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Cover Photo:
Wainai Fort (detail) (Photo J. H. Haughton, 1937; Courtesy Miangul Archive)

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Military Architecture at the Time of the Mianguls
Domenico Faccenna dicatum

Francesco Martore
Luca M. Olivieri

Abstract
This brief essay presents a preliminary assessment of the available data on the military architecture (c. 1920-1960) of the former Yusufzai State of Swat. The research material is formed by original notes and photographs by Domenico Faccenna, unpublished photos from the Miangul Archive, and field notes and original drawings by the authors. The essay is also meant to pay tribute to the memory of Domenico Faccenna († 2008), leader of the Italian Archaeological Mission from 1956 to 1995. The authors cooperated to the examination of this material which, although incomplete, may represent the initial step of a new theme of research on the military and civil architecture of the Swat State.

Introduction
By means of this brief essay the authors intend to partly fill a gap in the knowledge of Swat's history and culture ante-1969[1], as well as to pay a minimal tribute to the memory of Domenico Faccenna, the unforgettable leader of the Italian Archaeological Mission from 1956 to 1995 (Olivieri 2006: 38) as the tenth anniversary of his demise (2008) is drawing near.

Faccenna loved the Swat forts, at a time when their remains were still a remarkable spectacle. Together with his colleague Ashraf Khan (former Director of TIAC), curator of the Swat Museum at the time, he hoped to save Kotah Fort from the destruction that it was doomed to suffer by the end of the 1990s. This paper stems from the rediscovery of a small dossier that Faccenna had handed over to one of the authors (Olivieri). In this

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[1] In 1969 the Yusufzai State of Swat was annexed to Pakistan (Sultan-i-Rome 2008). The Yusufzai State of Swat was founded by Abdul Wadud Miangul (the Wali or Badshah) in 1917. From 1949 to 1969 the State was wisely governed by his son, Miangul Jahanzeb, the last Wali of Swat. For the remarkable and successful political experiment of the Swat State, see Olivieri (2006, 2015).

dossier Domenico had attentively collected a few written notes and photographs; later Olivieri added, besides his own field notes, more photos – courtesy of the Miangul family whom we wish to sincerely thank here[2].

The Forts[3]

Being under the command of officials (Subedar/Jamadar/Hawaldar[4]) – the guards were called *qalawal*s – the forts were meant to provide extensive control of the State territory. Their estimated number amounts to 80 forts[5], each equipped with a telephone[6]. Every fort had a scribe whose duty was to write daily reports, whereas the *qalawal*s' task was to collect taxes and guarantee security. The officers and guards used to live in the forts (or in the barracks outside the forts) together with their families. Archival photographs provide clear evidence of their family life (see Figs. 19, 21 and 24). The forts were under the jurisdiction of the Sipah Salar, the chief of Swat State's militia until 1958, when they were detached from that authority and assigned to the police Commander (who generally remained in charge for three years), and four Majors (each overseeing many forts). Photographic records prove that the downgrading of their roles corresponded to the formal and structural reshaping of the forts after 1956-1958. The forts were downgraded to *thana*s (i.e. police stations) and controlled by a Thanadar.

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[2] The authors cooperated in the examination of this material, which over time became more sizeable, though remaining incomplete. However, only one (Martore) has the merit of providing the most important technical data coupled with the unique skills of his illustrations. Thanks to his mastery and his complex and detailed architectural surveys on the Swat Buddhist sacred areas, Francesco Martore became the favourite draftsman (practically the "right-hand" man) of Domenico Faccenna (note by L.M.O.).

[3] The role of the Swat forts of the Miangul era has already been discussed by the most eminent expert of this historical period, Prof. Sultan-i-Rome who has dedicated fundamental pages to the functions of the forts, or *qalas* (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 187-189).

[4] Presumably the rank varied according to the size and importance of the fort.

[5] Depending on the source, their number may vary from 60 to 80 (Sultan-i-Rome 2008: 187, notes 107-109).

[6] Certainly after 1933, when we know that the telephone line only worked sporadically and only reached Saidu Sharif from Malakand (Olivieri 2015: 166, 210). About the post-1947 situation, see Sultan-i-Rome (2008: 241).
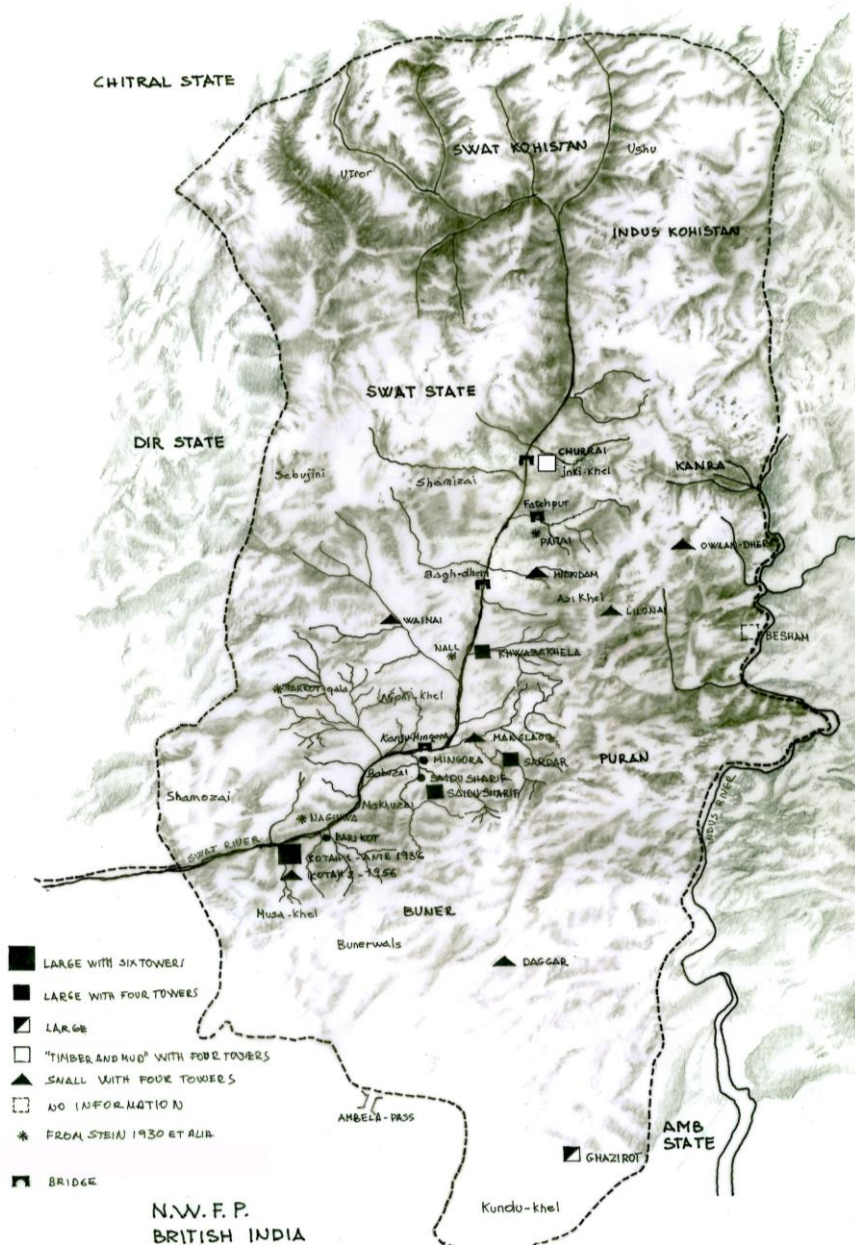
Fig. 1. General map of the Swat State
(with indication of forts [and typologies] and bridges)

The Kotah fort offers a vivid image of this downgrading: back in 1933 Kotah was a large *qala*; then it was demolished and built anew in 1956 in the smaller size of a *thana* (see Catalogue; these dates are obtained from the original captions of the pictures). In our catalogue and in the map (Fig. 1) we see: large forts (Sardar, Kotah, Besham, Miandam, Saidu) and small forts (Kotah again, Qala, and Churrai); evidence of a formal change of status (Kotah); mountain and village forts (Lilonai, Owlan-dheri); forts located on a settlement plain (Saidu) and along the communication routes (Churrai, Khwazakhela, Daggar); forts that were heavily restored or built in a British military architecture fashion (Ghazikot). Some forts are in the sources (and in our memory) but not in our documentation (Besham e Sardar[7], Lilonai, Arkot Qala, Paitai, and maybe Nall[8]). This paper is, as one can see, an incomplete and undoubtedly preliminary work that aims to promote further study, possibly including also other kinds of civil buildings from the Miangul period, such as bridges, schools, dispensaries and guesthouses.

Building Features[9]

The forts had a mixed structure combining dry stone sequences that were about 70-75 cm high and with a variable depth (ranging from 1 m for the walls, to 35-40 cm for the towers' terminal) (Fig. 2). On top of the stones there was a wooden framework; it ran horizontally over the entire surface and was wedged into the corners[10].

The beams were approximately 12-15 cm high and 20-25 cm thick. Crosspieces were placed at more or less regular intervals over these

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[7] In 1995 the Sardar Fort was still entirely visible and functioning; in 2006 the ruins of the Besham Fort were still visible (Olivieri, pers. comm.).

[8] Arkot Qala was described by Giuseppe Tucci (as "Arkot Qila" in Tucci 1958: 320). Concerning the fort at Nall, we take this occasion to correct an omission in Olivieri 2015: Document 286 (Olivieri 2015: 140, 228), a letter from the Badshah of Swat to the Political Agent of Malakand (dated May 27, 1926) was written at "Upper Swat, Camp at Nall (fort)". Map 1 annexed to Stein 1930 locates the fort just in front of Khwazakhela on the right hand side of the Swat River. This fort is probably the one that in the Catalogue, following the caption on the original photo, is called "Upper Swat".

[9] There are no studies on this subject; a short note about the *post*-1947 buildings is in Marati and Vassallo (2013: 17-26, 52).

[10] As a measurement parameter, I took from a photograph the height of a young boy (about 1 m) standing in front of the Kotah Fort gate (note by F.M.).

elements, tying together both the internal and the external framework. This provided a sort of flat level area serving both to support the weight of the wall and to function as a joint that took up any thrusts caused by seismic tremors – a very frequent event in this area (Figs. 3 and 4).

The forts shared a common design: a square plan equipped with four corner towers. In some cases they had an outer fortified perimeter that reached a much lower height than the fort itself, although with an identical outline.
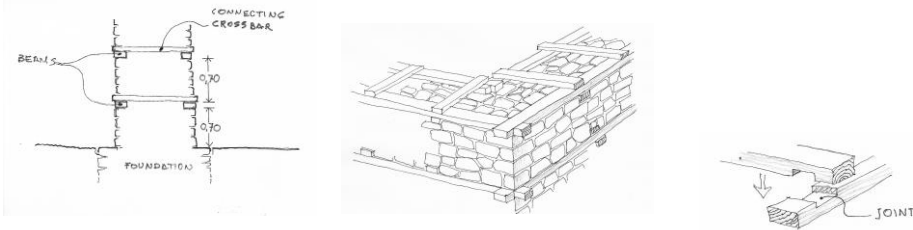
Figs. 2-4. Construction details

It is interesting to compare the forts with the building design of bridges from the same period. These structures were made of the same kind of materials as those utilized to build the forts. The bridge's parapets consisted of alternating dry stones and wooden beams into which three sequences of coupled square beams with growing (or progressively projecting) height were inserted (Figs. 5 and 6).

Between the tied beams, robust crosspieces protruded from the beams' profile. These crossbeams had holes allowing the insertion of blocking elements such as solid wooden wedges. Crosspieces and vertical poles were placed upon the last beams in order to take the bridge to the access level[11].

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[11] The planking level of the bridge consisted of coupled beams that ran parallel from one side of the passage to the other; upon these beams a series of thick planks were laid to build the floor. Railings were set on this planking and maintained in a vertical position via crosspieces (the planks holding these crosspieces protruded laterally, thus allowing a solid support).

Another model of a timber bridge practically copied the framework of the iron bridges: two parallel beams fixed onto a solid structure that was regularly fixed to the bottom of the stream (Figs. 7 and 8). The poles composing the piers were located at regular intervals and a complex structure of iron joints tied the poles to the wooden framework. Moreover, planking level and railing were placed upon the beams
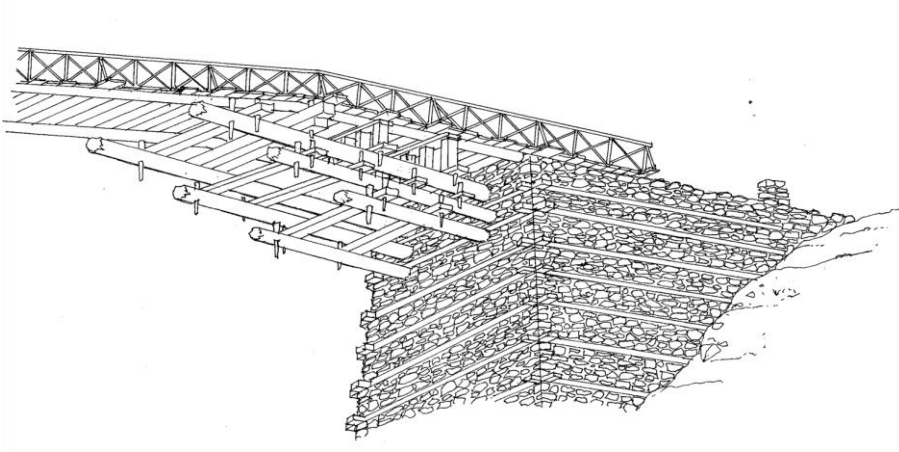
Figs. 5-6. Bridge at Patai (Fatehpur, 1937)
(Photo by Lt. Col. E. J. H. Haughton; Courtesy Miangul Archive)
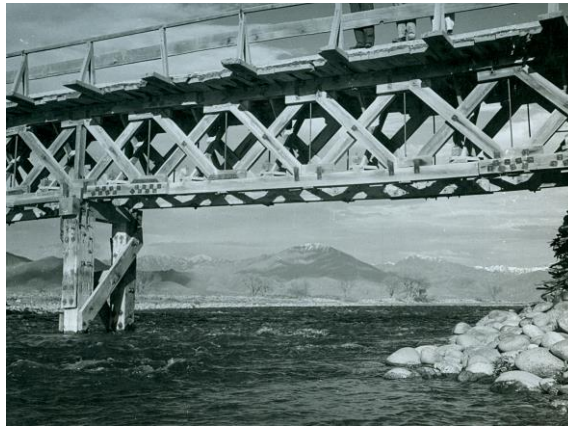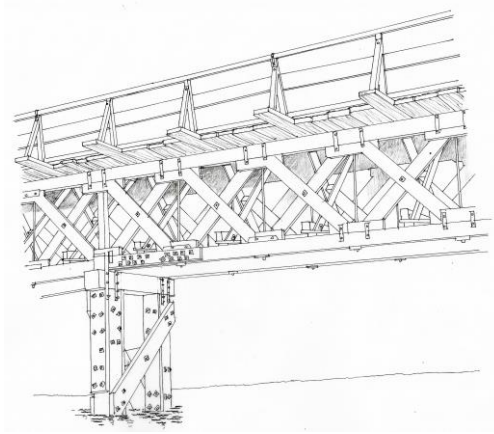
Figs. 7-8. Kanju bridge (1940?) (Photo Courtesy Miangul Archive)

Descriptive Catalogue

Kotah Fort (post-1933) (Figs. 9-12)

Originally the fort had a massive structure. An additional defensive wall, 2 m high, stood on the main entrance side; an opening in the wall led to a sort of courtyard. This wall, built with the same technique as the fort, had a protective clay cap. On the other sides the steep terrain apparently worked as a deterrent. The off-center entrance was made of some kind of protruding "trilith" consisting of a wooden frame supporting a roof of big

planks covered with a 40 cm thick clay layer (Fig. 12). There were two turrets placed at each end of the wall, each 6.50 m high, composed of a quadrangular body (about 4.30 m high) and a protruding terrace (about 2.20 m high). Each wall of the terrace was provided with four loopholes affording a 360-degree view (Fig. 11). Each side of the fort measured 30 m in length, that is to say a 21 m long wall plus 4.5 m for each corner tower. The towers were about 18 m high and the walls about 7 m. The terraces of the towers were partly roofed with big planks coated with a thick layer of soil; each wall of the terrace was provided with four loopholes.

The walls were topped by a solid covering and have loopholes over the whole length; presumably some kind of corridor aimed to shelter soldiers from the elements as they accessed and used the loopholes (Fig. 10).

Kotah Fort (post-1956) (Figs. 13-15)
Its structure consisted of a square plan with just two quadrangular towers positioned at opposite corners of the fortification; the walls were about 5, 6 m high, and the towers exceeded 10 m. The front wall was approximately 13-25 m long. The entrance door was made of two heavy wooden shutters embedded in a thick framework; its opening (1.5 x 1.8-1.9 m high) was situated halfway between the corners on the front side.

Fig. 9. Kotah Fort (1933) (Courtesy Miangul Archive)
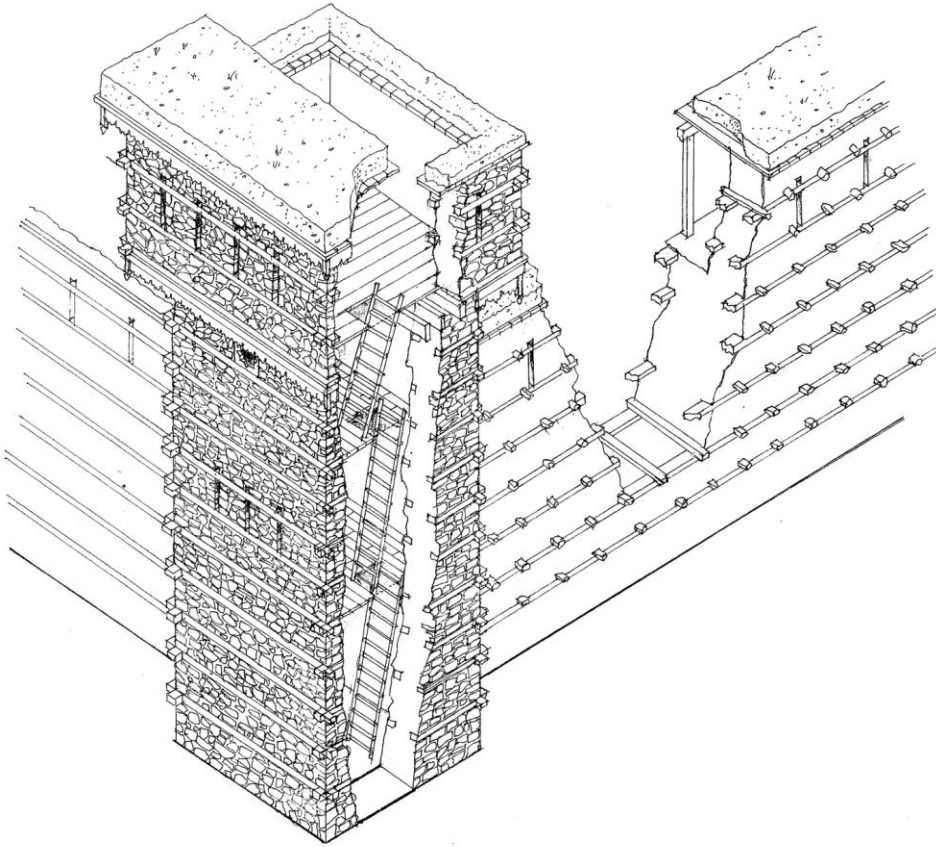
Fig. 10. Building and architectural features of Kotah Fort (1933)

The front tower was to the right of the entrance and measured 3.25 m circa on each side, protruding beyond the wall surface by about 1 m.

