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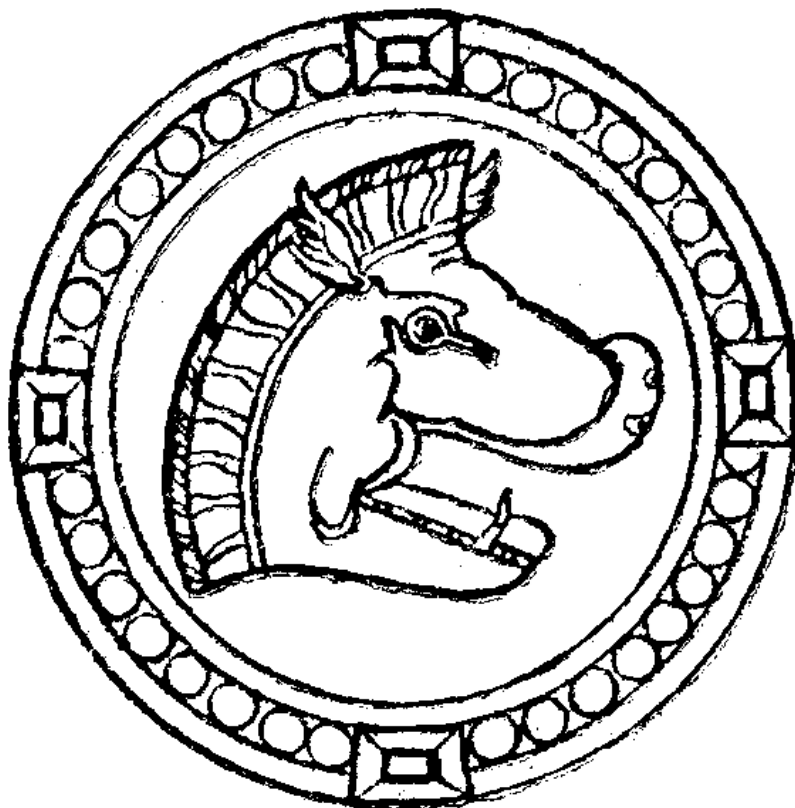
# Journal of Asian Civilizations

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Cover Photo:
Wild boar heads within pearl roundel, Bamyan
(after Tarzi 1977: logo on the cover).

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# Discovery of the Earliest Monumental *Parinirvāṇa* from Bhamāla, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Pakistan)

## Abdul Hameed/Abdul Samad
## Shakirullah/J.M. Kenoyer

## Abstract

*Recent archaeological excavations at Bhamāla have brought to light many important discoveries in the history of Buddhist art and architecture. One of these is the* parinirvāṇa *statue of Buddha measuring 14 meters in length. Radiocarbon dates of the charcoal /charred wood recovered from inside the terracotta sculptures discovered inside the* parinirvāṇa *chamber place the construction of the structure to around the third century CE. This represents the earliest example of a monumental* parinirvāṇa *image and provides new evidence that must be considered when discussing the origin of monumental* parinirvāṇa *images in South and Central Asia.*

**Keywords:** Bhamala, *parinirvāṇa*, Taxila, Ajantā, Tapa Sardar, Polonnaruwa

## 1. Parinirvāṇas

The *parinirvāṇa,* or great salvation, was an important event in the life of the Buddha that Gandhāran sculptors depicted with religious zeal in elegantly carved stone or molded stucco. According to various traditions, the Buddha is said to have died in 480 or 483 BC at the age of 80. He, along with his disciple Ānanda, entered at last the country of Kuśinagara and selected a mango grove for his stay. During his stay the Buddha was offered meat and, while eating it, he suffered a calcinatory attack and became very weak and was even unable to move (Richard 2011). Thus, he departed during the last hour of the night and there assembled, hundreds of his followers including Mahākaśyapa, Ānanda and Subhadra to witness the event (Ali and Qazi 2008: 253). His body was cremated according to the wish he made, which was known to Ānanda, before his death. Three major events took place before his death including the conversion of Subhadra, the offering of food by

Chundas, and the last sermon (Sherrier 1980: 211; Yamamoto 1973: 19; Hameed 2018: 59-60).

In his last sermon, the Buddha stressed upon the *triratna* (Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha) and clearly defined the importance of *nirvāṇa* and other modes of discipline. After his cremation, a dispute arose among seven different states over the division of his relics, which was finally solved by a Brahman named Drona who divided the relics into eight equal parts (Sherrier 1980: 216).

It was this great event, the *parinirvāṇa*, that led to the construction of stupas to enshrine the Buddha's relics after they had been divided into eight parts (Sherrier 1980: 210). But it is one of the strangest anomalies in Buddhist iconography that, except for Gandhāra, where it was elaborately depicted, the death of the Śākyamūni was, at least in this early period, neglected by Buddhist societies elsewhere (Sherrier, 1980: 210). The reason for this delay, according to most of the scholars, was due to the presence of stupas, which from the beginning functioned as symbol of the essence and the last step of the Buddha's career.  As they contained relics, stupas were considered representative of the Buddha himself and, as such, a part of Buddha that remained in the world after the *parinirvāṇa* (Ebert 1980: 219-220).

The early depiction of the *parinirvāṇa* in Sanchi and Bhārhut is exclusively in the form of stupas. But at Amrāvati the stupa cult was broken in favour of a narrative sequence from the *Parinirvāṇasutra* (Gosh and Sarkar 1964-1965: 168). This example can be seen from Amrāvati in the form of the empty seat of Buddha at the time when Buddha was not yet depicted in anthropomorphic form. This practice of depicting an empty bed can also been seen in the fifth century CE on seals from Mathurā as if it were the Gandhāran artists who finally placed the first anthropomorphic Buddha on the empty seat (Ebert 1980: 221-222; Gosh and Sarkar, 1964-1965: 168; Hameed 2018: 61).

Although the practice of depicting *parinirvāṇa* using an anthropomorphic form started in Gandhāra, the monumentalization of this formula was, until now, believed to have been first started much earlier by artists in India. This perception was based on depictions of monumental images at Ajantā and Kāsia, both of which are dated to the beginning of the fifth century CE, predating all other monumental *parinirvāṇa* statues found in the surrounding regions (Ebert 1980: 222). The monumental *parinirvāṇa* Buddha with a core of unbaked bricks,

reported from Chapel 63 at Tapa Sardār, near Ghazni in Afghānistān has been assigned to the eighth century CE (Antonini 2005: 325-326; Taddei 1974: 111). The one at Chui Valley, Kyrgyzstān is dated to the ninth century CE (Levi-Strauss and Lin 2004: 58). Monumental *parinirvāṇa* images at Dunhuang, China and Polonnaruwa, Sri Lanka were created in the eleventh century CE (Levi-Strauss and Lin 2004: fig. 3). However, the discovery of the colossal size *parinirvāṇa* statue from Bhamāla (much earlier in date) has confirmed that the *parinirvāṇa* in both small and monumental form first appeared in Gandhāra and later, this idea disseminated to other regions (Samad et al. 2017a; Samad et al. 2017b). Bhamāla, a small but important Buddhist establishment (Fig. 1) lies between It lies between 72°47'58.31"E longitude and 33°49'13.59"N latitude. The site is located on the right bank of the Haro River in the Khānpur valley (an offshoot of the Taxila Valley) (Samad et al. 2017; Hameed 2018: 1).

## 2. Architecture and other features of monumental *parinirvāṇas*

*Previous data*

The *parinirvāṇa*, being one of the most significant events in the life of the Buddha, was an important subject for artists even before the appearance either in small or monumental depictions of the scene. This event was first represented in the abstract by the stupa itself and later with an empty bed (Ebert 1980: 221-222). The representation of this event with an empty bed is found on fifth century CE seals from Mathurā, which show that abstract symbolic representations continued even after depictions of the *Parinirvāṇa* scene using human forms of the Buddha and his disciples had already appeared (Ebert 1980: 221-222; Hameed 2018: 60).

Artists in Gandhāra created small stone and stucco panels depicting the *Parinirvāṇa* and other scenes in the life of the Buddha to adorn stupas from the very beginning (first century CE) (Ebert 1980: 221). This indicates that the followers of the Buddhist *Dharma* in this region were not satisfied merely with symbolic worship for their religious satisfaction. Instead, they were always more inclined towards visual representations of important events.

The idea of making monumental statues representing the *Parinirvāṇa* scene provided with separate pathway for circumambulation or *pradakshina*, must have been taken from religious texts like the Mahāyāṇa *Parinirvāṇa* sutras, which according to Dehejia, were composed as early as first century CE (Dehejia 1997: 213). According to the Mahayana *Parinirvāṇa*-sutras, Mahākaśyapa, after reaching Kushinara, walked three times around the pyre in *pradakshina* and paid homage to the Buddha (Sherrier 1980: 212; Yamamoto 1973). Monumental *Parinirvāṇa* statues, including that of Adzhina Tepe, Tapa Sardār and Bhamāla, are also provided with separate *pradakshina* paths.

*Bhamāla*

At Bhamāla, one *pradakshina* path would have been outside of the *Parinirvāṇa* chamber. When accessing the chamber itself the devotees would have entered from the northern entrance and proceeded from the foot of the image to the head and then exit from the southern entrance. The low ledge of stone slabs that runs along the front of the image may have been for guiding the devotees along the front of the image as it runs along the entire chamber in a north-south direction. There is a central entrance as well, which may have been for providing light or a central access/exit area. The interior walls of the chamber were originally decorated with terracotta sculptures of devotees mourning the death of the Buddha and it is not unlikely that devotees would also view and venerate these images, so it is possible that there were multiple pathways to access and exit the chamber and both simple and complex forms of *parikrama* or *pradakshina*.

The *parinirvāṇa* statue at Bhamāla (Pl. 1, Figs. 2 -3) is unique in terms of material. It is made of *kanjur* stone covered with painted plaster, a technique that was extensively used in architecture in the Gandhāra region. To our knowledge, no other Buddha image made of this material has yet been reported from the South Asian subcontinent. The colossal image of the Buddha was depicted reclining on its right side in a north-south direction with the head to the south and facing to the east toward the main Stupa A. The statue was badly damaged due to in part to the original collapse of the building in antiquity and possibly ancient looting of the structure, as well as by more recent illegal

digging. The surviving remnants of this statue that are still in situ include, the pillow, the lower half of the body, including the draped right leg and part of the lower left leg, as well as the right foot and part of the left foot. These fragments along with loose kanjur pieces with traces of carvings that can be linked to the ear and face indicate that the head was massive that the overall image would have been quite impressive. Using the model of the better preserved but much smaller image of a stucco *parinirvāṇa* image found by Marshall on Stupa A, a hypothetical reconstruction of the full image has been presented in Fig. 4. It is unlikely that it will be possible to ever reconstruct the original image from the fallen pieces but using this model it would indicate that the interior height of the image, including the platform, was around 6 m or possibly even higher. To construct this type of building and image would have required considerable resources and architectural skill. More important however is the motivation to demonstrate devotion by making such a monumental image for worship and adoration. This would have been the largest image of its kind at the time and must have attracted a lot of attention from the general population.

It is important to note that the *parinirvāṇa* was also replicated at Bhamāla in other forms. A stucco panel (Pl. 2) was reported by Marshall from main stupa A, and three more panels (Pls 3-5) were recently found during our last field season, attached to the drum of main stupa B. Thus, at Bhamāla were have the most extensive number of *parinirvāṇa* depictions in the entire Gandhāra region.

The monumental *parinirvāṇa* image at Bhamāla is accommodated in a long rectangular chamber (Fig. 3b., Pl. 6), measuring 22.72 m north-south in length and 7.56 m east-west in width. Access to the chamber is provided by three openings on the eastern side. The first and second entrances from north to south are of the same size, both measuring 2.20 m in width while the third and southern-most entrance is slightly wider and measures 2.30 m. The entire chamber was constructed with semi-ashlar masonry with double ashlar courses between the large diapers, and with small flat stones inserted between the squared ashlar to level-up the beds. The interior and exterior walls were originally covered with a thick layer of lime plaster that was probably left plain white. A floor level made of lime mortar mixed with pebbles was exposed at a depth of 240 cm below the surface level. The chamber was solely built to house the *parinirvāṇa*

statue measuring over 14 m in length. For this purpose, a long platform measuring 15.7 m in length was constructed inside the chamber in a north-south direction against the west wall. The height of the platform is approximately one metre. The facing of the platform is also semi-ashlar masonry with two additional rows made of *kanjur* covered with lime plaster at the top that form the bed or mat on which the Buddha image is reclining with the head to the south and facing the main stupa. The platform has two niches (Pls 7, 8) constructed approximately 0.7 m from each end. On the south end the niche would have been under the edge of the pillow and the north niche is positioned under the ankles of the image. A low ledge measuring 0.45 m in width and made of stone slabs was constructed along the front of the platform in a north-south direction that may have been associated with circumambulation or *pradakshina*. In addition, low stone platforms were also exposed along the southern and northern walls inside the chamber to accommodate terracotta sculptures. Remnants of such sculptures were discovered during the excavation on the northern, northwestern, southern and southeastern corners of the chamber (Hameed 2018; Hameed et al. 2019).

The *parinirvāṇa* chamber was probably covered with a wooden roof based on the evidence from a layer of charcoal, iron nails and clumps of iron fittings discovered from inside the camber. Although the roof may have collapsed with burning, there is no evidence for burning on the terracotta sculptures inside the chamber or on the plaster decoration covering the *parinirvāṇa* image. There is no evidence suggesting a second story was found, although a staircase leading to the roof was discovered outside the chamber on the northern side.

## 3. Chronology of monumental *parinirvāṇas*

*Previous data*

As mentioned earlier, the stone/stucco panels depicted with *parinirvāṇa* scene first appeared in Gandhāra, but the tradition of monumental *parinirvāṇa* was considered to have emerged first at Ajantā in India. Chronology of the monumental *parinirvāṇa* prior to the recent discovery at Bhamāla is given as under.

Ajanta

The monumental *parinirvāṇa* image in cave 26 at Ajantā is dated to fifth century CE (Dehejia 1997: 207-10, 235). The site of Ajantā in Mahārashtra, India was founded in the first century BCE with two *chaitya*s and a set of residential *vihāras* (Dehejia 1997). The extensive and vibrant sets of narrative murals for which the site is famous, were the result of a later concentrated phase of patronage, largely sponsored by aristocracy associated with Vākaṭaka ruling family, which took place in the fifth century CE (Dehejia 1997: 207-10, 235). Cave number 26 at Ajantā contains a 7.6 meter (25 feet) long *parinirvāṇa* statue of Buddha flanked by *Sāl* trees at either end. Seated figures of various monks, including Subhadra and Ānanda, are present while the standing feet of Mahākaśyapa are also visible. The fifth century CE date of cave 26 is confirmed by the elaborated rock-cut Sanskrit inscriptions on the façade of the right door, dedicating the cave to Buddhabhadra, who is said to have exercised much influence with the feudatory Aśmaka king (Dehejia, 1997: 207-10, 235).

Tapa Sardār, Bāmiyān and Adzhina Tepe

The *parinirvāṇa* images reported from Tapa Sardār, Bāmiyān, is assigned to the fifth – sixth century CE, while those reported from Tapa Sardār and Adzihna Tepe are dated to seventh – eighht century CE (Taddei 1974: 15-16).
        According to Taddei and Verardi (1974: 15), the Adzhina Tepe and Tapa Sardār colossal *parinirvāṇa* scenes are contemporary to paintings at Bāmiyān, Afghanistan that represent the same event. However, the 7th – 8th century CE date of the former two scenes are likely somewhat off, since in the early 7th century CE, the Chinese pilgrim Xuan Zang reported seeing a 304.8 meter (1000 feet) long figure of Buddha lying in a sleeping position (obviously *Mahāparinirvāṇa*) at a convent nearby Bāmiyān (Beal, 2004: 51). As this *parinirvāṇa* image was well-established at the time of the pilgrims visit, it could be argued that it was likely to have been built earlier (so far we do not have data earlier than mid-sixth century CE) which would make it the same age as the famous monumental stone sculptures of Bāmiyān. Fitzsimmons is of the view that the stucco panel reported

from the Bhamāla main stupa A by Marshall was contemporary with Adzhina Tepe and Tapa Sardār (Fitzsimmons 2001: 47). However, he failed to take into consideration the numismatic evidence, as Marshall discovered coins dating to the later Kushān Period within the foundations of the stupa (Marshall 1951: 392-93). If Adzhina Tepe and Tapa Sardār were contemporary with Bhamāla main stupa A, then they should date to at least as early as the 5th century CE. This date is very similar to those provided by radiocarbon samples from the *Parinirvāṇa* chamber. It is supported by coins from the monastery area, which date from the later Kushāna (Kanishka II, Vasudeva I and II) Period (Hameed 2018). The radiocarbon dates of charcoal collected from the main stupa A top, and those collected from the debris inside the *parinirvāṇa* chamber also give the same 4th – 5th century CE date (Pl. 13-14) (see below).

Later monuments

The *parinirvāṇa* statue of Buddha from Chui Valley, Kyrgyzstan is dated to the nineth century CE (Levi-Strauss and Lin, 2004, fig. 3). Monumental *parinirvāṇa* images at Dunhuang, China was created in the eleventh century CE (Wang 2018: 3). The Polonnaruwa Statue from Sri Lanka representing the *parinirvāṇa* is assigned to the eleventh century CE (Premtilleke and Karunaratne 2004).

*Bhamala*

Until the discovery at Bhamala, artists at Ajantā in peninsular India were credited with having created the first monumental *parinirvāṇa* statues in the fifth century CE. Now we know that the monumental *parinirvāṇa* statue at Bhamāla is earlier and can be considered as a key for the evolution of such specific iconography in Buddhist art and archaeology.

No numismatic evidence was recovered from inside the chamber of the monumental *parinirvāṇa* chamber at Bhamāla, which was excavated during our first two field seasons (2012-13 and 2014-15) (Samad et al. 2017; Hameed et al. 2018). However, new radiocarbon dates on materials associated with the chamber place its construction in the third century CE (Pls 9-12) (Hameed et al. 2018).

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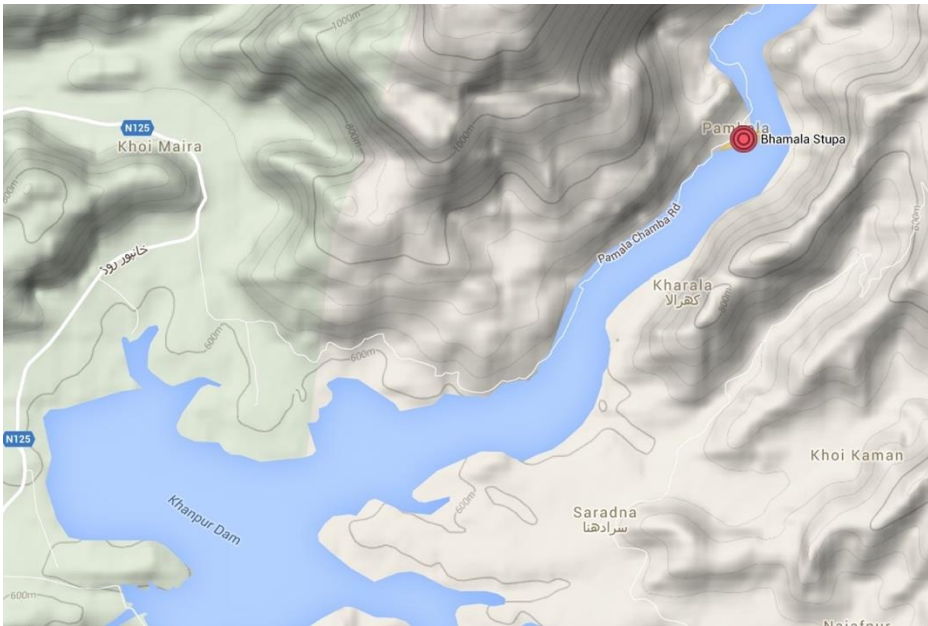
Fig. 1. Google Map with the Bhamala Buddhist Complex (Taxila)
(elaborated by A. Hameed).
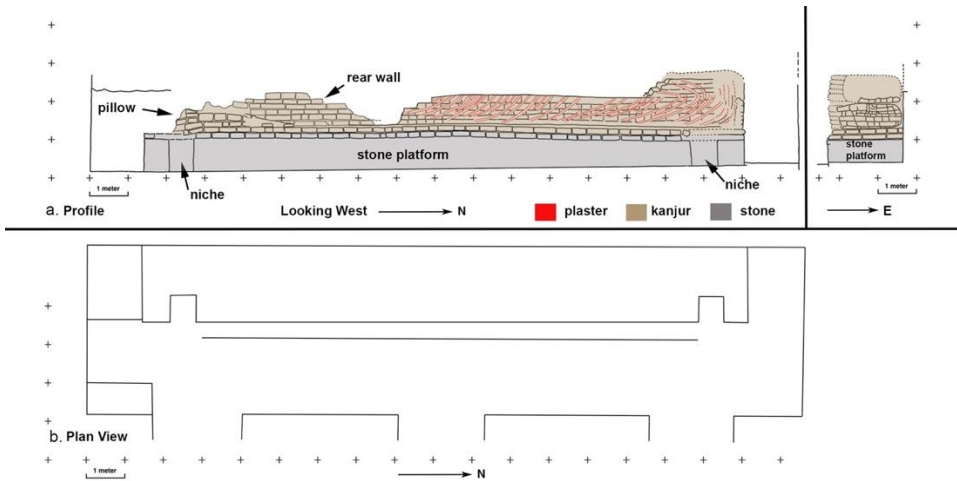


Fig. 2a - Profile view of remnants of the monumental *Mahaparinirvāṇa*, Bhamāla

Fig. 2b - Plan view of the *Mahaparinirvāṇa* chamber

(Drawings by J.M.Kenoyer and A. Hameed).
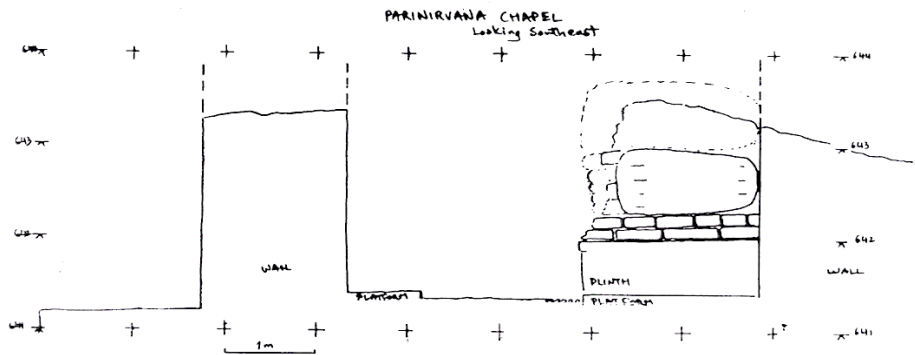
Fig. 3 - Lower Foot of the *Mahaparinirvāṇa* at Bhamāla overlooking south
(Drawings byJ.M.Kenoyer).
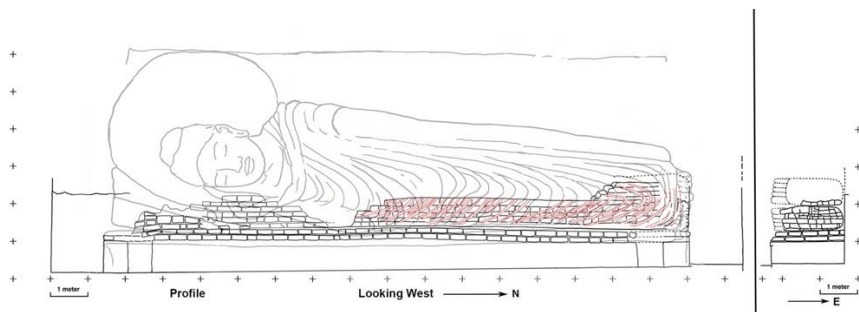


Fig. 4 -  Hypothetical reconstruction of the chamber using the smaller *parinirvāṇa*
from Stupa A as a model (Drawings by J.M.Kenoyer).
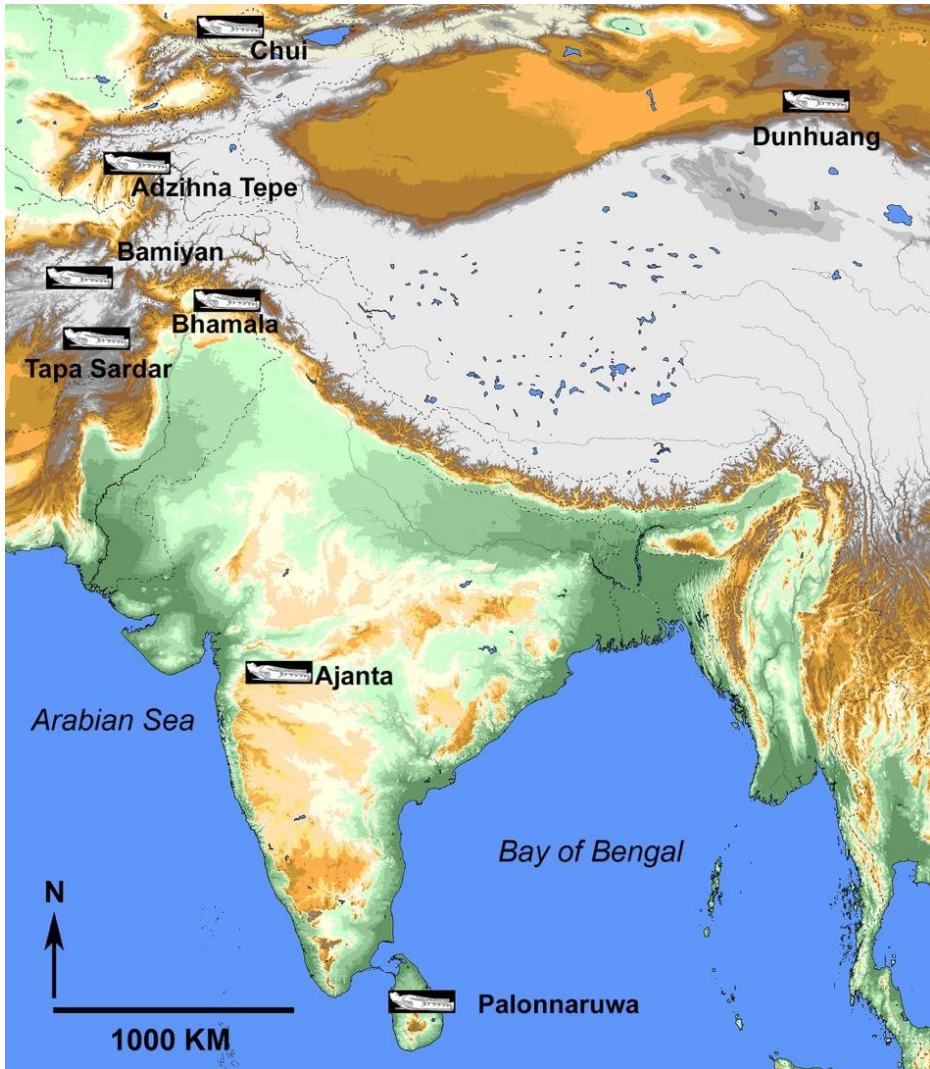
Fig. 5 - Distribution of the monumental *Mahaparinirvāṇas* in South and Central Asian regions (elaborated by A. Hameed and R. Law).

Pl. 1 - *Mahaparinirvāṇa* at Bhamāla made of kanjur stone (Photo by A. Hameed).



Pl. 2. Stucco Panel representing a *Mahaparinirvāṇa* scene reportedly
from Main Stupa A of Bhamāla according to J. Marshall (Photo by A. Hameed).

Pl. 3. Bhamāla excavations 2015-16: Stucco *Mahaparinirvana* scene found attached to the western plinth of Stupa 2 (Photo by A. Hameed).



Pl. 4. Bhamāla excavations 2015-16: Stucco *Mahaparinirvana* scene found attached to the northern side drum of Stupa 2 (Photo by A. Hameed).

Pl. 5 - Bhamāla excavations 2015-16: Traces of Stucco *parinirvāṇa* scene from Stupa 2 (Photo by A. Hameed).



Pl. 6 - *Parinirvāṇa* Chamber at Bhamala accommodating the Earliest Monumental *Mahaparinirvāṇa* Statue of Buddha (Photo by A. Hameed).

Pl. 7 - Niche exposed on the northern side of the platform
inside the chamber accommodating the feet of *Parinirvāṇa* Buddha
(Photo by A. Hameed).

Pl. 8 - Niche exposed on the southern side of the platform
inside the chamber accommodating the head of *Parinirvāṇa* Buddha
(Photo by A. Hameed).



Pl. 9 - Charcoal sample Taken from Terracotta Sculpture inside *Parinirvāṇa*
Chamber for radiocarbon dating (by A. Hameed).

| Sample No | Year of Excavation | Trench No | Lot No. | Feature No | Depth | Description |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BML-15-308 | 2014-15 | A/1 (Old) | --- | 8 | 156 Cm from the surface | Charred wood in Parinirvana Chamber, Lot no. 308, Feature 8 which is composed of stone debris and fragments of terracotta sculptures on the north western corner of the chamber |

BETA 343399: Cal AD 240 to 400 (Cal BP 1710 to 1550)

| Sample No | Year of Excavation | Trench No | Lot No. | Feature No | Depth | Description |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BML-15-3 | 2014-15 | A/1 (Old) | --- | 25 | 150 Cm from the surface | Charred wood inside terracotta image in Parinirvana Chamber, Sculpture Feature 25, attached to the northern wall in in situ position |

BETA 405790: Cal AD 240 to 395 (Cal BP 1710 to 1555)

Pls. 10 (above),11, and 12 (below two) - Radiocarbon Dates of the charred materials collected from the *Parinirvāṇa* Chamber at Bhamāla (Photos by A. Hameed).

Radiocarbon Dating Analyses of Charcoals from Bhamala

| Sample No | Year of Excavation | Trench No | Lot No. | Feature No | Depth | Description |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| BML-13-633-3 | 2012-13 | C/VI (Old) | 633 | 3 | 15 cm from the surface | Charcoal from F.3 Lot no. 633 in Trench no. C/VI opened on the northeastern top of the main stupa. F.3, an ashy layer composed of charcoals, stucco and iron fragments |

BETA 450882: Cal AD 345 to 430 (Cal BP 1605 to 1520) and Cal AD 490 to 530 (Cal BP 1460 to 1420), Cal AD 490 to 530 (Cal BP 1460 to 1420)

Pls. 13-14 - Samples taken from the top of Main Stupa A (Photos by A. Hameed).

# "Iranian" Decorative Patterns on Enigmatic Central Asian Ceramics

## Matteo Compareti

**Abstract**

*An almost unknown variety of ceramics, archaeologically unattested, embellished with a plethora of painted motifs, has appeared more often on the antiquities market over the last twenty years. While precise studies have not been made, many pieces have entered private collections. These ceramics include many typologies: jars, dishes, and human and animal shaped vases finely painted with dark brown decoration over a yellow ochre or red background. The so-called "pearl roundel" motif of animals in roundels surrounded by "pearls", and continuous horizontal bands of "pearls" are favorite decorative motifs. Very similar ceramics were noted several years ago during investigations in Afghanistan but the political situation did not allow further research. Scholars continue to debate the dating of these ceramics; dates from the sixth to the thirteenth century have been suggested. The frequent use of decorative motifs such as "pearls" and "pearl roundels" suggest a more precise chronology and confirm Central Asia as the most probable place of origin. Any attribution to Sasanian or Sogdian art should be reconsidered in the light of recent investigations and findings. Moreover, "pearled roundels" with a wild boar head in profile do not necessarily point to the pre-Islamic period.*

**Keywords:** Pre-Islamic ceramic, "Fashion Ware", Sasanian art, Afghanistan, pearl roundel decorative pattern

## 1. Introduction

Among the effects of the war that has tormented Afghanistan for more than forty years, there is also to consider a continuous state of emergency for the endangered cultural heritage of that country. Illegal excavations abundantly practiced in most of Afghanistan have increased greatly in the last decades and many ancient artifacts will be probably never attributed a precise provenance nor chronology.

A group of unglazed wares with thick geometric, vegetal and animal slip-painted patterns in different colors should be included in the bulk of objects illegally excavated in Afghanistan that found their way to private and public collections around the world. They started to appear more and more often in recent auction catalogues and it is not difficult to find them even via a quick search on the Internet. No inscriptions were reported to appear on the wares, nor was it possible to find evidence in local written sources about their use and origin.

In this paper, I would like to focus on a few fragmentary wares belonging to the group just mentioned above. These artifacts received some attention by archaeologists several years ago to be recently reconsidered and reevaluated. Two short articles published in 1949 and 1967 focusing on archaeologically unattested ceramics sharing very similar painted decorations individuated as a place of origin the region of Quetta in Pakistan near the Afghan border and more generic central Afghan territory around Herat (Piggot 1949; Leshnik 1967). According to Lorenz Leshnik, such fragments should be attributed to the Kushano-Sasanian period that is to say third-fourth century CE.

## 2. Painted pottery from Afghanistan

All unglazed slip-painted ceramics coming from Afghanistan and the frontier zone with Pakistan were considered for a long time as belonging to the same typology. Recent controlled excavations in northwestern Pakistan allowed to establish different groups of ceramic products such as the one called "fashion ware" which seems to point at a typical Kushano-Sasanian production. Its distribution was not limited to Gandhara and in fact, it is attested at least at Mes Aynak (south-eastern Afghanistan; Olivieri 2017; Noori, Olivieri and Iori 2019). An unexcavated "fashion ware" double handle painted vase that entered the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) along with a big number of similar pottery shards has been recently identified as a rare specimen of late Gandharan ware to be possibly dated to the fourth-fifth century CE (ibid.; Brancaccio 2010). There are many animals among the decorative elements painted on the fashion ware and they hold very often in their mouth a vegetal element. Curiously enough, also human figures are represented as in a procession while holding in their hands vegetal elements (ibid.: figs. 1-3, 6-7).

It is now clear that the fragmentary wares from Afghanistan and the Quetta region studied by Piggot and Leshnik should not be included in the Kushano-Sasanian "fashion ware" typology. These Afghan ceramics are thicker and their decorations and shapes are quite different from "real" fashion ware specimens. Such differences most likely point at two not only different typologies but different chronologies too. Ute Franke suggested that the unglazed Afghan wares embellished with geometric patterns and so-called "pearl roundels" containing various subjects should be dated to the Islamic period. She also pointed at collections of ceramics in many Afghan museums where this kind of painted ware is very common. One of the most interesting museums is the one of Herat, whose comprehensive publication is forthcoming (Franke 2007; Franke 2015: 84; Müller-Wiener 2007: 56-57). Local police confiscated most of the slip-painted ceramics to looters and illegal sellers.

Typical for this kind of Afghan wares is a reddish or dark ochre background thickly painted with black motifs almost filling all the available space. Different kinds of subjects can appear repeatedly in a row all around the vase or within circular frames such as in a fragment published by Piggot (Fig. 1) and in another much more elaborated and interesting one reconstructed by Leshnik (Fig. 2). They both present a thick decoration including also a well-known pattern usually pointed at in scientific literature as "pearl roundel". Stuart Piggot proposed to reconstruct the subject inside the pearl roundel that he published as a hippocamp or a so-called "*simurgh*". This fantastic winged creature with a dog head and peacock tail most likely pointed to the representation of *farreh*, a Persian term that could be translated as "glory" or "fortune". It was a typical eastern Iranian symbol that scholars have erroneously considered a Sasanian invention for a long time. The "pseudo-*simurgh*" symbolizing the "royal glory" appeared in late Sasanian art just at Taq-i Bustan to become slightly later very popular in Omayyad art (Compareti 2019). The fact that it could be individuated in a fragmentary unglazed slip-painted ware strongly suggests that the chronology proposed by Ute Franke for this entire group of objects is probably correct.
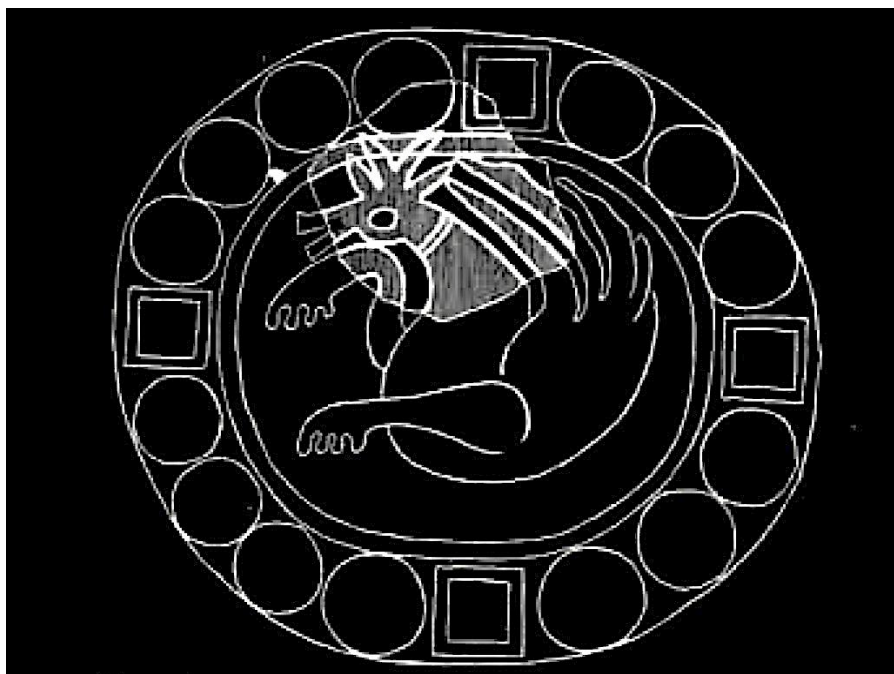
Fig.1 - Reconstruction of a fragmentary ceramic from Quetta region, Pakistan
(After Piggot 1949: fig. 1).

