quantity of sealings from Badalpur is the largest one ever recorded from any single Buddhist monastic complex in the region.

Starting at the turn of the 21st century, in the context of an increasing heritage consciousness in Pakistan, also archaeological excavations resumed and increased; in this cultural ferment, considering the undeniable importance of the site, the Exploration and Excavation branch of the DoAM resumed the then suspended excavations in Badalpur in 2005 under the direction of M. Arif (Khan et al. 2009: 26). Structural remains of eight cells on the western and southern sides of the ruined monastery were exposed (Khan et al. 2007: 41). During excavation more than 128 clay sealings were discovered along with gold coins of the Kushan period (Arif and Khattak 2006: 126).[3] Copper door hooks and iron clamps were also reported from the store room together with a small number of pots (Khan et al. 2007: 49-50; 2009: 41). The discovery of a hoard of coins (208 coins, including one gold coin) from the floor level in one of the monastic cell, is the outstanding feature amongst the antiquities

[3] Amongst the most important discoveries from the first season's (2005-06) excavation include the unearthing of a unique and rare gold coin of the Early Kushan Period. five complete *chhattras* (umbrellas) of votive stupas, a one meter diameter iron pan, 188 copper coins, a ritual copper pot, a surgical instrument, copper plates, iron objects (nails, clamps, hinges, a saw, door bosses, stands, strips with nails), copper pendants, a copper bell, copper strainers and a large number of potteries including storage jars, pots , bowls , terracotta oil lamps and a heart shaped schist stone lamp.

found during the excavations in 2009 (Khan et al 2009: 25). M. Ashraf Khan, the then Director of the Exploration and Excavation Branch, DoAM, started excavations in 2008-09, that led to fascinating discoveries. Apart from many other antiquities, the most important discovery from the 2008-09 season is the Buddha statue in *dhyanamudra* in red sandstone from Mathura, another highly important Buddhist centre of knowledge and art. It was during that same season of excavations that a schist statue of Maitreya, a relic casket, terracotta oil lamps, and grinding stones were also reported from this site (Khan et al. 2013: 65-80). Another significant find from Badalpur is a miniature stupa made of schist stone now exhibited in the Islamabad Museum; this miniature stupa survives in very fragile conditions, most probably due to large scale fire in past.

After the devolution of DoAM in 2010, the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, continued excavation at the site of Badalpur till 2018 (Khan et al. 2013: 65-80). The exposed structures included a main stupa and two votive stupas, enclosed by chapels of different sizes, meant for accommodating individual images of the Buddha. The main monastery was also found at the eastern side of the Main Stupa; this structure is majestic in shape, counting forty monk cells and two gateways. However, among the structures excavated at Badalpur, the discovery of a second monastery is absolutely exceptional; this structure is situated on the southern side of the main monastery, and contains twelve monk cells, an assembly hall, a kitchen, a storeroom and a water tank.

3. Mathuran style objects from the Taxila Valley: Finds from the Colonial Era

Mathura art is a primarily religious art of early India, mostly coheval to the Gandhara school, best known for Buddhist images.

Mathura is a city located in the western part of the North Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. The site lies in the Ganges-Yamuna Doab (conjunction) on the Yamuna River, about 25 miles (40 km) northwest of Agra. Mathura is still an important sacred place as it is believed to be the traditional birthplace of the god Krishna and one of the seven sacred cities of the Hindus. According to Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan[4] 'Mathura or

[4] Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan (1934-2008) also served as Director General of Archaeology, Pakistan (Ancient Pakistan, Vol. XX-2009:55).

Muttra of today [….] derived its importance mainly from its favourable geographical situation, as it was not only located on the river Jumna, but was also the meeting place of important commercial routes from Central Asia via Taxila, from the Indus Valley via Minnagar and from the gulf of Gujrat via Ujjain and Madhyamika' (Khan 1966: 41). In the early centuries of the Common Era in Mathura flourished one of the main schools of early Buddhist art. Paraphrasing Alexander Cunningham, Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan pointed out that "the old Buddhist statues are made of Sikri sand-stone, from which it would appear that Mathura must have been a great manufactory for the supply of Buddhist sculptures in Northern India […] and Taxila, naturally, was no exception". Due to the prominent position both of Mathura and Taxila, the discovery of objects from Mathura in Taxila had a priority over similar discoveries at other places in this region (Khan 1966: 42).

As already mentioned, the first Mathura style object found in the Taxila Valley is a male head from the Dharmarajika stupa, excavated in 1915 by Marshall (accession No. 369, Dh-15-371). Style and material clarly pinpoint this product to Mathura; the eyes are half closed, has a thick lower lip, it appears to be shaven or wearing a closefitting cap. This male head was found in court 'A' at Dharmarajika stupa; however, although the piece was found from the excavations, we have no basis for dating it except the stylistic grounds since – as the excavators record – "as the courts A and B were kept open and at their original level until well on in the medieval period, their excavation in spite of the deep accumulation of debris (some 16 ft.) above them, yielded little or no stratigraphical evidence." Also an unfinished Mathura style head has been found at the same site (accession No.432 Dh 30-217). The male head has been tentatively dated by M. Ishtiaq Khan to the third century CE, while no date was assigned to the unfinished head found from the same site.

In 1939, a small relief panel of red sandstone, measuring less than 20 centimeters in height, and depicting a seated Buddha was found in Bhari Dheri, in the Taxila area (Accession No. 9080 Bd 39-1), during a surface collection. After studying the piece, M. Ishtiaq Khan remarks that the piece can be dated on stylistic grounds to the early 2nd century CE (Khan 1966:43).

4. The Mathuran Buddha from Badalpur

The red stone (without white spots) statute under investigation was found during 2008-09, in a verandah in front of cell no. 22 of the Main Monastery (Khan 2019: 73). This small sculpture, measuring 12x13 cm, was found during excavations; as already pointed out, another similar specimen has been found in the Taxila valley in a surface collection at the site of Bhari Dheri (Marshall 1951: II, 717-18, no. 119; III, pl. 220, no. 119; Khan 1966: 41-55, fig. 1; Foucher 1905: 51:1, 4-7, 35).[5] Hence, the uniqueness of the Badalpur Mathuran Buddha also lies in the fact that it is the first of its kind found during proper excavation. It is possible that the sculpture was located in the verandah where both residents of the monastery and visitors could pay their hommages and prayers. Sign of fire at the finding spot and on the statue itself also suggests that a sudden catastrophe might have devastated this monastery and this could be the incursion of the so called White Huns in the 5th century C.E.

This sculpture depicting a seated Sakyamuni was found broken in two pieces. The figure was conceived almost like a sculpture in the round, even if the flat rendering gives a relief impression, almost as two reliefs have been just put together. The back side shows the entire bodhi tree with straight trunk, branches, and foliage. It also shows the back of the throne, and the back of the figures of the Buddha and his attendants. The stele is perforated to enforce the effect of a sculpture in the round. The Buddha is seated in *padmasana* on a high throne with two lions on the pedestal seated back-to-back "en profil", face adjacent to the corners. Buddha has a prominent nose, long ear lobes, protruding eyes, thick lips and an oval shaped chin. He is wearing a transparent garment (*sanghati*) covering his left shoulder while the right one is bare. He has a *kapardin* hairstyle, that is a spiral-shaped chignon. His right hand is in *abhayamudra* with a *chakra* (wheel of the law) on his palm, while his left hand is touching his left knee. Both soles of his feet are depicted with the *chakra*. The navel is shown prominently. The back of the sculpture depicts a full grown pipal tree, usually associated to the episode of the enlightenment of Lord Buddha. There is a perforation on the back of the *ushnisha*.

[5] This site has now completely been lost and fully encroached by modern buildings. Hence, no scientific excavations are possible here to explore possibility of such finds from systematic excavations.

This precious sculpture is carved in the Mathura style of Buddhist art that flourished in the trading and pilgrimage centre of Mathura from the 2nd century to the 12th century C.E; its most distinctive contributions were made during the Kushan and Gupta periods (1st - 6th century CE).

Apart from what has been identified or described previously about this sculpture, after minute examination we can add further additional iconographic information. The figure of Buddha is partially clad in a monastic robe whose folds are well defined, in relief, with bold grooves, and discernible layers. There is a definite effort towards naturalism and plasticity in the rendering of the drapery. The left shoulder and left half of chest of the Buddha is covered by the upper garment. The garnment was folded back and draped over the right shoulder that was, therefore, partially covered. The lower garment is tightly draped on both legs, hanging down and spreading in a fan on top of the throne in centre in a fan. On the backside, part of Buddha's drapery is also visible. The face, besides protruding eyes, also has puffy cheeks, giving him a very lively expression.

Closer examination reveals the presence of further symbols on the Buddha's body, apart from the already known chakra on the palm of the raised right hand. In the area between the lower part of the palm and the wrist there is a faded sign tentatively identified as a lotus flower. Also the soles of the feet (facing upward in the *padmasana* position) bear significant symbols: a chakra on each sole and possibly a *trishula/triratna* on each sole by the heel. The presence of two simbols on each palm and on each sole, in a comparable positions, is noteworthy; in particular the presence of a *chakra* coupled with a *trishula*/*triratna* on the soles (while a more usual *chakra* and *lotus* appear on the palms) is definitely unusual, but not althogether absent on the sole of the seated Buddhas from Mathura. The Buddha most prominently shows the *chakra* symbol on the raised, soft, fleshy right hand that is in *abhayamudra*. *Abhaya*, literally fearlessness, is the gesture of reassurance that conveys to the devout that they have nothing to fear with the Buddha's grace. Fearlessness is the promise of the enlightened condition of Buddhahood, and it is one of the most commonly represented gestures in buddhist iconography. The palms of the hands and the soles of the Buddha's feet are marked, then, with auspicious symbols as prescribed by the scriptures; the most frequently repeated is the *chakra* (wheel) symbolizing Buddha's teaching and his law (*dharma*). The *chakra* represents and recalls the turning wheel of the

Buddhist teaching and having such symbol on palms and soles is also one of the auspicious symbols (*mahapurusha lakshana*) that distinguish those great beings destined to be buddhas.

Buddha is flanked by two male figures of attendants, badly mutilated and damaged. Heads and right arm of both figures are missing. The figure on the left side of the Buddha is a male, not a female as first thought (Khan 2019: 78). This fact can be very easily ascertained examining the chest of the figure and comparing it to that of the Buddha; the left attendant's chest is as flat as that of the Buddha, and does not look in any way like a female torso. This mutilated figure is naked except for the part below the navel, where signs of a belt suggest that he was originally wearing a lower garment (*antariya*). He is wearing bangles on his left wrist that is resting on his left hip; the right raised hand is missing, but it was most probably holding a fly wisk. Similarly, the mutilated figure on the proper right of the Buddha is also in very bad state of preservation, but we can infer from the remaining fragment that he is wearing a dress similar to that on his companion and he is standing in the same pose.

The throne is supported by two sitting lions positioned back to back at the extremitites of the front side; on close examination, it is evident that the right paw of the lion seated on the left, is raised up to the head of the lion to support the throne, and, specularly, the left paw of the lion on the right, is also raised in a similar manner. Lion sculptures of similar shape and style are frequently found from the monastic complex of Buktkara I in Swat. The lions have a muscular, broad-chested body and a visible mane, allowing to identify them both as adult male animals.

The halo behind Buddha's head is broken and survived only part of the lower half; the remnants do not allow to reconstruct how it would appear originally and do not show any possible incision or inscription.

The identification of this small icon as originated in the area of Mathura is immediate to the expert's eye.[6] Thus, after revisiting our sculpture's iconographic details, we confirm that this esquisite representation of a Buddha seated in *padmasana* on a lion throne and

[6] According to an unpublished lecture delivered in 1992 by Prof. Srini Kalyanaraman "small seated Buddhas from Mathura were installed at Sanchi, Ahichhatra and as far east as Bengal and north-west as Charsadda, outside Peshawar. The seated Buddhas from Mathura are even more important than the standing over because it is this form, the yogic position called *padmasana*, which the great majority of Indian images have continued to take until the present day and because their iconography is richer." The findings from the Taxila area confirm such assumption.

flanked by two male attendant (unfortunately badly damaged) reflects common features of the style of Mathura, including the clothing consisting in a thin transparent robe (that actually covers both shoulders as evident from the surviving traces on top of the right shoulder) and the hair that is smooth on the head like a cap, with the cranial bump (*ushnisha*) on top in the shape of a spiral bun or coil of hair (*kapardin*).

5. Comparison of the Badalpur Sculpture with other known sculptures from Mathura

In this concluding paragraph we present some comparisons that can help to better date on stylistic grounds the Badalpur sculpture.

First of all, there are many similarities between the sculpture of Buddha discovered from Badalpur and the sitting Buddha found from Bari Ḍherī; the style of the drapery is almost the same, however the grooves of the folds on the Badalpur Buddha are thicker than those on the sculpture of Buddha from Bari Ḍherī. There is a *chakra* on the front of the lion throne of the Bari Ḍherī sculpture between the two lions, while there is no such sign in the case of the Buddha reported from Badalpur. Both Buddhas are flanked by two figures of attendants, one on each side. The opinion of Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan about the dating of the Bari Ḍherī sculpture is important, he observes that "the relief unlike many Mathura pieces has no inscription although there is room for it on the pedestal. A detailed study of the style, however, enables us to assign it a fairly accurate date […] Our piece with a little more pronounced lips and half closed eyes can, however, be dated a little later in early 2nd century CE"

A sculpture depicting a seated Shakyamuni Buddha in a similar pose is on exhibition in the department of Indian and Southeast Asian Art of the Cleveland Museum of Art;[7] the sculpture is made of mottled red sandstone and is bigger in size from the Badalpur one, measuring 51.4 cm in height. The red stone sculpture from Badalpur Taxila and this one have some remarkable similarities; the Badalpur Buddha shows a backside that is fully carved with a full grown pipal tree in shallow relief, same rendering of the back is visible on the 'Buddha with attendants under a Ficus Tree' from the Cleveland Museum of Art (Morris 1998-1999: 80-91, Fig. 7). Similarly, the space on the front, around the halo of the seated

[7] Czuma 1977: 97-98, figs. 24-25; also see https://www.clevelandart.org/art/1970.63 (accessed on July 2, 2021 (editor's note)).

Buddha in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Morris 1998-1999: 80-91, Fig. 6) is also fully adorned with pipal leaves, as remnants on the fragmented specimen from Badalpur also seem to suggest. Foliage is also visible in the rear space of the right raised hands of both Buddhas, probably also made to strengthen the hand with additional thickness artistically disguised in the shape of foliage. Morris suggests to date the Cleveland Buddha to the first half of the 1st century CE.

Another such figure of Buddha flanked by two male attendant in the style of Mathura is in the Kimbell Art Museum,[8] Fort Worth, Texas, USA which has been dated to 82 CE (according to the museum's website), however such date needs to be updated, according to the most recent consensus on the regnal years of Kaniska, to 132 CE (Menon 2020).

Two more comparable specimens are the stele from Katra, now in the Government Museum in Mathura and dated to the end of the 1st century CE (Menon 2020), and the one presently housed in the Harvard Art Museum that has been dated to c. 2nd century CE (Menon 2020).

The conclusion drawn by Rekha Morris (1998-1999: 80-91) is worth of consideration when she states that "the Harvard image of the Buddha Under a Ficus Tree may not belong to the earliest, formative group of known Buddha images from Mathura. However, it is possibly the earliest stele of this typology, the Buddha under a ficus tree, and one of the earliest images of its accomplished phase (which includes the Cleveland Sakyamuni and the Katra Bodhisattva). Indeed, within this assured phase the Harvard Buddha occupies a preeminent place, mediating between the earliest creations of the Buddha image in Mathura and the inception of canonic imagery as seen in the Cleveland Sakyamuni and the Katra Bodhisattva."

Muhammad Ishtiaq Khan (1966: 45-46) has also discussed this issue in an earlier publication; according to him "On the other hand, the sitting attitude with the left hand on knee and the pose of the right hand raised up to the shoulder, the thin sticking garment across the body leaving the right shoulder bare, the prominent busts, the almost smooth surface of the hair, and the sitting lions at the corners leave no room for doubt that it is comparable to and datable with similar pieces from Katra, one in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and "Early Mathura Seated Buddha type" of Comaraswamy. This type as dated by Comaraswamy (1927) and Van Lohuizen-de-Leeuw (1949) is datable to the second half of the first

[8] https://www.kimbellart.org/collection/ap-198606

century CE Dating of our sculpture more precisely is difficult, but the Buddha reported from Badalpur Taxila with a little more pronounced lips and half closed eyes can however be dated a little later in early 2nd century CE"

Rekha Morris (1998-1999: 80-91) has identified four problematic areas in chronology and dating of the Kushana period art of Mathura (ca. 1st - 4th c. CE) i.e. (i) "no securely dated monuments from the period survive. About forty-five inscribed sculptures enable us to postulate a relative chronology, but all are dated in unspecified eras of uncertain dates, of which there were several in use: the Maurya era (beginning approximately 322 BCE), the Seleucid era (312 BCE), the Parthian era (248 BCE), the Saka era (129 BCE), the Vikrama era (57 BCE), and the various dates suggested for Kaniska's reign (144 CE, 128 CE, 78 CE).", (ii) "monuments such as the images under discussion have been removed from their original context. Scholars classify sculptures of the Kusana period into two broad stylistic groups by reference to the two major centers of production: Gandhara and Mathura. Many Buddhist monuments in and around Mathura are no longer extant", (iii) few of the inscribed images of this period refer to a donor, so that the only statement one might make about patronage is a negative one, i.e., that the patron of such images was most likely to have been non-royal like Friar Bala or (most likely) the patrons of the refurbishing of Mat and of Surkha Kotal.", and (iv) in the present state of knowledge iconography does not clarify chronology. Detailed stylistic analysis in conjunction with studies of chronology by such scholars as Lohuizen, Rosenfield, and others allows us to chart a relative if not an absolute chronology within which to place images such as those under discussion."

Considering the data obtained from the analysis reported above, and keeping in mind the current scholarly consensus on questions of chronology, we attempted a more precise datation of the Mathuran Buddha from Badalpur; after careful evaluation we come to the conclusion that our panel with seated Buddha in *padmasana* and *abhayamudra* in the sculptural style of Mathura most probably belongs to the first half of the second century CE and more precisely about 127 to 132 CE.

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Fig. 1 - Front view of the Mathuran Panel from Badalpur Taxila, showing the Buddha seated on a lion throne in the gesture of *abhayamudra* (Photo by Ashraf Khan).

Fig. 2 - Back side of the Panel with Pipal Tree (Photo by Ashraf Khan).

Elements for a social History of Timurid and Safavid Quhistān: the rural sanctuaries of the region

Matteo Sesana

Abstract

The present work contributes to the reconstruction of the social and religious history of the East-Iranian region of Quhistān during the 15th and 16th centuries. The first part of the article is an overview of studies on Quhistān. The second part investigates a forgotten source of the early 16th century, the so-called Mazārnāma *of ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Yāsirī Ḥusāmī. The work of Ḥusāmī nowadays is considered lost, but thanks to the early 20th century polymath Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āyatī Bīrjandī a part of the work still survives. Āyatī acquired a manuscript of the* Mazārnāma *and used it to write a history of Quhistān. Analyzing Ḥusāmī's descriptions of the rural sanctuaries and comparing them with the coeval sources, the author sheds light on the socio-economic and religious landscape of Quhistān in late Timurid and Safavid period.*

Key words: Islamic sanctuaries, History of Iran, History of Quhistān, Turco-Iranian world, Timurid period, Safavid period

1. Quhistān: an historical and geographic view

Scholarly literature devoted little attention to the East-Iranian region of Quhistān. This is especially true for the social, economic and cultural history of the region in Pre-modern times. The limited, albeit important, scholarship on Pre-modern Quhistān stands in stark contrast with the considerable amount of Arabic and Persian sources from the early Islamic to Timurid periods describing the region as an important thoroughfare for trade. Indeed, Quhistān was located between present-day Iran and Afghanistan, connecting the South coast of the Iranian Plateau to the commercial hubs of Central Asia.

Indicatively, the region laid South of the city of Nishapur, now in Iran, West of Herat, in Afghanistan, and North of the region of Sistān (Le Strange 1905: 352-363). The Western borders were marked by the desert surrounding the city of Ṭabas. According to the medieval Arab geographers, the administrative capital of the region was Qāyin (Qā'in)

and other important urban centers were Turshīz and Gunābād to the North, Ṭabas-i Masīnā to the East, and Bīrjand located at the center of the region, nearby Qāyin. Nowadays, the toponym "Quhistān" does not appear on any map. Most of its historical territory is part of the modern administrative region of Khurāsān-i Junūbī, "Southern Khurāsān" (Iran). Nonetheless, a collective memory of this region's past endures, since the locals still call the region "Quhistān" or "Qāyināt" (*i.e.* the region around Qāyin). During the 19th and 20th centuries, the city of Bīrjand grew considerably both in economic and demographic terms, replacing Qāyin as the main center and administrative capital of the region.

Modern historical studies on Quhistān are commonly based on a few common sources. These sources, so widely cited in historical studies on Quhistān, are fragmentary and in some cases inaccurate and do not allow us to fully reconstruct the historical development and socio-cultural context of the region.

If, for instance, we look at the Arabic geographical texts composed between the 11th and 12th centuries, we find that they inform us on the main commercial routes, the names of the villages, the stages on the principal caravan routes, and provide only vague descriptions of the cities and the urban conglomerates of Quhistān. Moreover, Arab geographers follow the standard patterns of geographical narration, as they tend to force the information collected – in most of the cases obtained by third parties – into a time-honored literary canon, that of descriptive geography (Tolmacheva 1995). In other words, these authors are more interested in idealizing the territory of the Abbasid Caliphate than in describing its lands.

Despite the fact that the region was an important center of Zoroastrian revolts in the 8th century and that the early Abbasid propaganda found fertile ground in the area between the 8th and 9th centuries (Amoretti 1975: 481-519), Quhistān is more commonly associated with the Ismaili rule that interested the region between the 11th and 13th centuries. Nizari Ismaili presence in the Iranian Plateau dates back to the 11th century and covers the period from the Seljuq apogee and fall in Iran, the rising of the Turk-Iranian dynasties of the Ghūrids and Khwārazmshāhīs and continues until the Mongol invasions of the second half of the 13th century (Daftary 2005).

The 11th century is marked also by the coming of the first Turco-Iranian dynasties to rule in the Iranian Plateau. The competition between the Ghaznavid and the Qarakhanid for the control of Trasoxiana

eventually resulted in the southward migration of Oguhz nomadic tribes, headed by the clan of the Seljuqs. The Seljuqs soon afterwards conquered the entire Iranian Plateau, Anatolia, Syria. Their prosperous empire lasted more than a century and a half, until the death of the last sultan Aḥmad Sanjar in 1153.

In the first decades of the Seljuq empire, political power rested in the hands of the powerful vizier Niẓām al-Mulk (1064 -1092), a member of the local Iranian aristocracy. Niẓām al-Mulk kept the empire together thanks to the support of the ruling elites of the main urban centers, but neglected its peripheries. Outside the cities, groups of nomadic Turkmans roamed the land, raiding villages and towns. The situation provoked discontent among the population and disaffection towards the central government. Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (1034-1124) a revolutionary Nizari Ismaili propagandist (*dāʿī*) was able to channel the discontent for his own purposes. He, in 1088, settled in the Sub-Caspian region of Rūdbār and, with the support of the local communities, established a political entity opposite to the Seljuqs. The *modus gubernandi* of Ḥasan-i Sabbāḥ, in contrast with coeval polities such as the Seljuq empire, did not consist in a unitary and centralized government. Instead, Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's rule comprised a complex network of mountain castles and fortifications dislocated all over the Iranian Plateau. The castles communicated with each other and were located in strategic positions, near the main trading routes or in the outskirts of the main cities. In some cases, they were very heavily fortified and could resist lengthy sieges (Daftary 2015: 41-57). One of the regions under the Ismaili control, was Quhistān, as the largest and the most strategic region after Rūdbār, where Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ's headquarters were located.

Even for the Ismaili apogee in Quhistān, historical sources do not provide either a detailed geographical description, or a comprehensive historical narrative. This is not surprising. The primary sources that we have at our disposal were composed at Seljuq, Ghūrid and then Ilkhanid courts, and to rely exclusively on them lead to an unbalanced and in some ways distorted historical framework. These sources misrepresent the historical events, emphasizing the victories and the conquests of the central power, and they openly condemn and always cast a bad light on the Ismailis. It is therefore difficult to interpret some of the textual passages containing the chronicles of the battles against the Ismailis or the numbers of the Ismailis slaughtered by victorious armies. The emerging narrative

over-emphasizes not only the victories of the central power but also the losses of the Ismailis. There are similar issues with primary sources on the relationships between the Mongols and the Ismailis.

The coming of the Mongols in Iran dates to the second half of the 13th century. The consequences of the Mongol invasions were devastating for the entire Iranian Plateau and in particular for the region of Khurāsān. Following the first wave of invasions, the Iranian lands saw the rise of the Ilkhanid dynasty. In this period, members of the family of Genghis Khan or, in some cases, vassal dynasties shared the control of the vast territories conquered by the Mongols. The latter was the case of the Karts, a regional dynasty coming from a branch of the Ghūrids and controlling the region of Herat. Taking advantage of the disorders within the Mongol administration, the Karts gained their independence. It was between the 13th and 14th centuries that Quhistān became a peripheral area of the Kart dominions. Thus, the region entered the orbit of Herat, whose hegemony over Quhistān lasted until the end of the Timurid period.

In the second half of the 14th century, the Central Asian conqueror Timur subjugated all of Persia, laying waste to its lands and destroying many of its cities. In 1381, Timur came to Herat, conquered the city and brought the Kart dynasty to an end. During the Timurid period Herat became the capital of the empire, as the center of the economic and political activities of the successors of Timur (Subtelny 2007). Under the Timurids the city flourished with the ambitious promotion of cultural endeavours and the commission of great architectonic buildings. During the reign of Sultan Ḥusaiyn Bāyqarā Herat became a leading intellectual center, attracting some of the most celebrated intellectuals of the time, such as ʿAlī-Shīr Nawāʾī, Dawlatshāh Samarqandī, and Mīrkhwānd (Binbaş 2016). It was in a similar artistic, historical and geographical context that the intellectuals of the time began to show an increasing interest for the life and the work of the great poets and authors of the past and to collect their memories in biographical anthologies called *tadhkirāt* (sing. *tadhkira*).

This genre contains some important details concerning the geography of Quhistān. The authors of *tadhkirāt* report the biographical details of poets, and, in some cases, they describe the villages or the towns where they lived. *Tadhkirāt* were meant to remember or celebrate the memory not only of poets or intellectuals, but also of sufi masters, holy men, religious and political authorities, princes, viziers or kings. *Tadhkirāt* authors used mostly direct sources and so they convey more loyal

descriptions of the social and religious landscape than strictly historical sources.

In the case of Timurid Quhistān, it is not unusual to find biographies of illustrious figures who lived in the region. This is for example the case of the poet Nizārī Quhistānī – whose family was probably Ismaili – who lived in Bīrjand between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 14th centuries (Jamal 2002: 84-107). The poet lived in that crucial period of Iranian history that was the coming of the Mongol and the subsequent socio-economic transformation of the Iranian Plateau, with the disappearance of the Ismailis from the religious landscape. Thus, if we collect the information we can derive from the biography of the poet and compare it with notices found in his verses, we can try to reconstruct the surrounding historical context. The same could be done with the biographies of other poets, sufi, illustrious figures or princes. Every *tadhkira* contains important clues and indications which, if correctly decrypted and interpreted in an adequate methodological framework, allow us to finally break new ground in the historical studies on Quhistān.

2. Āyatī Bīrjandī's history of Quhistān

In the following pages, we are going to investigate a modern biographical anthology compiled in 1958 by an Iranian polymath native of Bīrjand named Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āyatī Bīrjandī. The author wrote an opus entitled *Bahāristān dar tārīkh wa tarājim-i rijāl-i Qāʾināt u Quhistān* in which he collected the biographies of illustrious personalities, who were born or lived in Quhistān from the early Islamic period to his days. Āyatī Bīrjandī divided his work into three sections: in the first one, he narrates the history of Quhistān from the venture of Islam to modernity. In the second part, Āyatī describes the *mazārāt,* i.e. the sanctuaries of the region, and the pilgrimage sites. In the third and last part, he reports the biographies of illustrious men of Quhistān.

The peculiarity of this work lies in the sources that the author used for the second and the third part of the book. Āyatī affirms that he used a work, whose original title is unknown, composed between the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries by a certain ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Yāsirī Ḥusāmī native of Quhistān (Āyātī 1958; Aubin 1967). This work is ignored by modern scholarship. It has never been edited and nowadays it is believed to be lost. Āyatī affirms that he could acquire a copy of a

manuscript of this work and that he used all the information it contained for the compilation of his *Bahāristān.* Indeed, the information reported are very precise and, for what concerns us here, useful for the reconstruction of the social and religious landscape of Quhistān during the Timurid and Safavid periods.

If ʿAlī b. Muḥammad Yāsirī Ḥusāmī's work is nowadays lost, there is also very little information on the author. The historian Jean Aubin wrote in an article published in 1967, quoting from Timurid and Safavid sources, that Ḥusāmī was a disciple of the poet Ibn Ḥusām Khūsfī, the author of the epic *Khāwarānnāma* composed in 1426-27 (Aubin 1967: 188; Rubanovich 2017). The two were intimately acquainted: according to ʿAlī-Shīr Navāʾī, it was Ibn Ḥusām Khūsfī who gave Ḥusāmī his *nom de plume* (*apud* Aubin 1967: 188 *n. 1*). In terms of religious affiliation and beliefs, biographical works describe Ḥusāmī as a Shia extremist. On this, the sufi poet of Herat Fakhrī Harawī (1497-1566) in his work *Laṭāʾifnāma* reports an anecdote on Ḥusāmī. It is reported that Ḥusāmī had an argument with the Sunni *ʿulamāʾ* at the court of Herat and he was accused of extremism and ridiculed in front of the prince (*apud* Aubin 1967: 188). Be it as it may, in the 19th century only few sections of the original work of Ḥusāmī had survived, but they were discovered by a certain Sayyid ʿAbdullāh Mujtahid, who produced few copies of it. One of them came into the hands of the aforementioned Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āyatī, who, in 1958, used that materials to write a history of Quhistān (Āyatī 1327/1958: 260-261). According to Āyatī, the central part of the original text, containing the description of the sanctuaries of the region had survived. This is why Sayyid ʿAbdullāh Mujtahid, the discoverer of the work, titled it *Mazārnāma* (Āyatī 1327/1958: 260-261). Āyatī, quoting from Ḥusāmī, affirms that to compile his work Ḥusāmī used an opus titled *Tārīkh-i Quhistān* (History of Quhistān) – now lost – composed by a certain Rūbakhtī plausibly in the 14th or 15th centuries. This *Tārīkh-i Quhistān* is quoted by another author, the Nizari Ismaili Khayrkhwāh Harātī (m. 1553). The association between Ismaili authors and Quhistān led the renowned orientalist Vladimir Iwanov to assume that the authorship of the *Tārīkh-i Quhistān* was actually of the Ismaili Bū Isḥāq Quhistānī, who was native of Quhistān (Virani 2007: 126).

However, at the present state of the art, it is impossible to trace back the authorship of the opus. The work of Ḥusāmī, here cited through Āyatī, is a very interesting case of textual transmission and it deserves

some attention. In other words, we are dealing with the only existent source which openly quotes from the *Tārīkh-i Quhistān*.

3. The Timurid and Safavid sanctuaries

Before introducing the Quhistāni sanctuaries of the 15th and 16th centuries, we need first to make some clarifications about the terms we will be using. With the word sanctuary, we translate the Persian *mazār* which usually indicates a pilgrimage site containing the tomb of a saint (*walī*) or the place where important religious figures like the Imāms or his descendants are buried. In this latter case, *i.e.* sanctuaries dedicated to the sons, grandsons or direct descendants of the Imāms, in modern Persian it is commonly used the term *Imāmzāda*, literally "the progeny of the Imām". In Ayati/Ḥusāmī the term *Imāmzāda* does not occur. The author reports only the term *mazār,* that we translated as "sanctuary". *Mazār* is a loan-word from Arabic, referring to the verb *zāra* "to visit" and literally means "visiting place". These sanctuaries usually are domed buildings of variable size. Some of them only have a small room containing the tomb, while others, thanks to pilgrims donations, can reach a considerable size, and they can include within their perimeter mosques, prayer rooms and even living areas.

In his *Mazārnāma*, Ḥusāmī describes the sanctuaries and adds some important historical information quoting explicitly from the *Tārīkh-i Quhistān*. The value of Ḥusāmī's work consists in the important clues it contains, which are an invaluable source for the reconstruction of the social and religious history of the rural region of Quhistān.

1. The first sanctuary described by Ḥusāmī is that of Shāhrakht dedicated to Saʿadullāh, the son the 7th Shia Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim and successor of Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq. Shāhrakht is a village in central Quhistān, located in the district of Zīrkūh, at South-East of Bīrjand. The sanctuary is situated on the slopes of a mountain nearby the village. The sanctuary dates to the 15th century and it was constructed following the mystical appearance of a local holy man who revealed the exact position of the burial of Saʿadullāh. In that place, it was built a sanctuary (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 161).

2. The second sanctuary described is that dedicated to Zaynab, daughter of the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. The sanctuary is located in the rural district

of Kāhin at Nahārjān, in the outskirts of Bīrjand. Ḥusāmī affirms that it was erected at the center of a *mazraʿa* (*i.e.* an agricultural field) at the dependencies of the village of Kāhin (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 148-149).

3. In the work of Ḥusāmī it is reported that in the *mazraʿa* of Ḥanbal, nearby the village of Fashārūd at the dependencies of Bīrjand, there was a sanctuary which contained the tomb of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, another descendant of the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. It is reported that Sulṭān Ibrāhīm, passing through Quhistān, died of poisoning and he was buried in the middle of a *mazraʿa*. Later the people of Fashārūd erected a sanctuary in his honor. Āyatī adds a popular legend linked to the place which he collected. A treasury agent from the court of the king came to the sanctuary and ventured to affirm that it was untrue and unworthy of devotion. After this declaration, the fiscal agent was seized by terrible pains in his stomach and throughout the body. After few hours, right inside that sanctuary, the officer died in pain (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 156-157).

4. Another sanctuary described is that of the three *sādāt* (sing. *sayyid*), descendants of the Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. At the time of the persecution of the Umayyad Caliphate, the three fled out of Baghdad and they hid in the desert and mountains of the Iranian Plateau. After much wandering, they reached the district of Zīrkūh. The three spent some days at Chahār Gunbad nearby Afīn and from there they hid in the mount *Āskūh* and the mount *Fūrāb* where they perished. Their bodies were taken to the village of Afīn where the sanctuary was erected (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 161).

5. Ḥusāmī moves on to describe the sanctuary of Ḥāmidallāh ʿAlawī located in the village of Chinisht to the east of Bīrjand in the district of Nahārjān. The author reports a very interesting tradition linked to its foundation. Ḥāmidallāh ʿAlawī was the son of the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir, the 5th Shia Imām who lived between the 7th and the 8th century. According to the tradition, the bodies of Ḥāmidallāh ʿAlawī and his sons Nābil, Qāsim and Jālīl were thrown in a cave in the outskirts of Chinisht and left there. It was only centuries later that Muḥammad Mushaʿshaʿ found out the bodies. Muḥammad Mushaʿshaʿ, known also as Muḥammad b. Falāḥ (1400-1461), was a propagandist and the founder of a religious movement called *mushaʿshaʿiyya*, originated in the province of Khūzistān and then spread all over the Middle East. Once he arrived in Quhistān, Muḥammad Mushaʿshaʿ found the cave with the

bodies and there he built a sanctuary which attracted pilgrims from the entire region. The poet Ibn Ḥusām Khūsfī also visited and described this sanctuary (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 151-153).

6. The sanctuary of Sayyid Naqīb in the *mazraʿa* of Bushd, the sanctuary of Kūh-i Bāqirān and the sanctuary of Shaykhan (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 153-155). Āyatī/Ḥusāmī describe this group of sanctuaries only briefly. These three sanctuaries are built a few hundred meters from each other and were all erected on the tombs of the descendants of the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 151-153).

7. The sanctuary of Naṣrābād in Khūsf. Ḥusāmī tells that during the Timurid period a group of *ʿulamāʾ* of Quhistān, following an oneiric apparition, travelled to the village of Naṣrābād in the outskirts of the town of Khūsf in northern Quhistān. In that town, there was a tree around which the pilgrims circumambulated since it was believed to have healing powers. In response to the oneiric apparition, the *ʿulamāʾ* ordered to dig under the tree. Among the roots, the diggers found the body of one of the sons of the Imām Musā al-Kāẓim, named Abū al-Qāsim. The body was still in good conditions and the head was bloodied. Thus, it was ordered to the people of the town to build a sanctuary and to plant a holy tree on the tomb. (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 157-158).

4. Conclusions: the sanctuaries and the rural setting

The description by Ḥusāmī/Āyatī of the geography of the sanctuaries is highly informative. These sanctuaries are placed in extremely rural contexts, in small villages, and towns. The sanctuaries described by Ḥusāmī lies, with no exception, outside urban contexts. With proper evaluation, the information this author conveys can shed light on the social, religious and economic history of rural Quhistān.

First of all, we need to make some observation on the term *mazraʿa* and its usage in our source. The meaning of the term is not immediate. Even though it literally means "agricultural or cultivated field", it refers to very small agricultural villages or small farms surrounded by fields. The fact that in the sources the sanctuaries are strongly linked to the *mazraʿa*, it means that religiosity in Quhistān was strictly related to the rural sphere and agricultural production. In the Timurid and Safavid sources, the *mazraʿa*s are described as small

agricultural centers at the dependencies of the villages that were occupied by the farmers only seasonally. They could generally house thirty or forty people, and were normally occupied during the harvest season and abandoned during the unproductive months of the year (Lambton 1953: 4). The sources report that in Quhistān there was an incredibly high number of these *mazraʿas*, located in peripheral areas, far from urban centers. This is for example the case of the city of Jām in Northern Quhistān. Ḥāfiẓ-i Abrū, the renowned Timurid historian and geographer, reports that there were two hundred *mazraʿa*s at the dependencies of the town (Krawulsky 1984: 36). There were twenty villages and fifty *mazraʿa*s at the dependencies of the city of Gunābād. In Bīrjand there were three villages and thirty-five *mazraʿa*s and on the outskirt of the town of Shāhkhin, in central Quhistān, there were seven village and one hundred *mazraʿa*s (Krawulsky 1984: 36-40). It follows that the *mazraʿa*s played a key role in the socio-economic life of the entire region.

Another historian from the Timurid period, Būzjānī, in his work *Rawḍat al-riyāḥīn* reports more interesting data on the relationship of the *mazraʿa*s with popular religiosity. Būzjānī reports that a holy man revered in Jām used to spend a period of complete isolation at his own *mazraʿa* outside the city with the purpose to retire to private life and meditate (Būzjānī 1345/1966: 127). The same did another holy man named Darwīsh Tāzyānī, owner of *mazraʿa*s, and discussed also by Ḥusāmī (Āyatī/Ḥusāmī 1327/1958: 282).

The data reported by the sources confirm that the *mazraʿa* were strictly connected with the religious practices of the rural inhabitants of Quhistān. Moreover, these reports date back to the late Timurid and the early Safavid periods, which means before the policies of "Shia conversion" promoted by the Safavid dynasty throughout the empire. Nevertheless, a strong *alidism* and the veneration for the Shia Imām was particularly widespread in the rural areas of the region. In fact, as reported by Ḥusāmī/Āyatī, almost each and every sanctuary was dedicated to the descendants of the 7th Shia Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. This is not particularly surprising, considering that the *Musawī Cicyle* – i.e. the veneration for the Imām Mūsā – was widespread in Iran during the Timurid and early Safavid periods. In fact, there were numerous *musawī* Imāmzādas also in Kermān and Fārs (Aubin 1956: 8).

In addition to the *Musawī Cicyle,* it is attested in Ḥusāmī the presence of the *Bāqirī Cicyle*, namely the veneration for the Imām Muḥammad al-Bāqir and his descendant persecuted by the Umayyad

Caliphs Ḥusāmī/Āyatī reports the story of how the still recognizable corpses of the three *sādāt* were found in a cave. The same account is reported by the biographer Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī in his anthology *Tadhkira-yi haft iqlīm*. Rāzī, among the peculiarities of Quhistān, counts the presence of a sanctuary reverend by the inhabitants of the region. Rāzī gives us another detail. The corpses were not only well recognizable and not disfigured by time, but they looked as if they were simply asleep (Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī 1378/1999: Vol. 2, 864-865). This story is reminiscent of the famous legend of the Seven Sleepers of Ephesus. Seven young men in order to escape the Roman persecution, hid in a cave in the mountain and felt asleep. After three hundred years, they were found by a local landowner and finally woke up. Their bodies were untouched by time. Even though a direct comparison with the legend would result unproductive, it is, however, important to note the presence of archetypes and tropes of popular legends that were still circulating among a vast territory from Anatolia to the Eastern borders of the Persianate world at the beginning of the modern era (Scarcia 2018). Some of these legends were linked to the figures of the *Ahl al-bayt* and the Imāms. One telling example is the work composed by the "rural poet" of Quhistān Ibn Ḥusām Khūsfī, the mentor of Husāmī. Ibn Ḥusām Khūsfī wrote an epic poem entitled *Khāwarānnāma* in which he recounts the deeds of Imām ʿAlī depicted as a mythical hero.

In this article, we showed how previously overlooked sources can reveal clues that help us in the reconstruction of the socio-religious and economic landscape of Quhistān. The sanctuary descriptions presented here are evidence of a connection between rural forms of religiosity and the *mazraʿa*s. During the Timurid and early Safavid periods, Quhistān was predominantly a rural and agricultural region at the peripheries of empires. Local farmers moved seasonally from their villages to the *mazraʿa*s. Labor force was concentrated predominantly outside the urban areas. It was there that a form of popular pro-Shia religiosity connected to the Imāms took hold. Sanctuaries were erected in the *mazraʿa*s and the legends connected to their foundation appear to be linked with local popular traditions. The *mazraʿa*s were also perceived as places of isolation, far from the turmoil of the cities and they were chosen by the holy men as spiritual retreats. Moreover, these places of retreat and pro-Shia religiosity drew opposition from the central power, well represented by the story of treasury agent who questioned the truthfulness of one of the sanctuaries. This suggests

that such places played a role in terms of local – *i.e.* rural – resistance and opposition to the ruling class and the urban elites. It was for clear political reasons that the propagandist Muḥammad Mushaʿshaʿ looked at the *mazraʿa*s of the region as centers to spread his doctrine.

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Dating Problem of the Gorgaṭhṛi Temples

Shakirullah / Fazal Sher

Abstract

The temples of Gorgaṭhṛi (Pl. II), an important archaeological site in the old city of Peshāwar, have been differently dated by two recent authors. Of these Prof. (Dr.) Ibrahim Shah (2013: 39-45) suggested a date between CE 1823 to 1830, whereas Prof. (Dr.) Abdur Rahman (2019: 83-92) believes that the temples could have been, at the earliest, built any time after 1871. As the matter is of some academic interest, we thought to reopen the issue to see if there exists any scope for amelioration.

Keywords: Gorgaṭhṛi, Gorakh Nāth, Ẓahīr ad Dīn Bābur, Avitabile, Mohan Dās, Raverty, Gopāl Dās.