The lines of beams alternated every 70 cm with the squared stone parts. Between the 7th and 8th beams, every 1.5-2 m, the wall had a series of slits each about 10-12 cm wide; these spread over the whole height between the two beams and even for few centimeters beyond the 8th beam. Most likely the slits were defensive-offensive features and the wall decreased in thickness to 35-40 cm in order to create a walkable path all along its perimeter. Thus the perimeter wall was supposedly about 1 m thick. The slit alignment also extended over the towers and its sequence

was half of what it was on the walls: about 75 cm. The towers had multiple stories, three at least, and were topped by a partially roofed terrace (Fig. 15). The socalled parade ground was completely empty and the courtyard was small enough to allow the construction of compartments placed against the walls: primarily porticos as shelter for the soldiers.
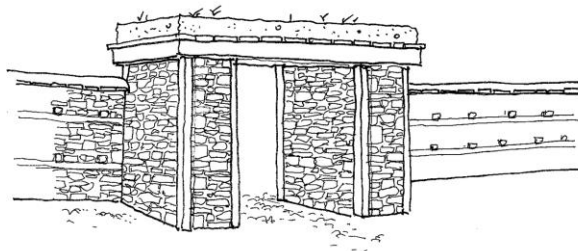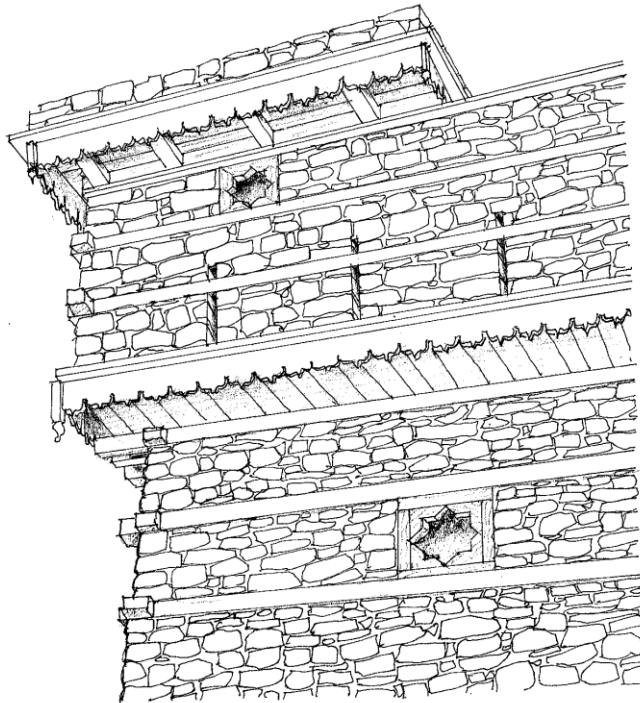
Figs. 11-12. Loophole windows and main gate at Kotah Fort (1933)
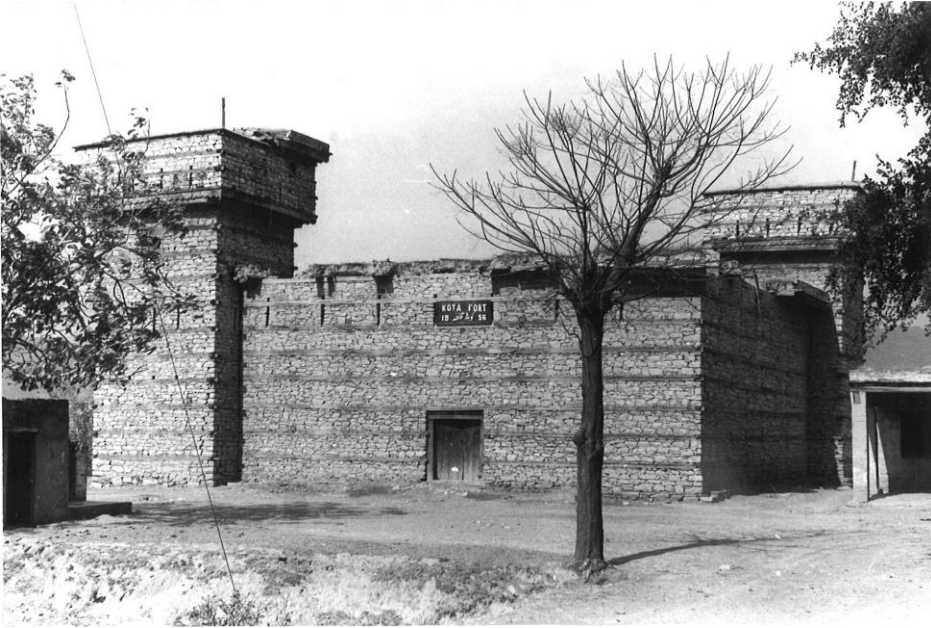
Fig. 13. Kotah Fort (1990) (Photo by D. Faccenna)
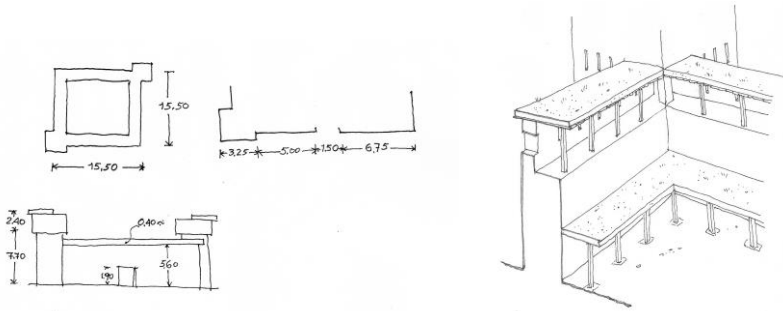
Figs. 14-15. Details of Kotah Fort (1956)

Churrai Fort (Figs. 16, 17)

This building had a more complex defensive system due to the fact that there was an additional wall with corner towers surrounding the main body of the fort. The outer wall was about 2.5 m high and had a strong protruding protective clay cap; there was a door right in the middle of the wall.
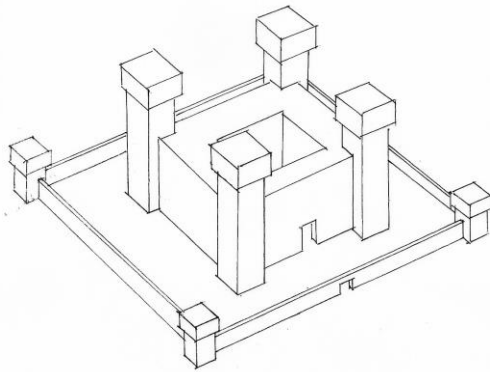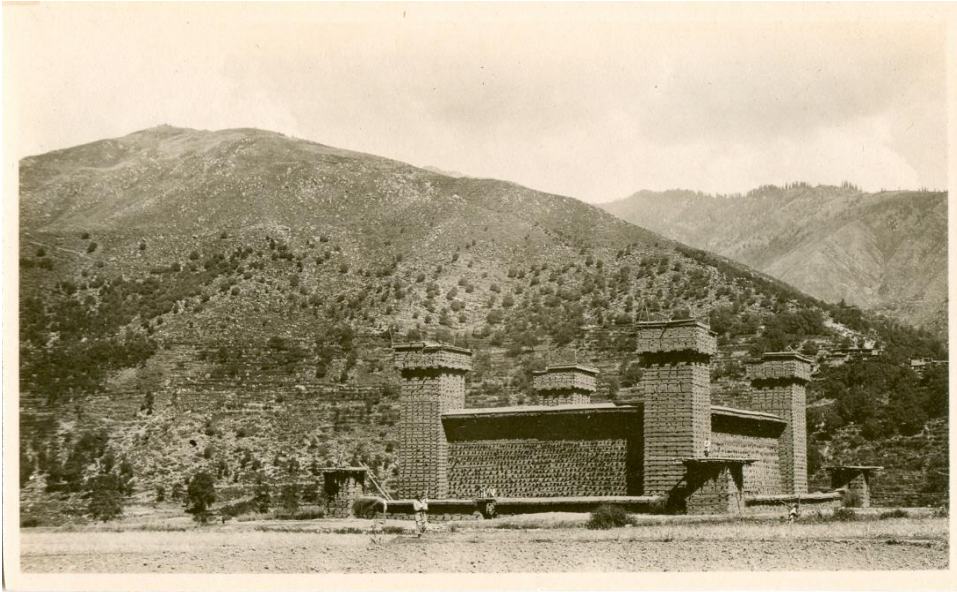
Figs. 16-17. Churrai Fort (1930?) (Photo Courtesy Miangul Archive)

An external rung ladder allowed access to the unterraced roof, on top of the turrets. The walls of the fort's internal body were about 13-15 m long and 9-10 m high. The towers measured 4-4.5 m on each side and were 17 m high. The ratio of the structural rows seems to have been much denser here, with a spacing of about 35-40 cm between the rows, whereas in

Kotah Fort it was about 70 cm. Also the crossbeam sequence was so much denser and the walls were probably made of stones mixed with a mortar made of clay and straw, a frequently used building material.

Khwazakhela Fort (Fig. 18)
This fort was located near the Swat River and consisted of a single quadrangular body with four corner towers. It was not easy to obtain useful data from just one photo, as the fort is barely visible because of the vegetation. The fort seems to have been built by using the common technique of alternating dry stone and wooden beams. The towers supposedly measured 4-5.5 m on each side with a height of about 14 m. Each wall was approximately 29 m long and 7-8 m high.
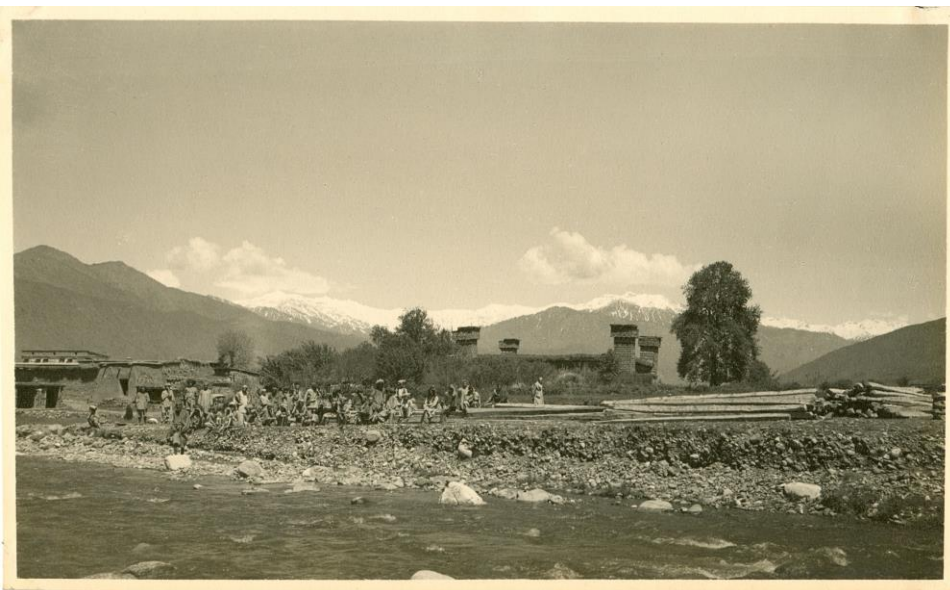
Fig. 18. Khwazakhela Fort
(Photo by Lt. Col. E. J. H. Haughton; Courtesy Miangul Archive)

Miandam Fort (Figs. 19, 20)
The fort was located on the edge of an escarpment and had an asymmetrical vertical profile (e.g., the rear towers were 22.4 m high, whereas the front towers were 16.8 m reaching the same height from the ground). Also the walls had an asymmetrical profile and their plan view

measured 7-7.5 m; the corner towers measured 4.5 m on each side, and protruded about 1.5 m from the wall. Due to the small size of the fort, the parade ground was located outside of it over leveled ground where also the cantonment lay. The roof of the tower terraces appears complete and the towers had a single embrasure on each side.
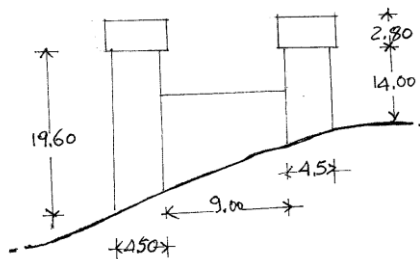
Figs. 19-20. Fort and Camp at Miandam (1932)
(Photo Courtesy Miangul Archive)

Owlan-dheri Fort (Fig. 21)
The corner towers measured about 7 m on each side and were 26 m high. The walls were approximately 14 m high and 16 m long.
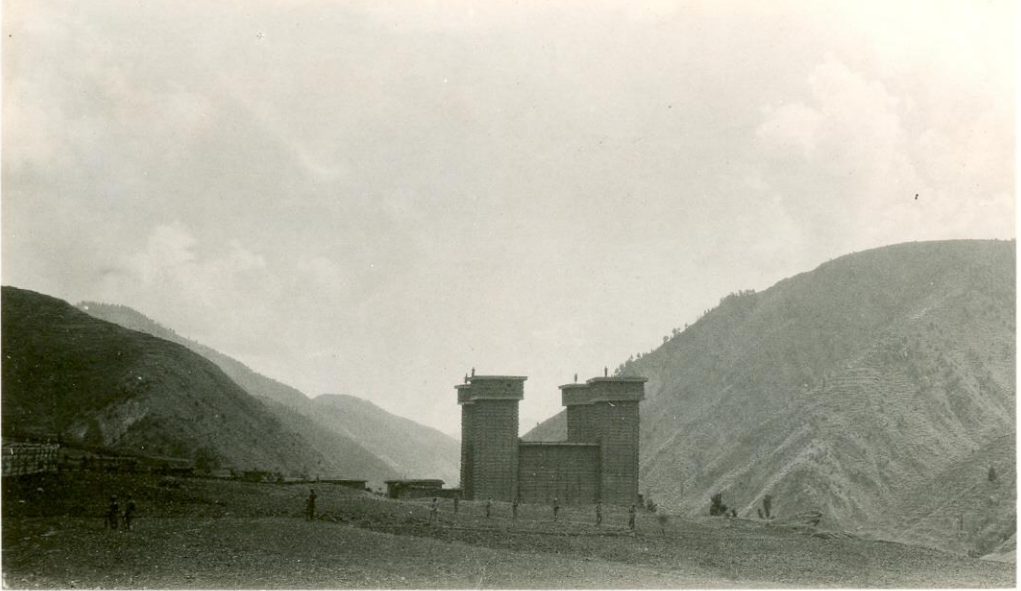
Fig. 21. Owlan-dheri Fort, Kana (1926)
(Courtesy Miangul Archive)
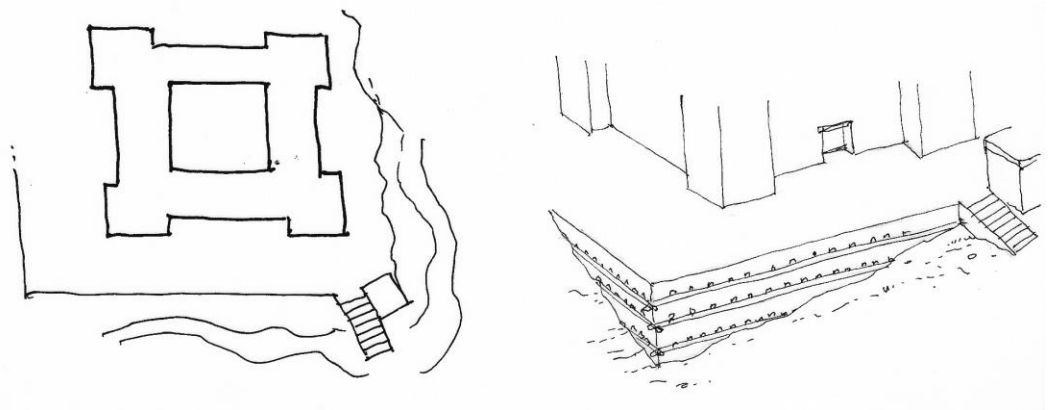
Fig. 22. Qala Fort

Qala Fort (Gharai Fort?) (Fig. 22)

It is a small construction set on a rise near a river meander. The ground has been leveled by means of a structure made of stones and wooden beams. In plain view the towers were approximately 5.5 m long with a height of about 17.5 m; the walls between the towers were 13 m long and about 9.5 m high. The main door was about 1.3 m wide and 2.3 m high.

Wainai Fort (Fig. 23)

The fort was situated at the foot of a hill facing the plain. The rock spur on which it was built had been leveled by means of stones and soil. In plain view the towers measured approximately 4 x 4 m, with a height of about 16 m; the walls were about 18 m long and 10 m high.

Fig. 23. Wainai Fort (1937)
(Photo by Lt. Col. E. J. H. Haughton; Courtesy Miangul Archive)

Daggar Fort (Buner) (Fig. 24)
The towers measured about 4.50 x 4.50 m with a height of 14 m. The walls were approximately 12 m long and 8.50 high.

Fig. 24. Daggar Fort (1930?)
(Courtesy Miangul Archive)

Upper Swat Fort (Nall?)[12] (Fig. 25)
This fort built on a plain seems to have had a low body in front of the main side. On plan view the towers were supposedly 4-4.5 m long. The walls were approximately 16-18 m long and 12-14 m high.

Saidu Fort (Fig. 26)
The fort was located on the Swat River plain (at the same location where the Wadudia Hall was later built); its towers measured approximately 3.50 x 3.50 m with a height of 14.50 m. The walls were about 30 m long with a height of 8 m.

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[12] See fn. 8 above.

Fig. 25. Nall (?) Fort (1930?)
(Courtesy Miangul Archive)

Fig. 26. Saidu Fort (1930)
(Courtesy Miangul Archive)

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Forts of Swat
Military Architecture at the Time of the Mianguls
Domenico Faccenna dicatum

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Ne parcas nec spernas
A brief introduction to archaeological theory in Pakistani context

Rafiullah Khan
Ifqut Shaheen

Abstract
As Pakistani archaeology is suffering from the chronic problem of theoretical poverty, this article is intended to present an overview of major theoretical orientations for Pakistani students. It starts from the nineteenth century evolutionary concepts in the field and covers all through culture-historical trends, processual approach and postprocessual articulations. At the end, the need of theoretical considerations concerning Pakistani archaeology has been elaborated.