A very similar decoration can be observed in the lower part of a fragmentary shard published by Leshnik (Fig. 2). The subject inside the pearl roundel could be reconstructed by the comparison with similar decorations in some other unglazed potteries. In the Hirayama collection there is one small vase with a single handle in a very good state of preservation whose main decoration is constituted by pearl roundels containing a stylized wild boar head (Fig. 3). This vase was recently presented on at least two occasions in China during official exhibitions along with a bilingual catalogue Chinese/Japanese (Dunhuang Academy 2018, 169). Another small human-shaped jar belonging to this group of objects is at present kept in the Khalili Collection. Its main decoration is constituted by horizontal geometric and vegetal bands with an isolated pearl roundel containing a stylized wild boar head in the lower part (see Fig. 4 below).
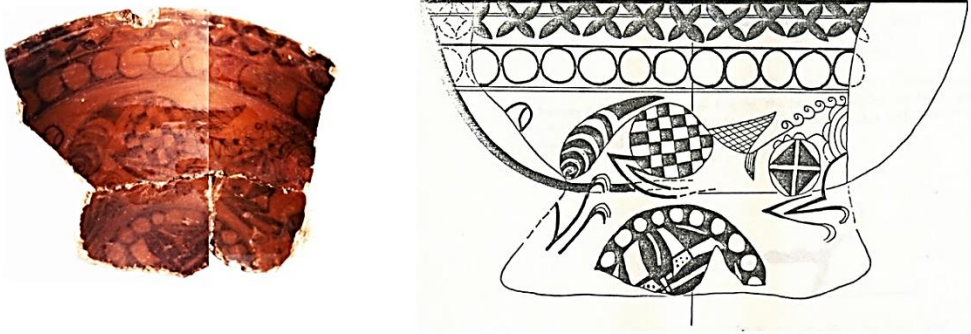
Fig. 2 - Reconstruction of a fragmentary ceramic from Qala Ahangaran, Afghanistan
(After Leshnik 1967: fig. 19. Photo: Courtesy by L.M. Olivieri).
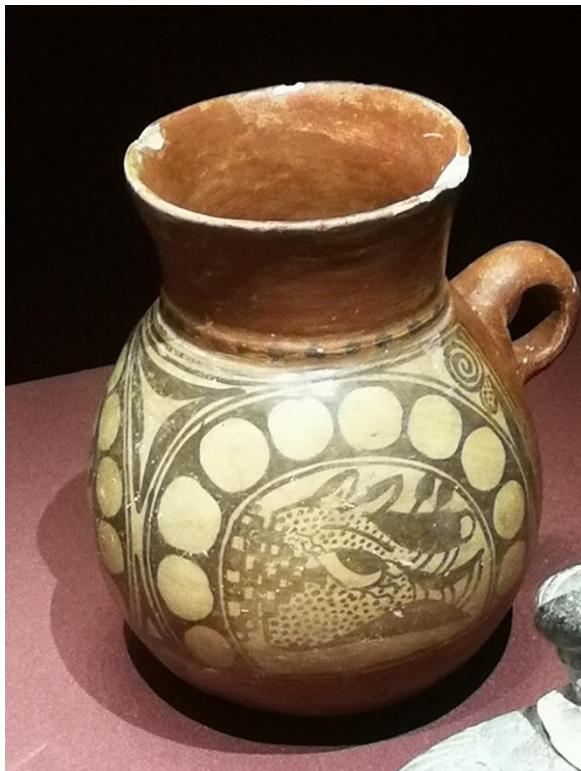


Fig. 3 - One handle jar acquired in Afghanistan, the Hirayama Collection
(Photo by M. Compareti).

According to the catalogue entry, this jar would be a product of eighth-tenth century eastern Iran or Central Asia (Catalogue Paris 2009: cat. 23).



Fig. 4 - Human-shaped jar kept in the Khalili Collection
(After Catalogue Paris 2009: cat. 23).

## 3. Pearl roundels

Pearl roundels started to be very popular in Central Asia around the sixth century. It is in this period that Sogdians migrated in good number at the royal courts of ephemeral and "barbaric" dynasties formed in northern China such as the Northern Qi (550-577). In the chapter about the biography of Zu Ting of the *Beiqi shu* "History of the Northern Qi" (composed in 636 CE), there is possibly the only reference to highly estimated textiles embellished with a string of pearls and other patterns such as peacocks. Despite its unclear description and provenance, this kind of pattern could actually point at something similar to the so-called "pearl roundel" pattern (Xu 2004: 393).

There is enough archaeological evidence to confirm that already during the Pingcheng period (396-494) of the Northern Wei (386-534), pearl roundel patterns were popular in northern China. At least two painted wooden coffins excavated at Datong (the Northern Wei capital, nowadays in Shanxi Province) clearly present pearl roundel decorations (see Fig. 5 below).



Fig. 5 - Northern Wei painted coffin embellished with pearl roundels dated to the Pingcheng period (396-494) ( After Shanxi Institute of Archaeology 2004: fig. 9).

Every roundel contains different subjects but no wild boar heads (The Shanxi Institute of Archaeology 2004; The Datong Municipal Institute of Archaeology 2019). Sogdian pearl roundels were more elaborated than Northern Wei ones and, at this stage of our investigations, it is not yet possible to establish any clear connection between the two styles. However, it should not be underestimated the possibility that also typical decorative elements of the Northern Wei could have affected the taste of the highly mobile Sogdian merchants who, according to Chinese chronicles, were always looking for good business in their colonies and their Central Asian motherland (de la Vaissière 2005: 147-194).

Fig. 6 - Wild boar head within pearl roundel (Bamyan/Bamiyan)
(After Tarzi 1977: logo on the cover).

## 4. Wild boars

Despite some differences, it seems very probable that also the subject inside the pearl roundel published by Leshnik should be a wild boar head as suggested by the inclined lines, possibly representing the upper part of the animal head and two almost identical elements painted in black that could point at the ears. There are in fact many similarities with the jars in the Hirayama and Khalili collections. These three wares show the same treatment of the animal skin that is rendered as darker spots scattered in some parts of the head probably alluding at the hairs of the wild boar. Other geometric elements embellish the head of the animal but they are clearly visible just on the Hirayama collection vase. It should not be ruled out an identification with vegetal elements in the animals' mouth, as it is possible to observe on other specimens in the Hirayama and other collections as well.

The wild boar head within pearl roundels became a very popular motif in the whole Eurasia during the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. It was definitely appreciated among Zoroastrians such as in Sasanian and (curiously enough) proto-Islamic Persia, Bactria-Tokharistan and Sogdiana although it reached also Christian Europe and Buddhist kingdoms of Central Asia (Overlaet 2018). Wild boar heads within pearl roundels can be observed in the painted ceilings at Bamyan/Bamiyan (Fig. 6) (Tarzi 1977) and they represented a very common motif on textiles excavated in the Tarim Basin (modern Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Province), especially the region of Turfan. Fragmentary textiles embellished with wild boar heads, winged horses, and birds within pearl roundels represent the main findings at Astana graveyard, few kilometers south of Turfan. Textiles from Astana tombs could be dated to the seventh century CE but it is not clear if their cultural milieu could be considered to be actually Buddhist (Compareti 2006: 153). It is worth observing that the wild boar head within pearl roundels embellished clear Buddhist monuments such as in the case of the seventh century Toyuk caves, not far from Turfan (Fig. 7). This is not the only occurrence in the Buddhist sphere since even more striking is the decoration on the garments of a painted Buddha statue in cave 420 at Dunhuang dated to the Sui Dynasty period (581-618 CE). In fact, just Bodhisattvas usually wore beautiful garments and jewels while Buddha images presented much simpler monastic tunics

(Dunhuang Academy 2011: fig. 61). On the contrary, the statue of sitting Buddha in the main niche in cave 420 definitely presents pearl roundels containing a single wild boar head in profile and other subjects scattered everywhere on his clothes (Fig. 8).



Figure 7. Seventh century paintings embellished with pearl roundels containing a wild boar head, Toyuk Buddhist monastery, Turfan. After S.O. Oldenburg, *Russkaja turkestanskaja ekspedicija 1909-1910 gg.*, (Sankt Petersburg, 1914: pl. XLIX, fig. 47).

The wild boar head could have been chosen to symbolically represent the entire animal although it is not clear why such a solution appears only in its case. In fact, other common animal subjects such as rams, winged horses, and birds are always entirely represented. Some scholars suggested that the wild boar had some role in the Zoroastrian religion. In a Zoroastrian sphere such as in pre-Islamic Persia and Sogdiana, the wild boar could be the symbolic animal of the Avestan god of victory and war Verethraghna (Middle Persian Bahram, Sogdian Washagn) because among the earthly manifestations (*avataras*) of this deity there was also the wild boar [*Bahram Yasht* 14, 2-27]. However,

this does not explain why only the head of the wild boar appears in pearl roundels. In other cases, scholars proposed to associate *Verethraghna* with the (winged) camel or the falcon in Central Asian arts because, according to the Avesta, this deity manifested himself also as these animals.



Fig. 8 - Detail of the garments of a painted statue of Buddha, main niche facing entrance, Mogao Cave 420 (Sui period) (Photo by M. Compareti).

A methodological approach to the identification of pre-Islamic Central Asian deities seems to affect all these hypotheses. As recently remarked by M. Shenkar (2014: 159-163), the image of *Verethraghna* can be undoubtedly identified only in Kushan art because of the name of that god written in Bactrian language as *Orlagno* appearing on second century CE coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. Among the attributes of this god, there is also a falcon above his head and an eagle's head embellishes the hilt of his sword. As already mentioned above, this animal too appears in the list of ten *avataras* of Verethraghna. However, Shenkar further observed, weapons and headgears in the

shape of animal heads were quite common in pre-Kushan Central Asia and among nomadic people in general. Some centuries later, an entire wild boar image associated to a Zoroastrian deity appeared quite often in Sogdian paintings from Penjikent as the vehicle and symbolic animal of Weshparkar who corresponded to the Avestan wind god Vayu but whose Indian (specifically Shivaite) iconography was used in Central Asia to depict also the king of demons (Marshak 2002: 109-110). One unique eighth-century painting in room 1, sector XXIV at Penjikent presents the inscription *Weshparkar* on his leg that undoubtedly identifies him as the wind god of the Sogdians. No more clear inscriptions could be useful to identify other Sogdian deities although Washaghn (Avestan Verethraghna) was represented with a severed human head in his hands. No parallels can be traced in Sasanian Persia. Just in Islamic illustrated texts, the planet Mars could be represented as a warrior riding a ram while holding a severed head in one of his hands (Marshak, Raspopova 1994). Therefore, an association with Verethraghna does not seem to be justified for the wild boar nor its head alone.

In my opinion, there is no reason to attribute to the wild boar head just a religious meaning. This animal has been a very common prey of royal hunters at least since the Achaemenid period (Garrison 2011) to become later a trophy of Sasanian kings as well. It was very popular in Kushano-Sasanian art, especially in metalwork (Fig. 9) and seals production (Ghirshman 1962: fig. 259; Harper 1990). Some scholars observed that images of a royal banquet possibly celebrated in heaven in the presence of the Daena ("soul") of the Zoroastrian believers can be observed sometimes in Sasanian seals and sealings. As argued by P. Callieri, at least one sixth century Sasanian seal kept in the British Museum shows also an animal head under the couch of the main character in the scene possibly to point not just at simple food but a trophy presented to that person as an allusion to a successful hunt (Callieri 2008: 117). In addition, wild boar heads could be considered very appropriate symbols of the royal banquet with no immediate connections to the religious sphere. Moreover, it would not be a very respectful act to hunt a holy animal that was considered the symbol of a deity and even serve it during a banquet.

Fig. 9 - Kushano-Sasanian silver dish, Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore)
(After Ghirshman 1962: fig. 259).

Only with the coming of the Arabs in Central Asia the depiction of wild boars became problematic the same as that of other "impure" animals such as pigs. Pearl roundels containing wild boar heads continued to be produced for some time in early Omayyad Iran as the chronology of Chal Tarkhan-Eshkhabad (few kilometers south of Tehran) proved to be very likely (Fig. 10) (Thompson 1976). It is, however, worth observing that the Muslims adopted other symbolic creatures from the Zoroastrians such as the so-called *simurgh* (Middle Persian *senmurv*)

exactly as the Christians did. As already mentioned above, this composite winged creature with a dog face and paws, and a peacock tail should be actually identified with the manifestation of the very important Iranian concept of "glory" (Farsi *farr/farreh*, Middle Persian *xwarrah*). Its origins too should be possibly individuated in greater Khorasan and Sistan, in the territory partly covered also by modern Afghanistan (Compareti 2019).

Strangely enough, Central Asian Buddhists who appreciated the wild boar head motif did not adopted the so-called *simurgh* or, better, pseudo-*simurgh*. Not one single textile nor painting embellished with the pseudo-*simurgh* was found during scientific (nor illegal) excavations in Bactria-Tokharistan, Bamyan, the Tarim Basin, and the rest of Buddhist Central and East Asia. Even though the reason for the Buddhist repulsion for such a decorative motif is completely unknown, this attitude could be considered instrumental to suggest better chronologies for many Central Asian artifacts, especially unexcavated ones that always constituted a great problem for experts and curators of public and private collections (Compareti 2020). One pottery shred from Afghanistan was proposed to be reconstructed as including a pseudo-*simurgh* within a pearl roundel by Piggot (fig. 1). This is not a surprise since pseudo-*simurgh*s were very common in early Islamic art and copper coins (Compareti 2019).



Fig. 10 - Left: stucco decoration from the palace of Tepe Hisar, Damghan (Iran Bastan, Tehran). Right: Chal Tarkhan/Eshkhabad (British Museum, London) (Photos: Courtesy by Daniel Waugh).

## 5. Conclusions

In conclusion, the origin of the wild boar head motif and the pearl roundel pattern itself could have originated in fifth-sixth century Central Asia to become very fashionable in the sixth-seventh century and continue beyond the time of the Arab invasion. Despite some enigmatic points such as regarding its meaning, it does not seem that the wild boar head should point exclusively at the religious sphere. It was probably associated with the royal banquet and hunt, that is to say, an auspicious symbol alluding at the abundance and joyful feasts of local elites.

If the unglazed slip-painted Afghan wares embellished very often with the wild boar head within pearl roundels should be considered early or even proto-Islamic, such a presumed association with a Zoroastrian deity seems to be then extremely improbable. The wild boar head was a very popular decorative motif on ceramics from Afghanistan that unfortunately have not yet been documented in controlled excavations. As already suggested above, they could be most likely dated to the early Islamic period that corresponds to eighth-tenth centuries or even later. It should not be ruled out the hypothesis that this kind of highly refined wares was originally produced somewhere in Central Asia but not in a pure Zoroastrian cultural sphere since also Buddhism was common in the territory of ancient Bactria-Tokharistan and other regions of modern Afghanistan such as Bamyan before the conversion of the population to Islam.

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# Unmaking the *Taazia* Symbol from a Structural Perspective

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## Abstract

*Tradition and symbols are pervasive across cultures. Religio-cultural traditions are thought to have multiple origins and genres with somewhat related meanings. The* Taazia *myth dates back to the reign of Tamerlane in the South Asian context.* Taazia *was a ritual of religious syncretism in this region. It is now a common ritual observed generally by Muslims and specifically by* Shia Ithna'ashari[1] *Muslims in commemoration of the martyrdom of the grandson of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). It is highly symbolic and accompanied by mourning rituals. The very symbol revolves around the Karbala paradigm and the connected mourning rituals, or condolence towards the progeny of the Prophet through this ritual. The study on tradition of* Taazia *encompasses the evolution of this symbol diachronically in a South Asian perspective by applying the structural approach.* Taazia *symbolism is associated to related artifacts of sacred category used in* azaadari*, which are analyzed in the context of selected sites and prevalent styles of* Taazias *in Punjab and Sindh. The association of physical artifacts to human thought or behavior is symbolic. In this way, the very symbol* (Taazia) *is analyzed along with similar religious facts uncovering the inherent relationships of the units integrated in a whole (*azaadari*).*

**Key Words:** Taazia, Azaadari*, Ashura rituals, Symbolism, Karbala, Martyrdom of Hussain, Mourning rituals.

## 1. Introduction

A religious tradition is beyond mere ideas or facts. Traditions as myths and symbols often serve as a preamble of "creation", which depends on the "linguistic behavior", as to 'how' and 'what' is achieved out of it

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[1] Twelvers Shia; those who believe in the twelve infallible imams.

(Eliade 1998 and Eller 2007). They exist across religious and cultural institutions. The underlying study of these symbols lets us uncover the innate meanings that are generally reducible to a few. There are several similarities in the kind of symbolical narratives across the globe, which can be studied both in a diachronic and synchronic perspective. The paper is focused on uncovering the *Taazia* symbol in the anthropological paradigm called structuralism[2]. Structuralism believes that the real source of meaning and truth are deep structures that are pervasive but hidden throughout society because the source of everything is the structure.

The term in its literal sense, "*Taazia* or *Taziyeh* is originated from an Arabic word *azay*, which means to stay patient in sufferings, to console someone or to offer condolence. Other similar words coined out of this term are *aza, Taaziyat*, and *Taziyeh*. The very term is significant in terms of the Indo-Pak cultural practice or a ritual" (PTV Global 2011). When it comes to the conceptual definition of *Taazia*, it has a twofold meaning. Firstly, "*Taziyeh* is executed in a rhythmic way that can be termed as a passion play, which recounts the suffering of the Prophet's (PBUH) progeny[3] by re-enacting the Karbala paradigm in a dramatic order." Perhaps, it is considered the only indigenous practise in the Islamic world. However, the *taziyeh* is more of a "ritualized morning than a ritual construct" (Campo 2009). Secondly, it refers to "a facsimile of the mausoleum of Imam Hussain (R.A), the martyred grandson of the Prophet which is carried in demonstrations during the Shiʿite mourning rituals of *Muharram*" (Merriam-Webster 2018). In a way the first definition of *Taazia* takes it as a process or a verb whereas the second one considers it as a noun, a symbol of reverence for its believers.

*Taazia* is seen here as a religious ritual and analyzed in terms of its anthropological theoretical explanations, the process of ritualisation

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[2] Structuralism developed in Europe in early 1900s from Ferdinand de Saussure's linguistic studies. His theories were then applied in different fields, including anthropology by Claude Lévi-Strauss. In 1950, an intellectual movement started in France which is called 'Structuralism' through the work of Lévi-Strauss, known as the founder of structural anthropology. The application of structural analysis in different fields is meant to inquire the structural realities underlying the ideas in anthropology, psychology, sociology, architecture and literary criticism.
[3] Prophet's progeny or ahl-e-bait, family of the Prophet (PBUH).

involved in *Azaadari*[4] and *Taazia dari*[5]. The concept of *Taazia* as a ritual performance originated from the diffusion of stationary and ambulatory rite[6] that co-existed for centuries. They are often carried out with a *Dasta.* The *Dasta* is often called as a display of grief (Sahapedia 2016). *Taazia* functions as a means commemorate the sacrifice of Imam. Several such symbolical rituals exist in multiple cultures around the globe. 'These Symbols help in constructing present and past memories through narratives, practice, and other creative means to provides for people to heal them both at a personal and a collective level. The very ritual accents their voices within a mainstream public sphere where it reconstructs a silenced history of tyranny, displacement, ethnic cleansing, violence, and other related experiences' (Al-Adeeb 2008).

When it comes to the origin of *Taazia*, both Indian and Pakistani researchers agree that Tamerlane[7] brought *Taazia* from Iran to Delhi in fourteenth century (Aghaie 2004). It was way simpler than what we see in the subcontinent. Shahid Ali Naqvi, a researcher from Karachi in his book titled *Azaadari*, discussed the need for *Taazia*. It

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[4] The word Azaadari عزاداری has a Persian origin and the very concept is denoted with the lamentation and mourning ceremonies in commemoration of Martyrdom of Imam Hussain at the Battle of Karbala. The very first Majlis of Azaadari traces back to the time when the family of the Prophet was set free and Hazrat Zainab asked for a house for lamentation over his brother and the martyrs of Karbala. This very history of first Majlis-e-Aza held in Damascus is considered as the first of its kind which laid the foundation of Azaadari.

[5] *Taazia* dari is the tradition of making *taazia*s (the artifacts) to offer taaziyat (condolence to the progeny of the Prophet) in commemoration of the martyrdom of the grandson Imam Hussain at the battle of Karabala. The tradition of *Taazia* dari in the Indo-Pak also suggests that *Taazia*s have served to be a binding force amongst different faith followers especially in pre-partition Subcontinent. *Taazia* dari and specially azaadari has helped to sustain the Karbala. The narratives are presented with such rhetoric that the whole Symbolology presents a live picture of the event, connects the mourners with each other and with the cause, trespasses the boundary of time and space. Each year, azaadari discourse is relived and revitalizes the faiths of the believers.

[6] The term is used to refer it as their cultural rite.

[7] Tamerlane (1336-1405) was a Turkish conqueror was born in Transoxania (current Uzbekistan). He is alternatively known as Tamburlaine, Timur Lenk, Timurlenk, Tamerlane, Timour. He was the last of the mighty conquerors of Central Asia who belonged to a Mongol tribe and is renowned for his conquests from India to Russia to the Mediterranean Sea.

reads that Timur could not take his army to the annual trip to Karbala and was busy consolidating his hold in the newly invaded territory. To serve the purpose and as a display of his reverence, a shrine model was built which was clustered with the clay of Karbala that is *Khak-e-Shifa.*[8] It is believed to be transported for this purpose to northern India (Anvar 2005).

*Taazias* in the Indo-Pak region varies greatly from small to large structures. The structures are made in *peppier-mash*[9], hard board, card board, colored paper, Styrofoam, bamboos, wood, metal, silver, steel, depending upon the availability of material or the status of the mourners. The base of *Taazia* is known as *Takht*[10], which is the first piece carried out on the first day, followed by the palanquin and finally the *Jhoola*[11]. On the tenth day of Muharram it is reconstructed and assembled completely. Several men are deployed to lift the huge artifacts. In India, *Taazia* making and the protocols of *Taazia dari* is hued by *Hindu* cultural rituals and festivals. One such example is the manner in which the devotees revere to the artifact with somberness and sacredness. Another such protocols of *Taazia* is the closure ritual known as *'taazia thanday karna'*[12]: this tradition is paralleled in indigenous cultures where these structures are immersed in Ganges at the closure cultural events similar to that of *Taazias*, however, this South Asian tradition is way older than that of the Shia ritual.

## 2. Review of Literature

The need for this study arose because barely any formal or academic research has been carried out and published on *Taazia* symbolism solely in South Asia from the local perspective. In order to understand *Taazia* in another parallel fashion in the neighboring countries, we can refer to the, memorial of Zarer (*yadgar-i-zareren*).[13] The practice of

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[8] The sacred clay from the land of Karbala often molded in clay tablets to offer sujood during the Namaz ritual by the Shia Muslims.
[9] Paper molding and recycling technique to re-use paper.
[10] Flat wooden plank used as base.
[11] Cradle for a baby.
[12] Immersing the *taazia*s in water or often termed as cooling them down at the end of Muharram ceremony, Ashura. A tradition similar to the end of Durga puja.
[13] The middle Persian epic had been sung for centuries by minstrels and bards on the Iranian plateau.

mourning and its cultural acceptance of mourning rituals are largely shaped by the respondents' experiences, background, education and their perceptions towards *azaadars* or Shia community (Zeeshan, Chaudhry, and Khan, 2020). Apart from the public processions and demonstrations commemorating the death of Imam Hussain (R.A), the veiled floats also became the constituent of the processional *Taazia*. It is believed to stand parallel with religious notion ancestral worship[14] in India.

Ahsen Yarshater calls for looking into the pre-Islamic eastern Iran to seek the bases of the tradition that provides a ready mold in the development of *Taazia*. In terms of mythemes, we can draw similarities between the personalities with a similar aura who sacrificed their lives against the tyranny of unjust rulers. The "mold" describes the life and death of a gallant prince Siavos[15] who had a foreboding of his fate like Hussein about his cruel death (Yarshater 1982; Yarshater 1979). Agha Shahid Ali describes briefly their whole journey towards Karbala, in modern-day Iraq, and how they were all martyered on the tenth of Muharram (Hussain, Zeeshan, and Houswitschka, 2019).

Amir Timur (1336-1405) constructed the first *Taazia* of Hussein as his expression of devotion and carried it along on the military ventures, the very element of creative and interpretive representation of Imam Hussein (A.S) tombs have started from this time period. Artistic creation is used in glorifying the *shahada*[16] of Imam Hussein (A.S) and it is seen that the creative element sometime supersedes the original construct, so that the size and shape of *taazia* are in great variety (Chelkowski 1983). The history of *Taazia* dates back to the state of Jaora, the central province, Rampur, Hyderabad, Lucknow and Bombay. It is said that a *Syed Aalim* was used to gift to

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[14] Durga Puja or Durgotsava, which is an annual Hindu festival celebrated over 10 days in the 7th month of the Hindu calendar to pay tribute to the Hindu goddess.

[15] He knew long before his (death?) that he shall suffer innocent death and be afflicted at the hands of the king; slander and ill fortune will bring him low. There is the striking resemblance from the four verses coming from Shah-nama. The words could not be differentiated whether they are from Hussein or from Siavos: "they will strike this innocent head of mine and will place my crown in my heart's blood. I shall find neither bier, nor shroud, nor grave. Nor would any one shed tears for me in the assembly. Like an exiled shall I lie in the dust and with my head severed by the sword from my body."

[16] Martyrdom

Timur a *Tabarruk*[17]every year. Timur held them sacredly. Out of all the *Tabarrukat*[18] that Tamerlane kept, he held the *Tasbeeh*[19] and *Zareeh*[20] every year on *Youm-e-Ashur*[21]The phalanges of *Tasbeeh* turned red since it was made out of *khak-e-shifa*. Timur was busy conquering *Hindustan* that year. In the second year, he was again busy with some conquest. As the third year passed, his troops demanded of pilgrimages to *Karbala-e-mualla*[22]. Sometime in AD 803, he decided to have a *Taazia* prepared in India to commemorate the sacrifices of the Imam (Times of India 2014).

Apart from the Indo-Pak tradition, another example of *Taazia* can be seen in the Caribbean. The East Indians carried the cultural relic to the Caribbean basin. Though the majority of East Indian immigrants were Hindus, the Shiite Muharram ceremonies continue to act in open defiance of the colonial rule. The Caribbean *hosay*[23] became a symbol of unity for them since they are attended from people practicing differing religious ideologies. *Taazia* serves as a source of unification that adjoins diverse South Asian ethnic groups. *Hosay* in the Caribbean has been influenced by African rituals but in turn, they have left an impact on the most spectacular event of Trinidad, the carnival (Emrit, 2014). It traces back to 1854 when people entered Guyana in 1838 and 1845 in Trinidad. *Hosay* is originally from Imam Hussain (R.A) and it is also pronounced as *Hussey*. Its genre is marked as the festival that happens annually in Jamaica, Tobago and Trinidad (Tortelo 2003).

Structuralism[24] refers to those theoretical perspectives that give primacy to pattern over substance (Barnard 2004). The patterns are similar in terms of the structural units discussed across cultures, however their meanings may differ. In his essay, Lévi-Strauss works from the awareness of the opposition towards their "progressive

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[17] A sacred gift often gifted from a holy or spiritual being to its followers.

[18] Plural of tabarruk

[19] Phallenges for recitation of holy verses

[20] Replica of Masoleum

[21] 10th day of Muharram

[22] Karbala, Iraq: the elevated and eminant

[23] Hosay is an Indo-Caribbean Muslim commemoration. Tajdah is derived from the Arabic word *Taazia* and signifies different cultural meanings. The celebration of Tajdah and Moons are in accordance with the Islamic lunar calendar.

[24] There are two schools of thought in structuralism, the Saussurean and the Prague. The two differs from each other in several ways.

mediation" and extends this idea to the conclusion that the purpose of Symbol[25] is to provide a rational construct competent enough to overcome a negation (Lévi-Strauss 1955). In reference to the *Taazia* Symbol, the mediation held by the ritual and the narratives bring solace to the mourners that help them overcome grief by reliving it. Strauss has stressed that mythemes[26] of whatever kind, must, generally speaking, lend themselves to binary operations, since such operations are an inherent feature of the means invented by nature to make possible the use of language and thought (Lévi-Strauss 1981). He has been accused of binary opposition[27] (Lévi-Strauss 1995). The characters in the Karbala paradigm can be analysed as binary operators: Imam Hussain (A.S) and Yazid. They were inherently in the opposite camps in the entire narrative.

3. **Variety of *Taazias* in Pakistan**

The very rituals of *azaadari* however, re-enacts  through annual commemoration. In a way, *taazia* symbol in itself is a mytheme in the entire structural component of the whole *azaadari*. There are generally three predominant varieties of *Taazias* in Pakistan. The very reason this art barely flourished in Lahore is that there are no homegrown artisans. They are still struggling to keep the tradition alive.

**3.1 *Taazias* in Punjab**

Three different types of *Taazias* are seen in processions *of Lahore: the metallic, wooden, and paper-bamboo.* The artisans in Lahore for metallic *Taazias* are the ones who hailed from India after partition

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[25] Lévi-Strauss postulates that Symbols exist on the raw/cooked axis. They are the products of human creation hence belong to the cultural rather than the natural elements. Symbolically, cooking marks the transition from nature to culture, by means of which the human state can be defined in accordance with all its attributes.

[26] Mythemes are irreducible units that are put together according to prescribed schemata. These units/mythemes form relations with each other. They are based on binary pairs or opposites, which provide the basis of the structure.

[27] Just as words are based on contrasts, so too is human thought, which he says is based on binary opposition. Lévi-Strauss felt that the human mind operates along lines of contrasts – good/bad, up/down, light/dark, culture/nature.

especially from Lucknow, Muradabad and Delhi. They bear the Kashmiri, Chitrai and Ukas patterns engraved on them. Often metal is fixed on the wooden structure. However, most of them are entirely made out of the metal. *Taazias* are nowadays made of German silver or brass since gold and silver are diminishing forms of art work. The gold trimmed *Taazias* are made according to the *Ganga-Yamuni*[28] tradition. Following the tradition, some *Taazias* are seen in the *Imam bargahs*[29] of the walled city of Lahore.

### 3.1.1 Metallic *Taazias*

There is a small *Aza khana*[30] near Mochi Gate known as Imam Bargah Akbar Ali Khan where two such metallic *Taazias* are placed as illustrated in Figure I and II. The *taazias* are made of silver; one represents the shrine of Hazrat Ali and the other represents the Shrine of Imam Hussain. The names of Allah, Muhammad, the first *Kalma* and the infallible are engraved in the front wall. An average size *alam*[31] is fixed in the floor next to the *Aza khana*. It is the *waqf-e-aam*[32] for over two hundred years, there is the Syed Naqvi-ul-Bukhari family, which migrated from Bukhara and settled there. This family was living in this place from the pre-partition time. 78 years old Mr. Kalb-e-Abbas shared that these *Taazias* are permanently placed in *Aza khaana*. *Majalis*[33] are conducted by a lot of people over here. He claimed that the *imam bargah* is run by Majlis-e-Hussaini trust. Ahl-e-Sunnat[34] inhabitants are also living here for years but they have never faced any challenges regarding *azaadari*.

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[28] An Urdu term, often known as Ganga Yamuni tehzeeb, used for the culture of northern India central plains, considered as syncretism of Hindu culture with religious elements of Muslims.

[29] Sacred spaces held for practicing the Shia rituals or to commemorate the progeny of the Prophet (PBUH).

[30] A sacred niche in an Imam bargah where the Shia symbols are held such as alam, taaziya, jhoola, taboot etc.

[31] A flag or a banner. It especially refers to the flag of Islam carried and raised by Hazrat Abbas (R.A) in the battle of Karbala.

[32] A charitable endowment of the space made in the name of the infallible for general public in the context of azaadari.

[33] Shia Mourning ritual held in congregation in commemoration of the Prophet's progeny.

[34] A major sect of Islam.

### 3.1.2. Paper and Bamboo *Taazia*

The paper and bamboo *Taazia* tradition is carried on by the families that hailed from Kangra and Patiala, India. It is a 500 years old art and is carried forward by the family of Bawa Nazir. His father Bawa Talib Hussain taught this art to his sons and grandchildren. The *taazia* work begins after *Eid-ul-Azha* [35] and is completed by 9th of Muharram each year. These *Taazias* are carried out on 10th of Muharram each year. The paper bamboo *Taazias* are prepared in Beli Ram Gali, inside Lahore gate by the Patiala Family, which is placed on 8th of Muharram. Previously these *Taazias* were immersed in the Ravi[36]. However, since the river has dried up and the costs have also risen, they are taken back and used next year.

### 3.1.3 *Chinioti Taazias*

In Pakistan, wooden Florence can be seen in the intertwined streets of the skillful artisans' alley of Chiniot. The famous *Taazia* of Multan, Jhang and Faisalabad are manufactured in Chiniot (Dawn News, 2011). The wooden *Taazias* are mainly from the Chinioti School of wooden artisanry, mainly from the Pirjah, Alvi/ Khokhar and Saharan families (Hanif 2012). One of the patrons of Shia family, Qizilbash family, is believed to possess the most expensive and beautiful *Taazia* and is considered to be the epicenter of this art which is around 180 years old. This *Taazia* is permanently placed in their ancestral Haveli inside Mochi gate[37].

The Chiniot School of craftsmanship and handicrafts is especially famous for its wooden carvings. They have carved geometric patterns and flowers on cellulose fibers for centuries. It is believed that the masons from Chiniot were also engaged in building the Golden Temple and Taj Mahal. Currently, the best *Taazias* across Pakistan are carved out by the Chinioti artisans across the country. The completion time

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[35] A grand Muslim festive occasion celebrated by Muslims annually on 10th of the Islamic lunar month; Zilhaj.

[36] One of the five major rivers of Punjab

[37] One of the entrance gate to the walled city of Lahore.

takes at least 6-12 months for a *Taazia* to be completed. Since these *Taazia* are mostly made of pure wood, they are not dis-assembled or floated in river after the Muharram Rituals; rather they are placed sacredly in the *azaa khaanas* or *Imam bargahs* for later use.

One of the most famous *Taazias* from Southern Punjab is the *Taazia* of *Ustad*[38] and *Shagird*[39] from Multan. One of the leading and historical centers of *azaadari* is Multan. On *Youm-e-Ashur* a couple of the *Taazias* are taken out which are famous for their antiquity in the Indo-Pak region. A 27 feet long and seven storey high *Taazia* is known as *Taazia* of *Ustad* (figure V and VI), where as a 32 feet *Taazia* which is taken out along with it is known as *Shagird ka Taazia*. The former needs around 150 people to carry it whereas the latter is carried by 200 people. While *Ustad* was busy fulfilling his dream of preparing a huge *taazia*, his student Salman Ali started to prepare another *Taazia* at night alongside (Naqvi 2016). This student was named as Mukmo Din at another instance (Ahmed 2012). Currently, the license holder and caretaker of these *Taazia* is Khalifa Altaf. 200 years ago, Hakim Ramzani Khan, the caretaker of the *astaana*[40] and his son ordered a *Taazia* to Ustad Pir Bukhsh, who commissioned the artisans from Bahawalpur and Multan. The *Ustad* was delighted the see the seven storeyed masterpiece illustrated in Figure VII prepared solely by his student.

The *Taazia* of Ustad is taken out in the morning; however the *Taazia* prepared by *shagird* is taken out around 1:30. At 3:00 pm, both *Taazias* meet in the procession. However, the traditions continue as the *Taazia* of *ustad* leads whereas the *taazia* of *shagird* (figure VII and VIII) follows it. The *Taazia* of *Ustad* was initiated in 1812 and it was completed in 1825, whereas the *Taazia* of his apprentice, *shagird* got completed in 1854. The latter was once set on fire by some extremists in 1944, but the Gardezis of Afghanistan provided financial support to prepare it. The British government issued the first official license of *Muharram* to *Ustad*'s *Taazia* in 1860 which leads the *Muharram* procession till date whereas the *Taazia* of *Shagird* symbolically follows at the back of the procession (Naqvi 2016). The South Asian value of subscribing to the cultural norms (the young ones follow the elders or

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[38] Mentor/ teacher.
[39] Apprentice/ student.
[40] A place/ pathway for religious offering .

the mentors lead the students) is reflected in the sequence of *taazia dari* in the procession as well. In total, 105 *Taazias* are taken out in Multan each year in Muharram processions. 90 *Taazias* have been licensed to Sunni/Barelvi sects and the rest are managed by the Shia community of the city (Ahmed 2012). The very statistics on the account of *taazias* hereby determine that *Taazia* continues to be a symbol and an avenue of the fraternity amongst Muslims who pay the homage to the sacrifices of the Prophet's (PBUH) progeny.

The Alif Shah *Haveli* is another landmark of Lahore. Delhi gate speaks for its grandeur after the recent conservation and lightning that has been done to preserve the heritage site. The Alif Shah *Haveli* is a heritage house over three hundred years old in the walled city of Lahore. The street leading to this *haveli*[41] is barely three to four feet high, and it was converted in *imam bargah* in 1861. This house was preserved by the authorities in 2011. This building also served as *waqf imam bargah* and considered as venue for one of the most renowned Muharram processions, which lead out from 7th till 10th of Muharram. According to the *Mutawali*[42] of this *haveli*, this *haveli* is famous for its *taazias* that are taken out on the *chehlum*[43] of Imam Hussain. Baba Alif Shah lived five generations ago and was the *mutawali* of this *imam bargah*. As narrated by the current caretaker, 'Baba was a *faqeer*[44] of his time, he is descendant of Shah Shams Multan. Baba Alif Shah used to carry the *taazia* on his shoulders'. The *Mutawali* also narrated the dream of Tamerlane on constructing the symbolic replica of the tombs of Imam Hussain in the form of *taazia*.