1. Nomenclature

The name Gorgaṭhṛi (Pl. I) was variantly interpreted by scholars as 'Gūr-Khattri', 'Kūr-Khattri', 'Gor-Khatri', 'Gorakh-hatri', 'kor khatri','Gūr Khuttree'. But, as it is obvious, these are merely fanciful and wild guesses which cannot convince any of a person familiar with Hindko, the ancient and present language of Peshāwar. Prof. (Dr.) Abdur Rahman in this context remarks that, etymologically, Gorgaṭhṛi consists of two words: Gorakh (meaning one who tends cattle, mostly cows) and Kaṭṛi (diminutive form of kaṭṛa meaning 'enclosure'). Thus Gorgaṭhṛi would mean 'Gorakh's enclosure'. Gorakh appears to have been a popular name among the Jogīs (hermits).

2. Mughal Period

The early history of the Jogīs has gone unrecorded or perhaps perished. But the Jogīs in general believe that the founder of the 'Tilla Jogiān' monastery, destined to become the Jogīs' headquarter, on the top of a hill near Rohtās, was a certain Jogī guru (teacher) known as Gorakh Nāth. Under Gorakh and his disciple Bālnāth, the Jogīs of the Tilla became so popular that they vied even with the Muslim pīrs (mentors) (see Ibbetson: vol. 1, 2007). The monastery regularly turned out a rich crop of trained

young Jogīs who spread far and wide not only in the Salt Range, their home territory, but also in the neighboring Peshāwar valley. At Peshāwar they occupied an ancient site which in the course of time assumed the character of a sub-headquarter. This place came to be known after the name of Gorakh as Gorakh Kaṭṛi, modern Gorgaṭhṛi.

In a short while Gorakh became so famous for sanctity and his Kaṭṛi 'where the great ones of God lived' (Abu al-Faḍl) so reputed that it aroused the curiosity of Ẓahīr ad-Dīn Bābur in Kābul. Henceforth he made up his mind to see the sacred place of the Jogīs at the earliest possible time. In CE 1505 he was at Jamrūd when he thought he could fulfil his dream. He left the army to stay there for the night and, taking a guide, immediately rode out to Bigrām (Peshāwar) where he saw the reputed pīpal tree, but his guide hesitated to take him to Gorgaṭhṛi. In CE 1519 he was again in Peshāwar. This time he succeeded in visiting Gorgaṭhṛi of the Jogīs. Trained in the highly sophisticated cultural traditions of the house of Tīmūr, Bābur was thoroughly disappointed to see the shabby and unhealthy appearance of the Jogī home. "At an earlier visit to Peshāwar" he writes "we regretted at not being able to see this place, but it does not seem a place to regret not seeing" (Bābur 1987: 394). Giving a description of the site, he remarks: "This is a smallish abode after the fashion of a hermitage, rather confined and dark. After entering at the door and getting down a few steps one must lie full length to get beyond. There is no getting in without a lamp. All round near the building, there is let lie an enormous quantity of hair of the head and beard which men have shaved off there." It is noteworthy that no temple is mentioned by Bābur.

The next important visitor was Bābur's grandson, Akbar (CE 1556-1605) who is said to have distributed alms amongst the Jogīs. Akbar's historian, Abu al-Faḍl, relates that "within the Kūrkhattri there is a cave in the midst of which is the way to the secret chamber of the saints of old times", and that "it was the prayer spot of the great ones of God" (Abu al-Faḍl 1939: 528, 856). Again no temple is mentioned.

Akbar's son, Jahāngīr (CE 1605-27) likewise visited Gorgaṭhṛi in 1607 hoping to obtain grace from the faqīrs (hermits) of that place. But just like Bābur, he too was disappointed to see there "a herd (or small fraternity of Jogīs) without any religious knowledge, the sight of whom filled my heart with nothing but regret." (Jahāngīr 1978: 102). Apparently the Jogīs community of that time had declined to a morbid state of intellectual stagnation which invited Jahāngīr's sarcastic remarks. For us however it is important to know that even Jahāngīr mentions no temple.

Jahangir's son, Shāh Jahān (1628-58) neither mentions Gorgaṭhṛi nor Jogīs. During his reign Gorgaṭhṛi underwent a fundamental transformation which for the next 200 years changed its character. Jahān Ārā Begam, the eldest daughter of Shāh Jahān, converted the place into a caravan sarae (caravanserai) in 1640. The sarae had a series of rooms along the inner face of the perimeter walls, two monumental gateways, a grand mosque and a well (Pl. III). Again no temple is mentioned. Shāh Jahān in fact took fancy of another site named Gorakh Tibbi by Gopāl Dās (1874: 142) and Jaffar (1945: 81-82) and built a basin/pool (?) to collect the water of a natural spring which still exists on the Warsak road. (For abbreviation we shall refer to it as the Spring site). Again no temple is mentioned.

3. Mohan Lal's visit

The date of Mohan Lal's visit to Peshāwar is considered to be the determining point in dating the Gorgaṭhṛi temples. In the following paragraph we shall try to find out how far this piece of evidence is helpful in resolving the dating problem.

Mohan Lal, in company with A. Burnes and Dr. Gerard reached Peshāwar on March 20, 1832 and quitted on April 19, the same year. During his one month stay at Peshāwar he met with princes, Nāẓir, Kotwāl, maulvis, faqīrs and many others who cared to see and talk to him. Riding his horse, he roamed about in the city almost every day visiting places of his interest. He went twice to the garden of 'Ali Mardān Khān, passed by the Shālimār garden, another garden which he does not name, lapidary shops, Asiyā Bazār, the ruins of 'Bālā Hisār' and 'Kote Mausam Khān' both having been demolished by Ranjīt Singh. Twice again he went to visit the Spring site known to him as the temple of Gorakh Nāth. But nowhere does Gorgaṭhṛi or its temples find a place in his diary. Gorgaṭhṛi was apparently still functioning as a caravan sarae, like many others in the city, and offered no attraction to him. Neither were the temples there, which could have stimulated his religious feelings for a visit. Thus, any effort to bring the evidence of Mohan Lal's visit to bear on the dating of the Gorgaṭhṛi temple would be invalid. This is just like making a target of something which does not exist. The place he liked most was the Spring site known to him as the temple of Gorakh Nāth. This is how he described his two visits to the Spring.

April 8

> "I went this morning to the Hindu temple called Gorakh Nāth. It is a fine place. All Hindus, both men and women, with their children, assemble here on Sunday and bathe in the basin/pool (?), which has a beautiful fountain in the middle. Its clear and crystalline water which washes the northern side of Peshawar forms a narrow rivulet" (Mohan Lal 1846: 51)

April 11

> "A holy day of the Hindus, called Baisākhi, which authorizes that tribe to bathe this morning in rivers, canals and especially at Hardwar a celebrated bathing place in India. I was induced to pay a visit to the temple of Gorakh Nāth. Thousands of men and women were in the basin/pool (?), which is shaded by three pipal trees" (Mohan Lal 1846: 53)

4. Discussion

It is evident from the above citations that the temple called Gorakh Nāth (Spring site) and Gorakh Kaṭṛi are two different places of which the former is located near the Shāh 'Ālam branch of the river Kābul, and the latter within the city of Peshāwar. However, the name Gorakh is common to both. Gopal Dās (1874: 142) and also Jaffar (1945: 81-82) tell us that a story had been concocted by the people to account for this dual use of the name. It is believed that the Hindu Jogi, Gorakh Nāth, after whose name Gorakh Kaṭṛi came to be known as such and who lived in Gorgaṭhṛi, having been driven to extremities by the Muslims, jumped into the well (which still exists and was built by Jahān Ārā Begam in 1640) and emerged at the Spring site. Thus, both the places came to be known after him.

Mohan Lal's reference to the Spring site as the site of a temple is of a dubious character. 'This morning (April 8)', he writes "I went to the Hindu temple called Gorakh Nāth. It is a fine place". Now, temple in the traditional sense of the word represents a masonary building devoted to the worship of a god. Did any such structure exist at the Spring site at the time of Mohan Lal's visit? It is doubtful, for, during our survey (7 Nov. 2020) at the three well known Spring sites, no traces of any ancient structure showing the existence of a temple came to light. Nor has any reminiscence of it survived in the neighborhoods. In our view Mohan Lal used the term temple in the sense of a sacred spot, not in the sense of a 'building' exclusively devoted to the worship of a god or gods.

If no temple existed at the Spring site, nor at Gorgaṭhṛi at the time of Mohan Lal's visit (1832), when were the temples which now stand in Gorgaṭhṛi built? It is noteworthy that the only building of public interest at Gorgaṭhṛi was a mosque which was pulled down by Avitabile, Ranjīt Singh's governor of Peshāwar (1838-42), most probably for security reasons. With this the role of Gorgaṭhṛi as a sarae came to an end. It now assumed the function of a governor house. It is not likely that Avitabile, for the same reasons, would have allowed the Hindus or Jogīs to build a temple therein. Raverty, who visited Peshāwar in 1850, describes Gorgaṭhṛi in some detail but mentions merely a 'jogee' or hermit not any temple (1852). Gorakh + haṭṛi is next mentioned by Gopal Das whose Tārīkh-i Peshāwar was in the process of completion in 1871. He is more accurate in fixing the spot where the 'jogee' mentioned above built a house. It is the same site, he tells us, where in former days stood a mosque. But just like Raverty he mentions no temple.

5. Conclusions

In view of the above we are driven to the conclusions that:
1. No temple existed at Gorgaṭhṛi or the Spring site at the time of Mohan Lal's visit in 1832.
2. No temple existed at Gorgaṭhṛi in 1850 (Raverty's visit) and even 21 years later in 1871 (Gopal Das).
3. The temples of Gorgaṭhṛi could have been built any time after 1871. Any date anterior to this would be untenable. The Editor's note on this point (Ancient Pakistan, XXX, 2019, p. 91, ft. 6) which recommends the reader to see Shah 2013a for an earlier date may be taken as superfluous.

End Notes

1. One of the three highest points in the old city of Peshāwar. Its height suggests a continuous occupation over centuries.
2. Gopal Das (1874: 142- 44) tells us that there were several Kaṭṛas in Peshāwar. The old city of Lahore too has many Kaṭṛas.
3. The survey team (?) consisted of Prof. (Dr.) Abdur Rahman, Dr. Shakrīullah, Mr, Adil Shah and Mr. Mehir Rahaman Khalil (PhD scholars). The one point agenda before the survey party was to determine which of the three natural springs was visited by Mohan Lal. We first went to Sakhi Chahma (Pls. IV-V) on the Pachagai road. It covers an area of about two Kanals between the Wapda House and the Tablīghī Markaz. Much of it has been filled up by the owner, Arbab Khalid of Landae Arbab, while the rest shows marshy land covered with tall grass and trees. A

small quantity of water oozes out to form a drain. Structural remains show British period bricks fixed in cement. No traces of a masonry basin/pool (?) of the Mughal period came to light. We then moved to Darmangi Kuz Kandha (Pls VI-IX) which is much constricted by modern structures. The spring site which really caught our attention is now known as Khushhāl Bāgh. (Pls.X-XIII) It was turned into a public park by the provincial government in 1992 with a nicely built basin/pool (?) which is said to have replaced an ancient structure apparently marking the site of the basin/pool (?) built by Shāh Jahān in 1640. The spring has enough waterpower to run a small size water – mill for grinding corn. During investigation at the site we were informed by the caretaker of the Bāgh that three old pīpal trees were removed at the time of excavation of the pond in1992. It is interesting to note that the volume of water, the site of the ancient basin/pool, the number of pīpal trees, all converge (?) on one point, or that this precisely was the site visited by Mohan Lal in1832.

4. Latin templum, an 'open or consecrated space' (Neo Oxford Dictionary).

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Pl. 1 - Gorgaṭhṛi: A general view (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 2 - Gorgaṭhṛi: The Temples (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 3 - Gorgaṭhṛi: The well (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 4 - Sakhi Chashma: trees in the marshy spot (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 5 - Sakhi Chashma: part of the spring recently filled up by its owner (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 6 - Darmangai kuz Kandha: view of the upper spring (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 7 - Darmangai kuz Kandha: date of renovation displayed at the spring (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 8 - Darmangai kuz Kandha: another view of the upper Spring (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 9 - Darmangai kuz Kandha: the lower Spring (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 10 - Khushhāl Bāgh: showing fence. The pricipal author to right, Prof. Dr. Abur Rahman to left, and the site care taker (in the middle) in front of the enclosure (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 10 - Khushhāl Bāgh: the newly built pond (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 11 - Khushhāl Bāgh: the newly built pond another view (Photo by Authors).

Pl. 12 - Khushhāl Bāgh: another view of the pond (Photo by Authors).

Historical Developments of Pashto and Sogdian Phonologies from the Proto-Iranian Language

Rizwan Ur Rahman / Umaima Kamran

Abstract

Pashto is an Iranian language (Morgenstern, 1982) classified as historically belonging to the northeastern branch of the Iranian family. This linguistics study is comparative and historical in nature. It carries out a lexical comparison of Pashto and the Sogdian language, and investigates their phonological development by further expanding their corss-comparison with data from the Proto-Iranian language. Drawing on secondary data available in Sogdian and Pashto and on the reconstructed roots of Proto-Iranian, the current study seeks to describe the historical reciprocal changes in the phonology of Pashto and Sogdian. Moreover, it discusses thoes changes in each language thoes they have in common, and the retentions of Proto-Iranian reflexes in Pashto and Sogdian, highlighting differences and commonalities in their clusters. Proto-Iranian sonorants are of paramount importance as isoglosses. This suggests that the forefather of the Pashto language was historically in close contact with the Sogdian language and can be located in Central Asia, from where it migrated to its present homeland. This migration is witnessed in the living language by the development of retroflex sounds in Pashto precisely due to contact with the Indo-Aryan.

Keywords: Pashto, lexical comparison, Sogdian, phonological development, Proto-Iranian.

1. Introduction

Both the historical and comparative approach helps in the reconstruction of linguistic systems of the Proto-forms of dead languages. The goal of comparative linguistics is to construct language families and reconstruct proto languages. Historical linguistics is the name of the historical study of language change and development. Languages share characteristics on the basis of three terminologies: firstly ‘genetically’ it tells us that languages are similar because they have been descendent from a common parent, secondly ‘areal affiliation’ shows similarities among languages because of

the intense contact among them, finally 'typologically' they describe sameness. With the help of historical linguistics, lexical, semantic, phonological and morphological changes are investigated.

One aim of the current study is to explore phonological change i.e. how sounds are developed in one language or transferred from one language to another. This research strictly focuses on a phonological comparison of the lexicon, in order to find out cognates in Pashto and Sogdian, then it compares their phonological forms after bringing in a contrast of their Proto-Iranian parent too and to find out the archaisms and innovations that exist in Pashto and Sogdian. In this case, while the research also makes use of words that may have been employed through different mechanisms of derivation, it only restricts itself to the structure of the Proto-Iranian roots and not enter into any analyses of the structure of such formations, compound or otherwise, and their affixal elements.

In this research secondary data is used for exploring differences and similarities between Sogdian and Pashto. The secondary data is collected mostly from the literature available on Sogdian and data on Pashto is obtained from the Pashto dictionary Nicholas and Asmatullah (2002), literature and other sources. Similarly, for the Proto-Iranian language and the roots of the Proto-Iranian items, the researchers use several resources of the Indo-European literature.

2. Literature Review

Lexical Comparison

In lexical comparison, the lexicons of genetically related languages are compared. Cognate is a word which shows comparison with the word of another language. According to Fortson (2011) cognate can be defined as a lexicon which shows relationship with a word of sister languages, thus to describe that these comparable words having been received by these sister languages from a common word of the Proto- language from which they are derived.

Sogdian Language and its Phonological Developments

Sogdian was in use for communication in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Formerly, these countries were included in the Sogdian Kingdom. But,

some written documents in Sogdian show that it has also been used in Xinjiang China. Because of these Sogdian documents discoveries in Xinjiang, Turfan and Dunhuang, we can suggest a possibility that people from the Sogdian Kingdom were traders and they used the Silk Road for their trade and leaving written materials along the way. Samarkand and Bukhara are also considered as native places of Sogdians. Sogdian descendents from the Eastern branch of Iranian languages, thus bearing similarities to Avestan language. The ending period of Sogdian was 10th century; because of the Islamization in 8th Century CE affected Sogdian language causing its decline.

Sogdian is a dead language, and its phonology has been composed on the basis of the comparative method and internal reconstruction. Yoshida (2016) described the phonemic inventory of Sogdian in which there were 27 consonants, some allophones, while the consonants such as voiced stops and (ŋ) and marginal phonemes (ts, l, and h) mainly appeared in foreign words.

Yoshida (2016) main concern was to trace the history of Sogdian, its phonemic and orthrographic system, phonological development, morphology and lexicon. Sogdian script was derived from Aramaic script. Yoshida described its phonemic inventory: Sogdian vowels have been presented by three meter lections, i.e., w, y and [ā] [(w is equal to w, u/ū, o/ō) and (y was used for y, i/ī, e/ē, and ā)].

Short vowel /a/ was not pronounced except at initial and final position. Sogdian also possessed three rhotacized vowels, one nasal stop: /ər/, /ir /, /ur /, and /m̩/, i.e., /mərγ/ ‘bird’, /kirm/ ‘snake’, and /kaṃθ/ ‘city’, and front rounded /ü/ and /ö/ vowels.

In the consonant system of Sogdian only the fricatives possessed voiced opposition (β, δ, γ, and ž). Furthermore, some complex consonants clusters have been described by him, for example /xšn/ at coda position in /roxšn/ ‘light’, /pθt/ cluster in /xēpθt/ ‘one’s own’, /δtk/ cluster in /γurδtk/ ‘kidney’. Furthermore, there are some consonant clusters, in Sogdian that have been developed from Old-Iranian languages such as /sp/ <OI./tsw/, /zβ/<OI./dzw/ ‘tongue’, /δβ/ <OI./dw/, /δβr/ ‘door’, /ž/ <OI./dr/, /žwk/ ‘healthy’.

Moreover, archaism in Sogdian has been described through examples. Sogdian has preserved Proto-Iranian voiceless plosives and affricates (p, *t, *k, and *č) even after vowels as /a’p/ ‘water’

<PI.*āp, /wˀt/ ‘wind’ <PI.*wāta, /wtˀk/ ‘country’ <PI.*awa-tāka, /w’c/ ‘to send, release’ <PI.*wāča. Also, Proto-Iranian fricative /θ/ has been preserved by Sogdian as in /xēpθ/ ‘(one’s) own’ <PI.*xwaipaθya. Voiced stops has been restored, in Sogdian, only after nasalized vowels, e.g., /saṃg/ ‘stone’ <PI.*asanga.

Pashto Language and its Phonological Developments

Pashto is a Modern-Iranian Language. It is spoken in Afghanistan, as well as in the Pakistani provinces of Khyber-Pakhtun-Khwa and Balochistan and in the Federally Administrated Tribal Areas (FATA). According to Septfonds (2006), Pashto seems to have been included in Northeastern group of Iranian languages from a genetic viewpoint, also 40 million speakers of Pashto across Afghanistan and Pakistan have been mentioned, while only in Pakistan 24 to 25 million speakers have been recorded (Brown & Ogilvie, 2009, p. 846). According to Morgenstern (1982), the original home of Pashto may have been in Badaksan, somewhere between Munji and Sangl. From the perspective of historical linguistics, it has been determined that the protoform of Pashto must have been in contact with Gathas Avestan.

Morgenstern (1982) argued that, from the 10th to 16th century, the Pashto language possessed thirty-one consonants, in which twenty-six occurred in Pashto pure words. These twenty-six consonants of Pashto are rewritten from his work: /k, g, ɣ/; /t, d, n/; /p, b, m/; /ṇ/; /č, ǰ/; /c, j/; /s, š, x/; /z, ž, ğ/; /r, ṛ, l/; /y, w/, an d /h/. Four to five retro-flexes have been added into the phonological system of Pashto, and those were adopted from the Indic languages, while the glottal stop came from Arabic language. Nine short and long vowels such as /a, i, u, ə/; /ā, ī, ū, ē, ō/ and three diphthongs i.e. /āy/, /āw/, and final /əy/ for Pashto have been described.

Morgenstern (1982) also explored processes of vowel changes known as ‘rising’, the Proto-Iranian /a/ raised to /o/ (as in Pašt./mor/ ‘mother’). By nasalization, /u/ became nasalized to /ū/ before nasal sounds / m/ and /n/ (Pašt./nūm/ ‘name’ and /lūna/ ‘abscess’), this example describes “regressive contact assimilati on”. The Proto-Iranian /d/ changed into /l/, which indicates the process of lenition (Pašt./lās/ ‘hand’ <PI.*dastaas). Also, in many cases /a/ underwent the process of ‘lengthening’ and changed into long /ā/ (Pašt/ plār/ ‘father’). Another

example of tensing, or lengthening, is the lengthening of /u/ and /i/ before original cluster, i.e., Pašt./spīn/ 'white' <PI.*spiθna, Pašt./ūx/ 'camel' <PI.*ušθra. Moreover, archaism can be seen in the following examples, in which Pashto has preserved Proto-Iranian sounds. Proto-Irania /y/ has been retained in the Pashto language (e.g., Pašt./yor/ 'husband's sister'), but in many cases, it is dropped before front vowel /i/ (e.g., in Pašt./y'ina/ > 'ina 'liver' <PI.*yaxn-). The dropping of /y/ shows the phonological process of 'aphaeresis'. As well as, Proto-Iranian /x/ restoration in Pashto shows the conservatism of Pashto, as in /xor/ 'sister'.

3. Data Analysis

The following are possible cognates among Sogdian, Pashto and Proto-Iranian, and possible explanation for cognates as well:

1. Pashto. /pṛak-ezi/ 'shining/lightining' and Sogdian: (Buddhist Script) /β'm'nt/ 'shining' can be derived from the Proto-Iranian root /*baH/ 'to shine'.

Pashto word has the stem /pṛak-/, while a comparable Sogdian word is /β'm'nt/, both of which derive from the Proto-Iranian root *baH. The Proto-Iranian /b/ in Sogdian developed into fricative /β/, while in the Pashto into voiceless /p/.

2. Pašt. /wex/ 'distribute' and Sog: (BS). /b'ɣ/ 'to give/bestow', (Sogdian Script) /β'xt˚/ 'luck/fortune' can be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*baǰ1/ 'to bestow/divide/ have a share/to give/apportion'.

This example shows that the Proto-Iranian stop /b/ turned into fricative /β/ in Sogdian and into approximant /w/ in Pashto. Proto-Iranian cluster final /xš/ was preserved by Sogdian but in Pashto it seems to have been simplified to /x/ while the final consonant /š/ of the cluster has been dropped.

3. Pašt. /wat/ 'break/hole' and Sog: (Manichean Script) /β'xt-wnyy/ 'internal/conflict/schism' can be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*baǰ2/ 'to break' homophonous to the one given above.

The Sogdian word coming from the Proto-Iranian root /baǰ/ is /β'xt/, while the Pashto word coming from the same root is /wat/. Sogdian

again shows that Proto-Iranian stop /b/ has been developed into the fricative
/β/, but Pashto again indicates a development of /b/ into approximant /w/.

4. Pašt. /band-awal/ ‘to bind’ and Sog: (BS). /βynt/, (Christian Script) /bynt/, (MS). /bynd/ ‘to bind’ can be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*band/ ‘to bind’.

Pashto word /band/ again seems to be a loan, which shows the restoration of word-initial /b/ as a result of borrowing from some Iranian language. Sogdian clearly shows different developments of /b/, as attested in different scripts. In Buddhist script /b/ turned into /β/, yet Manichean and Christian Scripts show retaining of Proto-Iranian /b/. Furthermore, in Sogdian the development of /nd/ cluster is different. In Buddhist and Christian scripts the /nd/ cluster has devoiced into /nt/ and in Sogdian script it is retained as /nd/.

5. Pašt. /writ/ ‘roasted’ and Sog: (MS). ^{x}βr'xs- ‘roasted’ may be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*bra(i)ǰ/ ‘to roast/bake’.

The Proto-Iranian cluster /br/ changed into /βr/ in Sogdian but into /wr/ in Pashto. The same pattern of lenition is again apparent. The Proto-Iranian final affricate /ǰ/ weakened into the fricative /x/, as attested in Sogdian. In Pashto it has been dropped altogether.

6. Pašt. /wīžd/ ‘long’ (of the Waziri dialect) and Sog: (BS). /βrz'y/, (MS). /βrzyy/ ‘long’, (BS)./βrzkw/ ‘length’, (CS). brzy ‘loud’ can be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*barz/ ‘to make high’.

This example also gives us the evidence of Proto-Iranian /b/ development into /β/ in Sogdian and into /w/ in Pashto. In Pashto, an interesting metathesis has occurred in which the Proto-Iranian cluster /rz/ has been changed into /žd/ followed by the fortition of /r/ from /zr/ and the eventual retraction of /z/ into a palatal affricate /ž/.

7. Pašt. /wṛ-əl/ ‘to carry something’ and Sog: (BS). /βr/, (CS). /br/, (CS). /βr/ ‘to carry’, (MS). /βr/ ‘to carry’ can be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*bar/ ‘to bring/carry’.

This example also shows the development of PI /b/ into /β/ and /w/, respectively in Sogdian and Pashto. Proto-Iranian /r/ remains the same in Sogdian, but has been changed in Pashto as a consequence of

retroflexion into /ṛ/. The changing of Proto-Iranian trill /r/ into retroflex /ṛ/ in Pashto shows the influence of Indic languages. But also note the Waziri Pashto form /wri-/ 'to carry (something)', which lacks retroflexion and is slightly more conservative.

8. Pašt. /buy-awal/ 'to smell' and Sog: (BS). /βwδ/ 'to smell' may be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*baud/ 'to smell'.

As we have noted early, Pashto has somehow retained the Proto-Iranian /b/, however its presence can be more reasonably ascribed to borrowing; hence the Pashto word /bu/ is quite like to be a loan from Persian, which has restored the word-initial stop /b/. Sogdian, as usual, show the fricative /β/ for /b/.

9. Pašt. /wu/ 'he was' and Sog: (SS). /βw-/, (BS). /β(w)-/, (CS). /b(w)-/, (MS). /βw-/, (MS). /wβ-/ 'to be/become/happen' may be up against Proto-Iranian root /*bauH/ 'to be/become'.

Christian Sogdian script shows the retention of Proto-Iranian /b/, while other scripts of Sogdian language provide evidence for the lenition of Proto-Iranian /b/ into /β/. In Pashto /b/ has again been weakened into the approximant /w/.

10. Pašt. /cašal/ 'to drink' and Sog: (BS). /cš'nt/, (BS). /cš'nty/, (CS). /cšnt/ 'drink' can be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*čaš/ 'to drip/to drink'.

In this example, Pashto and Sogdian resemble each other; the word-initial Proto-Iranian palatal affricate /č/ has been fronted to the alveolar affricate /c/ while the word-final Proto-Iranian sibilant /š/ has been retained.

11. Pašt. /šikawal/ 'to grab' and Sog: (BS). /c'x-/ 'to do battle/fight', (SS). /c'xš/ 'to grasp/grab' can be in contrast with the Proto-Iranian root /*čak/g/ 'to strike/hit'.

In Sogdian, the Proto-Iranian palatal affricate /č/ turned into the alveolar affricate /c/, whereas in Pashto it seems to have undergone direct lenition and developed into the fricative /š/. An explanation for the change in Pashto seems to be the high vowel following the affricate as the affricates are more prone to undergo fricativization when they come in

front of high vowels. Furthermore, Pashto retains the final voiceless stop /k/ but in Sogdian it has been lenited to the fricative /x/.

12. Pašt. /ancəy//incəy/ ‘woollen thread/yarn’ and Sog: (CS). /šwm/, (MS). /šwm/ ‘to sew’, (CS). /šwmqy/ ‘sewing’ can be derived from the Proto-Iranian root /*čaiH/ ‘to sew’.

This example shows another diverging development between Pashto and Sogdian. The Proto-Iranian palatal affricate /č/ has been developed into the fricative /š/ in Sogdian, in contrast Pashto retains it as an alveolar affricate /c/. This time it is Sogdian, which shows a high vowel after the word-initial segment so that we may expect that the palatal affricate was directly lenited into the fricative. In Pashto, the word has survived in a derivation /ancəy/, which shows that the outcome of the Proto-Iranian /č/ was clearly the alveolar affricate /c/. One exception in Pashto is the Waziri dialect, in which the affricate /c/ has been further weakened into fricative /s/ obtaining /snay/.

13. Pašt. /šum-/ ‘to drink/gulp’ and Sog: (BS). /š'm/ ‘to swallow/to drink’may be up against Proto- Iranian root /*čịam/ ‘to swallow’.

In this example, both Pashto and Sogdian share a common innovation in which the Proto-Iranian word- initial palatal affricate /č/ has been lenited to fricative /š/, and both the languages retain the final bilabial nasal stop /m/.

14. Pašt. /xwa-ciži/ ‘to move’ and Sog: (SS). /šw-/ ‘to go/walk/move’ may be compared with the Proto- Iranian root /*čịau/ ‘to move/go’.

In this case, the Proto-Iranian initial palatal affricate /č/ has been changed into fricative /š/ in Sogdian clearly owing to the presence of the high vowel after it. On the other hand, the Pashto example is somewhat complicated. First of all, it is a compound which has /xwa-/ prefixed to the original Iranian root. The presence of the alveolar affricate /c/ in Pashto, in spite of the following high vowel /i/ owes to the structure of the word. The syllabification of the Pashto word would be as /xwac.iž.i/. In other word, because there is a syllable boundary between the affricate and the high front vowel, so we find the two in different syllables, as a result of which the Proto-Iranian palatal affricate /č/ has a reflex in the alveolar affricate /c/ in Pashto.

15. Pašt. /luma/ ‘snare/noose’ and Sog: (BS). /δ'm/, (CS). /d'm/, (MS). /δ'm/ ‘net’ may be derived from the Proto-Iranian root /*daH/ ‘to bind’.

The most interesting feature of these examples is the modification in the semantics of the Pashto and Sogdian words. To put it in another way, the bilabial nasal stop /m/ appears to be an affix, more specifically suffix, of derivation. The word-initial Proto-Iranian dental stop /d/ has been lenited to its corresponding fricative /δ/ in Sogdian. Whereas in Pashto too there is lenition of alveolar lateral /l/. Both the words are a derivation based on the Proto-Iranian root /daH/.

16. Pašt. /līd//wīn-/ ‘to see’ and Sog: (BS). /'δyn'k/, (BS). /δ'yn'k/ ‘mirror’, (MS). /'nδ'yk/ ‘appearance’ may be derived from the same Proto-Iranian root /*daiH/ ‘to look/see’.

In this case, again Pashto has an alveolar lateral /l/ in the word-initial position for a Proto-Iranian stop /d/; note that the Pashto form /wīn-/ is suppletive in that it is obtained from a different Proto-Iranian root. On the other hand, the same Proto-Iranian root can be identified in Sogdian in the derivative forms given above, whose semantics can be clearly connected to the original Proto-Iranian root. So the word-initial Proto-Iranian dental stop /d/, turns up as the corresponding fricative /δ/ in Sogdian.

17. Pašt. /lar-əl/ ‘to keep’ and Sog: (SS). /δ’r/, (BS). /δ’r/, (CS). /d’r/, (MS). /δ’r/ ‘to have/hold/keep’ may be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*dar/ ‘to hold/keep/to dwell’.

In this example, the Pashto root coming from Proto-Iranian root /dar/ is /lar/, in which again the Proto- Iranian stop /d/ has been converted into lateral /l/ and the final Proto-Iranian /r/ is retained in Pashto. However, in Sogdian the Proto-Iranian /d/ developed into fricative /δ/ attested in Buddhist, Manichean, and Sogdian scripts, while the Christian script gives the evidence of restoring /d/. The lateral /r/ from the Sogdian examples is a suffix of derivation.

18. Pašt. /zdōyəl/ ‘to rub/grind/polish’ and Sog: (BS). /δ'w/ ‘to smear/plaster’ may be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*dauH/ ‘to smear/rub (on)’.

The Pashto word in question appears to be a derivation with some sort of prefix /z/. Due to the presence of this prefix, we find that the dental

stop /d/ was not lenited to /l/. On the other hand, the Sogdian word does have the expected dental fricative /δ/ where the Proto-Iranian root has an initial dental stop /d/. The change in Sogdian is thus consistent.

19. Pašt. /lwaš-//lwašəl/ ‘to milk’ and Sog: (BS). /δwš-/ ‘to peck/nibble’ can be derived from the Proto- Iranian root /*dauxš/ ‘to suck/suckle/milk’.

In this case, the Proto-Iranian stop /d/ in Pashto has been developed to cluster /lw/. On the other hand, in the case of Sogdian the Proto-Iranian stop /d/ changed into fricative-liquid cluster /δw/. However, Pashto and Sogdian bear resemblance in the simplification of Proto-Iranian cluster /xš/ into fricative /š/.

20. Pašt. /droɣ/ ‘lie’ and Sog: (BS). /δrɣmh/, (CS). /žɣm-/, ‘lie/falsehood’ may be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*drau-/ ‘to lie/deceive’.

In this example, there is a particularly difficult-to-read derivation in Sogdian. Whereas Buddhist Sogdian has the expected dental fricative /δ/ for the Proto-Iranian stop /d/ but Christian Sogdian seems to be more innovative in that it has simplified the Proto-Iranian cluster /dr/ by deleting the /r/. As a result of this deletion, there have been also a retraction of the dental fricative /δ/ in anticipation of the velar fricative /ɣ/, thus leading to the former’s palatalization into /ž/. On the other hand, Pashto has a word-initial dental stop /d/, which may owe to its retention due to the environment of a cluster in which it is found. But it is possible for it to have been a later loanword which led to the restoration of the stop.

21. Pašt. /lustal//lawan/, (Waz). /lwastal//lwandal/ ‘to throw’ and Sog: (BS). /δβ’’n/, (BS). /δβ’’ny/, (CS). /db’n-/ ‘flame’ are cognates which are match-able with Proto-Iranian root /*dṷ̂anH/ ‘to fume/ fly up/throw’.

Pashto alveolar lateral /l/ again is appeared for the Proto-Iranian stop /d/, while in Sogdian the Proto- Iranian /d/ changed into fricative /δ/. However, again Christian Sogdian shows conservatism in case of Proto-Iranian initial /d/. The Interesting development is the development of Sogdian /β/ into Pashto approximant /w/.

22. Pašt. /wrin/ ‘open, happy/sincere’ and Sog: (BS). /pryn/, (CS). /’fryn/, (MS). /fryn/, (MS). /βryn/ ‘to praise’ can be derived from Proto-Iranian root /*fraiH/ ‘to rejoice/to atone/[med.] please’.

In this case, there is found a diverging development of Proto-Iranian fricative /f/ in Sogdian. Within Sogdian, Buddhist scripts shows the strengthened of /f/ into stop /p/, while Christian Script and Manichean scripts show restoration of /f/, as well as, Manichean script describes the development of /f/ into /β/. In Pashto shows conversion of /f/ into /w/. Two possible conditions can be mentioned for the weakening of /f/ into approximant /w/: either it has been developed in sequence of /f/>/p/>/b/>/w/ or the /w/ might have been obtained through this /f/>/β/>/w/. Another explanation for this change of /f/ into /w/ can be that at first stage /f/ has been lenited into voiced fricative /v/, and later /v/ into /w/ in Pashto.

23. Pašt. /pušt-(ēd)əl/ ‘to ask’ and Sog: (SS). /p’rs-/, (SS). /ps-/, (BS). /‘prs-/, (CS). /ps-/, (MS). /ps-/ ‘to ask’ are compared with Proto-Iranian root /*fras/pras/ ‘to ask’.

The Pashto stem for Proto-Iranian /fras/ is /pušt/. In the case of Proto-Iranian fricative /f/, there has been its development into /p/ both in Pashto and Sogdian. All scripts of Sogdian, except Buddhist, tell us about the deletion of glide /r/ after /f/. Furthermore, Proto-Iranian final dental alveolar /s/ has been developed to post-alveolar /š/ forming cluster with /t/ in Pashto.

24. Pašt. /gaṇedəl/ ‘to talk/humming/sing softly/murmuring’ and Sog: (CS). /ž’y/, (MS). /j’y/ ‘to speak/talk’ may be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*gaH/ ‘to sing/call’.

This example shows a divergence between Pashto and Sogdian. The Proto-Iranian velar stops /g/ has been developed into fricative /ž/ and affricate /ǰ/, respectively in Christian and Manichean Sogdian, while Pashto retains it. The glide /y/ has been resulted from the laryngeal /H/ in Sogdian, while in Pashto, Proto- Iranian /H/ has been developed into nasal retroflex /ṇ/.

25. Pašt. /ɣwax-təl/ ‘wanting’ and Sog: (SS). /ɣw-/, (BS). /ɣw-/ ‘to be wanting/at fault’, (CS). /ɣw-/ ‘to be necessary’ can be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*gaHu/ ‘to need/be faulty/wanting; to want/desire’.

In this example, the Proto-Iranian word-initial /g/ has been lenited to /ɣ/. But Sogdian /ɣ/ is a fricative, while Pashto /ɣ/ has acquired approximant like properties. Also, the Proto-Iranian laryngeal /H/ has been changed into fricative /x/. Both languages are appeared with initial cluster, in which the liquid /w/ proceeds initial segment, because of the dropping of /H/ Sogdian shows development of /au/ into liquid /w/.

26. Pašt. /bɣarž/ 'return/coming back' and Sog: (BS). /zɣ'rš-/ 'to arise/happen'may be derived from Proto-Iranian root /*garš/ 'to wind/turn'.

In this case, Proto-Iranian /g/ has been changed into fricative /ɣ/ and approximant /ɣ/ respectively in Sogdian and Pashto. This Pashto word appears to be a derivation with some sort of prefix /b/, while Sogdian with /z/.

27. Pašt. /āɣustəl//āɣund-/ 'to dress', /aɣund-//aɣust-/ 'to put on' and Sog: (BS). /'ɣwnt/, (MS). /ɣwnd//ɣwst/ 'to cover/dress' may be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*gaud/ 'to cover'.

This example also describes the development of Proto-Iranian /g/ into fricative /ɣ/ and approximant /ɣ/, in Sogdian and Pashto respectively. The word-final /d/ has been developed or retained into /t/ or /d/ forming cluster, in both languages. the retention of /d/ possesses environment of preceding /n/, while changing into /t/ also show environment of preceding alveolar fricative /s/. In addition, there is Proto- Iranian diphthong /au/ that has been changed into liquid /w/ and /u/ in Sogdian and Pashto, respectively.

28. Pašt. /ɣwaž/ 'ear' and Sog: (SS). /ptɣwš/, (BS). /ptɣ'wš/, (CS). /ptɣwš/, (MS). /ptɣwš/ 'to hear' may be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*gauš/ 'to hear/listen to'.

This example also describes the development of Proto-Iranian /g/ into /ɣ/ and approximant /ɣ/, in Sogdian and Pashto. But /ɣ/ of Pashto is not like Sogdian fricative /ɣ/, it possesses qualities like approximant sounds. Proto-Iranian final /š/ has been restored in Sogdian, and weakened into voiced /ž/ in Pashto. In addition, Proto-Iranian /au/ and /u/ have been converted into liquid /w/ in both languages.

29. Pašt. /ɣar-éğ/ ‘to roar/thunder’ and Sog: (SS). /‘ɣr’n-/ (BS). /ɣr’ns/ ‘to get angry’, (CS). /ɣryn/ ‘to roar’ can be derived from the Proto-Iranian root /*gram/ ‘to thunder/roar; to anger’.

This example also shows the development of Proto-Iranian velar stop /g/ into fricative /ɣ/ in Sogdian. But, as the analysis concerns with comparable Pashto, we find that Pashto approximant /ɣ/ has not been developed directly from the Proto-Iranian word /graθH/. At the first stage, Proto-Iranian /g/ developed into fricative /ɣ/ (as we have evidences from Sogdian) and then it further weakened to the approximant /ɣ/. Because the Sogdian root /ɣr/ has been modified into Pashto /ɣar/. The Proto-Iranian initial cluster /gr/ has been developed into /ɣr/ in Sogdian. In addition to Pashto, the combination of /ɣr/ has been lost and no evidence traces this type of development. The addition of front vowel /a/ between two consonants describes anaptyxis phonological process in Pashto.

30. Pašt. /ɣaṛ-əl/ ‘to twist/spin’ and Sog: (BS). /ɣr’nš/ ‘knot/bond/joining’ can be compared with Proto- Iranian word /*graθH/ ‘to tie (a knot)’.

In Sogdian, the Proto-Iranian /g/ has been lenited to fricative /ɣ/, as well as Proto-Iranian cluster initial cluster /gr/ has been developed into /ɣr/. But in Pashto approximant /ɣ/ has been developed from the Proto-Iranian word-initial /g/. In this case, Sogdian has retained Proto-Iranian trill /r/, whereas Pashto has turned up /r/ into retroflex /ṛ/. The innovation of retroflex sounds in Pashto is not the characteristics of Iranian languages, but rather an influence of Indic languages.

31. Pašt. /nāst/ ‘seated/sitting’ and Sog: (BS). /nyδ/, (CS). /nyd/, (MS). /nyδ/ ‘to sit down’ can be cognate with Proto-Iranian root /*nad/ ‘to sit/be seated’.

In this case, both Pashto and Sogdian have preserved the word-initial Proto-Iranian nasal stop /n/. Whereas Sogdian has lenited the root final /d/ into the dental fricative /δ/, it appears that the same segment is dropped in Pashto.

32. Pašt. /šmērəl/ ‘to count’ and Sog: (SS). /ptšmr-/ ‘to count’, (CS). /pcmr-/ ‘to reckon/consider’ can be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*hmar/ ‘to remember/recall/to count’. Both Sogdian and Pashto show palatal fricative /š/ for the Proto-Iranian /h/. This seems to have been

obtained through a series of processes /h/ > /x/ > /š/ which was obtained in the environment of another stop. The similarity, to determine the relationship between the two languages, is striking.

33. Pašt. /xwala/ ‘sweat’ and Sog: (BS). /xwys/ ‘to sweat’ can be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*hu̯aid/ ‘to sweat’.

In this case again both Pashto and Sogdian have converted the Proto-Iranian /h/ into /x/ and the following /u̯/ into a glide /w/. What is more interesting is the final /d/ turns up regularly as a /l/ in Pashto but the expected /δ/ of Sogdian merges into /s/.

34. Pašt. /ūdə/ ‘sleeping’, ‘asleep’ and Sod: (CS). /’špn-/ ‘to rest’, (+ *a_a-) (BS). /wβs-/ ‘to sleep/fall asleep’ can be compared with the Proto-Iranian root /*hu̯ap(f)/ ‘to sleep’.

In this example, both Pashto and Sogdian show different forms. The expected /xw/ in Pashto appears as a long vowel /ū/ while Sogdian has a highly divergent variety of forms. In Christian Sogdian we see a change of /h/ > /x/ > /š/ due to the retention of the stop /p/, also with a loss of /w/. In Buddhist Sogdian we see a loss of /x/ but a retention of /w/ and either a change of the stop /p/ > /b/ > /β/ or a merger of /f/ into /β/. Also note that Waziri Pashto has /wewd/ ‘sleeping’, in which it seems the final /d/ is a suffix for either the present or the past stem and which appears rather closer to the Proto-Iranian form.

35. Pašt. /xwaṛəl/ ‘to eat’ and Sog: (SS). /xwr-/ ‘to eat/consume’ can be compared with the Proto- Iranian root /*hu̯ar/ ‘to consume/eat’.

This example also provides the conversion of Proto-Iranian initial /h/ into fricative /x/ in both languages. Another feature that has been shared by both languages is the developing of Proto-Iranian semi-vowels /u̯/ into liquid /w/. In Pashto Proto-Iranian final trill /r/ has been developed into retroflex /ṛ/, while Sogdian has restored it.