Each academic discipline, either belonging to natural or social science, has its own history of methodological and theoretical developments. A historiographical study of any such a field is vital for the directions to be specified with regard to future studies and researches. Theories do emerge, reign supreme and go into decline. This is true in the case of the discipline of archaeology.

Archaeology has seen a great many transformations in terms of methodology and theory.[1] The core areas of these theoretical and methodological developments have been Europe and America with a subsequent dissemination to other parts of the world. One of these regions is Indo-Pakistani subcontinent.

Archaeology originated during European colonialism and British India got into its stride in the field by the end of nineteenth and beginning of twentieth centuries. The phenomenal methodological, theoretical and organizational transformations in this connection, undoubtedly, make an interesting story. But the process should not be taken as co-terminus with the British withdrawal as in the wake of partition British-Indian archaeology turned out into four distinct archaeologies – that of India,

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[1] Brian M. Fagan (1991: 57) states that archaeology 'has changed almost beyond recognition in four decades.'

Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka. All these archaeologies exhibit the process of continuity and change to the effect that the discipline may be variously located in terms of its present state of field research, methodology and theory in all the four countries.

As we believe that Pakistani archaeology is marred by sheer poverty in relation to epistemological discourse, this essay intends to orientate students to the subject. Some principal methodico-theoretical developments in the field of archaeology have been summarized here. The scope of the paper, therefore, is limited. But its strength lies in the fact that it presents, in a tidy way, adequate simplifications of the lengthy and scattered methodological debates. Some critical observations have also been added at the end regarding Pakistani archaeology vis-à-vis theoretical considerations.

Theory and methods in archaeology

Conventional wisdom says that change is a recurrent phenomenon in the world. Like other walks of life, it is also true about things academic. Academic developments in the shape of theoretical and methodological transformations always accompany changes in socio-cultural, political and economic spheres of life rather than occurring in isolation.[2] It is easier to be seen in the case of archaeology right since its inception to the dawn of twenty-first century. And it took place all the way in a dialectical manner. David Clarke (1973: 8-9) seems to have precisely articulated this in the following words:

> Many archaeologists will be unwilling to face the challenges of the new situation and may either entrench themselves in traditional positions or retreat within the logically impervious bastion of the freely creative artist. However, although these reactions are understandable they are based upon two quite mistaken beliefs; that we can indefinitely avoid the challenge of new conditions by returning to primitive paradigms; and that the deployment of artistry and imaginative creativity have no place amongst the new materials and new approaches. By retreating within traditional forms it is always possible to alleviate but never to banish the fresh burden of new decisions . . . . A new environment develops new materials and new methods with new consequences, which demand new philosophies, new solutions and new perspectives.

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[2] Some scholars consider it as a very strong general statement and maintain that there have always been exceptions.

New methods, theories and approaches are, no doubt, resisted and contested upon for a long time. As each new phenomenon of historical process presents a new horde of questions and problems, solutions within the existing paradigms could not be got for; hence the emergence of new paradigms and their successes. New paradigms are, in turn, subject to the same process and the whole phenomena are termed by Thomas Kuhn as paradigm shifts (1962/1996). The discipline of archaeology has also its own story of paradigm shifts and each paradigm approaches the questions of 'when and where' and 'how and why' within its own chosen parameters. The major phases in archaeology in relation to theory and methods are to be termed as evolutionary, culture-historical, processual and post-processual. But paradigms, according to Michael Schiffer (personal communication), may exist at several levels: some at lower levels may persist beyond the replacement of a higher-level paradigm. For example, we still employ many of the methods first applied by culture histories, including stratigraphy, seriation and cross-dating. Irrespective of the deep philosophical debates about the notions of *cumulative knowledge* and *paradigmatic shifts*, a certain degree of continuity in methodological terms can be noticed in the field of archaeology.

Evolutionary archaeology
Evolutionism preoccupied scholars since the beginning of the eighteenth century and it is closely related to the idea of progress of the Enlightenment. All social philosophers of the century were of the view that 'European civilization represented an advance over an earlier and "ruder" condition' (Harris 1968: 152). The phenomenon was explained through making comparison with contemporary primitive societies. 'Almost simultaneously with the introduction of the concept of the "state of nature," "savages" viewed alternatively as miserable, innocent or noble were used to "illustrate" the condition out of which European society was presumed to have arisen' (Harris 1968: 152). Notwithstanding that Europe seems making the centre of human being, disparities in human societies concerning advancement were explained in terms of environmental factors in the eighteenth century. It was in the nineteenth century, especially in the wake of Napoleon's defeat, that such differences were accounted for in the prism of biological differences between human groups. The related concept of racial superiority and inferiority ultimately eroded the

Enlightenment's thought about the 'psychic unity'.

In the beginning archaeology was greatly influenced by the theories of uniformitarianism and evolutionism associated with the disciplines of geology and biology respectively. The former considers the formation of earth as the result of natural processes rather than a Providential act. The founding theorists in this connection were James Hutton (1726-1797) and William 'Strata' Smith (1769-1839) (Bahn 2005: 204-207; Fagan 1991: 39-42). The latter theory represents the process of human evolution and the concept of natural selection and was presented in *On the origin of species* in 1859 by Charles Darwin. Great interest was aroused by the theory of evolution in the collection and study of the past human materials and the idea of progress was deified within the context of biological and cultural advancement (Darwin 1859; Fagan 1991: 39-42). Darwin's theory led to the belief in biological and, in turn, cultural disparities. Europeans were generally seen as superior beings while non-Europeans, especially the aboriginals of the New World, were naturalized as inferior to the extent of being doomed to extinction in the face of the progressing civilization.[3] The malaise of the non-Europeans was thought to be so dreadful that even it was not remediable through the civilizing process. The nineteenth century saw the callous objectification of indigenous Americans against the archaeological evidence in which cultural change and evolution was assumed as conspicuous by absence. John Lubbock (1834-1913) was an earnest advocate of this theory which he presented in his book *Pre-historic times, as illustrated by ancient remains, and the manners and customs of modern savages* (1865). 'What was new was Lubbock's Darwinian insistence that, as a result of natural selection, human groups had become different from each other not only culturally but also in their biological capacities to utilize culture. Lubbock viewed modern Europeans as products of intensive cultural and biological evolution' (Trigger 1989/2010: 173).

Racial considerations played a vital role in this kind of archaeological explanation either in America or elsewhere in the world where Europeans had made their colonies. These subdued societies were viewed as static and any sign of socio-cultural change would be

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[3] These kinds of racism predate Darwinian evolution. However, 'Belief in the inequality of races gained in scientific stature as a result of Darwinian evolutionism' (Trigger 1989/2010: 170).

interpreted in the framework of diffusion but migration was a preferred model (Trigger 1989/2010: 166-210). And all this was systematically manipulated in justification and consolidation of western colonialism.

Culture-historical archaeology
Towards the end of the nineteenth century the theory of evolution went out of favour in central and western Europe due to socio-political transformations. Nationalism and racism were being manipulated in European power politics. History and archaeology were made good use of in this regard. As nations and nation states were associated with ethnicity, the antiquity of the latter presented a symbol of pride. In these conditions power struggle, nation building and state consolidation worked out dialectically.

Culture was deified in nationalism and various claims of cultural superiority contributed to the concept of racial supremacy and racism of the twentieth century. When it came at establishing the antiquity of a people, the concept of archaeological culture emerged. Archaeological cultures within spatial distributions were associated with ethnic groups in Europe. Change and innovation were viewed as rarely occurring – due to human being's unresponsiveness in this regard – under extreme pressures of certain nature. Subsequently, any such an innovation would spread to other areas via diffusion or migration.

Diffusionist theory buttressed race-fetishism and its purity and superiority. Almost all the European states and intellectuals started to trace out the origins of and associate their people with certain real or imagined extraordinary races. The name of Gustaf Kossinna, a German left activist, is more important in this respect. His extreme puritanical view of Germans as the purest of the so-called Aryans and associating past material remains with this race led to his articulation of the concept of archaeological culture. Trigger (1989/2010: 240) observes that 'To many of his contemporaries his approach, grounded in the familiar concept of ethnicity, offered a plausible means to account for the growing evidence of geographical as well as chronological variations in the archaeological record. Kossinna must therefore be recognized as an innovator whose work was of very great importance for the development of culture-historical archaeology'. Similarly, Franz Boas' theory of historical particularism and cultural relativism with a great emphasis on inductivism

(Harris 1968: 250ff.), though he was not totally rejecting diffusion, is also considered a hallmark feature of culture-historical method. From this viewpoint 'each culture [was viewed] as the product of a unique sequence of development in which the largely chance operation of diffusion played the major role in bringing about change. Boas believed that 'if the development of cultures displayed any overall regularities, these were so complex as to defy understanding' (Trigger 1989/2010: 219). The 'normative view of culture' in archaeology gets kernel position as well.

Historical particularism intends to understand a given phenomenon in the light of its own historical development by means of idiographic or particularizing approach rather than by applying mere comparative methods. Inductive methods are adopted for the purpose as the sheer generalizing or nomothetic ones are not considered fruitful. However, Boas himself, states Harris (1968: 278), does not totally deny the possibility of the existence of 'more limited forms of parallel sequences'. The only possibility, as it seems to him, 'to explain the past was to determine the successive idiosyncratic diffusionary episodes that had shaped the development of each culture . . .' (Trigger 1989/2010: 219). Similarly, cultural relativism is the concept that every culture is only understandable in its own specific context and no universal ethics exists as a frame of reference in this connection. Trigger points out the role played by these two concepts in culture-historical approach in archaeology. In 1960 Lewis Binford used the term 'normative theory' as a label to characterize the culture-historical approach in archaeology. He meant by the term that like the meaning of culture archaeologists used to deal with artifacts as the reflections of past norms and values (Lyman and O'Brien 2004). They 'base it on the assumption that surviving artifacts, such as potsherds, display stylistic and other changes that represent the changing norms of human behaviour over time' (Fagan 1991: 453).

V. Gordon Childe revolutionized archaeological theory and practice in 1920s and 1930s. He synthesized Boas' cultural relativism and historical particularism and Kossinna's concept of archaeological culture. He believes that artifacts definitely belong to prehistoric people and, no doubt, exhibit cultural development. But, unlike Kossinna, Childe does not associate archaeological cultures with specific ethnic groups. A functionalist and utilitarian approach is adopted in relation to the interpretation of archaeological objects. Given this, Childe sees continuity

in some phenomena which 'reflect local tastes and were relatively resistant to change; hence, they were useful for identifying specific ethnic groups'. Yet the great utility of still other artifacts is considered as the raison d'être for their diffusion via trade or imitation. 'Hence, he considered these types of artifacts especially valuable for assigning neighboring cultures to the same period and establishing cultural chronologies before the invention of radiocarbon dating . . . .' It follows that Childe transcends the Boasian concept of mere data collection as he uses them to make 'ethnographic interpretation'. Interestingly, when it comes to deal with the phenomena of cultural change, Childe makes recourse to the model of diffusion and migration. It is to be noted that Childe's diffusionism does not intend to trace cultural development in an evolutionary perspective; rather to study 'how specific people had lived in prehistoric times' in the framework of historical particularism (Trigger 1989/2010: 241-248).

Culture-historical archaeology has mainly been concerned with the issue of chronology and the order of archaeological data within spatial framework. The questions addressed by the model are those of 'when' and 'where'. Culture-historical archaeologists give primary importance to collection of data and, thus, induce their particularistic explanations and conclusions. Concepts of diffusionism and migration are invoked in this respect. The methods adopted in data analysis are typology, taxonomy, analogy and stratigraphy.

Culture-historical archaeology came under severe criticism from the New Archaeology aka processual archaeology since 1960. It is now widely accepted that this paradigm suffers from serious inadequacies and limitations. It could not better explain cultural change in the past societies. Trigger Bruce (1989/2010: 311) discusses its problems in the following words:

> The most striking shortcoming of culture-historical archaeologists was that change continued to be attributed to external processes, lumped under the rubrics of diffusion and migration, but little effort was made to discover why cultures accepted or rejected new traits or how innovations transformed societies. What was missing, despite a growing interest in what archaeological sites had looked like and what activities had gone on in them, was the will to learn how individual cultures had functioned and changed as systems. Without such an understanding, diffusion and migration were doomed to remain nonexplanations. These problems had been recognized for a long time, but ultimately the solutions would come from outside the culture-historical approach not from within it.

Processual archaeology

By 1960 a growing number of archaeologists had come to realize about the utter deficiencies in terms of methods and theories of culture-historical archaeology. A special issue of concern in this connection was the stark oversimplification of the phenomenon of cultural change, especially in prehistoric societies, in archaeological record. The causes for it were more often sought for and believed as external rather than internal to culture. Diffusion and migration had been seen and adopted as the only models for explaining change. Moreover, culture-historical archaeology preoccupied itself with studying cultural history and culture was believed as a system of shared traits held in common by a people. Under this consideration, specific artifact types were taken as the representation of culture. Culture-historical archaeology remained limited only to establishing chronological sequences with the help of typology, stratigraphy, seriation, cross-dating, analogy and increasingly chronometric techniques such as C-14, etc. But as increasingly large size of new archaeological data surfaced after the Second World War, culture-historical archaeology turned as incapable a model for explanation and interpretation and, hence, became like a moribund approach by the end of 1960s.

The critique against culture-historical archaeology resulted in an alternative programme which came to be known as New Archaeology aka processual archaeology. The two are diametrically opposed to each other. Processual archaeology is anthropology-oriented and studies cultural processes. It was an 'approach that was evolutionist, behaviorist, ecological and positivist in orientation' (Trigger 1989/2010: 386). Though Lewis Binford (1931-2011)[4] is the most influential theorist in processual archaeology, still a greater number of other leading archaeologists contributed to it handsomely with their fieldwork and methods and concepts. Processual archaeology greatly diversified since 1970s with the emergence of new ideas and methods. The galaxy of theorists comprises,

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[4] Bruce Trigger credits Joseph Caldwell for sowing the seeds of New Archaeology. He advocated cultural change in archaeological record, as the principal aim of archaeologist, to be explained 'in terms of cultural processes. From this perspective, the study of cultural idiosyncrasies was stigmatized as old-fashioned and unscientific' (1989/2010: 392). He further argues that Binford popularized this view and, hence, a great number of young American archaeologists were attracted to the New Archaeology (Trigger 1989/2010: 393).

among others, David L. Clarke[5], Grahame Clark[6], Kent Flannery[7], Stuart Struever, M. B. Schiffer[8], Colin Renfrew[9] etc. Their use of 'more sophisticated ecological and evolutionary approaches and the greater application of deductive scientific methods and theory building took archaeology in new direction' (Fagan 1991: 57).

As pointed out above, processual archaeology studies cultural process. For its better understanding, it is necessary to know how the concepts of culture, cultural system and cultural process are understood in this programme. Culture is seen in the context of environment and human beings adapt themselves and, hence, their culture in accord with environmental dictates. Culture, as such, is considered having multifarious contact with environment. Both are viewed as forming interconnected subsystems and change in one or more subsystems trigger a wholesale change and transformation. Stuart Struever (1971: 10) defines culture as 'made up of parts, structurally different from each other, but articulated within the total system. More broadly, culture and its environments represent a number of articulated systems in which change occurs through a series of minor, linked variations in one or more of these systems.'[10] This subtle interplay between the different systems shapes a supra-entity *viz*. cultural system. The different 'components [of the cultural system] remain static unless the processes that operate the system are carefully defined. Archaeologists are deeply involved with "cultural process," the

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[5] David Clarke, a British archaeologist, was an important theorist who advocated for independent science of archaeology. He, however, prematurely died but his book (1968/1971) remains a classic in terms of archaeological methods and concepts. Though he declared himself as proponent of new ideas in archaeology, he had no connection with the New Archaeology of America. It implies the independent origination of his ideas.

[6] Grahame Clark is termed by Trigger (1989/2010: 353-361) as a functional-processual archaeologist, an approach which is different from processual archaeology due to focusing on the functional side of culture. His book (1939/1968) is considered a singular contribution to archaeological theory and methods.

[7] See Kent Flannery's article of 1967. His most important work is considered the book (1976) he has edited.

[8] See Schiffer (1976 and 1972.

[9] According to Trigger (1989/2010: 393) the British archaeologist, Colin Renfrew, was greatly influenced by Binford.

[10] 'For Binford', observes Trigger (1989/2010: 396), 'the concept of culture signified primarily the different ways in which groups of human beings adapted to their environmental settings.'

processes by which human societies changed in the past' (Fagan 1991: 71). Cultural process, according to R. J. Sharer and W. Ashmore (as quoted in Fagan 1991: 74), is the 'identification of the factors responsible for the direction and nature of change within cultural systems'.

It follows that processual archaeology is mainly concerned with environmental determinism, evolutionism, behaviourism and positivism.

From ecological standpoint, man is seen as a passive being having adaptive capacity vis-à-vis environmental determinism. Human culture is only one component of the ecosystem and human behaviour is in the process of adaptation with respect to environmental settings.

Environmental determinism sets patterning in human culture. Thus, explanation and interpretation of change in it necessitates a nomothetic approach coupled with a scientific rigour and problem-oriented research. It implies the adoption of deductive approach with a vivid hypothesis formulation, data collection, testing of hypothesis against the data and, hence, its confirmation or rejection. In this way, old data, new ideas and new data process in a circular fashion. Given this, processualists are engaged in discovering – and knowing – general laws in order to study cultural process. Struever (1971: 10) explicates:

> A major objective of [processual] archaeology is to understand the linkages between parts in both the cultural and environmental systems as reflected in the archaeological data. The strategy of the "process" or "system" school of archaeology, says Flannery, "is therefore to isolate each system and study it as a separate variable" or complex of variables, with the ultimate goal being "reconstruction of the entire pattern of articulation. . . ." Contemporaneous cultural variation between regions in prehistory, therefore, might be expected to reflect differing adaptive requirements of specific environments; accordingly, varying ecological potentialities are linked to different exploitative economies, and the latter to differing integrative requirements, and therefore, to different forms of social structure.

New Archaeology got influenced by the concepts of neoevolutionary movement in anthropology; though it did not support the Marxist ideas of the latter except for the importance of the infrastructure in determining features of the superstructure or some such. Both shared the concept of 'regularities in culture'. Processualists 'noted that many of the key variables that neoevolutionists posited as causes of cultural change, including changing subsistence and settlement patterns and demography, were relatively accessible for archaeological study, unlike the idealist

explanations of Boasian anthropologists' (Trigger 1989/2010: 391). It also happened under the spell of neoevolutionism that specific socio-cultural developments and independent inventions were given primacy to study rather than inter-societal connections and competitions (Trigger 1989/2010: 396).

As history is concerned with unique, New Archaeology repudiates it. It gives credence to the study of cross-cultural regularities which cater for explaining cultural change. Deductivism rather than inductivism – according to Binford the latter would leave archaeology as 'particularistic, non-generalizing, and hence unscientific' – is, therefore, an apt approach in studying archaeological data. Binford insists that 'archaeologists must seek to formulate laws of cultural dynamics' (Trigger 1989/2010: 401).