In the *aza khaana,* two *taazia*s were placed covered with cloth. The *taazia* on the right hand side is a Chinioti artifact made of sandalwood and has a history of 25 years (Figure X). This *taazia* is spread over three floors and is carried out by dozens of people and hundreds of *azaadars* who queue up to wait for their turn to shoulder this *taazia* with great reverence. But the *taazia* lying on the left hand side was tied up firmly by a black piece of cloth. When asked, the *mutawali* disclosed that this *taazia* is above two hundred and fifty years

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[41] Villas or Grand houses with open courtyards
[42] Caretaker.
[43] 40th day after death, often marked by a solemn religious ritual in the South Asian religio-cultural context.
[44] Muslim ascetic who rejects worldly possessions.

ago (Figure IX). It is in extremely worn condition hence it is not open to the public. The *taazia* from *haveli* Alif Shah is taken out to roam around the entire city and then it ends up at Karbala Gamay Shah. The Alif Shahi *Taazia* is Chinioti in origin, however due to lack of detailing and finery, it is termed as Lahori (Hanif 2012). Its tall structure is covered with an embroidered piece of cloth. It has a summit, which tapers down to a large pedestal in Chinioti style. The wooden pedestal at the base is adorned with metallic skeet that bears the names of the *Panjetan*[45].

## 3.2    The Tradition of *Taazia* in Hyderabad, Sindh

The Talpurs ruled over Sindh by shifting its capital from Dadu (Khudabad) to Pucca Qilla, Hyderabad, till 1843, before they were overthrown by the British. The very first *Taazia* of the Talpurs was built under the reign of Mir Fateh Talpur in Pishori Mohalla of Fal, which is currently preserved in Aliabad. The *taazia* was ordered by Mir Fateh. His Chief, Faqir Muhammad Junejo designed a *taazia*. The very area, *Fakir jo Pir* was named after him and was inhabited later by several families hailing from India after the partition. Mirs were four brothers and all of them performed *azaadari* on *Ashura* in their *Imam bargah*.

The British colonists imprisoned Mir Naseer along with Hassan Talpur, his 16 years old son and held them for 20 years. At the age of 36, when Mir Hassan returned from Calcutta, Mirza Fateh Baig requested him to hand over *Taazia* to him, which was then kept at Aliabad in 1863. The culture of *azaadari* is believed to be funded in terms of *nazrana*[46] by the Mirs especially for food distribution in Muharram. The culture of *azaadari* in Sindh is central in Hyderabad since the Talpurs. They promoted it in their rule and its influence is mainly evident in the areas like *Faqir Ka Pir*, Tando Agha, Tando Mir Mehmood, Shahi Bazaar etc., which are located near Pucca Qilla rather than Latifabad or Qasimabad.

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[45] The sacred five: Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), Bibi Fatima, Hazrat Ali, Hazrat Hussain, Hazrat Hassan.
[46] Tribute

The *Pir*[47] keeps on growing as the mourners continue to join it before it approaches *Fakir ka Pir*. In Sindhi language, *Pir a Talpur* era legacy refers to an area or ground designated for *azaadari*, generally marked by an *alam*. The famous Sufi, Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai (R.A) used the *sur*[48] termed as '*kedharo*[49]', which depicts the battlefield of Karbala. Zawwar Abdul Sattar Dars wrote books and booklets on the *azaadari* tradition of Sindh, where he subscribed to the very view held by Baig that it was the Talpurs dynasty that propagated this tradition in Sindh. Today, *Pir*s are iconic to the identity of Hyderababad. As the *Pir* moves, a '*nagara*'[50] locally known as '*tao'* that signals the mourners for moving forward. Also, a *Pir* without *shehnaee*[51] is considered incomplete. It is used to play in expression of grief, sorrow and pain endured by Imam Hussain through *mersiya/noha.*[52] This *shehnaee* is not used otherwise and is wrapped up in a piece of cloth which is sprinkled with fragrance and is taken out annually in Muharram (Khan 2019).

In Hyderabad only, there are a total of 308 *Pir*s. 50 *Pir*s are from the pre-partition time. The *Azaadar rabta*[53] committee of Hyderabad quotes that there are approximately 1000 *Pirs* in Hyderabad. However, they are unregistered. 15 *Taazias* hold the significance of heritage value and hence preserved in various Imam bargahs of Hyderabad such as Ellicot jo *Pir* Pakka Qila, Imam Ali Shah Bukhari jo *Pir*, Qadam Gah Hazrat Ali, Mehr Ali Shah jo *Pir* Lajpat road etc. the epicenter of this traditional *Taazia* making in Hyderabad is Wadhan jo *Pir*. Wooden, metallic, paper-bamboo and bangle *Taazias* are prepared there. The material of the *Taazia* and its grandeur speaks of the social status of the believer who orders and possesses the *Taazia*. The cost of *Taazia* starts from fifteen to twenty thousand Pakistani Rupees and goes up to Millions. Depending upon the material and grandeur, the price increases. The trend of metallic *Taazias* is not much

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[47] Pir is also used for a procession of mourners, Zuljanah, replicas of shrine (roza/ *taazia*) of Imam Hussain and Alam. They have a code and something akin to war bugle called nagara (drum) -that was used in (in what?).

[48] Continuo, music node.

[49] Specific sur used in the poetry of Shah Abdul Latif Bhitai.

[50] Specific kind of drum.

[51] A local musical instrument which expresses grief.

[52] Elegy.

[53] Coordination Committee of the azaadars which organizes the Muharram rituals.

since the cost of production is very high. Silver and golden *Taazia* are rare. However, there is one such example of *Pir* of Mai Salma, at Siri Ghat in Hyderabad, which is made of Gold (Jagirani, 2019).

## 4.    Discussion

Anthropological theories of symbolism and religion have elaborated a fruitful commentary on the notion of ritual and ritualisation. An event analysis shows that a double event like *Ashura*, as a present commemoration of a past event, is not analytically fixed to the original happening but expanded to multiple symbols. One of them is *Taazia*. *Taazia* symbol serves as a mytheme in the overall *azaadari* rituals. The ritualistic power of this tradition unites people of differing faiths under an umbrella. In a way, *Taazia* continues to provide a sense of unification among believers and now Shi'ites. It voices all the social segments by intersecting interfaith harmony through syncretism and reduces conflicts inter group conflicts.

In "The Structural Study of Myth", Lévi-Strauss has tried to explain why differing symbols and myths across the world appear so similar.  He then answers this question by understanding their structure rather than focusing on their content. On the level of the content, certain characters and narratives on events may vary extensively; Lévi-Strauss argues that their sameness is based on their structural similarities (Lévi-Strauss, 1955). *Taazias* have multiple varieties since they are dyed with the socio-cultural hues, hence their *parole* may appear different but they carry a similar *langue*: to grieve and lament through the theatrical re-enactment or public display of *Taazias* in public processions.

While unmaking the *Taazia* Symbol, *Karbala* is referred as the Symbolical narrative and *Taazia* as a symbol. For Saussure the sign is the basic element of *langue* (language), the sign alone is meaningless unless and until it juxtaposes itself with its referent, thus we can only access its meaning in relation to its referent. Here, *Taazia* is a sign in reference to the Karbala paradigm: philosophy of Shia mourning rituals. A culturally relativistic approach of dealing with symbols helps us identify codes "suitable for conveying messages which can be transposed into other codes and for expressing messages received by means of different codes in terms of their own system" (Lévi-Strauss 1963). Thus, the analysis of myths and other religious facts involves

the discovery of the underlying relationships between the units or details of the whole.

From the point of view of the Prague School of structuralism, we can see the stress on *Taazia* making and the core of *Taazia* as a symbol that reflects the collective ethos. In the Indo-Pak subcontinent it is seen as an element of unification among the believers who mourn for the Prophet's grandson. Since Indo-Pak is the hub of civilizations and exists as a diverse cultural mosaic from this part of the world, this ritual is one such example that connects the diverse groups and unifies the marginalized. Symbol mediates the social tensions in a society (Lévi-Strauss 1963)**.** Hundreds of *Taazia* processions are carried out in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, which are made up of anything and everything available in that area. The essence of *Taazia* making can hence be seen as an act of reverence and devotion in the love shown through commemoration of Karbala sacrifice.

Claude Lévi-Strauss has been interested in both the internal logic of a culture and the relation of that logic to structures beyond the culture – the structure of all possible structures of some particular kind (Lévi-Strauss 1969). The material artifact, the symbol of *Taazia* could be taken as an example. The South Asian ideology on pervasiveness of the *Taazia* ritual can be traced back to their ancestral archetypes that always had an element of tangibility. Meer Hassan Ali wrote in his book that "In *Hindustan* no *Shia* family had a house devoid of *Taazia* and the community venerated *Taazia* due to which they often bowed before it in respect" (Mir 2013). Symbols and common myths permeate our thinking on both subconscious and conscious levels. In a way, the underlying logic of *Taazia dari* is synonymous with ancestral worship which serves as affirmation of the devotees' beliefs. This very symbol is something the people of this region can relate, due to the underlying cultural logic, the shared set of beliefs that we are born with in terms of collective unconsciousness (Jung and Dell 1939).

Sassure's distinctions that he pointed, which are now commonplace to both linguistics and social sciences are diachronic and synchronic, *langue* and *parole*, syntagmatic and associative (paradigmatic), and the signifier and signified. True Sassurians admit nothing in between i.e. the synchronic/diachronic distinction is absolute. In the very first sense, we can see that *Taazia* in terms of its evolution and diffusion could be seen as a symbol created in parallel with the cultural mythology, which later diffused to the other parts of

the world and took its shape in the form of the *Hussey* or *Tajdah.* In terms of its synchronic characteristics, we can see that in that very reign, *Taazias* varied across the states based on their structural formation. They served as an identity symbol for each Indian state. The design and formation varied as per the expertise of the artisans of that particular region. Not only this, the best artisans and the craftsmanship still lies with the families hailing from India in the post-partition era both in Lahore and Hyderabad as per the data illustrated previously.

*Langue* and *Parole*, the French words are used in terms of "language" and "speech" in a metaphorical sense (Barnard 2004). While *langue* in *Taazia* acts to serve as the way condolences are paid by differing cultural believers, *parole* serves as social behavior of real individuals. From *parole* to *langue*, the actions performed by the Mourners or *azaadars* during *Taazia dari* and along with *Taazia* are held as collective social behavior.

The third distinction is between syntagmatic and associative relations (Saussure 1974). The colors used in *Taazias* are golden; that represents sanctity, silver; preciousness, brown/black; mourning or death, green; nature and red; martyrdom and blood which stand in syntagmatic relation to each other, as do their respective cultural meanings (Smith 2007). In contrast, a paradigmatic relationship between the two exists such as golden and sanctity. This example illustrates the relational character of elements in a cultural grammar. Golden not only mean sanctity in absolute sense, but it is a symbol of sanctity only within this particular framework; grandeur of the Mausoleum of Imam Hussain (R.A). In any other domain, the meaning of the color gold may be different e.g. in an economic context, golden color represents gold, worthiness or preciousness.

The final Saussurian distinction is between the signifier and the signified in the form of the "sign" which inherently has no natural phonological properties of a word and its meaning. Likewise, the symbolic elements of a culture take their meanings both according to the given culture and according to the context in that culture e.g. *Taazia* as an artifact or symbol (signifier) has no direct relation with that of mourning or ritualized mourning, yet in the context of *azaadari*, the very relic, the mausoleum, represents the personality of Imam who is mourned (signified).

## 5.    Conclusions

*Taazia* in this way serves as a symbol of unification that brings the humanity together. In the context of mourning, it holds significance for Muslims generally and Shia Muslims specifically. The heritage tradition of Lucknow is still enlivened in the walled city of Lahore and multiple *Pirs* of Hyderabad where all the previously mentioned classes amalgamate, dressed in black and perform *Nowha Khawani*[54]. The Influence of cultural traditions served as vehicle for preaching of religio-cultural traditions more pervasively in Punjab and Sindh, especially Lahore and Hyderabad, due to a number of migrant families. These families of craftsmen are gauged in this artisanry over generations and continue to enculture their off springs with this artistic skill. Art of *taazia* making has been supported by the Qizilbash of Lahore and Talpurs of Sindh who have predominantly continued the *azaadari* rituals in this part of the world. Apart from Shias, it is worth mentioning that Muslims across all sects and the regional religious groups also used to keep *taazias* at their places during the days of Muharram. One such example is mentioned with reference to Hussaini teekri[55] in the book of oral traditions of Lucknow on the Shi'ite history. The Symbol of *taazia* from the Structuralist perspective in Levi-Straussian ideas is built on cultural rationale and the then need of the hour. In the context of Indo-Pak, it represents a culmination of some principles of psychic unity or 'collective unconsciousness' in opposition to Durkeiminan collective consciousness.

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[54] Lamentation specific to azaadari
[55] Hill

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Fig. 1 – *Taazia* of Imam Hussain placed at Qadimi Imam Bargah, Rawalpindi.



Fig. 2 - *Taazia* at Qadimi Imam Bargah, Rawalpindi.

Fig. 3 - Metallic *Taazia* of Ali Akbar (son of Hazrat Imam Hussain) at the left and
Fig. 4 - Taazia Imam Hussain on the right.[56]
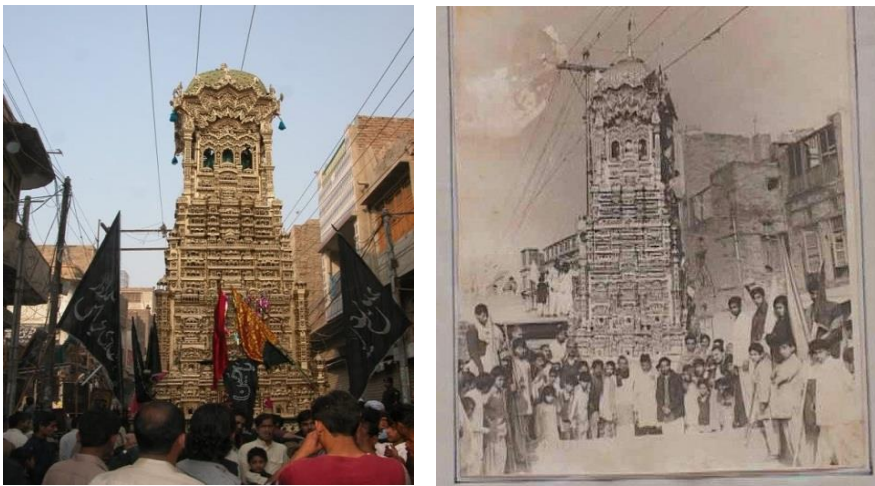



Fig. 5 - Five storeyed *Taazia* prepared by the Ustad on the left.[57]
Fig. 6 - The very *Taazia* of Ustad in 1950 procession.[58]

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[56]Photos taken by the author on 28-04-2018 for her M.Phil dissertation on "Multi-sited Ethnography of *Azaadari*   and *Taazia* Symbolism in Indo-Pak Tradition".

[58] Photo taken by Owais Jaffri for Express Tribune for article published with the title United in Sorrow on 15-01-2012. https://tribune.com.pk/story/319815/united-in-sorrow/

Fig. 7 - Seven Storeyed *Taazia* of Shagird on the left.
Fig. 8 - Detailed image of seven storeyed *Taazia* of Shagird on the right.[59]



Fig. 9 - The oldest *Taazia* of Lahore the left.
Fig. 10 - the *Taazia* currently taken out in *Muharram* each year on the Right[60]

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[59] Photo taken by Owais Jaffri for express tribune for article published at United in Sorrow on 15-01-2012. https://tribune.com.pk/story/319815/united-in-sorrow/
[60]Photos taken by the author on 26-04-2018 for her M.Phil dissertation on "Multi-cited Ethnography of *Azaadari* and *Taazia* Symbolism in Indo-Pak Tradition".

Fig. 11 -Shehnai played on elegiac tunes before Imam bargah Aliabad.[61]



Fig. 12 -*Taazia* in Sindh during a Muharram Procession.[62]

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[61] Photo Source: Dawn News, dated : 09/09/2019.
https://epaper.dawn.com/DetailImage.php?StoryImage=09_09_2019_115_001
[62] Photo Source: Majid Jagirani's blog on Symbolic representation of Tazia its types and manufacturing process in Sindh
http://pechro.com/blog_details.php?blog_id=190&lang=en

Fig. 13 - Wooden *Taazia* Artisans at work in Sindh.[63]



Fig. 13 - Artisans at work: Paper and Bamboo *Taazia.*

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[63] Photo Source: Majid Jagirani's blog on Symbolic representation of Tazia its types and manufacturing process in Sindh
http://pechro.com/blog_details.php?blog_id=190&lang=en

Fig. 15 - Paper bamboo *Taazia* making in progress.

# Dawn of Printing in India:
# Lithography in Lahore

## Nausheen Abbas

**Abstract**

*The introduction of printing press and camera during $19^{th}$ century in India, mark the end of traditions of handwritten book. The method of printing mostly adopted all over India, including the region of Lahore, was Lithography. This paper attempts to investigate the reason for this choice by the artists of India when, the rest of the world was preferring Typographic methods for printing. It also aims to find out how Lithography was able to provide a smooth transition from hand-written to printed books. The region of Lahore has been taken as the area of study in this specific case. Two of the archives are utilized for this purpose that have provided the data sample of 250 lithographed books from Lahore. The study scrutinizes the information about authors, publishers, artists of these books as well as general formatting, illustrations and illuminations. Furthermore, it investigates how the artists managed to continue some features of book art while modifying others to suite the new printing revolution. A few art historians notably, Shaw (1995, 2015) and Shcheglova (1999, 2009) have studied early printing methods in India. Their studies naturally have covered those cities of India which produced maximum number of lithographic books namely Lucknow and Cawnpur. Lahore is mentioned but, only fleetingly. This study also endeavors to identify and examine the position of Lahore in the context of lithographic printing that overlapped the production of manuscripts in the second half of $19^{th}$ century: the domain much needed to be explored by art historians.*

**Keywords**: Lahore, lithographic printing, typographs, calligraphic tradition

## 1. Introduction

Lithography, a planographic method of printing, is one of the oldest mechanical printing methods introduced to the world. This technique of printing utilizes specially prepared limestone slabs on which the text is inscribed, or the design is drawn by hand. Working on the principle of

incompatibility of water and grease, oil soluble inks are applied on the prepared surface that adheres to the design leaving the negatives areas. Prints can be taken multiple times from the prepared stone by means of presses.

Lithography was invented in 1798 in Germany and quickly spread throughout Europe. Investigating from India Office Records, Graham Shaw notes that it was introduced by Nanthanial Rind in India in 1822 in Calcutta (Shaw 1994/95: 3). It started to be used in Bombay for official printing in 1824. Later during the century, it was taken over as the major printing method in all major cities of India including Lucknow and Lahore.

Lithography received an enthusiastic welcome all over India as compared to typography, which remained the major printing method of Europe during 19$^{th}$ century. Typography could not attain the same status in India as Lithography enjoyed. There were many reasons for that, foremost among which was, the age-old calligraphic tradition and the sentiments of the public attached to this tradition. Lithography ensured mass production of books while remaining within a culturally and aesthetically favorable type of writing. Furthermore, the presence of hundreds of calligraphers and their previously produced handwritten manuscripts were there to utilize. In addition to that, the local availability of indigenous type of limestone made it a convenient and cheaper alternative to typographs. It used to be transported from Kurnool in Barelley district of Madras Presidency for different cities (Shaw,1994, p.1). For Lahore, it was available from nearer areas of Potohar, Salt range, specially from Wah and Taxila (Awan 2003: 8-18). Additionally, lithography could also accommodate many scripts used in India which type forms could not.

Data from the archives reveal that highest number of lithographs were produced in Lucknow, then in Bombay, Cawnpur, Lahore and Delhi respectively (Edwards 1922; Naushahi 1983). Lucknow and Cawnpur were leading cities in lithographic book production in 1830's and the pioneering publishers were Haji Muhammad Husayn who established Muhammadi printing press and Mustafa Khan who established Mustafai printing press in both of the leading cities (Gharwi 1971: 26-36). In 1858 C.E. the largest publishing house was established in Lucknow by Nawal Kishur. It was called Awadh Akhbar. Nawal Kishur soon left all others behind in the field of lithographic production in quality and quantity. Branches of his

publishing houses were established in Cawnpur, Bombay, Delhi and Lahore.

The history of printing in Lahore dates to Mughals. Introduced by the Jesuit missions, it used to be in typographed script and illustrated engravings. Emperor Akbar and Jahangir both employed artists to copy the illustrations but are never known to order their artists to emulate typograph forms (Khursheed 1963, Sheikh 2013). In 18th century, print made its first public appearance. It was moveable typeform that generated records of the rule of East India Company and other scientific research reports. It served the twin function of control and education.

During the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, first printing press was established in Ludhiana by American Presbyterian Mission (Sheikh, 2013). "*Ludhiana Akhbar*" issues from 1836 to 1840 are present in National Archives of India. The issues of 1840 are lithographed and the earlier ones are typographed (Siddiqui 1957: 253). First printing press in Lahore was established by East India Company's British residency in Lahore in 1842 (Sheikh 2013). According to Goulding (1924) this press was working in the enclosure of Daye Anga mosque. In this printing press, Lahore's first newspaper was printed. It was "The Lahore Chronicle" in English with a section in Persian. We know that lithography was put in use for this paper and Emile Billon was the superintendent in charge of lithographic section as mentioned in one of the entries of the Gazette of United Kingdom in 1853 C.E. mentioning the name of Billon as the "Former In charge" of Lithographic Press of the Lahore Chronicle. Kuhinur was the first Lahore daily newspaper started on 14th January 1850. Dya Ram Kaul Tuta, Maulawi Fazal Din Sahhaf and Pandit Mukand Ram were working for this paper (Bhutta 2007: 267). They were the prominent manuscript artists. One illustrated manuscript from British Library by Fazl Din Sahhaf (IO Islamic 3243) and two from National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi has been recorded by the author transcribed and illuminated by Ram Kaul Tuta (MS 1962-184, NM 1970-1).

## 2. The Publishers

From 1950's onwards many book dealers started to produce lithographed books in Lahore. This was being done in many languages including Persian, Urdu, Punjabi in *Nastaliq* scripts and some in

*Gurumukhi* script as well. Graham Shaw records that Bengali was also lithographed in Lahore when it was typographed in other parts of India (Shaw, 1995. p. 4). Most of the publishers were based in Kashmiri Bazaar. Haji Charagh Din and Haji Siraj Din were the most famous among them. Their book shop/ *Kutub khana* was established in 1856 C.E [1]. Others include Sheikh Illahi Bakhsh, Muhammad Jalal al-Din and Haji Siraj Din. Another prominent name in this connection is that of Malik Muhammad Hira who also published '*Garanth Sahab"* on a large scale (Adeeb 1967: 17).

Books were also exported from Lahore to Central Asia and Afghanistan. People going to Makkah for Hajj used to place orders for the books in Lahore to be collected while returning on their way back (Adeeb 1967: 17). Publishers based in Lahore were also taking orders from other cities[2].

## 3. The Artists

When we try to search for the names of artists/calligraphers of these early printed books, we come to know that they are not as highlighted as that of the names of publisher on the first page along with the author. This marks the beginning of the effects of early commercialization of book production. We do find some humble mentions in the corners of any one of the leaves or at the end of the books (see figures,1,2,3).

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[1] This information is given at the back of the last folio of *Srimad Bhagawad Git*a in Urdu (www.searchkashmir.org) Accessed on 1/10/2016.
[2] Ganj Bakhsh Library.   lithographed book Acc. No. 890/17011, *Pandnamah-i  Aṭṭar*, transcribed in 1873, have the name of Aḥmad Din Dealer of Books in Rawalpindi in addition to Charagh Din the dealer of Lahore.
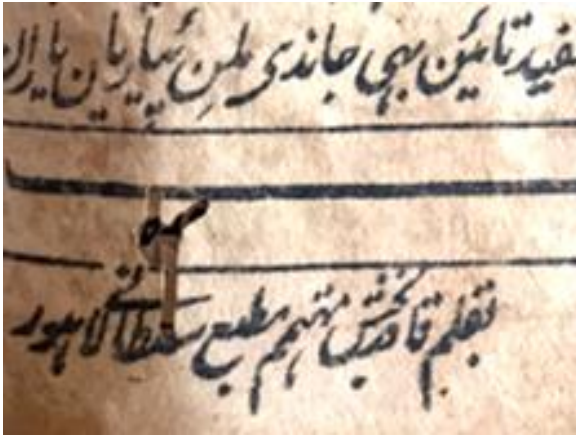
Fig. 1 - Last folio with signature of the scribe, Qissa Bahram Gur, 1875 CE., National Archives of Pakistan. Call no. 12357 (Photo by the Author).
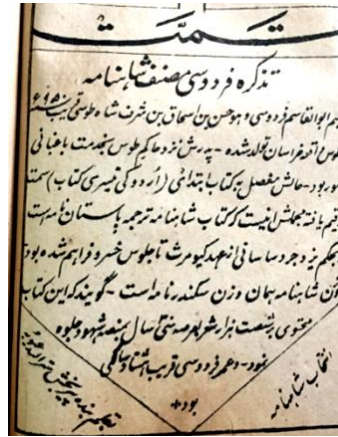


Fig, 2 - Signature of the scribe, Muntakhibat-i Farsi,1872 CE., Ganj Bakhsh Library, call no. 1289 (Photo by the Author).
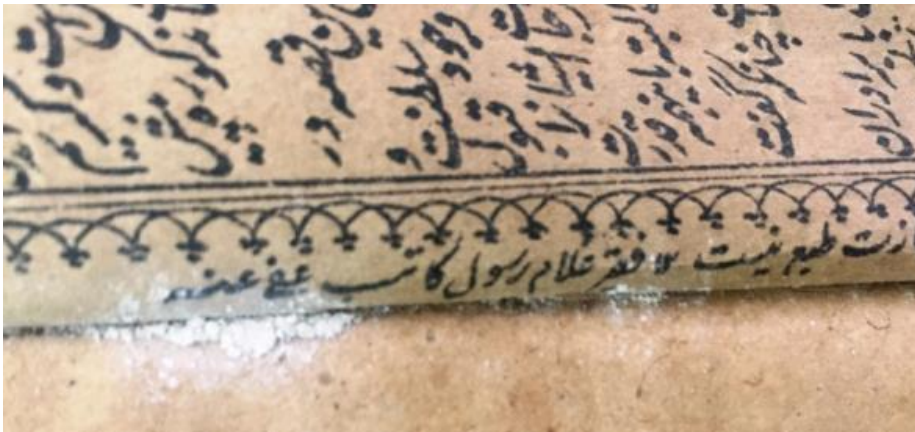


Fig. 3 - Corner of folio showing name of scribe, Sharh-i Bustan, 1878 CE., Ganj Bakhsh Library call no. 19915 (Photo by the Author).

The sheer number of lithographed books available indicate that a lot of people were transcribing them. Many of these names are the same that can be found in the colophons of the manuscripts of earlier decades. For example, the names of two of the calligrahers, Fazal Din and Pir Bakhsh, that appear at the end of *Muntakhibat-i Farsi*, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Acc. No. 890/7304, a lithographed book, were quite well-

known artists of 19th Century. Fazal Din was the son of famed Muhammad Bakhsh Sahhaf mentioned by Kanhayya Lal and Nur Muhammad Chishti as well (Lal 1884: 51; Chishti 1858: 672). He used to occupy a quarter, *hujra* in Wazir Khan mosque. Pir Bakhsh has been noted by Srivastava as the artist of repute in late 19th century (Srivastava 1983: 26-27). In addition to him, there are many others as Qadir Bakhsh, Imam Din, Ghulam Rasul, Ghulam Husayn, Muhammad Hayat, Muhammad Ali who have written their names on the corners of one of the pages of these lithograph books. These names can be correlated with many of the names found in histories mentioned as artists and calligraphers. To quote one, Din Muhammad (calligrapher of *Tutinamah,* Ganj Bakhsh Library, Acc. No. 1729 was the artist who made posters for Allama Iqbal in the elections of 1929 (Bhutta 2002: 43-44). Another name, Ghulam Husayn was well known in Mayo College and Aitchison College as a drawing instructor during early 19th century. His signatures as a calligraphist can be noticed in some books as for an instance, *Mathnawi Bu Ali Qalandar* (Ganj Bakhsh Library Acc. No. 19997).

## 3. Scripts and Formats

*Nastaliq* was reserverd for Persian and Urdu; *Naskh f*or Arabic. Some of these early printed books are written in *Shikasta* script as well for Persian, Arabic or Punjabi writing. Formatting of these books echo the traditions of manuscript writing. *Jadwal* or columns are drawn in between the lines in case of poetry works (fig. 4). Explanations of the text are in slanted lines outside the margins on each folio as used to be in handwritten books (fig. 5). Another feature that directly follow the manuscript tradition is the triangular tail piece at the end of the text (fig. 6). Despite taking much from the predecessors, one may also notice some features that resulted from modernization. These include the pagination of folios by writing page numbers in place of catch words. Another important modern inclusion was the title page discussed later in detail.
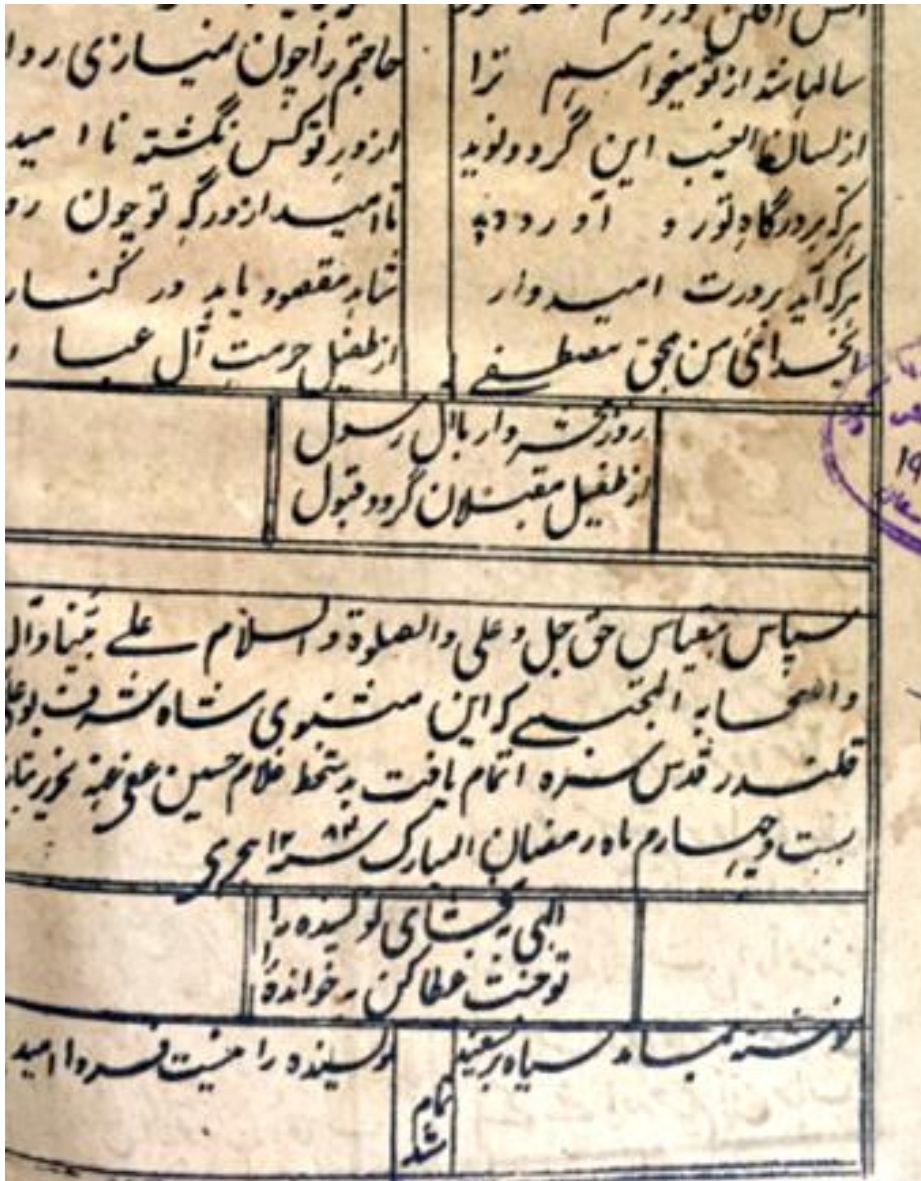
Fig. 4 - Last Folio. Masnawi Bu Ali Qalandar. 1898 CE. Ganj Bakhsh Library. Call. No. 19997 (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 5 - Folio 1 Tuhfat al Ihrar, 1863 CE. Ganj Bakhsh Library call. no. 19642 (Photo by the Author).
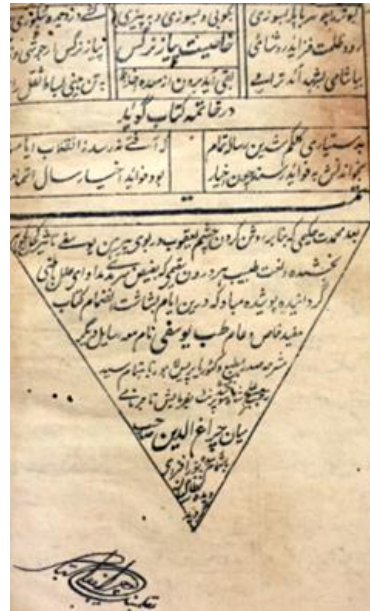
Fig. 6 - Last Folio. Tail piece, Ṭibb-i Yusufi. 1879 CE. Ganj Bakhsh Library. call no. 18785. (Photo by the Author).

## 4. Illumination

Be it figural composition in the form of illustrations or, graphic decoration in the form of illumination—both had to go through a transformation from the hand painted versions of manuscripts to lithographed books. The first compromise had to be with the colour. The black and white version of illumination in design was much like the manuscripts. Head pieces were inserted before the beginning of the text in most of the instances. The calligraphists were so used to this feature that even if not drawn, one-third of the first page used to be left blank (fig. 7). The first two decades of lithograph followed more or less the same design elements, as for example in 1864 edition of C.E *Anhar-al Israr* the typical tri-foiled interlaced design is used (fig. 9); later on the illustrator started to fathom the effective exploitation of black and white tonalities in broader designs as in the *Bandaginamah* of 1878 (fig. 8).

Fig. 7 - Ajaib al-Qassas , 1864 CE., 1/3rd of the folio left blank Ganj Bakhsh Library. Call no. 3854/5616 (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 8 - Bandaginamah, 1878 CE. folio 1. National Archives of Pakistan Call. No. 12099. (Photo by the Author).

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Fig. 9 - Anhar al- Israr, 1864 CE, Illumination drawing, folio 1.  Ganj Bakhsh Library, Call. No. 890/5623 (Photo by the Author).

## 5. Illustrations

The books that contain illustrations are mostly Persian classics following the older tradition, or are inserted in Punjabi folk tales, a nascent variety. Alongside the compromise on colour, the artist here had to forgo his desired larger sizes too. Lithographic printing had to be done on limestone slabs which were difficult to acquire, carry and printed on presses. Resultantly the sizes are uniform and moderate. Commercial mass production of books had its toll too on quality. The illustrations that used to take larger spaces, sometimes the whole page in the past, were reduced to small bands within the text. This can be

observed in the illustrative examples in figures 10, 11 and 12. The composition got squeezed in a limited space with large figures and less space around.

Despite of the drawbacks, the visual iconography of Lahore's manuscript art of previous decades can be noticed in these early printed books. These features include the typical facial features as saucer eyes, thick beards of men, their head dresses and postures (fig. 10-14). The wings of the angels one bend and the other upright can be noticed at once belonging to Lahore visual vocabulary of hand painted illustrations (fig. 10). The tall cypresses among the thick short bunches of foliage, the regular distribution of tufts of grass on the ground, hills with shaded edges all come from a familiar repertoire of hand painted illustrated manuscripts of Lahore School from the beginning to the third quarter of 19th century. Furthermore, foliage of the trees drawn are shown bent over the main group in the composition-- a typical Lahore feature as well. This feature appeared in the hand painted illustrated versions of earlier times (fig. 10, 11). In some of the instances, the title pages of the books also contain illustrations as in figures 13,14.



Fig. 10 Qiṣṣa-i Bahram Gur, National Archive of Pakistan. Acc. No.12357. Page. Illustration;8 35 mm x 126 mm (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 11 - Hir Wari<u>th</u> Shah, 1875 CE. National Archive of Pakistan Acc. No. 12373, page. 15. Illustration; 33 mm x 140 mm (Photo by the Author).



Fig. 12 - Qiṣṣa-i Bahram Gur . National Archive of Pakistan. Acc. No.12357, pg. 34, illustration; 34mm x 126m (Photo by the Author).

\* \* \*
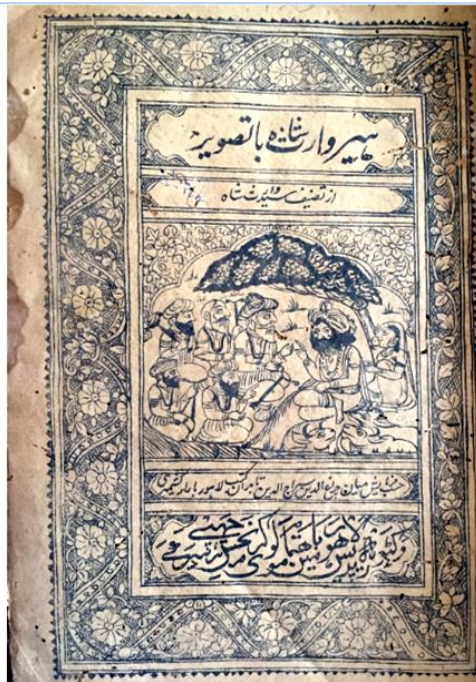
Fig. 13 - Title page, Hir Waris Shah, 1875 CE.    National Archive of Pakistan Call. No. 12373 (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 14 - Title page, Subdinawan Mahal . National Archive of Pakistan Call. No. 12436 (Photo by the Author).