36. Pašt. /oṛəl/ ‘to grind’ and Sog: (BS). /‘rδ/ ‘millstone’ /‘rδ’rn’k/ ‘mill’ may be matched with Proto- Iranian root /*HarH/ ‘to grind (grain)’. In Pashto, Proto-Iranian laryngeal /H/ has been changed into high vowel /u/, which is further merged into /o/, whereas, the final Proto-Iranian cluster /rH/ is modified into retroflex /ṛ/. In Pashto, at first stage the laryngeal /H/ may have dropped, and at second stage the trill /r/ would be

developed into retroflex. Although, in Sogdian both initial and final /H/ is dropped, While, the final trill is preserved by Sogdian. The fricative /δ/, in Sogdian example, is a suffix.

37. Pašt. /zɣōr-/, 'to guard/protect' and Sog: (BS). /ɣ'r/ 'to watch/guard' is compared with Proto- Iranian root /*Hgar/ 'to be awake'.

This case shows divergence, as well similarity between Sogdian and Pashto. The divergence is that Proto- Iranian /H/ changed into fricative /z/ in Pashto, while Sogdian has dropped it. In Pashto, the developing of laryngeal /H/ into fricative /z/ seems to have been got through a series of processes /H/ > /x/ > /š/ > /ž/. The sharing feature of both comparable languages is the developing of stop /g/ into /ɣ/. In Pashto, /ɣ/ has been ascribed the characteristics of approximant, it is not like a fricative /ɣ/ as we see in Sogdian.

38. Pašt. /muž-//mušəl/ 'to rub' and Sog: (CS). /pcmrws-/ 'to feel/touch' can be derived from Proto- Iranian root /*Hmars/ 'to wipe/rub; touch'.

This example provides evidence of similarity between Sogdian and Pashto. Proto-Iranian laryngeal /H/ has been lost in both Sogdian and Pashto, while both have preserved the nasal /m/ sound of Proto-Iranian. Furthermore, the final cluster of Proto-Iranian language /rs/ has been retained by Sogdian, while in Pashto it has been converted into fricative /ž/ or /š/. In Sodgian the word has survived in derivation as /pcmrws/.

39. Pašt. /rīnjəl/ 'to have liquid stool' and Sog: (BS). /ryz/ 'to flow' is compared with Proto-Iranian root /*Hraič/ 'to pour/flow'.

Again, this case shows the dropping of Proto-Iranian /H/ and preservation of Proto-Iranian trill /r/ in both languages. Although in case of the final voiceless affricate /č/, Pashto shows its weakening into voiced affricate /j/. The condition for this devoicing to voicing is the insertion of nasal sound /n/ in Pashto. The Sogdian cognate describes the conversion of affricate /č/ to fricative /z/.

40. Pašt. /rəma//rima/ 'mucus/dysentry' and Sog: (CS). /rym/ 'dirt/impurity' may be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*HraiH/ 'to defecate'.

This example also provides evidence of the dropping of Proto-Iranian initial /H/ and retaining of trill /r/ by both languages. Furthermore, both languages show derivation with suffix /-m/.

41. Pašt. /wrost//wrasta/ ‘rotten/decayed’ and Sog: (BS). /rwδ-/ ‘to grow’ can be derived from Proto- Iranian root /*Hraud/ ‘to grow (bigger)’.

This example also provides evidence for the dropping of Proto-Iranian /H/ in both languages. However, there is Proto-Iranian final /d/ that have been changed into fricative /δ/ in Sogdian, while in Pashto the stem must have been /wra-/wro-/ that provides evidence about the loosing of /d/. The /st/ cluster, in Pashto word, is actually the past tense suffix. In Pashto, /d/ must have developed into /l/ and was then dropped. Further, Proto-Iranian trill /r/ has been preserved, and /au/ was developed into /w/ in both comparable languages. In addition, we find an interesting metathesis process in Pashto example, such as the alternation of /rw/ into /wr/. The Pashto word with different semantic meaning shows semantic shift.

42. Pašt. /yaš-dale/ ‘boiled’ and Sog: (BS). /βy’yš’ntk/, ‘boiling’ may be matched with Prot-Iranian root /*ịah/ ‘to boil/bubble’.

This example deals with Proto-Iranian initial front-vowel /ị/. It has been developed into liquid /j/ in both languages. This changing of /ị/ into /j/ in both languages shows the same relation between Pashto and Sogdian. In Sogdian, the Proto-Iranian /iah/ has been survived in derivation with prefix /βy-/ and suffix/-ntk/. In addition, the final laryngeal /h/ of Proto-Iranian language has been converted into fricative /š/ in both languages, but it has been obtained through different stages, such as at first stage from /h/ to /x/ and second stage /x/ to /š/.

43. Pašt. /žan-//-žəl/ ‘to chop/mince’, važni ‘to kill’ and Sog: (MS). /jn-/ ‘to strike’ (BS). /’wzy’n/ ‘killing/slaughter’ may be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*ǰan/ ‘to kill/slay/strike’.

In Sogdian, Manichean scripts shows conservatism according to which the Proto-Iranian /ǰ/ has been restored, while Buddhist Sogdian has changed initial /ǰ/ into fricative /z/. The condition for Buddhist Sogdian is affix, attached to the root. Regarding Pashto, initial affricate /ǰ/ has been developed into palatal fricative /ž/. Furthermore, both languages show the retention of Proto-Iranian final /n/, but few dialects of Pashto describe the

development of /n/ into alveolar lateral /l/. The condition for changing of /n/ into /l/ may have been the following schwa /ə/.

44. Pašt. /žōwul/, /žōyəl//žōy-/ ‘to chew’ and Sog: (BS). /zyβ/, (MS). /jβ’/ ‘to bite’ can be derived from Proto-Iranian root /*ǰiauH/ ‘to chew’.

In this example, Proto-Iranian /ǰ/ has been turned up into Pashto palatal fricative /ž/. Whereas, in Sogdian, the Buddhist scripts show the development of /ǰ/ into alveolar fricative /ž/, and Manichean scripts describes the restoration of old segment /ǰ/.

45. Pašt. (Waz.) /cəvda/ ‘nook under overhanging rocks/cave’ and Sog: (BS). /nk’np-/ ‘to bend/subdue’ may be derived from Proto-Iranian root /*kamp/ ‘to bend’.

This example shows developing of Proto-Iranian velar stop /k/. In Sogdian, it has been preserved in derivative form /nk’np-/, while in Pashto, /k/ has been palatalized into palatal-affricate /c/. Furthermore, the final Proto-Iranian /p/ has been retained in Sogdian, while Pashto describes /p/ development into fricative /v/. In Pashto, it seems to have been obtained through a changing of /p/ into /f/, then further into /v/.

46. Pašt. /kan-//kandəl/, (Waz.) /wu-kīnd/ ‘digging’ and Sog: (MS). /kn-/ ‘to dig’is a comparable form of Proto-Iranian root /*kanH/ ‘to dig’.

In this case, again the Proto-Iranian word-initial velar stop /k/ has been retained by both languages as a velar stop /k/. In Pashto, Waziri dialects root /kind/ is followed by prefix /wu/. Moreover, in the retention of Proto-Iranian word final nasal /n/, both languages share resemblance.

47. Pašt. /skaštəl//skaṇ-/ ‘to cut out/clip out’ and Sog: (BS). /’skr’nt/ ‘to cut up’ may be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*kart/ ‘to cut’.

Here again Pashto and Sogdian share resemblance. Both languages have preserved Proto-Iranian stop /k/ which is followed by the fricative /s/. the Proto-Iranian word /kart/ has survived in a derivation way, respectively /skr/ and /skaštəl//skaṇ/. Pashto shows dropping of Proto-Iranian /r/, whereas Sogdian describes its retention.

48. Pašt. /katəl/, ‘looking’ and Sog: (CS). /’qsy/ ‘overseer’ can be matched with Proto-Iranian root /*kas/ ‘to look/appear’.

In this case Sogdian shows diverging development of Proto-Iranian /k/ into uvular /q/, through uvularization process. But in Pashto cognates,

there is a restoration of /k/. Furthermore, in case of the Proto-Iranian final fricative, we find that Sogdian has retained it, while Pashto has changed /k/ into /t/.

49. Pašt. /kedal/ 'to be born' and Sog: (MS). /kwrt/ 'children' may be derived from Proto-Iranian root/*k(a)ur/ 'to be born/related'.

This example also shows the retention of Proto-Iranian velar stop /k/ by both languages. The Proto-Iranian /(a)u/ has been changed into liquid /w/ and vowel /e/, and Proto-Iranian final /r/ into cluster /rt/ and /d/ in Sogdian and Pashto respectively. In Old-Pashto (hypothetical form of Pashto) /r/ must have been developed either into cluster /rt/ that later would have dropped /r/ and changed /t/ into /d/ may be because of the preceding front vowel /e/.

50. Pašt. /kasa/, 'see' and Sog: (CS). /tkwš/, (MS). /tkwš/ 'to look/observe' may be compared with Proto-Iranian word /*kauš/ 'to look/see'.

Pashto and Sogdian show the retention of Proto-Iranian velar stop /k/. In Pashto the root word for Proto- Iranian /kauš/ is /kasa/, while in Sogdian it has been survived in a derivation /tkwš/. This derivative Sogdian form /tkwš/ clearly shows the retention of velar /k/. Also, Proto-Iranian word final fricative /š/ has been restored by Sogdian, whereas, in Pashto it has been changed into dental alveolar fricative /s/. Proto-Iranian /au/ has been changed into /w/ in Sogdian. While in Pashto it has been passed through mono- phthongization into /a/.

51. Pašt. /ɣwaxtal/ 'to search/demand/to wish' and Sog: (MS). /xwj-/ 'to wish/demand' may be derived from Proto-Iranian root /*kauz/ 'to search/seek'.

In this example, both languages have developed Proto-Iranian diphthong /au/ into /w/ and /k/ into /x/, but in Pashto /x/ has been further voiced into /ɣ/ through passing under Lenition process.

52. Pašt. /manəl/ 'accept/to believe' and Sog: (SS). /myn/, 'to think' are compared with Proto-Iranian root /*man/ 'to think/consider'.

Pashto root for Proto-Iranian /man/ is /man/. Here, Pashto root shows complete archaism. In the case of Proto-Iranian nasal /m/, and

word-final nasal stop /n/, Sogdian and Pashto share similarities by retaining it.

53. Pašt. /məṛ/, (Waz.) /mri-/ ‘to die/dying’ and Sog: (BS). /myr-/, (CS). /myr-/ ‘to die’ can be derived from Proto-Iranian root /*mar/ ‘to die’.

Here Pashto and Sogdian share same characteristics. Because, both languages deal with the retention of Proto-Iranian nasal /m/. In case of Proto-Iranian final trill /r/, Sogdian and Waziri dialect show archaism, by restoring trill /r/. While the standard dialect of Pashto shows developments of /r/ into retroflex /ṛ/. Here we find that Waziri dialect is more conservative than other dialect. As, it has been categorized that standard dialect of Pashto is Yusafzai dialect, so a condition can be estimated for the development of Proto-Iranian trill into Pashto dialect retroflex, from the geographic area of Yusafzai dialect.

54. Pašt. /māt/ ‘broken’ and Sog: (MS). /mas/ ‘to plough’ may be matched with Proto-Iranian root /*maz/ ‘to break’.

This example also shows retention of Proto-Iranian nasal /m/ by Sogdian and Pashto. However, in Sogdian, Proto-Iranian word-final fricative /z/ turned into devoiced fricative /s/. The changing of voice into voiceless sound describes phonological process “fortition”. While Pashto indicates development of Proto-Iranian alveolar voice fricative /z/ into stop /t/ which is called fortition.

55. Pašt. (Waz.) /naw/ ‘moisten’and Sog: (BS). /nβt’k/, /nβtk/, (MS). /nβṭyy/, (SS). /ˣnβtc/ ‘moist’ may be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*nab/ ‘to make wet/moisten’. This case is about the Proto-Iranian word-initial nasal stop /n/. Sogdian root for Proto-Iranian /nab/ is /nβt/, which tells us about the retention of nasal stop /n/. In Pashto, there is Waziri dialect comparable form /naw/, it is clearly seen that Pashto has also restored this stop /n/. In this example, there is Proto-Iranian word-final stop /b/. Within Sogdian, it has been developed into fricative /β/, while in Pashto it has been further weakened into approximant /w/.

56. Pašt. /naṛəl//nāṛ/ ‘to screech/to bray’ and Sog: (BS). /nrδ/ ‘to lament’ may be derived from Proto- Iranian root /*nard/ ‘to lament/moan’.

Proto-Iranian nasal stop /n/ has been retained by both languages. However, in Sogdian the Proto-Iranian final cluster /rd/ has been lenited into /rδ/, while, In Pashto the development of this cluster is completely different. In Pashto, it is noticed that this cluster /rd/ has been simplified into retroflex /ṛ/. This retroflex would have been obtained through process /rd/>/r/>/ṛ/.

57. Pašt. /nat-//natəl/ 'to sack/spoil/ravish' and Sog: (MS). /nyš/ 'to perish/be destroyed' can also be compared with Proto-Iranian /*nas/ 'to disappear/to perish'.

Here, again it is found that initial Proto-Iranian nasal stop /n/ has been restored by Pashto and Sogdian. Furthermore, in Pashto word-final Proto-Iranian alveolar fricative /s/ has been changed into plosive stop /t/, but this time the fricative is voiceless, and this process is known as fortition. In Sogdian, however, the change has hence been in the place but not in manner i.e. alveolar fricative /s/ has been developed into palatal fricative /š/.

58. Pašt. /pox//paxa/ 'ripe/cooked', /paxlay/ 'cooking' and Sog: (CS). /pc-/ 'to cook/boil' can be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*pač/ 'to cook'.

In this example, The Proto-Iranian plosive stop /p/ has been innovated in Pashto and Sogdian as a same sound /p/. Moreover, in Sogdian there is development of Proto-Iranian word-final palatal affricate /č/ into alveolar affricate /c/, while in Pashto it seems to have undergone direct lenition so that it developed into the velar fricative /x/.

59. Pašt. /prewate/ 'to fall down' and Sog: (BS). /nypδ-/ 'to lie down' are possible forms of Proto- Iranian root /*pad/ 'to fall/be stuck in'.

Sogdian word for Proto-Iranian root /pad/ has been survived in derivation /nypδ/, which is retention of Proto-Iranian stop /p/. Pashto has also restored the same Proto-Iranian sound /p/ with ascribing of cluster /pr/. Also, there is word-final Proto-Iranian stop /d/. In Pashto, it seems to have strengthened directly to the voiceless stop /t/, while Sogdian shows lenition of stop into fricative /δ/.

60. Pašt. /pāṇa/ 'feather/wing' and Sog: (BS). /prn''y'n/ 'flying/leaf/wing' may be a comparable form of Proto-Iranian root /*parn/ 'to fly off/take wing'.

This case also provides evidence of the retention of Proto-Iranian stop /p/ in Sogdian and Pashto. However, there is Proto-Iranian final word-final cluster /rn/, which has been restored in Sogdian, while in Pashto it has been developed into single retroflex nasal sound /ṇ/. This changing of cluster into nasal retroflex is because of the following front vowel /a/. We have other example of Pashto such as /naṛ/ (to defeat), in which Proto-Iranian cluster /rd/ has been changed into retroflex /ṛ/ not nasal retroflex /ṇ/, because in case of /naṛ/ the Proto-Iranian cluster /rd/ is not following the front vowel /a/.

61. Pašt. /puda/ 'rot' and Sog: (MS). /pwst/ 'to rot' can be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*pauH/ 'to stink/smell/rot'.

Again, Proto-Iranian /p/ has been restored by Pashto and Sogdian. Moreover, Proto-Iranian laryngeal /H/ has been modified into cluster /st/ in Sogdian, whereas Pashto shows development of laryngeal /H/ into plosive stop /d/. In Sogdian it is also shown that Proto-Iranian diphthong has been changed into glide /w/.

62. Pašt. /ražēdəl/ 'to cast off/shed/to fall (as leaves)' Sog: (BS). /rxm'k/, (MS). /rxmy/ 'remains' and can be compared with Proto-Iranian word /*raič/ 'to leave/let/abandon'.

In both languages, Proto-Iranian word-initial trill /r/ has been preserved. In addition, it is found that final palatal affricate of Proto-Iranian language /č/ has been changed into palatal fricative /ž/, describing fricativization in Pashto, while within Sogdian changing of /č/ into velar fricative /x/ shows frictivization as well valorization.

63. Pašt. /raž-//ražed-/ 'to fall (leaves)' and Sog: (BS). /ryz/ 'to drop' are compared with Proto-Iranian root /*raiz/ 'to fall (out)/drop'.

In this example, Pashto and Sogdian share a lot of resemblance. In both languages, Proto-Iranian word- initial trill /r/ has been preserved. We find that Sogdian has retained in Proto-Iranian final alveolar /z/, while Pashto shows palatalization, in which /z/ has been developed into palatal fricative /ž/.

64. Pašt. /brēšnə/ 'brightness, brilliancy' and Sog: (SS). /rwc/ 'day' may be comparable to Proto- Iranian root /*rauč/ 'to shine/radiate'.

Proto-Iranian root /rauč/ has been modified into Pashto /brēšnə/, which clearly shows preservation of Proto-Iranian trill sound /r/, While Sogdian root /rwc/ also describes restoration of trill /r/. Furthermore, this example shows development of Proto-Iranian word-final palatal affricate into alveolar affricate /c/ and palatal fricative /š/, respectively in Sogdian and Pashto.

65. Pašt. /ruṇ/ 'bright' and Sog: (BS). /rɣwšn-/, (MS). /rwxšn-/ 'light/bright' can be derived from Proto-Iranian root /*rauxšn/ 'to shine'.

Again, there is Proto-Iranian trill segment /r/, which has been preserved in both languages. Moreover, when we deal with Proto-Iranian cluster /xšn/, the /x/ has been deleted and developed into /šn/ in Sogdian, whereas in Pashto it has been changed into nasal retroflex /ṇ/.

66. Pašt. /šlēdəl/ 'to break' and Sog: (BS). /syδ-/ 'to destroy' can be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*said/ 'to break/split/destroy'.

The example is about the Proto-Iranian word-initial alveolar fricative /s/. Sogdian has preserved it, whereas Pashto has developed it into palatal fricative /š/, showing palatalization. In Pashto final Proto-Iranian stop /d/ has been retained probably either because of the preceding long vowel /ē/ or initial cluster /šl/, while in Sogdian it has been lenited to fricative /δ/.

67. Pašt. /šawəl/ 'to tell/to instruct' and Sog; (BS). /sɣwn-/ 'to utter/recite' may be derived from Proto- Iranian root /*sanh/ 'to declare/explain'.

In this case, it is seen that Proto-Iranian fricative /s/ has retained in Sogdian, while it has been further turned up into palate-alveolar /š/ in Pashto. The final Proto-Iranian /nh/ cluster has been modified into cluster /wn/ in Sogdian, while Pashto has dropped the /n/ of /nh/ cluster and just shows /w/ for this cluster. In Pashto it must have been also developed into /wn/ in earlier time but later /n/ might have been dropped.

68. Pašt. /sōṛ//saṛa/ 'cold/winter' and Sog: (BS). /srt//srty/ 'cold' may be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*sarH/ 'to cool/become cold'.

This is another example, which show the retention of Proto-Iranian /s/ and dropping of /H/ in both languages. Proto-Iranian trill /r/ has been preserved in Sogdian, while Pashto shows its retroflexion.

69. Pašt. /sw-//swaj//swaži/ ‘to burn’ and Sog: (BS). /swc/ ‘to burn/kindle’ can be compared with Proto-Iranian root /*sauč/ ‘to burn/emit flames’.

In this case, we see that Proto-Iranian /s/ has been retained in both languages as well as that Proto-Iranian /au/ has been developed into /w/ in both languages. The difference between two languages shown by this example is the development of Proto-Iranian final palatal affricate /č/ into fricative /ž/ and palatal affricate
/c/, which is palatalization process, in Pashto and Sogdian, respectively.

4. Conclusions

By using the multidimensional analysis, we have been able to arrive at very significant conclusions about the history of Sogdian and Pashto as Iranian languages as well as their relationship with each other. This investigation reveals that there are striking parallels between the historical development of the phonology of Pashto and the Sogdian language. Just like Sogdian, Pashto has not retained Proto-Iranian stops in the word-initial position but, in fact, has non-stop sounds. Sogdian shows fricatives in this position but Pashto has approximants and a lateral sound. This shows that the historical parent of Pashto must have had fricatives like Sogdian but these were weakened further; in other words, the form of Pashto spoken in the middle Iranian times must have had fricatives like Sogdian. Over time the Sogdian language died out while Pashto survived and during this period, the phonology of Pashto developed further, leading to the state which we see today.

However, this is not the only common development. It has also been noticed that how both Sogdian and Pashto retained the sonorant sounds of their Proto-Iranian ancestor. These retentions have almost one to one correspondence. Apart from this we also see the palatalization of the strident, i.e., alveolar fricatives. In both these languages, the Proto-Iranian alveolar fricatives turned into post-alveolar or palato-alveolar fricatives. All of these developments suggest that the parents of both Pashto and Sogdian were two very closely related sister languages.

Nevertheless, it is also a very important reflex of a Proto-Iranian sound, which helps us to distinguish their parents so that the parent of Pashto was not exactly same as Sogdian but was somewhat different from it or maybe the two were more likely dialects with a common parent,

which researcher may be able to identify with what the scholars term as Proto-East Iranian. This divergence is the reflex of the Proto- Iranian palatal affricates. Whereas it is found that in the Sogdian language these turned into post-alveolar fricatives, in Pashto denti-alveolar fricatives are seen in their place. Hence, the most important phonological feature that distinguishes the historical parent of Pashto from that of the Sogdian language is the treatment of the palatal affricates. Whereas in Proto-Pashto they were only fronted, in Proto-Sogdian they were not only fronted but also de-affricated or lenited. This study also provides evidence for other such processes in which the divergent developments between Pashto and Sogdian can be seen.

All of this evidence serves to show that historically Pashto or the parent of Pashto was spoken side by side with Sogdian resulted such common innovations and archaism. Given the common developments between Pashto and Sogdian and their divergence from Proto-Iranian, it cannot be only affirmed that Pashto is an Iranian language like Sogdian and belongs to the Eastern branch of the Iranian family, but also we can conclude that definitely the historical parent of Pashto was spoken side by side with Sogdian somewhere in Central Asia. Hence, the parent of Pashto language migrated into its present-day territory from Central Asia. This migration also explains how word-initial stops were restored in the Pashto language after migration in a newer homeland, by borrowing words from its sister Iranian languages which had preserved the word-initial stops of the Proto-Iranian language. These languages appear to have been displaced by Pashto, though one important survivor is the Ormuri language.

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Investigating the Hindu Shahi Kingdom in North-western Pakistan Through Systematic Landscape Survey

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Abstract

This paper investigates the historic kingdom of Hindu Shahi dynasty (circa 822 to 1026 CE) and discusses the results of systematic landscape survey in districts Lower Dir, Swat, Buner and Malakand Agency of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Pakistan. During the survey, a total of 2542 square kilometres area was surveyed and a total of 225 archaeological Hindu Shahi sites were recorded. These sites were strategically positioned in difficult terrains, occupying hilltops and slopes, overlooking the surrounding landscapes. The Hindu Shahi sites are located in close proximity to access routes and passes that link the study area with the neighbouring regions. Among the Hindu Shahi structures, a total of 217 watchtowers at 140 sites, are the most frequent and dominant in their respective landscapes. The geographical distribution, physical locations and the nature of structures are indicative of a highly defensive architecture and purpose. The results of the survey demonstrate that the study area is the most densely occupied known region of the Hindu Shahi period. Within the study area, the relatively small Mayar valley in Lower Dir holds a naturally secured location and include a high number of sites and watchtowers. The distinctive nature of the Mayar valley suggests that it might remain the locus of socio-political activities during the Hindu Shahi period.

Keywords: Hindu Shahi Dynasty, Hund, Landscape Systematic Survey, Watchtowers, Mayar valley, Ghaznavids

1. Introduction

The Hindu Shahi dynasty is generally known from the historic accounts and limited archaeological explorations and excavations. This dynasty is better known as the last Hindu dynasty in northern and north-western Pakistan that put a fight to the onslaught of the Ghaznavids Muslims from Afghanistan during the last quarter of the 10^{th} and early 11^{th} centuries CE. The Hindu Shahi dynasty ruled most of northern and north-western Pakistan and Afghanistan for more than two hundred years from 9^{th} to 11 centuries CE (circa 822 to 1026 CE). They ruled largely from the city of

Hund – located in modern Swabi district, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa – on the right bank of the Indus River. The prominent classical Muslim historians, such as Al-Bīrūnī (circa 970-1039 CE), Albahaqi (circa 996 to 1077 CE), and Utbi (circa 10^{th}-11^{th} century CE), have recorded some events related to the Hindu Shahi dynasty (Dani, 1968; Elliot & Dowson, 1966; Rahman, 1968, 1978, 1979a; Stein M. A., 1973). These historians primarily worked for the Ghaznavids, the strategic opponents of Hindu Shahi, and they describe the Hindu Shahi dynasty in relation to wars and peace treaties, mostly from Ghaznavid perspectives (Dani, 1968; Khan H., 1980; Mishra, 1972; Pāṇḍeya, 1973; Rahman, 1979a; Stein M. A., 1973). Kalhana, the illustrious historian from Kashmir, reported the Hindu Shahi in his book *Rajatarangini* (Stein A., 1900); however, he largely discussed them in relation to the Kashmiri kings and the history of Kashmir (Pāṇḍeya, 1973, pp. 2, 78).

These classical accounts, along with partial evidence of their inscriptions, forms the basis of the modern understandings of Hindu Shahi dynasty (for example Agrawal, 1985; Dani, 2001; Nasim Khan, Khan, & Azeem, 1999; Nasim Khan & Azeem, 1999; Mohammadzai, 2002; Mishra, 1972; Pāṇḍeya, 1973; Rahman, 1978, 1979a, 1979b, 1980, 1988, 2002). The Hindu Shahi coins in gold, copper, silver and billon bear royal titles or names of the kings (Ali, I., 1999, pp. 269, 280-282; 2003, pp. 135-170; Nasim Khan, Khan, & Azeem, 1999, p. 25; Rahman, 1979a, pp. 205-206, 1998, pp. 50-51). However, some of the names on coins do not correspond to the names mentioned by the classical historians (Dani, 1968; MacDowall, 1968). Thus, the current historic and archaeological knowledge of the Hindu Shahi dynasty have caused divergent opinions about the number or names of the kings and their political centres (for example Mishra, 1972; Pāṇḍeya, 1973 and Rahman, 1979a).

The classical and modern historians' discussions of the Hindu Shahi kingdom in modern north-western Pakistan revolves around the historic cities of Hund and Nandana which are believed to have been their capital centres. However, there is no historic mention of the extension of the Hindu Shahi kingdom or their political activities in the Swat, Buner, Lower Dir and Malakand Agency (Rahman, 1988, p. 472). The present paper attempts to investigate the extent of the Hindu Shahi kingdom in north-western Pakistan – primarily in districts Lower Dir, Swat, Buner and Malakand agency of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province – through the

contextualization of the results of the systematic landscape archaeological survey.

2. The Geographical Setting of the Study Area

The study area, comprising the districts of Lower Dir, Swat, Buner and Malakand agency, is located in the northwest of Pakistan in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (Fig. 1). The study area holds a strategic location on the major access routes, linking China, Tibet and Kashmir in the north and northeast, Afghanistan in the west, Chitral and Central Asia in the north and northwest, and the Vale of Peshawar in the south (Ali & Khan, 1998, pp. 184-185; Rahman, 1968, p. 105; Swati, 1998, p. 88; Fig. 1).

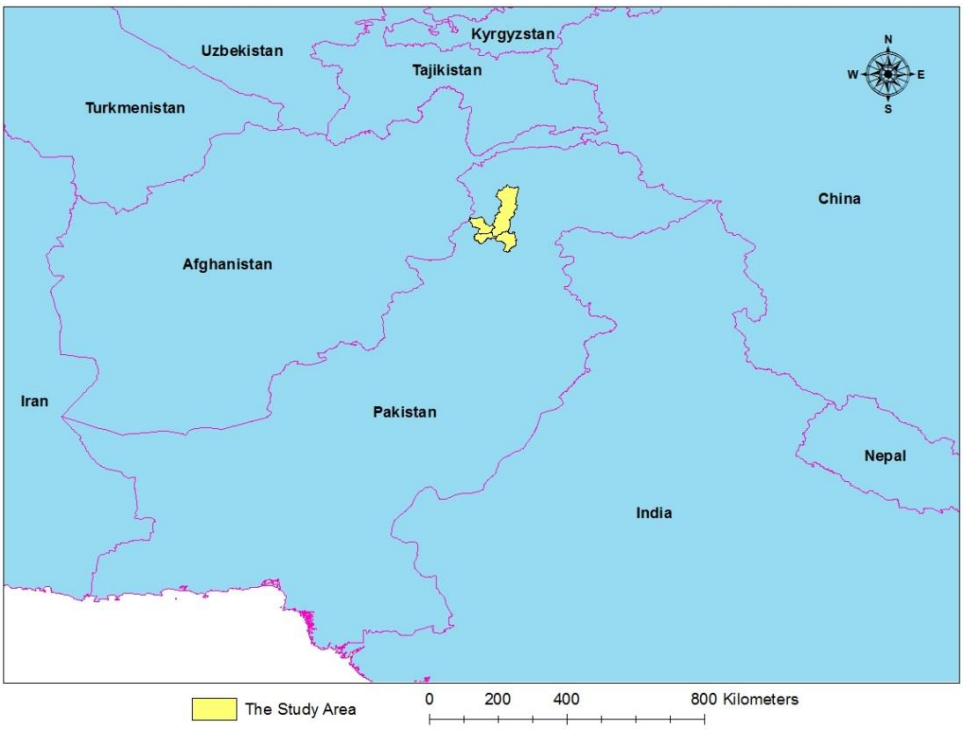

Fig. 1 - Location of the study area in Pakistan in relation to the neighbouring countries.

The study area is surrounded by the Hindu Raj mountains – a branch of the Hindu Kush mountain series – in the north, with a highest peak reaching to 5486 meters in height around the study area (Swati, 1998, p.

87). The districts of Upper Dir and Chitral are located to the north of the study area and the Vale of Peshawar – comprising of the districts of Peshawar, Charsadda, Mardan, Nowshera and Swabi – to the south and southwest (Fig. 2). The districts of Bajaur and Mohmand Agencies and Afghanistan are situated to the west, and district Shangla to the east (Ali et al., 2009, p. 30, 2010; Fig. 2). The strategic location afforded the study area to have close political, religious and cultural relationships with its bordering regions and beyond, and this correlation is supported by the archaeology and history of the study area (Tucci, 1958, pp. 280, 282).

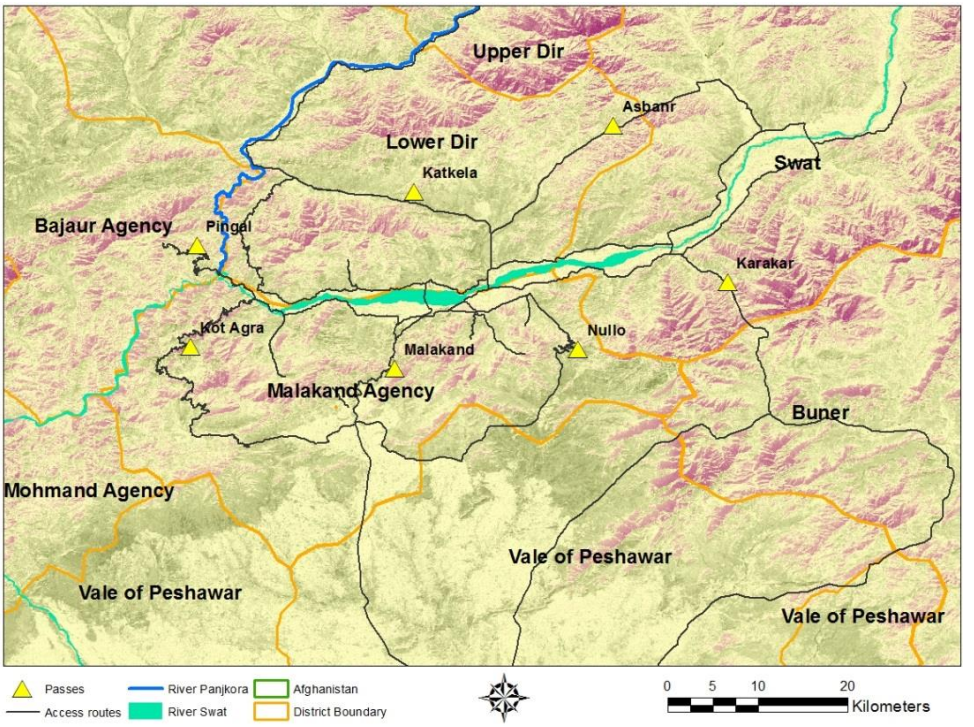

Fig. 2 - Map of the study area showing its neighbouring regions, rivers, access routes and passes.

The study area is a hilly region with many perennial and semi-perennial rivers, seasonal streams and springs; however, the it is primarily drained by the Panjkora and Swat Rivers (Barger & Wright, 1941, p. 14; Dani, 1968, p. 4; Swati, 2008, p. 89; Fig. 2). The abundant water resources were possibly one of the main attractions for the settlement of ancient people in

the study area from Neolithic to the British periods (Ali et al., 2009, pp. 30-37, 2010; Ali & Khan, 1998, p. 185; Dani, 1968, p. 3; Khan R. , 2004, p. 1; Stacul, p. 82, 1987, 1994; Swati, 1998, p. 90). The study area is enclosed by the Malakand Range, Adinzai-Talash Range and the Pingal Range, dividing it from the Vale of Peshawar, district Upper Dir and district Bajaur Agency respectively.

The major passes of Malakand, Karakar, Kot Agra and Nullo connect the study area with the Vale of Peshawar in the south (Fig. 2). Additionally, the historic Shahkot pass also connects the Vale of Peshawar over the Malakand Range (Deane, 1896, pp. 660, 663; Faccenna & Tusa, 1986, p. 478; Olivieri, et al., 2006, p. 119). The Katkela and Pingal passes link the study area with Upper Dir in the north and the tribal district of Bajaur in the west respectively (Fig. 2). Presently, the study area is inhabited by the Yousafzai, a sub-tribe of Pathans. The Yousafzai, migrated to this region from Afghanistan around 1515 CE and pushed the earlier settled Pathan tribe, known as the Swati tribe, across the Indus River to Hazara Division in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The Swati tribe is believed to have settled in the Swat valley and adjoining regions around 1000 CE from Afghanistan as part of the Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavid forces (Ali & Khan, 1998, p. 188; Khattak, 1997, pp. 31, 44-45).

3. A Concise Review of Previous Research

Previously, Hindu Shahi sites and their artefacts have been reported from Lower Dir, Malakand Agency, Swat and Buner districts (Ali et al., 2009, 2010; Dani, 1968; Deane, 1896; Godfrey, 1912; Khan et al., 1999; Khattak, 1997; Moritani & Zahir, 2019; Olivieri, 1996, 2003; Olivieri, et al., 2006; Scerrato, 1985, 1986; Stein A., 1921, 1929; Stein M. A., 1898, 1927). However, the Malakand Agency and the Lower Dir districts received relatively little attention and were investigated primarily for other archaeological phenomena and chronological periods (Ali, et al., 2009, 2010; Dani, 1968; Deane, 1896; Khan et al., 1999; Stein A. , 1921).

H. A. Deane (1896: 655), a British political officer for the Swat and Dir regions, surveyed the Lower Dir and Malakand Agency to locate the Buddhist period sites following the Chinese pilgrim Xuanzang's travel account. Similarly, in 1906, Sir Marc Aurel Stein (1921, 1927) and Professor Ahmad Hasan Dani (1968) studied the Talash and Ouch valleys in the Lower Dir, and Thana and Batkhela in the Malakand Agency for

tracing the route of Alexander's invasion of the region in the 4th century BCE as described by Greek historians. In 1999, Muhammad Bahadar Khan and his team (1999, pp. 1-28) surveyed the area between Batkhela to Landakai in Malakand Agency. In 2005, a survey was conducted in Adinzai Tehsil of Lower Dir district (Ali et al., 2009, 2010). The survey resulted in the discoveries of multi-period and Gandhara Grave Culture sites (Ali et al., 2009, p. 30). However, the most intensive archaeological explorations, aided by the excavations of the Bir-Kot Ghwandai settlement and temple, and Raja Gira – Udegram, of the Hindu Shahi dynasty were carried out by Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan, primarily in the Swat valley Bagnera, 2015; Callieri, 2005; Faccenna & Gullini, 1958; Filigenzi, 2005, 2010a,b, 2011; Olivieri, 2003, 2010, 2020). Needless to mention here that most of previous archaeological surveys (with the exception of archaeological excavations by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swat) in the study area were carried out unsystematically and focussed on certain geographical localities, leaving larger regions of the study area unexplored.

4. The Survey Methodologies

Within the context of this research, site means a permanent place of human activity or residence in the past, such as a settlement or workshop (Haggis, 2005, p. 28; Wilkinson, 2003, p. 38). Off-site refers to an area of temporary activity such as ancient hunting or agricultural lands (Bintliff & Snodgrass, 1988, pp. 507-508; Rhoades, 1992, p. 198). During the present survey, a structure, lithic or ceramic scatter of five potsherds or more per square meter was considered as a site (Coningham et al., 2004, p. 3). Before the commencement of the survey, the choice of sampling strategies is considered key to its success, as it reflects a broad picture of archaeological material (Burger et al., 2004, p. 411) within a short time and with limited resources. There are several sampling techniques (see Sinopoli (1991) and Terrenato (2004)); however, during the present survey probabilistic and non-probabilistic strategies were utilized for documentation of the archaeological sites. The non-probabilistic strategy was applied within the earlier surveyed regions of the study area (Ali et al., 2009; 2010; Dani, 1968; Deane, 1896; Rahman, 1968, 1979a; Khan et al., 1999; Stein A., 1921; Fig. 3). This strategy was applied to understand the relationships of sites with each other and with the surrounding

landscapes. The probabilistic strategy was applied in new and unexplored to find out the extent of Hindu Shahi material and to understand their settlement patterns on a regional scale (Fig. 3).

The archaeological surveys, based on systematic transect methodology, are relatively rare in Pakistan (Zahir and Khan, 2018, 2020). These methods have been applied in Lower Dir, Chitral and Upper Kohistan districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province and district Loralai in Balochistan province (Ali et al., 2009, 2010; Ali et al., 2016; Samad, et al., 2012; Zahir & Khan, 2018, 2020). The systematic transect survey affords archaeologists a tool to sample information from a large region through walking in regularized transects, using handheld Global Positioning System or GPS and recording features of the sites (Ali et al., 2010, p. 138; Burke & Smith, 2004, p. 65; Yatoo, 2012, p. 110; Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 6, 2020, p. 347).

The adaptable nature of the transect surveys allows archaeologists to decide the number of team members and the space between the transects in consideration to the research aims and ground surface (Mattingly, 2000, p. 8; Orton, 2000, p. 19; Tartaron, 2003, p. 29; Ur & Hammer, 2009, p. 38). A total of 8 transects were walked in Malakand Agency and Lower Dir with 5 and 10 meters spaces (Fig. 3). The vegetation cover, accessibility, nature of the terrain, visibility, difficulty and time required were some of deciding factors for the spaces of the transects. The members of the local communities in the study area were also involved in the present survey. Their involvement was instrumental in the discovery of new sites and gathering of information about passes and routes. As part of the present survey, a pilot survey was also carried out in districts Buner and Swat for the detailed documentation of the earlier recorded sites and its findings were used in the planning and choice of the survey strategies and geographical entities.

Two fieldworks were conducted in 2012 and 2013, and approximately 2542 square kilometres was investigated (Fig. 3). Compared to Swat and Buner, the districts Malakand Agency and Lower Dir have received little attention. As a result, a total of 918 square kilometres area was investigated more intensively within these districts (Fig. 3). With the help of these different survey techniques and strategies, nearly 240 square kilometres area (9% of the total 2542 square kilometres) was studied within the study area. The survey datasets were primarily recorded in Microsoft Excel, while the analysis of the sites was conducted

through the use of Google Earth and Geographical Information System (GIS) software packages. In the study area, the earlier researchers have identified and characterised different periods on the basis of structures, pottery typologies, coins, inscriptions and other artefacts (Ali et al., 2009, 2010; Dani, 1968; Godfrey, 1912; Khan et al., 1999; Khattak, 1997; Olivieri, et al., 2006; Scerrato, 1985, 1986; Stein A., 1921, 1929; Stein M. A., 1898, 1927). These characterizations provided clear and workable ideas for identification of Hindu Shahi sites. These sites were identified and recorded due to their unique structures, masonry, pottery assemblages, locations and landscape choices.

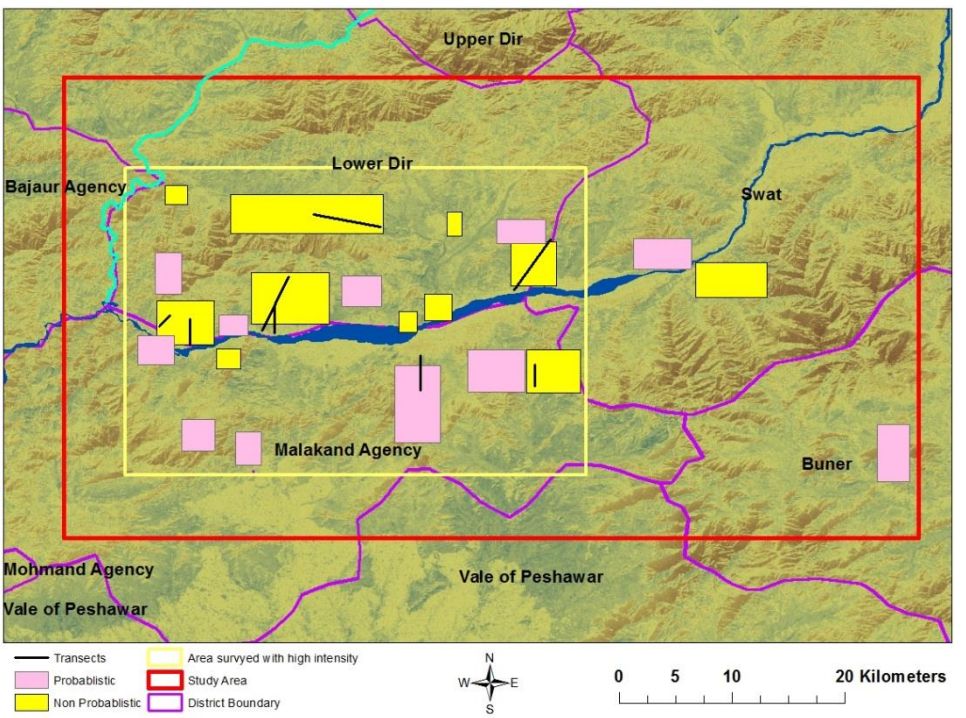

Fig. 3 - Map showing the study area, sampling and the transects methodologies and the intensively surveyed area in districts Malakand Agency and Lower Dir.

5. Results and Analyses of the Survey

During the survey, a total of 225 Hindu Shahi period sites were recorded. These sites are widely spread in the study area, holding strategic locations in close proximity to the access routes and passes with the exception of

Mayar valley (Fig. 4). These passes and routes are the entry and exit points, allowing access to and from the study area to the neighbouring regions (Fig. 4). The uniform occupation of sites at key strategic locations suggests their close association with the passes and routes, and the observation and control of movement of people and goods . Compared to other areas within the study area, most of the sites are concentrated along the Vale of Peshawar, primarily around the Kot Agra, Malakand, Nullo and Karakar passes (Fig. 4). In district Buner, they are located in Tor Warsak locality, overseeing the routes and valley openings from Buner to Swat via the Karakar Pass and the Ilam mountain top respectively (Fig. 4). To the north, towards the Upper Dir district, the Hindu Shahi sites are primarily concentrated along the Katkela Pass and are not found beyond Udegram village in district Swat and Talash valley in district Lower Dir (Deane, 1896; Olivieri, 1996; Rahman, 1968; Fig. 4). Towards the west side of the district of Bajaur Agency, the sites are located in Guru and Tauda Cheena in district Lower Dir. In Guru, it is the last known site of the Hindu Shahi period in north-west end of the study area and it is located in front of a valley passage leading from River Panjkora (Fig. 4).