Behavioural study of archaeological remains has been one of the primary concerns of processualists[11] since early 1970s. It aims at reconstructing and explaining human behaviour in the past with the help of material remains. Change processes are studied in the context of change in behaviour and artifacts. It is believed that 'behavioral or societal change is change in activities' (Schiffer 1996: 645). By establishing correlates between archaeological data and the living use of tools, behavioural archaeology has fared well so far in explaining and reconstructing past human behaviour in the context of change and variability. Study of garbage was given primacy especially in 1980s and site-formation processes – cultural and non-cultural transformations – were closely analyzed so that insights might be obtained vis-à-vis human behaviour. Schiffer maintains that this behvaioural framework with the help of multiple research strategies, namely 'experimental archaeology, ethnoarchaeology, prehistory, historical archaeology, and history – can contribute, principle by principle, to building a new behavioral science' (Schiffer 1996: 646).

The original programme set forth by behavioural archaeologists could not be realized due to deficiencies in archaeological data rather than weaknesses in the methods. Still this approach in investigation 'resulted in a more sophisticated understanding of the behavioral significance of archaeological data' (Trigger 1989/2010: 428).

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[11] Schiffer terms behavioural archaeology as an 'outgrowth of processual archaeology' (1996: 644).

Processual archaeology is generally termed as positivistic[12] in nature. However, keeping in view the different genres of positivism, namely strict positivism, classic positivism and postpositivism, this simple designation presents some difficulty in understanding. To be more precise, processual archaeology, according to G. A. Clark (1993: 214) 'typically proceeds from a postpositivist metaphysical paradigm and the preconceptions and biases that underlie it. . . .' Postpositivism believes in the objective reality of the world but, simultaneously, in the impossibility of its exact perception. However, it should be approached to know in a best possible way. Postpositivists make use of '"experimental-manipulative" research protocol, which aims to consider simultaneously multiple alternative hypotheses. . .' (Clark 1993: 213-214).

The very deductive approach, which is common to New Archaeology, plucks processualists out of the strict positivist orbit which considers facts as sacred. Thus, a positivist investigator has no privilege to judge, interpret or evaluates the empirical data which speak for themselves.

Processual archaeology gradually diversified in practice and different aspects of human social and cultural life entered in the scheme of its study. Subsistence economy, settlement patterns and site formation processes have garnered special importance over the years. It is to be made obvious that processual archaeology has assimilated parts of the behavioural programme but the latter remains distinct and has gone in directions that processualists do not follow, particularly modern material culture, technological change models, artifact-based model of human communication, etc.

Subsistence and diet

Subsistence is the act of food procurement and acquisition and diet implies the kind of food which culturally, ecologically or habitually a group of people, or animal, has been used to. This field makes an important area of study especially of New Archaeology.

Brian Fagan (1991: 319-362) enumerates the sources for the study of the past subsistence as environmental data, faunal remains, vegetal

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[12] Positivism – originally intrinsic to pure sciences – called for passionate collection of facts followed by generalization and establishment of laws (Collingwood 1946/2006: 126-133).

remains, human feces (coprolites), artifacts and prehistoric art. Environmental data provide information about ecological resources on which human being relied in the past for their living. Faunal remains are the archaeological evidence about the wild and domesticated animals and their scientific study shows patterns in economy. Similar is the significance of vegetal evidence in archaeology and pollen analysis greatly gives knowledge about agricultural and food collection practices in ancient times. Fecal remains also give minor 'fragments of ecofacts and pollen grains and are preserved in dry caves.' It helps study prehistoric diet. Artifacts are also used for studying subsistence. Likewise, rock art also sometimes provide data, such as hunting or fishing scenes, for reconstructing ancient subsistence economy. Another aspect of economic archaeology is its enterprise in reconstructing ancient diet. Data, in this connection, is insufficiently available which restrict archaeologists from weaving a satisfactory picture. Still scholars pursue the work and have obviously made great breakthroughs. Archaeologists, as writes Fagan (1991: 355), have to address the following fundamental questions:

> What proportion of the diet was meat? How diverse were dietary sources? Did the principal sources of diet change from season to season? To what extent did the people rely on food from neighboring areas? Was food stored? What limitations or restrictions did technology or society place on diet?

Such a comprehensive study, as it is self-evident, always requires a multidisciplinary research designs. The role of zoology, botany, anatomy, art etc. cannot be overestimated in this regard. It is evident from the fact that zooarchaeology, palaeobotany, palaeontology etc. have presently wide currency. But it is to be noted that all great and successful archaeological projects from across the world were by no means less than multidisciplinary studies.

Settlement-patterns archaeology

Gordon Randolph Willey (1913-2002) greatly pioneered in settlement archaeology. In this context, his study of the Viru valley, according to Trigger (1989/2010: 379), is, in terms of social and political organization, 'the most important methodological breakthrough in the history of archaeology. Even from a broader archaeological perspective, it was perhaps the most important innovation since Thomsen had succeeded in periodizing prehistory.' It is to note that some scholars consider settlement

archaeology neither belonging to culture-historical archaeology nor processual archaeology. However, its close proximity to the latter is beyond question (see for details Ashmore 2007: 4ff.).

Settlement archaeology, Fagan observes, 'is part of the analysis of interactions between people and their environment' (1991: 87). It does extensive surveys and studies across an extended landscape in order to determine distribution of settlement. With it the concept of an individual 'representative' site with respect to a culture or region became less attractive. Similarly, the purpose of surveys changed from searching for unique to the pursuit of site-network which, in turn, consists of individual sites each having a complementary role. Settlement archaeology also brings into focus social, political and religious aspects of life along with ecological concerns. It is, thus, appreciated 'as a source of information about many aspects of human behaviour'. Increased food production, changes in population dissemination, intricate socio-political organization and religious institutions are studied vis-à-vis population growth. It shows that internal transformations in socio-cultural systems are preferred rather than the models of diffusion and migration.

Settlement patterns are also viewed in a hierarchical position. Activity areas, structures, related activity areas nearby structures, communities and the spread of activities all around the landscape are especially studied. Structures associated to families, communities, trade, administration and even defense etc. make important points of focus.

It is to be noted that archaeological settlement patterns, so far, exhibit a speedy process of change and adaptation. It also challenges the thesis of the relationship between population increase and irrigation development and the evolution of complex societies (Trigger 1989/2010: 372-382).

Site formation processes
Human record in the shape of archaeological record never reaches us in original. A number of cultural and noncultural or natural agents affect it over the years; hence it is got in a modified condition. Archaeologists, especially Michael Schiffer, strongly suggest the careful study of site formation processes in order to escape from oversimplication, misinterpretation and distortion of archaeological data. Its importance is well elaborated by Fagan (1991: 145):

> The fundamental point about studying site formation processes is that they have to be identified before behavioral or environmental inferences can be made about any archaeological site. The identification of specific site formation processes is difficult, even under ideal circumstances, and involves not only geoarchaeological research but also data acquired from ethnoarchaeology, controlled experiments, and other sources. It is not enough, then, to observe conditions of unusually good preservation or to describe the complex layers of a prehistoric rockshelter. One must also analyze and interpret the ways in which the archaeological record was formed – site formation processes.

The range of activities, both cultural and noncultural/natural, are the factors behind any site formation and the change and transformation of human remains is hence called 'site formation processes'. Cultural transformations consist of the reuse of the past objects, discard, abandonment, burial of the dead, etc. and structures as well as ploughing, mining, land clearance, digging, warfare activities etc. Noncultual transformations happen due to biological, physical and chemical agents. Beforehand knowledge of site formation paves the way for better understanding of archaeological records (Schiffer 1983; Bollong 1994; Tani 1995; Matthews et al. 1997).

Ethnoarchaeology
Ethnoarchaeology may be defined as a rigorous analogical enterprise of juxtaposing archaeological material and living traditional cultures. The study of cultural processes, as a scientific activity, necessitated recourse to modern traditional/primitive peoples so that human adaptation in the past can be explained by a direct historical approach, 'or the idea that peo- ple living and working in the region are the best model for understanding the arti- facts made by the ancient people of the region' (London 2000: 3). 'Ethnoarchaeology involves fieldwork among people today by archaeologists who investigate questions relevant for analyzing ancient artifacts and material culture. . . . Therefore, by living in traditional societies, observing and recording what we see, archaeologists can collect the data needed to help understand ancient artifacts and the people who made them' (London 2000: 2). Since this is rather a strenuous job, archaeologists are insisted upon for keeping long-term contacts with societies under study (London 2000).

Ethnoarchaeology focuses on data collection and analysis, analogy, archaeological settlement patterns, group and ethnicity related issues and

process of continuity and change in the framework of ecological adaptation (Agorsah 1990). It is helpful in relation to behavioural inference about the past societies. Schiffer (1978) argues that ethnoarchaeologists may also ask general questions whose answers become potentially general principles such as those pertaining to refuse disposal.

Middle-range theory

Middle-range theory moves around the concepts of facts of the nature of archaeological record as static and contemporary. But it was, undoubtedly, the result of the past dynamics. One phenomenon viz. the contemporary static archaeological record is observable while the other one i.e. the dynamics – by which Binford means 'the organizational arrangements of behavior and not discrete behaviors per se' (Pierce n.d.: 2) – are not directly observable. The latter condition is only indirectly experienced; hence, inference about it, in this manner, is obtained. In this connection, the 'behavioral and natural processes responsible for the material record must be securely identified in order to build a structure of inference. . .' (Raab and Goodyear 1984: 259).[13] Inference about the remains of the past can be obtained through the identification of 'signature patterns' in the archaeological record and the uniformitarian assumptions about the causal relationship between the statics and the dynamics. By uniformitarian assumptions is meant the existence of such a phenomenon of causation both in the present and the past.

The relationships between the unobservable dynamics of the past and the contemporary static by-products of that process are but to be established by observing the present society. This procedure is termed actualistic research. Actualistic research is carried out in the present using ethnographic, experimental or historical sources of information to document the relations between relevant dynamics and observable statics' (Pierce n.d.: 2).

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[13] 'In middle-range theory, inference is the procedure by which we give dynamic meaning to the static arrangements of matter in the archaeological record. It involves a translation process in which observations of matter in the archaeological record are converted into statements or concepts regarding the dynamic conditions that brought them into being. . .' (Pierce n.d.: 3).

Though middle-range theory has been subject to criticism since its introduction in archaeology in 1977 by Binford[14] – and being its stanch exponent all the way – still it has established itself as viable methodological tool of research as well as archaeological theory. It has gone a long way since and seems to have a great future. Raab and Goodyear (1984), though critical of the initial use and interpretation of middle-range theory, are also mindful about its potential benefits. They states:

> Despite the problems outlined above, there should not be undue pessimism about prospects for developing middle-range theory in archaeology. Brief examples drawn from current research may illustrate not only some plausible approaches to middle-range theorizing but also applications of such theory to quite different subject matters (Raab and Goodyear 1984: 263).

It should be noted that Raab and Goodyear are saying this in mid 1980s, after less than one decade of the appearance of middle-range theory in archaeology. Since that time, it has made great progress. (The following chart [Pierce n.d.: 2] best illustrate middle-range theory).

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[14] In social sciences empirical data hardly correspond to the assumptions of mega theories. This chronic problem necessitated the development what is now known as middle-range theory. Having originated in sociology after the Second World War, it was developed by Binford into a kind of theory proper. Schiffer's site formation approach is generally considered as an equivalent of middle-range theory but there exists subtle nuances between the two (Raab and Goodyear 1984).
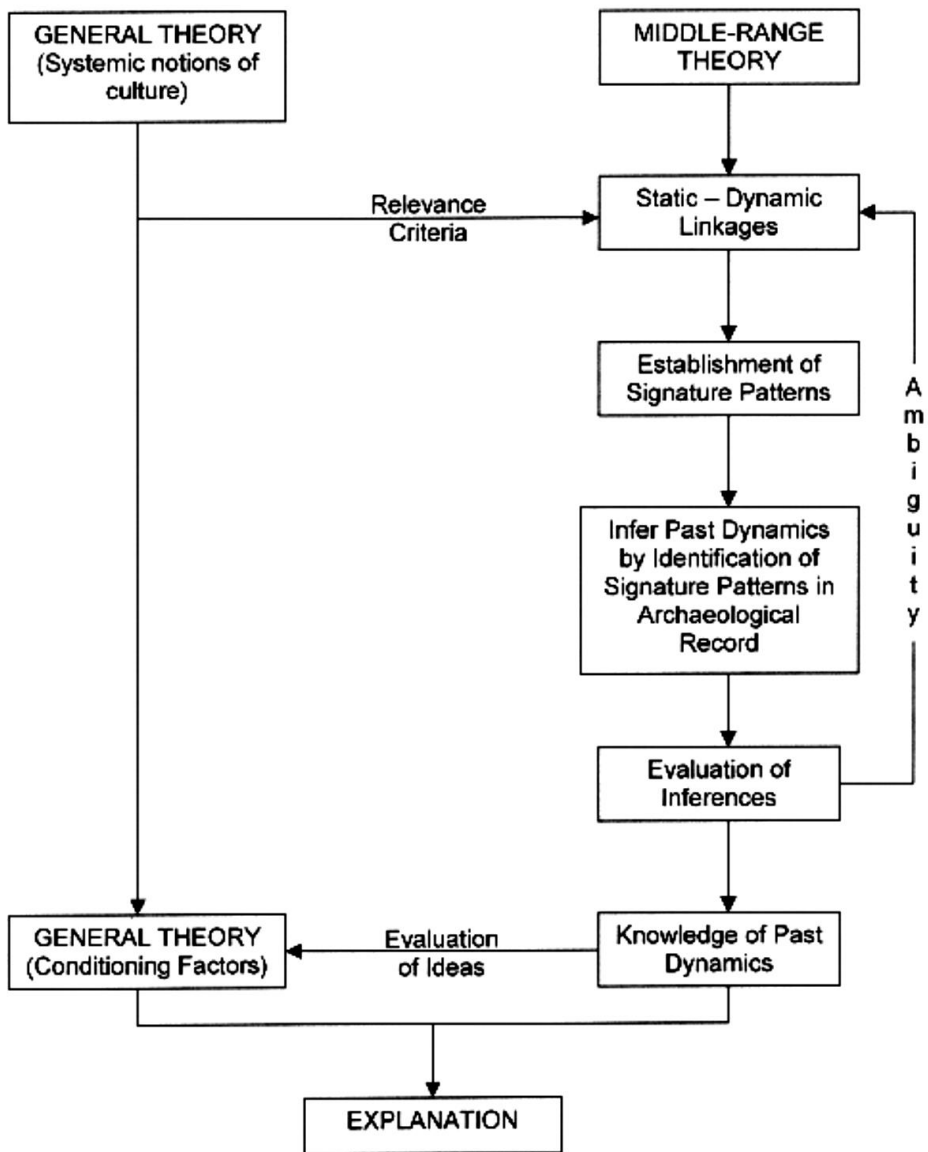
Figure 1: An illustrative model of the Middle-range theory. After Pierce, A critique of middle-range theory in archaeology, p. 2, fig. 1. Courtesy of Christopher Pierce.

Experimental archaeology

Experimental archaeology guides researchers as how to get 'valid' knowledge about the past. It is a hypothetico-deductive process aiming to see whether a certain hypothesis is falsified through testing or not. It is 'based on testing alternative hypotheses' (Dominguez-Rodrigo 2008: 67).

Experimental archaeology encompasses both laboratory research and actualistic investigation; a pursuit which brings it within the fold of middle-range-theory. It is a rigorous activity as both the skills and materials used in manufactures of the past societies are not easily available nowadays. The problem turns as more severe when the practitioners are enjoined upon to strictly conform to the ideals of objective inquiry. Absolute truth, therefore, can be achieved only and only by using in experiments the materials which were used in archaeological objects and the skills which were in vogue in olden days (Outram 2008). Keeping in view the complex nature of archaeological record, it has to be accepted that experimental archaeology greatly enhances our understanding of ancient cultural systems and human societies.

Outram (2008: 3) summarizes P. J. Reynolds' classification of experiments in experimental archaeology into five groups as it follows:

1. Construct: 1:1 scale constructions that test a hypothetical design for a structure (e.g. house) based upon archaeological evidence. It is a hypothesis that literally stands or falls.
2. Processes and function experiments: investigations into how things were achieved in the past. This includes investigations into what tools were for, how they were used and how other technological processes (e.g. tar rendering or pit storage) were achieved.
3. Simulation: experimental investigations into formation processes of the archaeological record and post-depositional taphonomy.
4. Eventuality trial: usually combining all three categories above, these are large-scale, often longue dure´e, experiments that can investigate complex systems (such as agriculture) and chart variations caused by unexpected or rare eventualities (e.g. extreme weather).
5. Technological innovation: where archaeological techniques themselves are trailed in realistic scenarios. A good example would be the testing of geophysical equipment over a simulated, buried archaeological site.

Postprocessual archaeology

Postprocessual archaeology is wanting in homogeneity and coherence in terms of concepts, approaches, methods and subject-matters. However, the reactions against scientism and materialist approach of processualists – with emphasis on human adaptation to the environment and positivistic considerations – came to be known as under the general rubric of postprocessualism. T. Patterson has identified three strands of postprocessual archaeology and they are associated with the names of, a) Ian Hodder; b) Michael Shanks and Christopher Tilley and c) Mark Leone. They are termed by G. Clark as a 'poorly defined, polythetic set comprising three partly complementary, partly contrasting, positions grounded intellectually in French poststructuralism, various aspects of social Marxist thought, and, to a certain, very limited extent, symbolic anthropology' (1993: 224-225).

The above-mentioned three traditions of postprocessual archaeology may, in other words, be termed as contextual in case of *a* and critical in relation to *b* and *c*. Furthermore, Shanks and Tilley represent the British form of critical archaeology while Leone is associated with the American critical archaeology.

Ian Hodder's contextual or interpretative approach is inspired by the Hegelian-Marxist belief that any given phenomenon can be understood in holistic or reductionist terms. In order to comprehend and explain a thing or problem all its aspects and components should be taken into consideration; hence understanding of any part and in turn of a whole. Hodder identifies three principal aspects of contextual archaeology. First, there should be a 'guarded objectivity'. It implies that interpretation of data is an interaction between the researcher and the data in a dialectical manner. Interpretation is based on data and '[t]he data are produced dialectically.' Second, interpretation should be sound enough in terms of internal hermeneutic. It negates the tyrannical primacy of theory and, instead, asserts for 'relating theory to data as part of a learning process.' The hermeneutic approach aims at understanding data in the context of thought-processing of social actors, something different from seeking conformity of data to theory. Third, a 'reflective consideration'[15] about

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[15] It is maintained, as Wilkie and Bartoy (2000: 753) writes, that 'critical self-reflection is not merely a choice of researchers but a necessary step for any piece of research. "Self-reflection is at once intuition and emancipation, comprehension and liberation from

knowledge production in archaeology is necessary. It would reveal the vested interests as being served by archaeology. Furthermore, it would lead to the inclusion of the excluded voices in the enterprise of reconstructing and interpreting the past (Hodder 1991: 10). By all this, Hodder tries to get on with understanding the internal meaning and processing of culture or data without letting objectivity suffer. At the same time, the abuses of archaeology by dominant groups are being exposed in this way and the subalterns as being served through self-reflection. According to Hodder, this should be the ultimate end of archaeologists' study of the past (Hodder 1991).