## 6. Title Pages

A new feature added to the printed books is the insertion of title pages perhaps taken after the European books and the Britishers who started the same practice in India while producing printed educational material. Scheglova (1992) has identified two major formatting styles of title pages that were utilized all over India. First is the Bombay Style. In this style *shamsa* or medallion format was used. Two or three medallions are arranged vertically, the central one being the biggest containing title of the book and author's name. The second style is the so called Nawal Kishur Style-after the famed publisher of Lucknow. Lahore's printed book followed this style. It is horizontally oriented across the title page. An ornamental border with one or two bands is drawn on all four sides, the one at the side of the spine of the page is thinner. The border design is mostly multi-leafed rinceaux. Surrounded by the borders are three bands of text. The central one takes up most of the space, containing

the title of the book occasionally with authors name and date of publication. The upper most band contained supplication in Arabic in bold *Naskh* script. The lower band contained the name of the publisher (Fig. 15, 16).
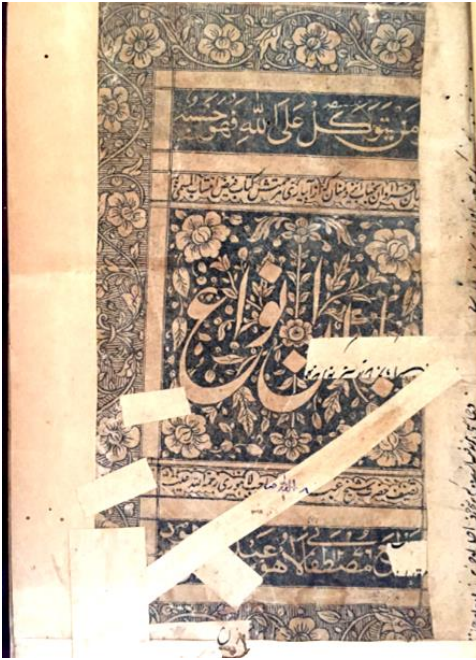


Fig. 15 - title page, Baran Anwa 1859 CE., National Archive of Pakistan, Call. No. 12425 (Photo by the Author).
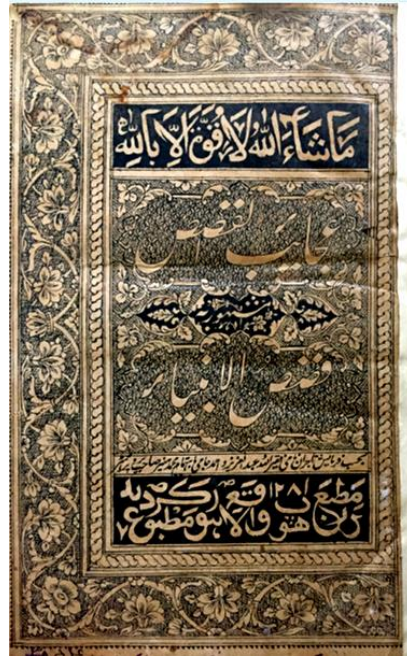
Fig. 16 - Title page Ajaib al- Qaṣaṣ, Ganj Bakhsh Library, Call. No. 890/19642 (Photo by the Author).

Towards the end of 19th century and the beginning of 20th, Lahore's character of art of printed book starts to loosen its individuality. Ever increasing commercialization and exposure to a large variety of books from other cities; crude or fine, was the major reason for this deterioration. Publishers from other cities started establishing their publishing houses in Lahore. One of the examples is that of Nawal Kishur's publishing house that started its business in Lahore in 1890. The new dealers started to import and export books in Lahore. In many of these books produced towards the end of the century, a new competition may also be felt in providing cheaper and cheaper options as advertised at the end of the book on the last folio. Although

## 7. Conclusions

Lithography was given preference over typography in Lahore as in other parts of India during 19$^{th}$ century. The major reason for this choice was the cultural familiarity, love for hand written book and its aesthetic closeness to all the fonts used in India. As the consequence, we observe a large production of lithographed books not only in Persian but in Urdu and Punjabi in a great number as well in the multilingual society of Lahore. From its early versions in 1850's until about three decades it kept the Manuscript traditions alive in calligraphy, illustrations and illumination to a large extent. However, it went through a process of transformation gradually and the end of 19$^{th}$ century also witnesses the demise of Lahore's art of book as an individual entity which kept its status for the whole of preceding century.

### Acknowledgements

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# History, Architecture and Urban Form of Rawalpindi, 1857-2017

**Mujeeb Ahmad / Fakhar Bilal**

## Abstract

*Rawalpindi is an important and historical city in South Asia. It has its links with Gandhara Civilization and has been a cultural nexus and invasion route for centuries. It has been invaded by Greeks to the Afghans. Rawalpindi was a main center and trade route during the 18th century. Nowadays, it is part of the twin city of Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan. This city has its own distinctive culture, lifestyle, and architecture. It was the city of the Gakkhar tribe, which traces its traditional origin from the Kiyanis of Persia. It was during the Gakkhar period that, Rawalpindi gained its lost position. After the fall of Gakkhars in 1765, the Sikhs and after March 1849, the British were the custodians of the city. Since 1947, it is an important socio-political and military center of Pakistan. Rawalpindi has trading, commercial, cultural and educational importance. It also has several remains of the rich architecture of the Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, and British origins. In this paper, an attempt has been made to explore the archeological and architectural history of Rawalpindi with special reference to the Muslim architecture and development of the city as a cosmopolitan.*

Rawalpindi city,[1] (Fig.1) the most important center of the Northern Punjab and the 'twin city' of Federal Capital Islamabad is the fourth largest city of Pakistan. Both cities, keeping their separate identity intact, are serving each other in complementary ways mostly in human and natural resources. Rawalpindi has a centuries-old history, tracing its beginning from the pre-historic period. The remains of the Bronze Age were also found in this area. It was also a center of Soan Valley and Gandhara cultures (Hasan 2008 and Salim 1986). According to Dr Ahmad Hasan Dani (1920-2009), this region has once been the home of

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[1]Its Grid Code is G8, Latitude, and longitude is 33 36N 73 04 E.

the earliest human, Australopithecus[2] (Dani 1999: 102). The 'modern' period commenced from 500 A.D. This region, due to its strategic position played a considerable role in (re)shaping the course of history.

## 1. Historical Background

In 995, the region came into the possession of Gakkhars and remained under their control for almost eight centuries. It was only when Jhanda Khan a Gakkhar chief, restored its lost position, founded a new town nearby, at the site of an old town known as Fatehpur Baori / Baoli,[3] and named it Rawalpindi (Abbasi 1975-76: 49). The name *Rawalpindi* means the house of Rawals, a title of the land-owning Gakkhar tribe. It is during this period that Rawalpindi came into prominence. During the time of Mughal Emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (1542-1605), the Gakkhar region was divided due to a state of anarchy, and Rawalpindi fell to a lot of Said Khan, the third son of Sultan Sarang Khan (d.1546)[4] (Dani 1999: 100).

When Alexander the Great of Macedonia (356 B.C.-323 B.C.) in 326 B.C., invaded the area now comprising Rawalpindi district, it was known by the name of *Amanda* and governed by Raja Ambhi. *Ghaziabad / Ghazipur* and *Pind wal* are also its ancient names (Ḥusaīn 2007: 27). The region during the Mughal period was known as *Sindh-Sagar*. The ruins of an ancient city founded by Raja Gaj, *Gajipur* or *Gajnipur*, were also found. Here troops of Mahmud of Ghazna (971-1030) stationed in 1005 (Ḥaīyderī 1980: 15). The fourth Mughal Emperor Nurruddin Muhammad Jahangir (1569-1627) in his memoirs, *Tuzk-i-Jahāngīrī* mentioned Rawalpindi and Gakkhars with their brief history. According to him, Rawalpindi was founded by a Hindu named Rawal and *pindi*[5] in the Gakkhar language means a village. About the Gakkhars, he mentioned that 'they are always squabbling and fighting with one another' (Beveridge 1974: 98-99).
Although, after the death of sixth Mughal Emperor Muhammad Aurangzeb Alamgir (1618-1707), a Gakkhar chief Jhanda Khan ruled

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[2]A 45,000-year-old open-air Paleolithic site has been found near Rawat in 1980. (Dennell 1992:17-33).
[3]The village was founded by Mirza Fateh Ali Beg around the dawn of the 16th century.
[4]Said Khan was the father-in-law of Mughal Emperor Jahangir.
[5]The *pindi* is the short form of Rawalpindi.

over this area (Malik 1970: 43-44), however, it gained importance in 1765 when a Sikh Chief Sardar Gujjar Singh Bhangi (d.1788) marched from Lahore and defeated Muqarrab Khan, the last Gakkhar ruler in a bloody battle outside the walls of Gujrat. Sardar Gujjar Singh seized everything of the Gakkhars, except for their stronghold, Pharwala (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 51). Another Sikh Sardar, Milkha Singh Thehpuria (d.1804) took control of Rawalpindi and established his headquarters here and he was the first to fortify the town and built some new houses. It was after the occupation of Sardar Milkha Singh that Rawalpindi became a trading center where traders of neighboring areas came to settle and thus, it emerged as a financial district during the Sikh rule (1809-49) (Irtāsib 2005: 409 and Awāz April-June 2000: 273-274). After the death of Jiun Singh in 1814, the area came under the direct control of Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), the Sikh ruler of the Punjab (Chugtā'ī 2001: 8-9).

The Gakkhars attempted to regain their lost sovereignty in the region even during the lifetime of Milkha Singh but in vain. They again fought for the restoration of their suzerainty under the leadership of Raja Nadir Khan, a Gakkhar notable against Brigadier-General John Nicholson (1822-57). The district authorities captured Nadir Khan and tried him for rebellion, and found him 'convicted' and hanged him in 1853 in the Mandla Gakkhar Fort (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 53). A 40 feet tall monument in memory of Nicholson was built in 1868 on the top of a hill, around 40 kilometers away from Rawalpindi on the Grand Trunk Road (G. T. Road) to commemorate his services rendered for the defense of British India (Dani 1999: 100).

## 2. The British Period

After the Second Sikh War (1848-49), the Sikh army under Chattar Singh (d.1855) and Raja Sher Singh (d.1858) surrendered against the British on 14 March 1849. Rawalpindi, which was quiet during the War, came under the British Imperial Rule[6] (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 56, 59 and Kitchin 1909: 32). During the War of Indian Independence (1857), 'great interest was exhibited' by the local people in the uprising, but mostly they remained observant. Although the

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[6]Special grants and *inam*s were given to religious institutions and some leading Gakkhar and Hill chiefs.

sepoy companies at Rawalpindi and Jhelum were disarmed by the British in July, however, Murree witnessed some turmoil organized mainly by civilians (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 53-56; Haq 1968: 272-276 and Chaudhry 1970: 12). According to 1893-94's Administration Report, the Rawalpindi district stood seventh in order of total area and population in the British Punjab (1849-1947), however, stood first in the whole of British India (1858-1947) in recruiting men and raising money for the First World War (1914-18). Many local soldiers fought so bravely that some of them won various distinctions, including Victoria Cross[7] (Johnston n. d.: 1, 5-7, 16-17, 65-83). The district also served with almost the same zeal and enthusiasm during the Second World War (1939-44). During the War, almost seventy-five thousand men, mostly from Kahuta, joined the British Army (Talbot 1988: 175). On 23 November 1939, a British armed merchant cruiser, named *Rawalpindi* was sunk in a surface action against the German battleships leaving 263 men dead[8] (https://www.bbc.co.uk May 19, 2020).

Under the British, probably no district in the British Punjab has undergone greater development than that of Rawalpindi. In this process of development and consolidation of the British Imperial Rule, the largest, exotic, and one of the most important cantonments in the Punjab was established at Rawalpindi in 1851 and the Divisional Headquarters shifted from Jhelum to Rawalpindi, most probably for the defense of North-West Frontier of that time. The first troops to be based in Rawalpindi at that time were the 53rd Regiment and barracks were built for the soldiers[9] (Specht 1983: 29 and Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 249, 256). The Civil Lines were also built in the North-East corner of the city. The Municipal Committee was constituted in 1867, whereas, the Cantonment Board was constituted in

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[7]The total number of causalities in the district was 1,336. Sepoy (later Subedar) Khudadad Khan (1888-1971) of 129th Duke of Connaught's Own Baluchis was the first Indian who was awarded the Victoria Cross after the First World War (Shahbāz 2017: 802-803). Naik (later Subedar) Shahamad Khan (1878-1947) of 89th Punjabis was also awarded the Victoria Cross after the First World War. He belonged to Takhti, a suburb of Rawalpindi (Dawn August 10, 2014).

[8]*Rawalpindi* was launched in March 1925 as a passenger ship. Later in August 1939, she was converted into an armed merchant cruiser.

[9]Due to its climate, Rawalpindi was a favorite station for quartering troops on their first arrival from England.

1932 under the Cantonment Act, 1924 to look after the public affairs in the area[10] (Chugtā'ī 2001: 26-32 and Nawa-i-Waqt February 2010. The Nala Lei, almost 15 kilometers long, is a natural boundary between the city and the cantonment area.

Besides, the imperial motives, the British tried to develop Rawalpindi as a modern civic center of Northern India. For their cultural requirements, British established clubs, libraries, parks, and other civic necessities. The Rawalpindi Golf Club established in 1885 is one of the oldest golf clubs in the World. The Rotary Club of Rawalpindi was founded in 1935 and till December 1960 there were more than 200 Rotarians in the city (*Afkār Rāwalpinḏī ḏā'irakṯrī* 1962: 440). The British also encouraged establishing factories and small industries. Murree Brewery Company, Limited was opened in Ghora Gali, Murree in 1860 whereas; brewing was commenced in the spring of 1889 at the Rawalpindi unit (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 167-168). The Commissariat Steam Flour Mills in the cantonment was the only one in the then British Punjab (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 256). Attock Refinery Limited was established in the then suburb of Rawalpindi city in 1922.

Before the arrival of the British, the 2,400 kilometers long G. T. Road, constructed by an Indian Raja, Chandragupta Maurya (d. 297 B.C.E); one of the longest and oldest roads of South Asia was the only link between the eastern and western parts of the Indian Sub-continent[11] (Khan 1982: xiii). It was revived by the then Indian ruler Sher Shah Suri (1486-1545) and also passes through Rawalpindi.

The Rawalpindi Railway Station, as a Northern Punjab Railway Station, having an Anglo-Indian architecture, was constructed in January 1886 followed by few railways workshops. The Golra Railway Station, a small Victorian-style building was established in 1881 and was upgraded to a junction in 1912. It was built by the British as a logistic artery and to assist military supply for campaigns in Afghanistan. Rawalpindi also served as one of the major trade routes, especially between the Punjab and Kashmir (Khan 1982: 257).

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[10]On 1 February 2003, Chaklala Cantonment Board was established by dividing Rawalpindi Cantonment Board into two parts.
[11]In 1540 Sher Shah Suri also built a fort, known as Rohtas Fort some 20 kilometers north-west of Jhelum to control the hostile Gakkhars.

## 3. Political Importance of Rawalpindi

After the First World War, Rawalpindi saw disturbed conditions, following the wake of the Khilafat Movement (1919-22). During the Hijrat Movement (1920), Rawalpindi was the transit base for some of the Indian Muslims migrating towards Afghanistan. In the post-Jalianwala Bagh disturbances (April 1919), there was a good deal of agitation in the district. Rawalpindi also contributed its due share in all religio-political movements of the 20th century, especially the Pakistan Movement (1940-47). When the Pakistan Resolution was passed in March 1940 in the 27th Session of the All-India Muslim League (December 1906) at Lahore, the Muslims of the district supported it wholeheartedly. Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948) was warmly welcomed in Rawalpindi in July 1944[12] (Ṣiddīqī 1983). In November 1938, All-India Akali Conference was held at Rawalpindi. The Conference vehemently supported the policies of the Indian National Congress (December 1885) (Grewal 1998: 171). Besides, being the birth-place of renowned Sikh leader Master Tara Singh (1885-1967),[13] the city also hosted other famous Indian leaders like Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi (1869-1948), Mawlana Shoukat Ali (1873-1938), Mawlana Muhammad Ali Juhar (1878-1931), Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) (Minhās 2013: 99).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the exiled Amir of Afghanistan Shah Shujah Durrani (1785-1842) along with his brother Shah Zaman Durrani (1770-1844) took refuge in the city (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 256). A treaty of friendship was signed between the then Viceroy of British India Lord Dufferin (1826-1902) and the then Amir of Afghanistan Abdul Rahman Khan at Rawalpindi in April 1885 (Mujāhid 2003). The historic peace agreement between the British and Amanullah Khan (1892-1960) Amir of Afghanistan was also signed at Rawalpindi in August 1919, through this agreement, British accepted Afghanistan as an independent country (Dupree 1980: 443).

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[12]Quaid-i-Azam also visited Rawalpindi in December 1932, and 1936, 1939, 1941, and in July 1944.
[13]He was born in a village Haryal, near Rawalpindi on Mandra-Chakwal road.

## 4. Rawalpindi After 1947

Soon after independence, Rawalpindi began to expand in all respects. It became General Headquarters of the Pakistan Army and Pakistan Air Force. In the wake of the Pakistan Government's decision to shift federal capital from Karachi to the newly selected site, *i.e.*, in the footsteps of Margalla Hills and adjacent to Rawalpindi city, it remained the interim capital of the country from October 1959 till November 1966 (Zabīaḥ 1996: 130-131; Jafri 1973 and Yakas 2001). The city also has the pioneer pride that the first-ever Radio and Television Stations of Pakistan were started in 1948 and November 1964 respectively.

Although, Rawalpindi Development Authority was established in May 1989, replacing Rawalpindi Improvement Trust, however, it became functional in March 1992. After the creation of Pakistan, the British administrative and financial structures were maintained with slight modifications of nomenclature. The district remained under the executive charge of the deputy commissioner. Rawalpindi Municipal Committee was upgraded to Municipal Corporation in 1975. However, in August 2001, when the new local body system was introduced, the District Nazim became the head of the administration. After that, in 2016, the city mayor became head of the administration.

In Rawalpindi Division, there are four districts namely Jhelum[14] (Shahbāz 2017), Attock,[15] Chakwal[16] (Nīāzī 2019), and Rawalpindi comprising an area of 22,254 sq. km and seven tehsils, *i.e.*, Rawalpindi, Murree,[17] Gujar Khan (Rājah 1994),[18] Taxila (Marshall 1918 and Dani 1986), Kahuta, Kotli Sattian (Sattī 1990 and 1992), and Kallar Sayyiden (Ḥusaīn 2007 and Bukhārī 2002) in Rawalpindi District.[19]

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[14]Inder Kumar Gujral (1919-2012), the former Indian Prime Minister (April 1997-March 1998) belonged to one of the villages of Jhelum.

[15]Rawalpindi district was divided into two districts viz Attock and Rawalpindi in April 1904. Till 1978, Attock was known as Campbellpur (Government Of Pakistan 1999:3).

[16]Dr Manmohan Singh (b.1932), the former Indian Prime Minister (May 2004-May 2014) belongs to one of the villages of Chakwal.

[17]Shahid Khaqan Abbasi (b. 1958), the former Prime Minister of Pakistan (August 2017-May 2018) belongs to Murree.

[18]Raja Pervaiz Ashraf (b. 1950), the former Prime Minister of Pakistan (June 2012-March 2013) belongs to Gujar Khan.

[19]According to the 2017 Census, the total population of Rawalpindi district on 3 January 2018 was 5,405,633.

## 5. Demography

The Rawalpindi city is the third most populated city of the Pakistani Punjab. In the 1901 census, its population was 87,688; in the 1951 census it was 237,219 and in the 1961 census it was 340,175 (Government of Pakistan n. d.: 1-26). The post-1961 period witnessed developmental activities in the region, so, the population increased rapidly and by 1998 reached 1,409,768 (Government of Pakistan 2006: 22). Besides, the influx of Muslim immigrants in August 1947, the city also witnessed life-time migrants, constituting 26.6% of the total population. The reasons are varied, *i.e.*, maybe for better education, health facilities, employment, business, or marriages. By 1951, 40% of the entire population of Rawalpindi was of refugees (Specht 1983: 22 and Iob 2018). According to the sixth Pakistan Census conducted in May 2017, its population was 2,098,231. The number of households in Rawalpindi city in 2017 was 341,343 (http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk August 29, 2018). [20] More than 95% of its population is Muslim,[21] mostly Rajputs and *Panjabi* speaking (73.4%).[22] According to the 1998 Census, the literacy rate comes out to be 76.2% having graduates 7.9% only.[23]

The degree and level of urbanization of Rawalpindi are comparatively higher than the other cities of the Punjab. Since the 1970s, the urban population has shown a rapid increase. The urban population of Rawalpindi increased from 0.7 million in 1972 to 2.5 million in 2012 showing inter-censual variation above 350%. The socio-economic changes occurring in the society has brought an influx of people from rural to urban areas and small urban areas to the large

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(http://www.pbscensus.gov.pk/sites/default/files/bwpsr/punjab/RAWALPINDI_SUM MARY.pdf August 29, 2018). Whereas, it was 1,137,085 according to the 1961 census (Government Of Pakistan n. d.: I-15). At the dawn of the 20th century, the total population of the district was 558,699 (Kitchin 1909:7).

[20]The average household size of Rawalpindi city was 6.5 in 1998 and 5.5 in 1961 censuses respectively (Government of Pakistan 1999 : III-2).

[21]According to the 1961 census, 98.49 percent were Muslims. (Government of Pakistan n.d.:IV-4).

[22]According to the 1951 and 1961 censuses, *Panjabi* speaking was 88.67 and 84.30 percent respectively. (Government of Pakistan n.d.:IV-23).

[23]According to the 1961 census, 42.66 percent of the total population was literate. (Government of Pakistan n.d.:I-27).

urban areas of the city. During the 20th century, Rawalpindi remained the second most urbanized district of the Punjab (Khan 2013: 138-139).

## 6. Architectural History

There are numerous remains of the Sikh, Hindu, British, and Muslim architecture in the city and around, which had their unique architectural features and importance. The Sikh and Hindu architectural sites, mostly consisted of *inter alia*, temples, *samadhi*s (Kalhoro 2016: 2-10), *gurdwara*s and *haweli*s are in the custodianship of the Evacuee Trust Property Board (1975) which is solely responsible for managing all such property formerly belonging to Hindus and Sikhs residents who relocated to India after August 1947.

Muslim architecture mostly consisted of mosques, tombs, and forts. The region has some ancient mosques and *madaris*. The oldest mosque of the region is located in a small village Bagh Joghian, near Pharwala Fort, which was built in the early 16th century by Mai Qamro, wife of Hathi Khan Gakkhar (d.1520). The mosque, built in rectangular plan and crowned with three squat domes, is the great specimen of the Gakkhar architecture which resembles the Lodhi period (1451-1526) mosques at Delhi[24] (Kalhoro 2016: 40 and Khan 2010: 57-58). A *masjid* built in 1601/02, is still present with the name of *Goliyanwali Masjid* (*Afkār Rāwalpinḍī ḍā'iraktrī* 1962: 309). The foundation stone of the *Markazi Jamia Masjid* was laid down in 1903 by Muhammad Ayub Khan (1857-1914), former Amir of Afghanistan, and its construction was completed in 1905 (Malik 1970: 39-42). The mosque built mainly by donations, is embellished with intricate tile work and detailed frescos in vibrant colors. The rich and beautiful artwork consists of a bold and graceful mosaic. The walls of the mosque are decorated with the Quranic verses. It replicates traditional Mughal architecture (Dawn December 1, 2018). (Fig. 2, 3). Among the *madaris*, *Darul Ulum Talimul Quran* was established in 1940 whereas *Jamia Ghauthiyyah Mazharul Islam* and *Darul Ulum Ahsanul Madaris* were established in July 1952 and March 1954 respectively. At present, there are various *masajid* and *madaris* serving not only the residents

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[24]A historic graveyard is also situated near the mosque having graves and tombs of some of the Gakkhar rulers.

but also students coming from almost all over Pakistan to get an education in these historic institutions.

Nurpur Shahan (initially called *Churpur*) and Saidpur villages are at least 450 years old. At Nurpur Shahan stands the shrine of Sayyid Abdul Latif Qadiri (1617-1705) commonly known as *Barri Imam*. His shrine was built during the reign of Mughal Emperor Jahangir (*Afkār Rāwalpinḏī ḏā'iraḵ̲trī* 1962: 48). The other famous *dargah*s and shrines are of Sakhi Jan Muhammad Sa'adullah Khan commonly known as *Baba Pirwadha'i*, Shah Chan Chiragh (d.1703/04), Pir Mehr Ali Shah of Golra Sharif (1859-1937), Shah Allah Ditta, Pir Khwajah Hafiz Muhammad Abdul Karim Naqshbandi of Eidgah Sharif (1848-1936) (Fig.4) and Khwajah Hafiz Muhammad Amin of Mistal Sharif (d. 1901) (Ṣābirī  n. d.).

Rawalpindi was the birthplace of the Nirankari sect of Sikhs, founded by Baba Dayal Malhotra (1853) (Grewal 1998: 140-141). Thus there were / are various Hindu Temples and Sikh *Gurdwara*s in the city. The architecture of these buildings had their own distinctive style, which can be termed as the Potohari architecture style (Kalhoro 2010: 88-115). Among Hindu Temples, the most important are Saidpur and Rawal Dam Temples. The Saidpur Temple is square in plan superimposed with a bulbous dome erected on the octagonal and circular drum with a finial on the top. Opposite of the temple is a *gurdwara* which is also in a square in plan surmounted by two pear-shaped domes crowned with a finial. The Rawal Dam Temple is rectangular in plan with two arched openings on the south (Khan 2010: 95-96). The Krishna Temple was built in 1897 by Kanji Mal Ujagar Mal Ram Richpal as a street temple for the local Hindu devotees (Dawn March 8, 2020). A Sikh Temple was built by Shirimati Devi in memory of her husband in 1880 in Nirankari Bazar (Dawn June 3, 2018).

There is a three-story Jewish synagogue in the city as well. A Zoroastrian cemetery, dating back to 1884 (Farrington 1995: 2), is still a sacred place for perishing the local Parsi minority. The earliest surviving grave dates back to 1852 in the Old Christian cemetery near the main Harley Street cemetery (Farrington 1997).

Less than three years after the arrival of the first British troops in Rawalpindi, the foundation stone for the Garrison (Christ) Church was laid on 12 March 1852, followed by another one in the heart of the main city, Raja Bazar in 1858. For the railway employees, the

foundation stone of St. Mary's Church was laid on 24 September 1882 at West Ridge, which was completed in two years and consecration started on 30 November 1884. In 1854 a church under the control of the Church of England was founded, which is considered as one of the oldest churches in the region. The foundation stone of the St. Paul's Gothic Church of Scotland, was laid down in 1876 by Reverend G. J. Chree B.D. on The Mall, Rawalpindi. (Fig. 5, 6). In 1880, a Roman Catholic Church was also established in the city (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 234 and Farrington 1995: 2).

Among educational institutions built under the British, Mission High School is the oldest one which was established in 1856 by the American Presbyterian Mission in India. This school was upgraded as Gordon College in 1893. (Fig.7, 8). On 20 March 1903, the newly constructed college building was inaugurated by the then Lieutenant Governor of the British Punjab Sir Charles M. Rivaz (1845-1926) (Dean 1993: 15-24).[25] The building of the college is a mix of Mughal and Colonial architecture. Colonel Dennis, Controller of Imperial Military Accounts (1861) with the help of some local philanthropists established a primary school in 1881 on Dalhousie Road (now Kashmir Road). The Presentation Convent School was started as a missionary school in Lal Kurti, Rawalpindi in September 1895, and St. Patrick's School was opened in 1927 as a missionary primary school. In 1938, St. Ann's College for Women was built on the convent grounds, which was the first women's college in Rawalpindi (Dawn June 16, 2019).

The Rawalpindi Civil Hospital was first opened as a dispensary in 1853 in an old fort, and in 1880 it was raised to the standard of a civil hospital within a new building, situated in the south-western corner of the city. The Hospital had a separate ward for the European patients (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 231-232). St. Catherine's Hospital and The Christian Mission of Philadelphia's Holy Family Hospital were opened in Rawalpindi in 1909 and 1927 respectively[26] (Dawn March 17, 2019). The Lawrence Memorial Asylum was founded in 1860 at Murree. St. Joseph Hospice was started in 1962 by a

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[25]The first male Hindu and Muslim students of the College graduated in 1904 whereas the first male Sikh and Christian students of the College graduated in 1905. Two Christian women graduated from the College in 1917(Hussain 2012).
[26]Holy Family Hospital is affiliated with the Rawalpindi Medical University (September 2017) as a teaching hospital.

Catholic priest and missionary Father O'Leary in assistance of Sister Dolores of the Franciscan Missionaries of Mary from Spain (Dawn August 13, 2017).

Bedi Khem Singh (1832-1904) one of the founders of the Singh Sabha movement, established an Industrial School in February 1894[27] (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 231 and Saleem 2016: 151-163). The Dayanand Anglo-Vedic School was opened in 1899 by the Rawalpindi chapter (September 1877) of the Hindu reformist movement, Arya Samaj (April 1875) (Malik 1970: 74). Sir Michael Francis O'Dwyer (1864-1940) then Lieutenant Governor of the British Punjab, laid the foundation stone of The Khalsa High School on 1 August 1913[28] (Dawn October 14, 2018). (Fig.9). The building of Sanatan Dharma High School was constructed in 1913[29] (Nawa-i-Waqt September 26, 1998). (Fig.10). In 1896, Islamia High School, Murree Road was started by the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Rawalpindi (1893), a splendid symbol of typical Anglo-Indian style of architecture[30] (Khān 2017: 83-84). Whereas, the first-ever Muslim orphanage of British India was established by the Anjuman-i-Faizul Islam in April 1943[31] (Ahmad 2014).

## 7. Forts, Haveli, and Bazars

Sultan Kaigohar alias Ghakkar Shah in his new headquarters Pharwala, built a fort on the left bank of river Soan in 1000. The fort has six gates flanked by semi-circular bastions[32] (Hasan 2005: 61-63). The elegant small stone Rawat fort-cum-caravan serai is square in plan and *inter alia*, has an octagonal single domed mausoleum believed to be of Sultan Sarang Khan (Fig.12) and a three-domed mosque in the middle

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[27]He also built a *haweli* in Kallar Sayyiden.

[28]On 1 October 1947 it was named as Muslim High School and on 1 September 1989, it was upgraded to a higher secondary level.

[29]On 1 October 1948, Government College, Rawalpindi was started in this school (Nawa-i-Waqt September 26, 1998). (Fig. 11).

[30]After August 1947, it was renamed as Muslim High School and in 1989 it was upgraded to a higher secondary level.

[31]Quaid-i-Azam visited this orphanage in July 1944.

[32]*Qilah* Pharwala was visited by the founding Mughal Emperor Zahiruddin Muhammad Babar (1483-1530) in 1519. Mughal Emperor Nasiruddin Muhammad Humayun (1508-56) and the then Prince Akbar also visited this fort in 1534.

of the western wing (Hasan 2005: 63-65). (Fig.13). Like *Qilah*s Pharwala and Rawat, there are also some remains of a Hindu *Qilah*, now called *Purana Qilah*, a defensive structure around the city, with a gate built in 1896. Bagh Sardaran, Haveli Hasraat Singh (1860), Haveli Sujan Singh, Haveli Moti Lal, and Haveli of Dhan Raj Sehgal are also an architectural heritage of the city. Poonch House on Adamjee Road was built in the late 1800s by Raja Moti Singh as a rest house for rajas of Poonch. The 37 Kanal majestic mansion combined the best in European and Indian architecture, also incorporated Kashmiri woodwork (Dawn February 22, 2015). A mixture of Mughal and Anglo-Indian architecture, a 110-acre building was constructed in 1898 on the Mall Road by Sohan and Mohan Singhs, known as Shahzada Kothi to house the then Prince of Wales Albert Edward (1841-1910) later King Edward VII, during his proposed visit of British India. Since the Partition of British India till August 1998, the grand building was being used as a presidency, and state guest house[33] (Dawn March 19, 2017).

Apart from the historic buildings, the bazars present a variety of architectural as well as cultural landscapes of the city, which reflects the image of Rawalpindi as a city of masses and the common man. Among different bazars, Tench Bazar is the largest in Asia (City Report n. d.: 7). Other older bazars are Lal Kurti Bazar, Moti Bazar (1901), Chik Bazar, Sarrafah Bazar, Urdu Bazar, Raja Bazar, Nirankari Bazar, Ganj Mandi, and Saddar Bazar.

(British East India) Company Bagh (now Liaqat Bagh) witnessed many historic events including the assassination of the first prime minister of Pakistan Khan Muhammad Liaqat Ali Khan (1895-1951) and the first-ever female prime minister of Pakistan and Muslim World Benazir Bhutto (1953-2007) in October 1951 and December 2007 respectively. The important parks are Jinnah Park, Rawalpindi Public Park, Rumi Park[34] (Fig.14), and Topi Rakh Park, named Ayub National Park in 1959 (Dawn February 14, 2016). The Lohi Bher scrub forest on the west of Rawalpindi city was declared as a Lohi Bher

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[33]In August 1998, the first-ever public Women University of Pakistan, Fatima Jinnah Women University was established in this building.
[34]This park was built in 1903 in the memory of General Sir William Stephen A. Lockhart (1841-1900) (Dawn December 30, 2018.

National Wildlife Park in 1987, spreading over an area of four kilometers.

## 8. Rawalpindi as a Literary Center

Till October 1882, besides government and aided schools, there were 660 *maktab*s and *madaris* for the Muslim religious education, nine Sanskrit, and 137 Gurumukhi schools in Rawalpindi district. As far as Rawalpindi city was concerned, there were nine Muslim *maktab*s and Gurumukhi schools where more than 12 thousand students were enrolled (Leitner 1882: 133-143). After August 1947, the educational landscape of the city expanded rapidly. Besides private educational institutions of different levels, there are four general universities, two medical and one agricultural university, numerous colleges, and schools are working in the public sector.

The first-ever lithographic and English typographic Egerton Press was started in 1880 by Narain Das followed by some more (Gazetteer of Rawalpindi 1895: 99). Besides, *Tarjuman-i-Sarhad*, *Shihab*, *Koh-i-Kiysh*, *Tajul Akhbar*, *Nasih*, *al-Muslim* (started on 8 January 1894), *Nasim-i-Hind*, *Chudhwain Sadi* were the most important Urdu weeklies, fortnightlies, and monthlies being published from Rawalpindi (Malik 1970: 154-155). *Chudhwain Sadi* was an Urdu weekly started by Qazi Sirajjuddin Ahmad (d.1925) on 1 March 1895, which was mostly read by Muslim graduates (Ramḍān 1990: 11-13, 17, 19). He also launched first-ever quarterly from Rawalpindi, named *Sirat-i-Mustaqim* in 1904 (Khān 2017: 83). *Punjab Times and Frontier News* was an English paper published twice a week ('Alam 1904: 31, 76). All-India Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference (December 1886), held its 28th annual meeting at Rawalpindi in December 1914. The delegates hailing from all over British India discussed the issues related to Muslims' education and adopted some important resolutions (Zubairī 1928: 200-230 and *Rīporṯ* 1918: 41-48,179-346). According to Aziz Malik (1916-99), the first-ever translation of the Quran in the *Panjabi* language was done in Rawalpindi by Mawlana Hadaiytullah in 1891, which was published from Lahore in 1969 (Malik 1970: 164-166). The college magazines[35]

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[35]*The Gordonian* of Gordon College was started in December 1915 whereas *Kohsar* of Government College was launched in November 1951 after renaming the previous

and cultural societies / clubs of different educational institutions also contributed their due role in elevating the literary outlook of the city.

Moreover, Municipal Library, Rawalpindi established in 1873 and renovated in 1980 is one of the most important public libraries of the region. Nazr Muslim Library was established in 1924 by Mian Nazr Muhammad (*Afkār Rāwalpinḏī ḏā'iraktrī* 1962: 667,672). The Lansdowne Trust Library built in 1892 was renovated and renamed as Cantonment Public Library in March 1987 (Dawn August 18, 2019).

National College of Arts (Rawalpindi Campus), Rawalpindi Arts Council (October 1975), Pindi Cricket Stadium (January 1992), Pindi Club, Army Museum, Railway Heritage Museum (2003) are also centers of social, cultural, and educational activities.

## 9. Conclusions

In 1966, an initiative was taken to draft a Master Plan for Rawalpindi, but it was never materialized (Specht 1983: 39). Thus, Rawalpindi expanded mostly in the peri-urban areas without any proper urban planning. There are some planned and various badly planned and illegal localities in the city. Satellite Town once was a symbol of new trends in the architectural heritage of the city, which was developed in 1951 towards the northern end of the city. Now, the governmental, educational, and private buildings present a variety of architectural forms. The most varied are the mosques, shopping malls, and plazas built in different localities. (Fig.15, 16). However, there is no reflection of any local tradition in these new constructions. The city is being expanded through many private housing colonies, which are introducing modern European lifestyle and architecture. The inauguration of motorways from Rawalpindi to Lahore (M 2) in November 1997 and to Peshawar (M 1) in October 2007 was a milestone in the history of the city. Another most important development is the 22.5 kilometers Metro Bus Service, inaugurated in June 2015 which connects Rawalpindi with Islamabad. With all its archaeological, socio-economic, religio-political, and martial importance, Rawalpindi city, tehsil, district, and division still has room to become the most important and influential region in all spheres of life. The utmost need of the hour is to launch a pilot project to protect

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one, *The Observer*.

and preserve the archeological, architectural, and social historic heritage of the city.