In Tauda Cheena, the sites are located to the north side of Swat River almost opposite the another cluster of Hindu Shahi sites in Qulangai, Malakand Agency where the Kot Agra and Pingal pass open, leading from Vale of Peshawar and the tribal district of Bajaur Agency respectively (Fig. 4). Throughout the study area, the Hindu Shahi sites are spatially organized in a manner to maintain a visual interaction with each other in their respective localities and with the neighbouring sites. This is particularly evident from the sites located along the Swat River between the Mayar valley and Qulangai and between the Nagwa and Parrai localities (Fig. 4). A series of Hindu Shahi sites are located at several intervals along the different routes leading from district Swat, district Bajaur Agency and the Vale of Peshawar towards the Lower Dir district (Fig. 4).

In the study area, the Mayar valley is an exception to all other localities as it is located far from all known routes and passes that link it with the neighbouring regions (Fig. 4). It is located about 18 kilometres to the west of the Chakdara Bridge, district Lower Dir, to the north side of River Swat, measuring roughly 3 x 3 kilometres in area. The Mayar valleys is surrounded by the Talash range, and its offshoots, on three sides and the Swat River on the fourth, making it the most naturally protected

locality within the study area (Fig. 4). In other localities, the sites are instantly faced at entry points from the neighbouring regions. To the Mayar valley, the approaches from outside the study area are lengthy, difficult and marred by natural barriers, such as mountains and rivers from all directions (Fig. 4). However, within the study area, Mayar valley holds a pivotal location with easy accessibility from most of the other outlying localities with abundant, and rather vulnerable, Hindu Shahi sites (Fig. 4).

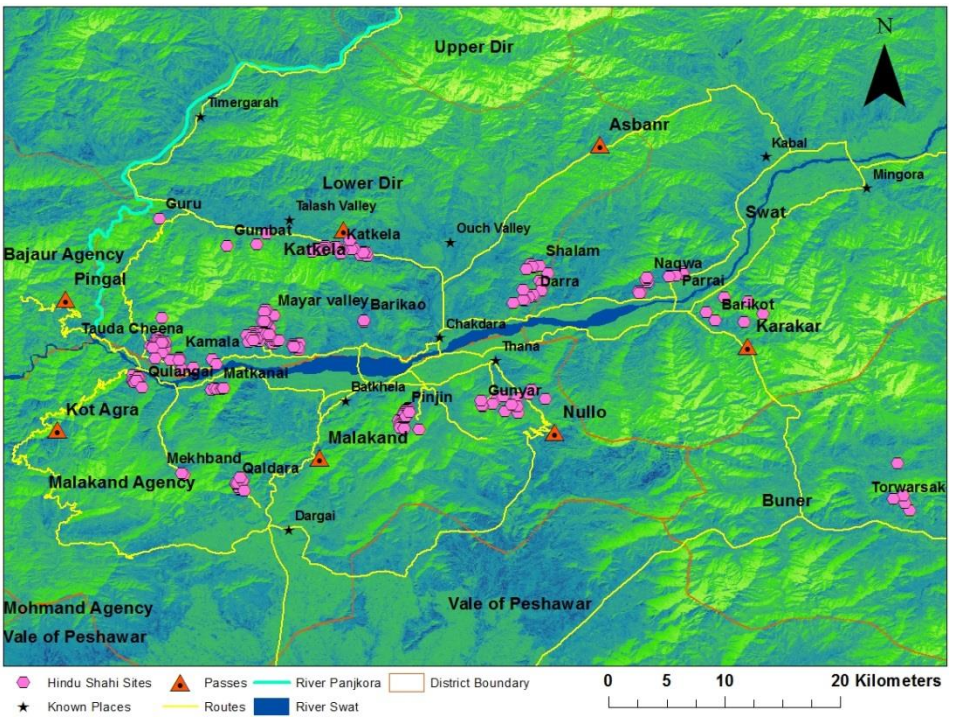

Fig. 4 - Map showing the geographical distribution of Hindu Shahi sites across the study area.

The geographical extent of Hindu Shahi sites gives an idea of a small and well-defined entity and shows a firm control of the study area from the neighbouring regions. Almost all openings that could allow entry the study area from the neighbouring regions have been covered and protected with militarized Hindu Shahi sites. The Mayar valley is located away from all neighbouring regions and the entry points, enjoying a more central and naturally protected location. The Hindu Shahi sites are largely located in

similar landscape settings and show close association with routes, mountain passes and their supervision.

The large number of 225 sites attests a considerable Hindu Shahi presence in the study area; however, the concentration and distribution of sites varies from locality to locality. The areas along the Swat River are more densely occupied, such as the Mayar valley, which houses the largest number or 54 (or 24% of 225) sites (Fig. 4). The area around the passes, near the Kot Agra and Pingal passes appear to have been the second most densely settled region and first among the passes, with 23 sites in Tauda Cheena and 14 in Qulangai (Fig. 4). These localities are situated on the opposite banks of Swat River facing each other and overseeing their respective passes (Fig. 4). A total of 130 (or 58% of total 225) sites are located at different intervals between the Mayar valley and, the Tauda Cheena and Qulangai localities and these regions bear substantial evidence of Hindu Shahi architectural activities (Fig. 4). Nearby the Nullo and Charat Passes, the Hindu Shahi sites are variously spread in the length and breadth of Pinjin, Nullo, and Gunyar localities, representing the third most densely settled region in the study area and second highest among localities around the mountain passes (Fig. 4). All the above-mentioned passes, with the exception of the Pingal pass, connect the study area with the Vale of Peshawar.

In the north of the study area, 25 Hindu Shahi sites cover nearly 10 kilometres area close to the Katkela pass and these sites face the Ouch valley, where Asbanr pass descends from Swat region (Fig. 4). A further cluster of 14 sites is located in the Darra locality on a hill that separates the Lower Dir from Swat region and they overlook the Ouch valley in north and the route coming from Shamozai along the Swat River in the south (Fig. 4). In Qaldara, 14 sites are located between the Malakand and Kot Agra passes (Fig. 4).

Thus, it appears that during the Hindu Shahi period, the Mayar valley, and its adjacent localities of Tauda Cheena and Qulangai to the west, were densely populated. The concentration of Hindu Shahi sites is much higher in the Mayar valley and it is followed by the Nullo and Charat passes that connected to the Vale of Peshawar. In other directions, the number of sites are relatively less and also spread over a large area. The secured location and high concentration of Hindu Shahi sites make Mayar valley as the most guarded locality in the study area.

Furthermore, the analysis reveals that all Hindu Shahi sites are constructed either on hilltops or slopes at high altitudes between 511-1272 meters above sea level (MASL). Due to the availability of limited flat surfaces for construction, the structures follow the natural contours of hills (Fig. 5). The Hindu Shahi structures are constructed on the available surfaces without digging of foundations and the existing topography and mountains contours are skilfully utilised. The stone blocks are directly placed on the bedrocks without the application of mortars (Fig. 5). Functionally, digging foundations into the rocky hard surfaces would have been a difficult job and it was much easier and quicker to erect walls between the variedly elevated surfaces.

Fig. 5 - The utilization of the irregular contours, site 1, Qulangai, Malakand Agency.

The Hindu Shahi structures are constructed with stone blocks of various sizes and shapes. Consequently, the masonry of Hindu Shahi structures is

generally rough in the whole study area (Fig. 5). Throughout the study area, the masonry technique is identical, though, clear differences can be seen in the finishing, dressing and placement of blocks within different localities. These variations affect the final display of sites with structures ranging from rough and irregular to sophisticated and refined in different regions of the study area. The widths of the walls of the structures range from 70 centimetres to 1 meter. During the survey, various structures, primarily rooms, were recorded between 2 to 8 meters in height. The watchtowers, however, ranged between 3 to 11 meters in height. No structure was discovered in its original condition, suggesting that their original heights could have been different. The arrow-slit are more common within the Hindu Shahi sites and their numbers vary from site to site and they are constructed at around the average human height (Fig. 6).

Fig. 6 - Multiple arrow slits and an extended platform for human support/ standing against them, site 153, Tauda Cheena, district Lower Dir.

The location of sites on high mountaintops and slopes make them considerably distant and hard to access from the surrounding deep valleys. Such settings allow them situational awareness in maintaining a visual interaction within their respective valleys and with the neighbouring sites

and dominate the surrounding landscapes. Additionally, their locations at considerable heights in rugged terrain serve as natural fortifications to the sites and provide these sites with enhanced natural safety and restricted access (Fig. 5). The development of sites on prime and strategic locations appear to be pre-decided and throw light on the intelligent utilization and maximization of the natural conditions for strategic and defensive benefits. Furthermore, the construction of Hindu Shahi sites on mountains increase their political and administrative control in ensuring maximum safety, communication and surveillance of the study during the turmoil of the Ghaznavid onslaughts.

The analysis of 225 Hindu Shahi sites led to the identification and categorization of four different types of sites in the study area (Table 1).

Type of site	Occurrence
Watchtower	140
Non-watchtower	82
Wells	2
Temple	1
Total	**225**

Tab. 1 - Typology of Hindu Shahi sites in the study area.

6. Hindu Shahi sites with watchtowers

A total of 140 (or 62% of 225) sites include single or multiple watchtowers, ranging from 1 to 8 per site, for total of 217 such structures. The upper structures of most watchtowers have fallen down while their platforms or bases have survived. Some of the watchtowers are still partially intact, giving glimpses about their original plans, sizes and possible functions. The relatively intact watchtower, recorded in the study area, still rises to about 11 meters height and consists of a platform and 3 storeys or floors (Fig. 7). The platforms are solid structures, constructed of locally available rocks (such as schist) and mud and the multiple storeys are erected on top of them (Fig. 8). The first floors are accessible through narrow doorways at the top of platforms; usually set at a much higher elevation than the average human height. The 2nd and 3rd floors were accessed from the first floor through a slit or open space in one corner of the watchtowers, possibly using a wooden ladder. No permanent stairs or

other means for accessibility to the first floor were recorded at any of the watchtowers, suggesting their access through retractable ladders.

The upper floors include holes for beams and timbers for supporting floors, windows and arrow-slits (Figures 7 and 8). The overall plan and the associated features of watchtowers suggest their primary function as independent and self-sustaining structures at the time of hostile attacks. The multiple arrow-slits on all floors face various directions, suggesting their offensive function of shooting arrows on the advancing army or repulsing attacks (Figs. 7 and 8).

Fig. 7 - The most intact watchtower showing platform, windows on 2nd and 3rd floors and the arrow-slits, site 111, Charat Pass, district Malakand Agency.

The analysis of Hindu Shahi sites with watchtowers suggests that Mayar valley had the largest number of 29 (or 31%) of 140 watchtower sites, corroborating its highly defensive status in the study area (Fig. 9 and Table 2). The localities around Kot Agra and Pingal passes, such as Tauda Cheena, Qulangai and Matkanai appear to be the second highly protected

– and first among the localities around the passes – with 31 sites (Fig. 9 and Table 2). The Qulangai locality serves as a convergence region and links the Vale of Peshawar through Kot Agra pass, the district Bajaur Agency through Pingal pass and district Lower Dir through a river crossing bridge (Fig. 9). The Mayar valley and other localities across the Swat River up to Qulangai include a total of 76 (or 54%) of 140 watchtowers sites, making this area as the most highly protected and densely populated during the Hindu Shahi period (Fig. 9). Around the Charat and Nullo Passes, a total of 26 watchtower sites are located in Pinjin and Gunyar and its nearby localities, followed by Katkela pass with 19 sites (Fig. 9 and Table 2). Darra in Lower Dir and Qaldara in Malakand Agency include 10 and 8 sites respectively, whereas remaining localities include 1 to 7 sites (Fig. 9 and Table 2).

Fig. 8 - Showing the filled platform, arrow-slits, beam slot and a window on the upper extreme left side, site 153, Tauda Cheena, Lower Dir.

Within the Hindu Shahi sites with watchtowers, sites with single watchtowers are more common and are widely distributed in the study area, while sites with multiple watchtowers are relatively few and

confined to certain localities (Fig. 9 and Table 2). The Mayar valley alone includes the highest density of sites with watchtowers, housing 21% of the total 217 watchtowers (Fig. 9 and Table 2). It is followed by Tauda Cheena, Qulangai and Matkanai localities situated around the Kot Agra and Pingal passes, where 58 (or 27%) of 217 watchtowers are constructed (Fig. 9 and Table 2). Additionally, these localities include sites with 4 to 8 watchtowers per site, highlighting the overall high position of this area in the study area (Fig. 9). A total of 41 (or 19%) of 217 watchtowers are located around the Charat and Nullo Passes in Pinjin and Gunyar localities, followed by localities around the Katkela pass with 28 (or 13%) of 217 watchtowers (Fig. 9 and Table 2). Other sites with watchtowers are sparsely distributed throughout the study area in association with their nearby passes, routes and the neighbouring regions (Fig. 9 and Table 2).

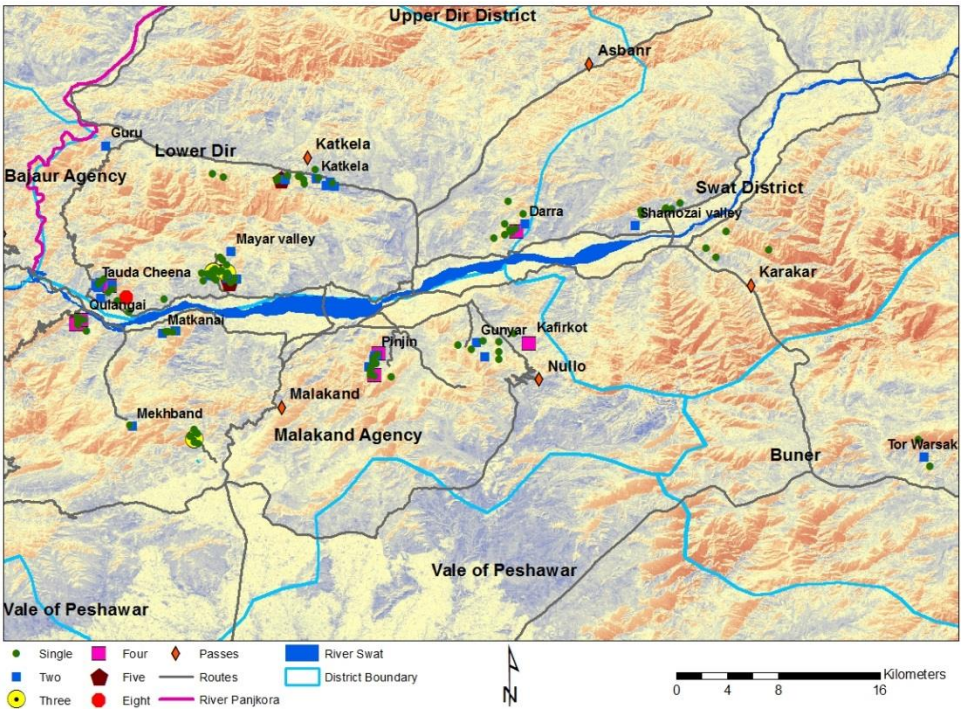

Fig. 9 - The distribution patterns of Hindu Shahi sites with watchtowers.

Locality	n=140	Single	Two	Three	Four	Five	Eight	*Total*
Mayar valley	29	20	5	2	1	1		***45***
Qaldara	8	7		1				***10***
Mekhband	2	1	1					***3***
Qulangai	9	6			3			***18***
Tauda	16	9	5		1		1	***31***
Cheena Matkanai	6	3	3					***9***
Pinjin	16	10	4		2			***26***
Gunyar	10	7	2		1			***15***
Katkela	19	13	5			1		***28***
Guru	1		1					***2***
Darra	10	8	1		1			***14***
Shamozai	7	6	1					***8***
Barikot	4	4						***4***
Tor Warsak	3	2	1					***4***
Total	***140***	***96***	*29*	*3*	*9*	*2*	*1*	***217***

Tab. 2 - The distribution of watchtowers in different localities.

The plan and distribution of watchtowers suggest their roles in defence, suppression of the enemy attack, supervision of the routes and counterattacks on the enemies in broader context of the safety and security considerations of study area. The watchtowers are encountered in all the surveyed localities; however, their density is much higher in the Mayar valley and around passes that are connected to the Vale of Peshawar.

7. The Hindu Shahi non-watchtower sites, wells and temple

The non-watchtower sites are mainly located along the Swat River close to the large size Hindu Shahi sites (Fig. 10). Of the total of 82 non-watchtower sites, 51 (or 62%) are located in the Mayar valley and its surrounding localities, followed by 18 (or 22%) sites in the Shamozai and its adjoining localities (Fig. 10). The non-watchtower sites are either absent or limited to 2-5 sites close to the neighbouring localities (Fig. 10). These sites are not only missing the watchtowers but other structures are also in limited, such as rooms. A total of 8 sites include 10 structures,

while the remaining sites 1 to 2 structures or rooms within. The relative scarcity of non-watchtowers sites along the routes and passes suggests that the Hindu Shahi intentionally avoided their construction in the bordering regions of study area, possibly due to the fear of exposure to the enemy.

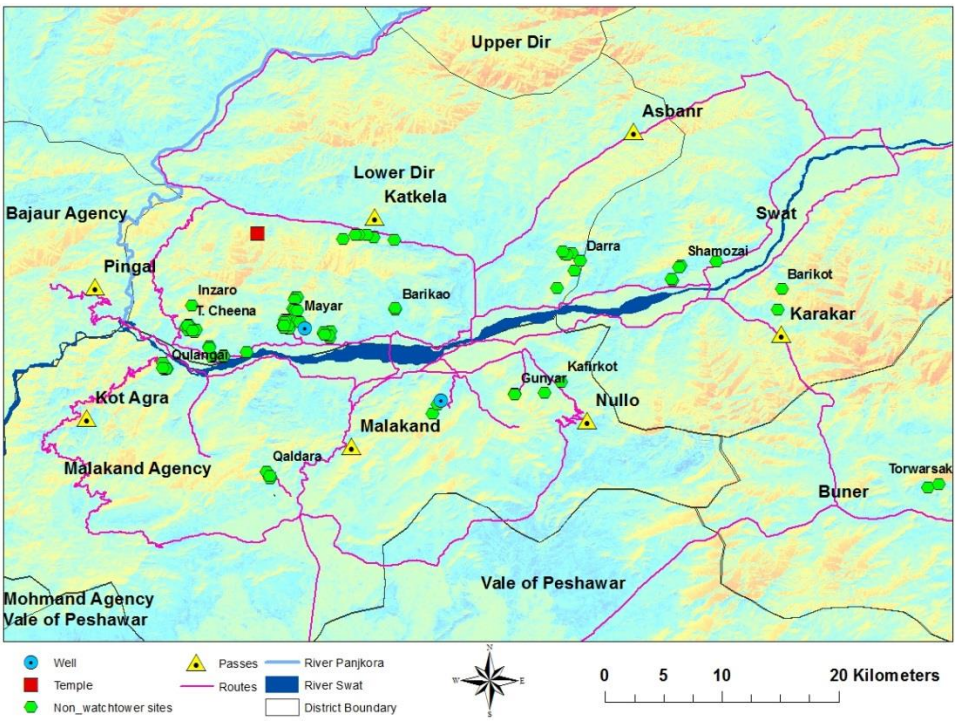

Fig. 10 - Distribution of non-watchtower sites, temple and wells.

The two sites with wells are located in the Mayar valley and Pinjin locality (Fig. 10). In the Mayar valley, the well is dug below the largest site of the study area in terms of structures, while in Pinjin, it is located in the lower valley close to the Hindu Shahi settlements. Both the wells are still being used by the local population as a source of drinking water.

The singular Hindu Shahi temple is situated in Gumbat locality within the Talash valley, district Lower Dir (Dani 1968; Deane 1896; Rahman & Khan, 2008; Stein, A. 1921; Fig. 12). The site of the single Hindu Shahi temple in fortified valley of Gumbat, district Lower Dir was also protected through the provision of numerous forts around it (Dani, 1968, p. 11; Rahman, 1968, p. 105). Hindu Shahi temples have been

recorded in other parts of the kingdom at Nandana in Punjab and Dera Ismail Khan in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Masih, 2002; Meister, 2010). The scarcity of temples and abundance of forts in the study area show major differences in the typology of sites with other parts of the Hindu Shahi kingdom, where the temples number is higher than the reported forts or the watchtowers. The location of a Hindu Shahi temple at Gumbat at the extreme northern extent of the study area in an isolated valley away from the densely populated localities is very interesting and unusual.

The Hindu Shahi and the Ghaznavids are historically known to have engaged in conflicts since circa 963 CE (Al-Bīrūnī & Sachau, 1964; Dani, 2001; Dupree, 1980; Elliot & Dowson, 1966; Farishta, 1958; Shah, 2012; Stein, A., 1900). They fought several battles and finally the Hindu Shahi lost the capital centre of Hund to the Ghaznavids around c. 1001-2 CE (Mishra 1972; Pāṇḍeya, 1973; Rahman 1979a). With this conquest the Hindu Shahi are historically known to have shifted their capital centre to a new location. However, the concerned historical accounts are silent on the name or location of the new capital (Mishra 1972, p. 129). This absence has led scholars to consider Nandana (e.g. Ali and Qazi 2008; Masih 2002, Nazim 1927; Pāṇḍeya, 1973), Lahore (e.g. Khan F. , 1986; Ray, 1931 ; Vaidya, 1926)) and Bhatinda in the modern state of Patiala in India (Khan M. , 1976, p. 980) as the capital centre after the fall of Hund. Mishra (1972, p. 129) places the foundation of the new Hindu Shahi capital in a secured mountain range far away from the main river. However, Mishra (1972) neither furnishes the archaeological or historical source, nor the names of the river and the secured mountain range, leaving the matter ambiguous. Dani (1968, p. 31), Rahman (1979a, p. 305) and Olivieri (1996, pp. 74-75) suggested that after the fall of Hund, the Hindu Shahi dynasty retreated to the secured mountainous region of the district Malakand Agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner (the present study area) and continued their rule from here for some time.

8. Discussion

The systematic methods and up-to-date survey strategies utilized during the current archaeological landscape survey resulted in the recording of 225 Hindu Shahi sites. This figure surpasses all their known regions including the capital centres of Kabul, Afghanistan and Hund in the Vale of Peshawar. The selected sampling, transects, community engagement

and pilot survey strategies resulted in the recording of new sites. The utilization of different software packages, such as Google Earth and ArcGIS, helped in understanding and investigating the relationship of sites with each other and with the landscape features such as mountains, passes, rivers and trade and communication routes.

Hindu Shahi sites geographically located and focus around passes and routes, such as Kot Agra, Malakand, Karakar, Shahkot, Nullo, Pingal and the Katkela passes in the study area. These passes are located at critical junctions, connecting the study area with the neighbouring regions. The layout and organization of the Hindu Shahi sites at these predominant convergent locations effectively seals the study area from all directions. However, areas along the Vale of Peshawar are far more densely populated and systematically protected. Furthermore, within the study area, the Mayar valley in district Lower Dir holds a central and distinct location away from all access routes and the neighbouring regions. It also houses the largest number of Hindus Shahi sites – the watchtowers, and the non-watchtower sites – pointing to their intensive presence and activities.

All of the recorded Hindu Shahi sites in the study area are located in rough terrain and over high hilltops and slopes, occupying strategic locations. This setting of sites enables the occupants to administer the surrounding routes and passes, taking full advantage of the steep cliffs and slopes as natural barriers against enemies from their respective valley floors. This setting also facilitates visual interactions and communications with the nearby Hindu Shahi sites, offering inhabitants real time opportunity to allow or deny entry and launch or repulse an attack.

The watchtowers include highly defensive and offensive architectural features. The relatively significant height of the narrow doorways on the first floors, without permanent means of access, empower the occupants to control entry to the interior of the watchtowers during peace and wartimes. The multiple arrow-slits on all the floors of the watchtowers could have been used to shoot arrows in all directions by many individuals in defence or attack during wartime. The windows on 2nd and 3rd floors are primarily meant for light and fresh air; however, it is equally possible that these could have been used for historic wartime activities such as shooting arrows, throwing stones, hot water and fireballs. Windows on the first floors were probably avoided due to their

low heights that could pose a threat to the watchtowers for facilitating access to the interior of the watchtowers.

The large number of 217 highly visible watchtowers on top of mountains and slopes must have been of considerable value to the Hindu Shahi and could have effectively reflected and conveyed the messages of their authority and power in the study area. Their documentation is not only significant in the study area, but, also in Pakistan and the South Asia. It is for the first time that such a large number of defensive structures and watchtowers have been reported in Pakistan and South Asia, and importantly from a relatively small study area and belonging to a single chronological period. The study area and its surrounding regions have witnessed the onslaught of invasions from outside from at least the 6th century BCE. However, there is almost no archaeological evidence of the preparation or construction of such a huge defensive structures and strategies by a single Indian ruling house or common people against an invading army.

The majority of the non-watchtower sites are situated along the Swat River, especially in the Mayar valley and its nearby localities. The non-existence of watchtowers and the relative scarcity of other structures make these sites ordinary and less defensive. Perhaps their secured location and their locations away from the passes and their neighbouring regions was the reason for their absence. In contrast, the Mayar valley and other localities along the Swat River are relatively distant and safer from the neighbouring regions, such as Vale of Peshawar, and mountain passes. The locations of Hindu Shahi sites without watchtower suggest that these sites were probably used for housing soldiers, domestic servants and skilled workers. The high number of non-watchtower sites in Mayar valley and other localities along the Swat River seems to have been deliberate. This possibly meant to keep maximum number of soldiers and citizens in important localities close to important or administrative centres in order to call on a short notice in case of external threats, and for other tasks, such as construction and as required by officials in high offices.

The location of a single Hindu Shahi temple in the study area away from densely settled localities such as Katkela, Mayar valley is unusual. The isolated location of Gumbat temple away from the political centres, coupled with the lack of other temples in the study area, point to a significant difference from Hindu Shahi practices in other parts of the kingdom, such as Nandana, Hund and Dera Ismail Khan. The Hindu Shahi

used to construct multiple temples in populated areas and key centres of their kingdom. This rare phenomenon suggests that either the geo-political situations or the religious preferences of Hindu Shahi changed at the time and as a result, they not only constructed the lone temple at the extreme northern edge of the study area in a desolated valley but they also kept their numbers to the minimum. It is possible that the geo-political situations did not allow them to construct elaborate Hindu temples in the study area as they used to in other parts of their kingdom prior to their defeat at Hund.

The results of the present survey in the study area revealed that Hindu Shahi sites are highly defensive and distinctive in nature that from other regional sites of the dynasty. The nature of these site is also different from preceding and succeeding cultural epochs, from Neolithic to the British period, in the study area and its surrounding regions. For the very first time during the Hindu Shahi period, the study area has witnessed such an organized geographical distribution of defensive sites, covering all key entry and exit points on either side. It is also peculiar to note that they exclusively occupied the rugged terrain of mountains and introduced an entirely new pattern in the settlement history of the study area, and broader regions of Pakistan and South Asia. The abundance and colossal sizes of watchtowers with highly defensive and offensive features have no parallels during any chronological period in north-western Pakistan and South Asia. The unprecedented numbers of sites, their geographical distribution, strategic locations on mountains' tops and slopes, the massive architecture in the form of fortifications and watchtowers, point to a highly militarised architecture and purpose. These sites also shed light on the Hindu Shahi defensive networks and strategies in mitigating attacks or invasions from rom neighbouring regions.

The analysis of the survey data also indicated both similarities and differences within the Hindu Shahi architecture in the study area. The uniform construction of sites on naturally secured locations, the size of walls and the nature of masonry technique applied exhibit regional resemblances. Throughout the study area, the watchtowers followed the same plan, shapes, sizes and masonry. The majority of the watchtowers are concentrated in the Mayar valley and bordering regions of the Vale of Peshawar. This organization reflects conscious decisions and landscape choices in the development and distribution of watchtowers in the study area. The differences in the number of sites, especially the sites with

watchtowers, indicate the possible socio-political and economic statuses as well as the security concerns of the Hindu Shahi dynasty. The Hindu Shahis decisions on the numbers of sites and the distribution of watchtowers study area were possibly driven by their needs, and by their citizens. Similarities in most aspects of the Hindu Shahi sites in the study area suggest that these sites are contemporary and were developed within a short span of time.

The building material is abundantly available around the sites. However, quarrying, shaping and dressing the stone blocks would have required financial resources and the involvement of large number of skilled and unskilled construction workers. Probably, the construction of sites was commissioned by a single ruling authority and through the utilization of state resources. It would have been almost impossible to commission such a huge strategic architectural endeavour particularly on high mountains in a relatively large study area without the supervision and resources of the state. Such regional similarity, consistency and architectural symmetry could have only be achieved through institutional or state patronage. It was probably driven by the survival instincts and defensive strategies of the Hindu Shahi dynasty. The uniform, predetermined, calculated, deliberate and purpose-built considerations suggest the involvement and close supervision of the Hindu Shahi and their elites or bureaucrats in the development of sites.

The number, nature and distribution of the Hindu Shahi sites raise many important questions, such as when and why did the Hindu Shahi establish such a large number of sites in the study area? Why did the Hindu Shahi build sites with mostly defensive features? What forced the Hindu Shahi to introduce radical changes in the settlement patterns of the study area? Why the Hindu Shahi settlement activities in the study area are absent in the relevant historic accounts? To answers these and other questions, it would require scientific and extensive investigations in the future. However, the retreat of the Hindu Shahi after the fall of their capital at Hund, district Swabi in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, as suggested by the scholars to the present study area (Dani 1968: 31; Rahman 1979a: 305; Olivieri 1996: 74-75) is not without valid basis. The study area is located around 115 kilometres to the north of the Hund to Batkhela Town. The Vale of Peshawar and the study area were both under the Hindu Shahi control right from their alleged emergence in circa 822 CE. The close proximity of these regions suggests that the Hindu Shahi

were familiar with the study area and they copiously utilized defensive strengths and potentials of this broad landscape after the siege and fall of Hund around 1001-1002 CE to the Ghaznavids.

The Hindu Shahi remained in power from c. 822 to 1026 CE and accumulated a huge amount of money, evidenced from the number of their standing army, tributes and lavish lifestyle as recorded by contemporary Muslim historians. They clearly had the resources to invest huge amount of money and mobilize a large workforce to plan and erect defensive settlements to defend themselves, their people and faith in their fight with the Muslim invading army of the Ghaznavids. Thus, their settlement patterns within the study area could be a reflection of their ongoing conflicts with the Ghaznavids. They established numerous networks of forts with multiple watchtowers, across the study area especially along the Vale of Peshawar to prevent and withstand the Ghaznavids' onslaught after the fall of their capital at Hund and continue their rule from the fortified study area.

This study revealed several distinctive features of the Mayar valley during the Hindu Shahi period. Firstly, it is the most secured location in the study area away from all the passes, routes and the neighbouring regions. Secondly, it is surrounded by mountains and the Swat and Panjkora rivers, making it additionally protected and hard to access from outside the study area. Thirdly, the Mayar valley is centrally located and is easily accessible from most of the localities in the study area. Thus, it was logistically and administratively convenient to coordinate and manage the political, economic and administrative affairs of the study area from Mayar valley. The other localities, in contrast, are distant, marginal and prone to assaults from the neighbouring regions. Fourthly, the Mayar valley has relatively good agricultural flat lands along with plenty of water resources to cater for the needs of the Hindu Shahi dynasty and people on the run. The abundance of agricultural resources and potentials could have empowered the valley to host events of social, religious and political significance as well as meet the subsistence, architectural and artistic needs of the Hindu Shahi dynasty. Finally, the most vital aspect of the Mayar valley lies in its naturally safety and centralized location within the study area and the surrounding regions. These distinguishing features, along with the presence of a large number of Hindu Shahi sites and watchtowers, point to the significance and high stature of the Mayar

valley. The Mayar valley appears to be the most suitable place for the centre of Hindu Shahi power in the study area and adjoining regions.

Thus, there could have been many reasons for the unique stature of Mayar valley during the Hindu Shahi period; however, the possible establishment of a seat of power in their retreat to the study area also needs to be taken into account. The considerable number of sites with multiple watchtowers lent support to this argument. These sites helped in meeting the administrative, residential and defensive requirements of the kings and elites of the Hindu Shahi dynasty on the run from the Ghaznavids. However, these aspects require further intensive explorations, scientific excavations and dating for understanding and establishing the site hierarchies and their possible socio-religious and political roles. It is very important to utilize new methods, software packages (such as ArcGIS) and current interpretative regimes in archaeological investigations in Pakistan for visual presentation of data, analyses and interpretations of sites. The landscape approach is also critical for understanding sites well beyond their physical boundaries in the respective areas and on regional level, generally known as landscape archaeology. The excessive agricultural and construction activities and the illegal digging of archaeological sites pose a serious threat to the archaeology of the Hindu Shahi in the study area. It is suggested that immediate steps shall be taken by the concerned authorities and other stakeholders to safeguard this rich and unique Hindu heritage of Pakistan before it is too late.

9. Summary

The present systematic landscape archaeological survey was conducted in districts Malakand agency, Lower Dir, Swat and Buner of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, Pakistan. A total of 2542 square kilometres study area was investigated through systematic techniques. The survey resulted in the documentation of 225 archaeological sites belonging to the Hindu Shahi period, including 140 sites with 217 watchtowers, 82 sites without watchtowers, two wells and a single Hindu temple. Most of these sites are massive constructions with simple masonry and without any foundations, utilizing the natural surfaces of the landscape. Almost all of these sites are located on hard to access and naturally protected mountains' tops and slopes. The vast majority of these sites, especially the sites with

watchtowers, are linked with the nearby mountain passes and are strategically placed in defensive positions along the neighbouring regions, particularly with the Vale of Peshawar.

The strategic placement of these sites allowed the Hindu Shahi kingdom to control and administer access routes, entry and exit points to the study area, probably during the turmoil of the Ghaznavid invasion of South Asia. The huge investment in the construction of these massive structures in difficult terrains is reflective of the last ditch effort of the Hindu Shahi dynasty for survival against the Ghaznavids. The natural safety and the Hindu Shahi concerns for the protection of the Mayar valley in the study area – as reflected in the density and nature of the Hindu Shahi sites – makes it as the most plausible and appropriate seat of power for the Hindu Shahi dynasty on the run in north-western Pakistan.

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Analysis of Multicultural Factors in Prehistoric Archaeological Materials in Kashmir

Aqsa Rehan

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Abstract

Previous archaeological research has highlighted connections between discoveries from Kashmir, Central Asia, and West Asia as well as other regions of wider South Asia. However, the relationship between Kashmir and the Tibetan Plateau is poorly understood. To explore the cultural relationship between these two regions, we compare multiple archeological evidences, including dwelling pits, pottery, bone, and stone tools from two Neolithic sites of each region. This research deepens our understanding of prehistoric interaction across the Himalayas.

K**eywords:** Tibetan Plateau, Kashmir, Prehistoric archaeology, material culture, pottery, lithic.

1. Introduction

The South Asian subcontinent has an extremely diverse history starting with the Paleolithic to Neolithic phases and continuing to the historic Buddhist, Mughal, and British periods, making this area rich in culture; also it is an ideal area for cross-regional interaction. Kashmir's geographical location is quite pivotal as it connects inner Asia to South Asia and further with Central Asia.

In the context of archaeological research, the most revelatory and significant period in the earliest history of Kashmir was the Neolithic period. Previous research of archaeobotanical evidence and material culture indicate that Kashmir has a close connection with sites in Central Asia and Southwest Asia since prehistoric times (Spengler 2015: 215-253, Spate et al. 2017: 568-577, D'Alpoim Guedes et al. 2014: 255-269). Kashmir also had interregional interactions with sites during the Early Harappan period (3300-2600 BCE), the exchange probably lasted up to the later Harappan period (2600-1900 BCE). In support of this argument, Law identified the presence of Galena lead, which was used by the Harappans and was brought from the Baramulla district of Kashmir (Chaolong 1988: 139; Kaw 2004: 22) (Law 2008: 758).

In Sarai Khola (Taxila) period I, the same types of vessels with basket impressions and shapes similar to those from Burzahom and Swat are significantly predominating (Stacul 1976: 28). Mughal also connected Sarai Khola period I with Neolithic features of Burzahom (Mughal 1972: 1-112). Swat and Kashmir valley are corridors of exchange and communication through the Hindu Kush Mountain and they have dense archaeological remains, including farming village sites that dated roughly to 2500 cal BCE (Spengler 2020).

Kashmir had developed social and communicative connections with northern and central parts of the subcontinent through exchanging raw materials or products, such as pottery, stone tools, and beads, as witnessed by the finding of Kot Dijian pot with a horned figure painted on the shoulder of the vessel (Mani 2008), from Burzahom phase II (Fig. 1), further strengthens the idea of interconnection extending to the southern parts of the subcontinent.

Similarly, it is stated that the presence of agate and carnelian beads at Burzahom show that it had trade links with the Indus Valley people, who brought the raw material from Afghanistan and Central Asia (Chakrabarti 1999: 215; Law 2008: 86). Evidence in the form of human skull trepanning also indicates connectivity between Kashmir and the northwestern part of India. The Kalibangan site, where a skeleton with skull trepanning was unearthed, is present in India's northern state of Rajasthan. A similar square hole on the right temporal skull of a child aged nine to ten years was found in Lothal, a site located in the western part of India (Sankhyan and Weber 2001). However, limited sites were identified in the subcontinent, where human skull trepanning was found. This practice was not common in the Indus Valley Civilization. Whereas, the same practice was discovered to be quite common in China where pieces of evidence of skull trepanning were extensively found from the Tibetan Plateau and also from low lands of China. At the same time, the presence of double-spiral-head copper pins has been found from Burzahom (Thapar 1979-74: 15), Gufkral (Sharma1982: 34), Manda (Jammu). These sites are logistically closer to each other and share many similar traits. However, they have shown limited similarities with other contemporary sites in the same region of the subcontinent. A double-spiral-headed pin of the same style was unearthed from Banawali in Haryana (Abraham et al. 2013: 223-238). It is suggested that double-

spiral-headed copper pins may have been originally brought into the subcontinent from Central Asia.

Furthermore, there are many factors in the Neolithic culture of Kashmir which are extremely rare in the South Asian subcontinent of the same period but are very similar to the Neolithic cultural contents of the Yellow River Basin in Northern China (Chaolong 1988: 137). According to the *Nilamata Purana* and the *Rajatarangini*, during prehistoric times, several tribes of the Kashmir Valley, such as the Nagas, the Pisacas, and the Yakasas used to migrate to Tibet and Central Asia in the summer and returned to the Kashmir Valley in the winter to avoid the harsh weather conditions of Tibet and Central Asia (Buth et al. 1987: 57-64). According to Han research the concept of long distance sino-western exchange lasted from the 4th to the 1st millennium BCE, with four stages that was c. 3500 BCE, 3000 BCE, 2200 BCE, and 1300 BCE. During these remarkable stages, Chinese painted pottery was transmitted from East to West. Moreover, he also discussed the penetration and distribution pattern of Yangshao culture to the western and Southern Tibetan Plateau (Han 2012: 25-42).

Similarly, Kashmir also had some cultural and social connections with the regions to the northeast where the Tibetan Plateau has an extensive history. However, limited research has been conducted on this front in the subcontinent. To bridge the gap between Kashmir and Tibet, this article presents a comparative analysis of multiple archaeological pieces of evidences from sites in Kashmir and Tibet.

The sites selected from Kashmir for the present study were Burzahom and Gufkral, which were considered to be the most important sites because they have been extensively excavated and well-studied through their cultural remains. Whereas Karuo and Qugong were selected from the Tibetan Plateau, for the same reasons, and these sites are also considered somewhat identical due to their material culture findings such as stone tool technique and pottery decorations, which indicated that the two regions share the same cultural roots. However, it is suggested that Qugong had developed from the same ancient culture related to the Karuo culture (The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics: 269). The Karuo site predates Qugong, according to carbon 14 dating results, and has some unique artifacts such as polished stone tools; sharps bone tools, and pottery decoration such as incised, punctuated, and applied patterns which were rare and have never

appeared in Neolithic sites in other parts of China (Gao et al. 2020: 7). Although, the different levels of excavation at Kashmir sites, reveal the presence of both the unique Karuo style artifacts and others from later-era Tibetan sites. This proves the fact that Kashmir exchanged cultural aspects with Tibetan sites in different eras.

2. Archaeological sites in Kashmir

Burzahom

Burzahom is the most important Neolithic site which was extensively excavated from 1960 to 1971 in Kashmir. The site is located in the Srinagar district about 24 km north-north-east of Srinagar city (Fig. 2). The first excavation was carried out by Shri Khazanchi with Shiri Srivastava and Shri Raghbir. Later on, follow-up excavations were conducted by different excavators. Their brief progress reports were published in (ASI annual report 1960-61, 1961-62, 1962-63, 1965-66, 1968-69, 1973-74). The excavations revealed four occupational sequences i.e. Neolithic in the first and second periods, Megalithic in the third period, and early Historic in the fourth period (Ghosh 1961-62: 17). The absolute dates of the spread of Northern Neolithic culture in Burzahom ca. 2300-1500 BCE was published in the ASI annual report (Ghosh 1965-66: 87). The latest research produced by Agrawal and Kharakawal (2002: 184), propose an Early Neolithic period ca. 2500-2000 BCE, Late Neolithic Period ca. 2000-1500 BCE, and Megalithic Period from ca. 1500 to 900 BCE (Betts 2019:19).

Gufkral

The Gufkral site was excavated in 1981 and is 25 km from Burzahom (Fig. 2). Gufkral (Guf meaning cave and Kral meaning potter) is at Banmir village in the Hurdumir area of Tral. It is 5 km from the sub-district headquarter. The site is situated 41 kilometers southeast of Srinagar in the district of Pulwama (Fig. 2). The excavation revealed five occupation levels; Period I subdivision IA belonging to Aceramic era, whereas early Neolithic in the IB period, late Neolithic in the IC period, while Megalithic in the period II and Historical era are discovered in the period III (Sharma 1982: 25). According to radiocarbon dating of Period IA

Aceramic dated 3130±100 BP, Period IB dated between 3980±120 BP to 3470±110 BP, Period IC 3570 ±100 BP to 2790±110 BP (Sharma 1982: 40). The latest chronology of Gufkral reports as IA ranging between 2700 and 2400 BCE, while the period IB extending between 2400 to 2000 BCE, period IC is between 2000 and 1700 BCE and period II, belonging to the Megalithic era, encompasses 1700 and 1000 BCE (Betts et al., 2019: 21).

Archaeological Sites on the Tibetan Plateau

Karuo

Karuo lies 12 km to the south of Qamde city, in eastern Tibet (Fig. 2). This site is located on the second terrace, west of the bank of the Lancang River at an elevation of 3100 masl. Two seasons of excavation (1978-1979) yielded the remains of 28 dwellings, two sections of cobbled road, three sections of a stone wall, two stone circular platforms, three stone circles, four ash pits, 7968 stone tools, 366 bone artifacts, over 20,000 pottery shreds, 50 ornaments, and some remains of millet and animal bones (Tibet Autonomous Region and Department of History, Sichuan University 1985: 175). The site is dated to the period 2800-1000 BCE. The Karuo culture has some similarities with the primitive cultures of Gansu, Qinghai, and the eastern border areas of the Tibetan Plateau. These similarities are reflected in pottery style, pit dwelling, stone tools for example similarities are observed in pots and bowls, willow leaf-shaped and triangular-shaped arrow clusters, semilunar stone knife, trapezoidal stone axe, double-edged stone chisel, bone cone, the ground structure of a wall, and rectangular flat roof house (Zheng and Jian 1982).