Contextual archaeology reveals deficiencies and shortcomings of processual archaeology. Analyses carried out in isolation through sampling strategy are being severely questioned by contextualists. Contextual archaeology calls for studying order within particular cultures and a set of historically interlinked cultures while identifying such categories in terms of convergences and divergences. It implies rejection of the 'validity of the neoevolutionary distinction between what is culturally specific and what is cross-culturally general that constituted the basis of Steward's dichotomy between science and history [. . . .] This validated an interest in culturally specific cosmologies, astronomical lore, art styles, religious beliefs, and other topics that had lingered on the fringes of processual archaeology in the 1960s and 1970s' (Trigger 1989/2010: 456).

Hodder's contextual archaeology is greatly inspired by Lévi-Strauss' structuralism. Lévi-Strauss believes that 'social life is the material embodiment' of the intrinsic mental structures of human beings. Another aspect of his structuralism is the concept of binary oppositions which 'lie at the bottom of large portions if not the totality of sociocultural phenomena' (Harris 1968: 492-493). In this he follows Hegelian and Marxist dialectics and wants reality unfold via thesis-antithesis-synthesis.[16]

Hodder leads the movement of structuralist archaeology by making handsome use of binary contrasts. He believes that because of continuities

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dogmatic dependence" (Habermas 1971: 208).'

[16] '[. . .] first the superficial facts, then the hidden negation, and finally the dazzling insight into a new and more fundamental reality' (Harris 1968: 493). Lévi-Strauss 'is concerned always with the discovery of the "true" social structure as opposed to surface reflexes or epiphenomena' (Harris 1968: 512).

in structures a native archaeologist is better equipped to grasp the spirit and thought patterning of the past society. Contrary to it, an outsider suffers from lacking such a vantage point, a straitjacket which constrains his/her capability of comprehensive symbolic interpretation. Structuralist archaeologists take account of those aspects of material culture which both culture-historical and processualist archaeologies failed to appreciate. But as they could not develop sound methods in relation to interpreting such data, structuralist archaeology could not fare well beyond abstract thinking and speculation. 'The failure of archaeologists to discover ways to use a structural approach to gain insights into the specific meanings of prehistoric data and growing doubts about the ontological validity of Lévi-Strauss' claims have resulted in archaeologists slowly losing interest in structuralism' (Trigger 1989/2010: 466-467).

A new strand of poststructuralism in postprocessual archaeology is associated primarily with the names of Michael Shanks, Christopher Tilley and Peter Ucko. They, and a number of archaeologists of the same persuasion, posit in the primacy of agency in their archaeological studies and analyses. They bring into focus resistance made by the marginalized groups to the social structures of inequality and oppression. Hence, change in culture is interpreted as caused by the rational, calculated and goal-oriented activities of people (in other words individual or generic individual) rather than ecological factors (Dornan 2002).

Influenced by the Frankfurt School these scholars believe that all sorts of authority must be challenged and resisted. Given this, the ordinary peoples should be saved from the clutches of authoritative knowledge by the radical scholars. Similarly, they greatly rely on Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus and Anthony Giddens' theory of structuration. The concept of habitus implies

> [. . .] an individually unique schema of unconsciously internalized dispositions. [. . .] These dispositions *determine* how we perceive and act in the world and are, importantly, both structured and structuring in relation to those external systems. In his reaction to the structuralist paradigm dominating French intellectual life at the time, it is often argued that Bourdieu inserted the individual back into what were otherwise overly deterministic accounts of human practice. Likewise, because Bourdieu views habitus as both structured and structuring, it is possible to see why some scholars have argued that he leaves room for individuals to intentionally affect larger social structures (Dorman 2002: 305).

Giddens' theory of structuration

> [. . .] focuses upon both the constraining *and* enabling nature of social structures. . . . Unlike Bourdieu, Giddens does not view individual action as primarily determined by unconsciously internalized structures. Instead, Giddens views social practice as far more mutable and believes that there is room in every instance of practice for creativity and innovation. Giddens' theory of structuration is based on his notion of "tacit knowledge that is skillfully applied in the enactment of courses of conduct, but which the actor is not able to formulate discursively". . . . By locating human practice in the goal-directed, skillful enactment of tacit knowledge, Giddens emphasizes that "human beings are neither to be treated as passive objects, nor as wholly free subjects" (Dorman 2002: 307).

In line with the philosophy of Frankfurt School postprocessual archaeology embraces that beliefs control and shape human behaviour and human consciousness causes change. Furthermore, great variations even in simple modes of production are recognized. Ideology is seen as one of the determining factors of actions including even researches and knowledge production. Neoevolutionism, traditional structuralism, cultural evolutionism and cultural ecology which seek for cultural change in external phenomena are rejected. Clashes of interests and roles such as gender, age, etc. are given special importance in relation to change (Trigger 1989/2010: 445-446). The last point also makes a great methodological development as Hodder and his associates have shown with the help of their ethnoarchaeological studies in sub-Saharan Africa. 'These studies definitively refuted the key assumption by processual archaeologists that archaeological finds must necessarily reflect social organization. Hodder provided overwhelming documentation that material culture was not merely a reflection of sociopolitical organization but also an active element that could be used to disguise, invert, and distort social relations' (Trigger 1989/2010: 452-453). Material culture, therefore, does not indispensably occur in conformity to all other forms of social organization.

Some observations vis-à-vis the need of archaeological theory in Pakistan

Like other subjects, archaeology has always been in need of methodological and theoretical innovations. And its history is full of such reflections. As a result, our understanding of the past has greatly enhanced. But, unfortunately, the situation is different and as such unpromising in

Pakistan. There is sheer theoretical poverty in Pakistani archaeology which has deep-rooted causes.

Theory more often than not is seen as philosophical blarney wanting in any vital and practical worth in archaeological research. This frame of thinking has made fetish of the so-called concept of field archaeology in Pakistan. Field archaeology, if not buttressed by methodological and theoretical fecundity, cannot be result-oriented. Rather, rare and precious data are damaged. Understandably, this situation emanates from another serious problem. Pakistani archaeology has been a solitary discipline entirely lacking any aspirations for multi/interdisciplinarity. So far we do not know about any dynamic and immaculate programmes as far as teaching and research activities are concerned. Resultantly, Pakistani archaeology is deficient in social relevance. All this happened despite Mortimer Wheeler's insistence about significance of interplay with other subjects and public engagement with heritage (Wheeler 1946). Although exception can be found in the person of A.H. Dani who somewhat heeded to inter/multidisciplinary concerns. He also made consistent efforts to make archaeology socio-politically relevant; notwithstanding, he could not leave behind a living legacy which should have played vital role with regard to matters of cultural policy making in Pakistan (Khan and Shaheen 2015).

In the same manner, continuation with culture-history approach also entails its methodological and analytical shortcomings and limitations. And it has denied scholastic and academic space to Pakistani archaeologists in the present epistemological scenario. Paddayya has beautifully summarized it:

> Researchers basically continued [in the subcontinent] to operate within the traditional culture-historical framework inherited from the colonial period and, to a large extent, they still continue to do so. The principal components of this framework included the building up of local or regional culture-sequences, use of the 'Childean' notion of cultures as recurring series of assemblages of distinctive artefact types, the tendency to equate cultures so recognized with ethnic groups, imprecise use of core concepts like culture, type, site and region, lack of awareness of the importance of higher order concepts like time, causality, probability and explanation, the use of present-day administrative/political divisions as regional units for investigating the archaeological record, unrestrained coining of new culture-complexes on the basis of pottery fabrics or stone tool types, and simplistic use of diffusion/migration for explaining culture change (Paddayya 2002: 133).

It is to be noted that in India, unlike Pakistan, new trends have been welcomed and advocated by scholars since late 1960s. Foremost among them are S.C. Malik, H.D. Sankalia and K. Paddayya (see Pratap 2014). Malik (1968) for the first time made a case for anthropological approaches concerning Indian archaeology. But it was not until Sankalia took the lead that Indian archaeology attained the level of theoretical and philosophical dynamism. No doubt, the Deccan College, Pune, became the hub of these sorts of robust activities. The level of interest and passion is apparent from a month-long lecture series in 1986 in the College aiming at training higher education teachers. The presence of Lewis Binford himself as one of the resource persons largely speaks about the importance and serious nature of the event (Paddayya 2002: 134ff.). Important studies about theoretical archaeology in Indian context also appeared (see for example Sankalia 1970, 1977; Paddayya 1990). On the Pakistani side the situation has been different. Interest did not develop in the epistemology of archaeology. One might rightly expect that A.H. Dani should have taken the initiative as the period of his active career (1960-1990s) actually corresponds to great theoretical upheavals in archaeology. But surprisingly he did not take any account of these phenomenal developments. Rather, he himself seems oblivious of new theories (one can also wonder if his silence had any meaning in the contemporary political context).[17] This failure resulted in the persistence of traditional culture-historical approach which as such is not without detriment to Pakistani archaeology.

Another chronic problem is utter absence of indigenous traditions[18] in our intellectual orientations. This is a meaningful indifference. Almost all indigenous epistemological traditions for studying the past belong to the pre-Muslim horizon of the subcontinent. We do not know of scholars save Dani who are au fait with the linguistic mosaic of South Asia. This failure has greatly harmed archaeological research in terms of originality and intellectual loftiness. Primary sources are out of orbit of Pakistani archaeology. Even the intellectual rigours required for perusing

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[17] We have inferred it from Dani's article in his edited book titled *Indus civilization: new perspectives* (1981). Further rough evidence comes from careful examination of the various books dealing with archaeological theory donated by him to the A.H. Dani Library of Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.
[18] See Paddayya (2002) for vitality of indigenous traditions in relation to archaeological research in South Asian context.

translations of classical sources have debarred us to achieve the level of intellectual sophistication and maturity. Logically, some failures in Pakistani archaeology may be viewed in the context of contemporary socio-political realties. Lack of archaeological literature in Urdu and other regional languages has also aggravated the problem. It is needed that steps should be taken in this direction by publishing journals in vernacular languages as well as an updated Urdu archaeological lexicon.

Given the fact that indigenous vigour is missing, Pakistani archaeology owes much to foreign missions. It has heightened our understanding but, ironically, has been to the detriment of indigeneity in academic and intellectual trends. The remarks of Nayanjot Lahiri can be quoted in this respect.

> As far as Harappa is concerned, Harappa has been re-excavated but it has been re-excavated by American archaeologists. I don't think I have ideological problems with foreigners working in the Indian subcontinent but the pity of the situation in Pakistan is that the kinds of contracts that are worked out with foreign archaeologists actually don't leave to any value addition for Pakistani students and scholars themselves. I cannot for example think of any PhD thesis by a Pakistani that has been done on Harappa or for that matter on Mehrgarh where Jean Fracois Jarrige worked. And one can mention many such examples (Lahiri 2014).

As a matter of fact, peer-cooperation of foreign archaeologists like J.M. Kenoyer, R. Knox, L.M. Olivieri, C. Petrie, and others, totally balances the critical tone of Lahiri's statement. Scholarships in archaeology provided from UK, USA, France, Germany, South Korea, China and Australia can also be mentioned. The Italian Archaeological Mission has been busy in collaborative works with young Pakistani archaeologists. Students from different Pakistani universities have been extensively trained in field archaeology in Swat in the framework of ACT Project and many of them were guided by their Pakistani and Italian tutors to successfully utilize the ACT fieldwork data for their MPhil and PhD programs. Finally, as an outcome of the ACT-Project, a very practical and methodologically updated archaeology handbook, which is purposely dedicated to Pakistani students, has been recently published in Pakistan (Olivieri 2014). The handbook interestingly focuses on horizontal excavations and on often-neglected aspects like abandonment phases and negative interfaces. As a consequence, besides overcoming the outdated grid-scheme of Wheeler, the handbook proposes an advanced concept of the excavation project where action plans and targets are fully discussed

and shared with students and archaeology workers.

Keeping in view the state of archaeology in Pakistan, the importance of theory and philosophy cannot be overestimated. Both are direly needed if archaeology is to fare well in the country. The theoretical discussion as summarized above intends to commence a new beginning which no doubt was long due. But one point may be made notice of. We do not entertain the idea of polemic and partisan approaches. Rather, as it has been strongly felt, the need of the hour is what Bruce Trigger calls 'pragmatic synthesis' (Trigger 1989/2010: 484ff.). In view of valuable analysis of K. Paddayya about the importance and relevance of theory in the context of the subcontinent we see no other way than to conclude this essay with a very important passage from his article (2002: 139):

> I sincerely believe that the various perspectives in contemporary archaeology are mutually complementary. In this respect one is pleasantly surprised to see even a staunch post-processualist like Ian Hodder [. . .] admitting that there are some positive aspects of the New Archaeology and also confessing that excesses have been and are still being committed by workers in the name of post-processualism. In fact, some of the recent writings suggest that archaeologists have started rediscovering the basic strengths of the New Archaeology [. . .]. In a country such as India [also Pakistan], it is particularly necessary to keep the complementary nature of various theoretical approaches in mind. Here the archaeological record not only possesses great time-depth, but exhibits tremendous diversity in its make-up [. . .]. The level of prior knowledge of the archaeological material of the area and period concerned, as well as the intellectual make-up of the archaeologist himself or herself, rather than blind allegiance to a particular theoretical orientation, should be seen as the guiding factors while opting for a particular research orientation. In the case of areas which are still archaeologically *terra incognita* the application of culture-historical approach has enormous significance. In those areas where a skeletal framework is already available, perspectives developed by processual and post-processual archaeologies are particularly useful.

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-3-

An Overview of the Vanishing Archaeological Landscape of Shahbaz-garhi

Sarafaraz Khan

Abstract

Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa is home to the world-wide famous Gandhara civilization. The various valleys which are witnesses to this long-forgotten culture are Peshawar, Dir, Buner and Swat beside Taxila (in the Punjab) and Bamiyan and Hadda (in Afghanistan). The heritage has been prone to speedy disappearance due to a number of reasons which can be termed as man-made and environmental. An attempt has been made here to shed light on the nomenclature, history, archaeological cultural heritage, its discovery and exploration and present condition. It is also aimed to bring to the fore eminent threats to the cultural heritage of the region. In addition to that, an attempt will be made in this study to bring to light the present condition of these sites as observed by the present researcher wherever possible. This study also aimed at to provide a site gazetteer for ready reference of scholars and students interested in the archaeological study of the region.

Introduction

Different people trace back the present name of Shahbaz-garha[1] to different sources. Some say that it is due to a saint, named Shahbaz-Qalandar mentioned in Babur's Memoirs as Shahbaz-Qalandar (Masson 1846: 297; Leyden and Erskine 1826: 252; Beveridge 1922: 377). While others say that it is due to Shahbaz Khan, grandfather of the famous Pashtun warrior poet, Khushal Khan Khatak (Errington 1984: 27). However, Alexander Cunningham traces back the name of the town to the pre-Islamic period and says "I accept therefore the statement of the people that the old name of the town was something like Sattâmi or Setrâm, or

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[1] *The local version of the name of the town under consideration is Shahbaz-garha instead of Shahbaz-garhi. So throughout this paper, the local and popular version of the name will be used save quoting other scholars report/s in original.*

Sitarâm, which I propose to identify with the city of the famous Buddhist Prince Sudâna (Cunningham 1875: 9-10)."

In addition to above mentioned names, the ancient town of Shahbaz-garha has also been mentioned in Chinese Buddhist Pilgrims accounts who visited the region from 6th -7th centuries CE. Sung-Yun (520 CE) named the town as *Fo-Sha-Fu/Boshafu* or simply *Fo-Sha* (because the last syllable *fu* means 'city') while XuánZàng (630 CE) called the city as *Po-Lu-Sha* (*Palusha*). Ahmad Hasan Dani is of the opinion that both these names (Fo-Sha-Fu and Po-Lou-Sha) are the corrupt forms of the local Sanskrit word, Varusha or Varushapura (Beal 1869: 200, 1884: cii, 111; Cunningham 1875: 15; Watters 1904: 217; Foucher 2005: 21-22; Dani 1964: 2; Odani *et al.* 1969: 79; Sehrai 1979: 3; Kuwayama 2002: 39, 103, 110-112, Samad 2011: 123). Due to its political and strategic importance, the ancient city of Shahbaz-garha has also been mentioned in the classical accounts of the Greek historians. For example in Arrian's account, it has been mentioned as Orobatis, fortified by Alexander the Great along with the famous sites of Ora and Massaga (Dani and Bernard 1994/1996: 77-78). In antiquity, Shahbaz-garha was an affluent and fortified city with gates of defenses, orchards, fountains of water, populated by honest and virtuous people (following Buddhism and Hinduism) and that the modern town of Shahbaz-garha has been founded on the stone-built ruins of the ancient city where cultural and religious syncretism was at its peak (Bellew 1864/1977: 116; Beal 1884: cii; Kuwayama 2002: 39).

Shahbaz-Garha has been a historic city located on the crossroads, which connected India in the East and China and Central Asia in the North via ancient trade and pilgrimage route passing through various important centres of Gandhara Civilization i.e. Hund and Taxila in the east, Charsada (ancient Pushkalavati) in the west and Swat (ancient Uddiyana) in the north[2] (Dani and Bernard 1994/1996: 78; Samad 2011: 123-124). The

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[2] The famous ancient city/site of Shahbaz-garha is located 14 km east of Mardan city on the junction of Mardan-Swabi-Buner road which connects Sawabi in the east while Rustam and Buner in the north passing through the famous Sudham (ancient Sudana of Sanskrit sources) valley. Shahbaz-garha is playing an important role even today being located on the crossroads of transportation among the various localities of the Peshawar plains and carries the same important even today which it had commanded in the past by the dent of its location being lying on one of the junctions of the ancient trade and pilgrimage routes. The only parallel to Shahbaz-garha in modern times is the city of *Nowshehra* lying on the main Grand Trunk Road (G.T. Road) and connecting Peshawar

socio-religious position and strategic-political location of the modern town of Shahbaz-Garha (ancient Po-lu-sha/Varusha) attracted king Aṣoka Maurya, the "Constantine of Buddhism" to inscribe his famous 14 royal Edicts in *Kharoshti* script on two rock boulders, aimed to propagate pious deeds and commandments of the administration (Foucher 1917: 121; Odani *et al.* 1969: 80; Salomon 1998: 136; Neelis 2011: 53).