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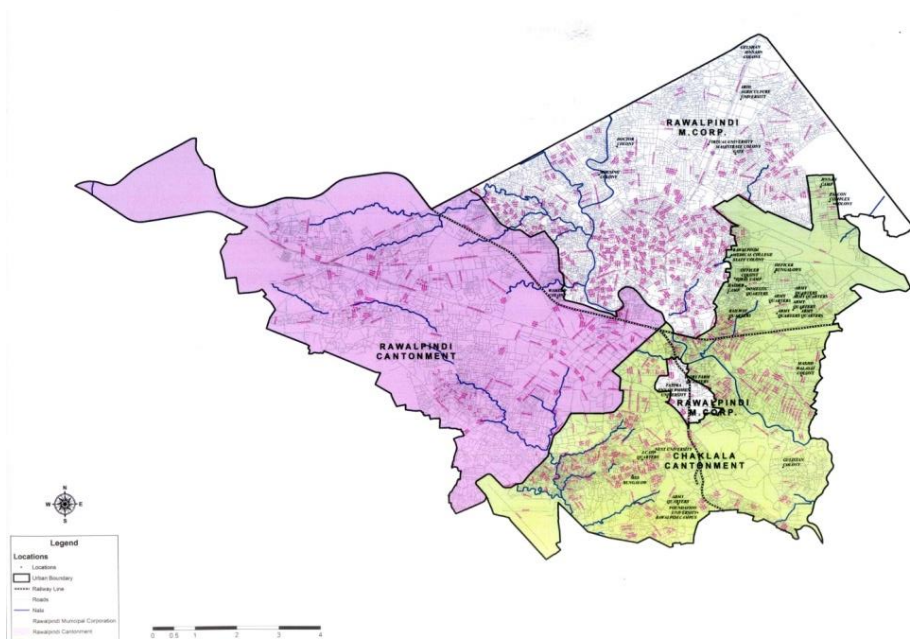
Fig. 1 - Map of Rawalpindi as in 2017
(Source: Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, Islamabad).



Fig. 2 -  Main Entrance Gate of *Markazi Jamia Masjid*  (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig.3. Front View of *Markazi Jamia Masjid* (Copyright. Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig. 4 -  Shrine of Pir Abdul Karim Naqshbandi of Eidgah Sharif
(Copyright. Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig. 5 -  Main Entrance of St. Paul's Gothic Church, The Mall
(Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig. 6 - A View of St. Paul's Gothic Church, The Mall
(Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig.7 - Main Buiding of Gordon College (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).



Fig.8 - A View of Gordon Collge  (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).
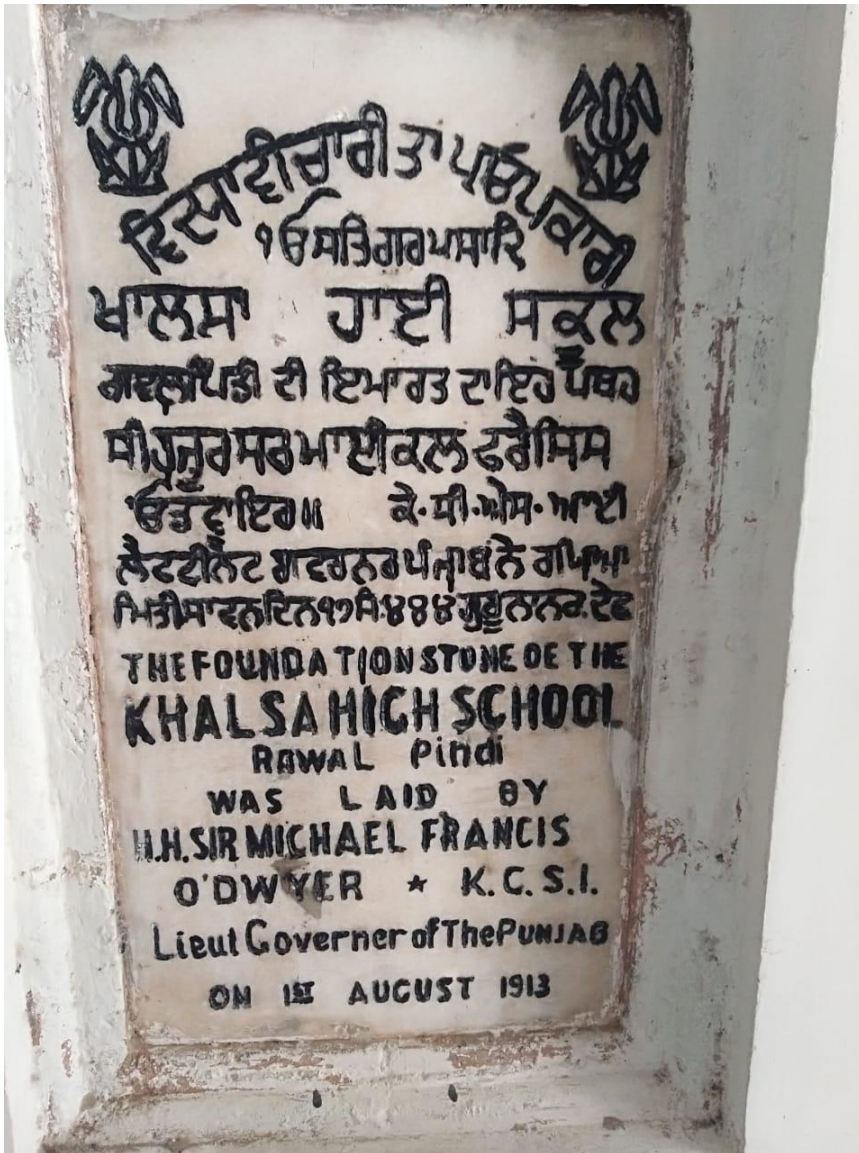
Fig.9 - Foundation stone of the Khalsa High School (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig. 10 - Building of Sanatan Dharma High School (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig. 11- Main Building of Government College (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).



Fig. 12 - Mausoleum of Sultan Sarang Khan (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig. 13 - Three-domed mosque (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).



Fig. 14 - Rumi Park (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).

Fig. 15 - Modern Arctihecture (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).



Fig. 16 - Modern Arctihecture (Photo by Mujeeb Ahmad).

# The role and impact of emotions on human nature in the Sufi path of spiritual self-realization

## Thomas Dähnhardt

## Abstract

*The present article wants to describe some of the fundamental principles and modes concerning the path of spiritual self-realization as outlined by the authorities of Sufism within the Islamic tradition. It focuses on the individual and cosmological implications which, in the traditional Sufi world-view, are at the base of the concept of 'universalization of the individual' and investigates the role and relationship that develops and subsists between the accomplished master and his pupil during this process. The Sufi initiate undergoes not only a process of transformation, but of sublimation and refinement of his human dimension in an approach to the divine which, to many modern Muslims and non-Muslims, may appear as alien and provocative as it is challenging, since it relies on a wisdom and a vision more and more unfamiliar for those whose perception of Islam is increasingly defined by the 'outer', purely social and political dimension of Islam.*

Over time and around the Muslim world, the representatives of the esoteric tradition within Islām commonly referred to by the generic term Sufism (or *taṣawwuf*, as it is known in Arabic) have for long been a constant point of reference for those eager to strengthen and corroborate their adherence to the religious Tradition they were born into and grown up with. In pre-modern Muslim societies less affected by the constraints imposed by fundamentalism and religious obscurantism, to many individuals the wisdom and the charisma perpetrated by generations of spiritual authorities (*salāsil*, pl. of *silsila*) offered an attractive opportunity to broaden their intellectual horizons and deepen their understanding of their inner selves while reinforcing their personal relationship with the one and all-transcending Divine

principle, Allāh.

Such general attitude translated into a neatly defined purpose for an individual's existence through the articulate teachings and specific methods of self-realization described and prescribed by the Sufi path (*ṭarīqa*) [1]. The latter provided direction to the single individual's intentions, touching on and addressing his faith, thoughts and emotions. It thus enabled the common believer (*al-ʿawāmm*) and the spiritually inclined (*al-khawāṣṣ*) alike to complement the formal ritualism and normative behavior prescribed by the *sharīʿa* and the custodians of Islamic orthodoxy and orthopraxy, the *ʿulamā*. Moreover, it provided a real opportunity of attaining to direct personal participation at the mysteries underlying the prophetic message (*risāla*). The vision of the inner self and the outer world derived from the contemplative knowledge and spiritual practices as taught by the authoritative Sufi Shaikh thus enabled Muslims of all kinds to actively share into both the human and the spiritual dimension of Muḥammad (Peace Be Upon Him), the messenger of Islām (*rasūl Allāh*) and seal of prophethood (*khatm al-nubuwwat*), thereby achieving a lasting sense of satisfaction for the practitioner while strengthening his identity as integral part of the community of rightful believers at large (*umma*).[2] *Taṣawwuf* and its

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[1] In fact, the meaning inherent to the term *ṭarīqa* as derived from the Arabic verbal root *ṭa-ra-qa* comprises both the knowledge of the theoretical background describing the goal set and the path to travel on and the specific methods and practical applications contemplated and employed by any given Sufi order in order to achieve this sublime goal (*maqṣad*).

[2] Such underlying attitude is rooted in the Sufi tenet that attributes to the descendants of Ḥaḍrat Ādam, considered by Islām and Sufism to be both the first human being and the first prophet (*nabī*), the status of being the most perfect among Gods' creatures, since the primordial, archetypal man embodies in his nature all the divine attributes of God. The idea, though not derived directly from the Qurʾān, is as ancient as Islām itself and was elaborated in great detail by the great Sufi master Ibn ʿArabī (1165-1240 AD) and one of his principal interpreters, ʿAbd al-Karīm al-Jīlī (1365-1424 AD). Both describe the human individual as being the reflection of his Creator and His essence (*al-dhāt*) Perfect Man (*insān al-kāmil*). This corresponds to the full realization of the relationship between God and His creatures through the attainment of total divine consciousness. By spiritual dimension of the prophet Muḥammad, we intend the *ḥaqīqat al-muḥammadī*, which represents the archetypical and determining principle of the Universe, as expounded by the *shaikh al-akbar*.

authorities were thus instrumental in fostering a strong sense of both social and self-identity emphasizing a universalistic world-view that contemplated the individual as a microcosm (*'ālam al-ṣughrā*) comprising on a minor scale the entire possibilities of the macrocosm (*'ālam al-kubrā*) while at the same time stressing the former's innate capacity to effectively achieve the identification between the two domains. Whereas these notions were originally revealed to and propagated by the prophet of Islām they were later interpreted an elaborated by the Sufi leaders who considered themselves as intimate 'friends of God' (*awliyā Allāh*)[3] and heirs of the prophetic chain that had begun with Adam, the first human being, and come to an end with the death of the 'seal of prophethood'. Encoded in a specifically Islamic mode, as contemplated in principle in the Qur'ān and the prophetic Traditions (*aḥādith*),[4] the guidance offered by the *shuyukh* (pl. of *shaikh*) addressed the existential desire shared by all humans for complementing their contingent existence in the realm of immanence with a continuous, personal relationship with the transcendent dimension of the divinity. This would allow those seeking their mediation to experience Allāh's closeness (*qurbat*) and gratifying presence (*ḥaḍra*) both within themselves and in the surrounding world, during moments of intimate devotion (*'ibādāt*) as well as through the manifold social interactions in the routine of public life (*mu'āmalāt*). In this context, human emotions were important since they could play a significant role in awakening the desire of the human individual for self-realization directing him towards the noble purpose of reconciling his contingent existence with the totality of Universal existence (*al-*

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[3] This is one of the many terms by which Sufis describe themselves, the word 'Sufi' being almost exclusively a word used by those outside the traditions of *taṣawwuf*.

[4] The most quoted Qur'ānic reference is the verse 41:53 (*Sūrat fuṣṣilat*): *We will show them Our signs in the horizons and within themselves until it becomes clear to them that it is the truth*…; the most explicit prophetic tradition at this regard is the following: The Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (702-765 AD) said: "The Prophet of God dispatched a contingent of the army (to the battlefront). Upon their return, he said: 'Blessed are those who have performed the minor *jihād* and have yet to perform the major *jihād*.' When asked, 'What is the major *jihād*?' the Prophet replied: 'The *jihād* of the soul (struggle against self)'. (Al-Majlisī, *Bihār al-anwār*, vol. 19, p. 182, *ḥadīth* no. 31)

*kawn*) and its ultimately source, the Divine being itself. In the historical context of Islām as the last great (monotheistic) religious Tradition to appear in the theatre of mankind, emotions (*jadhbāt*, pl. of *jadhba*) assumed an even greater role as means of devotional transport capable of projecting the partitioning initiate's inner self onto a higher plane. It thus supplanted and complemented the more intellectual (*ʿaqlī*) approach which remained the preserve of a very restricted number of elected members of Muslim faithful.

In the course of their presence in South Asia, long, uninterrupted generational chains of major and minor Sufi authorities (*salāsil*, pl. of *silsila*) have inherited and contributed to adapt an increasingly elaborate spiritual science (*ʿilm al-rūḥānī*) the quintessential meaning of which lies at the very heart of the Islamic *Dīn* and focuses on the well-being and perfectioning of the human individual (*insān*). It is the role and responsibility of each single member of these spiritual chains to address man's inclination to seek self-realization in search of the ultimate reason and fulfillment of his ephemeral life on earth. If on one side the Sufi order's widespread appeal derived from the successful integration of Islām's social, juridical and theological framework with practical investigations (*taḥqīq*) concerning the nature of God and the relation it bears with His creation (*al-khalq*) and His creatures (*makhlūqāt*), on the other, especially in the Indo-Pak subcontinent, it was the Sufi masters' intention to expand the sphere of influence of Islam in a non-Islamic society from the secluded environments of temporal power to the masses of the illiterate folk. It was their role of mediation that ultimately sanctioned the success for the spread of an Islām that considered *taṣawwuf* as an integral part of its universal constitution. In the process, these Sufis created an effective network of spiritual assistance that covered large part of the territory (*walāyat*) and reached out to all segments of society. In this task, for which they relied equally on oral and scriptural transmission, each with its peculiar characteristics and functions, but complementary to and integrating each other, the capacity to arise, interpret and direct human emotions, was an equally important mean to capture the attention and attract those awakened to the desire towards their expert guidance.

As far as textual tradition is concerned, the treasure of wisdom preserved in the context of the institutionalized Sufi orders (*ṭuruq*, pl.

of *ṭarīqa*) finds its expression in the production of a vast body of doctrinal treatises and practical handbooks (*risālāt*), hagiographic biographies (*tadhkirāt*) spiritual diaries (*malfūẓāt*) and epistles (*maktūbāt*) written, collected and preserved by generations of affiliates to the tradition of *taṣawwuf*. Each genre in its own fashion, illustrates the theoretical background as well as the rich repertoire of methods and techniques aimed at achieving progress on the path of spiritual perfection (*sulūk*) and proximity to God (*qurbat*) and exalt the piety of those who have left their mark for the sake of this noble purpose. Inspired by references hidden in the authoritative scriptural sources of Islām, i.e. the Holy Qur'ān and the prophetic Traditions (*ḥadīth*), on the whole Sufi authors have paid major attention to keep their teachings in line with Islamic orthodoxy and orthopraxy (*bā-shar'*), although there are exceptions to this. Thus, over time each Sufi order has developed its peculiar set of prescriptive texts which preserve and pass on the spiritual treasure cultivated by its spiritual forefathers (*buzurgān-i ṭarīqa*) and which are continuously nourished, extended and adapted by the present generations. This textual treasure represents the backbone and red thread linking the past with the present and attests of the importance of written authority in order to preserve the memory of the past while actualizing it through oral explications in the present. All those sources contain more or less detailed and systematic analyses of the human nature and constitution (*ṭabī'at-i insānī*) and the necessity to take into account for during the process of spiritual education the upbringing and cultivation of the human soul for the sake of refining the human substratum into a medium for effectively reflecting, absorbing and assimilating the qualities of the superior spheres of Creation. However, these same sources keep stressing that the real task of spiritual upbringing (*tarbiyat*) pertains to the domain of direct or intuitive knowledge (*'ilm al-ḥuḍūrī*) and as such goes beyond the analytical acquirement of knowledge based on logic (*'ilm al-ḥusūlī*). Its transmission cannot be obtained but through the subtle channels of spiritual education (*rūḥānī ta'līm*) that relies on the subtle affinity of the unseen components of the human constitution, beyond the rational sphere of the mind.

From the above considerations, it becomes obvious that it is the direct relationship between the living spiritual guide (*murshid bar*

*Ḥaqq*) and his disciple (*murīd*)[5] that lies at the core of the Sufi pattern of transmission of knowledge (*maʿrifa*) and of spiritual influence (*baraka*). Based largely on physical co-presence and oral communication, this relationship guarantees the vitality of the tradition inherited through the oath of allegiance (*baiʿah*) the disciple makes to the spiritual teacher at the outset of their relationship, that is during the moment of receiving initiation into the *ṭarīqa*.[6] The vow of reciprocal allegiance and loyalty, derived from an ancient model of sealing a pact of loyalty among Arab tribal leaders, implies the transmission of the current of spiritual influence that determines the efficacy of the methods and the capacity of comprehension of the doctrinal tenets taught and explained by the Shaikh in the course of private teaching sessions. In fact, the intimate relation between spiritual director and spiritual apprentice sanctions the actuality of the *tarīqa* and hence its very *raison d'être*, since it provides assurance for the perpetuation of the wisdom and practical knowledge acquired in the past and in the present that guarantees the transformation (or rather *sublimation*) of the disciple's inner states and soul (*taḏhkiya al-nafs*). It thereby becomes the fundamental means to overcome the distance between the ancestral tradition going back to the time of the prophet and from him to the very beginning of time at the outset of Creation, and the last living representative of the tradition, nay the very source of its spiritual power, ultimately re-enacting archetypical situations and implications which by their very nature transcend as an integral part of the limitations of time and space and tie the practicing disciple into the

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[5] This term derives from the Arabic verbal root *a-rā da* ("to will"), bearing the meaning *he who is moved by [trueful] intention;* in the Sufi context, the term indicates the importance of directing one's will and intention onto the goal for the sake of attaining to its realization under the direction of the *murshid bar Ḥaqq*, that is *he who provides guidance to the attainment of Truth or God.*

[6] The Qur'anic sanction of this act of acknowledging loyalty and assistance in a noble cause is the following, revealed to the prophet of Islām just after the pledge of satisfaction (*baiʿat al-riḍwān*) and also known as the pledge of the tree (*baiʿat al-shajrah*), by his companions (*ṣahāba*) prior to the Treaty of Hudaybiyyah in 6 AH/628AD: *Certainly Allāh was well pleased with the believers when they swore allegiance to you under the tree, and He knew what was in their hearts, so He sent down tranquillity on them and rewarded them with a near victory…* (Cor. 48:18)

chain of transmission. It is in this context that emotions can effectively arise in the practitioner of the spiritual discipline and channelled through the attentive supervision of the spiritual director towards the attainment of progressively higher stages of sublimation of the human soul. The principal force of attraction that lies at the root of all 'positive' emotions is love (*'ishq*), the most primordial of all emotions whence the very world came into being and which, in a process leading into the opposite direction of return to the Principle (*rujū'*), effectively represents the complementation and reversal of the creative act perpetrated by the Creator (*al-Khāliq*). Ironically or perhaps rather quite naturally, this implies, at least during the beginning stages of the path and among other things, the necessity for the neophyte to remain in close contact with the living master, sharing his daily routine and adapting his life-style, outer gestures as well as inner attitudes while preferably living within the precincts of the Sufi monastery (*khānaqāh*) where the *shaikh* resides, so as to strengthen the adherence and conform his individuality to that prescribed by the *ṭarīqa* tangibly represented by the *shaikh*. The aim is to conform inwardly and outwardly to the nature of the *murshid*, for example to his character which can be either predominantly severe, rigorous, sometimes even harsh and sturdy (*jalālī*) or otherwise, gentle, mild and accommodating (*jamālī*).[7] In his effective role of 'heir' (*wārith*) of the archetypical spiritual forefather of all Muslims, i.e. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, the *shaikh* represents the perfect living example of spiritual perfection to which a loyal and qualified disciple most comply and identify. Eventually, this manifestation of love for the spiritual instructor culminates in the 'extinction in the spiritual guide' (*fanā fi'l-shaikh*), an important preliminary step on the path of self-perfectioning.[8] All this is very

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[7] For an interesting examination of these aspects in Sufi practice, in particular in the context of the Chishti order (see Saniotis 2012: 65–83). In a way, the assimilation thus aimed for is a reflection of the attitude born out of the desire to comply with the *sunna* of the prophet by imitating his perfect example down to the most minute detail.

[8] This apparent devotion to a howsoever perfect human being has frequently been criticized by muslim esotericists who interpret it as an illegitimate act of association to the rank of the One divine Being, Allāh (*shirk*). Such accusations testify for the superficial attitude that move many modern 'defenders' of Islām, whose intellectual vision is obscured by a grave narrowness of mind and spirit, since it is incapable of

important also for understanding the role and importance played by emotions in the context of the *ṭarīqa*, for these too comply with the spiritual instructor's intention to lift the follower of the Sufi path from the initial level of uncultivated individuality to an ever increasing degree of refinement towards universalization through conformation with the celestial attributes of the angels and, ultimately, the Divine. In many sufi orders, the most perfect stage of the relationship thus established leads is known as *rābiṭa*. The technical sense of this term implies the subsistence of an inner tie between the *shaikh* and the *murīd* that enables the former to transmit the current of his mental power and spiritual energy through a subtle channel of communication

By definition,[9] to follow the Sufi path entails the interiorization of the Islamic ritual subsumed in the five pillars (*arkān*, pl. of *rukn*) of

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distinguishing between the subtle difference underlying the Principle and its cause and/or agent, the former alone attaining to Allāh himself whereas the latter is, however sublime in rank, part of creation and as such cannot (and must not) be confused with a possible object of worship (*'ibādat*). The same discourse applies to the numerous accusations moved against Sufi authorities and their teachings which includes the description of *rābiṭa*, the spiritual bond between the *shaikh* and his disciple (*murīd*) which arises out of and is nurtured through the technique of 'visualization of the spiritual guide' (*taṣawwur al-shaikh*), a method used in many Sufi orders as a means to supplement to the physical and temporal distance between the present-day initiate and the past generations of powerful *māshaikh*, leading all the way back to the fountainhead of all spiritual grace (*faiḍ*), the prophet of Islām and, ultimately, Allāh himself.

[9] Among the many classifications of the diverse Sufi groups found in scholarly works, one commonly encountered distinguishes those adhering to the precepts of muslim Law, known as *bā-sharʿ* (lit.: adhering to the Law), and those who put themselves deliberately without the context of the *sharīʿa*, known as *be-sharʿ* (lit.: 'without Law'). For a study of these typologies and their implications for South Asian Sufis, especially in Pakistan (see Frembgen 2004: 245-257).

Among those who most authoritatively elaborated on the intimate relationship subsisting between the tenets of the religious Law (*shariʿa*) and the degrees of spiritual self-realization was Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī (971/1564-1034/1624), a prominent leader in the South Asian branch of the *ṭarīqa* Naqshbandiyya. His influential reworking of the Sufi doctrine known as *waḥdat al-shuhūd* (unicity of existence) earned him the reverential title *Mujaddid alf-i thānī* (Renewer of the Second Millennium of Islām), reason for which the main Indian branch of the Naqshbandiyya after him came to be known as Mujaddidiyya.

Islām, i.e. witnessing (*shahāda*), ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*), fasting (*sawm*), charity (*zakāt*) and pilgrimage (*ḥajj*), eventually leading to the comprehension of their underlying truth and value at a higher, spiritual level (*ḥaqīqat*). Such process brings about the intensification of the *sharī'a* through *ṭarīqa* leading to the *sharī'a*'s implication's full adherence to or identification with *ḥaqīqa*. The meaning of its outer applications on an interior, subtle plane and hence implies, ultimately, the perfectioning of an individual's identity as Muslim. The efficacy of the teachings perpetrated by the Sufis, in the past and present, relies in good part on the psychological insight of the living spiritual guide (*murshid*) whose intimate understanding of and vigilant presence over the inner progress of his pupil (*murīd*)[10] represents a core aspect of the process of traversing the path of spiritual self-realization. The *murshid*'s knowledge of the complex, multi-layered human constitution (*ṭabi'yat*) combined with his capacity to recognize and address the moods and motions of the human soul (*nafs*)[11] guarantees the correct development of the *murīd*'s psycho-mental component towards the goal of inner perfectioning and fine tuning with the universal values implied in Divine consciousness. Based on his own experience and a recipient of that of his spiritual predecessors in the *ṭarīqa*, the *shaikh* masters the means to incline, transpose and therefore educate the *nafs* of his *protégé* onto a higher, ever more sublime level increasingly refined from the coarse, uncultivated state and mentality of the uninitiate (*nafs-i ammārah*) 'wont to the command' (this being the literal meaning of the term *ammārah* as a feminine adjective related to *nafs*) of lower human instincts and ignorance (*ghaflat*).[12] The initiate undergoing this

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[10] The term *murīd* denotes the will of the initiate (lit.: 'he who possesses the right will') to undertake the traversing of the path of self-purification and introspection, determined to reach the goal of achieving true closeness to and intimacy *qurbat*) with the source and principle of all existence, i.e. God. It is closely related to the term *nafas* meaning 'breathing'. For a brief description of these terms (see Dähnhardt (2007): 118).

[11] The term *nafs* used in different contexts, bears different meanings, even in many places in the Qur'*ān. In most cases the term nafs* (pl. *anfus* or *nufus*) has been used to refer to the human soul (12:54), to God or God (5:116), to jinn (6:130), to the human soul (6:93) and so forth.

[12] Cf. Cor. 12:53 (Sūrah Yūsuf): *I do not seek to acquit myself; for surely one's self*

kind of experience gradually ascends from the profane human state of 'fallen mankind' to the angelical, celestial and, ultimately divine attributes that constitute the higher state of the 'crown of all Divine creatures' (*tāj al-makhlūqāt*). This kind of spiritual assistance awakens and nourishes the determination of the initiate *sālik* (lit.: 'the spiritual wayfarer') to pursue and actively engage in the effort of inner purification and refinement of the psycho-mental aggregate resorting to the methods indicated by his *shaikh* while remaining under the latter's constant supervision. However, apart from this primary responsibility of the Sufi master, the applications of which remain hidden in the secluded surroundings of the spiritual circle (*ḥalqa*), an authoritative *shaikh* often holds also a public role as advisor, healer, exorcist and, to resort to a term taken from modern psychology, counsellor. Thus, in a traditional society the Sufi *shaikh* plays the role of a psychologist taking care of the fears, uncertainties, doubts and aspirations of the common believer, while recognizing and singling out those qualified for spiritual education (*al-khawāṣṣ*) and providing them with the instructions necessary for moving beyond the merely individual, human domain of religious piety.

The knowledge of these notions and techniques has been elaborated, adapted and handed down in an uninterrupted chain of transmission (*silsila*) between master (*pīr o shaikh*) and disciple (*murīd*). which has been perpetuated and adapted them according to the specific circumstances. Different from the spiritual insights that accompany the spiritual path, emotions pertain to the individual sphere

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*prompts one to evil except him to whom my Lord may show mercy. Verily my Lord is Ever Forgiving, Most Merciful.* The term *nafs* as used in the Qur'ān can be intended either as a living being's individuality as such or, more specifically, as the subtle body intermittent between the physical aggregate of the body made of the four elements (*'anāṣir al-arba'*) earth, water, air and fire, and the non-human, spiritual component of the *rūh*. Thus becomes clear the subordinate place of the *nafs* as compared to the *rūḥ*, the former pertaining strictly to the individual, human domain of Creation (*al-khalq*) while the latter belongs properly to the super-individual, i.e. universal domain of the Transcendent (*al-amr*). For the Qur'anic sanction of the Sufi initiate's struggle to achieve sublimation of his individual, psyco-mental aggregate, cf. also Cor. 91:7-9: *By the soul and (by) Him who made it perfect, and then inspired it to understand what is wrong and what is right for it. Truly is successful the one who purifies (his soul)…*

of a human being and therefore are ultimately contingent (*mumkin*), since they relate an individual to the realm of the ephemeral world (*duniyā al-fānī*). However, in the esoteric perspective of *taṣawwuf*, the aim is to harmonize the constitution of a human individual conceived as a microcosm (*'ālam al-ṣaghīr*) with the entire creation intended as a macrocosm (*'ālam al-kabīr*) thus bringing about the universalization of man, considered as the most perfect of God's creatures. Under the careful supervision of an expert guide (*murshid bar Ḥaqq*), the spiritual wayfarer (*sālik*) of any such discipline (*ṭarīqa*) engages through them actively in the process of purifying his soul, i.e. psycho-mental aggregate, in order to overcome the narrow limitations of his individual ego. Such practice is often termed as *tadhkiya al-nafs,* i.e. the sublimation of the lower instincts that govern the soul of the common, uninitiated and hence unrefined soul of the common individual (*al-'awāmm*) into gradually more and more subtle, celestial virtues, which involve the constant application and repetition of a sacred formula known as *dhikr*. The spiritual authorities have since long elaborated the science pertaining to this method which involves the entire human aggregate consisting of physical body (*jism*), psycho-mental plane (*nafs*) and spirit (*rūḥ*). Numerous references and detailed accounts of the 'science of commemoration' (*'ilm al-dhikr)* have been attested by almost all influential Sufi authorities and are extensively addressed both in their oral and written teachings.

Among the human emotions, a central role assigned to love and devotion deserves major attention, since it is the single most and quintessential emotion whence is triggered off the very existence of the realm of creation (*'ālam al-khalq*). The concept of *'ishq* plays a central role not only in the traditional spiritual disciplines, but finds its outward reflection as a traditional theme in poetry (*shā'irī*). This latter allows the poet-initiate the space to develop the often ambiguous relation between the sphere of individual feelings  or sentiments and the transcendent dimension of universal spirituality, combining human love (*'ishq al-majāzī*) and divine love *('ishq al-ḥaqīqī*) in a specific blend expressed through a terminology that allows for identification with both the profane and the initiate. The poets thereby further develop and build on love as the source of all 'positive' emotions, that setting out from a the commonly shared experience of love within this immanent

world is conducive to a higher purpose in the realm of transcendency.

From an attentive study of the numerous Sufi treatises (*risālāt*) compiled over time in- and outside India it becomes clear that the process of spiritual realization as envisaged by the spiral teachers of Sufism aims at reverting the cosmological process of 'existentialization' in order to lead the initiate from the differentiated multiplicity of the created world (*al-khalq*) back to the state of primordial indifferentiation inherent in the principle of Divine unicity prior to the unfolding of the creative process (*takhlīq*). This, in short, is the meaning of *waḥdat al-wujūd* (unicity of existence), the name applied to the cosmological and metaphysical doctrine formulated in principle by the Andalusian Sufi Muḥī al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿArabī (1165-1240 AD), reverentially referred to as *Shaikh al-akbar*. To the latter goes the credit of laying the theoretical base on which in the course of the following centuries leading Sufi authorities have built and developed the complex doctrinal and methodological edifice aimed at achieving the spiritual restoration of mankind, a process which over time came to be described by the term *ṭarīqa*. In the technical vocabulary of Sufism, *ṭarīqa* indicates both the spiritual path and the method peculiar to each Sufi order envisaged as a beaten track cleared by the spiritual ancestors with the purpose of offering oncoming generations the possibility to experience and interiorize in life the dogmatic assertion of *tawḥīd* (lit.: tendency towards the One) that lies at the core of Islamic monotheism.

As a religion, Islām offers mankind a way of life based on a double prerogative: the submission of the individual to the will of Allāh (*taslīm*) and, as a result, the attainment of an inner (and outer) state of peace (*salām*) and integrity (*salāmat*). By conforming himself to the *Dīn* summed up in the formula of the *shahāda*, Man, the foremost creature, becomes a *Muslim* who envisages his Creator and Cherisher as the supreme Lord (*al-Rabb*), the one and unique source of ultimate authority and sovereignty. According to the *sharīʿa*, every single *Muslim* has the possibility to relate himself to Allāh by submitting himself to His will; he thereby becomes *ʿabd* (pl.: *ʿabīd*), a loyal and humble servant (*ābid*) who turns to his Lord imbued with loving devotion (*ʿibādat*) and recognizes in Him the sole object of worship (*maʿbūd*). Thus, devotion represents the key mode for the rightful believer (*muʾmin*) in establishing a relationship between his immanent

degree of reality as creature and the transcendent Reality of the Deity. It finds its utmost expression in the ritual prayer (*ṣalāt*) the importance of which is summed up in the formula inscribed in the *miḥrāb* of many Indian mosques: *al-ṣalāt miʿrāj al-muʾminīn*! (Ritual prayer implies the heavenly ascent of those qualified by true inner faith!) And Allāh decreed in the Qurʾān: *I have not created jinn and mankind except to worship Me*! (Cor. 51:56). There derives that in the religious perspective set out by the *sharīʿa* worshiping and serving God means putting oneself in harmony with the almighty Deity whereby all creatures achieve their purpose in creation and ultimately attain to salvation in the afterlife (in principle, worship does not remain confined to human beings alone!).

In the initiatory perspective of *tasawwuf*, the devotional mode inherent to the concept of *ʿibādat* is inserted into a broader context and offers those following the Sufi path the possibility of direct participation in God's transcendent nature. The Sufis worldview envisages the possibility of establishing a deep, personal bond between man and God as a consequence of the intimate relationship subsisting since time immemorial between the Creator and His creation, as hinted at in the Tradition: *If it had not been out of love for you, oh Muḥammad, I would not have created the world!* Love (*ḥubb* or *maḥabbat*), it appears, is understood as the primordial impulse and moving force out of which the world came into being in the first place and through the power of which, in the reverse process put in act by those initiated into the Divine mysteries, the true lovers of God will ultimately dissolve and extinguish themselves (*fanā al-fanā*). As a renowned *shaikh* of the Indian Naqshbandi order in Delhi some years ago explained: *Love means to establish an intimate relationship of the heart with whosoever for the sake of reaching the most exalted Allāh*.

Thus, for the Sufis *ʿibādat* articulates itself through love and acts as the driving force which enables the initiate into the *ṭarīqa* to advance from the outer dimension represented by the normative Law of the *sharīʿa* to the innermost core and spiritual Principle of universal existence, known as *ḥaqīqa*. If the *sharīʿa* sets out the rules for correct action and belief in terms of orthopraxy and orthodoxy in the immanent world, the secrets of *ḥaqīqa* pertaining to the transcendent can be understood essentially through knowledge (*maʿrifat*). In order to

effectively connect these two poles of universal existence, every *ṭarīqa* combines all three modes, that is action, devotion and knowledge into a spiritual discipline with the purpose of transmuting the common believer ultimately into *insān al-kāmil*, the Perfect Man and archetypical principle of creation (*ḥaqīqat al-muḥammadī*), personified in the historical figure of the prophet Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him), the 'beloved of God' (*maḥbūb Allāh*) *par excellence*. The binding element consists of that very devotional mode (*'ibādat*) which is brought to a new life by the spiritual influence (*baraka*) the spiritual seeker (*murīd*) receives in virtue of his initiation (*bai'at*). If outwardly supported by the operational mode determined through the ritual prescriptions of the *sharī'at* and inwardly refined by the cognitive mode through the contemplative penetration into the secrets of *ḥaqīqat*, *'ibādat* becomes effectively the fuel and power required for the inner transformation and sublimation of the subtle state (*nafs*). In fact, it is possible to say that devotion, expressed through an attitude of pure, selfless love, naturally pertains to the *nafs* and represents its noblest quality as it provides the link between the physical frame of the gross body (*jism*) responsible for action and the spiritual component (*rūḥ*) representing *ḥaqīqat* that resides in the heart (*qalb*).

This division reminds us very closely of the tripartition of *karma*, *bhakti* and *jñāna* contemplated as modes of attaining to union with the Divine (*yogā*) by the *Bhagavad-gīta* and perpetuated in the spiritual disciplines all over India well before the arrival of Islām. In principle, these three modes are recognized as essential and complementary; however, over time the devotional component kept strengthening gradually assuming the key role it has held for the past many centuries. It surely represents an important element in the perception of human nature, which could be easily shared not only by Hindu and Muslim initiates alike but also among the common folk since it represents an element conducive to unity and harmony in the social sphere too. It is probably more than a mere coincidence that it is in the reverence and veneration shown for the figure of the spiritual preceptor in the shape of the *gurū* or *shaikh* that sufis and *sants* of the *nirguna bhakti* current spontaneously identified a point of convergence for their spiritual traditions centred on devotion, for their teachings, focused essentially on the worship of the unqualified, transcendent Principle, left both with

the need to provide their adepts with a tangible receptacle of Divine influence and object on which to direct their devotional feelings.

In fact, different from the common *Muslim* whose worship in virtue of his faith remains confined to an abstract and all-transcendent Divinity, the initiate into a *ṭarīqa* has the possibility to focus and kindle his love and devotion on a perceptible object. Although the Sufis agree that all acts of ritual worship are directed in the last instance on that most sublime, all-transcending degree of Reality described as *al-Ḥaqq*, the ever increasing distance from the 'living pole' of divine perfection that was Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him), created the need to provide those in search of Truth with some supplementary support in the shape of a representative (*khalīfa*) of that Truth (*ḥaqīqa*). In *tarīqa*-Sufism, the most immediately approachable figuration of *ḥaqīqa* is represented by the *murshid bar Ḥaqq*, the spiritual master whose role, as the term suggests, is to lead his devoted follower along the path of realization (*ṭarīqa*) towards its ultimate Goal (*maqṣūd*). As the last and immediate link of the spiritual chain (*silsila*) which through generations of past authorities eventually leads back to Muhammad (Peace Be Upon Him) and his intrinsic spiritual truth (*ḥaqīqat al-muḥammadī*) and, in the last instance, to the Divine principle Itself, he represents the perfect guide (*shaykh al-kāmil*) and tangible embodiment of *ḥaqīqa*, *hic et nunc*. Outwardly, he acts as a substitute and generational successor of the prophet while inwardly he is the custodian of *ḥaqīqat al-muḥammadī*, the spiritual principle of creation, which is considered as the link (*barzakh*) between God and the world.