Qugong

The ancient site of Qugong is located to the north of Qugong village, 5 km north of Tibet's Lhasa city, 300m west of the famous Sera Monastery of the Yellow Sect. The site was excavated from 1990 to 1992 (Fig. 2). It covers approximately 10,000 sqm (The Institute of Archaeology Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics Tibet Autonomous Region 1999: 267-272). The entire excavated area was divided into two zones. The Qugong site was divided into three phases based on stratigraphy and typology. Phase I relates to the early phase in the zone I, phase II belongs to the late phase in zone I whereas, phase III refers to the 29 stone-chambered tombs from zone II (Gao et al. 2020: 3).

Artifacts revealed from phase I was mostly stone flakes in a large percentage, whereas the polished stone tools occur in second high quantity, and microlithics only in limited amounts. The polished stone tools included the comb-shaped object, sickle, knife, and grinding stone. On the other hand, pottery vessels revealed jars with round bottom and ring foot. Whereas, six jade objects and one bronze arrowhead were also recovered (Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region 1999). According to the report, the early phase dated 3480-3169 cal BP (Gao et al. 2020: 4).

It is very important to note here that according to the chronology given by carbon-14 dating, Qugong came into existence after Karuo. The former dates back to 1759–1500 B.C. (calibrated with the starting point estimated at 2000 BCE), while the later dates back to 3340-2400 BCE and lasted nearly a thousand years. Although there was no inheritance between these two cultures separated by a chronology interval, yet they do have numerous similarities in their material culture as noted by the Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, and the Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region (1999: 267-272). Another interesting feature is the presence of bronze metallurgical technology in pottery that reflects the maturity of Qugong's pottery-making technology. This too corroborates other evidence that the Qugong site had existed later than Karuo site. Other sites associated with Qugong culture are the Changguogou site, located in the south of Lhasa on the north bank of the Yarlung Zangbo River, and the Bangga site situated in the Yarlung Valley (Fig. 2). The archaeological assemblage, especially the ceramics, at Changguogou is very similar to the one found at Qugong. Excavation at Bangga has unearthed one rectangular semi-subterranean house with 24 sqm of covered floor area, a stone-lined interior storage pit, and ceramic similar to Qugong. It is suggested that this site is a part of the Qugong tradition. Unfortunately, the research work regarding the great bend area of the Yarlung Zangbo is limited (Alsenderfer and Yinong 2004: 1-55). This causes a break in the pattern of similarities between Qugong and its surrounding areas.

3. Comparative Analysis of multiple material cultures between the Kashmir Valley and the Tibetan Plateau

Dwelling Pits

Securing oneself from weather effects and other external threats is also a unique feature of human civilization that enabled humans to create such structures. The study of different excavations has revealed similarities in structures which have been discussed below to establish interaction amongst residents.

In the Burzahom period I circular, square (with flat bottom), and conical-shaped pits are revealed (Ghosh 1961-62: 17-19, Yatoo 2012: 82). It is also believed that the earliest settlers of Burzahom were pit dwellers. The excavation revealed that the habitants of the period I cut the pit into the upper Karewan bed directly into the natural soil. The depth of pits approximated 1.5 meters while these were uneven circular and oval in shapes (Ghosh 1960-61: 11). The largest of them measured 2.74m at the top and 4.57m at the bottom and 3.96m in depth (Ghosh 1961-62: 17-19). The concept of human dwelling in these pits was strengthened by the fact that the pit was contracted at the entrance and expanded in the floor area which was usually plain and balanced with accumulations of ash and charcoal. The provision of landing steps in deep pits was the noteworthy architectural feature of these pits. The presence of shredded stick stems with holes to hold posts in the ground above the pit suggests that the pit held some sort of roof structure made from untreated natural items (Ghosh 1960-61: 11). The close observation revealed that the post-holes in the corners were deeper and broader as compared to the remaining (Lal 1968-69: 10). It is reasonable to suggest the former carried posts to support the roof. It was observed that the inner walls of the pit were coated by the mud of Karewa soil. The three exposed landing steps from the entrance of the pit had a reaching of about 1.5m which raises the probability of usage of some movable staircase (Ghosh 1961-62: 17-19).

There existed a smaller pit in crescent shape, besides the wide pit behind a separation wall of natural soil. The evidence gathered from its contents suggested that the smaller pit was used for storing birch, shredded hay, etc. This fact is reinforced by the findings of inverted broken pots and harpoons made from bone. The findings on the ground surface near the pit entrance exhibit stone structures with narrow storage holes having a

diameter of about 91 centimeters. Based on these evidences it can be gathered that residents shifted on the ground surface when the weather was clear (Ghosh 1961-62: 17-19).

The overall pit residence complex showed three phases, whereby it is pertinent to note that every next phase the size of the pit increased. In period II the floors of the entire pit complex formations were observed to be sealed from mud mixed with charcoal and ash.

The remains from the Burzahom period II site show a gradual change in pit-dwelling from subterranean dwelling pits to mud-brick structures. This dwelling pattern suggests either an increase in population or a preference for community living patterns (Fig. 3a) because multiple structures of such rooms were found. Certain resemblances in dwelling pits were discovered between Gufkral and Burzahom sites such as the circular shape of dwelling pits and the use of stone and clay hearths at their center (Sharma 1982: 26). It has also been suggested that these circular pits could have been used to store surplus food. The layout of these pits is very similar to those found in some of the villages belonging to the Neolithic period in China.

Karou's early dwellings fall into three categories: concave-based dwelling, semi-subterranean dwelling, and plane-based dwelling. They are square, rectangular, and circular in structure as illustrated in (Figs. 4a, 4b, and 4c). A similar style can be observed in the Burzahom dwelling pit. In the middle of the pit, there is a hearth made of multiple stone boulders, and some of its structures are surrounded only by three stones. This kind of stove is not found elsewhere in the Neolithic sites in Tibet (Kaw 2004: 14-17; Zheng and Jian 1983: 54-64). The inner surface of the walls was baked in the fire so it gives the color of baked red. Whereas, in the later phase the surrounding walls of the dwelling pits were made of stones with the irregular placement of the stones and the thickness of the wall was not identical to what has been mentioned in a statement issued in 1985 by the Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region and the Department of History, Sichuan University. There are numerous similarities, though, in the structure of the pits at both sites. For example, the pits interior and the surroundings of Burzahom's postholes precisely resemble those of the pits found in Karou as shown in (Figs. 3a, 3c, 4a, and 4b). Square and rectangular pits with multiple boulders of the stone hearth in the center are the other common features. In Burzahom's dwelling pits, a thin layer of red material was found to have been applied on the inner surfaces as walls

and floors. However, in Karou, this red color can be witnessed only on those walls where burnt clay was used, which gives the latter an affinity with burnt red bricks. The later phase at both the sites shows that the pits' boulder walls were made of stones with a compact installation as shown in Figs. 3b and 4c.

At the Qugong site, the structure of burial pits is round in their early layers (and occasionally oval) and steep. In most cases, the walls are vertical and the bottoms are flat and covered with pebbles along their perimeters (Fig. 4d). Overall, the structures of Qugong site's pits give them an appearance that is comparable to the pits found in Karou and Burzahom.

Pottery

The use of utensils for cooking, storage, and carriage, dates back to the pre-historic era. The excavations reveal close patterns in pottery shapes and designs, which may have been a result of trade and travel.

In the 3rd millennium cal. BCE first pottery appeared in Kashmir valley following aceramic horizon at Kanispur and Gufkral, the basic ceramic assemblage dominated by coarse wares in the early Neolithic c. 2500-2000 cal. BCE, with the introduction of fine wares and burnished wares in the late Neolithic c. 2000-1700 cal. BCE (Betts et al. 2019: 27-30). Four primary wares were represented in the ceramic repertoire: Coarse ware (c.2500-2000 BCE), Fine ware, Burnished ware (c. 2000-1700 BCE), and Gritty ware (c. 1700-1000 BCE) (Yatoo 2012:83, Betts, et al. 2019: 17-39).

Gufkral's period IA revealed the aceramic Neolithic period. The IB period reveals a variety of different-sized jars, basins, and bowls belonging to the Neolithic era, most of which were grey while a few traces of light red colored pottery were found. These were decorated with basket impressions and strained designs on the outside and inner surfaces. Pottery was completely oxidized (Sharma 1982-1983: 32). Period IC belongs to the mature Neolithic period; pottery consisted of burnished grey ware, and rough thick dull redware, along with the introduction of black burnished ware and wheel-turned black burnished ware. A few specimens of red gritty were also found. All the shapes of period IB sustained with the introduction of long-necked jars, dish-on-stand with triangular perforated designs. Decorations comprised mat impression on the bases, reed

impression to create a rough surface, pinched designs and incised designs on the neck in dull redware, knobbed designs on the neck region of the wheel-made black burnished ware. A sherd with graffiti was also revealed (Sharma 1982-1983: 33-34). In period II, pottery of the previous period I such as burnished grey ware, gritty redware, and thick dull red ware survives with the addition of thick dull redware. Shape include basins, jars with shapeless rims, dish-on-stand, long-necked jars, bowls, vessels with channeled spouts and, globular jars. The decoration included pinched and incised designs on the neck and combed designs were obtained on the surfaces by burnishing with straw and reed (Sharma 1982-1983: 37). In period III, handmade pottery continued along with the dominance of wheel-made redware. Shapes included jars, bowls, lids with bowls, lamp vases, knobbed lids, double-rimmed pots, dish-on-stand, and miniature pots. A few sherds of black painted redware with carved designs were collected (Sharma 1982-1983: 37).

In Burzahom period I and II, pottery was categorized by rough handmade greyware, and was represented by the bowl, vase, and stem (Ghosh 1961-62: 19). Period II reveals a burnished blackware of medium texture. It included a dish sometimes with provision for a stand, jar, bowl, a funnel-shaped vase, globular vessels, and stem with triangular perforations. A unique type in the grey or black polished ware was a high-necked jar with a flaring rim, spherical body, and flat base. On the lower part of the neck were carved slanted cuts. Mat impressions formed exclusive designs on this ware. The pottery of period III, predominantly of redware, was mostly wheel-made, with coarse fabric (Ghosh 1961-62: 19). Period IV, roughly dated earlier than the Buddhist site of Harwan to the third-fourth century CE, yielded redware of fine-to-medium fabric, often slipped and mostly wheel-made (Ghosh 1961-62: 17-21); this pottery is crude and handmade and had a coarse fabric and finish. The vessel's bases were mostly flat and they had mat or basket impressions on them, which suggests that this is how they kept their pottery for drying. This also shows that Bruzahom's Neolithic ancestors had a very advanced level of weaving technology. Such mat marks on the bottom were also seen in the pottery found at the Sarai Khola and Swat sites (Halim and Mughal 1972: 36, Stacul 1976: 28). This aspect has not been found in the pottery excavated from other parts of the South Asian Subcontinent, but it is quite common in the Neolithic pottery in China. It is important to mention here that comparing Burzahom and Karou pottery on technical aspects is not

justified because Karou's pottery industry was more developed technologically. Although they also had handmade and crude pottery, their kiln-firing technique was considerably established and flourished. However, the pottery from these two sites can be compared based on typology because their designs either suggest that they are related to the same culture or that they exercised some influence on each other.

Thus, for instance, the incised and applique designs including zigzag, crisscross, bands with twisted motifs, triangular chevron motif, etc. are common to both. The clay band with a twisted motif design can be seen on the vessel's mouth or neck in some cases and on its middle (convex) part in other cases (Fig. 5). This decorative technique of using such bands to hide the joint of the vessel was very common in Karou and suggests that they did not develop the wheel-turning method during periods I and II. Qugong pottery, on the other hand, was rather matured around this time employing techniques such as wheel-retouching, molding, decoration, and firing. Hence, the pottery that must be compared is handmade pottery, which includes double-handled jars, high necked and long-mouthed jars, basins, and round bowls. For decoration, this pottery had surface and pattern burnishing, pricking, incisions, etc. and its main motifs included single and double lozenges, dots, crisscross, triangles, circle networks, and applied designs.

It is essential to mention here about the Qasim Bagh site in Baramulla district which lies around 1.5 km southwest of the Hygam Wetland Reserve in the northwest corner of the Kashmir Valley (Fig. 1). This site was first identified during a transect survey by Yatoo (Yatoo 2012). Several large conical pits were discovered at this site. The key pottery types found here included elegant ceramic such as bowls, basins with burnished interior or exterior, jars with narrow necks and widely splayed rims, and elongated pedestal vessels. Further, some pottery pieces had distinctively carved triangular designs on their stems and rims and finely incised triangular punctate decoration (Betts and Yatoo 2019: 23-24). The characteristic features of the pottery recovered from Qasim Bagh are similar to those of the Qugong pottery. Their shapes and their surface decorations as shown in Fig. 6 demonstrate their affinity.

At this point, it is vital to also mention the very significant site of Sarai Khola, an influential and historically symbolic site in Taxila, Pakistan. This site is always compared with other sites of the region to identify the origin of the inhabitants of the sites. The significance of Sarai

Khola also lies in the variety of evidence that was found here that helped identify the existence of different cultures and also proved that its inhabitants had cultural and social interactions with the surrounding regions. According to Mughal's research, the Sarai Khola site has some influence on the Burzahom and the Yangshao cultures of China (1972: 37). Some of the main similarities between Burzahom, Sarai Khola, and Yangshao include handmade pottery either with basket impressions on the base or with incisions on the external surface. Another similarity is the presence of elongated trapezoidal, rectangular, and cylindrical celts. A third similarity is an abundance of bone tools.

The red and grey wares with basket impressions, which are associated with the Yangshao culture, were also found at Burzahom and Kashmir's other contemporary sites where pottery with basket and mat impressions, mostly grey and sometimes red, was common. In Pakistan, Neolithic pottery with basket impressions on the base was found only at Sarai Khola, Swat, and Kile Gul Mohammad nowhere else, but the discovery of bone implements has been reported from Gumla in the Gomal Valley.

Since China's Yangshao Neolithic culture has been recorded to be the earliest dated (5000-3000 CE) when compared with Sarai Khola and Burzahom, it appears that the latter two settlements represent two separate extensions of the long tradition of the former. Evidence of the earliest Chinese influence on Sarai Khola and at other places in the Taxila Valley is dated around the second to the first millennium CE. The second evidence was found during a later period at Burzahom in the Kashmir Valley (Mughal 1972: 37).

To sum up the discussion in this section, we have seen homogeneity in the pottery found at the Neolithic sites in Kashmir such as Burzahom, Gufkral, and Qasim Bagh on the one hand and the Neolithic sites in Tibet, on the other. They are homogeneous concerning their physical features such as shapes and styles of decorations. The mat and basket impressions that are a common feature of pottery found during Kashmir's Neolithic period were seen in the pottery found at the Tibetan sites as well. The presence of graffiti on the vessels is a notable aspect of material culture that was found at the sites, both in the Kashmir Valley and on the Tibetan plateau.

Stone Tools

Burzahom pit deposits yielded noteworthy stone tools including polished stone axes (Thapar 1973-74: 15), and further consisted of harvesters, polished pounders with grinding marks, chisels, and mace-heads (Ghosh 1961-62: 21) smoothed surface and stone querns (Lal 1968-69: 10). They are typologically different from their southern counterpart (Ghosh 1961-62: 21). The tools that were particularly important for the comparison undertaken by this study were polished stone axes, chisels, and harvester stones. These were the remarkable artifacts that showed a striking resemblance with similar tools found at the Karuo and Qugong sites. The stone axes and chisels found at the Burzahom site are rectangular having a cross-section cut as illustrated in Fig. 7.

The stone axes found from Karou have a similarly smooth and polished finish and pointed edges. The stone axes and chisels recovered from Qugong were skillfully made from stone flakes, initially by hand, and later chipped with a hammer, too have s polished finish. Another noteworthy object depicting cultural similarity is the stone harvester tool. It is rectangular-shaped and has a curved cutting edge with one or two small perforations on either side of the cutting edge as shown in (Fig. 8). This tool was not as commonly found in Burzahom and its contemporary sites in Kashmir as was the case in Karou where it was considered the most important stone industry tool. This harvester tool with holes for handling it indicates contact with China (Khazanchi 2004: 18). These rectangular stone harvester tools offer strong evidence of a homogeneous cultural complex, which was probably linked together owing to migration and people-to-people contacts. During the survey, two new sites in Baramulla District of Kashmir were identified by Yatoo, where two types of harvesters were found: one from site 9.3 is ovel, while the other was rectangular with a hole in the middle of the butt; the later has been found from site 5.4 and it is making only the third time that tools have been reportedly found in Kashmir (Yatoo 2012: 160-164; Yatoo and Bandey 2014: 38-39). It is usually seen, however, that the sites in Kashmir and China have double-holed harvester tools, whereas the harvester tool found in Pakistan's Swat has a single hole.

Stone balls and stone beads with perforation on both ends are the other important artifacts that were found at the Burzahom Neolithic site, and share an affinity with such artifacts found at the Karou and Qugong

sites as shown in Fig. 9. These spherical stone balls and stone rings or ceramic beads were frequently found at other prehistoric sites in the subcontinent and sometimes the stone beads had elaborately carved designs on them (Fig. 9). Gufkral site period IA to IC yielded a large variety of stone and bone implements including polished stone cults, finished and unfinished stone points (with one and both ends sharp), unfinished stone rings, pounders and querns, two piercers cum scraper shaped out of the splinter, and spatula (Sharma 1982-83: 23-41).

Bone artifacts

A large number of bone tools were recovered from Burzahom in Period II with extremely distinctive features including very fine polished ones with sharp working-ends. They included awls, antimony-rods, and scrapers of the horn with butt, short daggers, and polished sharpened working edges, chisels, needles with hole and harpoons including (Ghosh 1961-62: 19-21, Lal 1968-69: 10). A large number of bone tools were discovered from Gufkral period IA to IC too. Some of these tools were polished throughout the body, whereas in some cases only the working tips were polished. These tools were shaped out from long bones, usually splinters or horns, and generally, bones of goats, sheep, cervus, and ibex were preferred (Sharma 1982-83: 26). Bone tools included points, arrowheads, awls, piercers and scrapers, and some bone needles (Sharma 1982-83: 34). All these tools are noteworthy and explain a lot about the cultural sophistication of the inhabitants of these sites.

As was the case with the Karou and Qugong sites, the stone and bone implements of Burzahom and Gufkral too showed immense sophistication in their finishes. This also strengthens the impression that all these sites had a continuous interchange of ideas among their contemporary cultures.

It is notable in this case that the bone implements found at Karou that were similar to those found at Burzahom and Gufkral were awls, needles, indented blades, and knife blade groves as shown in Fig. 10. Most of these tools were made from the ribs or limbs of the animals. Qugong's bone tools were also remarkable in that they had detailed, sophisticated, and polished finishes. Their typology includes awls, needles, arrowheads, hairpins, plaque knives, and comb-shaped objects. These tools were chiefly made from the bones of animals' legs. Although the recovered

bone tools were not in as large a number as the stone tools, yet they displayed a great affinity with similar tools comprising the Burzahom material culture.

The affinity of Spiritual Beliefs

Substantial evidence available from Burzahom period II points toward its inhabitants' custom of use of red ochre color. In some of the pits a thin layer of red ocher was applied on the floor as a coloring material is attested all over the site (Ghosh 1961-62: 19, Yatoo 2012: 82). Apart from the application of red color was a witness in their burial practices. They buried their dead along with painted bones in their habitat area in an oval-shaped pit (Ghosh 1962-63: 9). Likewise in Gufkral period I, the floors of the dwelling pits as well as storage pits, their floor were plastered with red ocher paste (Sharma 1982-83: 26). In red ocher color might symbolize fertility (Sharma 1967). The significance of the red color among the Tibetans of those times is noteworthy. They used it frequently on their stone tools and bones, which points to the spiritual connection they had with the red pigment. Evidence of this can be found not only in their various customs and rituals but also in the chipped stone implements they used. For example, the inhabitants at the Qugong site applied red pigment to their chipped stone implements while making them. Grinding plates for making red paint and small pottery bottles for storing it were frequently found at the Qugong site. The red color has been identified as powdered hematite, which is a bright mineral color. In Qugong during prehistoric times, red symbolized life and force. Qugong's inhabitants believed that stone tools painted in red would infuse supernatural strengths in them, which can not only protect them but also grant them the power to make their everyday lives significant. Interestingly, they used red color in their burial practices also (Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region 1999: 270). Thus, according to excavators red mineral pigments and red-colored granules were found at the M111 tomb. The use of red color at the Burzahom and Qugong sites is another common feature of their spiritual and religious practices and connects these cultures.

In Burzahom some of the burial grounds revealed human skull trepanning, seven finished and four unfinished circular holes on the skull were present in the burials of period II (Ghosh 1962-63: 9). Skull

trepanning was not a common practice in the sub-continent at that time. In period II four of the human skeletons found were buried in a crouching position (Ghosh 1962-63: 9). A skeleton was found at the Gufkral site with human skull trepanning as mentioned in at least two studies (Chakrabarti 1999: 215; Bhat and Dubey 2019). Many pieces of evidence have been unearthed from the Tibetan plateau and they establish that human skull trepanning was a common traditional practice there. Since 1970, 31 specimens of trepanned human skulls were found from approximately 15 archaeological sites. These sites are located in different provinces such as Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu, Shaanxi, Henan, Shandong, and Heilongjiang. According to the records, the earliest trepanned skull (dated 5000 BP) was found at a Neolithic site in Fujia, in Guangrao County, Shandong province. In Xinjiang, the largest samples of trepanned human skulls were discovered from the Chawuhugou cemetery in Hejing County in tomb number 4, dated between 3000–2000 BP (Kangxin et al. 2007). Hence, based on the archeological findings, we can assume that the idea of human skull trepanning must have been transferred to Burzahom from the Tibetan plateau. Beside that, archaeologists found evidence of five wild dog's burial at the Burzahom site (Ghosh 1962-63: 10). Dog burial was not a common phenomenon during the Neolithic Period in the Subcontinent. However, this practice was very common and significant at Neolithic sites of the Tibetan plateau (Shuo 2011: 21-25).

There is also other evidence that supports the idea of the prevailing connection between Kashmir and Tibet. A jade bead found from the Kashmir Valley is one such piece of evidence as it was also found not only at the Qugong and Karou sites but also at many other Neolithic sites in Tibet; thus, strengthening the idea that the jade bead found from Kashmir could have traveled from Tibet (Shuo 2011, Tang 2014: 18-22).

Crop

Food is the basic necessity of life and can be considered the most important aspect of early trade. Therefore, it is critical to understand and study the type of crops being cultivated in different areas to establish any form of interaction.

In Burzahom, the crop remains from the period I gave the evidence of wheat, with the presence of a small quantity of barley, pulses, and lentil, as well as fruits including walnut, apricot, and peach. In period II,

the composition was much similar to period I, but with the addition of almonds and grapes. In the Megalithic period it is observed that the percentage of wheat was diminished after the introduction of rice. Pea and plum are also evident during this period (Betts et al., 2019: 20). In the Gufkral period IA six-row barley, wheat, brown lentil, pea were recovered (3130±100 BP) (Sharma 1982-83: 40), In period IB all the grains sustained (3980±120 BP - 2790±110 BP) (Sharma 1982-83: 40). In period IC all the grains of Period IA and IB continued with the introduction of rice in the final stage of Period IC (3579±100 BP - 2790±110 BP) (Sharma 1982-83: 40). The earliest millets in Tibet were found at the site of Karuo dated between ca. 2800 and 2100 BCE and wheat were introduced in ca. 1500 BCE (Tang et al. 2020: 3, Gao et al. 2021: 1-10). From Qugong site the traces of necked barley, hulled barley, foxtail millet, broomcorn millet, wheat, and bitter buckwheat were excavated (Fu 2001:66-74).

The changguogou sites (ca. 1742-1236 BCE) in central Tibet 80 km from Qugong site (Fig. 2) shared the same Qugong culture features with smooth pottery, grinding stones, and microlithic. At Changguogou more than 3000 naked barley, four wheat, foxtail millet, barley, pea, and oat were recovered after archaeobotanical data (Tang et al. 2021). It is also suggested that in central Tibet at least in the middle of the 4th millennium BP millet derived from east Asia and wheat from west Asia (Gao et al., 2021: 2). There is another site at Bangga (Fig. 2), where the presence of barley was relatively higher and most of the barley grains were collected from the activity area near the fireplace, which helps to suggest that the barley was frequently consumed at the site (Tang et al. 2020). The remains of crop evidences from Khog Gzung and Bangtangbu sites lies in the middle Yarlung Zangbo River (Fig. 2) and were contemporary with Qugong culture dated 3343-3161 cal. BP and 3213-3066 cal. BP. In these two sites only barley remains have been reported (Gao et al. 2020: 5). At 10 km from Bangga, the site Bangtangbu (Fig. 2), existed, during (ca. 1263-1056 BCE), a large amount of carbonized wood, lithic, ceramic sherds, and animal bones were evidence of the occupation. Their archaeobotanical research shows the presence of naked barley, wheat grains, and broomcorn millet (Tang et al. 2021). The archaeobotanical data from Kuoxiang site (ca. 1393-1052 BCE) suggested the existence of naked barley grains. Whereas, the archaeobotanical research from western Tibet, which is near Kashmir, illustrated a more diverse farming system.

The Karedong site (Fig. 2), (ca. 220-334 and 694-880 CE) show recovery of barley grains, wheat, buckwheat, and rice (Tang et al. 2021).

Scholars suggested that Changguogou site lies at the junction near the middle reaches of the Yarlung Zangbo River, where millet from the east and wheat farming from the west were combined (Gao et al. 2020: 1-10). If one were to consider the aforementioned pieces of evidence, it was always difficult to rule out the possibility of long-distance trade between these sites. However, the discovery of a Mongolian skeleton of a 50-year old male from Kashmir supported the idea of the existence of such long-distance interactions (Shuo 2011:23-25). All the above-narrated facts of crop commonality identified in the compared sites, clearly indicate the fact that there existed an interaction of different cultures.

4. Conclusions

This research paper shares numerous pieces of evidence that instigate and contribute towards the idea that inhabitants of Burzahom and Gufkral in Kashmir had some cultural connection with the sites of Karuo and Qugong on the Tibetan plateau. This research stretches back to the era of social interactions in terms of cultural and religious practices from the Prehistoric period to the 5th millennium BP. The exchange of technology or ideas is presented through affinity in dwelling pits, commonalities in pottery designs, usage of polished and sharped stones and bone implements, as well as similarities in their religious beliefs. The presence of harvest stones and millet dispersal in Kashmir likely suggested a similar agricultural tradition. The areas which are near Kashmir were diversified in crop cultivation. Changguogou site, which lies in the middle reaches of the Yarlung Zangbo River, points to a convergence of millet farming from the East, and the West indicates the farming of wheat. The crop dispersal is probably an indication of the movement of people through the Himalayas, which might have played an important role in the development of a distinctive cultural complex within Kashmir, Pakistan, China, and Central Asia.

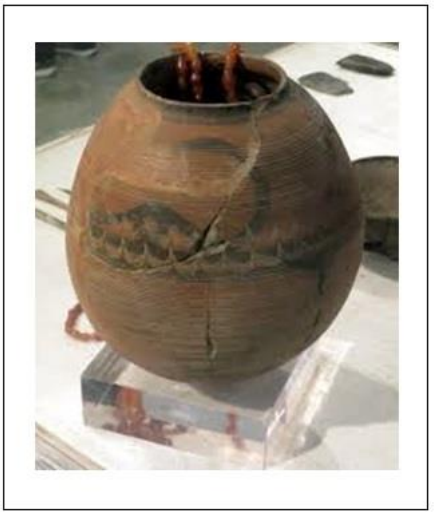

Fig. 1 - Burzahom horn vessel portraying an influence of KotDiji.

Source:
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burzahom_archaeological_site#/media/File:Horned_figure_on_pottery._Pr%C3%A9-Indus_civilization._Kashmir.jpg (accessed 15th April 2020).

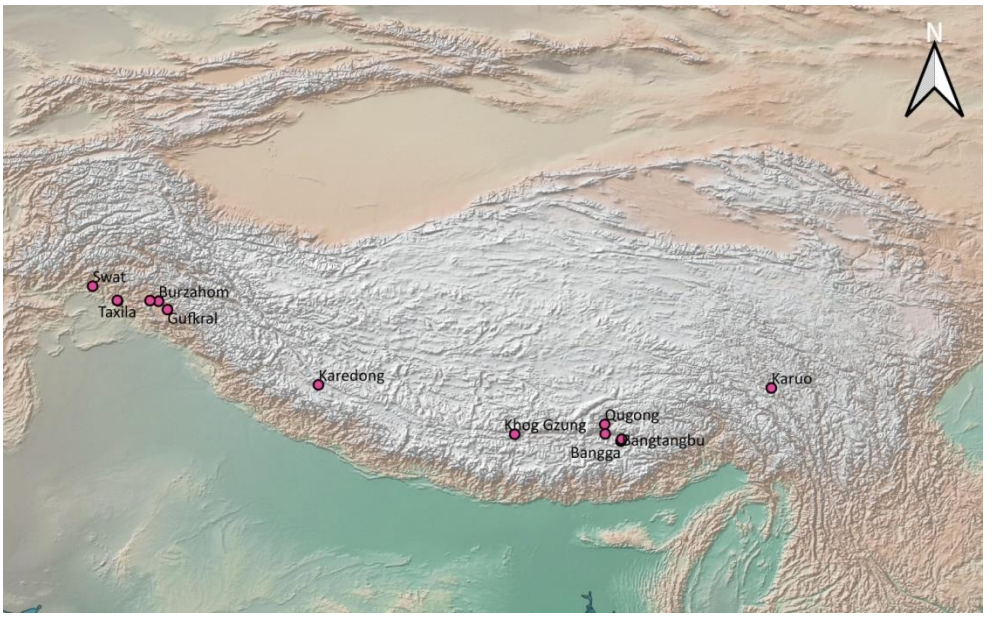

Fig. 2 - Map of Studied Area Indicating Major Prehistoric Neolithic sites.

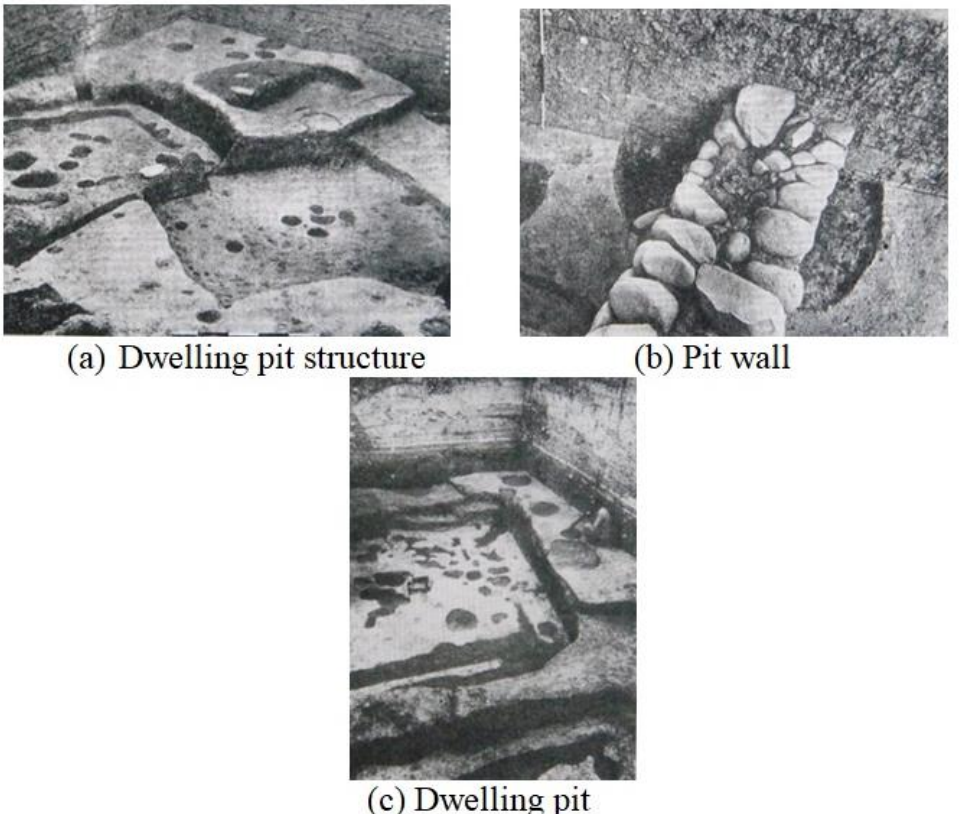

Fig. 3 - Dwelling Pits from Burzahom site.

Source:

Ghosh, A. 1964 Indian Archaeology 1961-62, A Review. Archaeological Survey of India, New Dehli.
Lal, B.B. 1971 Indian Archaeology 1968-69, A Review. Archaeological Survey of India, New Dehli: 10.

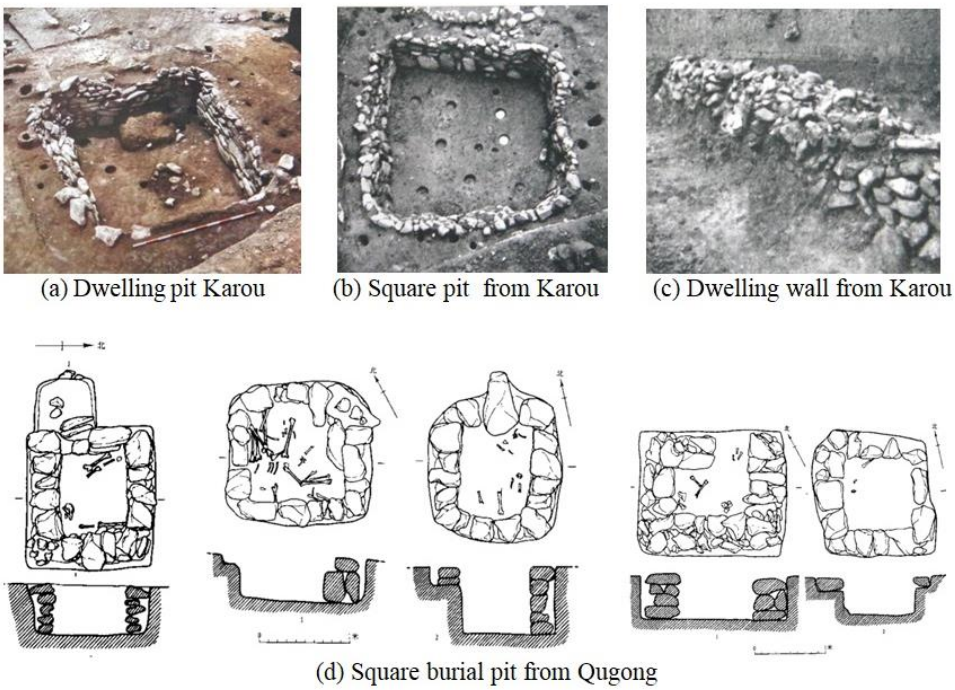

Fig. 4 - Dwelling pits from Karou site and Qugong burial pits.

Source:
The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region. 1999 *Qugong in Lhasa Excavations of an Ancient Site and Tombs. Beijing*, China: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House.
Tibet Autonomous Region Department of History, Sichuan University, Cultural Relics, publishing House Beijing. 1985 KAROU: A NEOLITHIC SITE IN TIBET (with an English Abstract)

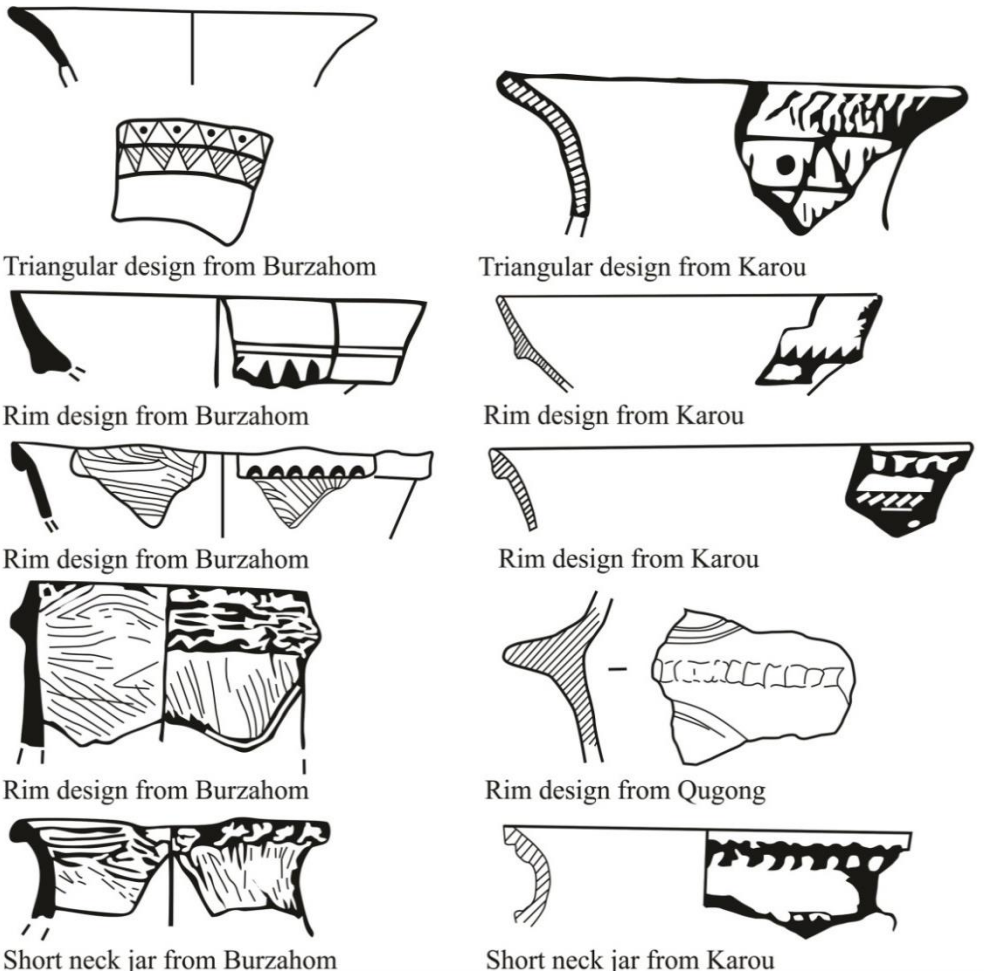

Fig. 5 - Images of Pottery unearthed from Burzahom, Karou, and Qugong site.

Source:

Ghosh, A. 1964 Indian Archaeology 1961-62, A Review. Archaeological Survey of India, New Dehli.

The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region. 1999 *Qugong in Lhasa Excavations of an Ancient Site and Tombs. Beijing*, China: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House.

Tibet Autonomous Region Department of History, Sichuan University, Cultural Relics, publishing House Beijing. 1985 Karou: A Neolithic Site in Tibet (with an English Abstract)

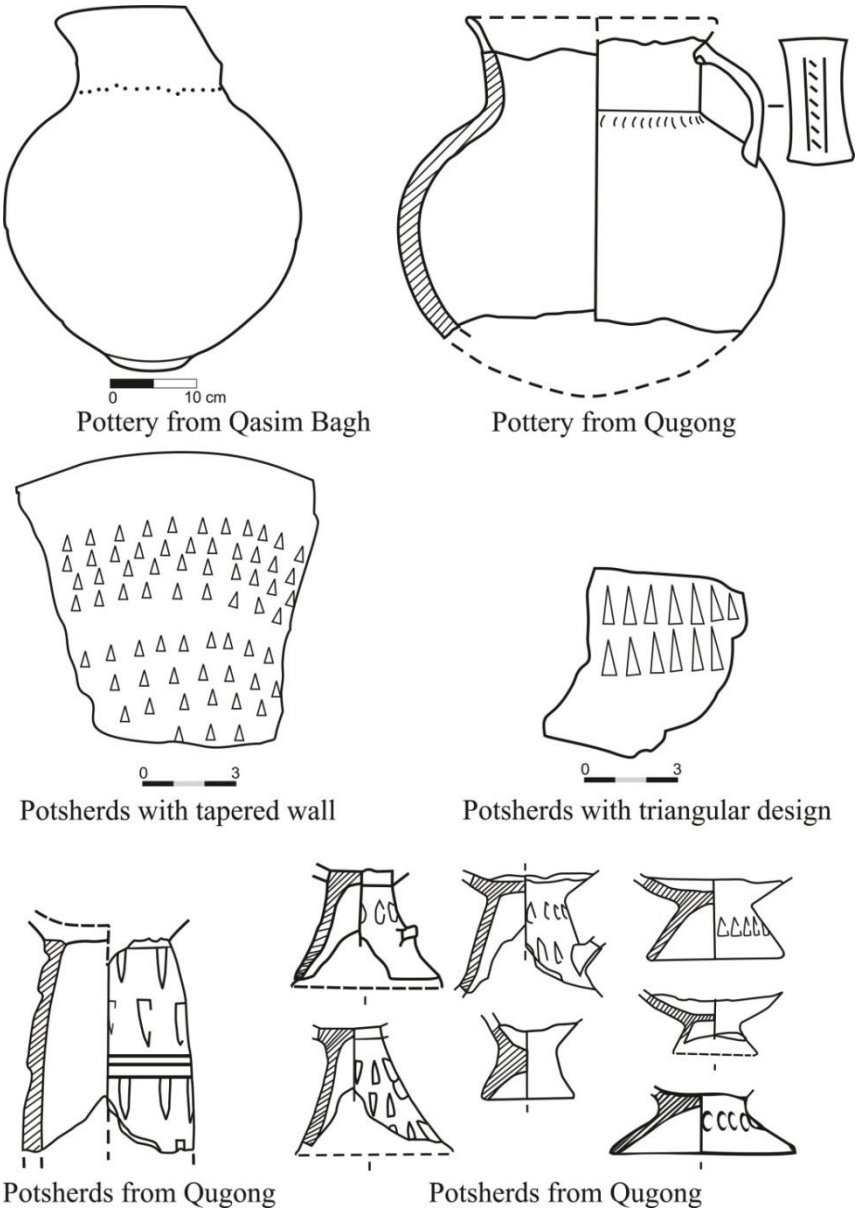

Fig. 6 - Illustrations and images Pottery excavated from Qasim Bagh and Qugong site.

Source:

A. Betts, et al. 2019 The Northern Neolithic of the Western Himalayas: New research in the Kashmir Valley. *Archaeological research in Asia.* https://www.researchgate.net/publication/331722729 (accessed 24th March 2020).

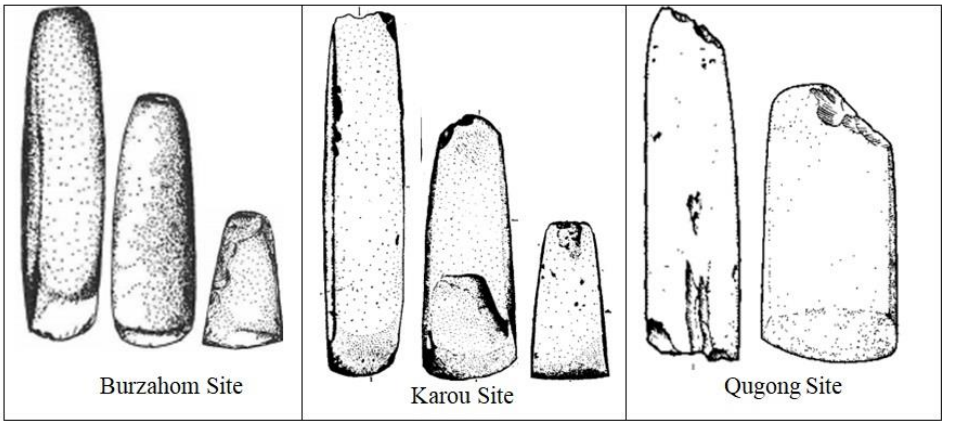

Fig. 7 - Illustrations of Stone axes and Chisels excavated from Burzahom, Karou, and Qugong sites.