Credit goes to the European merchants, colonial adventurers and travelers for the introduction of antiquarian references for the first time in south Asia. These pioneers were followed by the British officers working with the British East India Company or under the Crown in late 19th century (Allchin 1995: 4). These pioneers were followed by military personnel in the service of the British East India Company and Maharaja Ranjit Singh Army, for initiating archaeological explorations and excavations in ancient Gandhara[3]. All these scattered efforts led to the developments which paved the way for archaeological research in India and evolved into the edifice of Archaeological Survey of India in the 19th century. Originated with the colonial intention to get maximum information about indigenous geography, ethnography and topography to strengthen colonial empire in India, resulted in large scale surveys, excavations and conservations. The political ambitions of the colonial Government of India gave birth to Indian Archaeology initially consisting of Field archaeology and conservation. In the backdrop of these

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and Charsada in the west, crossing Indus at *Khairabad (*after Attock ferry established by Mughal Emperor *Akbar* 1556-1605), and the connection with Swat through *Mardan*. In ancient times, the crossing at Indus was at *Udbhandapura* (present day *Hund*), fifteen miles in the north of the present day crossing at *Khairabad*. This ancient route was in the north of the River Kabul almost parallel to modern one. Shahbaz-garha was at a Crossroads, in the west it connected *Pushkalavati* (23 miles), *Hund* in the east (33 miles) and in the north two roads lead to Swat, one to the north through Rustam in Sudama valley (11 miles) passing over Karakar Pass to Swat and other through Jamal Garhai (13 miles in north west) over the Shahkot Pass to the lower Swat valley and beyond to Dir, Bajaur and Central Asia (Smith 1914: 60 fn.1; Hargreaves 1930: 2, 4; Dani 1964: 2-3; Sehrai 1979: 3-4; Neelis 2011: 244; Samad 2011: 123-124).

[3] These pioneers are Mountstuart Elphinstone, Claude-Auguste Court, Rubino (Jean-Baptiste) Ventura, William Moorcroft, George Trebeck, Charles Masson, Alexander Burnes, Johann Martin Honnigberger, Alexander Cunningham, Harry Lumsden, Reverend Isidore Loewenthal, Henry Walter Bellew, Henry Cole, Harold Arthur Deane, Alfred Foucher and Aurel Stein, David Braniard Spooner, Harold Hargreaves (Errington 2007: 211-226).

archeological activities in India, Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa was no exception for archaeological explorations. Being heartland of ancient Gandhara civilization, Shahbaz-garha remained the focus of colonial officials in their pursuit of archaeological and antiquarian discoveries right from the visit of M. Court H. Garrick of Archaeological Survey of India. In post partition era Japanese archaeologists also conducted archaeological exploration and excavation in Gandhara region in general and in Shahbaz-garha in particular.

Archaeological Sites:
Apart from the famous Aṣoka's Rock Edicts, there are a number of archaeological sites in and around the town of Shahbaz-garha. Going through various reports of ASI and other institutions, archaeological sites in and around the town of Shahbaz-garha may be listed as under:
1. Pukai mound
2. Khere Ghundai mound
3. Butsahri mound
4. Hinduân Ghundai
5. Rock inscription
6. Chanak-ka-dheri mounds
7. Cave of Sudatta in the Kâramâr Hill
8. Mekha-Sanda
9. Bhima Devi Shrine
10. Babal-dherai

1. Pukai mound:
Cunningham 1875
This mound is located on the extreme western end of the Zarrai Hill in the north of the present day town of Shahbaz-garha. During his exploration of the area, A. Cunningham discovered remains of two walls and traces of a flight of steps facing the Makâm Rûd on the north-west side of the mound. Cunningham discarded the idea of further exploration/excavations on knowing that the site had already been excavated by a team of Sappers in 1871 without any fruitful results (Cunningham 1875: 11).

2. Khere Ghundai/Dheri Khera-Gandi:
Cunningham 1875; Garrick 1885; Caroe 1958

The extensive mound 400x250 feet of Khere Gundai/Dheri Khera-Gandi is located outside Khapar Darra Pass which has been identified by A. Cunningham with the eastern gate of the city. While Olaf Caroe in *The Pathans* has recorded the name of this site as "Kafirdarra meaning the pass of the pagans" (Cunningham 1875: 11; Caroe 1958: 161-162). At the south eastern side of the mound, Cunningham mentions huge remains of a large vihara standing on a terrace of 71 feet height, 5 feet 4 inches thick walls with a height of 25 feet and 80 feet square at the base. During his partial exploration of the site, A. Cunningham unearthed four pillars with a measurement of 7 feet 5inches square. A. Cunningham is of the opinion that this mound is commemorating the spot, where the Brahman sold the children (daughter and son) of the Buddha were sold by the Brahman. While Garrick also mentioned some low mounds with potsherd scattered all around on the east of Mount Zarrai. Cunningham named the site as Khere Gundai while Garrick named it as Dheri-Khera-Gandi (Cunningham 1875: 11, 16; Garrick 1885: 122, Caroe 1958: 161). H. B. Garrick is of the opinion that potsherds are scattered at a distance of one mile in the north and east of the town of Shahbaz-garha (Garrick 1885: 122).

3. But-Seray:
Cunningham 1875; Foucher 1915/2005

Going through the Eastern Gate (termed by A. Cunningham as Khapar Darrâ) to Hund (Und/Udabhanda), there located an extensive archaeological site locally known as But-seray at a distance of half a mile in north-east of another archaeological site known as Khere Gundai mound. This site has been identified with the legend of giving in charity his children by the Prince. The religious importance, topography and related monuments of the site has been mentioned by Xuán Zàng Zang as under:

> Outside the eastern gate of the town of Po-lu-sha is a *Saṅghârâma* with about fifty priests, who all study the Great Vehicle. Here is *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja. In old times Sudâna the prince, having been banished from his home, dwelt in Mount Dantalôka. Here a Brahmaṇ begged his son and daughter, and sold them to him (Beal 1884: 112; see also Watters 1904: 218).

Alexander Cunningham declared the site rich in terms of archaeological remains, however, ruled out any explorations at the site because the whole site has been covered with Muslim graves and a shrine (ziarat) named Akhun Baba. In this connection, Cunningham said that 'it is entirely covered with Muhammadan tombs, I found it quite impossible to make any exploration whatever. ' This unfortunate archaeological site is located near present day famous village of But-seray (Foucher and Dani But-Sahri) (Cunningham 1875: 9, 12). The nomenclature of the site has been explained by A. Cunningham as "the name of Butsahri, or Butseri, most probably refers to some statue or monument of Buddha, which once stood on the mound." (Cunningham 1875: 12). While Olaf Caroe recorded the name of the site/village as "Budserai meaning the halting place of the Buddha" (Caroe 1958: 162). On the basis of the Chinese Buddhist pilgrims' accounts, But-seray site along with Khere Gundai mound have been identified with the stupa erected by Asoka and monastery (Sangharama) with fifty monks, commemorating the legend of giving his two children (daughter and son) to the Brahman (Cunningham 1871: 90-91, 1875: 16).

4.   Hinduan-Ghundai:
Cunningham 1875; Garrick 1885

This site of Hinduan-ghundai (Cunningham's Hinduan-Gundai) is located in the south east of the town of Shabaz-garha at a distance of 400 metres. A. Cunningham is of the opinion that Hindus of the area used to bury their children who died in early age, hence the site got its Hinduan-ghundai or Hillock of the Hindus. A. Cunningham termed the site as ancient Buddhist Monastic establishment by agreeing with H. W. Bellew (Cunningham 1875: 12). This mound site has been excavated by Sappers in 1871 and again by H. B. Garrick during his 1882-1884 explorations in the Yusafzai country and unearthed stone walling, bones, vessels and shells etc. Garrick is of the opinion that it is the site of Shahbaz Qalandar tomb as reported by H. W. Bellew (Garrick 1885: 120-121).

5. Aşoka's Rock Edicts:
Court 1836; Masson 1846; Norris 1846; Wilson 1850; Bellew 1864/1877; Cunningham 1875; Garrick 1885

King Ashoka Maurya, the "Constantine of Buddhism" engraved rock edicts written in the Aramaic, Greek and Prakrit languages at various

places in India including the famous 14 rock edicts on two big boulders at the crossroads near the modern town of Shahbaz-garha (ancient Varusha). Keeping in view the mercantile, political and religious importance of the ancient city of Shahbaz-garha, Ashoka decided to engrave his 14 royal Edicts in *Kharoshti* script on two rock boulders, aimed to propagate pious deeds and commandments of the administration of the king to the traders, merchants, soldiers and missionaries. Being located on the crossroads, in ancient times, the ancient city of Shahbaz-garha was frequently halted and crossed by merchants, traders and missionaries as is the case with the modern days G.T. Road on the southern side of the river Kabul (Bellew 1864/1977: 113; GPD[4] 1897-98: 45; IGI[5] 1908: 27; Foucher 1917: 121; Enriquez 1921: 28; Sircar 1957/1998: 16, 19; Caroe 1958: 60, 161; Dani 1964: 1-2; Sehrai 1979: 3-4; Dani and Bernard 1994/1996: 78; Salomon 1998: 136; Rahman 2000: ix; Rahman and Naeem 2000: 2, Neelis 2011: 53; 238; Samad 2011: 49).

M. Court, a General in the army of Ranjit Singh, discovered these rock edicts for the first time and published his discovery of these edicts in the pages of the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* V in 1836 (Salomon 1998: 213). He described these edict as under:

> The province contains no town, properly so called, but it is embellished by large and populous villages: the principal one amongst them is *Kapardigarhī*, standing in the midst of ruins of an ancient town, which might very possibly be the Caspatyrus of the Greeks, the capital of the Gandāri, whom our geographers place to the east of Assaceni on the western bank of the Indus. Quite close to this village I observed a rock on which there are inscriptions almost effaced by time, and out of which I could only decipher the following characters (Court 1836: 481).

In the cold season of 1881, the Punjab Government decided to undertake new explorations and excavations in Peshawar District and the Yusufzai country (Garrick 1885: 91). Keeping in view the antiquarian importance of the Asokan Rock Edicts, Alexander Cunningham, Director-General of Archaeological Survey of India (henceforth ASI) deputed H. B. W. Garrick with clear instructions "to obtain the photographs of the great rock inscription of Asoka at Shahbazgarhi" (Cunningham 1885: iii).

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[4] GPD stands for Gazetteer of the Peshawar District.
[5] IGI stands Imperial Gazetteer of India.

6.   Chanaka-dherai :

Beal 1869; Cunningham 1875; Foucher 1915/2005; Mizinu *et al.* 1969

The Chanaka-dherai (Dani Chanak-dheri) site is located one and half miles north of the present day town of Shabaz-garha on the left side of main Mardan-Buner road. A. Cunningham says that

> There is a group of several mounds known as *Chanaka-dheri*. The meaning of this is unknown. There are three principal mounds, each several hundred feet in length, and from 15 to 20 feet in height. They all show the remains of massive stone walls; but as three days' superficial excavation disclosed nothing of value except a number of walls, I gave up their further exploration for want of time (Cunningham 1875: 13).

The legend of giving the state white elephant in charity by Prince Sudana/Viśvantara to the Brahmans has been fixed in the north of ancient city of Po-Lu-Sha, which is obvious from the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, XuánZàng's description as under:

> To the south-east of this place about 200 li, we arrive at the town of Po-lu-sha. On the north of this town is a *stûpa*; here it was Sudâna the Prince, having given in charity to some Brâhmaṇs the great elephant of his father the king, was blamed and banished. In leaving his friends, having gone out of the gate of the wall, it was here he paid adieu. Beside this is a *Saṅghârâma* with about fifty priests or so, who all study the Little Vehicle (Beal 1884: 111-112; see also Watters 1904: 217).

Chanaka-dherai site has been identified by the archaeologists as the legendary site for giving the white elephant in charity (Dani 1964: 4; F. A. Khan 1964: 65; Samad 2011: 124).

Alexander Cunningham is of the opinion that the temple got its name and origin from a tree stood there called the white elephant tree. He also mentions a picture with in the temple depicting Prince Sudatta, his wife and children begging from a Brahman. Cunningham counts about fifty monasteries around the temple (Cunningham 1875: 16).

Alfred Foucher is of the opinion that Chanaka-dherai is the local version of the original Sanskrit term of Kanaka-Chaitya. By recalling Sung Yun description of the Chanaka-dherai site, A. Foucher explains the term Kanaka-Chaitya as 'it may even be asked that Chanaka-Ḍēhrí, which has no meaning in Pushtu and which is the regular equivalent of the Sanskrit *Kanaka-Chaitya*, the "golden sanctuary" does not still recall the

"dazzling spectacles for human eyes" which presented itself to Song-yun: at any rate the existence of a stūpa of this name in Gandhāra is attested elsewhere' (Foucher 2005: 26; Dani 1964: 4). A. Cunningham made limited/partial excavations at the site and unearthed "several coins and potsherd with visible structural remains" were recovered as per Foucher report (F. A. Khan 1964: 65). Again this site was excavated by the Scientific Mission of Kyoto University led by Professor Seiichi Mizuno in September 1959 in collaboration with Department of Archaeology (F. A. Khan 1964: 65). The Scientific Mission of Kyoto University led by Professor Mizuno unearthed three complexes of structures i.e. a rectangular tank with diaper masonry, foundation of a circular stupa and the monastic establishment (Dani 1988: 80-81).

7. Cave of Prince Sudâna or Sudatta in the Kâramâr Hill:
Cunningham 1875

Sung Yun has described the cave and its related monuments as "to the S.E. of the crest of the hill Shen-chi, is a rock-cave of the Prince, with two chambers to it. Ten paces in front of this cave is a great square stone on which it is said that the Prince was accustomed to sit; above this Asôka raised a memorial tower" (Beal 1869: 194). While XuánZàng description of the site of Mount Dantalôka (*Tan-to-lo-ka*) is as under:

> To the north-east of Po-lu-sha city about 20 li or so we come to Mount Dantalôka. Above a ridge of that mountain is a *stûpa* built by Aśôka-râja; it was here the prince Sûdana dwelt in solitude. By the side of this place, and close by, is a *stûpa*. It was here the prince gave his son and daughter to the Brahmaṇ, who, on his part, beat them till the blood flowed out on the ground. At the present time the shrubs and trees are all of a deep red colour. Between the crags (*of the mountain*) there is stone chamber, where the prince and his wife dwelt and practised meditation. In the midst of the valley the trees droop down their branches like curtains. Here it was prince in old time wandered forth and rested (Beal 1884: 112-113; see also Watters 1904: 218).

At a distance of two miles in the north-east of the town of Shahbaz-garha, Alexander Cunningham discovered another archaeological site with no specific name but simply known as "the Cave" in the north face of a ridge in the Kâramâr Hill. This cave is so spacious to accommodate as many as 40 people to sleep on the ground. Alexander Cunningham identified this

site with Prince Viśvantara cave as he says "this, then, was the cave that I was in search of, and which I will presently attempt to identify with the famous two-chambered cave of Prince Sudâna or Sudatta" (Cunningham 1875: 13-14). He also discovered a huge block of stone measuring 12 feet square on which Prince Viśvantara accustomed to sit (Cunningham 1875: 17).

8. Mekha-Sanda (the female and male buffalo):
Cunningham 1875; Foucher 1915/2005; Mizinu *et al*. 1969

In the north east of the city of Po-lu-sha (Shahbaz-garha) at a distance of 1.5 km is standing the famous mountain of Mekha-sanda (meaning female and male buffalo in Pashto with the Sanskrit equivalent of *Mahishī-shaṇḍau*) where prince Sudana and queen Madrī spent their third stage of married life when the husband lives away from wife (Foucher 2005: 26-27; Odani *et al* 1969: 79; Neelis 2011: 237-238).

About the nomenclature of the site, Odani *et al*. are of the opinion that "the name is derived from two big rocks which look like two animals, Mekha and Sanda, lying side by side on the mountain top. *Mekha* means a female water buffalo and *Sanda* a male water buffalo in Pashto" (Odani *et al* 1969: 79).

However, Alfred Foucher description is more philosophical based on Buddhist canonical literature of. He has described Mekha-sanda site as under:

> Here again it might be supposed that, granted the well known meaning of *Mahishī* (queen or princess) this Indian name may contain a distant allusion to the supposed sojourn of Prince Viśvantara and Madrī his faithful wife. But a more convincing proof in support of our identification will be to find as easily as in the previous case on the slopes of the little mountain, the cave and the two stūpas which Hiuan-tsang describes (Foucher 2005: 26-27).

The Scientific Mission of Kyoto University led by Professor Mizuno excavated the site in 1969 and unearthed stupa, an assembly hall and some votive stupas (Dani 1988: 81).

9. Shrine of Bhīmā-devī (Karamar):

Cunningham 1875; Garrick 1885; Watters 1904; Foucher 1915/2005

To the east-north-east of the town of Shahbaz-garha is located the famous and sacred mountain popularly known as Karamar-ghar (Mount Karamar). It is rich in archaeological remains as obvious from Alexander Cunningham description of the site in his famous "*Memorandum for Peshawar Explorations*". The prophetic description of the Karamar hill in the famous Memorandum of A. Cunningham was "The Karamar hill, to the east of Shahbaza-garhi, possesses many ruins. I have not seen this myself, but the hill was traversed by Mr. Pearson, of the Education Department, who recognized the traces of ancient buildings and sculpture" (Garrick 1885: 93). Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, XuánZàng has mentioned the shrine of Bhīmā-devī (self-wrought) on the top of Mount Karamar and the temple of Maheśvara Deva at the foot of Mount Karamar (Cunningham 1875: 18; Watters 1904: 221, 223). Topography of the sacred Mount and related sacred monuments have been described by the 6th century CE Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, XuánZàng as "To the north-east of the city of Po-lu-sha 50 li or so, we come to a high mountain, on which is a figure of the wife of Îśvara-dêva carved out of green (bluish) stone. This is Bhîmâ-dêvî. All the people of better class, and lower order too, declare that this figure was self-wrought." (Beal 1906: 113-114; see also Watters 1904: 221)[6].

11. Babal-dherai:

Garrick 1885

Garrick has mentioned also the site of Babal-dherai eastward of the town of Shahbaz-garha at a distance of 610 metres (Garrick 1885: 122).

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[6] The same has been given in Thomas Watters (1904) as: Above 50 li to the north-east of Palusha (Julien's Varusha?) was a great mountain which had a likeness (or image) of Maheśvara's spouse Bhīmā-devī of dark-blue stone. According to local accounts this was a natural image of the goddess; it exhibited prodigies and was a great resort of devotees from all parts of India; to true believers, who after fasting seven days prayed to her, the goddess sometimes showed herself and answered prayers. At the foot of the mountain was the temple of Maheśvara-deva in which the Ash-smearing "Tīrthikas" performed much worship (Watters 1904: 221).

Conclusion

These important archaeological sites located on the main trade and pilgrimage routes in ancient times as well as in modern time, no longer available for religious devotees as well secular visitors. Most of these site have been discovered and excavated in the period known/notorious for antiquity hunting instead of systematic excavations. Out of these eleven sites, only Ashoka Rock Edicts are intact.