The *shaikh* thus becomes the outer support connecting between the transcendent with the immanent and *viceversa* (*wasīla*) through his physical presence at the centre of the spiritual circle of devotees (*ṣuḥbat* or *ḥalqa*). All the apologetic rhetoric of numerous Sufi authorities notwithstanding, the *shaikh* came to act virtually and effectively as a representative of God on earth. This is exactly the reason why Shaikh Aḥmad Sirhindī (1564-1624), the Indian Naqshbandi authority renowned as *mujaddid* (*renewer*) for his reformulation of the Sufi *ṭarīqa* in the light of *sharī'a*, perfectly aware of the increasing importance of the mediating role of the *shaikh*, so much insisted on the need for the spiritual teacher to act and speak in perfect imitation of the example set by the prophet Muḥammad (*ittibā'*

*al-sunna*). It comes therefore as no surprise if even an orthodox Sunni order like the Mujaddidiyya, the Indian branch of the Central-Asian Naqshbandiyya, which takes its name and fashion from Shaikh Ahmad, teaches its adepts the technique of *taṣawwur al-shaikh*, viz. the visualization of the physical frame of the master through *tawajjuh*. This latter implies the kindling of the disciple's mental attention on the figure of the beloved spiritual preceptor and, *viceversa*, the focusing of the *shaikh's* spiritual attention on his disciple with the purpose of fostering the inner states of the beloved pupil. The aim of this practice is to achieve *rābiṭa*, an intimate bond between the inner states of the neophyte and the *shaikh* by which, to put it in the words of Shāh Abū al-Ḥasan Zaid Fārūqī, "the shaikh nourishes the feeling of love in the innermost chamber of the initiate's heart". Gradually, this process increases the intensity of the *murīd*'s love and attraction eventually leading to his surrender and extinction in the beloved spiritual teacher (*fanā fī'l-shaikh*). The attraction thus generated (*jadhba*) literally causes an emotional upset in the inner states of the disciple leading him from his ordinary human condition to the submersion in the powerful spiritual current that, channelled through the intermediate link (*wasīla*) of his *shaikh*, pulls him upwards onto a spiritual journey (*sair*) which has its utmost limits in the realm of creation at the Throne of God (*al-'arsh*). The Sufis of the Mujaddidiyya explain this powerful attraction as being caused by the affinity in nature between the spiritual power hidden in seminal form (*aṣlī quwwat*) in the subtle organs inside the human body and their principles pertaining to the transcendent reality of the *'ālam al-amr*.

From a technical point of view, through the *rābiṭa* between master and disciple the former infuses the spiritual energy (*baraka*) he is endowed with in virtue of his link with the very source of all Divine effusions  (*ain al-fuyūḍ-i ilāhī*) onto the heart region of his disciple. This heart region (*maqām-i sīna*) is envisaged by the Mujaddidis as an aggregate of five subtle centres (*laṭā'if al-khamsa*) which guarantee the potential bond between man in the realm of creation and his Creator, a kind of subtle imprint of the primordial bond between the Lord and His creatures. At a subtle level, these *laṭā'if* resume the principles of the four gross elements constituting the substantial world represented by the four corners of cardinal points of the macrocosm (*'ālam al-kabīr*).

The powerful impact caused by the kindled spiritual energy creates a commotion in those subtle centres which, as it increases, eventually expand until they burst out of their restricted location in the human breast thereby generating a current of powerful attraction (*jadhba*). The emotional impact thus created causes the initiate to experience a 'journey through the horizons' (*sair-i āfāqī*) leading him through the spatial dimension determined by the four cardinal points of the created world towards the point of resolution at the top of the pyramid thus described. This latter consists of the *nafs* and represents the *barzakh* through which those who are qualified can proceed further thus accessing the spiritual realm. The passage through this intermediate link is described as an entirely interior journey (*sair-i anfusī*), in accordance with the Qur'anic dictum: *We shall show them Our signs in the horizons and in themselves* (Cor. 49:53) and will conduct the initiate through the celestial realms of the spiritual world. From this moment onwards, every progress would therefore more appropriately be termed as 'immotion'.

In the Mujaddidi version of *ṭarīqa* this initial process is fueled by the loving care of the *shaikh* who, in response to the devotion and affection shown by his pupil, infuses the Divine grace (*faiḍ*) of which he has become a natural receptacle in virtue of his spiritual perfection, onto the inner states of the *murīd*. Thus, once again emerges the substituting role played by the spiritual teacher as an actor acting in accordance with the will of God (*irāda*), for this Latter is reported to have once confided to his beloved prophet: *Whoever draws close to me by the length of a hand, I will draw close to him by the length of an arm. Whoever draws close to me the by length of an arm, I will draw close to him by the length of a fathom. Whoever comes to me walking, I will come to him running …*[13]

However, it must be borne in mind that this attraction can be equally produced, or further strengthened, through the active pursue on behalf of the initiate of directing the *dhikr-i ism-i dhāt*, the subtle sound contained in the sacred syllable describing the Divine principle itself, i.e. *Al-lāh* (or, alternatively, a series of other Divine names), which is

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[13] Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim 2687.

transmitted by the spiritual director as an essential part of his initiation, onto the subtle centres of the new adept into the Sufi path. In this case, the task consists of transmitting the subtle vibration of the *dhikr* to the *laṭīfa* in question until this latter is permeated by the very subtle sound vibration contained in the *dhikr*. The powerful impact (*ḍarb*) the *dhikr* provokes an emotional tension in the *laṭīfa*, leading to a gradual expansion of the latter until resounding in the entire physical frame of the physical body (*qālib*) and every single hair, bone and vein keeps reverberating by the sound Al-lāh Al-lāh. In fact, according to the teachings of most Sufi orders, this awakening of a powerful attraction is caused principally by the active striving (*mujāhada*) of the initiate as part of his spiritual advancement on the path (*sulūk*) leading from stage to stage (*maqām ba maqām*).

It thus becomes clear how some Sufis intend emotions (*jadhbāt*) as an essential characteristic and key mode for spiritual advancement, parallel and complementary to the process of (*sulūk*). In a profane perspective, emotions are born out of the impact left by the sensual perceptions the mind receives through contact with the realm of creation which necessarily leads back towards the ephemeral multiplicity whence they are derived from. It is through love alone that, albeit in a worldly context, even the profane can share into the ennobling experience of directing his emotions on the sole object of his attentions and desires, the beloved. As for the profane or for that matter the Christian mystics, for the initiate too these emotions are provoked by impressions left by a sensual or mental experience. However, in the initiatory perspective of *ṭarīqa* the principal objective of which is the attainment of *tawḥīd*, the powerful emotions arising out of love (*ʿishq*) are provoked and channelled by the spiritual force (*quwwat al-ʿishq*) that creates a movement in a precisely defined direction, leading the initiate from one spiritual state to another. Through this movement, which in the language of *ṭarīqa* is termed as the advancement from one spiritual state (*ḥāl*) to the next, the lover of the Divine (*ʿāshiq*) is ultimately led to witness and meet his Divine lover (*maʿshūq*), i.e. Allāh.

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# Bridging the gap.
# Walled cities: Peshawar and Lahore

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## Abstract

*Walled cities of Peshawar and Lahore shares both architectural characters and decaying patterns. This research is based on the historical background of both cities, their architectural and spatial evolution through various ruling regimes and the nature of conservation efforts. The aim of this research is to understand the similarities and relatable developments over the period of time as both share a dramatic similarity in many disciplines. While British rulers built their own cantonment outside of the cities, Post-independence times saw massive commercialization of walled city and destruction of historical buildings. In year 2006, Lahore launched a conservation effort to restore the Royal Trail in assistance with the World Bank. The success of this project led to the enactment of Walled City of Lahore Authority (WCLA). In Peshawar the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Government has launched a successful Heritage Trail in Walled city as a pilot project. This paper will compare the strategies and institutional frameworks present in both the cities along with the future direction for the conservation of Peshawar walled city.*

**Keywords:** Walled city, Peshawar, Lahore, architecture features, institutional framework

## 1. Introduction

There are several cities in Pakistan which have walled fortifications around their ancient boundaries to protect their inhabitants from invading forces. Although while these walls have lost their military importance, they still provide ample tourist attractions and have been conserved for various benefits. Lahore, Multan, Hyderabad and Peshawar cities have inner walled cities. Both walled cities of Lahore and Peshawar with rich histories and

cultural heritage and have various commonalities in their history, architecture and governance structures (Table 1). Both have similar progression through multiple eras and their spatial and architectural features.

## 2. History and Architecture of Peshawar Walled City

The city of Peshawar is located in the valley of Peshawar about 40 km east of Pakistan's eastern border with Afghanistan. Throughout history, Peshawar has remained a strategic town for invaders entering South-Asia through the Khyber Pass. The city has seen various changes in its control from Mughal era to post-independence Pakistan. While Peshawar has consistently remained a battleground for large armies and empires, its position in relation to the Khyber Pass has also enabled it to cement its place as a hub of major trade routes in and out of South Asia.(UNESCO Office Islamabad, 2004).

Definitely, the economic and strategic importance of Peshawar's location has brought several advantages to its inhabitants but many times conditions have not been favorable for them. From Sasanians, Huns, Turk Shahis, Hindu Shahis, Mughals and the British, often local population came in the direct path of any group intending a larger conquest into South Asia and the control of Peshawar city. In past three decades, there has been an influx of Afghan refugees in the city, especially during the Afghan War of 1980s. It led to a broadened cultural base. Thus Peshawar's history tells us that locals have constantly realigned themselves in order to gain maximum benefits from the city's strategic location. This history can be seen in the architecture, monuments, art, religious and cultural spaces of present-day city. Peshawar walled city houses the oldest sections of the city and is still rich in Buddhist and Gandhara cultural/religious monuments which occupied it centuries ago.

Oldest accounts of Peshawar city were found in the memoirs of Chinese pilgrims. Hiuen Tsang Xuanzang visited it in the 7th century CE. He mentions the *stupa* of Emperor Kanishka, which is described as the tallest structure of whole India, according to some estimates equal to modern day 13-storey building. The *stupa* is not preserved. It was excavated in 1908-1909 by the American archaeologist D. B. Spooner in what is now Akhunabad, outside the Gunj Gate(The

News, 2017). Chinese travelers also mentioned the presence of a fort and a royal residence. Mughal Emperor Babur mentioned Qila Bala Hisar in his memoir and Emperor Humayun rebuilt the fort after defeating Sher Shah Suri. Later, when Sikhs invaded Peshawar under the command of Hari Singh Nala, the walled city had to suffer considerable losses. Numerous Mughal-era gardens like the Shalimar Garden, Shahi Bagh and Bagh Ali Marden were mowed down by the Khalsa regiments(Adil Zareef, 2013).

Paolo Avitabile, an Italian soldier working for the Sikh army remained the governor of Peshawar from 1838-1842 and ruled the city mercilessly. Got Khatri was converted into his residence and general headquarters. During Sikh reign, a monk by the name of Goraknath came to the walled city and built a Sikh temple here, which is still existent. Afterwards, British Army defeated Sikhs and established an extensive cantonment next to the walled city(Faheem Sikandar, 2016).

They also built their own schools, parks, clubs, churches and markets which were highly segregated from the densely populated walled city of Peshawar. However, British army also made use of Got Khatree buildings for their official works and added some army barracks as well. These barracks were later turned into a fire station.

*Spatial layout and architectural features*

The walled city of Peshawar has an area of more than 2 sqkm and has trapezoidal form. It provides an organic urban form which enables the formation of close-knit community. Narrow alleyways designed for privacy open into public bazaar streets leading to a cohesive character. There used to be 16 gateways to the walled city which provided its connectivity with the outer world. Names of these gates are Lahori Gate, Yakkatut Gate, Kabuli Gate, Hashtnagri Gate, SarAsiya Gate, Sard Chah Gate, Saraki Gate, Bajauri Gate, Dabgari Gate, Ganj Gate, Reti Gate, Kachehri Gate (Tangsali), Asamai Gate, Ramdas Gate, Rampura Gate and Kohati Gate. Very few of these gates survive in their original shape now. If closely examined, Walled city of Peshawar houses several historical properties with deep historical values. These properties include several bazaars, mosques, temples, shrines, residential buildings, tombs, schools, churches, bridges, gardens and inns (sarai). Multi-ethnic nature of this place is

commendable. Majority of the population is of Pakhtun origin and speaks Pashto language, but Indian and Persian languages are also widely spoken in the walled city. Resident families mostly hail from Central Asia, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan (Bukhara), Tajiskistan, Bukhara and South Asia. Overall, the multiplicity of creeds, beliefs, culture, lifestyles and traditions is evident from the architecture and shape of various buildings. Some of the most historic monuments include Masjid Mahabat Khan, Got Khatree, QisaKhwani Bazar, Mughal era Caravan Serai and last but not least the Sethi Havelis.

Spatial features of Peshawar walled city share several commonalities with other historical cities of South Asian region. Narrow streets and alleyways are often in the shape of cul-de-sacs and have a single large aperture designed to protect the privacy of residents. Multiple street openings are scarce but designed in a manner to improve walkability(UNESCO Office Islamabad, 2004). However, there are some unique features of this walled city like the elevated walkways hanging two story above the street level. These walkways connect the houses on the opposite side of the streets, which often times belong to a single family. Mostly women use these walkways as a private passage(UNESCO Office Islamabad, 2004). Houses situated within the walled city have an introverted character. Courtyards and basements have multiple benefits. They provide privacy, passive cooling and natural lighting for the whole house. Seven Sethi Havelis situated near Got Kutree are the best example of these architectural features(Khan, 2010). These houses have beautiful display units on their walls made by engraving arches known as the Chini-Khanas. These units are used to place porcelain decoration pieces(Khan & Imdad, 2011).

Some of the problems identified in the walled city Peshawar that needs to be checked and catered at the first stance are the lack of basic survey and documentation of the historic area. This should be the first priority in taking any steps in the up gradation of the walled city Peshawar if so then the other problems like the loss of the cultural significance of bazaars, the loss of historical properties in the pursuit of modernity and commercialization and the lack of training for crafts and tourism will be addressed eventually that will be beneficial to the already done degradation of the walled city that has reached to this unacceptable level.

### 3. History and Architecture of Lahore Walled City

Walled city of Lahore has an area of nearly 2.5 sqkm and is home to a population of nearly 160,000 residents. It lies in the north-western side of the Lahore city. Administratively, it is part of the Ravi Town, Lahore. Existing walled city of Lahore largely maintains its form from the Mughal-era and during Mughal reign this city saw massive developments in the forms of mosques, public and private buildings, gardens and bazaars(Ezdi, 2009). The city has organic street pattern, with a total of twelve gates. A Mori was made in British era which was later declared as the Mori Gate. Now only five of these thirteen gates survive. River Ravi always had a special connection with the city due to its proximity. Several neighborhoods are named after boatmen of the Mughal era like ThattiMalahan inside Taxali Gate and MohallahNaugaran inside the Yakki Gate(Rabia Nadir, 2013). Population outside the walls of the city had a close and symbiotic relationship with the city's population as they provided all the edible commodities while city markets acted as the hub of commercial exchange. City witnessed massive destruction during the Sikh invasion in late 18th century. During the Sikh rule, many Sikh palaces and religious structures became part of the walled city.

These structures had many western architectural features due to presence of European military advisors in Sikh Khalsa. When British colonial order came to the walled city, things remained calm as colonial administrators focused more on developing their cantonments and offices outside its premises. However, modern era utilities like water tanks, water pipes, fire hydrants and electrification did reach the walled city. Due to growth in railway infrastructure and whole- sale commodity markets, the city experienced steep growth in its population density (Ezdi 2009).

After the partition of 1947, walled city of Lahore underwent major transformation. Lahore Improvement Trust took down nearly 2000 houses inside Shahalami alone and a new spatial design was conceived which reflected most of the developments taking place in 1950s(Janosik 2005). Azam Cloth Market and Pakistan Cloth Market were developed along a wide vehicular road designed to bear five story buildings on each side. Many properties belonging to Sikh Gurdawara and Hindu temples were taken over by the newly-established Evacuee

Trust Properties Board and were allotted to migrants coming in from the Indian side of Punjab. Walled City's population grew by nearly 300 percent from 1947 till 1979 (Qadeer 1983). But during seventies commercial development picked up at staggering rates due to growth in textile industry and remittances sent from Middle-Eastern countries. Properties facing circular road were more prone to such land-use changings. Neo-liberal policies and globalization also found its way to the walled city of Lahore with markets expanding and vehicular traffic increasing. Such transformations brought severe detrimental effects to historical buildings and most of them were either demolished for redevelopment or left in precarious conditions.

*Architectural features and historical monuments*

Architecture of Lahore wall city is predominantly inspired from Mughal era, with strong impressions of Sikh and Hindu culture as well. Buildings built during the colonial rule and afterwards till present time have a western outlook. Streets or *Guzars* have narrow organic form which developed without any planned government interventions. Another important part of the urban architecture are the *koochas* or squares. These open squares are designed to enhance the outlook of attached buildings while acting as public ceremonial spaces. They enhance the sense of place by connecting the residents all together through socialization(Daniyal Ahmed 2014). Many such *Koochas* are present inside the Lahore walled city like the Koocha Haveli NauNehal Singh, Koocha Mehar Ghous, etc. Most of the historical buildings are in a bad shape due to lack of maintenance work. However, buildings located near the peripheral areas, especially along the circular road have a clear post-independence modern outlook (Menesez, Braz, 1983). Commercialization is rampant across the walled city, with all major arteries having markets along them. Business hour population counts are much higher than other times in a day due to intensity of commercial activities.

There were total thirteen gates of walled city but only five have survived till now. Names of these gates are *Bhati Gate, Delhi Gate, Roshnai Gate, Kashmiri Gate, Shairan wala Gate and Lohari Gate*. British demolished rest of the gates in an effort to de-fortify the city to avoid possible siege situations. Names of other gates are Akbari,

Masti, Mochi, Mori, Shah-Alami, Yakki and Taxali. Lahore Fort (a UNESCO world heritage site) and Badshahi mosque are located on the northern edge of walled city. There are several historical monuments inside the city, which include Masjid Wazir Khan and Shahi Hamam restored with the assistance of Norway and US governments. Shahi Hamam is a Turkish-bath built during the Mughal era. Moreover, Sunehri Masjid and numerous *havelis* of historical significance are also located in the city. In the year 2012, an adaptive re-use project near the Taxali Gate established a food street. This project gained massive popularity as a decaying part of the walled city was transformed into a scenic and walkable street of restaurants. Building facades have been painted in colorful textures and rooftop eateries offer spectacular views of Badshahi mosque and Lahore fort(Faheem Sikandar, 2016). WCLA has also launched a rickshaw ride service for the tourists looking to explore the Royal Trail.

**4. Comparison of heritage conservation efforts**

There have been successful efforts at the local and international levels to restore the fading glory of the walled city Lahore, while many such plans were made by the provincial Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa but they haven't materialized yet. Both the cities are provincial capitals and their walled cities face similar problems but conservation efforts have remained more successful in Lahore. The success in Lahore while failure in Peshawar demands us to make a thorough analysis of policy frameworks and relevant administrative authorities in both provinces.

In 2006, Government of Punjab in collaboration with the World Bank launched a pilot project by the name of Sustainable Development of Walled City Lahore (SDWCL) in order to rehabilitate the cultural and historical heritage of the city. Initially, SDWCL acted as a sub-unit of provincial Planning & Development (P&D) department. Project's area of focus was the ShahiGuzargah (Royal Trail) from Delhi Gate till Akbari Gate. Plan included adaptive re-use techniques, façade redevelopment, utility provisioning and resettlement of affected population(Vincent Roquet, Luciano Bornholdt, 2015). However this project took place under a larger project funded by the World Bank for the improvement of municipal services,

Punjab Municipal Services Improvement Project (PMSIP), aimed at improving the capacities of Tehsil Municipal Administrations (TMAs)(Bank, 2014). A robust resettlement plan was prepared for this purpose in the year 2010. Data was collected from various government departments like the Revenue Department, Auqaf Department and the Local Government institutions like Lahore Metropolitan Corporation(Malik Aslam, 2010). Then community mobilization teams interacted with the local population and educated them regarding the benefits of this project. Active negotiation was performed regarding resettlement and entitlement amounts which were timely disbursed and any grievances were addressed through high-powered proper joint action committees. Agha Khan Culural Services Pakistan (AKCSP) actively assisted SDWCL during the whole process. A total of 879 properties were affected in the entire 1.6 km length of the project, out of which 147 shops were resettled(Malik Aslam, 2010). Most of the shops belonged to Auqaf Department and LMC. Apart from the property owners, encroachers and those occupying without any rights were also compensated. Success of this project led to the enactment of The Walled City of Lahore Act 2012, through which conflicts various laws were removed and an autonomous body 'Walled city of Lahore Authority' (WCLA) was formed. According to the Act, WCLA is responsible for all the master planning, record-keeping, and development work inside the walled city of Lahore. Before the formation of WCLA situation was complicated due to multiplicity of institutional mandates at various levels of the government and the legislative frameworks governing conservation, restoration and maintenance of historic assets in Punjab. But project implementation through a semi-autonomous public sector company (with public/private board) streamlined execution and reduced undue political interference(Malik Aslam, 2010).

Recently, there has been an urge to restore the architectural and cultural heritage of Peshawar walled city. The Directorate of Archaeology KPK has shown interest in the rehabilitation of a 600-meter-long (SHAHID SHALMANI, n.d.)'Heritage Trail' from Got Khatree till Clock Tower based on the assistance from experienced consultants. It is a pilot project bearing similarities with the Royal Trail Project in Lahore walled city(ftikhar Firdous, 2015). Secretary Archaeology has also shown his intent to form an autonomous Peshawar Walled City

Authority. Urban Planning Unit, a sub-unit of provincial P&D department has also formulated a plan to document the prevailing conditions of buildings in the walled city, to make strategies for their restoration and to analyze the legal complexities of the process(Iftikhar Firdous, n.d.). Majority of these efforts have remained unsuccessful in producing substantial results. Security situation is a major factor in the present scenario. In 2010, UNESCO assessed that around 255 monuments had been destroyed in Peshawar only (Campbell 2011).

Government and international community's focus still remains on terror prevention and security upgradation instead of urban planning and heritage protection(Irina Mosel and Ashley Jackson, 2013). Multiplicity of legal/institutional frameworks and lack of institutional capacities facing Peshawar walled city is quite similar to the one faced by Lahore before an independent walled city authority was established there, *i.e* WCLA. Similarly, land-mafias also oppose any systematic efforts for preservation of heritage buildings as it is against their commercial interests. Sustained political will is necessary for pursuing heritage restoration projects and capacity building of local governance institutions like the TMAs or Metropolitan corporations.

The above-mentioned chart is the outline of the national policy of heritage and culture policy for development of cultural tourism. With the help of this a diversified action plan for the walled city Peshawar can be established. With improving security situation, KPK government can surely allocate more funds to urban rehabilitation projects. This paper may lead to develop a through plan further. Furthermore, this may be used to obtain a standard data of the used material in accordance to the up gradation of walled city Peshawar in the near future.

## 5 . Conclusions

Lahore and Peshawar have both valuable cultural assets in the form of their walled cities. Both cities require continuous political will for the conservation of these assets. Lahore with its comparably successful attempts in conservation pilot projects is now able to set an example for Peshawar to follow. Establishment of WCLA is a flagship step in the right direction but it took nearly six years to happen even in a city like

Lahore with the formidable backing of provincial government and generous support of World Bank. A highly dedicated approach from the KPK bureaucracy towards inner city renewal is required to achieve any substantial success because security situation and lack of political willingness is a major hurdle in Peshawar. A proposal for master planning of Walled city Peshawar is the first step using GIS technique. International community's help must be welcomed as they can provide the necessary funding and expertise for the resettlement of affected population. Still, local authorities will always have the largest chunk of responsibilities to perform and their capacity building should be the highest priority of any government. Benefits of successful conservation projects are enormous which range from tourism to better revenue generation and citizen satisfaction.

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| S. No | Characters / Features | Peshawar Walled City | Lahore Walled City | Remarks/ Observation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Area | 500 Acre Trapezoidal form | 632 acre | Very dense and undefined form in Lahore |
| 02 | Urban Form | Organic, | Organic | Clustered form |
| 03 | Streets | Narrow/ Cul-de-sacs | Very narrow clustered | winding, narrow |
| 04 | Building Heights (No. of Stories) | Multistoried (Mostly 2 stories) | Introverted | City within itself |
| 05 | Planning Characteristics | Introverted | Present | Concept of central courtyards |
| 06 | Courtyards & Basements | Present | Passive cooling | Maximum cooling achieved through courtyard affects and jharokas |
| 07 | Ventilation/ Lighting | Passive cooling/ Natural | Passive cooling | Maximum cooling achieved through courtyard affects and jharokas |
| 08 | Materials | Brick / wood/ brick tiles | same | Availability of the material of the time. |
| 09 | Decorative elements | Engraved Arches (chini khanas) | Jharokas, blind arches | Resemblance between the two walled cities |
| 10 | No. of Gateways | 16 | 13 | Same pattern |
| 11 | Building Typologies patterns | Mixed use Pattern (Bazar/ Masjid/ Temple/ Shrine/ Houses/ Tomb/ Schools/ Churches/ Gardens/ Inns/ Army Barracks | Mixed use Pattern Gurdawara/ Bazars, Masjids, Houses, havelis, food street/gardens. | Language is different otherwise there is quite a similarity when you walk down the streets. |
| 12 | Elevated Walkways | Present for connection to streets | Not present | Present in some parts of Peshawar. |

| 13 | Heritage sites | Peshawar fort, Sethi House Complex, GoRkatree, Abasin | Lahore fort, Badshahi Mosque, Masjid wazir khan, Begam shahi |
| 14 | Regeneration Projects | Food Street the new urban trail. | Food Street, adaptive reuse of many restaurants |

Table 1 - Shared Characters of Walled city Peshawar and Walled City Lahore.

| S. No | Area in Walled City Peshawar | Building original Function | Present Function |
|---|---|---|---|
| 01 | Mochi Bazar | Shops | Shops |
| 02 | Mohalla Agha Husain Sharef, Bazar e Kalan | Houses | Shops/ Commercial |
| 03 | Bazar e Kalan | Shops | Shops/ Commercial/ Rent |
| 04 | Kareem Pura | Houses | Commercial / Shops |
| 05 | Mohallah Mughliyan Bazar e kalan | House | Houses |
| 06 | Pipal Mandi | Shops | Shops/ Commercial |
| 07 | Qissa Khwani Bazar | Shops | Shops / Commercial |
| 08 | Sethi House | House | Tourist / Visitor space |
| 09 | Heritage Trail | House | Commercial cum Residential |

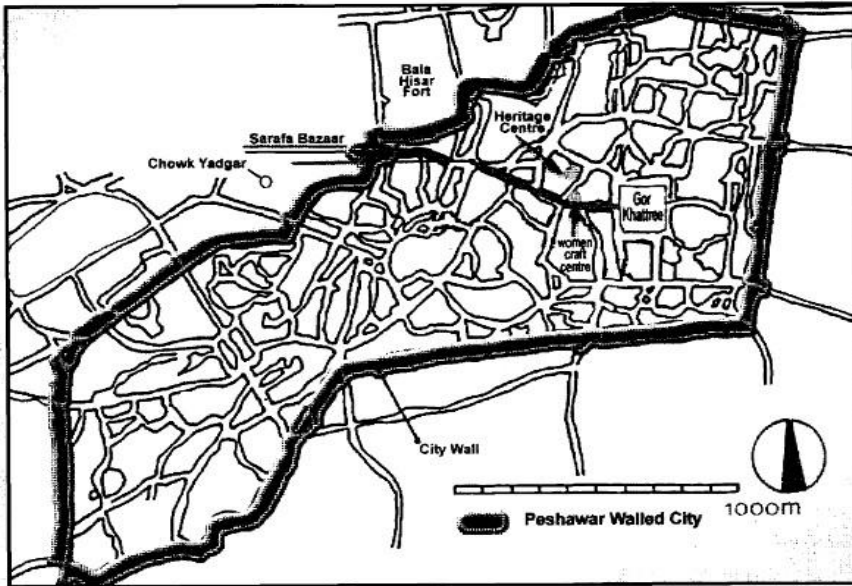Table 2 - Present-day use of the buildings.

Fig. 1 -  Map of Walled city Peshawar- (source UNESCO, Cultural Tourism in Lahore and  Peshawar. (Islamabad: UNESCO, UNDP & Government of Pakistan, 2004)
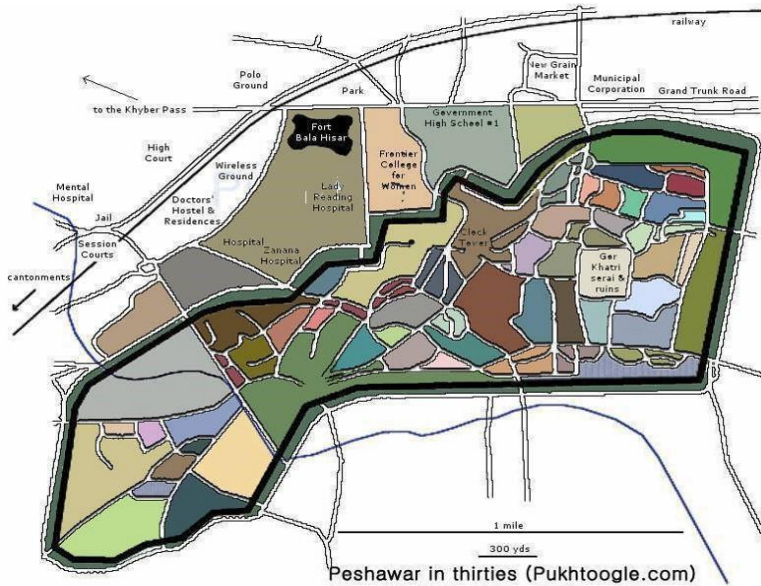


Fig. 2 - Map of Walled city Peshawar- in 1930's.
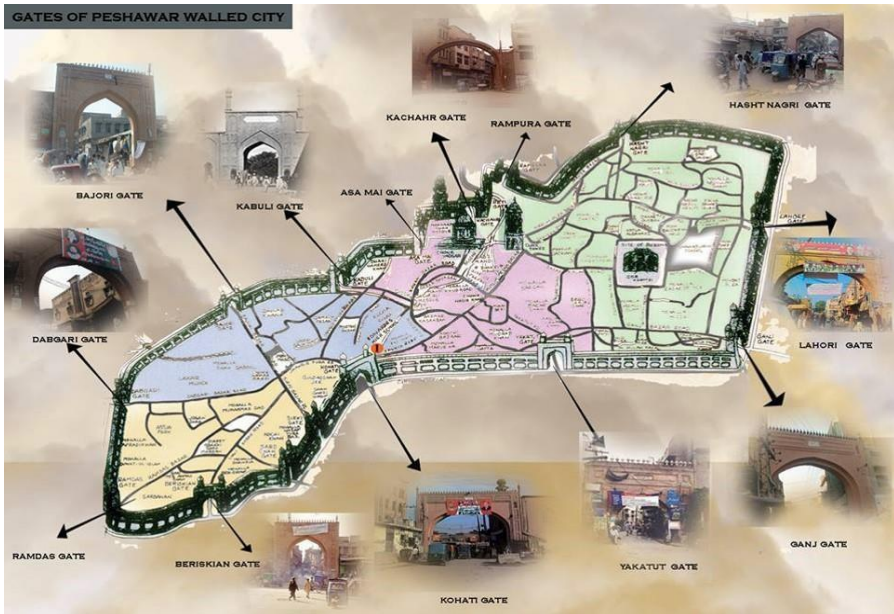
Fig. 3 - Old Map of Walled city Peshawar showing the gates with Pictures.



Fig. 4 - Entrance to Gor Khutree Peshawar.

Fig. 5 - Kabuli Gate old city Peshawar.



Fig. 6 - Mohalla Sethian.

Fig.7 - Qisa Khawani Baazar.



Fig. 8 - Gor Kathree complex facing the new trail walled city Peshawar
(Photo by Author).

Fig. 9 - Walled city Lahore map-source.



Fig. 10 - View of Walled City Lahore source.

Fig. 11 – Plan of Kocha Nau-Nihal Simgh, Lahore.



Fig. 12 - Kocha Nau Nehal Singh.