Source:

Ghosh, A. 1964 Indian Archaeology 1961-62, A Review. Archaeological Survey of India, New Dehli.
The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region. 1999 *Qugong in Lhasa Excavations of an Ancient Site and Tombs. Beijing*, China: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House.
Tibet Autonomous Region Department of History, Sichuan University, Cultural Relics, publishing House Beijing. 1985 Karou: A Neolithic Site in Tibet (with an English Abstract)

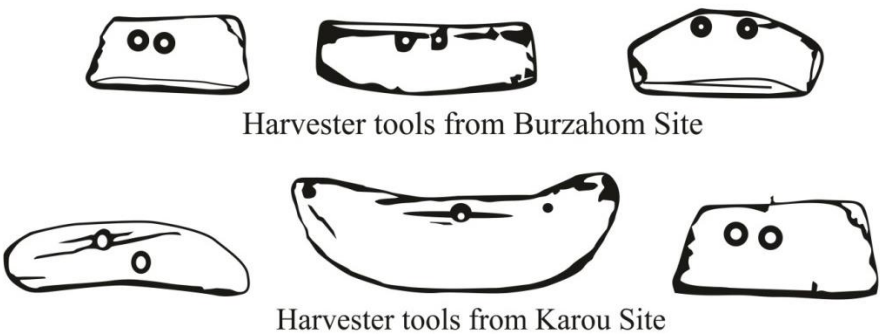

Fig. 8 - Illustrations of Harvester tools unearthed from Burzahom and Karou site.

Source:

Ghosh, A. 1964 Indian Archaeology 1961-62, A Review. Archaeological Survey of India, New Dehli.
The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region. 1999 *Qugong in Lhasa Excavations of an Ancient Site and Tombs. Beijing*, China: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House.
Tibet Autonomous Region Department of History, Sichuan University, Cultural Relics, publishing House Beijing. 1985 Karou: A Neolithic Site in Tibet (with an English Abstract)

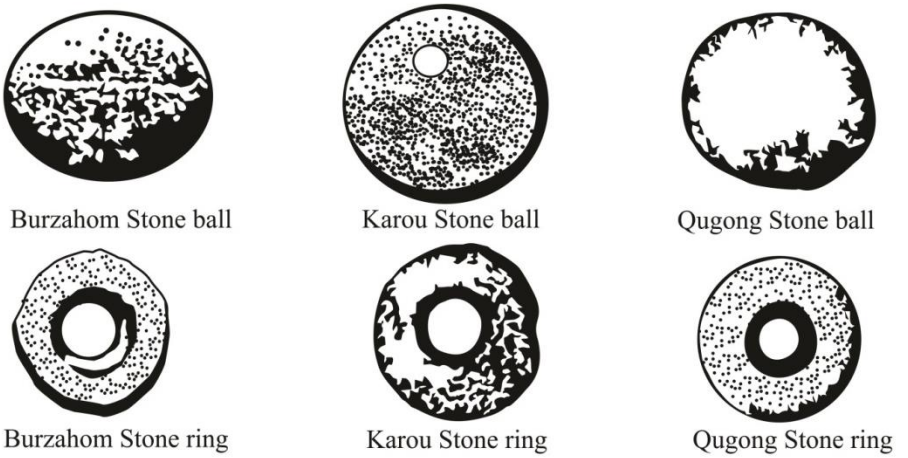

Fig. 9 - Illustrations of a variety of Stone balls and Stone rings excavated from Burzahom, Karou, and Qugong site.

Source:

Ghosh, A. 1964 Indian Archaeology 1961-62, A Review. Archaeological Survey of India, New Dehli.

The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region. 1999 *Qugong in Lhasa Excavations of an Ancient Site and Tombs. Beijing*, China: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House.

Tibet Autonomous Region Department of History, Sichuan University, Cultural Relics, publishing House Beijing. 1985 Karou: A Neolithic Site in Tibet (with an English Abstract)

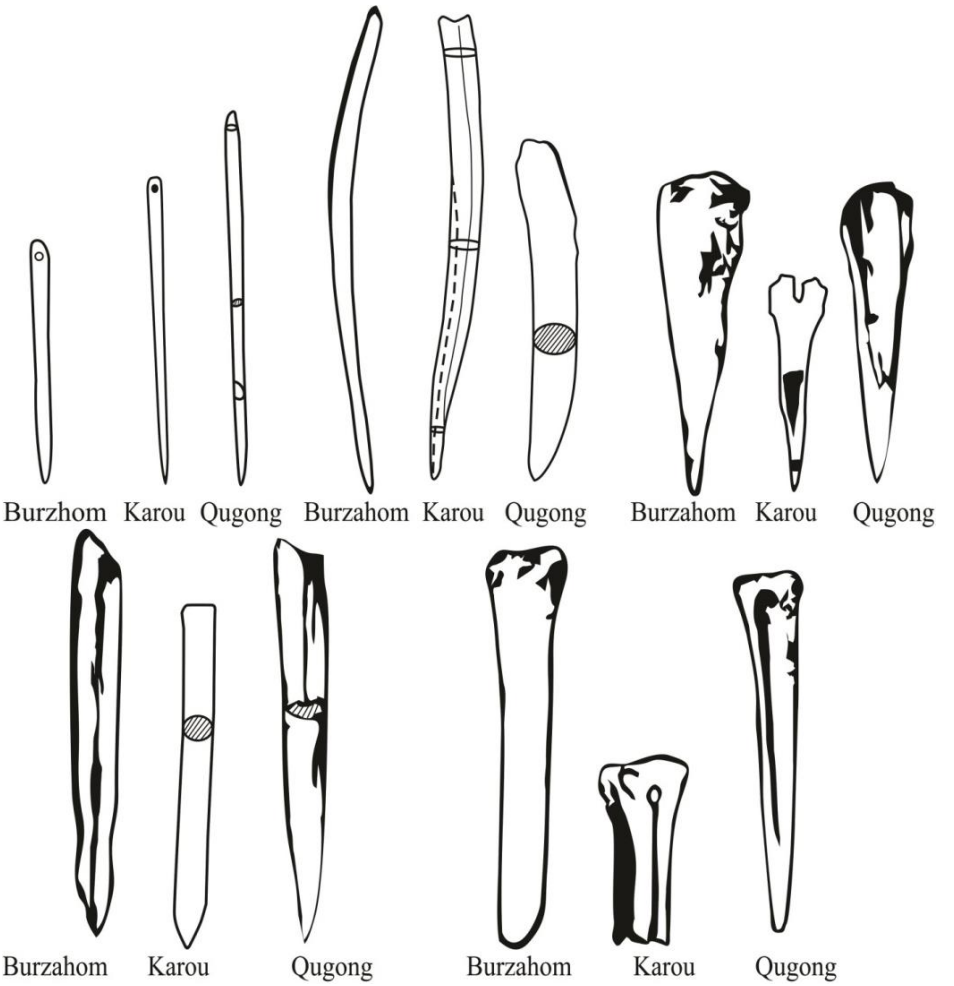

Fig. 10 - Illustrations of a variety of Bone tools unearthed from Burzahom, Karou, and Qugong site.

Source:

Ghosh, A. 1964 Indian Archaeology 1961-62, A Review. Archaeological Survey of India, New Dehli
The Institute of Archaeology, Chinese Academy of Social sciences and The Bureau of Cultural Relics, Tibet Autonomous Region. 1999 *Qugong in Lhasa Excavations of an Ancient Site and Tombs. Beijing*, China: The Encyclopedia of China Publishing House.
Tibet Autonomous Region Department of History, Sichuan University, Cultural Relics, publishing House Beijing. 1985 KAROU: A NEOLITHIC SITE IN TIBET (with an English Abstract)

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People's Behavior and Belief System about the Oblation Rituals at the Shrine of Shah Daulah in Gujrat, Pakistan

Syed Imran Haider / Sarfraz Khan / Azhar Waqar

Abstract

The current study aims to understand the motivations behind the devotees' visits and oblation rituals at the shrine of Shah Daulah in Gujrat Pakistan. Social construction theory has been employed to assess the knowledge, behavior and practices of people towards the oblation ritual. A qualitative research approach was applied to collected data with the use of purposive sampling technique to approach the relevant respondents. The target audience for the study was the people who visited the shrine and offered oblation rituals. The sample size comprises of 20 people including males and females. The study found that the socio-cognitive patterns play a vital role in the construction of the knowledge about the rituals concerning shrines. Hence, the visitors of the shrine learn the rituals related to shrine from their family, religion, literature and overall society. This construction strengthens their belief system and the other way around.

Keywords: Oblation, Beliefs, Sufi Shrine, Shah Daulah, Gujrat, Pakistan

1. Introduction

Shrines have a greater importance in shaping the religious, spiritual and cultural patterns of Pakistani society (Khan and Kalhoro, 2016). People hold in hight esteem and the reverence towards shrines located across the country. Various shrines are visited with great veneration by the visitors and which donate money, perform oblation rituals, provide food (*Qangar*) and spend their time in cleaning and supporting other visitors as well (Amin, 2013). The shrine of Shah Daulah is famous for oblation rituals and the *rat* people (Patch, 1928:297). The real and full name of Shah Daulah is the Hazarat Kabir-Ud-Din Shah Daulah Daryai. Shah Daulah associated himself with the spiritual and religious education in the early days of his life (Miles, 1996). Shah Daulah spent his whole life on a mystical path by serving and enlightening the native people. He died in Gujrat in 1085 Hijri (1674 AD) and was buried there as well (Miles,1996).

People have great reverence for him and thousands of devotees from various parts of the country regularly visit his shrine. There are many peculiar and wonderful beliefs which are attached with the shrine of Shah

Daulah (Ewens, 1903:330). Visiting shrines in many societies particularly in religiously proactive societies is an essential part of the life of individuals as they are socialized to do so. The devotees pay visits to the shrines in a bid to seek psychological resilience and relief from the ongoing life challenges caused by desires and deprivations (Farooq and Kayani, 2012:335).

Fig. 1 - Shrine of Hazrat Shah Daula, Gujrat—Pakistan (Photo by Author).

People strongly believe that if they perform peculiar practices at the shrine, in return they will get an instant cure for their problems. These practices may include oblations in many forms, including the bequest of anotomical ex-votos and idols to the shrine. They are convinced that such practices would benefit them for the treatment of ailments and physical disfunctions. They also believe that if they pray (*dua*) for the birth of a child on this shrine their wishes would also be accomplished. Therefore, it is of great interest to explore how behavioral patterns and belief systems centered on giving at shrines were developed in the context of the construction of knowledge, learning and realities. This study also seeks to identify the responsible components of the society which shape the belief system of the visitors of the shrine.

2. Statement of the Problem

The shrine of Shah Daulah is quite famous not only in the city of Gujrat, indeed, people from several other places also regularly visit and perform various rituals at the shrine. People associate many myths with the shrine of Shah Daulah and such myths continuously influence their behavior and belief system. The most prominent belief of the people towards the shrine of Shah Daulah is the performing of oblations (*charawa*) ritual for specific problems and diseases. Pakistani society is in a transitional phase. Since the modern knowledge and culture are replacing the traditional and long established norms and belief system. However, the devotees of this particular shrine are stuck-up with the old tradition and hence believe in the spiritual support provided to them by the Shah Daulah. They regularly visit this shrine and perform the specific rituals for the fulfillment of their desired needs and make afresh vows. The mechanism of constructing such knowledge is quite complex and it needs to be identified and investigated to trace out the development of the belief system of thoes people. This study contributes theoretically and practically to the existing body of literature about qualitative understanding of the process of construction of knowledge and social realities at the shrine under study.

3. The Reverence of Sufi Shrines

The shrine is considered as a very holy place since devotees strongly believe that spirituals leaders resting in shrines play a mediating role between the public and the divine forces. The visitation of these shrines is quite common in almost every culture and religion, including Islam. Especially when people feel and think that they are helpless and need some spiritual support from someone close to God for getting their voices heard (Tyson,1997:15), the reverence and devotion of the visitors towards the shrines become even more significant. This form of devotion is considered as a solid link between God, men and needs. The shrines of holy saints have been historically serving as a spiritual and welfare institution, and are sometimes in same complex with other institutions such as mosques and madrassas (Strothmann, 2013). The visitors develop a sacred relationship with the saints through obedience and submission before the shrine, and by serving and helping other visitors (Kurin,1983).

A larger number of people from the Pakistani society believe that the true saints are buried in the shrines and even after their death they are serving the humanity (Rozehnal, 2006). The shrines in Pakistan have become very normal and common places for travelers and visitors which consider the specific rituals worthy and necessary for the purification of the hearts and soul (Platteau, 2011). The present relationship between the seeker and the shrine is not a new one, rather it has its roots in Medieval Islam and with the time this culture became an essential part of Muslim societies (Sabra, 2013). Different kind of practices are attached rather these shrines throughout the world such as in Pakistan, India, Iraq, Iran, Syria etc. The shrines have become great religious and spiritual centers where visited on regular basis and sharing misfortunes, pray, and seek, relief (Choudhary, 2010).

Although shrines have great religious importance, with the passage of time, shrines have turned into a magnificent source of social and political powers as well (Khan and Sajid, 2011). Nevertheless, a large number of people pay regular visits on weekly, monthly, quarterly or annually basis to perform peculiar rituals to seek the peace of mind and remedy to their spiritual and physical ailments (Pirani, 2008:86). The visiting of the sacred places and the preformance of oblation rituals at the shrine have traditionally been considered as a gracious and dignified act (Frembge, 2012).

The research on understanding the behavioral pattern with respect to the construction of knowledge and belief system about shrines is quite limited particularly in Pakistani perspective. Various studies have been conducted in both the quantitative and qualitative modes but most of them excluded the epistemological dimension of developing the knowledge, behavior and belief of the individuals regarding the shrines. This study aims to see the epistemological dimension of the individuals or the social actors in order to highlight how they learn to practice oblations and develop the belief system centered on the shrine of Shah Daulah.

4. Theoretical Framework

The socio-cognitive patterns play a vital role in shaping the perceptions, narratives, actions and the social behavior of the people. Therefore, the social constructivism (SC) was found to be the most relevant and appropriate approach which explains the behavioral patterns of the people

in extensive way. SC focuses on the non-material or ideational factors which effectively motivate the individuals towards the particular goals and objectives. Social construction theory believes that the reality is socially constructed in a social or cultural context. People by interacting with each other develop the perceptions of reality and construct the peculiar knowledge about the specific phenomena (Berger and Berger, 2003:13-21).

Hence, all the social realities, myths and stereotypes are constructed by the culture or the various agents of the society. The society plays a vital role in the process of socialization of the individuals. Individuals or the social actors learn step-by-step a composite culture including the social realities, myths and belief system and, later on, act accordingly (Berger and Luckmann, 1991). The visitors of the shrines with specific beliefs also learn and develop their beliefs from the prevailing culture. So, people visit the Shrine of Shah Daulah because the native culture believes, promotes and accepts the peculiar behavior toward this shrine.

The devotees had a strong faith in the ritual of oblation (*charawa*) which they acquired from the very society in which they live in. By performing such oblation related rituals they believe that their ailments shall be cured, they may be able to shatter miseries, the desire of having child could be fulfilled, the dysfunction of a body organ/part would be remedied, and so on. Such expectations are being fixed to the shrines through a systematic learning process in which individual actors, peers, and families are equally important in making the other people to fix their beliefs on the shrines and thus consequently the individuals also start performing the rituals peculiar to the shrines in a bid to get their personal fulfilled.

Similarly, various kind of beliefs have been constructed about the shrine of Shah Daulah by the local culture, agents of socialization and the literature, etc. If someone comes across any problem in his or her body, he/ she visits the shrine and buys a peculiar silver-made part of body and offers it as an oblation placing it in a specific box located at the shrine. The study proposes a conceptual framework that has been derived after careful and critical review of the existing literature on socialization and construction of the norms, values, social realities in relation to the shrine of Shah Daulah.

The framework presented in figure 2 determines the direction of this research. This framework endeavors to comprehend the multi-layer construction of the social reality with respect to the oblation rituals at the Shrine of Shah Daulah in Gujrat.

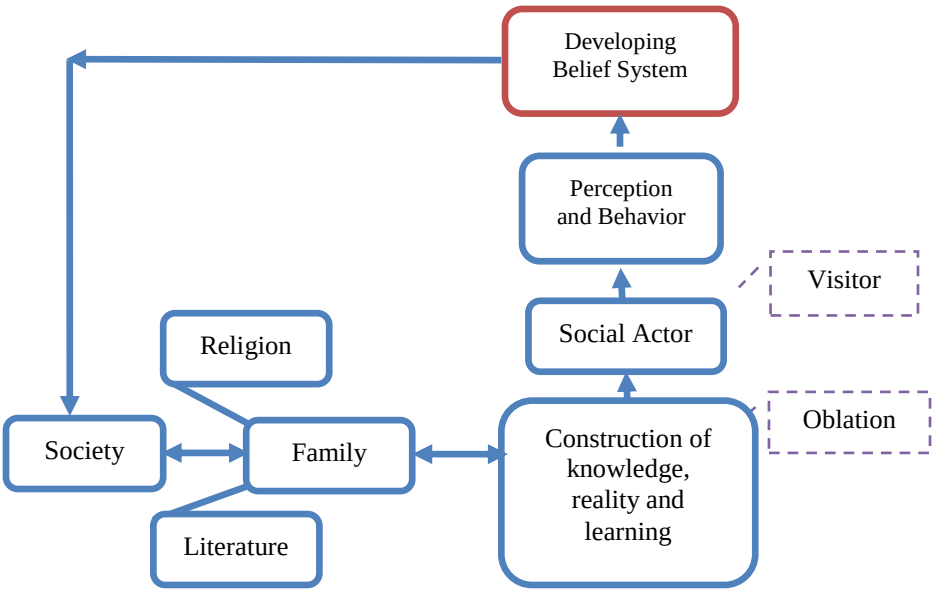

Fig. 2 - Social Construction of the Behaviors and Belief System about Shrines.

Without any doubt, the family plays a vital role in socialization and construction of the knowledge and social reality (like making of vow-*Mannat* and oblation ritual-*charawa*). However, the social reality has been constructed at various levels and the religion is another important institution in this regard. The religious beliefs have been developed, interpreted and promoted among the social actors (visitors). Social actors learn such behavior from the existing behavioral patterns and also practice their learning by visiting and endorsing that social reality. They play their role in further construction and dissemination of the social reality of making of vows and performance of oblation rituals. The continuity of this process at dogmatic and pragmatic level leads to the belief system. The belief system about the significance of the vow and oblation prevails and integrates into the multiple layers of society.

Fig. 3 - The inside view of the shrine (Photo by Author).

In the past people believed that infertile women which had a baby after having a vow (*mannat*) on the shrine, would given her new born baby to the shrine as oblation (*charawa*). This idea was also socially constructed. Now this perception, especially of the women, is changing and people do not value and consider the vow of oblation (*charawa*) of their first baby to the shrine. Now adays the use of idols have prevailed and mostly people use idols as oblation for any kind of problem. Thus, it is crucial to comprehend the process of the construction of such kind of knowledge; social realities are quite complex and must be understood by unfolding the multiple layers of the society. Specifically, traditionally a number of stories are available in literature and are transmitted through oral narration with the support of religious literature to educate and convince youngsters and new visitors.

5. Methodology

For the current study we used qualitative approach for the generation of the knowledge, description and explanation of the collected data. The

study gives an in-depth understanding and comprehensive underpinning about the belief system of the visitors of the shrine. The study was conducted at the shrine of Shah Daulah located at Gujrat city by following the technique of the purposive sampling for the selection of the respondents. This proved to be a quite suitable technique which directly helped in identifying the appropriate audiences and to collect the relevant data around the perceptions and belief system of the visitors of the shrine. The sample size of the study includes 20 people who visited the shrine for performance of oblation rituals. Therefore, the visiting devotees were the targeted audience in this study. The data was collected at primary level by using two approaches: interview and non-participatory observations.

Interview guide was designed to record and collect the perceptions, opinions, experience of the devotees about the shrine. All of the questions were open ended and less regulated except the demographic details of the respondents. Multiple questions were devised to assess the rational and belief systems of the visitors. For instance, why do they visit to the shrine and who convinced or inspired them to do so? Moreover, what is the purpose of the making of vows and performance of oblation rituals at the shrine? Similarly, the kind of vows and relation with the belief system were also investigated in order to get an extensive understanding about their rationale.

The interviews were conducted through face-to-face approach with the visiting devotees around the targeted issue. Since the nature of the issue is quite subjective, during the field work, the obtrusive and unobtrusive observations, interpretative approach and other techniques were undertaken by the researcher to gather the data and to validate the information collected through in-depth interviews. The ritual of oblation had been observed and recorded in the natural setting. Field notes were taken and they helped a lot in defining the meanings of these peculiar practices.

The ethical standards were also followed throughout the research process. The confidentiality was ensured to the participants and the audio data was recorded with the permission of the participants, though some participants did not allowed the audio recording and the dignity and wellbeing of the participants has been maintained all the time. Questions related to personal identity were not asked and any data related to personal identity of cases was separated at the time of analysis.

The data are qualitative in nature so they were analyzed on the basis of themes developed through the major findings. The multiple themes were developed and the responses were solicited from the respondents.

6. Results and Discussion

Under the objective of the study, the knowledge, behaviors and belief system of the people towards the shrine of Shah Daulah have been explored in detail. The gathered information from these interviewees gives an insight into the issue and help in understanding the process of the construction of new norms, knowledge, values and social realities, around the prevailing culture at the shrine.

Syed Kabir-Ud-Din Alias Shah Daulah Daryai was born during the rule of Bahadur Shah Zafar in Sialkot. But he lost his parents in his early childhood and migrated to the nearest city Gujrat where he stayed and preached for the rest of his life. The picture of the Shah Daulah is available at the Lahore Museum where they kept it as part of mystic history. One of the most prominent identity of this shrine is the association of micro-cephalic babies (locally known *Chuas*-mice) with it. Exactly when and how the *chuas* first became associated with the shrine is now impossible to know. The earliest shrine records do not mention about the *chuas*. Locally it is also famous and some people believe that *chuas* were born with a *panja* marked on the forehead. It means a five fingered hand which associates them to the saint.

There was an attempt to find whether any artificial deformation is privately practiced in the shrine. On the other hand, microcephaly as a natural occurrence is certainly found worldwide. In fact, there is no scientific evidence that microcephaly can be produced by deliberate cranial deformation. It is very unlikely that it could actually be done without fatal damage to the growing brain. According to Patch (1928) the evidence for such forceful and artificial deformation against this shrine is weak. The shrine is not in some very remote and far flung place beyond reach of the state authorities. The shrine is at one edge of a city of some significance. Through much of the 19th century there were official visits, studies and enquiries about the shrine, yet as Patch (1928) remarked, "During the eighty years of British administration not a single charge of such malpraxis has been brought against the priests at the shrine of Shah Daulah."

Fig. 4 - Shops selling floral sheets, silver-idols, flowers and sweets outside the shrine (Photo by Author).

The study reveals that there are multiple factors such as family, peer group, religion, literature and overall cultural values that influence the belief system of the people about shrines and the rituals associated to these shrines. All the respondents were interviewed at the shrine and most of them were belonging to the rural settings except five respondents. The respondents had varying economic and social backgrounds with majority of them were having no education or lower levels. Only two respondents had qualification up to matriculation level.

One of the respondents was a medical professional. The incomes of the respondents were also varying as most of them consider themselves as from the lower-middle strata of population with not having sustained incomes. This shows that the majority of shrine visitors and followers belong to the lower socioeconomic strata. But on the other hand in overall population, the lower socioeconomic strata is the larger one. When tried to dugout about this, it was found that people with low education levels and weak economic backgrounds often believe more strongly in ritualistic myths. When people do not have rational understanding of their issues, the often follow the traditional understandings and beliefs blindly.

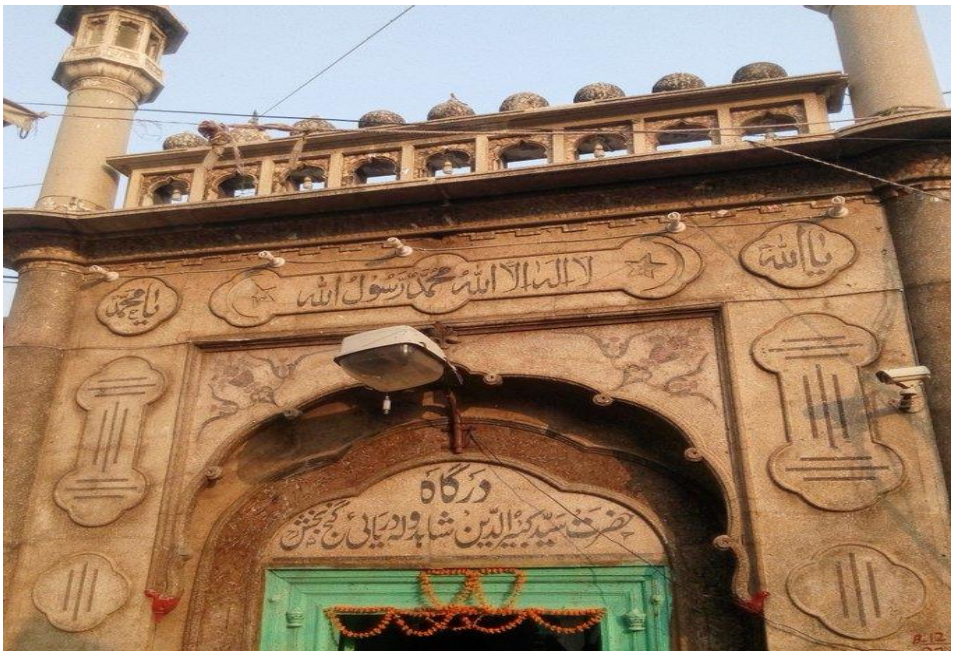

Fig. 5 - Entrance gate of the shrine (Photo by Author).

The study reveals that the majority of the respondents believes that rituals performed at the shrine really work for them. They are convinced that such rituals are beneficial for the treatment of unwanted pimples, paralysis (physical dis-functions) and to pray for the birth of their first child. Many success stories and case studies were famous amongst them. Furthermore, it was shared by the respondents that they developed their learning about the spiritual guidance of the shrine from their peers and families. They not only started to visit this shrine but influenced others to do so as they find it beneficial to them in most of the times whenever they came across miseries or had a bad health. In the same way people spread to others their knowledge about the worship of shrines. This is the situation when social construction theory comes into the act. One of the respondents shared his views about this very practice of oblation and fixation of beliefs to the shrine in the following way:

> *"My brother got a big pimple on his neck and he purchased a silver dot-which was easily available in the idol shop near the complex of Shah Daula shrine. He put this silver dot-idol in the*

> *box placed in the compound of the shrine. After few days his big pimple started diminishing from the neck. This further strengthened our faith in the spiritual abilities of shrine."*

They fimly believe that using the silver idol as an oblation cured the paralyzed people, however one of the respondents shared that it is not necessary true for all cases. It was observed that well-educated visitors do not spend more time at shrine and they simply pray and then leave. Many forms of gifts have been offered at the shrine such as cash donations, idols, animals and food offerings. However, the most common type of gifts were the cash offerings and the use of idols as an oblation. One of the respondents shared that:

> *"I do not give cash, rather I usually sit in the compound of the shrine and usually clean the surrounding of the tomb of Sufi with a broom. I find relief whenever I do such acts. That's why I preach my family and friends that they shall visit this mystic place and sit for a while to get relieved."*

Not all visitors give donations to the shrines some of them just come and spend their time at the shrine. Other pay visits to consume the *langar*-as the wealthy devotees distribute free food on the regular basis but more particularly on Thursdays and Fridays. Some of the visitors also come as an entertainment as, in most of the cases, they come and see other people performing rituals at the shrines. Some people just come to stare at the female visitors at it is very common practice in Pakistan.

So, shrines are the spaces used by different people for different purposes. Those visitors who can afford it give donations, perform the oblation rituals and some of them spread floral sheets on the tombs. A very interesting finding in this regard was the lack of recreational facilities and options in overall society. People do not have places to sit, relax and spend time. So, a number of persons saw the shrine as a place for social gathering and spending time on a place which is socially acceptable.

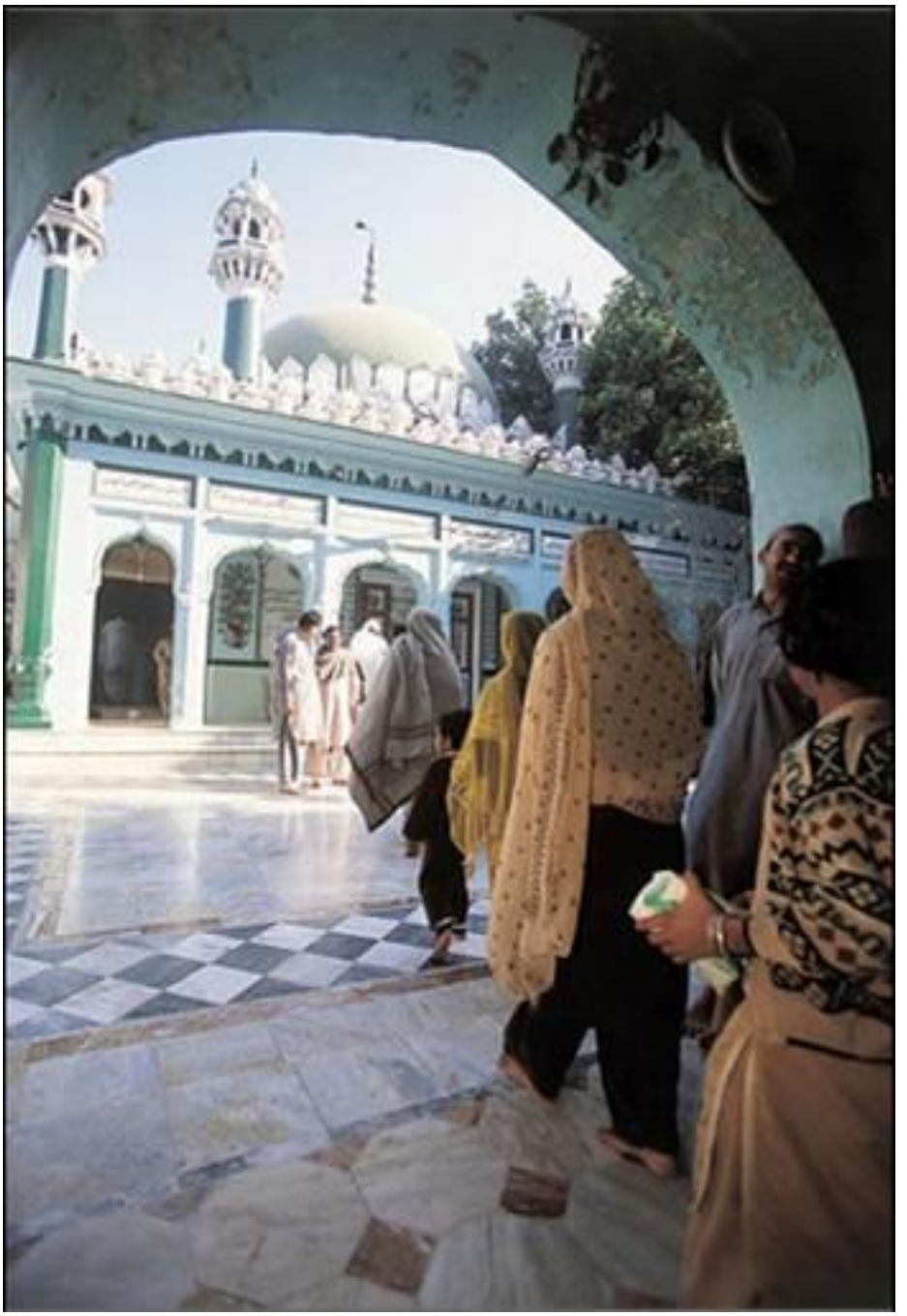

Fig. 6 - Devotees entering the compound of the shrine (Photo by Author).

The spiritual literature can widely be seen on the shops annexed to the shrine complexes throughout Pakistan and on these texts one can find stories of miracles are performed by the mystics. In the case of Shah Daulah, one can find so many miracles narrated in the literature that consequently make people believe in his spiritual abilities. So, this could be the one way through which the reverence could be multiplied. No one knows about the authenticity of such miracles as they are part of the oral narrations and people have been listening at first to these stories as word of mouth. The literature available at the shrines are usually written by the devotees and its purpose is not to objectively present history, the purpose rather to present the miracles of the mystics. They consider this transmission as a duty which will reward them in their life, on the other hand they can to spread facts as per their belief to the masses.

Commenting on a question about the reason why the shrine of Shah Daulah was preferred for oblation instead of other shrine in the area, that there are many native traditions that are associated with this particular shrine and, above all, their families and communities have been visiting this shrine since time immemorial. The cultural pattern at a larger as well as at local level encourage the social actors to perform the rituals at this particular shrine. This shows that traditional family practices have a very strong influence on individuals in constructing beliefs, performing rituals and, in general, carrying their lives.

One of the major expectations people reserve to the shrine of Shah Daulah is about the fulfilling the desire of having a child. It is believed that if you are infecund then you must visit this shrine to get a good news of a baby. In overall Pakistani society child birth is considered the most effective bond to strengthen the marital knot and a friendly relationship. Further to this, son preference is everywhere and giving birth to a baby boy elevates a woman's social position within family and community. Almost every woman wants to give birth to a baby boy because of the worth attached to a son in the strong patriarchal structure.

This situation provides an opportunity to such beliefs and social spaces to get social acceptance and a value. Many shrines and peers are visited by newlywed couples for this purpose. It was found during the study that people were having a strong faith but they narrate a weird norm of this gain from the mystic. They explain that those who get baby as a result of vows they made at this shrine in such a case they had to donate this very first baby to the shine. Those very babies have been attributed as

"rat-people" or Shah Daulah's *chuay*. Few respondents mentioned about such visits by the couples who don't conceive a baby. They visited shrine, prayed and made vows about having a child but the cost of such desires are so bitter. However, this trend has also been diminished with the time peculiarly after the strict check and balance maintained by the administration of the shrine.

The study revealed that the rat-people of Shah Daulah were no more available at the shrine and there was no association between the shrine and those famous rat people. A female respondent was of the view that:

> *"last year I suffered from a skin allergy and on the advice of my mother I vowed a silver made idol at the shrine. I started recovering after sometime and now regularly visit the shrine with my children and make vows about their prosperity."*

Few practices which are controversial in most of the sects of Islam like prostration (*sajda*) were also performed by many of the visiting devotees to show their reverence to the shrine. The motivations behind the specific rituals are quite multifaceted as the social or religious learned behaviours as well as the psychological factors play a vital role in this regard. The fear of the Allah has also been linked to the reverence to the shrine, at the same time people consider it a link between them and Allah. The common opinion of the visitors was that since their family and ancestors were attached to this shrine so they were keeping the same tradition alive.

7. Conclusions

Pakistani society is in a transitional phase where due to lack of access to education and awareness of facts still many traditional beliefs and rituals are strongly followed. Questions of rationality are still not welcomed by the broader society. Currently due to increased urbanization, migration and access of mass media, the modern knowledge and culture is replacing the traditional and long established norms and belief system. But the visitation to Sufi shrines, making of vows and performance of oblation rituals is still very common in most of the regions across Pakistan. The visiting devotees put a strong faith in such practices at time of ailment, misery or any socio-psychological distress they come across. These spiritual spaces provide them with an instant cure to the problems they

come across. The finding of the current study suggests that people in Gujrat, mostly of the lower economic strata, usually visit the shrine of Shah Daulah and perform number of rituals including, but not limited to, oblation of silver-made items, donation in the form of money, and *langer* distribution. Most of the visiting devotees had a strong faith that whenever they come across any misery they usually visit this shrine and made vows for the rescue.

The process of social construction is spreadable at macro and micro levels and different institutions, actors of the society disseminate the social realities, knowledge, learning and myths to each other. The behavior of the visiting devotees at the shrine appeared as the production of various kinds of interactions, perceptions, literature, religious teachings and experiences. Such behavior may lead to the stronger belief system or the other way around. The visitors further disseminate and construct knowledge on the basis of their belief system and disseminate it to their peers, children and society at large.

8. Recommendations

The study recommends that an appropriate environment should be created where the state may provide all the basic facilities to the visitors and on the other side an awareness campaign may also be launched at the shrine for prohibiting harmful practices.

The theoretical framework used in this study can be used as a comprehensive model to understand the beliefs and practices of the visitors at any shrine across the country. The visitors must be guided about specific dos and don'ts at the shrine. A strong mechanism of accountability should be implemented as visitors give huge cash and valuable offerings. The duty of Islamic scholars is above all and they should enlighten the people about the true spirit and philosophy of the teachings of the Sufi Saints. The relevant authorities should always play their role in maintaining and ensuring the discipline at the shrine. The original teachings and literature of the Shah Daulah must be made available for the visitors so that they could know the real philosophy of their teachings.

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Additional Notes and Items for Discussion

Notes on traditional South Asian ecology: the "village" and the "forest"

Chiara Contin

Abstract

These short notes offer an overview on the two physical and metaphysical dimensions that constitute the space perspective in the Hindu cultural ideology: the reality of kṣētra *and* vana. *The conception of these two realms encompasses a huge quantity of issues that intensively influence the Indian social sphere. This study regards the differences and analogies between* kṣētra *(the village) and* vana *(the forest). The dualism presented in this perception demonstrates in which way these contrasting spaces are connected and how they are meant to be in an eternal conflict. The separation is marked by the border's sign and the conflict is caused by the intrinsic nature of the two dimensions. The orderly features of the village and the chaotic property of the wild nature permeate the social dynamics of life. Considering the complexity of this space interpretation, the following observations will further analyze the topic with an interesting outlook on the Kondh folklore, through a reference to the* pālṭa bāgha *case. In addition, beyond the representative interference between* kṣētra *and* vana, *it is crucial to explore the modality through which the idyllic image of the village has been reflected on the Indian artistic production during the modern era.*

Keywords: space perspective, *kṣētra*, *vana*, dualism, conflict, *pālṭa bāgha*, artistic production.

1. Introduction

As introduced by A.M. Shah in his descriptive essay "Village", the Indian territorial network is known as an articulated land of villages. Data of the 2001 census of India report approximately 638.000 villages with a population of more than 741 million people. During the British Raj (1858 – 1947) the village population constituted as much as 90% of the total. Nowadays, this percentage is gradually decreasing, also because of the strong changes that the *village society* is progressively undergoing. The phenomenon of migration from the villages to the cities involves an important number of individuals, who find themselves readjusting their microcosm within the urban scenario. Migrant villagers frequently become part of the marginalized reality of the *slum*, which, somehow replaces the "urban village". [1]

[1] The following analysis is intimately related to the subject of the MA thematic seminar "Village (South Asia)" held in the academic year 2019/2020 (Prof. Luca Maria Olivieri) Ca' Foscari University of Venice. The decision about this study, complexity of the spatial dimension of the

The shape of the village is designed to house at its centre the most sacred and purest place: the temple. The central area is designed as the place where law and order regulate the relations among the entire society. Whoever ventures towards the boundaries of the village, starts a physical and metaphysical journey towards the dimension of the forest: the impure and unknown place *par excellence*. Hence, the consequent distancing from the central fulcrum causes relevant contamination: the strongest apprehension and anguish according to the Hindu Brahmanic ideology.[2] This cultural anxiety perfectly explains my first point, i.e. that the boundary's sign is essential to understand the symmetrical division between *kṣētra* and *vana*. Furthermore, as for the village conformation, every single borough (*ṭāṅka*) is inhabited by the same cast (better known as *jāti*). The highest and most noble casts occupy the pure heart of this emblematic space, the lower and impure ones occupy the marginal and suburban areas (Shah 2014: 1-2). My second point is that, in agreement with A.M. Shah, the spatial body of the village is closely linked to the social field. This relationship implies in absolute terms that the concept of hierarchy runs through the entire space in question. Every cast offers its complete collaboration in the economic and social activities of the village (ibid.: 2). My third point is that the unitary and mutually supportive character of the microcosm of the village is central to the understanding of the same exemplary model of caste-partnership praised by the Hindu ideological scheme.

2. *Kṣētra* and *vana*, the eternal struggle between *dharma* and *adharma*

The symbolic formula *kṣētra/vana* represents the *quaestio* of these notes. The symmetry between *kṣētra* and *vana* is reflected in the dyad *grāma*/*araṇya. Kṣētra* or *grāma* corresponds to the cultural and structural domain where the law blends

village, has been stimulated by the lessons attended during the MA's Seminar, in particular by the lecture hosted by Antonio Rigopoulos.

[2] Patrick Olivelle is a notable academic in the Indology's research field. He focuses on *Dharmasūtra* and *Dharmaśāstra*, the great juridical texts of the Indian Subcontinent, analyzing Hindu law and underlining the systematic obsession of "pure and impure" dominion. He asserts that the terms "pure" and "impure" present a concrete and tangible connotation, directly dependent on the circumstances; these two notions refer to the ongoing situation and contact which could contaminate the human being. Olivelle points out that, as the juridical code of *Dharmaśāstra* explains, these two dimensions are not related to the *varṇa* (caste) notion (better specified as *jāti*) because their structure is completely autonomous. Instead, the "pure and impure" dominion represents the concrete effect and the transitory element; this isn't a permanent reality, the dynamic feature is the essential aspect of its existence. *Varṇa* symbolizes the ontological background of the pure and impure condition. The most significant moment immediately after the corruption through contamination is undoubtedly the purity restoration that signifies a relevant human and social achievement. Patrick Olivelle in one of his specialized studies displays a meticulous lexical list that illustrates the complexity and the articulation of the several Sanskrit terms that indicate the pervasive definition of "pure" and "impure" (Olivelle 2011a).

with the concept of society; this is the microcosm of the old Ārya civilization and the cradle of the Vedic religion. The village symbolizes both the dimension of the most sophisticated virtue of mankind (the language) and the seat of the sacraments' (*saṃskāra*). The most important *saṃskāra* is undoubtedly the marriage (*vivāha*) and the marital union is the central aspect of the *civilitas*. In this context, the human being fulfills all his noble duties (including offering sacrifices) in the social dimension; furthermore, the village is the ideal place where the three special debts, which I will analyze in the following chapters, are remitted. *Grāma* is the supreme space of *dharma* that constitutes the typical organization and disposition of the *societas*, and it represents the complete security and purity that characterize the village community.

In opposition to that, we have the intriguing reality of *vana*. The latter is the place where the wild nature dominates: the obscure element that frightens the social being. The forest is the wild animals' (*mṛga*) habitat where all appears unknown to the human *conscientia*. It is the domain within which the dark side of *dharma*, *adharma*, takes root. In such a circumstance, therefore, disorder and chaos are unleashed (Olivelle 2011b).

The organized *dharma* constitutes the flawless dimension. On the other hand, to accept an *adharmic* circumstance can lead a man to seriously fail to comply with the social rules. Due to the implicated metaphysical connotations, that can create a real shock in the social order, *aranya* represents the living world of the ascetic, the opposite side of the civilian and structural model (ibid.). As for my perception, in the Hindu society, the ascetic figure represents, a rather hostile personality, given the impure environment in which he lives, or rather, goes to his death. After having successfully crowned his spiritual *mokṣa*, the ascetic soul flies away from the social duties and, he's considered to be equivalent to a dead person. He reaches the supreme stage of *saṃnyāsa*, and for this reason, a physical approach with the hermit—who is metaphorically dead—is equivalent to corrupted contamination. At the same time, the village community honors and respects the hermit, offering him meals doing his begging activities. Therefore, the anchorite symbolizes an ambivalent character.