Keeping in view the desolate condition of archaeology in this corridor (Shahbaz-garha and its environs), it will be advisable to engage society in general and academia in particular to ponder on those sites/monuments which are in dire need of preservation, conservation and projection at national as well as international level. One of the many aims, of engaging the academia and society, will be an active vigilance against illegal diggers/antiquities hunters and prospective builders to preserve all archaeological heritage sites located alongside the ancient pilgrimage and trade route. Gandharan Cultural Heritage in Swat is being systematically excavated and is in a good condition of preservation/conservation due to the sincere efforts of archaeologists/scholars attached to Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan since 1955. In contrast to archaeological sites in Swat, the picture in Peshawar valley in general and Shahbaz-garha area in particualr is dismal because this region came under direct British rule in the second half of the 19th century. Majority of the sites have been opened in search of cultural materials and were subject to non-systematic excavations save a few sites e.g. Jamal-garhai and Takht-bahi. In post partition era, Japanese Archaeological Mission to Pakistan explored and excavated sites in Mardan District in 1960s and onward but terribly failed in conservation and preservation. The sites of Chanaka-dherai, Mekha-Sanda and Thareli even fail to qualify for the list of *Khandarat* which is a common and popular parlance for cultural heritage monuments in Pakistan.

The past negligence may be rectified by present day commitment and earnest effort to safeguard cultural heritage sites from total annihilation in the region to reveal a peaceful and tolerant depiction of Pakistani society. It will depict an enlightened picture of the people of this region, who own material and non-material culture originated and developed on the land of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. Dr. Rafi is of the opinion that cultural tourism will boost positive image of the country in

international community. He says "Besides being a source of income generation, cultural tourism, for countries like Pakistan, can contribute to the process of positive image building and cultural projection", nonetheless, advocates of cultural heritage management and cultural tourism have been at odd with each other.

Alexander Cunningham has mentioned more than one mound at the famous Chanaka-dherai site but today there is only one mound in a dilapidated condition as it has been excavated by Japanese Archaeological Mission in the 1960s but without any proper preservation, conservation and restoration, the site even fails to present the picture of a *Khandar*.

All the above mentioned measures will eliminate isolation of the area and will boost academic, cultural, religious, political and economic interaction of the inhabitants with the national and international community. It will pay a positive role to showcase and display the province in particular and Pakistan in general as an enlightened, progressive and tolerant land ever ready to cooperate with international community for the promotion of cultural interaction and exchange. However, on the part of the state, all these measures will demand firm commitment to ensure peaceful environment free of radicalism and terrorism in the whole country in general and Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa in particular.

Last but not the least, the Government should work in close consultation with academia and international organizations working on cultural heritage to declare the ancient pilgrimage and trade route passing through this region as "Cultural Corridor" on the pattern of Silk Road/Route to attract the attention of the world community.

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-4-
Gandhara Sculpture:
Śrigupta's Malevolent Invitation to Buddha for a meal

Ghani-ur-Rahman

Abstract
The Buddhist sculpture of Gandhara has proved to be an effective expression language which narrates beautifully and effectively the events of the life of the historical Buddha. In this paper a very important event of Buddha's life has been discussed not only from the textual point of view but above all the artistic one. A Jain follower invited Buddha for a meal with the intention to harm him but instead he was saved miraculously impressing and converting the non believers of his doctrine. Beside the narration of the story in the art a part of this paper has been dedicated to its iconographic symbolism as well.

The story
This tale is an example of the tussle existed between the Jaina and Buddhist followers. A wealthy man Śrigupta at Rajagṛiha was the follower of Jaina doctrine while his wife was Buddhist. The wife did not like the heretic Jaina teacher of her husband. She one day poured soup around her doorway and the Jaina teacher slipped and almost broke his neck. The angry Jaina followers together with Śrigupta invited the Buddha for a meal to revenge their teacher. They dug a ditch at the entrance of Śrigupta's house and filled it with hot burning charcoals and hid it. When the Buddha arrived and stepped over the ditch it miraculously turned into a lotus pond. It is this moment to which the importance has been given in Gandhāra sculpture. Buddha and his disciples are sculptured stepping on the lotus flowers which remind us the whole story which proceeds with the offering of the meal mixed with poison which miraculously was neutralised with the divine power of Buddha Śākyamuni.

Representation of the episode in Gandhāra Sculpture

This episode has been represented in two main phases in Gandhāra Sculpture. The first phase is the arrival of Buddha and performing the prodigy of growing lotus flowers under his feet to avoid falling in the trap ditches. The second phase is the eating of the meal prepared for them by Śrigupta.

The episode is represented in three different narrative modes in Gandhāra Sculpture: In the first mode the arrival and eating scene is represented on the same architectural piece such as fig. no. 6 (Kurita 2003: 380). In this narrative mode Buddha is represented standing on the miraculously appeared lotus flowers together with his companions and on the same architectural piece the second phase that is eating the meal is represented. This is a simple representation of the whole episode in which the prodigy is represented by the lotus flowers under their feet in the first phase while in the next prodigy that was the neutralisation of the poisonous food, is usually a simple eating scene; In the second mode of narrating this episode Buddha is represented together with his companions standing on the flowers while the individuals in the surrounding are surprised seeing the divine powers of Buddha. The example for this mode of narration is the lowers register of Fig. no. 1 (Kurita 2003: 374); the third mode of representing the prodigious episode is the scene of the eating of the meal by Buddha and his followers. Fig. no. 4 (Kurita 2003: 379) and no. 9 (Sharma 1987) are the examples for this mode of narrating the episode.

After identifying the phases of the episode and their modes of representation, the examples included here will be examined with a closer eye to see the iconographic details.

The lower register of fig. no. 1 represents the phase of the arrival of Buddha and his followers. This scene is composed of individuals with different physical appearance to distinguish the different component of the story. Buddha is represented in a gigantic mode, like most of the narrative sculptures of Gandhāra. Behind the Buddha Śākyamuni two turbaned individuals, who can be the representations of heavenly beings, are represented with their right hands raised in the air. A Buddhist monk clad in a drapery and vajrapāni are represented behind Buddha. An individual, probably Śrigupta is prostrated before Buddha after seeing the prodigious happenings of the rising of lotus flowers covering the ditches, while two

turbaned individual are present behind the prostrated individual. The two individuals can be the host couple represented before the prostrating of Śrigupta. In the far left are represented two Jaina naked monks. The prostrated individual and the structure of the whole scene remind us the scene of *Dīpamkara Jātaka* found widely in Gandhāra. Thus whatever style and origin is decided in the future research these two examples seem to be placed in the same group.

Some landscape elements such as a tree has been represented in the background to represent a natural environment. A half open door indicates the resident of Śrigupta. The figures are physically and stylistically so different that they can be grouped in the same scene.

Fig. no. 2 (Kurita 2003: 375) represents the episode in a different manner as compare to the one we have just seen. Here Buddha has been shown standing on the lotus flowers while in his surrounding there are two rows of individuals. In the lower row behind Buddha three individuals can be identified as two monks and Vajrapāni who bears the thunder bolt (*vajra*) and is the only individual without a full drapery. In front of Buddha in the lower row and in the whole upper row all the individuals are represented with joined hands and they are clad with draperies and turbans. The turbans indicate the noble caste or the kings and princes of the heavenly world.

Fig. no. 3 (Kurita 2003: 377) represents the arrival of Buddha and his monks while Śrigupta is inviting him to sit on the prepared seat. On the outer sides of the panel meditative Buddhas (*dhayāni Buddha*) have been represented to remind to the audience about his being a great being with divine powers.

Fig. no. 4 (Kurita 2003: 379) depicts Buddha and his monks eating the meal while an individual is standing near the Buddha perhaps serving him food. Is he Śrigupta? If yes, then it would seem strange depicting him with an *ūṣnīṣa*. If the *ūṣnīṣa* is considered a sign of any *arahat*, a category which includes even Buddha, then he might be one of his disciples of the higher stature who has achieved that category. But we have heard that some of the individuals such as Maudgalyayāna and Śripūtra could achieve the target immediately after their conversion because they were already of a higher spiritual level following their way of *dharma* and as soon as they converted to the good law of Buddha they were admitted to the highest level in the order. Having this example we can think of

Śrigupta as one of the high calibre disciple. We do not hear of him as a disciple of a higher level and this leave the situation doubtful.

The second register from above in Fig. no. 5 (Kurita 2003: 378) represents the episode of Śrigupta's invitation. In this representation Buddha's arrival is depicted. He is accompanied by his companions on the right while on the left Śrigupta and his wife is welcoming him. The lotus flowers can be seen under the feet of Buddha and two of his companions. The one behind Buddha seems to be Vajrapāni. A few other heads are seen in the background.

The details in Fig. no. 7 (Peshawar Museum Collection) are almost similar to the figure no. 5. But here the lotus flowers are more prominent and Śrigupta is kneeling in front of Buddha while welcoming him instead of just bending forward as in Fig. no. 5.

In the right portion of Fig. no. 8 (Peshawar Museum Collection) Buddha's arrival is represented. He as usual is accompanied while an individual in front of him is inviting him to sit on the prepared seat.

Fig. no. 9 is another beautiful example depicting the second phase of the episode.
Although damaged, Buddha and his disciples can be seen eating there meal while the feet near Buddha remind us of the host serving the food. The most important thing in this scene is the presence of a table on which the food has been served. The table with its crossing legs is so simple that it, in a first glance, seems a design over the seat. This shows the way, culture and economy of the region where this sculpture was sculptured.

Iconographic Symbolism of the Episode
The Lotus Flowers

Lotus symbolises the earth which has proved, on different occasions, to be on the side of Buddha Śākyamuni. The earth turned around when the Buddha Śākyamuni desired to see Kapilavāstu for the last time when he was leaving home. It was the earth which quaked as a gesture of confirmation as its being a witness to the merits of Buddha while Mārā challenged the claim of Buddha on the seat of *bodhi* under the bodhi tree. It was the lotus flower which was mostly represented as the seat of Buddha while teaching or performing any miracle such as the miraculous multiplication of him at Śravasti. This, thus, might represent not only the earth as firmness and in turn the firmness and deep rooted *dharma* of the

Buddha Śākyamuni.

The Jaina Followers:
The second most important sect beside Buddhism was that of Jainism. There are the mentions of six sects as a whole but Jaina sect or dharma is the one which seems to have been engaged in a tussle. This episode provides us with an example of the hatred between the two. It seems as if there existed tolerance in a great extent between the different sects but some times the followers of the different sects or *dharma-s* attacked and insulted each other. The Śravasti episode is another example which point towards this tussle. Even inside the order of Buddhism in the later years of Buddha's life occurred a schism under the leadership of his cousin Devadatta which was a great blow to the fame and unity of Buddhist order. This initial schism was a first step towards the several divisions, in the order, after the *mahā-parinirvana* of Buddha.

It is also noteworthy to mention that amongst the hundreds of sculptures studied during my PhD research I encountered only one piece (fig. no. 1) where Jain followers have been clearly depicted who are nude.

Presence of a Snack:
In this episode of Buddha's life like many other occasions his super natural powers have been elaborated. He has been represented not only to have just stepped over the hidden ditches but also ate the poisoned food which with his powers had been cleaned from any negative effect. There is no any sign of representing the poisonous food and its neutralisation by Buddha with his divine powers, but according to Kurita (2003) in some of the representations the poisonous food has been represented by the presence of a snack.

It seems as if snack was considered the most dangerous in those days because it is several times now that we have encountered the Buddha victorious over a snack. We have already scene that in Rajagṛha and Urūvela he overcame over the dangerous serpents and which had lead to mass conversions to the good law.

But I think we should consider another aspect of the poisonous serpents in Gandhāra art and that is ones symbolic indulgence in sensual pleasures which lead to ignorance and thus sufferings. The snack of our desires for sensual pleasures bite us at the end of every life and we are

reborn in another life in which again we are possessed by this snack and we, unaware of its danger, fell prey to it in the eternal life. But the message is clear, if one take hold of his desires and free oneself from the serpent of the sensual pleasures with the knowledge of the true doctrine he enters in the *sāñgha* and thus free self from continuing the *karma* which take him ahead in the innumerable lives full of sufferings.

Buddha's divine Powers

Buddha's divine or supernatural powers have been narrated in the Buddhist texts and have been sculptured with the same fervour in art. It was, as usual, the desire of his followers to project him as a deva. But if we go through his teachings and discourses it seems that he never liked to perform any kind of miracle but mostly relied on his communicative power, which mostly yield enormous results. His way of teaching was so effective that any miracle performed would have shadowed it. He, it seems, mostly avoided showing his divine powers and even restricted his disciples from doing so.

It can be explained in a better way why he preferred not to perform miracles and insist on discussions and convincing others regarding the truth and effectiveness of the doctrine he had discovered.

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Figure 1, Buddha's arrival to the home of Śrigupta at his invitation, Grey schist, Provenance Unknown, Victoria & Albert Museum, I.S. 78-1948, (Kurita, Isao, *Gandhara Art*, 2003, Fig.No. 374)
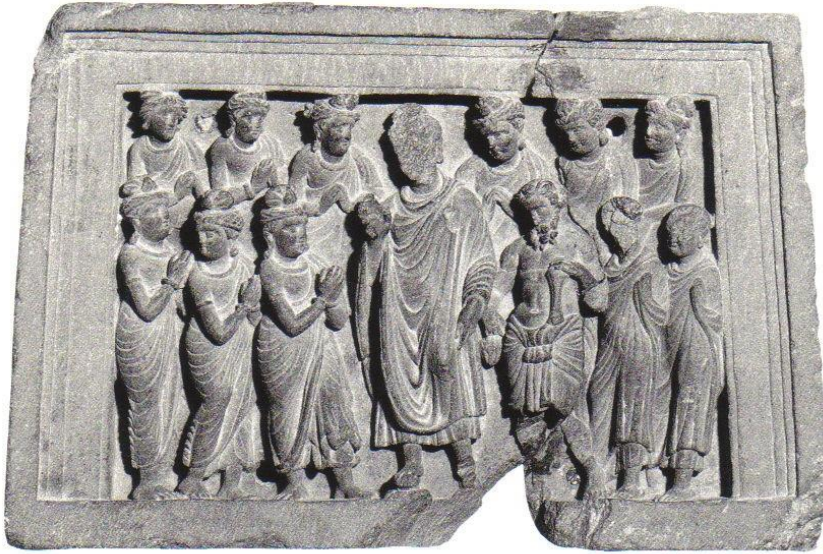
Figure 2, Buddha invited by Śrigupta, Grey schist, Provenance Unknown, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, (Kurita, Isao, *Gandhara Art,* 2003, Fig.No. 375)

Figure 3, Buddha Invited by Śrigupta, Grey schist, Provenance Unknown, Peshawar Museum, (Kurita, Isao, *Gandhara Art,* 2003, Fig.No. 377)
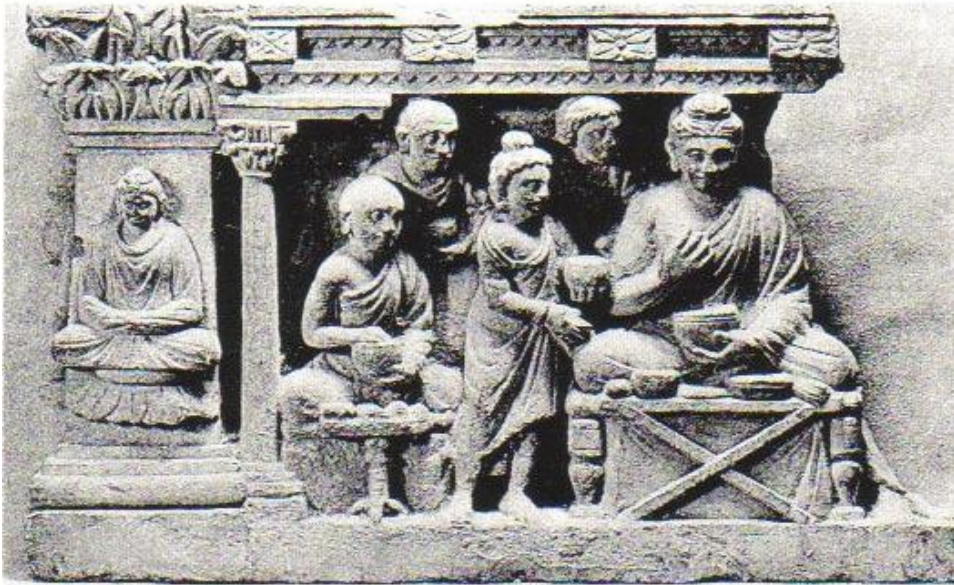
Figure 4, Buddha and his Disciples on meal invited by Śrigupta, Grey schist, Provenance Unknown, Private Collection Pakistan, (Kurita, Isao, *Gandhara Art,* 2003, Fig.No. 379)
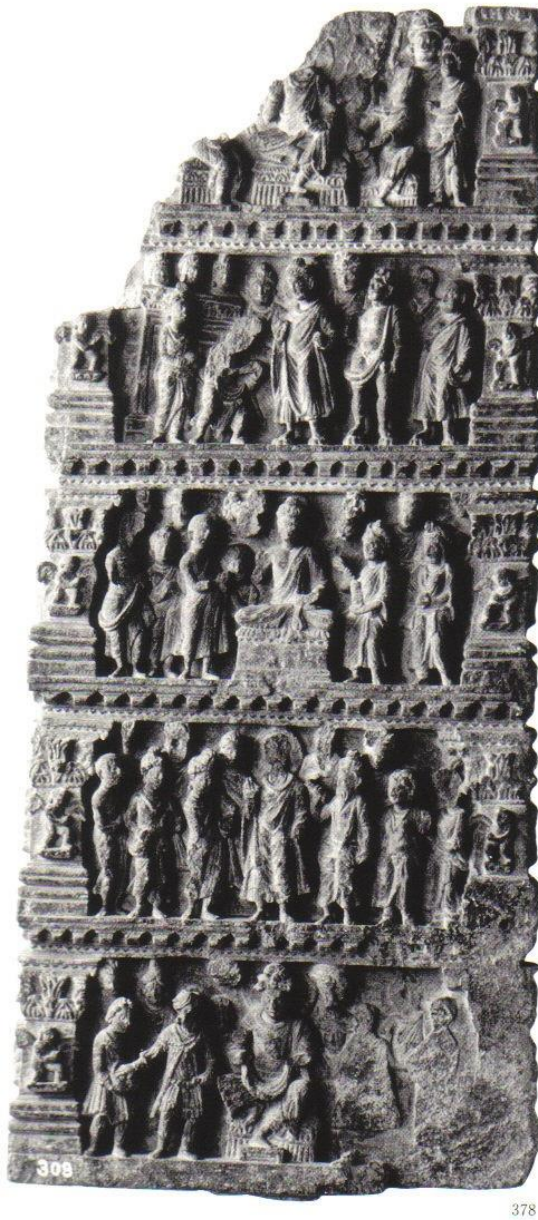
Figure 5, Buddha Invited by Śrigupta (second from above), Grey schist, From Kalawāl, Lahore Museum, © Mr. Gakuji Tanaka, (Kurita, Isao, *Gandhara Art,* 2003, Fig.No. 378)

Figure 6, Buddha invited by Śrigupta, Grey schist, Provenance Unknwon, Calcutta Museum, No. G. 173, (Kurita, Isao, *Gandhara Art,* 2003, Fig. No. 380)

Figure 7, Buddha invited by Śrigupta, Schist Stone, Provenance Unknown, Peshawar Museum, PM-02795, (Courtesy Peshawar Museum)

Figure 8, Buddha invited by Śrigupta, Schist Stone, Provenance Unknwon, Peshawar Museum, PM-02797, (Courtesy Peshawar Museum)

Figure 9, Buddha invited by Śrigupta, Stone, Jamalgarhi, Calcutta Museum, G 153/ A23515, (Sharma, R.C., *Gandhara Sculpture*, 1987, Fig. No. 26)

An Illustrated manuscript of Yusuf wa Zulaikha: A Rare Flower of Earthly Paradise

Nausheen Abbas
Rukhsana Said Khan

Abstract
Illustrated manuscripts are visual testimonies of a region's cultural traditions, prevalent fashions and are precursors of its future trends. Art of the Book in the sub continent, during the Mughal period received maximum attention of art historians owing to the zenith of finesse it reached. Post Mughal documentation and researches awaits much to be done. This paper is an endeavor in this respect. An illustrated manuscript is the subject of this paper. It does not bear a colophon. The miniatures of this manuscript thus provide an excellent source of comparisons to draw analogies from other existing ones, similar in style in some known archives of the world. By thorough examination of its compositional elements the paper intends to prove that it belongs to a rare group of illustrations from Kashmir and was produced during the third decade of 18th century.