Fig. 13 - Thematic Framework of Research (source: UNESCO, Cultural Tourism in Lahore and Peshawar. (Islamabad: UNESCO, UNDP & Government of Pakistan, 2004)

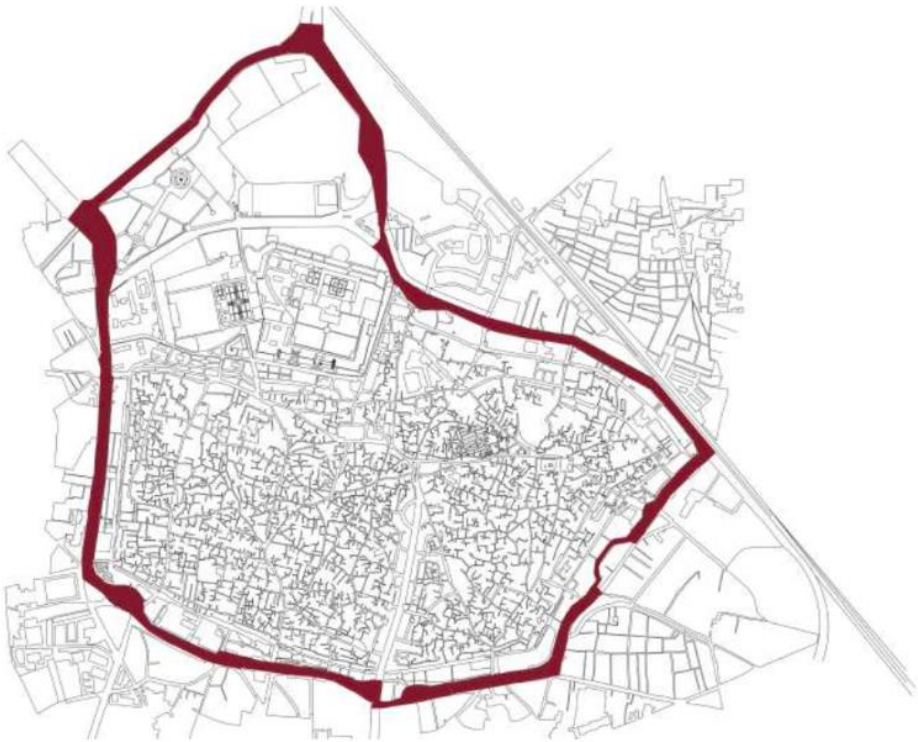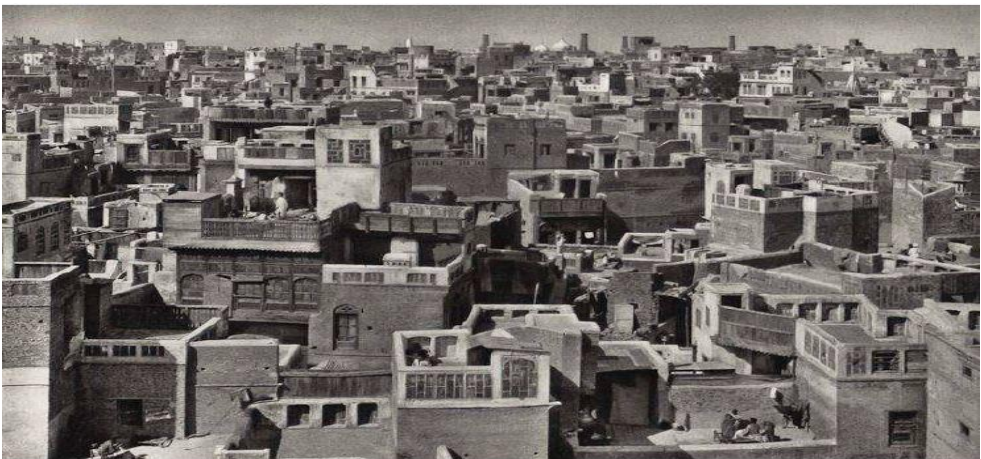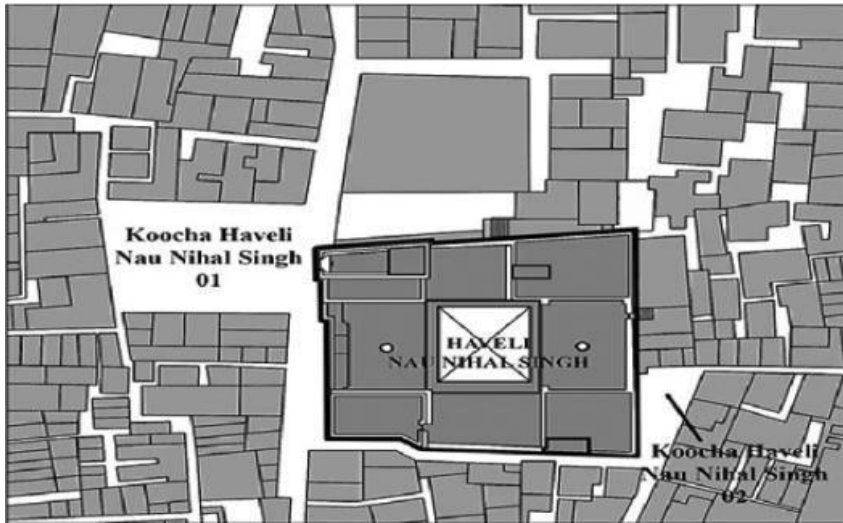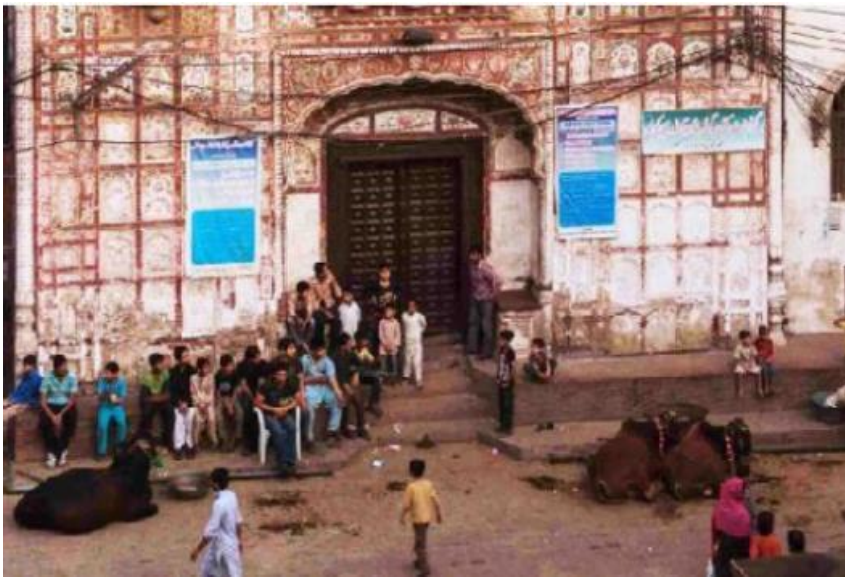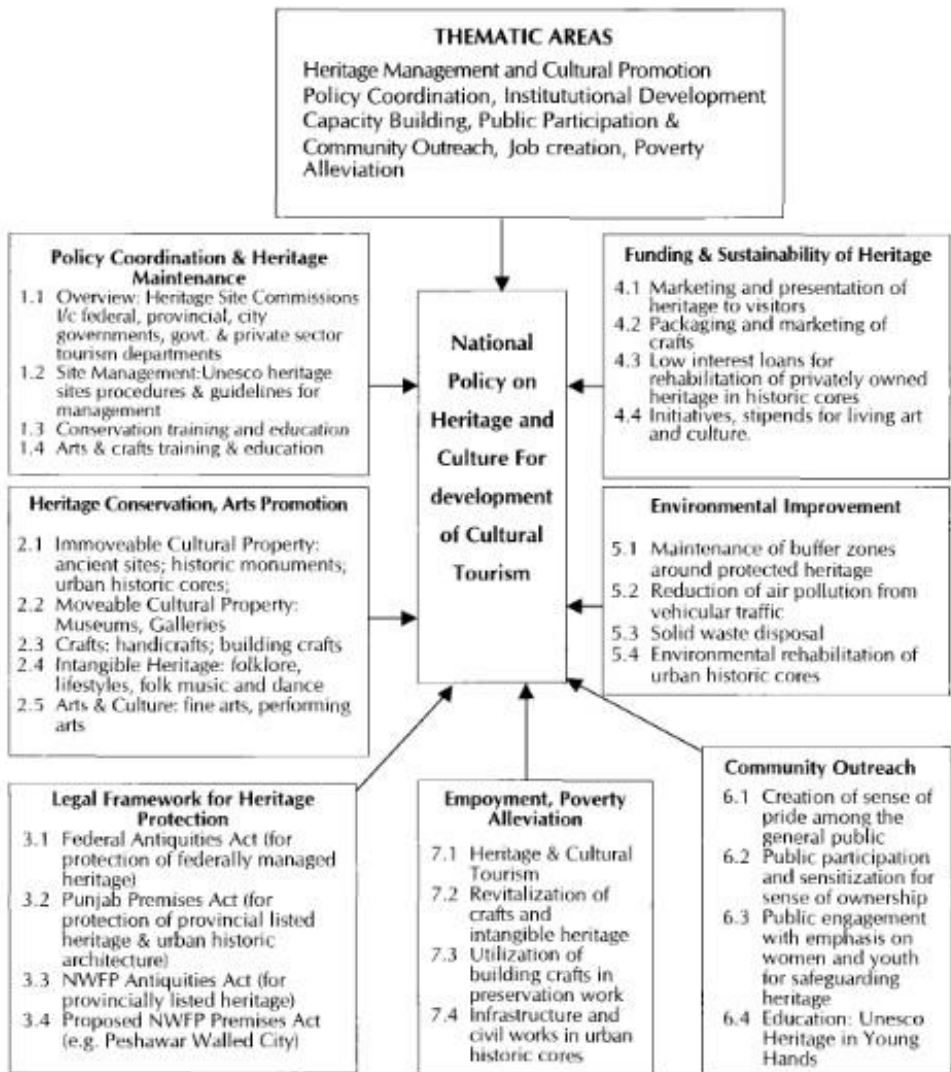# Archaeological Tourism and Heritage Management:
## A Case Study of Taxila Valley

**Owais Khan / Shakirullah**

## Abstract

*Taxila valley is among the six World Heritage Sites of Pakistan. The present research was conducted at the Taxila World Heritage Site and observations were made to query about the current situation and related problems. The results of the research are taken as the base for the development of effective management policies and strategies for the conservation and protection of the heritage of Taxila valley. With a growing emphasis on tourism and development in Taxila, it is important for local people to understand the value of heritage of the area, and to contribute in its preservation. However, the management of heritage tourism of Taxila Valley lacks standard professional skills. The study highlights issues about Archaeological tourism & heritage management and provides guidelines for the best management of heritage tourism to minimize the threats to the valley, because of tourist influx.*

## 1. Introduction

Tourism is travel for pleasure or business; also the theory and practice of touring, the business of attracting, accommodating, and entertaining tourists, and the business of operating tours. Tourism includes the travelling of people to places that are outside their environment, not more than a year. According to WTO (World Tourism Organization), tourism is the growing industry of the world and it is an important factor in determining the country's economy. In Pakistan domestic and foreign tourism is comparatively at a small scale.

Tourism can be very helpful for the economic development of many countries as it is a growing industry with different opportunities for an economy like employment and business opportunities. It does not only

supports uplifting the economy of a country but also helps in promoting the culture, which makes the residents of the area feel proud in owning their norms, traditions and also protect, preserve the practices and traditions of a culture. Tourism also acts as a connection among different cultures and transfer ideas, ethics, and creativity from one culture to another. On the other hand, if tourism is not planned or managed wisely it can be harmful to both culture and environment (Smith, 2004: 33-35).

The local governments of developing countries usually pay attention to the sites and their maintenance for the development of tourism; they encourage investments for improving sites. Their main objective is to strengthen the economy rather to pay attention to the measures required for the prevention of environmental and cultural damage by tourism. It is the job of concerned authorities i.e. managers of heritage sites, members of the development department, and officials of local governments to work united to form effective policies that can minimize the harm to environment and culture by tourism.

Taxila is the most significant Buddhist locales in Pakistan lodging around 50 Archeological stays from the second century BC to sixth century AD. Taxila was found in 1911 - 1922 by Sir Joh Marshal who has been viewed as the pioneer of numerous other Archeological destinations including the Indus Civilization's Moen Jo Daro and Harrappa. Taxila is arranged 40 Kilometers from Islamabad and Rawalpindi. As one drives to Peshawar on amazing Trunk roads soon after Margala go there is an indication of Taxila Remains on the right.

The Archeological destinations of Taxila incorporate structures and Buddhist stupas from fifth century to sixth century AD. The principle vestiges of Taxila are isolated into three significant urban communities, each having a place with a particular timeframe. The most established of these is the Hathial territory, which yielded surface shards like shined red products (or 'lathery red products') recouped from beginning stages at Charsadda, and may date between the sixth century BC and the late second thousand years BC. Bhir Mound dates from the sixth century BC. The second city of Taxila is situated at Sirkap and was worked by Greco-Bactrian lords in the second century BC. The third and last city of Taxila is at Sirsukh and identifies with the Kushan rulers.

Heritage or cultural tourism is an ambiguous term, according to some of the researchers; it is heritage tourism while others call it cultural and heritage tourism (Cultural & Heritage Tourism Alliance, 2002) CTHA. Culture consists of various aspects of society including material and emotional too whereas, the art, ways of living, literature, and traditions are its main components (UNESCO, 2001). The definition of cultural heritage presented by Nation trust is "traveling to experience the places and activities that authentically represent the stories and people of the past and present. It includes historic, cultural, and natural resources" (Cultural Heritage Tourism, 2005).



Fig. 1 - 1979 Map of Taxila Valley  (Courtesy of UNESCO).

## 2. Heritage Management in Pakistan

Management of heritage includes the managing of an area's cultural, natural, and artificial surroundings. As far as the policy for this is concerned, this concept or idea is being approved by several tourism departments globally. The focus is on the development of sites in a way that they seem appealing destinations to tourists. Keeping in view the competitive tourism market; like every other industry, the customer is the boss in tourism too, so the interests of visitors can't be denied. Cultural tourism is tourism with purpose; this purpose is exploring places through the activities and traditions of the past and by studying the art and culture of ancient times. Heritage tourism increases the money generated in the country which can be used as an investment on the same sites as well as for other projects like the betterment of living standards of the host society.

## 3. Archaeological Tourism and its Importance

Archaeological tourism can also be considered as the form of cultural tourism, which targets the promotion of the public's interest in Archaeological sites and their conservation. Archaeological tourism is a broad term that includes a variety of products that are associated with the promotion of public Archaeology knowledge, like visits to museums, Archaeological sites, interpretation centers, re-establishment of historical occurrences, and the indigenous products rediscovery, theatres or festivals etc.

The Archaeological tourism treads amidst a narrow line between the cultural heritage area and Archaeological sites promotion producing more damage to them, thus flattering invasive tourism. The Archaeologists are concerned that tourism inspires the community and people in certain ways of observing and articulating the past. It has been observed that tourist board, souvenir revenues as well as ticket fees make the Archaeological site a priority, still, the unanswered question is whether the historical site should be kept opened to the public or closed as protective measure?"The poorly planned indirect development result of tourism amenities, like shops, roads restaurants, and hotels can change the environment extremely in means that are capable of causing landslides, flooding, or undermining the ancient

structures"(Isherwood, 2014: 89).

In 2018, the British Backpacker Society has classified Pakistan as the adventure, the world's top destination for traveling, defining Pakistan as "the number one country has incredible mountain sceneries and it is beyond travelers' expectations" (Grappi&Montanari, 2011: 1128–1140).

*As per the 2017 Travel and Tourism Competitiveness Report discharged by the World Economic Forum, the unswerving commitment of movement and the travel industry to Pakistan's GDP in 2015 was US$328.3 million, comprising 2.8% of the all-out GDP (UNESCO, 2017: 14).*

## 4. Tourism Industry of Pakistan

According to the current statistical information, about 80 million people in Pakistan visit to the local tourists' spots as domestic tourists. This high ratio of domestic tourists is due to easy accessibility of the tourist spots/comfort zones and reasonable expenses. However, tourists, other than those of domestic face various problems because of the inefficient management of PTDC.
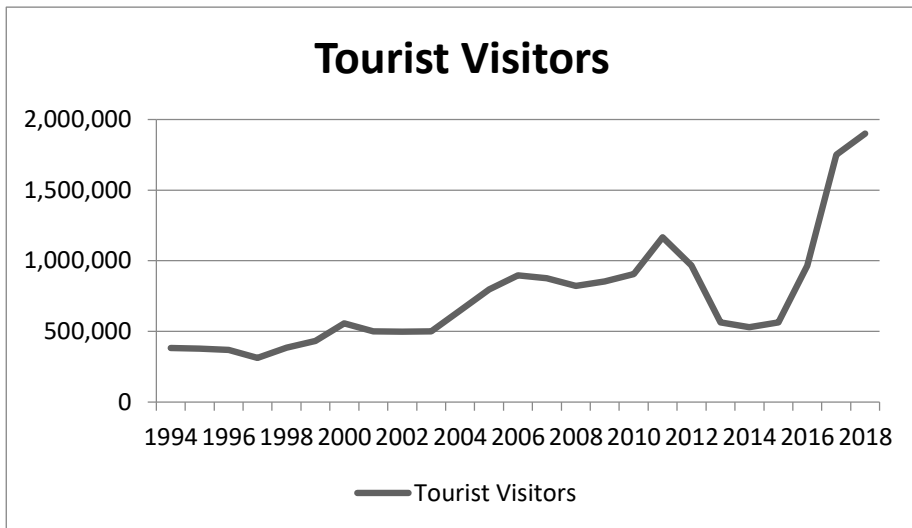


Graph showing Tourists during 1994-2018

With its rich cultural and natural resources, Pakistan has the potential to attract tourists, especially foreign tourists. But due to the instability of peace in the country, people are not able to explore Pakistan. The negative image of the country promoted by international media also causes low number of tourist's in-country (Khan, 2016: 111-112). Due to the risk of political violence, foreign visitors are required to travel with armed escorts. To cope with such a scenario, both public and the government must work together to portray the soft image of the country to attract international tourists. Media can also play a vital role in this regard (Khan, 2016: 22-23).

The current Government has focused on the improvement of tourist facilities in the country. It has started constructing roads and air networks according to the requirements of international standards; this can be a new marketing technique to enhance tourism. Human resources of the country can also play an important role in developing the tourism industry. Ministry of Tourism was established in September 2004, it was formed to develop policies for tourism, recreation activities, sports, and promotion of tourism. The promotion of tourism included attracting tourists, providing facilities to them, it is important to note that the focus was given on attracting both international and domestic tourists. The Ministry failed to achieve its major goals and was therefore abolished in 2011, as per requirements of the constitution of the country; provinces were given the responsibility to promote tourism and recreational activities in their respective provinces. Until now provinces of Pakistan are independent in promoting potential sites for tourism. Taxila, one of the richest regions in terms of Archaeological heritage sites has the potential to attract tourists at local, national, and international levels. The region is partially administered by the Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces. The present research focuses on the Archaeological sites in Taxila shows that many of the potential sites are constantly losing their authenticity due to lack of awareness, mismanagement, and under financing.

## 5. Research Methodology

The following methods were adopted:

**Sampling Method:** it consists of data, sample population, and sample size to analyze the relationship between Archeological tourism and heritage management concerning tourist patterns. It was conducted in the Punjab region and a simple random sampling technique was used to analyze the data.

**Population:** The population of the study is tourists paying visits to the heritage culture of Taxila. It includes Taxila's museums and their heritage sites. The study of the population is Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.

**Sample Size:** in this study 120 questionnaires were distributed among different tourists and 100 respondents have fairly contributed towards study.

**Data Collection Techniques:** The study has focused on primary data to collect relevant information from its respondents and primary data has focused on observations and questionnaire methods to analyze the study. Secondary data is used for this study which comprises journals, articles, and literature. The primary data in this research study is questionnaire method; it is analyzed through questionnaire analysis on Likert scale. The questionnaire consists of items in the variables, as tourist pattern is measured by (Alexandrov&Babakus, 2013: 531–546) and it has 7 items, tourist satisfaction has 14 items and it is measured by(Angelis, Bonezzi, Peluso, Rucker, Costabile, 2012: 551–563), Reason for visiting sites is measured by (Eid, 2015: 249–260)and it has 6 items in the study, management of sites measured by (Ballantynea, Packera, and Axelsena, 2009: 149-152 ) has 12 items in the study and impact of locals from tourist view has 3 items in this research and measured by(Brida, Disegna, &Osti, 2013: 266–285). The last variable marketing segment is measured by (Gegory, 2009: 79-83) and it has 12 items.

**Research Tool:** the researchers have used the adopted tool, questionnaire method to analyze the data and it measures the

relationship between Archeological tourism and heritage management of Taxila. Likert scale 5 is used to take respondents' views. It is one side is focusing on strongly disagree and the other side strongly agrees.

**Reliability analysis:** It measures the internal consistency of items that are used in the study. It gives information about every single item in the study. It generates the accuracy of the data and tells about the validity of the data. It shows Cronbach's alpha values with test the reliability and internal consistency of the data. Its value should be greater than 0.6 and 0.7 tells about the accuracy and consistency of the data.

Table 1

| Variables | Items | Cronbach's Alpha |
|---|---|---|
| Tourist Pattern | 7 | 0.823 |
| Satisfaction | 14 | 0.813 |
| Reasons for Visiting Site | 6 | 0.838 |
| Management of Sites | 12 | 0.826 |
| Impact on locals from Tourist View | 3 | 0.759 |
| Marketing Segment | 12 | 0.820 |

## 6. Analysis

**Descriptive Statistics:** It shows mean, the standard deviation of the variables, basic descriptive statistics shows the central tendency of the data and it calculates averages of the data.

Table 2

| | Variables | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Tourists Questionnaire** | Tourist Pattern | 100 | 2.3886 | 0.53494 |
| | Satisfaction | 100 | 2.4057 | 0.44484 |
| | Reasons for Visiting Site | 100 | 2.3700 | 0.61800 |
| | Management | 100 | 2.4125 | 0.59320 |
| | Impact on locals from Tourist View | 100 | 2.440 | 1.02809 |
| | Marketing Segment | 100 | 2.4100 | 0.51180 |
| | Valid N (list wise) | 100 | | |

The above table shows that the mean and standard deviation of Variables which shows central tendency of the data and mean deviation. Average mean of Tourist Pattern is 2.3886 and standard deviation is S.d = 0.53494), Mean and standard deviation of Satisfaction is 2.4057 (S.d = 0.61800), Mean and Standard deviation of Reasons for Visiting Site is 2.3700 (S.d = 0.61800) and Mean and Standard deviation of Management is 2.4125 (S.d = 0.53920). Mean and Standard deviation of Impact on local people from Tourist View is 2.440 (S.d = 1.02809) and Mean and Standard deviation of Management Segment is 2.4100 (S.d = 0.51180). In the above-mentioned table, all the values are measured on a Likert scale. All the values of the above-mentioned study variables are closer to each other. As all values show average means which tells about their variation and tendency of the data in research study. These results are consistent with previous studies.

**Correlation Analysis:** Correlation analysis enables us to know about the relationship as well as the level of relationship between variables.

Table 3

| Variables | Tourist Pattern | Satisfaction | Reasons for Visiting | Management | Impact on locals | Marketing Segment |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Tourist Pattern | 1 | | | | | |
| Satisfaction | .786** | 1 | | | | |
| Reasons for Visiting Site | .499** | .695** | 1 | | | |
| Management | .635** | .853** | .516** | 1 | | |
| Impact on locals from Tourist View | .137** | .698** | .736** | .687** | 1 | |
| Marketing Segment | .709** | .792** | .713** | .694** | .739** | 1 |

Correlation value between Tourist Pattern and the Marketing segment is found (0.709, p<0.01). It shows a strong relationship between them and which shows significant positive relationship between them. The

correlation value between the Satisfaction and Marketing segment is found (0.792, p<0.01). It shows a strong positive and significant relationship between them. Correlation value between Reasons for Visiting and Marketing segment is found (0.713, p<0.01) and shows a positive and significant relationship between them.Correlation value between Management and Marketing segment is found (0.694, p<0.01) has shown strong positive and significant relationship between them. The value between Impact on locals and Marketing segment is found (0.739, p<0.01). It shows positive and significant relationship between them.

**Regression Analysis:** Regression Analysis is utilized to evaluate the causal relationship between autonomous factors and ward variable. Along these lines, we can see to what degree subordinate variable is needy upon autonomous factors, and how much significant they are.

Table 4

|                                   | B    | T     | Sig. |
| --------------------------------- | ---- | ----- | ---- |
| Tourist Pattern                   | .355 | 0.350 | .000 |
| Satisfaction                      | .575 | 0.100 | .000 |
| Reasons for Visiting Site         | .317 | 0.350 | .000 |
| Management                        | .178 | 0.620 | .000 |
| Impact on locals from Tourist View | .530 | 0.280 | .000 |

Dependent Variable: Marketing Segment
N=400, $R^2$=.618, F=69.108

In table No 4, with the assistance of regression investigation, the relation between Tourist Pattern with Marketing Segment has been analyzed. Strong and positive relationship exist between Tourist Pattern with Marketing Segment ($\beta$ = 0.355, t =0.355, p = .000). In table No: 4.3, with the assistance of regression analysis, the relation between Satisfactions with Marketing Segment has been analyzed. Strong and positive relationship exist between Satisfaction with Marketing

Segment (β =0.575, t = 0.100, p = .000). With the assistance of regression analysis, the relation between Reasons for visiting destinations with Marketing Segment has been analyzed. Strong and positive relationship exist between Reasons for visiting destinations with Marketing Segment (β = 0.317, t = 0.350, p = .000). The relation between Management with Marketing Segment has been inspected. Strong and positive relationship exist between Management with Marketing Segment (β = 0.178, t =0.620, p = .000). The relation between Impacts on local people from tourist view with marketing segment has been analyzed. Strong and positive relationship exist between Impacts on local people from Tourist with Marketing Segment (β = .530, t = 0.280, p = .000). The regression relists are consistent with previous study which sows positive and significant relationship between them.

Here, the .618 is the R square. This shows 38.2% of the fluctuation in the subordinate variable has been significantly clarified by the autonomous factors and the rest of the variety is because of different elements not considered in this examination. The F-measurement is utilized to test the significance of the regression model overall and if the estimation of F is most extreme and it reflects the significance of the factors model of the examination. The estimation of F measurement in this model is 69.108, which is significant.

## 7. Discussion

Taxila is one of the most seasoned living urban areas in the sub-landmass. Taxila was recorded on the World Heritage List in 1980 under social criteria (UNESCO World Heritage Center 2017: 65-66). Its history goes back to the Neolithic time frame (mid-fourth thousand years BC). The Taxila Valley came into the center when proof of its Harappan stage (BC 3100-2500) was found at Sari Kala and afterward Jhang, PindNausheri, Khada, and Hathial. These revelations built up that the Taxila Valley has a great contribution in the formation of Harappan civilization.

Division of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Culture, Government of Pakistan is answerable for the executives of the site. A management plan can be characterized as a composed, flowed and endorsed a report which depicts the site or zone and the issues and open

doors for the executives of its temperament protection, land structure or scene highlights, empowering targets dependent on this data to be met through important work over an expressed timeframe (Eurosite, 1999: 45).

The Department of Archaeology and Museums gather assets through various means, for example, the Gate Money/Tickets and different assets as national spending which are used for insurance of the property. There are two kinds of Budget under which the protection of destinations and landmarks is done by the Department of Archaeology and Museums Government of Pakistan which is the Normal Budget and Annual Development Program. The primary wellspring of assets for the Department of Archaeology and Museums for the preservation and assurance of Cultural Heritage is a distribution from the National Budget. A typical spending plan is given yearly which is utilized to the preservation, the executives, and the fix of the locales.

Pakistan is in desperate need of approaches that are successful enough to be pursued for the executives of locales profitably. Approaches are required for both unearthed and unexplored locales of the nation. The issues of Archaeological destinations are diverse in contrast with the issues of landmarks that are standing tall. Instances of Mohnejo Daro and Taxila can be taken for this reason; these destinations can be contemplated as a contextual investigation of the executive's approaches in principle, in functional and just as in rehearsing old techniques.

The impediment of the Antiquities Act of 1975 is that it does not clarify rules for the preservation of site in the nation because of which the limits of doing unearthing are not clear. The demonstration likewise does not announce authority forces to manage individuals who cause mischief to social properties or legacy destinations.

## 8. Conclusions

It is accepted, the Archaeological and legacy hands-on work that has been done in Punjab as a component of the present undertaking so far has been truly important and enabled us to start to address the principle venture points and destinations. We trust that our legacy study and its fundamental outcomes will nourish thought for those engaged with

basic leadership concerning Punjab, and the individuals who are doing scholarly investigations inside Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.

Through our Archaeological hands-on work, we are accomplishing our point of giving additional data about Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and is in the past to Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is in the present, and they would then be able to pick what they do with this data, on the off chance that anything. We know this is principally a scholastic task with expected scholarly results and are quick to accomplish these results for an assortment of reasons (government college rankings; fulfilling award suppliers; scholarly notoriety, etc.).

A basic explanation of the issues identified with World Heritage Sites is the absence of legitimate execution of the board plan. The successful requirement of the executive's plan is fundamental for the administration of the region as indicated by global principles. Also, a participatory and all-encompassing way to deal with get ready Management plans for World Heritage Site is important to bargain the related issues even more proficiently.

It is important to create and actualize a productive visitor management plan for the valley. With a legitimate guest, the board plan guests are compelled to go in a limited way by improving their insight, mentalities, and social variety towards the ensured status of the territory. In this manner, numerous chronicled remains and characteristic qualities can be shielded from destructive impacts because of the expanded number of guests. Strong endeavors ought to be made to build the attention to the neighborhood populace living in the region of World Heritage Site about the hugeness of the site. For this reason, data in regard to esteems and advantages of the locales must be promoted in compelling mode.

Support of applicable foundations, offices, and associations to organize open preparing programs on preservation exercises can contribute a great deal in this worry. The accompanying explicit activities to adjust to environmental change may be fundamental at a local or neighborhood level to guarantee a nonstop redefinition of adjustment procedures as atmosphere projections are refined: Enhancement of fitting instruction and customary aptitudes; thorough continuous observing and upkeep; research to help national/provincial basic leadership; getting ready for crisis readiness; re-assessment of the board needs in light of atmospheric change; preparing on the different

issues and potential reactions to environmental change in all parts of preservation movement specifically, improvement of conventional abilities, checking, the executives and crisis readiness (Collete, 2007: 65).

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# Star and Scintillation, an Implicit Reality of Golden-ratio in the Muslim Architectonic Ornamental Motifs

**Mamoona Khan**

## Abstract

*Star is the enigmatic shape in ornamental designs, especially those bedecking the Muslim edifices. Intricacies of its geometric shapes combine unity within disparity, the substrate of which lies in the Golden Ratio, which is the building block of nature. Best in the Subcontinent, in this context, are the Mughal structures, and at their meridian is the Wazir Khan Masjid in Lahore. The mosque is a repertoire of multifarious motifs, but the researcher has focused the star-shape only. Because the complex geometric configurations filled with organic forms, compose perfect six or twelve-pointed stars, on its domed ceilings. Multidimensional shapes are so unerringly distributed over the domed-surfaces that slightest error in the formation of a perfect star is not discernible. Through formal and textual analysis the undercurrents of the star-motif will be explored, tracing its links with Golden-ratio. Connotation of light, the cause of scintillation will also be explored on ontological terms, for, star and scintillation are synonyms. It will be the multidisciplinary research, which is both scientific and connotative, the former deals with structure of the star-shape and the latter with its luminosity.*

Aniconic character of Islamic Art is mostly promulgated for its non-figurative character, especially when religious edifices are adorned. Secular structures are exempted from that, as specimens of the figurative were discernible from the palaces of the first Muslim dynasty that is Umayyad. But Islamic Art is venerated not for the iconic but for its aniconic character because it does not come at clash with religious interdictions against image making. The novel turns that aesthetic brains took as substitutes of the figurative were their focus on the fields of calligraphy and ornamental designs, and both were developed to the

unprecedented heights by the Muslim artists. The Islamic designs are unrivalled specimens of intricacy, beauty and inexhaustible source of creativity. The repertoire of these motifs is so vast that it is beyond the scope of the study, so only the star shape, for its scintillation is focused here, as origin of both is from the celestial spheres.



Fig. 1 - Stele of Naram Sin, (2250 B.C) (Star Worship). Louvre, Paris. https://www.pinterest.co.uk

Luminous stars adorning night skies have fascinated man from the antediluvian times, and contemplation on them devised their numerous interpretations, both phenomenal and noumenal. At places, man venerated stars as objects of worship by linking supernatural powers with them, associating them with his future courses, and on the other hand designed it into a piece of adornment *fig.1*. *The Stele of Naram Sin*[1] of Akkadian Period (2350-2150 B.C), of Mesopotamia, delineate the concept of star worship in ancient times. Broadly speaking, two main functions are attached with stars that are adoration and ornamentation. Scientifically speaking stars are substantial objects of nature, but their scintillation, having affinity with light, keeps connotative values as well. But the beauty of stars lie only in their luminosity, because the spectrum of their lights

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[1] Naram Sin (2261-2224 B.C.) was the last emperor of Akkadian Kingdom and the grandson of Sargon (2334-2279 B.C) who laid foundation of this empire.

produce attractive shapes of five, six, eight, ten, or twelve-points, inspiring geometricians to expand novelties in their creative endeavours.

This is to be borne in mind that planets are either round or elliptical; no other shape is associated with them, for their capacity to remain continuously in motion. Motion and circle are linked together, and ceaseless motion is attributed to the circular path only. No other route on rectilinear direction can have the limitless capacity of motion. Scintillation, on the other hand, breaks continuity of roundness, providing a variety of facets to the surface of planets, converting them into pentagon, hexagon, octagon, decagon, or dodecagonal shapes, *figs.2-3*. It directed the cerebrating minds to explore the realms of geometry. On the other hand, diamond[2], one of the most precious gems is a piece of carbon, and so is coal. Value of a diamond increases with its cutting into a variety of facets that give luminosity to its surface but nothing likewise happens with coal. The value of diamonds or of stars owes to their shimmering quality.

Scintillation of stars is subservient to their motion in light that turns their rigid round-shapes into multi-bezels and glowing properties. Thus light and motion adds beauty of scintillation to their plain surfaces. Diamond too, is valued for the glowing outburst of rays on its multi-faceted surface.  Thus, shimmering quality is attained by a body, if light strikes on its unequal planes, luminosity of which composes attractive geometric shapes. Likewise is the case of diamonds, precious stones and stars. Diamond scintillates, and its sparks turn its shape into multi-pointed stars. Hence, the main role is played by light. The gem will lose preciousness if devoid of its usual glint and a planet will also not be discernible as a star without its twinkling. Therefore, phenomenon of light must be studied, and it is researched here on ontological terms.

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[2] Diamond is crystalline carbon, the hardest known mineral, usually nearly colourless. Degree of its transparency defines the value of its preciousness.

Fig. 2 - Floor of the S̲h̲ālāmār Garden, Lahore (Photo by the Author).

Light is an enigma that induces life and beauty on the planet earth, and also in the entire cosmos. If there is no light, comprehension of existence of everything along with the aesthetic realms of man would remain blank. Light determines scintillation too. Hence, it engenders beauty and veneration, for being the only corporeal element that can be linked with the Supreme Being. No other object of the earthy sphere can be associated with the Supreme Reality that led scholarly brains to explicate it esoterically.

Among the Greek philosophers, Aristotle put forth the hypothesis that light is an amalgam of colours, which is empirically proved by the modern science. It is a phenomenon that has engaged scientists to experimentation for centuries and still new discoveries are being added day by day. But it is always linked with sight and its functions, whether viewed on epistemological terms or on ontological basis. At the earliest, it was claimed that light emanates from the eye and makes things discernible. The hypothesis was declined giving credit to some external sources of light that make things manifest to the eye. For long, it was considered that light moves in continuous rays, but then proved to be travelling in discreet packets, which are labelled as quanta. A continuous list of discoveries is linked with the phenomenon of light, defining its wave lengths or frequencies,

reflection and refraction. Even speed of light is marked as 186000 miles per second (Ronchi, 115-199) that makes possible to view scintillation of stars from so far a distances. Apart from the scientific it is explored on esoteric grounds as well.



Fig. 3 - Stellar Motif under the Eave of a Balcony, near Wazīr Khān Mosque
(Photo by the Author).

Light has been an object concentrated not only by scientists but by philosophers, mystics and *ṣūfis* of different faiths as well. It is used by the latter as a metaphor for positivity, knowledge and guidance. However, darkness as its opposite is associated with negativity and ignorance (Qur'ān; VI[3]: 91). Theosophists place transparent beings through which light penetrates at superlative degree while grosser bodies that cast shadow are located at lesser degrees. Shadow is not revered by any, for being incapacitated to make things manifest, while light is venerated both on intrinsic and extrinsic terms. It is the very cause of choosing star with its scintillation as an object of adoration in many cultures, and of adornment of religious edifices, especially by the Muslim artists. The Muslim scholars wrote volumes to explore

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[3] *Sūra: al-An'ām*

undercurrents of the reality of light, for being linked with the Supreme Lord. Only, crux of the conceits of al- Ghazāli and of Shahāb al-Dīn Suhrawardi are concentrated in this paper to unfold the cause of evolution of intricate star-shapes that ornament the Muslim edifices.

Al-Ghazāli (1058/450-1111/505) explicates upon the metaphor that "Allah is the Light of the heavens and the earth" (Qur'ān; XXIV[4]: 35), and His Light makes all things manifest. He analyses light, both on physical and esoteric grounds. Light is taken by him as the only *Real-thing* in the entire cosmos, and it is linked metaphorically with eye or intelligence. Apart from taking it as a tool, capable of making things visible, he views it as a phenomenon comprehended through senses, especially by the supreme sense sight. In relation to sight, al-Ghazāli categorises objects into three classes; the dark objects, incapable to get visible at their own, independently visible but incapacitated to illumine other objects, like stars and un-blazed fire. The third group includes those objects that are self-radiant and emits light to illuminate others, like the Sun and the fire ablaze.

Al-Ghazāli associates light only with the objects of the third category for being a source of generating light and illuminating exteriors of grosser bodies (al-Ghazāli 80). Because they do not borrow light from any other source, rather furnish it to others. He asserts that "unless a thing is manifest in itself, it is not manifest to others" (al-Ghazāli 103). Light in this sense is placed as the only genuine object that makes everything perceivable. Luminous beings are given higher value for being devoid of shadows, while those illumined from any borrowed source keep shadow as their integral part. Thus luminous and illumined cannot be placed at equal levels. In this context, al-Ghazāli has provided both phenomenal and noumenal interpretations of light. Phenomenal light [5] always accompany shadow. The metaphor of darkness interprets ignorance and wickedness, and light is associated with piety and goodness (Qur'ān, II: 257). It is the very reason that shadows in Muslim Art are altogether ignored. Hence, the stars

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[4] *Sūra: al-Nūr*
[5] Phenomenal light is the light of earthy world. It is opposite to the noumenal light which is of the celestial spheres.

represented in their designs are luminous beings, not the illumined ones, for; they are devoid of any shadows.

On similar grounds, Shahāb al-Dīn Yahya ibn Ḥaba<u>sh</u> ibn Amirak Suhrawardi (549/1154-594/1198) interprets light with the metaphor of wisdom, and places it as analogous to theophany. He also interprets light on both phenomenal and noumenal terms, and elevates the latter, which he calls *nūr*, comprehension of which is beyond human senses. All the earthy and incorporeal beings are categorised by him for the degrees of light and dark with which they are composed of. Those of the incorporeal world are entirely constituted by light and the grosser bodies of the corporeal world are lesser in their composition of light, as they accompany shadow too. The absence of light is called by him as *zulmah* that is nothingness. Light is the most conspicuous reality that makes understanding of everything possible. Primordial light, which he calls as *Nūr al-Anwār*[6] is the fountainhead from where all bodies receive light, which subsists forever. It is not fleeting like earthy light but remains constantly luminous. Suhrawardi categories all beings in accordance to the degrees and types of light they receive from *Nūr al-Anwār*[7]. In esoteric sense, he classifies all beings for their degrees of intelligence defined through the amount of light they contain; either generate or receive.

All the earthy or non-earthy beings receive their light from *Nūr al-Anwār* that also keeps its vicegerent in each realm that seems to be self-illumined due to the highest intensity of light it emits. The Sun is the deputy of *Nūr al-Anwār* in heavens, fire in the earthy sphere and *nūr-i ispahbād* [8] in human soul. Because human soul is not a substantial thing, rather it has affinity with the spirit of the Supreme Being. Since, it is composed of light that is *nūr-i ispahbād*, so, it is

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[6] The Light of all lights

[7] He gives two major divisions of light. If light persists by itself, it is essential and real light called *nūr al-jauhari*, which is incorporeal and its in-corporeality is called *al-nūr al-mujarrad*, such as God, angels, archetypes and the human souls. It is called accidental or *nūr al-arḍi* if derived from another source, it includes fire. If it is ignorant of itself but exists by itself, it is also obscurity that persists in all natural bodies. If it is ignorant along with depending on another for existence, it is a form like colours or smells.

[8] *Nūr-i ispahbād* is Lordly Light

inclined to light and repulsive from darkness (Nasr *Maqtūl* 387-88). In other words, it is attracted to knowledge and repulsive to ignorance. It is the very reason that scintillation of stars is used as the most popular motif to adorn Muslim edifices, which is usually stated as the "star, solar or stellar motif." It is in reality, not the star but its scintillation, inspired from light, and bedecking a large number of monuments of the Muslim world. It is not the elliptical or round shapes of stars that adorn those edifices but the shapes produced by their scintillation. The light that they emit produces multi-faceted formations that devise multi-pointed beautiful stars.



Fig. 4 - Geometric and Organic Forms to build Star Motif, Wazīr Khān Mosque
(Photo by the Author).

Many western scholars like Hillenbrand (18), fascinated by the complex balance of the "stellar motif" have tried to explore its symbolic meaning. But they remained unable to attach a connotative value to its complex equilibrium (Hillenbrandt 18) because they focused only the star and ignored its scintillation, caused by light.