In conclusion, an ascetic figure causes not only turmoil but also a fascinating admiration between people living in the social world. Between society and asceticism there is a recurrent metaphysical struggle that is equivalent to the dispute between *saṃsāra*[3] and *mokṣa*, where the former represents the civil values and culture, and the latter, the anti-cultural model, that

[3] *Saṃsāra* is a Sanskrit term that could be translated as "world". This definition is connected with the cycle of life, death and with the rebirth dimension: it is for this reason that the most known symbol for this unique concept is the wheel. The essential vehicle of the uninterrupted circular process is recognized in the *karman* (the action).

is the liberation of the soul and the freedom that characterize uniquely the primitive ascetic.

3. *Āśrama*, stages of life: the core of responsibilities and the route to the *fuga mundi*

The Hindu social model (known as casts system) relies on series of *lakṣaṇa*s (indicators) that define the features of the various *varṇa*. The main *lakṣaṇa* is endogamy, one of the fundamental prerogatives in the Hindu social sphere. Endogamy regulates the marital union between people of the same or compatible *jāti*. The marriage's sacrament (*vivāha*), which completes itself with the blessing of the progeny, reveals the highest virtue and the strongest obsession of the Hindu world. Unfulfilling the endogamic model is associated with the contemptible and abhorrent idea of the chaos that alters the traditional vertical organization of the casts. Non-compliance of this precept subverts the *kula* conception, the family unit: the basic component of the village community.

In Hindu theology, the stages of human living are defined under the term *āśrama*. They were probably conceived in the 5th century BCE. Our oldest evidences derive from the earliest *Dharmasūtra* texts. The comprehension of *āśrama* is essential to deeply understand the articulated social and human dispositions and the importance of the duties of the *kula*. Furthermore, this analysis is essential to understand the *fuga mundi* that characterizes the lasts breaths of human life. This system is composed of four "modes of life", which will later be replaced by the term "stages". This is the description of every "stage of life".

Brahmācarya: every *dvija*[4] male individual must, pass through the first stage called the "Brahmanic apprenticeship". During adolescence, the young male introduces himself to the Vedic studies at the Great Teacher's abode where he will spend twelve years of his life. In this period the student will be initiated to the traditional rituals and the *mantra*. Through the Vedic initiation, the youngster starts for the very first time his symbolic contact with the adult life's responsibilities, officially ending that period of the life in which carefreeness is the predominant characteristic: childhood.

[4] Literally "twice-born", it indicates the three highest casts in the Hindu social hierarchy (*brāhmaṇa*, *kṣatriya* and *vaiśya*). These three special groups are entitled to receive the rite of initiation called *Upanayana*, one of the main sacraments (*saṃskāra*). During the ceremony the subject obtains the sacred thread, *yajñopavīta*. The male *dvija* male has some important privileges as the opportunity to study the sacred *Veda.* This group is naturally different from the so-called "once-born" class that is represented by the law caste of *śūdra*.

Gṛhastha: it represents the phase in which the male *dvija* becomes a father. This period is the most connected with the social and organized dimension and symbolizes the first approach to society. It combines the most relevant burdens: becoming the head of the household, keeping the ritual fire, primarily the domestic one, and marrying a woman that will offer him the blessing of the offspring. So, in this period every male individual must become a *pati* ("lord" and "husband") and must unite with his *patnī* ("lady" and "wife"). In the Hindu religious mentality, only a married man is complete in living experience. However the superior benefit is constituted by the progeny as they maintain the chain of *gōtra*, the ancestral clan (Olivelle 1993). This familiar achievement is the most important one.

During the first two stages, the *social man* has to adhere to the "three debts". In the Brahmanic culture, three special debts are attributed to the mankind at birth: the first is dedicated to the ancestors, which is settled through the offspring's blessing; the second is addressed to *ṛṣi*, achieved through the study of sacred scriptures; the third is dedicated to the deities, fulfilled through the rituals (sacrifices). Only the married man, in the presence of his wife, possesses the noble duty and the right to execute the traditional sacrifice. The wife's participation, even though passive, is necessary to the ritual's completeness (ibid.)

Vānaprastha: this is the retreat's period; the ideal place of this emblematic phase is the forest. Once the man has fulfilled all his social responsibilities and absolved the noble role of being a father, he appears to be completely ready for the ascetic experience and starts his life in the wild nature. At this time he can also pursue his life of isolation with his *patnī*. This is the period of the spiritual and physical self-abandonment.

Saṃnyāsa: this is the phase of the spiritual *fuga mundi*, the renouncement period. In this moment the individual undergoes a primordial and natural revival. The return to the primitive dimension is possible only in the *vana* realm. Now I would like to focus on an interesting and intriguing personality: the *saṃnyāsin*. I refer here to the studies of Patrick Olivelle, who illustrates with extreme meticulousness the ascetic figure's complicated dynamics (in particular Olivelle 2011b), and Antonio Rigopoulos (Rigopoulos 2010). The *saṃnyāsin* carries out a cultural renouncement that is a complete refusal of the dwelling, the speaking skill, the rules' dimension, even of the body necessities. It is a life's abandonment *tout court*. Thus, entering this phase through a funeral ritual, the *saṃnyāsin* is regarded as being a living dead. He renounces to his birth name, to all the interpersonal relationships with others, and all his belonging, giving up his life. From this moment onwards, the ascetic figure will always pursue a nomadic and begging life (*bhiksu*), completely refusing to settle in a specific area. This

concept is also linked to the idea of absolute non-existence, being the ascetic a fugacious and fleeting character. Above all the mentioned changes which the *saṃnyāsin* goes through, the most significant is, by all means, the loss of his previous caste, which entitles him to be regarded as *avarna*. Moving away from the *societas* and entering into asceticism, the *saṃnyāsin* does not need to follow any rules and social prescriptions anymore, indeed, he chooses not to use the language as the mean *par excellence* of communication of the "social man". The ascetic completely conforms himself to the horizon of animality and adapts his life to the *vana* realm, returning to a pre-cultural reality of union with the surrounding environment. The overarching reason for his path lies in a quest to liberate the self as an individual from all the limitations and constraints that bind him in life. The ideological vision of the ascetic explains that the truth of life is not *dharma*, but its reverse reality: *mokṣa*.

4. The dualism of the animal dimension and the severe nutrition rules

The *kṣētra* and *vana* antinomy is characterized by the *other* dimension of the animals. This dimension is constantly recalled through a contrasting dualism: domestic animals, known as *paśu*, which pervades the space of the *kṣētra*, and wild beast, known as *mṛga*, which occupy the mysterious area of the *vana*. *Paśu*, the animal that resides inside the civilized dimension, is symbolic for the village community. The *paśu* animals par excellence are the goat (*ajā*) and the cow (*go*), both live inside the farm and the latter is charged with a strong religious *taboo*. By contrast, *mṛga* lives without restrictions inside the untamed and wild nature of *vana*. The undomesticated animals are, by all means, the deer and the tiger (see Addendum. 1, below). The animal of the forest is intimately significant within the ascetic dimension; the beast is indeed the only life's companion of the hermit, from which his most intrinsic behavior derives. His attitude resembles that of the wild animals, and for this reason the ascetic is intimately linked to the deer and, on the opposite side, to the cow. The term *gocārin* is usually associated with the imitation of the cow's peculiar eating habits (Olivelle 2011b).

The complexity of the dual spatial dimension connected to the animals impact on the particular Brahmanic diet *taboo*. Indeed, the insisting differentiation between the enigmatic "pure" and "impure" concepts involves an immense number of issues, including nutrition. In this regard, there is a redundancy in Hindu ideology regarding the *topos* of the village's borders. The animals that gravitate to the village are perceived as unfamiliar, as they are the closest to *societas* (e.g. the dog). The animals that are perceived "allowed to be eaten" by the eating norms, are those which are positioned between the human beings' habitat and the forest (in the pastures, or rivers: e.g. the buffalo). The wild beasts are configured inside the impure domain and those people who enjoy them are contemplated as barbarians (e.g.: the great felines).

So, this exemplary and ideal animal is neither *grāmya* (which lives in *grāma*, the village) nor *āraṇyaka* (which lives in *araṇya*, the jungle). Thus, I find it relevant to claim that the influential strength of the animal's habitat is thoroughly reflected on the human world and that the border is the actual divider between the "pure" and "impure" domains.

5. Addenda. Two short case-studies

5.1 The exemplary vana *beast and the incarnated strength of nature: the* pālṭa bāgha *case*

The current chapter offers the possibility to develop the argument regarding the village and the unfamiliar wild world. This analysis highlights the indigenous reality of the ethnic group of Kondh, in Orisha. Data are based on a survey carried out in Phulbani, in Kandhamal district (Orisha) (Beggiora 2014). The tribe is defined as PVTG (Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group). Its people live in a protected reserve in a pure and primitive equilibrium with the wild nature with which they are tied in an intimate relation. In this specific case the "domesticated" dimension is embodied by the buffalo that is traditionally sacrificed by the Kondh community and the enigmatic chaos of the *vana*, on the other hand, is perfectly incarnated by the tiger. In this paragraph I would like to focus on a particular man-animal interaction with a specific reference to the event of therianthropy. In this case-study, the *āraṇyaka* beast *par excellence*, the tiger, is the main character of the wild universe, the place where energy surrounds enigmatically the typical fascination of this beast. The phenomenon of therianthropy is conceived as a figurative metamorphosis from human to animal form. This mutation is part of the tribal folklore of the Kondh group, but is perceived as a mere aspect of local superstition. This peculiar manifestation is indicated with the term *pālṭa bāgha*[5] and is explained as a figurative transformation from man to tiger. This phenomenon occurs in the middle of the night and it consists in the metaphorical wandering of the soul outside the physical dimension, followed by a symbolic roaming into the jungle where the animals mutation becomes real. The tiger normally attacks the villages expressing its violence against enemies; in this moment the animal oversteps the *vana* habitat. This metamorphosis remains in a dreamlike dimension. The R.E.M sleep phase (Rapid Eye Movement Sleep) is an emblematic moment for the reading and interpretation of the body movements of man destined to metamorphosis. It is in this temporal arc, which coincides with the instant preceding deep sleep, that is possible to trace certain signals and some specific

[5] This term derives from the linguistic tradition of Orisha (is an Oriya term). *Pālṭa* is related to the meaning of mutation's form and *bāgha*, like the Hindi word *bāgh* designed the "tiger".

gestures, present in the body language, connecting the individual to the feline world. Through this accurate analysis it is possible to distinguish who could become the feline's abduction object.

The tiger represents one of the main characters inside the great Hindu pantheon. Ideologically, it presents a strong divine feminine attribute that flows into the *śakti* symbology and it represents the incarnated strength of nature. The tiger's ideal prey is not the human being; the essential cause of its attack is linked to a metaphysical upheaval in the shamanic cosmos which arise from a conflict between the local space and the surrounding nature. In the Kondh's cultural dimension the aggressive fury of the feline is interpreted as the phenomenon of *pālṭa bāgha* (Beggiora 2014).

I would like to underline that the chaotic *pālṭa bāgha* sphere represents the fundamental importance of the maintenance of the social order in the village cosmos and of the restoration of the canonic layout that is essential for the social system. For this reason, the human being's main responsibility is to renovate an ideal equilibrium between nature and man; this is the life's achievement of Kondh folk reality.

5.2. The uncontaminated village as the undisputed character of artistic primitivism

The historical context taken into consideration has at its center the Indian Subcontinent, suppressed by the British Raj (1858-1947), willing to gain independence and acquire a cultural redemption after many years of subjugation. The feeling which recalls a radical separation and a strong rejection of the British cultural and artistic expressions is deeply embodied by the 20th century *Swadeshi* movement, which led the "Hindu civilization" to become widely celebrated. The intellectual core of the rising Hindu nationalism is located in Bengal: indeed, this period is referred to be the "Bengali Renaissance". The artistic primitivism, which I will analyze further in the following paragraphs, is set in this enigmatic period.

I've had the chance to observe that primitivism, placed within the artistic production of the 20th century, usually reflects the profile of the village, which becomes the undisputed protagonist of the artwork and which suggests a metaphorical revival of the pure and uncontaminated pre-industrial dimension. The Indian village is depicted in a multitude of interpretations, and, its representation is, by all means, coherent thanks to the rudimentary techniques, colors, shapes, and subjects applied in the paintings. In the following paragraph, I briefly describe some of the most iconic characters of the artistic environment in question.

Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) played one of the major roles in the Bengali artistic arena. Winner of the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913, he

represented one of the leading members of his high-class family, which was a landmark for the intellectuals of that time. It is Tagore that revived the idea of the microcosmic space of the village as a pure and genuine dimension. He was dually involved in primitivism, the conceptual subdivision consists of a public and private dimension: playing in the former, the artist highlights the perspective of the anticolonial struggle, while in the latter, he focuses more on introspection looking into his psyche.

Tagore deemed that the radical detachment from the Western model was detrimental to Indian artistic progress, indeed, although he was one of the major advocates of the *Swadeshi* movement, he perceived nationalism and the refusal of the Western style in a different way. It follows that, unlike the other radical supporters of the movement, he was favorable to the opening up towards the Western society in order to promote cultural exchanges between the two artistic models. In the Birbhum District of West Bengal, Tagore expanded the school founded by his father in 1921, the *Śāntiniketan*, which will eventually become a symbol of the anti-colonial struggle. The school presents a unique cultural environment and in its contemplative surroundings embodies the artistic "environmentalism" of Tagore (Mitter 2007: 65-80).

Now, I would like to shift my attention on two female artists: Amrita Sher Gil and Sunayani Devi. They are the very first female artists to be recognized on the scene of the Indian Subcontinent.

Amrita Sher Gil (1913-1941): her identity is divided, being of both Hungarian and Indian origin. Her painting modality is imbued with this metaphorical rift that reflects a deep disintegration and discomfort. Her pictorial style shows a rare introspection, a turmoil and a malancholy that identify her artistic expression as completely different from the canonic rural primitivism that was flourishing at the time. The new movement, indeed, was akin to reproduce the village as a dimension of happiness and as a special genuineness.

The personality of Sunayani Devi (1875-1962), Rabindranath Tagore's niece, embodies a figure at the antipodes of Amrita Sher Gil's personality. Sunayani Devi is the typical Indian housewife, always devoted to her beloved husband. Unlike Amrita's experiences in the great artistic academic circles in Europe, Sunayani grew as a self-taught painter, so she had the chance to link both her professional life with the private domain as a wife (Mitter 2007:36-44). Thus, the domestic realm portrayed by the artist is, by all means, incomparable to Amrita Sher Gil's experience, which is characterized by a remarkable unsteadiness.

By analyzing Sunayani Devi's paintings, the application of a considerable amount of mythological and religious subjects with human and emotional connotations is observable. This can be explained by the fascination of the

painter towards a prominent artist of Indian realism, Raja Ravi Varma[6]. There are many points of reference for the artist, but the Czech-Austrian art historian and long-time Philadelphia lecturer Stella Kramisch (1896-1993) identified two fundamental ones in her painting. The first one is the Bengal's manufacture, and the second derives from the "Kalighat"[7] paintings (ibid.). Amrita Sher Gil and Sunayani Devi were the first two female artists who had the possibility to change the common understanding of the woman as a side character in Indian artistic movements by creating a strong and long-lasting effect on their professional lives.

6. Conclusions

The continuity of the topics explained in this study develops an extended discourse about the "Indian village". The analysis permits to observe the different perceptions and the complicated dynamics of the animated life of the village. The crucial *focus* is about the division between two particular spaces: *kṣētra* and *vana*. This parallelism shows constant repercussions among communities presenting a real footprint on the fruition of the microcosmic space. The ordinate administration of the village is dictated by the *societas*; to the other side the wild nature is characterized by the ascetic's experience and its *fuga mundi* that metaphorically disobeys to the structural realm. Thus, a conflictual hiatus between *dharma* and *mokṣa* appears.

The reality of the Khonds results extremely interesting because of its independent traditional dimension and for its shamanic features. The *pālṭa bāgha* case undoubtedly lead to comprehend meticulously the spatial and metaphysical domain (Beggiora 2014). There are two spatial spheres and the place *in between*

[6] Raja Ravi Varma (1848-1906) was born in one of the Indian "princely states", in the Travancore state (Kerala). He was educated at court and in his life he was always surrounded by the courtly environment. In the history of the Subcontinent he has been perceived as the first well-known artist. In his painting style is observable a relevant influence from the European artistic scene. The contact with the greatest European artists has produced a huge opportunity for the master of art who combined his fascinated modality with the realism, the rendering of volumes and a lot of sophisticated techniques. The subjects of the painter, through the representation of mythological heroines of the Indian epic, symbolize the female universe. In his painting are meticulously reflected the human sentiments and the sensuality of the female body (Mitter 1994: 179-217).

[7] *Kalighat painting* represents an artistic movement that promoted, in its history, the popular expressions of art. Kalighat is the name of a borough in Kolkata, its name derives from the holy temple of Kālī where the neighbourhood itself is located. In this artistic arena, groups of artists, called *patua,* produced paintings on a paper support. The scenes reproduced described in a vivid and genuine way. Unfortunately the rapid development of the metropolis in the 1800 caused a progressive migration of artists that arrived in Kolkata and started producing paintings for the holy temple's devotees. Due to the urban expansion and the enrichment of the *elite* class, the *patua* groups of artists conformed their artistic discipline to the new target's necessities and tastes. Through this mutation, the support's materials and the painting techniques changed; thus the painter introduced the watercolor and tempera.

is represented by the border's mark. The wild beasts, overstepping the margin and appearance in the community of village provoke an unpredictable and overpowering turmoil. The approach of the *mṛga* to the social realm symbolizes the encounter between *kṣētra* and *vana*. This is the cataclysmic event that connects the two parallel universes and this is the moment when the occult conflict unleashes.

Concluding this analysis is observable that the topic of the village embodies an infinity of articulations that lead to a deeper understanding of the problematic sphere of the space that, in this case, is composed by two antithetical worlds which demonstrate a close relation and a strict separation at the same time.

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Reṇu's "rural speech" Hindi in *Mailā āñcal*

Francesca Varelli

Abstract

The following paper aims to explore the various ways in which Phaṇīśvarnāth"Reṇu" manages to create, through ingenious linguistic escamotages, a spoken Hindi of rural extraction in Mailā āñcal (1954). Through the exemplification of short excerpts from the novel and their comparison with the English rendering, edited by Junghare (The Soiled Border, 1991), an attempt will be made to trace the main linguistic strategies employed by the author, and to comprehend the peculiarities of his linguistic policy. The purpose of this work is therefore to analyze how the author manages to shape the plurality of voices that belong to Merīgañj, the so-called village where the novel is set, through his extraordinary expressive effectiveness that characterizes his Hindi. The analysis is composed of two sections. The first section is an in-depth study of the main characteristics of the novel and its author, with the function of providing the coordinates for the following part. The latter is a study of the linguistic aspects of the literary work and will examine the following categories: (a) onomatopoeia; (b) speech defect; (c) idioms; (d) songs. Eventually, there will be a reserved space for concluding reflections, in which, in the light of the present work, we will try to restore the polyphonic dimension of Mailā āñcal and this specific type of Hindi, created by the author to revive the rurality of Merīgañj's cosmos, here defined as "rural speech".

Keywords: Phaṇīśvarnāth "Reṇu", *Mailā āñcal*, āñcaliktā, "rural speech" Hindi.

Preamble

The village in South Asia is the theme of the seminar held by Professor Luca Maria Olivieri during the academic year 2019/20 at Ca' Foscari University. At the end of the course, my colleagues and I were asked to write a paper that had the village as its subject, declined according to our skills and areas of expertise.

Thus, as a Hindi student, I chose to investigate the theme of the village in Cinema and Literature, paying particular attention to the linguistic component. My research ended when I finished reading Mailā āñcal, Phaṇīśvarnāth "Reṇu"'s first novel, whose main protagonist is precisely Meriganj, a fictional village in Bihar.

In Mailā āñcal, the author resorts to a unique prose style, which makes the text similar to a film script rather than an actual novel. In fact, the narrative proceeds almost as if there were a camera recording the sounds, shapes, and colors of this specific rural environment.

I would like to thank firstly Mr/Professor Olivieri himself for this wonderful opportunity, as well as Andrea Drocco and Stefano Beggiora, who both offered me their precious help during the writing of the present paper.

0. Introduction

The novel is, primarily and above all, a hymn of love that Phaṇīśvarnāth "Reṇu" (4 March 1921 – 11 April 1977) dedicates to his mother land, as the novel is set in Purniya, the very same District where he was born (Cossio 1989: 7), in the time frame between 1946 and 1948.

The work presents over 300 characters, none of which can be considered the protagonist (Consolaro 2011: 150), since the ultimate protagonist is the village, from which a chorus of voices of its inhabitants arises: personal stories, linked together, whose mutual connection constitutes the story of Merīgañj (Cossio 1987: 6).

The numerous stories and characters are intertwined with all forms of popular expression - plays, festivals, songs, hymns, prayers, rituals, and spells. These are not mere quotation from the oral tradition, but they rather articulate and comment on the action, thus constituting the connective tissue of the novel.

The aim of this paper is therefore to investigate the ways in which Reṇu manages to bring to life the plurality of voices that belong to Merīgañj's cosmos with the extraordinary effectiveness of expression that characterizes his Hindi.

1. "Mailā āñcal"

Mailā āñcal, "The Soiled Border" in the English translation by Indira Junghare (1991),[1] was published in 1954 and it represents the set off of his career as an author and his consequent fame in post-Independence India.

While analyzing Reṇu's literary work, it is necessary to mention his great predecessor, Premchand (1880-1936)[2] and, specifically, his novel *Godān* (The Gift of a Cow, 1936), since they are both set in a village.

The main differences between Premchand's *Godān* (The Gift of a Cow, 1936) and the book here analyzed are that the village of the latter does not change time and the collectivity of the villagers is more important than a single peasant, struggling under the scorching sun, as described in *Godān*'s Hōrī (Consolaro 2011: 152).

In this way, Reṇu stands out for his ability to take "Hindi fiction […] back to village life, which he depicted […] from his effectively postnationalist vantage point" (2003: 1012). Unlike Premchand, he emerged and developed firstly as a political activist[3] and only afterwards, during the 1950s, he started his

[1] To access the original text and its English translation, consult the first item in the *Sitography*.

[2] Premchand is known to be the first major Hindi novelist in Hindi. For further information, see Trivedi (2003: 1008-11). See also the last item in the *Sitography*, for access to all of Premchand's writings from the "Rekhta" website.

[3] While Reṇu was studying in Arariya (Purniya District), he took part for the first time at

career as a literate, describing the events following the Independence with disenchantment (Trivedi 2003: 1015). Thereby, both political and social themes are truly significant in his literary works.[4]

1.1 The meaning of **āñcal**

Accordingly, one could ask what are the peculiarities that make the *Mailā āñcal* an important contribution to the twentieth-century Hindi literature.

To answer this question, we can start from the analysis of the title, that is influenced by a popular poem of Sumitrānandan Pant (1900-1977)[5] reciting "*bhāratmātāgrāmvāsinī*, 'Mother India is a villager'[6] – echoing directly Gandhi's famous assertion that India lives in her villages" (Trivedi 2003: 994; 1014).
Moreover, in the Preface, a sort of literary manifesto, Reṇu himself stated: "Yah hai mailā āñcal, ek **āñcalik** upanyās" (let. "this is *Maila Ancal*, an *anchalik* novel"). He then proceeds declaring that the main purpose of his literary piece is an attempt of a characterization as faithful as possible to reality, with its qualities and flaws – "phūl bhī haiṁ śūl bhī, dhūl bhī hai, gulāb bhī hai, kīcaṛ bhī hai, candan bhī, sundaratā bhī hai, kurupatā bhī" (let. "there are flowers and thorns, dust and roses, mud and sandalwood, beauty but also squalor").

By defining his novel with the adjective *āñcalik*, deriving from the world *āñcal*, the author is making a pivotal statement that refers to his literary poetic:[7]

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a demonstration against the British Raj. Since then, he was active in the socialist party of Padma and Benares, where he attended the university. Between the 30s and the 40s, Reṇu met a figure that will be so central during the last years of his life, Jayprakash Narayan, the leader of the socialists of the Congress. During the 70s, he lined up with his leader in the revolt that rise in Bihar against Indira Gandhi's corrupt government and, after the 1977 general election held in March, Renu received at the hospital the news of the victory of the first non-Congress government after the Independence.

[4] After his first novel, Reṇu published a second one, entitled *Parati: parikatha* (1957), a short story called *Julus* (1965) and three main collection of novels: *Thumri* (1959), *Ādim rātri kī mahak* (1967) and *Aginkhor* (Cossio 1987: 32). Finally, the reportages written for the periodical *Dinman* about the great drought and the consequent flood that happened in Bihar in 1967 were published posthumous by his younger son by the name of *Rinjal Dhanjal* (Cossio 1989: 14).

[5] In 1940, Pant published *Grāmyā* (Of the village), a volume of poem (see Pollock 2003: 954, 991, 992-94, 998, 1014)

[6] For the original text and its English translation, go to the second item in the *Sitography*.

[7] From an artistic and intellectual point of view, Reṇu grow up in a stimulating environment that includes the following literary models: the poetic tradition of Mithila, firstly represented by the great poet Vidyāpati (see Pollock 2013: 507, 513; 513 n.17; 556; 522, 527; 505-6, 523-24; 917), connected with the Vaiṣṇava padāvalī literary culture that flourished in the Bangla literary region (see Pollock 2013: 24; 511-14; 506, 508, 524-25; 518-21; 522-28), together with the Nepali Literature. As explained by Kaviraj (2013:

"Reṇu's novel not only marked a return to village India but also inaugurated a new subgenre in Hindi" (Trivedi 2003: 1014). Therefore, it is necessary to explain the term *āñcal*, that the McGregor dictionary (1993: 76; 3) defines in this way:

> ***āñcal*** (m): **1**. the border of hem at the end of a sari, or shawl, &c. **2**. the end of a sari, &c. (which usually covers a woman's breast). **3**. fig. breast, bosom. **4**. = *añcal*.
> ***añcal*** (m): **1**. the border of hem at the end of a sari, or shawl, &c. **2**. transf. edge. **3.** border region. **4**. region, tract; zone.

As seen, *āñcal* is thus both the hem of a *sāṛī*, the traditional female clothing, and the "edge" of a region, by which the liminal sense of the rural area is emphasized, as opposed to the urban context, the city, symbolizing modern India. Since "mailā" means "dirty", and it refers to the "soiled", *mailā āñcal* reflect the dust and the mud of the soil. Hence, Junghare chooses to translate *Mailā āñcal* into *The Soiled Border*.

In fact, Renu will not neglect or overlook any element, however ignoble, related to the Indian rural world, in aiming to achieve a representation as comprehensive as possible of the village, inspiring many other Indian authors who, like him, began to put into practice this unique poetic.

As Cossio explained (1989: 10), this fortunate claim of the author to capture the nature of his work was adopted by the critics to baptize a new literary current, the *āñcaliktā*.[8]

The plot starts with the news that an anti-malaric center will be finally instituted in Merīgañj. This leads the author to explain the meaning of the place name in the second paragraph of the first part: the indigo *sahāb*[9] of that area had a wife who died prematurely of malaria; hence, he named the village after her, Mary.

511-14), it is important to understand that modern thinking has the tendency to categorize by regions. For instance, this mentality tends to use categories as "Bengali", "Nepali" and "Maithili" to define a literary culture, while it would be better to perceive this premodern cultural milieu as a single common and shared literary culture, transmitted as such to the author here analyzed.

[8] Since the meaning of *āñcalik* is related to the local flavor, the English render of this Hindi literary movement could be "marginalism", rather than the current "regionalism", because it is believed that the former is much more effective in returning the nuances of meanings that go beyond the mere rural setting. To deepen, see Cossio (1989: 10).

[9] Junghare (1991:4) called the British "indigo *sahabs*", a respectful form of address. Indigo, a blue dye popular in Europe, was grown by the British in Bihar and "remained always a precarious source of wealth. (…) Market crashes in 1827, and again in 1847" (Metcalf, 2006: 76, 125, 165). See also Sah (1980: 67-79).

Its opening position is meaningful since it has the aim of inviting the readers inside the universe of this specific village and introducing them to an important theme – the traces of the violence and physical abuses perpetrated by the colonials, which constituted the economic power in that rural area. Since the villagers were obliged to never mentioned the original toponym, it fell into malaise, and it was obliviated from their memory.

As already mentioned, one of the most interesting features of Reṇu's *Mailā āñcal* is the fact that Merīgañj is not only the setting, but it also gains the status of absolute protagonist of the novel. From the narrating style point of view, this literary work could be described as multi-voices as a choir.

This specific fictional device enables to create a situation where *all* the perspective – therefore all the inhabitants of Merīgañj – are equally important to the aim of the narration. Then, someone could arise the theory that the socialistic view of Reṇu is applied here in a very special way on the literature dimension: all the characters are on the same level regarding the narration, while all the social injustices are unveiled.

In fact, the theme of marginality of the village's universe is vital in Reṇu's poetic and it is not possible to overstress it. Since the beginning of the book, it is possible to trace it from numerous hints left by the author. For example, the only means of connection between Merīgañj and the rest of India is the road built by Martin *sahāb* that connects the village to the train-station of Rautahat (Reṇu 1954: 13; Junghare 1991: 5). This explains the enthusiasm provoked among the villagers by their first encounter with a radio.

1.2 The inhabitants of Merīgañj

Since there are numerous characters in the novel and the author focuses on social tensions and power conflicts in *Mailā āñcal* (Junghare 1991: viii), it is considered efficient for the sake of the analysis to divide the inhabitants of Meriganj's universe in separate groups.

The first set of villagers is the Indian landowner aristocracy, belonging to the obsolete system of *zamindarī*,[10] and especially Viśvanāthprasād, *tahsīldār* of Raj Prabanga of the Minapur District, that performs both as a tax collector on behalf of the *zamindar* and as a judge of the District Court.

At the opposite end of the ideological spectrum are placed the *homines novi*: a doctor, Praśāntkumār, Baldev Gop and the dwarf Bāvandās, both representing Gandhi's political view, and the socialist Kālīcaraṇ.

[10] *Zamīndār* (m) derives from the Persian term for "earth, ground; soil" (*zamīn*) and it means "landowner, landlonrd". Hence, *zamīndarī* (f) is the "landed estate; freehold; position or tenure of a zamindar; the system of collecting land revenue through zamindars" (McGregor 1993: 359).

Both the doctor and Baldev are perceived as extraneous from the villagers, with the difference that the latter belongs to the rural dimension too, while Prashant is an outsider that comes from the city. Because of these feelings towards the doctor and of his external point of view, Prashant is an important narrator that will enable the entrance of the reader inside the social dynamics of this village.

Another tool that Reṇu wisely employs in his narration with the intention of displaying the social relationships regarding power, economics and politics intrinsic in this universe, is the fertile set of the *pañcāyat*[11] described in the story. Like the young wrestler Kālīcaraṇ, the author too is born in a poor environment, but he has a high degree of social consciousness, which leads him to convert to socialism. However, Kālīcaraṇ is also destined to succumb into the political game of the parties (Cossio 1989: 8).

Reṇu thoroughly depicted the contingent contrast to that specific historical-cultural context between the old English management system of Mughal origin, and the new currents of thought, such as the supporters of the Congress and Gandhian rather than socialists.

A further important characteristic that governs the life of the village – and that cannot be underestimated – is the issue of the Indian caste system. A good way to introduce this important matter is to quote Reṇu himself (1954: 48-49) and, particularly, how he explained it through the eyes of the outsider Praśāntkumār:

> "Immediately after asking your name, people here ask, ‹‹ what caste? ›› […] Caste was a vital thing. Even those who ignored caste still belonged to one. […] In the city, no one ever asked a person about his caste. Nobody cared what caste people were in the city. But in the village, without caste you couldn't even draw water!" (trad. Junghare 1991: 46). [12]

This obsession with caste division is by no means overlooked by the author who, on the contrary, chooses to highlight how this social aspect is taken to its extreme in the Indian rural area. All human beings are classified into distinctly separate groups that possess their own hierarchy. Without castes, there is no life: breaking these ancient rules and going against the Tradition, literally means not being able to access water and, therefore, dying.

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[11] In McGregor (1993: 586) it is present the following definition of *pañcāyat*: "1. (f) a village council (consisting of five, or more, members), a panchayat: village court or arbitrating body. 2. A caste council (in a village); arbitrators in an intra-caste matter. 3. Meeting of a body (to discuss a particular question); village meeting".

[12] "Nām pūchne ke bād hī log yahāṁ pūchte haiṁ – jāt? […] Jāti bahut baṛī cīz hai. Jāt-pāt nahīṁ mānnevaloṁ kī bhī jāti hotī hai. […] Śahar meṁ koī kisī se jāt nahīṁ pūchtā. Śahar ke logoṁ kī jāti kā kyā ṭikānā! Lekin gāuvṁ meṁ to binā jāti ke āpkā pānī nahīṁ cal saktā" (orig. in *devanāgarī*).

Adherence to caste rules is a source of honor for the village, which prides itself on its plethora of castes. Renu interprets this pride and reports the classes in the second and third paragraphs: at the top of the pyramid, and thus in collusion with each other, are Brahmans, Kayasthas, represented by the *tahsīldār* Viśvanathprasād, Rajput, whose leader is the *ṭhākur*[13] Rāmkirpālsingh and Yśdav, embodied by the self-made man Khelavan.

Going down the social scale, the list continues with the aim of returning to the reader the crowding at the base of the pyramid. As it is possible to read from the Italian translation, there are "poliya, tantrima chhatri, yaduvanshi chhatri, gahlot chhatri, kurm chhatri, brahmani amaty, dhanukdhari chhatri, kushvaha chhatri, raidas" (Cossio 1989: 28).

The prominence of the author is also in the ability to render the forced absurdity of this need for pigeonhole every person that arrives at the village, at whom it is immediately asked the caste, as a label, a certificate of guarantee that enables the inhabitants to judge the newcomer. Even Prashant is not spared from this questioning, arousing amazement and hilarity in him to the point that he replies he belongs to the caste of doctors.

A further fundamental component of the universe of Merīgañj is represented by the *āśram* in which the chief Sevadās, to whom they refer as *mahant sahāb*, lives with his *dāsī*[14] Lakṣmī, the disciple Ramdas and all the guests who are passing by, together with the employees of the monastery.

Eventually, the most marginalized from both a social point of view and a spacial one, since they live outside the village, are the *sānthāl*[15] who, as explained by Cossio (1989: 217, n.4) are a tribe of the pre-Dravidian or proto-Australian group who settled mainly in an area later called Santhal Pargana, in present-day Bihar. Despite the small differences that make one character foreigner towards the villagers, none of those above-mentioned are as despised and marginalized as the *sānthāl* are. Their condition is not limited to social marginalization, but there is a fierce exploitation of their cheap labor, which will lead them to rebellion, inevitably suppressed in blood.

By analyzing the tensions and conflicts that occur between the various social categories enlisted, two important themes arise from the description of this universe's abuses and corruption: social injustices and marginalization.

As far as the *āśram* is concerned, it is quite evident Reṇu's will to deepen the theme of distrust towards religious authorities through several episodes that are enlightening. It is possible to discern the author's will to highlight this mistrust in

[13] *Thākur* is "an honorific title or form of address" (McGregor 1993: 411).

[14] The *mahant* (m) is "the superior of a monastery", while the *dāsī* (f, from the masculine *dās*) means "a female slave; a female servant; temple servant; concubine" (MGregor 1993: 798; 493).

[15] For further information about them, see Datta-Majumder (1958).

the figure of the *dāsī* Lakṣmī. After the death of all her relatives, left alone in the world, the *mahant sahāb* promised to educate her and to find her a husband when the occasion arose. Obviously, this promise was not fulfilled and, therefore, Lakṣmī became, against her will, the concubine of Sevadās.

Finally, the theme of the very low percentage of literacy and the issue of superstition are also significant and they could be traced since the very beginning, when Reṇu (1954: 16) explains that only a dozen of people could be defined as "literate", if it also included those that could solely do their own signature:

> "In all of Maryganj, only ten men are literate. 'Literate' means anything from being able to write one's signature to being able to balance account books. Another fifteen are learning how to read." (trad. Junghare 1991: 9).[16]

2. Linguistic analysis

The aspect of relevance to the present analysis of Reṇu's *Mailā āñcal* is his extraordinary expressive ability to use of Hindi as a linguistic tool to create the necessary sound-wise prerequisites to invite the reader to become part of this specific rural environment.

The question I will now attempt to answer is: what are the main linguistic features implied by the author to achieve this purpose? To do so, I will employ some examples from the novel itself, that I will compare with Junghare's English translation (*The soiled border*, 1991), since it could be useful to further highlight the author's stylistic and linguistic poetic.

Firstly, as explained by Consolaro (2011: 152), *Mailā āñcal*'s Hindi is literary khaṛī bolī, the Sanskritised and literary Hindi of the 1950s, which the author adopts in passages where a certain solemnity is required, as in descriptions of nature or in sequences related to well-educated characters.

On the other hand, for imitating dialogues between locals, Reṇu develops a Hindi register based on rural speech,[17] integrating the following registers: avadhī, maithilī, bhojpurī, and magadhī in Modern and Medieval forms, baṁgla, nepalī, tribal languages, as well as Sanskritised Hindi, Hindustani from bazaar, Urdu, and English.[18]

Thus, even if with an artificial tool, since it is not a proper dialect, the author reaches the suggestion of the spoken language "[…] with selective, authenticating use of the local variant or dialect of Hindi, often with foot notes

[16] "Sāre Merīgañj meṁ das ādmī paṛhe-likhe hai – paṛhe-likhe kā matlab huā apnā dastakhat karne se lekar tahasīldārī karne tak kī paṛhāī. Nae paṛhnevāloṁ kī saṁkhyā hai pandrah" (orig. in *devanāgarī*).

[17] To deepen Reṇu's linguistic style, see Hansen (1981).

[18] For a linguistic background, look Bass (1974).

supplied to gloss the rare local terms" (Trivedi 2003: 1014). The first sample of a gloss can be seen at the beginning of the second paragraph, where the author consciously chooses *kaniyā*, a word that stands for "bride", but it does not belong to Standard Hindi. On that account, an explaination note is inserted where the reader could find a synonym, *dulahīn*.[19]

By attempting an analysis of Reṇu's linguistic modes and before aiming to deepen them, it is useful to divide them into the following categories: (a) onomatopoeia, (b) mistakes of pronunciation, (c) idioms and common expressions, (d) popular and traditional songs.

Although there are some similarities and differences inherent in this over-mentioned nominal division - for example, pronunciation defects and idiomatic expressions pertain to the dimension of dialogue - the peculiar feature is that *all* of them are linguistic tools that the author uses for the purpose of further characterizing the village of Merīgañj.

2.1 Onomatopea

An example of the first category could be taken from the fourth paragraph, in which the reader is brought to the threshold of the *āśram*, from where chants are heard at dawn. These are accompanied by the sound of the *kẖañjarī*, a small drum (McGregor 1993: 224), which Reṇu (1954: 22) decides to render in this way: *ḍim-ḍimik-ḍimik, ḍim-ḍimik-ḍimik!* (orig. in *devanāgarī*).

Consequently, when I refer to "onomatopoeia", I am talking about all those words inserted for the purpose of imitating sounds. The example is related to prayer and music; other types of special acoustics that Reṇu employed to render the sounds of the natural dimension in which the village is immersed are animal noises, voices of the wind, raining or thunderstorms, hissing of arrows and spears in the bloody revolt of the *sānthāl* (Cossio 1987:7).

2.2 Speech defects

Both the second and third sets of tools contribute to intensify the authenticity of the conversations more to the reader, because they aim to reproduce factual dialogues between inhabitants of that specific rural area in Bihar.

For this reason, "mistakes of pronunciation" is a broad category that includes both speech defects in spoken language, i.e., the natural changes in pronunciation in informal conversations between native speakers, and mistakes in English, which is not the mother-tongue. The reader is invited to confront the samples from the original text and the English translation in the underneath table:

[19] *Dulahīn* derives from *dulhan*, meaning "bride, a young wife" (McGregor 1993: 505).

	Reṇu (1954: 10; 11)	**Junghare (1991: 3; 4)**
1	*jaihinn* (orig. *dev.*)	*Jai Hind!*
2	*ḍisṭīboṭ*	District Board

The first example is taken from the first paragraph of *Mailā āñcal*, in which it is reported that Baldev, as a Gandhian, says "Jai Hind".

What it is interesting – and not completely rendered in the English version – is that in the original one he says '*jaihinn'*. Although grammatically correct, the English translation is graphically and sonorously different from the Hindi version. Thus, the comparison between the two versions enables us to demonstrate Renu's willingness to render the deformation in spoken Hindi.

In the second line, the sub-category "English mispronunciations" is exemplified by *ḍisṭīboṭ*, that is altogether the transcription in *devanāgarī* of "District Board", as it is possible to find in Junghare, and the author's clever way to express speech defects commonly shared between Indian villagers in their attempt to use unfamiliar English words.

2.3 Idioms

As we continue the cataloguing of the expressive techniques employed by Reṇu - and the consequent comparison with the translating solutions used by Junghare - there is a third and wide category dedicated to the idiomatic and folklore expressions.

In the second section, occurs the following idiom: *tīn āne labnī tāṛī,*[20] *rok sālā moṭorgāṛī!* (Reṇu 1954: 12), whose meaning is "drunk on *tārī*, they find even a car approachable". Instead of prioritizing its functions – namely brevity along with rhyming, to be more easily remembered and thus pertain to folk wisdom – Junghare (1991: 5) decides to paraphrase the idiom and therefore she interprets it as: "After drinking three *anna* worth of *toddy* a fellow can imagine himself a big *nawab* ordering around a chauffeured motorcar: ‹‹ Stop the motorcar, you bastard! ››".

2.4 Songs

The last category includes all the different types of chanting, such as the dawn hymn accompanied by the *khañjarī*,[21] already examined in the section on onomatopoeia. The voice of indigenous culture is then spread not only by religious and spiritual hymns, but also by political, seasonal chants and *sānthāl*

[20] *Tāṛī* is a "fermented juice of the palm tree" (McGregor 1993: 447).

[21] The example above-mentioned about a *prabhātī*, "a song sung at dawn" (McGregor 1993: 662), is reported in Reṇu (1954: 22) and in Junghare (1991: 16).

labor songs (Cossio 1987: 7). As stated by Hansen (1982b: 153-162) in *Mailā āñcal* there are twenty different Maithili song types, an "important means by which Reṇu brings the shape and feeling of traditional literature into his fictional medium."

3. Concluding Thoughts

The already-mentioned comparison between Reṇu's prose style and the film scripts is therefore reinforced by the centrality of the sound component in the multifaceted and polyphonic rural dimension. The audience grasped immediately both the abundance of musical elements in the novel and the multi-voiced narration and, consequently, it is not surprising that 1977 was the year of release of the movie adaptation, entitled Dagdar Babu and directed by Nobendu Ghosh (Junghare 1991: vii).

From a stylistic point of view, the indigenous oral tradition not only generously offers a sample of the local colour to the reader, but it also usefully introduces the following comparison. These songs are usually sung by a group of people, namely a choir, composed by the villagers themselves. If we consider the novel as a single written transposition of the oral culture of that specific village in a certain time span, then all its inhabitants could be seen as choristers. Hence, one of the greatest appeal of the novel could be said to be its "chorality", that derives from its main characteristic: the elevation of the Village as the sole protagonist of the novel.

Finally, from a linguistic point of view, one can agree that this Hindi specification, artificially created by Reṇu but, at the same time, so authentic as to restore the rurality of a Bihar village environment, is a "rural speech" in its own right.

In my opinion, these are just some of the conclusions that can be reached after having studied this author and his most famous work. In any case, I hope I have succeeded in my intent and that I have been able to return to the reader the passion with which I have conducted my analysis.