While in the Muslim theosophy the symbol of light is used for knowledge and intelligence, on the grounds that everything has emanated from the Light. Theosophists of Islam have devised a hierarchy of beings from the celestial to the terrestrial realms that is from the all illumined to the grosser elements. As Corbin explicates that the "first being in the universe to emanate from the supreme Principal is a light which contains all lights (because all light is created from it). The Light is described as the Throne ('Arsh), the Intelligence. ..." (Corbin 199). Innovative use of the stellar motif, in a variety of ways, on the secular as well as religious edifices of Muslims is due to the sanctity assigned to light by the Muslim theosophists.
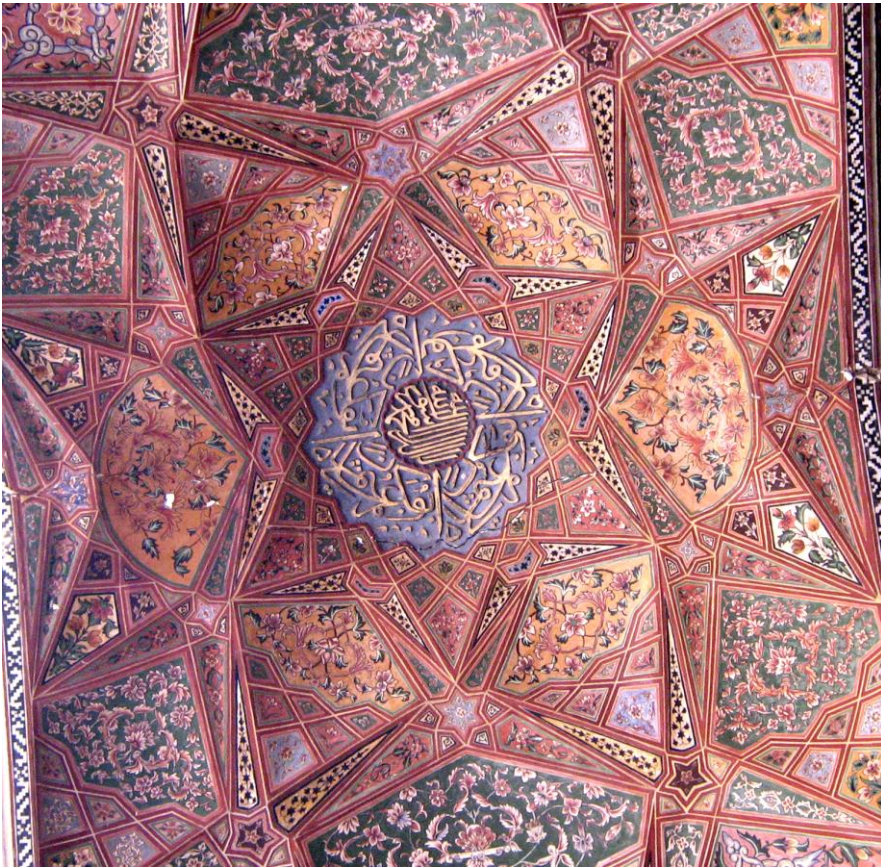


Fig. 5 - Intricate Stellar Design on the southern Īwān of the Sanctuary of the Wazīr Khān Mosque (Photo by the Author).

Despite the fact that Islamic ornamental designs are fundamentally linked with functional arts [9] (Humbert 11), they are part of the representational art [10] too. But all the shapes and designs, whether organic or inorganic, vegetal or geometric are derived from the objects of nature or transformed from them, *fig.4.* If not mimetic in their representation, these designs cannot be called as non-representational form of art. With deeper concentration of nature these are shaped into designs by those artists who have capacity to view undercurrents of reality. Substrate of the entire repertoire is on the mathematical building block of nature that is golden ratio, analysed and synthesized into novel shapes and forms but all abstracted from nature (Humbert 19). Once organised into novel configurations, these are expanded in variety, and then by attaching with other shapes, formulated striking forms of ornamentation. Likewise are the intricate star-shapes ornamenting the ceilings of the *īwāns*[11] of the Wazir Khan Masjid with geometric and organic forms that are rhythmically and aesthetically combined together to shape the stellar motifs.

It was in reality the scintillation of stars and planets that attracted the artists so much that their ornamental forms received intricacies of highest order. Because shimmer has no continuous shape, it emerges from the fluctuation of various intensities of light that the objects reflect. If value of their light remains constant, it can illuminate but not scintillate, and the round star cannot appear multi-pointed. Fluctuation in their reflected light converts them into the geometric shapes of pentagon or hexagon, etc. which can be mathematically calculated in Muslim ornamental designs. Devising a simple star does not need much concentration. But when its shape is split into a variety of geometric segments without distorting its perfect proportions, it requires deeper contemplation, which is thoroughly done by the Muslim artists. Moreover, geometry is restricted to certain rules that are quite rigid and can be a hindrance in the aesthetic domains of art,

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[9] Aesthetic object that perform utilitarian function, meaning objects of utility like architecture or utensils

[10] Aesthetic objects (painting or sculpture) that refer to the objects from the real world or in other words objects which are purely pieces of art

[11] Īwān is a domed or vaulted place or hall, walled on three sides and one end entirely open (Mahmood  184)

but these rules are so elegantly devised in the designs that the element of beauty and elegance is not lost anywhere. Greater freedom of artistic expression is provided to the artists, but still perfect representation of these shapes is indebted to geometry.



Fig. 6 - Scintillation in Scimitar like flashes, Wazīr Khān Mosque
(Photo by the Author).

Algebra is a Muslim invention and geometry practical versions of mathematics. Besides being mathematical, geometry, at many points has provided strong basis to the Muslim aesthetics. In the delineation of a star shape, geometry plays essential role, maintaining rhythm and balance of highest order even in their segmented splits. Scintillation of star is replete in Muslim designs that can be viewed from the edifices of Umayyads (661-750), Abbasids (750-1258), Samanids (819-999),

Ghaznavid (977-1186), Saljūqs (1037-1194), Mongols (1258-1333), Nasarids (1230-1492), Timurid (1370-1570), Safavids (1501-1722), and Mughals (1526-1857) etc.



Fig. 7 - Complexities of Intricate Star on the northern *Īwān* of the Sanctuary of Wazīr Khān Mosque (Photo by the Author).

Intricate star-shapes, in this case, form most attractive designs which are composed of agglomeration of a variety of geometric configurations. A single intricate star is organised by divisions and subdivisions of wedge and diamond shapes, triangles of various dimensions, pentagons and hexagons, of a variety of sizes, including tiny stars too. However, these are combined to form the extremely perfect star. It is always highly symmetrical, despite its variety of subdivisions of shapes and sizes. It amazes probing minds because these designs are specimens of multiplicity into unity and unity into multiplicity, *fig.5*. Intricate star is actual manifestation of the implicit reality of scintillation. The variety of small geometric shapes that form

intricate stars, devise the undercurrents of scintillation, the only reality that turns their circles or elliptical forms into pointed scimitar like edged formations of stars. Sparks of light emitted by mobile radiant bodies formulate incongruous geometric shapes that are always pointed at one end, called rays of light. They radiate from luminous objects in piercing flashes, broader in size near their places of emanation, gradually decreasing in breath and getting sharper and sharper at their end points *fig.6*. Although, rays emerge from a body having uniform luminosity, but spectrum of one ray differs from the other, which brings the impact of scintillation, and formulate the shape of a star. Similar is the case of complex star-shapes of Muslim ornamental designs. Analysing one, adorning *īwān* of the sanctuary of Wazīr K̲h̲ān Masjid, one can comprehend the connotation attached with light and also with its scintillation.



Fig. 8 - Three Circles of star cum Flower Formations on the northern *Īwān* of the Sanctuary of Wazīr Khān Mosque (Photo by the Author).

Fig. 9 - Twelve Pointed Star on the northern Īwān of the Sanctuary of Wazīr Khān Mosque (Photo by the Author).

On the domed ceilings of the four *īwāns*; two on either sides of the central one, which is the fifth *īwān*, the marvel of complexities of scintillation is delineated. It is a hexagonal star, composed of lozenge, wedge, trapezoid shapes, triangles, small un-equilateral octagons, fan shapes, and tiny stars embedded within the geometric shapes. All the shapes are of many different sizes, jointly viewed as a star with its scintillation, based on three-fold symmetry. It radiates from the apex, and concentric to it has six circular formations, from top to the lower edges of the dome, each circle composes a scintillated star shape, *fig.7*.

The central one has twelve scallops, surrounding it is a six-pointed star, around it has another six–pointed star cum flower shape, encircling it is another round of twelve-pointed star shape, then another round of six pointed scintillation, and yet another round which is the outer and the lower most has the twelve pointed star shape. The multi-layered six and twelve pointed transformations make it the object of concentration and interest for the observers. These are composed of a variety of geometric shapes, mentioned above. The most interesting point is that six circles from the apex of the dome to the edges of the arches make six rounds of twelve and six pointed alternate stars. Let's have detailed description of this section.



Fig. 10 - Six-Pointed Star Formation on the northern *Īwān* of the Sanctuary of Wazīr Khān Mosque (Photo by the Author)..

The top most central part of the domed ceiling has a simple small star of twelve scalloped-edges, filled with multi-layered petals of a flower, shaded in red colour. It is surrounded by another six-pointed star, made up of green stems and leaves, and on each of its six points is an alternate blue or pink flower. It is further surrounded by six-pointed pronounced flower like star- shape in pink colour, *fig.8*. Around it is another twelve pointed perfect geometric blue star-shape, outlined with red, and enhanced by twelve diamond shapes, one on each of its edges, *fig.9*. From then on, there begins dissection of scintillation. It is a hexagonal star, composed of multi-dimensional facets of wedge, lozenge, triangles, fan and rectilinear shapes, tipped yellow, *fig.10*. Encircling it is another agglomeration of the above mentioned shapes

that formulate a perfect dodecagonal star-shape with blue tips at its edges, *fig.11*. If continued further, there would be other rounds of six and twelve pointed alternate star formations because the symmetrical divisions are continued to the edges of the arches forming the *īwān* of the sanctuary. This is a geometric representation of scintillation of the celestial body, labelled as a star. The shapes and their divisions are so complex that only an expert geometrician can delineate such ordered formations of stars. Moreover, the most amazing part is that they rhythmically convert, from one round to another, into twelve and six points, devoid of any minute disturbance in the equilibrium of the perfect star shapes, both in the representation of six or twelve points.



Fig. 11 - Outer most formation of Twelve-Pointed star on the northern Īwān of the Sanctuary of Wazīr Khān Mosque (Photo by the Author).

The surface of the ceiling is opaque and the iconography of scintillation is three-dimensional without deep carving, still shimmer of scintillation is successfully delineated in the design. But the point that astonishes researchers is the presence of symmetry and balance, even when the stars are composed of a cluster of disparate shapes of a variety of sizes. There must be some underlying structure that plays a two-fold function; of division as well as unification. Though, beauty of any structure is enhanced by complicated simplicity. Simple balance stabilises a structure but lacks attractiveness. Therefore, beauty of these complex designs lies, not in naive balance, but in their complicated rhythms. It is nature's symmetry that appears at a glance as asymmetrical, but mobile structures cannot survive with asymmetry.  Actually, the chaos of the world has an underlying order, says Volkenstein (296)[12].

The universe is ordered and so are ornamental designs in the Muslim art, even when these are ramified into multifarious configurations. There is unified underlying order within inner and outer structures of the cosmos, holds Critchlow, and the aim of "spiritual disciplines" are to maintain unity between the disparate realities with symmetry and balance (57). It is not naive balance but complicated and intricate balance, analogous is the complex symmetry of the designs under discussion, substrate of which lies in the Golden Ratio. Golden Means or Golden Ratio is the building block of nature, called God's finger prints, or God's sequence because it is maintained in the underlying structures of every object of nature.  It has elegant complexity along with simultaneous lovely simplicity which is the cause of its elegance.

"The smaller to the larger is larger to the whole" is the simplest statement that defines Golden Ratio. It bears symmetry even in its statement. Easiest way to define Golden Ratio through a line is to cut the line at such a point that proportion between its smaller and larger segments, equals the proportion between the larger segment and the entire length of the line. It is also called extremes and means ratio, defined as follows:

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[12] https://link.springer.com/book/10.1007/978-3-642-78788-1  browsed in June, 15th 2020

$$AC: CB = CB: AB$$

Even the statement about proportions of smaller and larger segments bears symmetry.

It is an amazing ratio which is present in every object of nature, such as in the proportions of various parts of human body, in the spirals of the seed-heads of sunflower, spirals of pine cones, spiral of the nautilus, waves of ocean, shape of galaxies, motion of planets, spirals of pineapple, egg also follows the same ratio, and even in the growth of leaves, etc. The ratio can be mathematically defined as, 1:1.618, also analogous to the Fibonacci sequence[13] of numbers.
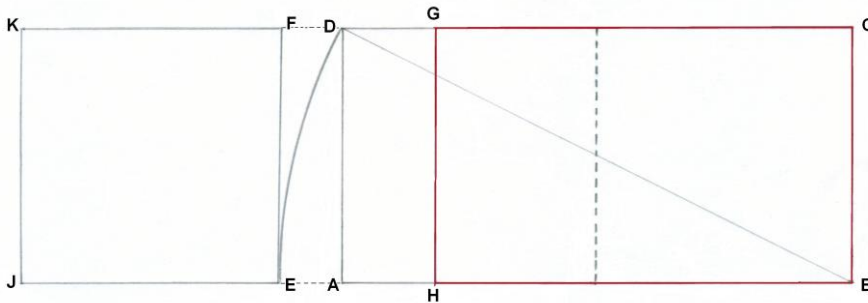


Fig. 12 - Formation of Golden Rectangle (Diagram by the Author).

In the Fibonacci sequence, each forthcoming number is the sum total of the preceding two numbers. Though, apparently this sequence seems to be odd, and appears to be based on random arrangements, but it is extremely organised on the symmetry that is simultaneously simple and complicated. Fibonacci sequence is defined below:

0, 1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 13, 21, 34, 55, 89, 144, 233, 377, 610, 987 . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

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[13] Fibonacci sequence was formulated by Leonardo Pisano, nick named Fibonacci, a 13th century Italian Mathematician. He defined it in a tremendous treatise on Arithmetic, titled *Liber Abaci* , wrote in 1202, since then it is considered as one of the best books on Arithmetic. He lived in the Medieval Era, when progress was halted by church, still his intelligence was considered beyond question. King Frederick-II, in 1225 held an open competition on Mathematics to judge abilities of Fibonacci. It is said that he did not only won competition but there was not even a single question that remained unanswered by him (Khan 243)

It is also based on extreme and mean's ratio that causes harmonious divisions and subdivisions of scintillation in the shape of complicated star design. It can be viewed in the construction of Golden Rectangle and Golden Triangle, and their subdivisions that also create smaller divisions of these shapes, but all in accordance to the Golden Proportions.
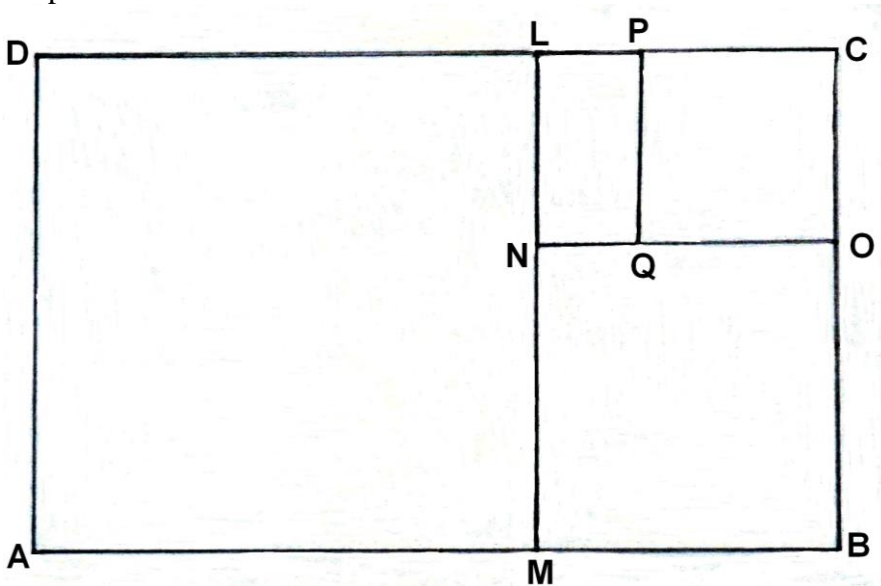


Fig.13 - Formation of Diminishing Golden Rectangles from a Larger Golden Rectangle (Diagram by the Author).

Taking into account the construction of a Golden rectangle with the help of two adjacent squares of equal dimensions, that creates the rectangle ABCD. An arc is drawn from the point D to E, by taking the diagonal BD as its radius. If the line BC equals to 1, the line BE will be equalled to √5. Another square of equal dimensions to the previous ones is attached from the point E, forming a rectangle BCKJ, resulting in √5 +1. This rectangle is then cut into two equal halves, which gives √5 +1/2 that is an exact equal of 1.618. Thus the ratio of the rectangle BCGH is 1: 1.618[14] that constitutes a Golden rectangle, *fig.12*.
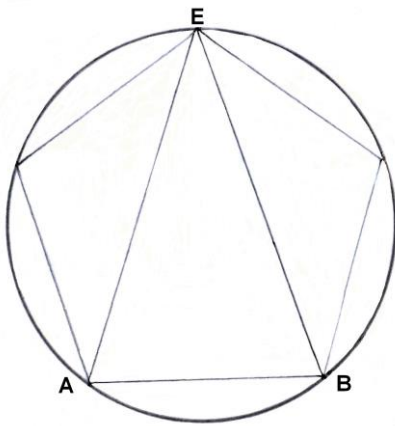
Fig. 14 - Golden Triangle ABE within a
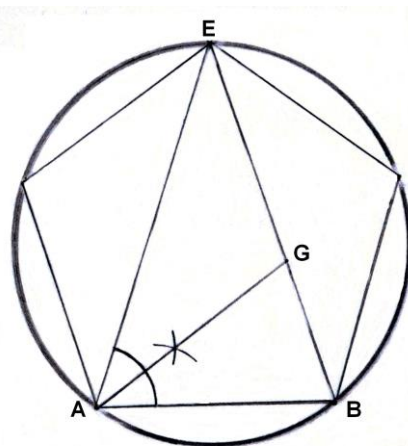Regular Pentagon
(Diagram by the Author).



Fig. 15 - Diminished Golden Triangle
AGB, within the Larger Golden
Triangle AEB (Diagram by the Author).

Drawing of the harmonic segments from the Golden Rectangle, a little more concentration on geometry is required to understand the procedure, *fig.13.*Take a Golden Rectangle ABCD, and draw a square ADLM in it, the remaining rectangle BCLM will also be in the Golden proportions. Drawing another square from the rectangle BCLM will provide another smaller rectangle CLNO. CLNO will also be a rectangle having Golden Proportions; division of it into another square, the remaining rectangle LNQP will again result into another further smaller Golden Rectangle. If the procedure is continued, it will give infinite squares and Golden Rectangles of diminishing proportions [15] . Segments of the scintillations, mentioned above, depend on the same procedure, and lozenge shapes are also devised analogously. It can be further elaborated through the construction and divisions of golden triangles.

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[15] G:\ pytha\a museum dedicated to the concept of harmony and the golden section. mht (25.5.08) 7.30 a.m.
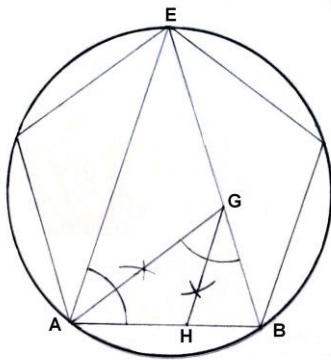
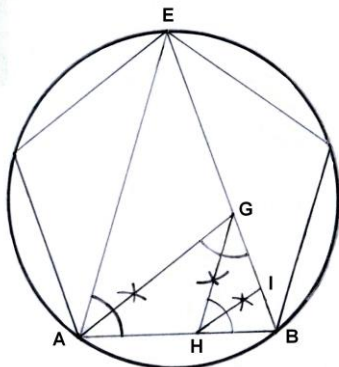Fig. 16 - Subdivisions of the Golden Triangle leads to diminished Golden Triangles (Diagram by the Author).



Fig. 17 - Divisions and Subdivisions of Golden Triangles (Diagram by the Author).

A regular pentagon is a marvellous structure of geometry that has the capacity to create some astonishing designs, used widely in the Islamic architectonic decorations. Another wonderful formation is of Golden Triangle constituted by taking one side of the regular pentagon as its base. Join both sides of it at vertex of the pentagon, *fig.14*. In this way the two base angles of the triangle will be of 72 degrees each, with the vertex angle measuring 36 degrees. It will constitute a triangle ABE, which will be having Golden Proportions. It can also be further divided into regular triangles of infinite order. Bisect the angle A of this triangle into equal halves, cutting the line BE at the point G. The division of this line will retain the means and extremes ratio. It will form another Golden Triangle ABG, *fig. 15*. The bisection of the angle G will repeat the same process. It will cut line AB at H and create another triangle GHB, of Divine Proportions, *fig.16*. Bisection of angle H will create a further tiny Golden Triangle HIB, *fig.17*, and bisection of it will produce another diminutive but regular Golden Triangle[16]. Similarly an infinite voyage of Golden Triangles can be disclosed through this path. Therefore, beauty of scintillation is in its multifarious facets and symmetry is in the undercurrents of golden ratio.

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[16] G:\ pytha\a museum dedicated to the concept of harmony and the golden section.mht (25.5.08) 7.30 a.m
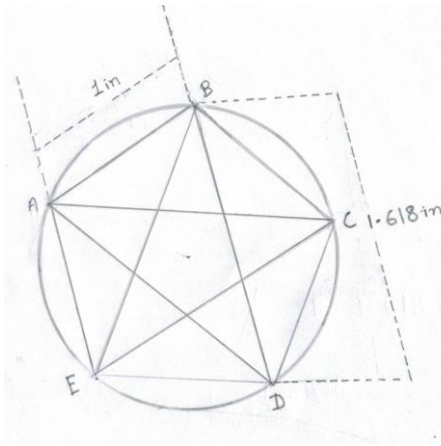
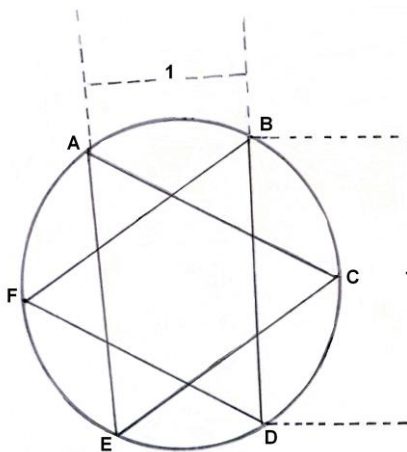Fig. 18 - Pentagon, the Perfect Golden Star (Diagram by the Author).



Fig. 19 - Six-Pointed Star, An approximation of Golden Ratio (Diagram by the Author).

Among the star shapes a regular five pointed star known as pentacle carries the precise Golden Proportions. The ratio between an arm and the edge length of a regular pentacle retains Golden Symmetry that is the symmetry of 1:1.618. In simple words if five points of a star of equal dimensions are marked with the letters, ABCDE, as ascribed in the diagram, *fig.18*, with the length of line AB = 1 inch, the length of the line BD will always be1.618 inch or √5+1/2. This means a five pointed star is a true symbol of Golden Ratio. This is perhaps the very reason that it has been in use from the ancient times. This symbol has been considered as a divine shape, retaining magical powers by many cultures. Whereas six-pointed star is an approximation of the Golden Ratio, *fig.19*.

An amazing astronomical fact is related to the planet Venus. Astronomers have been observing from the times immemorial, the path of the planet Venus on the sky that forms a pentacle in its movement of eight years[17]. It has surprised people from the very

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[17] https://earthsky.org/astronomy-essentials/five-petals-of-venus

beginning and many ancient civilisations took Venus as their goddess. The goddess of love and beauty of the Romans was Venus, Zahra of Arabs and Aphrodite of Greeks is also the same planet. Amazingly it was considered the goddess of love and beauty perhaps because of the harmony of Golden Ratio within a pentacle, which is a criterion of beauty. Muslims realising beauty in harmony which is a distinguished characteristic of their artwork, used it abundantly for decorative purposes especially to adorn their religious edifices.

In the Muslim gnosis the concepts of equilibrium have no quantitative measure because equilibrium of the corporeal beings is considered analogous to the divine equity. It is viewed as a balance between light and darkness that corresponds between "earthly esoteric hierarchy and celestial angelic hierarchy." Here light is associated with the upper heaven that is celestial spheres and darkness with earthy world that is corporeality, and equilibrium between the two worlds is considered as the cause of creation. Corbin asserts further; "the visible aspect of a being presupposes its equilibration by an invisible and celestial counterpart; the apparent and exoteric (zāhir) is equilibrated by the occult and esoteric (bātin)" (Corbin 57). Equilibrium between a star and its illumination brings into being the elegant stellar designs of Islamic Art.

Thereby, scintillation provided reverential status to star ornamentation, for having esoteric links with the Supreme Reality, in both pagan and revealed religions. Muslim artists organized its shapes on the basis of nature's building block. They did not concentrate on the apparent shapes, rather directed their vision to the underlying structures of the objects they represented as art forms. By ignoring the principals of mimesis, they were following Aristotelian vision. For Aristotle "---- the aim of art is to represent not the outward appearance of things, but their inward significance" (Will Durant, 59). Therefore Muslim artists were not naïve observers of nature but their erudition scrutinised undertones of phenomenon that is noumenon. It is the very cause of shaping complicated stellar designs, while maintaining equilibrium of a perfect star-shape.

The erudition to explore noumenon requires inner vision and the route to attain it is explicated by al-Ghazāli and then by Kant in later times, on analogous terms. Both enlist it as perception, sensation and knowledge. The first rung of the ladder is perception that stirs

rational feeling; aesthetic or scientific. Rationality about the perceived object widens horizons of thought, arousing sensation to search for veracity of the perceived experience. It deciphers deeper realities, not limited to apparent facts that is phenomenon but unravels undertones of reality that is noumenon, if the quest of a searcher is equitable. The Muslim theosophists mark this path as *hissi*, *qalbi* and *nafsi*, previously defined as perception, sensation and knowledge. *Hissi* is the sensory perception, taken as ultimate truth by the plebeians. They are not conscious about limitations of the human sight, and incapacitated to perceive beyond the exoteric, while al- Ghazāli focuses the esoteric.

Elevated status is that of *Qalbi*, because *Qlab*[18] in Arabic is a combination of mind and soul, so perception is mingled here with sensation. What is perceived by the eye is registered by the human soul. It creates a bridge between physical and metaphysical realities. As soul has metaphysical existence, while mind registers the functions of perception and of the inner vision. It bridges links between perceptible realities and the visions of the soul that is physical and metaphysical realities. Thus, *Qalbi* is a step higher than *hissi*. The discussion deciphers another essential fact that higher truths do not show through vacuums, rather a "physical object" is required to perceive an "aesthetic object".

The first phase was the consciousness about phenomenon and its causal nexus; relations between its cause and effect. While, the second phase is analytical, where collected data is analysed by inciting doubts and uncertainties, for, the metaphysical realms exist beyond any causal nexus. It is to attain certitude about perceived facts. Al- Ghazāli explicates this path in *al-Muqīdh:*

> The search after truth being the aim which I propose to myself, I ought in the first place to ascertain what the bases of certitude are. In the second phase I ought to recognize that certitude is the clear and complete knowledge of things such knowledge that leaves no room for doubt, nor any possibility of error (Sheikh, Sharif ed. 588).

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[18] Qalb is and Arabic word, means heart

Through the above mentioned path configuration of Muslim architectural ornamentation took place, especially the intricate stellar designs. These were shaped for their scintillation, enhanced through dissection of its facets but harmonised through Golden Ratio. In the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, the concept of harmony is defined in the following words:

> *Harmony is coordination of the parts and the whole, coalescence of different components of the object in the unified organic whole. In the harmony the internal orderliness and measure of the being get the external revelation*s[19]

This definition of harmony reflects the substrate of Islamic architectonic ornamentation that is extremely complicated but highly attractive too. The entire process of its aesthetics is three-folds that begins with perception of the physical, by passing through the analytical sieves; it deciphers undercurrents of realities, and evolves novel forms of perfection, harmony and beauty. It is best reflected in the intricate stellar motifs; the shapes, under the sway of geometry are first dissected and then united to define scintillation as main source of converting the round and elliptical bodies into luminous and shimmering ones. It actually defines the role of light on celestial bodies in motion that causes their scintillation. The sanctity of light for being associated with the divine realms configures ornamentation of religious edifices of the Muslim World.

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[19] G:\ pytha\a museum dedicated to the concept of harmony and the golden section.mht  (25.5.08) 7.30 a.m.

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*Obituary*
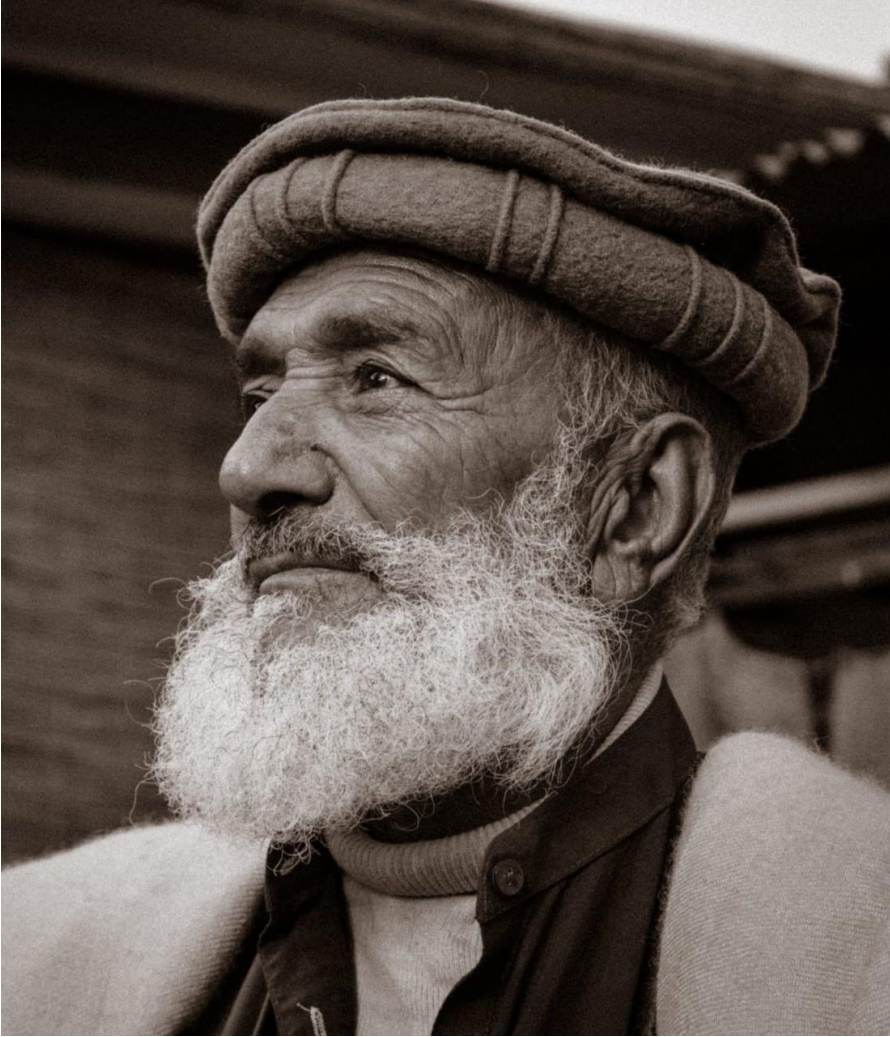
Akhtar Munir (1949-2020)
(Photo: Antonio Amato, Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan)

# Akhtar Munir
## (1949-2020)

**Luca M. Olivieri/Massimo Vidale**

Akhtar Munir, nicknamed "Tota", was born at Panr in 1949 in a family of humble origins. He was constantly marked, for all his life, by an exceptional intellectual spirit, and by an inextinguishable passion for the art and archaeology of Swat.

After completing his primary education at the time of the Swat State of the Miangul dynasty, he deepened by himself, with personal readings, his cultural background. At an age of 8, he imposed his presence in Domenico Faccenna's dig at Butkara I, whose trenches were opened between school and his father's house. At the beginning, because of his young age, he could not be enrolled. So, while he was there at the site almost as a mascot of the team, his ability in recognizing the joining pieces of Gandharan sculptures was soon recognized. After school, in the house of the Mission at Saidu Sharif - soon becoming a kind of second house for him - he used to help Francesca Bonardi Tucci in re-fitting fragments and restoring the schist sculptures. Giuseppe Tucci soon discovered that he was a brave and tireless explorer of passes and mountains; Domenico Faccenna and Maurizio Taddei appreciated his skills as a field excavator; and eventually Francesca Callori di Vignale introduced him to the delicate secrets and practices of archaeological restoration.

In 1967, when Akhtar Munir was around 18 years old, he started to work with Giorgio Stacul at the Ghalegai rock shelter. It was the beginning of a long friendship and partnership, which accompanied the two in various excavations in Chitral, Badakshan, and Kohistan. In the following years, Sebastiano Tusa and Pierfrancesco Callieri became Tota's younger archaeological directors and best friends. Along the Mission's long history and various enterprises, with Massimo Vidale and Luca M. Olivieri, Tota continued to explore his country, from Baltistan to Swat and the Indus valley. The discovery of the rock art heritage of the Kandak and Kotah valleys is entirely his own accomplishment; and his contribution to the digs at Barikot was invaluable.

In February 2011 he survived, with very serious injuries, a suicidal Taliban attack in the bazaar of Mingora. Since then, he would have retained shrapnels wounds all over the body. Together with new restorers who joined the team - like Livia Alberti and Fabio Colombo - and old friends like Francesco Martore, Akhtar Munir recently completed the restoration of the Buddhist sacred area of Saidu Sharif I, and of the great Buddha and Bodhisattva C93 at Jahanabad. The latter, like him, were wounded by a Taliban attack.

He was a friendly, very popular personality. To travel by car with Tota meant to always meet and salute, at least four times a day, some old friends of his, were we in Gilgit, at Rawalpind's old bazar, or in D.I. Khan. Many of such acquaintances went back to a "rebel" period of his youth during which he temporarily left our Mission and wanted to be a truck driver. This further deepened his vast knowledge of the country.

Thanks to Matteo de Chiara we discovered that he also was a profound connoisseur of the Dardic folklore which still shows trough the Pashtun stories: legends of fairies, elementary beings and others.

That he was – besides a brilliant archaeologist – a skilled herbalist, and a wise man, we learned from personal experience.

At Butkara I, 1957
(Photo: Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan)
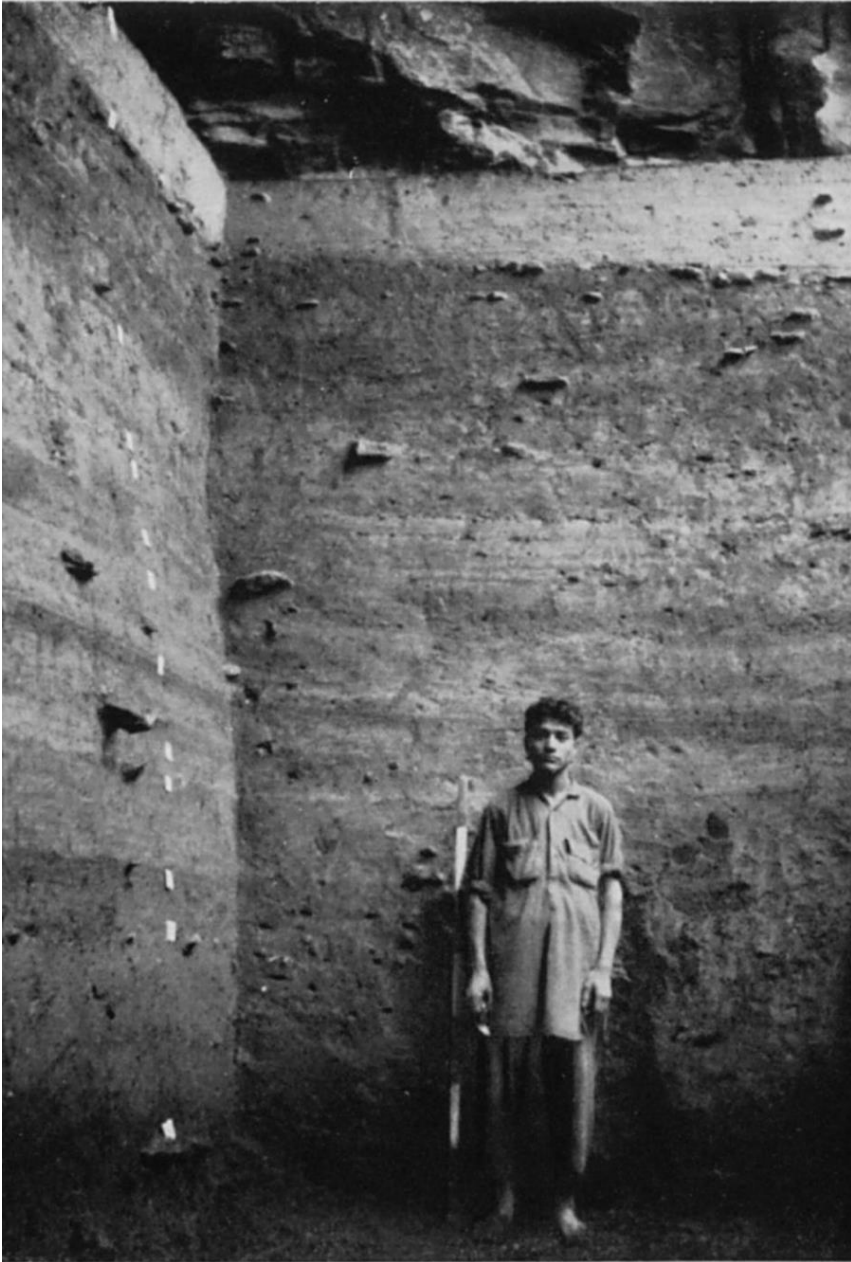
At Galeghai, 1967
(Photo: Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan)

At Saidu Sharif I (with P. Callieri), 1977
(Photo: Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan)

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