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Sitography

(1) Junghare (1991) *The Soiled Border*: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/01glossaries/smith/index.html# (visited 5/4/2021).

(2) *Bharatgramvasini* – Sumitraandan Pant: http://www.columbia.edu/itc/mealac/pritchett/00urduhindilinks/workshop2006/pant/pant_index.pdf (visited 5/4/2021).

(3) Premchand: https://www.rekhta.org/authors/premchand (visited 5/4/2021).

Faxian's and Xuanzang's Wooden Maitreya and the Chartoi Rock Cut Niche at Gupis, Gilgit-Baltistan

Mueezuddin Hakal

Abstract

This note offers a short preliminary study on an artificial niche located on a cliff at the mouth of the valley of Chartoi near Gupis, Gilgit-Baltistan. The niche, looking like a gateway cut into the rock, has a mythological significance in the local folklore. This site, including the whole valley, is remembered as the abode of fairies (called the "mothers"), who can also reveal themselves through the possession of the local shamans. For this reason, the villagers offer near the niche the blood of animals or on the road congressionally cross this ravine in the occasion of marriages, etc. In this area even avoid cultivating the "hot crops" like onion or peppers in order not to upset these entities. The site can also has a topographical significance being located at the beginning of the shortest route connecting Upper Indus with Swat, therefore Gandhara. Of course, this may link the site to Chinese historical records. Finally, there is a strong suggestion that the rock niche may be associated with the site of the fabled colossal sculpture of Maitreya mentioned by Faxian and Xuanzang.

Keywords: Gupis, Ghizer, Faxian, Xuanzang, colossal Maitreya.

1. The state of the art

Both Faxian (402-403 CE) and Xuanzang (630 CE) report on the colossal miraculous wooden Maitreya sculpture in the surroundings of Darel. The sculpture is attributed to the artistic skill of Madhyāntika, the disciple of Ānanda who is said to have brought Buddhism to Kashmir and neighboring regions, including Bolor and Darel.

According to Faxian, in that region, people were observing the Hīnayāna tradition but an *arhat* transported a sculptor to Tushita Heavens with spiritual power to observe the size, color, and general appearance of Bodhisattva Maitreya (Beals 1884: 19-20). On his return, he could carve that image in a place located not far from a monastery (a large *saṅghārāma*). The image was 94 feet in height, and the length on foot of the image was 9 feet 4 inches. All the kingdoms in surrounding pay homage to it (Beals 1884: 20).

So far, every attempt to locate this fabled gigantic Maitreya wooden statue had failed. Many scholars tried to locate the area by crossing the routes followed by the two Chinese travelers, one – Faxien – coming from the Pamirs and heading to the Swat, the other – Xuanzang – coming to Swat and heading up to Bolor. Soshin Kuwayama wrote: "The itineraries of Faxian and Zhimeng [another Chinese pilgrim c. 404 CE] seem almost identical [...]. Departing from Jiecha, Qisha of Zhimeng, Faxian crossed over the Pamirs to enter Tuoli (Dareda or Darada) which according to him was the first country belonging to North India

(Bei Thianzhu). Then he went southwest for fifteen days along the foot of the mountains to reach modern Swāt. [...] In the *Da Tang Xiyu ji* Xuanzang describes a route similar to Faxian's. From the royal town of Uḍḍiyāna (modern town of Mingora) toward the northeast, the route crossed mountains and valleys to reach the Sindhu River. He then went north along the same river to reach the plain of Darada, where he saw a wooden statue of Maitreya, which Faxian also described as standing nearby a large *saṅghārāma*."(Kuwayama 2006: 112). From these very few lines it is evident that the key place to locate the colossal statue is the place or region known as Tuoli, and generally identified with Chilas (*ibid*.: 112). Max Deeg, who is possibly the best expert on Faxian's and Xuanzang's travelogues (his final edition of the latter is awaited), delivered a seminal lecture at the IsIAO in Rome in 1997 in the framework of the 14th EASAA conference. The lecture, later published (Deeg 2000) re-examined the location of Jiecha, a very important "Buddhist kingdom" that Faxian visited immediately after crossing the Pamirs. Max Deeg concluded that Jiecha (with its mysterious connections to an even more fabled "Kingdom of women") was in Baltistan, maybe in the area of Skardu-Shigar (Deeg 2000: 885). "If this conclusion is correct – Jiecha being Baltistan – it has another consequence for the historical topography of the region: coming from Baltistan, Faxian would have not crossed the Indus to see the famous giant Maitreya usually said to have been found in the valley of Darel flowing into the Indus on the right shore. The Maitreya statue would have been on the left shore of the Indus [...]." (Deeg 2000: 884).

In the same conference, Haruko Tsuchiya presented a different hypothesis. Faxian did not follow the Gilgit way (as Kuwayama claims), but, crossed the Pamirs, entered the Wakhan, and then reached the Ishkoman valley. Therefore, in her view, the Maitreya statue should have been located somewhere onway through the Ishkoman valley, leading from Sherqilla ravine in Punyal to Darel, before the Indus (?), or in Darel (Tsuchiya 2010: 120, 140). As a proof of that, she presented several interesting petroglyphs (with Buddhist subjects: stupa mainly) and another intriguing object, like a "Buddha statue of Kashmiri style", which, however, she forgot to further describe or illustrate (Tsuchiya 2000: 897). The hypothesis of the Darkot Pass (a bit to the west of Ishkoman, north of Gupis), which was supported by Aurel Stein, who crossed it in 1913 (Stein 1928: 45), was discarded by the Japanese scholar based on its objective difficulty, confirmed also by local informants.

2. Facts and myths

Chartoi, possibly mean "the killing mountain" (as "char-e-toli") or the mountain of Toli (as "char-Toli") in Burushaski, is located three kilometers from Gupis leading up to the south from the town's western limits. From a higher elevation it gives a complete view of main Yasin valley. The Chartoi valley directly leads to

Batherate through Kha-bar (lower ravine), and further to Darel. It is the shortest way to Darel, and therefore to Mankial and Swat.

This site was not explored or mentioned by previous archaeological explorers in the area. However, the locals were knowing about the door-like amazing gigantic structure, therefore Mr. Kushwaqt Hussain Maqpon, belonging to the same village and of a noble family shared some pictures with General Muhammad Yusaf Khan and Mr. Rizwan, who later approached me in June 2021.

The niche presents a low arch resting upon vertical jambs (uprights). During my fieldwork at the site, along with my local friends, I attempted to measure the gigantic work of ancient times by determining the angles on the site. As a result, we collected the measurement of vertical height around 60 meters and horizontal length is around 26.4 meters.

The niche is the result of an artificial activity. Along the edges of the uprights of the niche and the lowered arch, signs of deliberate chipping and retouching are visible. Unfortunately, there are no tool marks, holes, or sockets to suggest the accommodation of a structure. It remains to explore the base, now covered in debris, for the presence of a large horizontal recess that could have been used to house a structure. In reality, it is not permitted to touch, let alone dig around the niche, as the local population attributes a sacral function to it.

The locals refer to this site and to the valley of Chartoi as an abode of fairies (called "the mothers"). It is believed that every Friday the door opens and the fairies visit the people and the valley. The local shamans are possessed by these fairies descending from this valley or the peak of Tirich-mir and others. Therefore, it is said that particular music can be heard from this valley on the happy and worried days of royal families. Because of the sacrality of that space, local people avoid cultivating "hot" or "impure" crops, like onion, peppers, and tobacco in the valley near the niche. People still today congregationally cross this valley during marriage festivities, and present the blood of an animal or bird as an offering, to have the blessings of mother fairies for a good future. This tradition continues from the time immemorial. Similar rituals and beliefs are shared with the communities of remaining Ghizer, Gilgit, Hunza, and Nagir.

3. The site's location and the Chinese accounts

In practice we have little, but if we put it together with other details, we can perhaps conclude that the niche could have housed the statue of Maitreya seen by Faxian and reported by Xuanzang.

On passing the Tsoung Ling (Onion) Mountains, Faxian[1] reached along with his four fellows the location of Tuoli. I do not think that Tuoli may be on the

[1] Visible geological stratigraphy similar to onion layers in the mountain sections of western Hindukush is normally seen in Ghizer, possibly attracted to call Onion Mountains as marked by a portion of this Range near Sumal, Gupis (see Fig. 11).

left bank of the Indus, as proposed by Max Deeg (2000). The toponym is instead well present in Gupis and Yasin. There, during rituals of *Hemas* festivities, Yasini folks recall the memory of the "King of Tuli" (Hakal 2015), which can be identified with Yasin or Gupis. Once passed through Tuoli, Faxian could reach the Sin-to or Indus (Beals 1884: 21-25), after passing over the passes reaching Darel leading to Kohistan valley.[2]

Yasin can be directly approached from Wakhan Pamirs through the Burughul and Darkot Pass. The latter, despite some recent reservations (Tsuchiya 2000), as proved by Aurel Stein, who managed to cross it despite the harsh weather conditions, should be considered the best route to enter Gilgit Baltistan from the Pamirs (Stein 1928: 45-46, figs. 43-44). Stein documented not only a rock-carving of a stupa-like structure at the bottom of the pass but also a few lines of Tibetan (ibid.: fig. 46; see Fig. 10 as Darkot I in Fig. 1).

Now, we cannot but note the fact that location, measurements, and even the presence of a monastery nearby, all fits very well with the valley of Chartoi, rather than with Darel as generally believed and recently elaborated by H. Tsuchiya (2005: 261).[3] The monastery (a large *saṅghārāma*) mentioned by Faxian is possibly the one I could locate at Kōṭ in Sumāl (Hakal 2015: 69-70) or may be another unnoticed structure somewhere in Gupis town. We hope that future systemetic investigations will help in resolving the puzzle.

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This paper was initiated on the inquiry of General Muhammad Yusaf Khan (Former Vice Chief of Army Staff), Mr. Khushwaqt Husain Maqpon, and Mr. Rizwan. Thanks for your insisting inquiry that forced me to produce this short note. Many thanks to Professor Dr. Jonathan Mark Kenoyer for placing his idea about this niche, "looks like it was prepared to carve a figure of Buddha" which indeed pushed me further to visit this site, document and present this work for the readership. I humbly acknowledge the kind support of Professor Dr. Luca Maria Oliveri, for furher adding the details of Faxian's and Xuanzang's routes, and helped me detailing on the technical aspects of the niche as a potential space for a wooden sculpture, and adding more to my text and reference. Beside this, acknowledgeable critical discussion of John Mock gave another arguable view on the paper, helped me to remove confusions. I shall remember my local guides Durdana Khan, Nazir Ahmad Jan and his son Faham Ahamad Jan, enriched me with the details of local myths and voluntarily accompanied to reach the site. All the images with the exception of Fig. 10 are by the Author, and Figs. 1-3 are elaborations from Google Earth.

[2] Following Faxian, Sung Yun and Xuanzang visited Khotan, other Central Asian cities and Gandhara. They both mention the rugged landscape of Po-lu-lo (Bolor) in the Tsoung Ling mountains and gave a description of geography with details of landscape, rivers, roads, bridges and cultures (Beals 1884: 19-20).

[3] Of course her view was somehow influenced by the idea that Faxian first reached Gilgit and then approached Darel via the Singal valley, Punyal. Once one accepts the old (Stein's) and still valid and more plausible theory of the Darkot pass, it will be clear that the valley of Chartoi is the best way to reach Swat.

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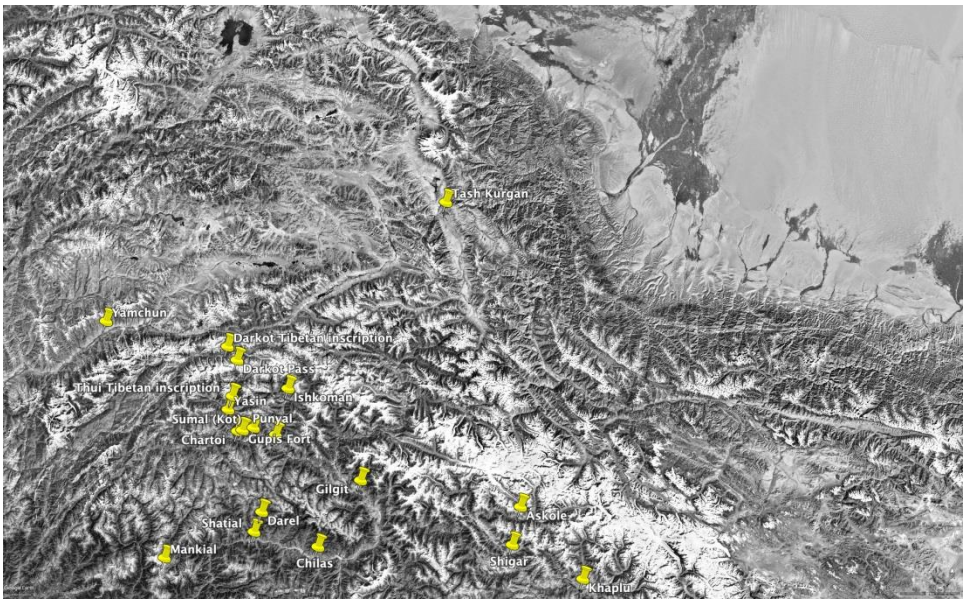


Fig. 1 - Central Asian landscape.

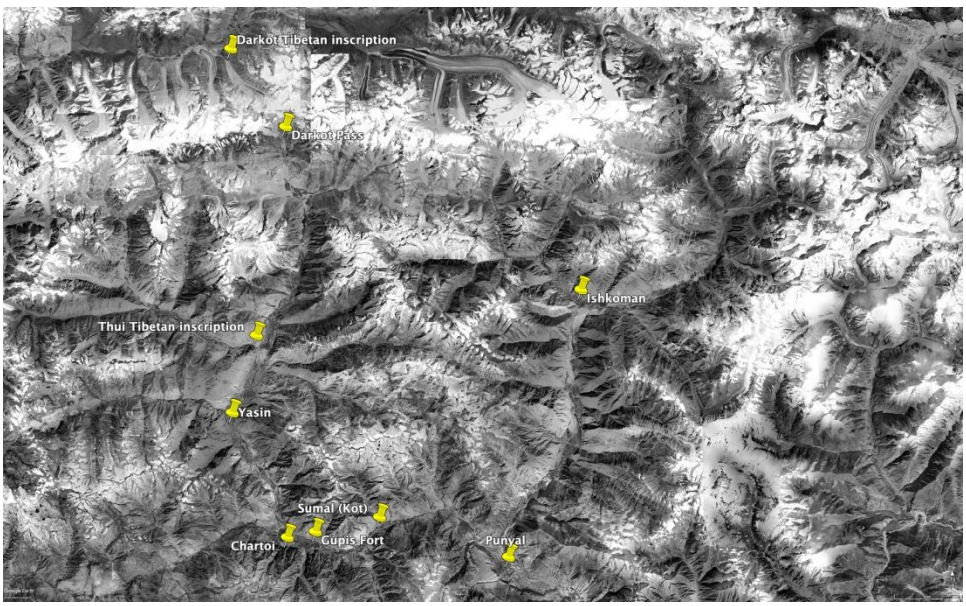


Fig. 2 - Location of Chartoi Rock Cut Niche.

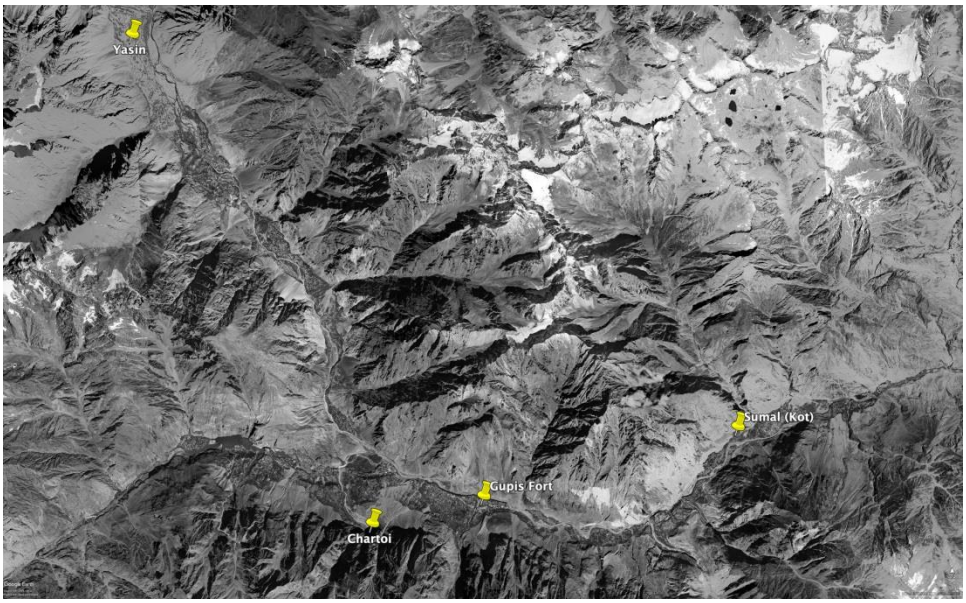


Fig. 3 - Location of Chartoi Niche with reference to Sumal (Kot).

Fig. 4 - Chartoi Vale and Rock Cut Niche in view.

Fig. 5 - A closer view.

Fig. 6 - Chartoi Rock Cut Niche.

Fig. 7 - Details of top arch of Rock Cut.

Fig. 8 - Details of stone works.

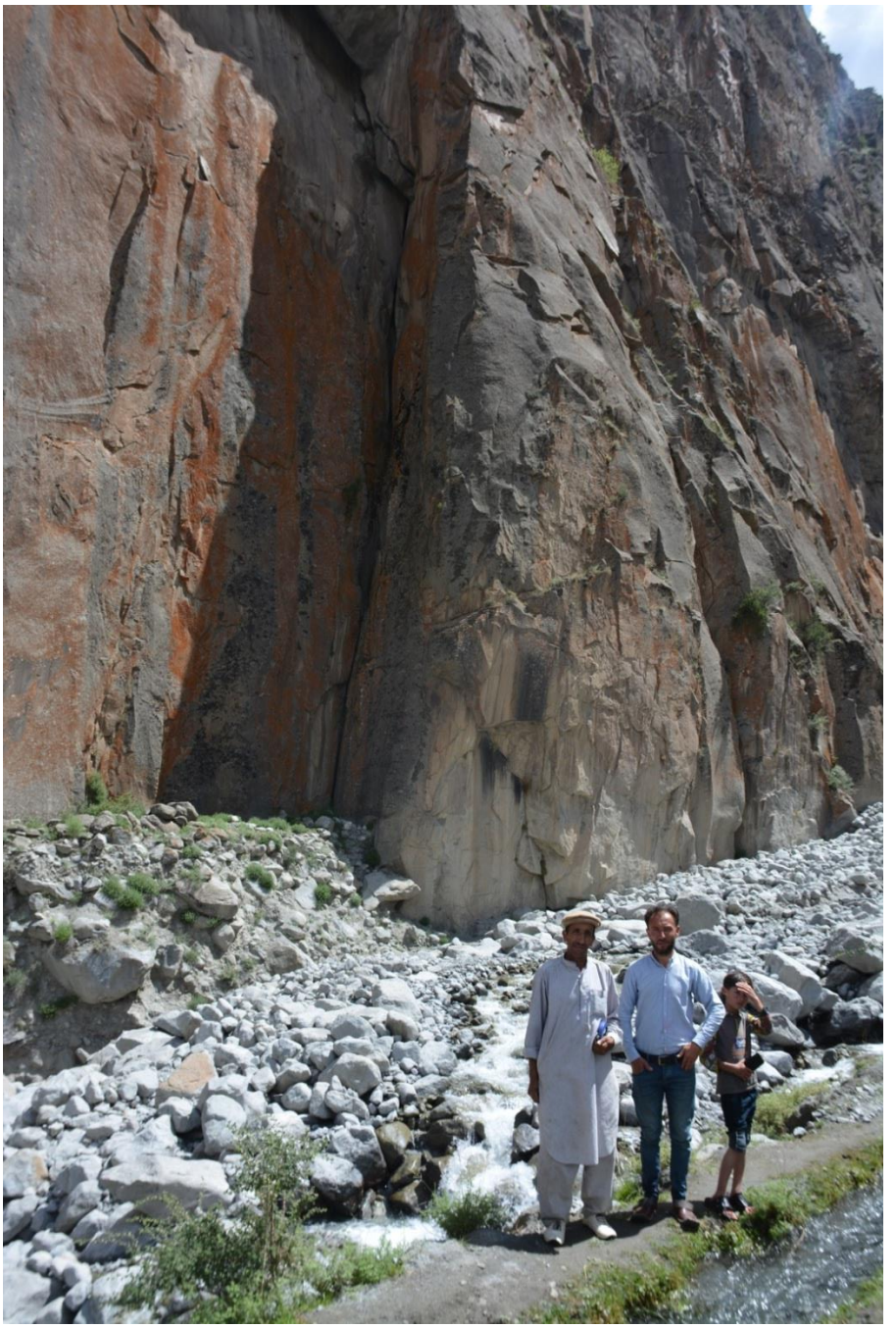
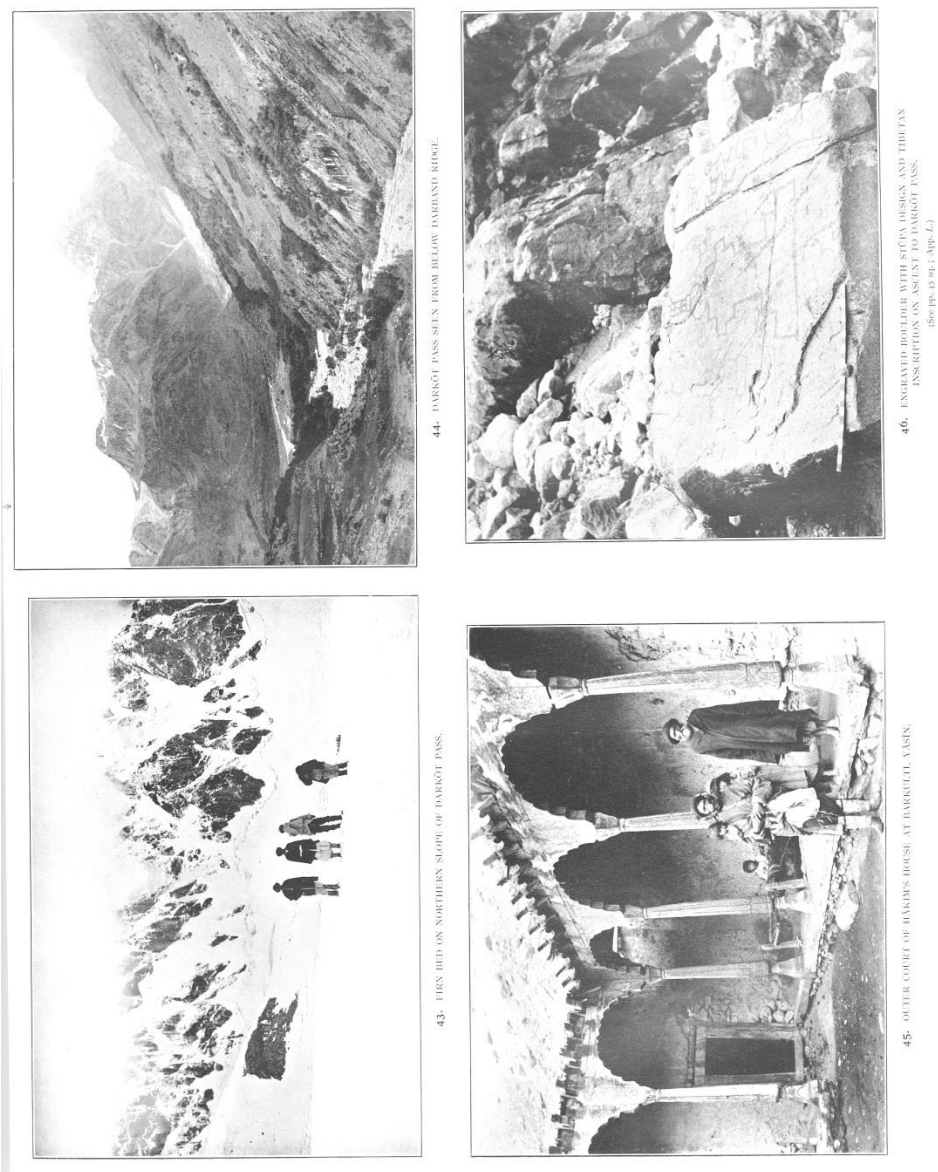


Fig. 9 - Local guides and site in background.



44. DARKÔT PASS SEEN FROM BELOW DARBAND RIDGE.

46. ENGRAVED BOULDER WITH STÛPA DESIGN AND TIBETAN INSCRIPTION ON ASCENT TO DARKÔT PASS.
(See pp. 49 sq.; App. L.)

43. FIRS BELOW NORTHERN SLOPE OF DARKÔT PASS.

45. OUTER COURT OF HARDIS HOUSE AT BARKULI, YASIN.

Fig. 10 - Darkot Pass (Stein 1926: figs 43-46)

Fig. 11 - Section showing geological stratigraphy like onion layers, on the left bank of Yasin River, at the eastern side Sumal, or at the front of Kaṣiṣal, Yangal, Gupis.

Obituary

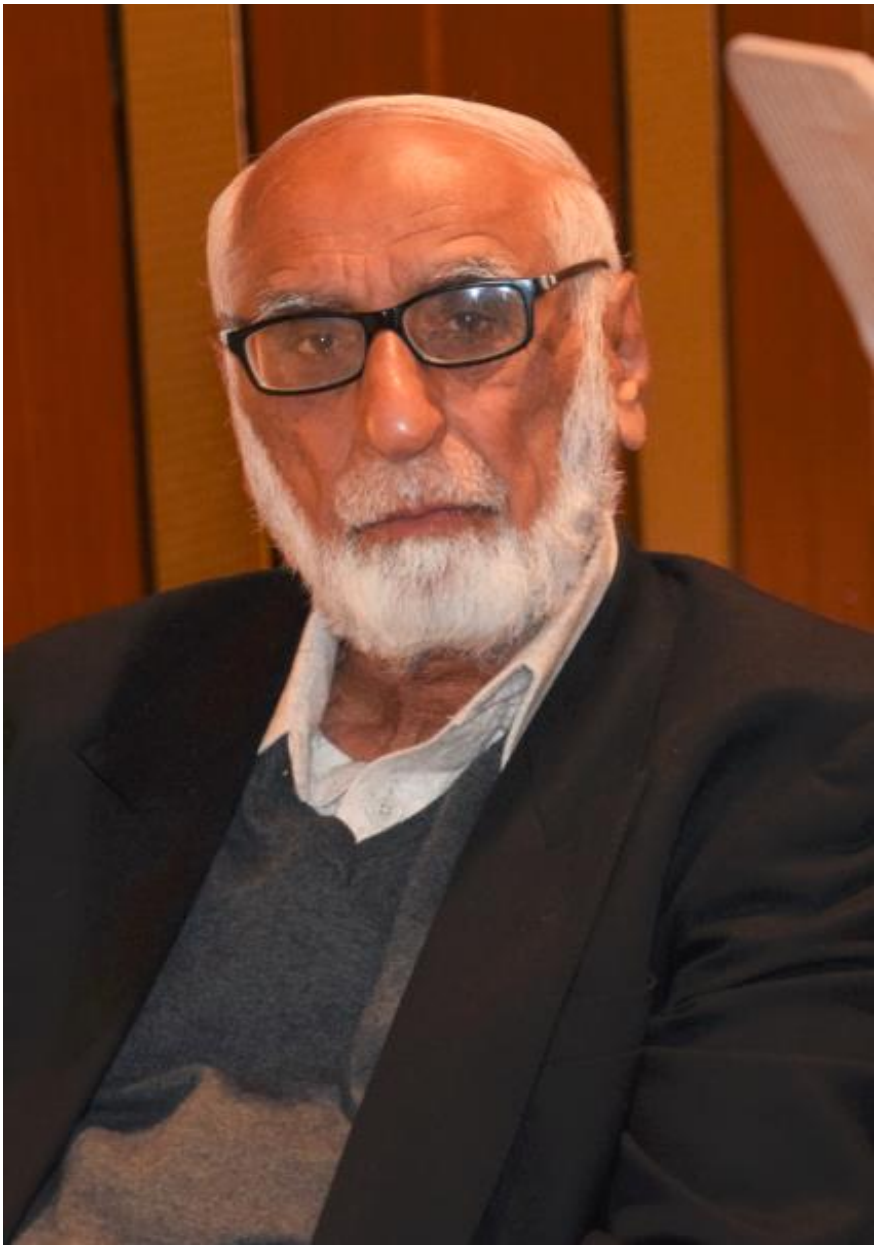


Fig. 1 - Prof. Farid Khan latest picture, 2019.
(Courtesy of Asad Farid Khan)

In the memory of Prof. Farid Khan: His Early Career and Contributions to Archaeology, with Special Reference to the Bannu Archaeological Project

Sadeed Arif

Prof. Farid Khan was the senior-most archaeologist trained by stalwarts like Dr. F. A Khan and Dr. A.H Dani, and himself had a brilliant career both as professor of Archaeology and Director of Peshawar Museum. He died on 28th June 2020 at Peshawar. He was born in 1934 at Bazar Ahmad Khan in the historical city of Bannu, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. He got his bachelor's degree from Islamia College Peshawar in 1957 and Masters' degree in History from the University of Peshawar in 1959. Later he was registered as scholar in Archaeology and appointed lecturer in 1961 at the historic Islamia College. In 1962 he was posted to the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. He participated in a number of exploratory and excavation expeditions in various parts of Pakistan and also continued to develop his knowledge of archaeological theory and practice through studies at universities in Europe. He obtained B.A (Hons.) in Archaeology in 1967 and M.A. in Archaeology 1996 from the University of Cambridge, U.K., and in 1981 he was awarded an M.Sc. (with Distinction) in Quaternary Geology and Geomorphology by the Free University of Brussels in Belgium.

Throughout his life he remained a popular teacher and a serious researcher, always contributing new ideas, concepts and theories related to South Asian Archaeology throughout his long and highly active career. When, in 1971, it was almost decided by the University of Peshawar to close the Department of Archaeology, he rescued it with his strong arguments.

He was appointed as Director of the Peshawar Museum in 1970. During his tenure he re-organized the entire display of the Peshawar Museum and added two new galleries, one Islamic and the other on Tribal ethnography.

He excavated a number of sites in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and published many research articles in national and international journals. He re-excavated the Middle Stone Age site of Sanghao Cave, near Mardan, in 1974 and also made the first investigation of Rehman Dheri, a large Bronze Age site in the Gomal valley. In 1990, his NGO, the Pakistan Heritage Society, in collaboration with Professor Dr. Michael Meister of Pennsylvania University, Philadelphia, USA, initiated a project to document the Hindu temples along the Indus and the Salt Range. The joint project also established the chronology of these temples.

He was elected a member of the Syndicate of the University of Peshawar and also served on various national and provincial level policy-making committees. He held various academic, administrative and co-academic positions until his retirement in 1994. He was appointed first Director of newly

created Directorate of Archaeology and Museums of the (then) NWFP. During his one-year tenure he contributed greatly and many bold steps were taken in respect of administration and research. He conducted extremely important surveys/explorations of potential areas and excavations of sites in KPK. The Buddhist site of Aziz Dheri, the grave site of Adina in Swabi, and Sheikhan Dheri at Charsadda are among some of the sites he excavated.

Farid Khan's archaeological explorations and surveys in the Bannu Basin in 1975-76 (Khan 1986) lead to the discovery of many new and important settlement sites, some with artefact assemblages closely resembling those of Gumla II and Rehman Dheri I in the Gomal Plain (see below). Indeed, one of the earliest publications by Farid Khan was on the lithic technology at the early Bronze Age site of Rehman Dheri (Khan 1979). Subsequent field surveys and excavations were undertaken in Bannu by Farid Khan, initially as joint director of a project with archaeologists from Cambridge University (1977-79) and then as co-director of the Bannu Archaeological Project (1985-2020).

The Bannu Archaeological Project was established in 1985 as a collaborative research project (Khan et al. 2000a) and its work broadened considerably the range of early settlement sites known in the Bannu Basin (Khan et al. 1987, 1988, 1991a, 1991b) and of previously unknown or poorly understood cultural phases in both the Bannu Basin and the Gomal Plain, as detailed below.

Most notable among the new sites discovered by Farid Khan is Sheri Khan Tarakai, which was found during surveys by the Bannu Archaeological Project in 1985 and excavated over several seasons, as reported in detail in many publications (Khan et al. 1986, 1989, 1990, 1991c, 1992), culminating in a substantial volume on the site and its broader cultural context (Khan et al. 2010). The research undertaken at Sheri Khan Tarakai confirmed it to be an early village settlement, radiocarbon dated to the late fifth to the early third millennium BC, making it the earliest known village site in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province. The inhabitants of Sheri Khan Tarakai deployed a range of subsistence strategies, including the cultivation of barley and wheat, the management of domestic sheep, goat and cattle, the collection of a range of wild plant and wood species, and the hunting of wild animals. Following the discovery of Sheri Khan Tarakai, other sites with identical types of material culture were found in the Bannu Basin and the Gomal Plain, including at Jhandi Babar A/I (Khan et al. 2010). This cultural episode, known only from the Bannu Basin and the Gomal Plain, has been named the 'Sheri Khan Tarakai Phase' after the nominal 'type site'.

Lak Largai, Lewan and other sites in Bannu, plus Gumla II, Jhandi Babar A/II and RHD I in the Gomal, represent another very distinctive and homogeneous cultural phase, later in date than the Sheri Khan Tarakai Phase but with a similar geographical distribution. This cultural phenomenon was first identified by Farid Khan and colleagues in the Bannu Archaeological Project

who named it the 'Tochi-Gomal Phase' (Khan et al., 2000b, 2000c, 2000d, 2001, 2004).

Prior to Farid Khan's ground-breaking archaeological surveys, the best-known ancient sites in Bannu were the huge mounds at of the Early Historic period at Akra. The Bannu Archaeological Project undertook a series of seasons of survey and excavations at Akra (Khan et al. 2000f, 2000g, 2008; Knox et al. 2002; Magee et al. 2005), the results of which have recently been brought to fruition in a major book by Cameron Petrie (2020), one of the team members of the Bannu Archaeological Project.

In addition to his wide-ranging archaeological interests, Farid Khan was keenly interested in ethnoarchaeology, including recording traditional building methods (Figure 4), crafts and other practices in Bannu that, sadly, are on the decline in this modern age. He published a wide-ranging article on this (Khan 1994) and a more focused article on traditional village-based pottery production (Khan and Thomas 2020), which was the last scholarly work he produced during his long and highly productive life.

Until his death he was working for his NGO, the Pakistan Heritage Society, and was also engaged in supervising and guiding research scholars in the fields of Prehistoric, Bronze Age and Buddhist archaeology of South Asia. The present author first met him in 2007 at a conference in Islamabad and later on he guided me in my Ph.D. studies and research at the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. For this cooperation and sincere help, the author is very much thankful to him and prays for his soul in heaven.

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Fig. 2 - Standing: Prof. Farid Khan, Ihsan H. Nadeem, sitting, A.H Dani, F.A Khan 1995 (Courtesy of Shakirullah Khan).

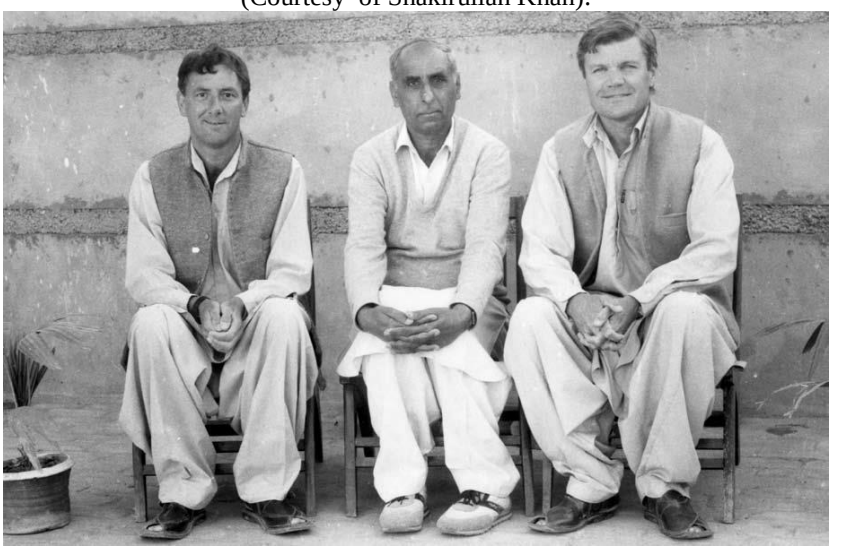

Fig. 3 - The founder members of the Bannu Archaeological Project in 1985. Centre: Prof. Farid Khan (Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar); Right: Mr. J.R. Knox (Keeper of Oriental Antiquities, the British Museum, London); Left: Prof. Dr. Kenneth D. Thomas (Institute of Archaeology, UCL/University of London).

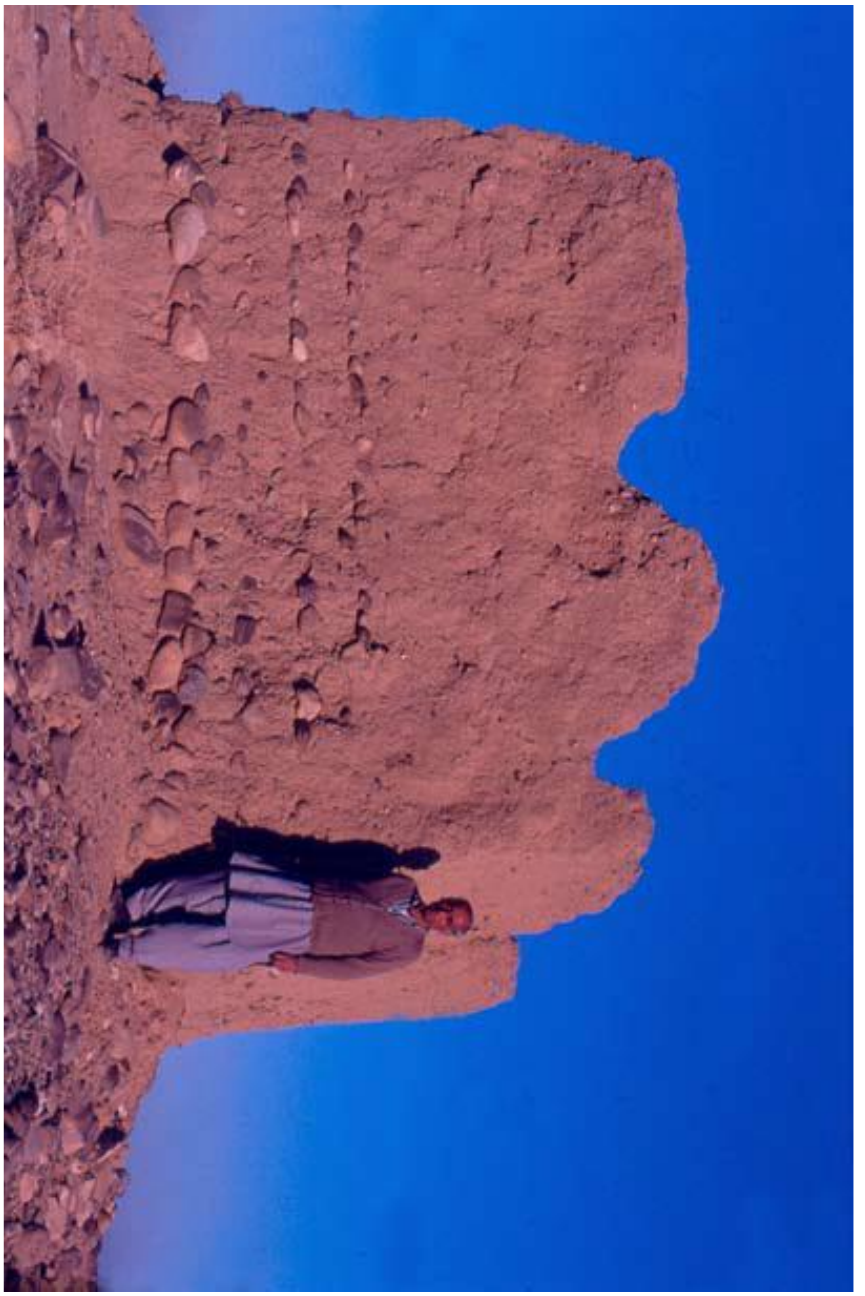

Fig. 4 - Prof. Farid Khan beside a recently abandoned structure in the west of Bannu District which shows the very effective traditional method of wall construction using boulders, cobbles and clay.

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Journal of Asian Civilizations

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Both British and American English standards are acceptable; however, the preferred language should be consistently utilized throughout the paper. Generally, the whole text, excluding title, abstract, keywords, borrowed wordings, captions, and footnotes, should be in Times New Roman 12 (size of characters) with inter-space 1.0. Please avoid using Page Numbers, Headers, and Footers.

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Footnotes should be used only if necessary. They will be in Times New Roman 10, inter-space 1.0, and will be indicated by numerals (1, 2, ...)[1]

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The title should reflect the contents of the paper presented in **bold** characters **Times New Roman 14,** inter-space 1.0.

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The author's name should in **bold** Times New Roman 12. In the case of more than a single author, between every author's name, there should be the mark of slash "/".

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The abstract of 250-300 words should establish a relationship between the title and content of the research paper, containing a central theme of the paper. It should briefly introduce the topic at first, the scope of study at second, a short note about the adopted methodology and analysis at third, structure and outline of the research paper at fourth, and a tentative conclusion at the end. It should be in Times New Roman 11 'italics' with inter-space 1.0. Non-English terms*, as they are italicized within the text, are required to be kept as* normal.

[1] Required details as footnotes should be here.

5. Keywords: There should be maximum seven keywords, in Times New Roman 11.

6. Headings and sub-headings

Every heading should be **bold** Times New Roman 12 and should be represented with serial numbers in Arabic numerals. Sub-heading should be *italicized*.

7a. Figures, plates and tables

Pictures should be abbreviated and capitalized within the text as "Fig. 11", "Figs. 10-11". "Fig.", "Figs.", can include photos, ink drawings, sketch drawings, graphics, and charts (if not exceeding one page).

For longer data-sheets, and charts longer than one page, the term Table (not abbreviated) should be utilized.

Plate/Plates, "Pl. 1", "Pls. 1-2", refer to the illustrations put at the end of the article. There should be a space of 1.0 between picture and caption.

7b. Captions

Captions should be in Times New Roman 11, and they should always include credits (ex.: "Photo/Drawings by the Author/by [name].", "Photo by [name]; Courtesy Lahore Museum [proper credits].", "Photo after Dani 1992; fig. 5; Courtesy *Journal of Asian Civilization*.").

Fig. 2 - The W section of the hallway (Drawings by the Author).

Pl. 4 - Gumbat (Swat): the Main Stupa, E side (Drawings by the Author).

8. Citation within the text

Single citation of reference should be as (Dani 1989: 34) or (Dani 1992: fig. 32) (in case of citations, figures, plates = fig., figs., / pl., pls., should not be capitalized). In the case of two or more references chronological order should be preferred (Dani 1989: 34-37, Tucci 2016[2]: 20-21, Hakal 2019: 174). New editions should be indicated with superscript (Tucci 2016[2]; Stein 2002[3]).

9. Indentation required for borrowed wordings

The borrowed wordings required to be placed in the text should in Times New Roman 11 with inter-space 1.0, enclosed within "apostrophes" and indented to 1 inch from the left-hand side.

10. References

Books:

Bahrani, Z. (2014) *The Infinite Image: Art, Time and the Aesthetic Dimension in Antiquity*. London.

New editions should be indicated with a super-script:

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