Introduction
Illustrated manuscripts are hand written books that incorporates paintings usually in the form of narratives. Quite often the illustrated books also include graphic ornamentation in the forms of designs – called illumination. Together, they are most tangible visual sources of the time they were created in. These manuscript vividly decipher the pictorial traditions of that specific time and space. This make both illustrated and illuminated manuscripts worthier and more precious an inheritance.

The history of illustrated or illuminated manuscript is as old as the history of book itself. It embraces almost all genres of subject matter, but the one that received maximum amount of illustrations is the genre of literature, both poetry and prose.

The history of book illustration in Indian sub continent dates back to Buddhists and Jains. With the advent of Muslims the pre-existing styles fused together with Persian book art. Starting from 16th century till the end

of 19th century C.E, the art of the book bloomed first into Mughal then in later centuries got subdivided into many regional versions.

Persian book not only exerted direct influences on the style of illustration and illumination but also remained suggestive for the choices of literature to be illustrated. One of the most sought after texts for illustration is the text of Yūsuf wa Zulaikha by Jāmi. Illustrated lovingly by Persians as well as Indians, this books is the story of life of Haḍrat Yūsuf (A.S), with emphasis on his relationship with Zulaikha, his wife. With a sufistic approach Nūr-al Dīn Jāmi, a poet, philosopher from Herāt, wrote it around 1480 C.E. The text provide great potential to the artist and usually have large illustrative cycles. Deluxe copies of Yūsuf wa Zulaikha were produced under Timurids, Safavids and Mughals.

In the sub-continent's scenario, the sumptuous and monumental appearance of the illustrated works under Mughals took most of the attention of art critics and writers. The regional book illustration schools developed later from 17th to 19th century mostly remains in oblivion. One of these schools is the Kashmir school of book illustration.

The 19th century illustrations from Kashmir quite abundantly appear in all the archives and museums of the world that contain Indian Book Art specimens. Kashmiri Book Illustrations from 18th century especially from the first quarter are extremely rare. There are just four known copies from first half of 18th century from four archival sources all over the world. These are: New York Public Library Spencer Collection, Sam Fogg manuscripts repository London, the British Library and National Museum New Delhi. The one from the Ganj Bakhsh Library Islamabad repository of Iran-Pakistan Persian Studies, is the subject of this paper. It would thus be a welcome addition to this category of 18th century Kashmir's Book Illustration.

The manuscript of Yūsuf wa Zulaikha studied at Ganj Bakhsh Library, M.S. Acc. No. 1129, does not have a colophon. On stylistic grounds it may well be assigned to 17 30's. The fore going discussion intends to prove this hypothesis. It's provenance to Kashmir cannot be doubted on the basis of comparative evidence discussed in the paper.

Physical Features of the Manuscript
Title: Yūsuf wa Zulaikha (Complete)
Date and Provenance: Not written

Scribe or Patron: Not mentioned
Accession No. 1129
Script: Persian in Nastaliq
Illuminations: 1
 Illustrations: 105
Folios: 499 (130 mm x 215mm)
Text Box: 90mm x 168mm with 2 columns and 11 lines per page

Kashmir once was eulogized in the words of Mughal emperor Jahangir "*Gar jannat ba zamin ast hamein ast o hamein ast o hamein ast*". This earthly paradise bore flowers of arts and crafts, among which one form is the Book Art practiced in the valley for ages.

The importance of Persian Classics as preferred text for illustration in Kashmir, may be rationalized by the deep rooted Persian traditions in Kashmir. It can be traced back formally to the rule of Sulṭān Zain-al ʿĀbidīn (d. 1470 C.E) in Kashmir. Having spent seven years in Samarqand, a flourishing centre of arts under Timurids, he brought with him artisans from there to settle permanently in Kashmir (Goswamy 1998: 7). He also sent Kashmiri artists to Iran to learn the art of book (Titley 1983: 211). Of all centers of Islamic civilization, culture and trade it was Sheraz from where greatest number of illustrated and illuminated manuscripts seems to have exported to other parts of the world (Robinson 1980:35, Titley 1983: 25) Trade links already established, Kashmir must also have received its share. Persian, till the end of 19th century remained well loved and wide spread among Muslims as well as Hindus not only in Kashmir but in almost all regions of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. The highest quality works may only rarely have come to Kashmir but routine quality works were likely to have been known in Kashmir and circulated among the literati (Hasan 1959, 1974: 90-91). This phenomenon accounts for a lot of Persian derivations in the illustrations produced in the valley of Kashmir.

In words of Karuna Goswamy "*Kashmir Art is like a thousand patelled lotus of Indian Myth that has been more believed in than explored*" (Goswamy 1998: XV). This statement though is not applicable to the earliest phases of Kashmir Art: the archeological remains of Buddhist times including the murals of Alchi and Tabo and later scholarly researches in the fields of famed Kashmirian shawl making, carpet weaving and paper mache´. It is actually the domain of its Manuscript

illumination and illustration that remains much unexplored. The first illustrated manuscript from Kashmir that belongs to pre-Mughal times is Fitzwilliam Museum's Bustan-e-Saadi (MS.251.1949) having seven miniatures in the style of 15th century Sheraz work[1] (Goetz 1962: 62; Losty 1982: 120). Then it was not after Aurangzeb (d.1707) that we notice the re-emergence of provincial patrons who commissioned illustrated manuscripts (Titley 1983: 210). One notices occasional commentary made by the early researchers as Percy Brown, Stchoukine and Goetz all of whom designate Kashmir miniatures as "provincial later Mughal" or "Folkish" in character (Brown 1953, Goetz 1963, Stchoukine and Flemming 1971). Way back in 1976, the first monograph on Kashmir painting was written by Admova and Greck restricting itself to the documentation of a few Persian Manuscripts from Kashmir (Admova and Greck 1976). Linda Leach work on Kashmir Painting is confined to a small portion of Shahjahan's reign and to Persio-Mughal boundary (Leach 1986: 124-32).

Losty and Titley both have provided us with a few examples of Manuscripts produced in the valley in 18th century (Losty 1982, Titley 1983). A much debated S̲h̲ahnamah has been published by both of them dated 1719 C.E. produced in Rajaur[2] .Some of the scholars as Karuna Goswamy sees lesser probability of it being produced in Kashmir yet she also admits that some of its features does relate it to later works of 1830's (Goswamy 1998: 22).

The earliest one after 1719 C.E. Rajauri's manuscript of Yūsuf wa Zulaik̲ha is dated 1722 C.E, in National Museum New Delhi, Acc. No. 48.6/2. The iconographic details of this manuscript seem much closer to the Rajauri manuscript of 1719 C.E mentioned above. In, for example folio. 59 b "K̲husraw's visit to Armenia", the golden throne, the head dresses, female costumes though relate it to our manuscript yet the landscape features for example, in folio 138 'Farḥād recounting his adventures to Shirīn', the ground and rocks are more stylized with the

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[1] Henry Goetz reports of the MS. of Sadi's Bustan (MS. 261-1949), that it was written in the first ten days of Rajab H. 911 (A. D. 1505) by Abû'l-Hasan ben Razavï *ba madina-al Kashmir*, that means in Srlnagar with fifteen illustrated pages.

[2] Rajaur is a small town near Srinagar Kashmir that comes in the route from Punjab via Sialkot to Srinagar. This route was the one that Mughal emperors used to take to visit Kashmir.

multi colored layers as in the earlier manuscript. The same observation is true to the color palette which is the same as that of Rajauri manuscript where it is deeper and brighter as compared to 17 30's illustrations.

Three Kashmiri manuscripts, one from the repository of a London Art dealer Sam Fogg (Black, Crofton & Saidi, 2005), another from the British Library (Titley,1977) and New York Public Library (Schmitz, 1992) sets the chronology of Kashmiri illustrations during the third decade of 18th century. Among them the only one with a complete colophon is Sam Fogg's published manuscript. It has the most informative colophon of all others. The colophon gives the name of scribe as Muḥammad ibn-i Yaẖya ibn-i Yūsuf, the date: 1143 A.H/ 1730-31C.E and place: In the region of Kashmir (Crofton, Black &Saidi, 2005, p.152, No.52). The one in British library (Or.1344), is dated (1734C.E), but without scribe's name, dedication or provenance. The two from the New York library have no colophons. These form a set of four from 1730's Kashmir illustrated book.

The forth coming discussion will sought to show connections of Yūsuf wa Zulaiẖha. Ms. 1129 from Ganj Bakhsh Library to the paintings of 1730's manuscripts from Kashmir. Thus the examination will provide a fine addition to already document above four illustrated books from 1730's Kashmir, known to the world. Analogies will be drawn from the above mentioned source and manuscripts will be examined side by side along with the manuscript of Yūsuf wa Zulaiẖha.

Stylistic Analysis of Manuscript: 1192 Yūsuf wa Zulaiẖha by Jami
Comparison of Physical Features:
On comparison of the physical features of our manuscript with four of its contemporaries, it appears that except for the S̲h̲ahnāmāh (Indo-Pers. 62 from New York Public Library), the sizes are more or less the same. All have large illustrative cycles. All of them are written in Black Nast´ālīq and have red headings. The margins are ruled in gold, black and dark blue in all of them (Titley, 1977; Schmitz, 1992, Black, Crofton & Saidi, 2005).

The Illumination
For the comparison on Illumination we have another example from 1734 C.E, a manuscript of Mathnawi-Ii Ma´nawi, which does not have illustrations. It is Christie's London Manuscript Lot.808. It is signed by the scribe Abd al- Qādir, written in Kashmir dated 1147/1735-36 C.E.

Observing the two together, our manuscript's illumination and that of Christies are much alike. Both share a central lobed arch with side half arches.

The illumination of S̲h̲ahnāmāh from Spencer collection of New York Public Library, Pers. MS.62 (Schmitz, 1992) has also taken the major elements of stock vocabulary of illumination prevalent in first decades of 18th century. The central lobed arch with two overlapping half arches at the sides in pale blue with rinceaux[3] spirals having small rosettes.

The rinceaux design with spirals and small rosettes as we noticed in Persian manuscript No. 62 of New York Public Library is also present here. In Indo. Pers. Ms.21, Schmitz notes, *"The unvan has concentric gold or grayish blue lobed arches patterned with red, mauve and white flowers on vine scrolls"* (Schmitz, 1992, p.193).
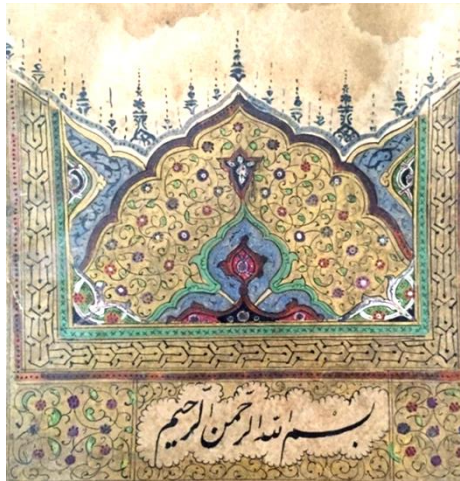
Figure 1. Illuminated headpiece Folio.1 from Yusuf wa Zulaikha, Acc. No.1129. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library, Islamabad

The Compositions

The most prominent feature of the compositions of the miniatures is the concentric arrangement of figures and objects around the main happening. The figures are neatly arranged in curved or straight rows directing the eye to the central figure *Fig. 2 and 3*. Multiple perspective is rendered where

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[3] An ornamental band of undulant and curing plant motifs.

the ground, either indoors or outdoors is seen from a bird's eye level and the architectural structures and figures from eye level. Hierarchal perspective[4] is also applied specially wherever there is an elderly figure of Y´āqūb A.S, Ādam A.S or Jāmi himself (Fol. 14, 24 and 27 of Indo. Pers. 21 of New York Public Library) *Fig. 4, 5*. Figures dominate all the picture planes whether indoors or outdoors. Human figures sometimes get prominence by number other times by their over powering sizes if lesser in number within the compositions (Fig. 184, 187 of Indo. Pers. 62; Fig. 190, 193 of Indo Pers. 21 of New York Public Library), (Sam Fogg's No. 52, pg. 157) and *Fig.5*. The picture planes are divided into bipartite, tripartite or multi leveled areas neatly demarcated from each other by means of ornamental edges of walls or rugs, or simply by outlines of small hills in the outdoor scenes. In some cases interesting links between these separate portions is provided by the artist as by an outstretched arm or an object going from one level into the other (Fig. 184, 187 Indo.Pers 21 of New York public Library), (Sam Fogg's No. 52, p. 154),and *Fig. 8, 16*. Although the figures are related but the artist has allocated a separate space for each individual or group. This device is applied to even most crowded compositions as for example in *Fig. 8*. The same device extends up to 19th century works documented by the author of this paper earlier in many Shahnāmāh manuscripts. *Fig.11*.

Figure 2. Ms. 1129. M´irāj, Fol.14, 84 x 135 mm. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Buksh Library, Islamabad.
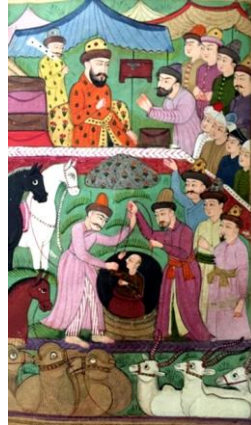
Figure 3. Ms. 1129. Yūsuf being pulled. Fol. 170, 83 x 135 mm. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Buksh Library, Islamabad.

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[4] Depiction of sizes of figures according to their respective positions in the society

Figure 4. Yūsuf wa Zulaikha, Spencer Indo-Pers. Ms. 21, Folio.144 v, 123x 760 mm (Schmitz, 1992, p. 195, fig. 193).
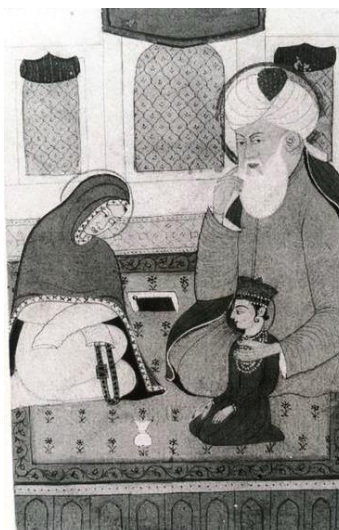
Figure 5. Yusūf wa Zulaikha, Spencer Indo-Pers. Ms. 21, Folio.27 , 121x 760 mm (Schmitz, 1992, p. 194, fig. 190)

Figure 6. Ms.1129. Fol. 408, 83 x 135 mm. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Buksh Library, Islamabad.
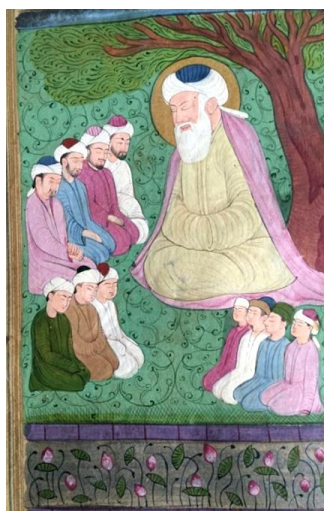
Figure 7. Ms. Fol. 50. 82 x 132mm. Yˊāqūb and sons. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Buksh Library, Islamabad.

Figure 8. Ms.1129 Fol.116. Zulaikha's entourage, 83 x 133mm. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library

Figure 9. Ms.1129, Jāmi telling the blessings of Love Fol. 37 83 x 135mm. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library
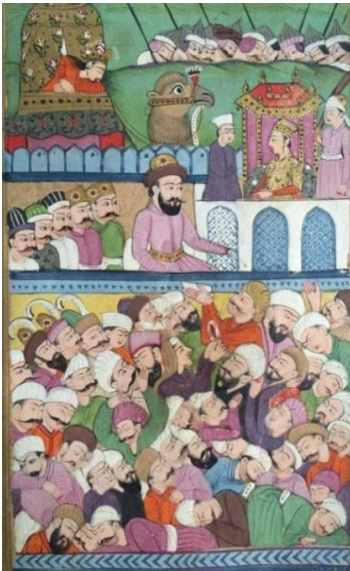
Figure 10. MS.1129 Yūsuf seen by Zulaikha and public, Fol.185, 83 x 135 mm Reproduced by permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library

Figure 11. Shahnāmāh, Ms.13836, In praise of Mahmud, 156 x 170 mm.Reproduced by permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library.

Figures and their attire

Figures remain the major concern of Kashmirian painter. He sets all kind of stages for them. Though human figures predominate yet, the Kashmirian painter is not bothered to bring out the anatomical fluidity or exhibits an interest in body contours as Pahari painter does. Faces rarely reflect the emotional states and there is no attempt at portraiture. All is conveyed however by externals and gestures *Fig. 8,9,12*.

The Kashmirian artist of 18th century draws figures not as summarily as his proceeding generation of artist does. In the illustrations of 1720-30's we observe much modeling and shading as compared to 19th century works. The features are delicate with large almond eyes, thin noses and lips. There is shading at the jaw lines. Male faces are many times short bearded and have a peculiar kind of handle bar moustaches. We may also notice a red round mark in between the eye-brows after the much prevalent Hindu men and women fashion *Fig. 15*.

The garments in the case of women consist of long gowns frequently gossamer unlike the later 19th century paintings. There are veils on heads mostly adorned with golden edges. Female figures are frequently bejeweled too with pearl studded strings or ornaments. This tradition of early 18th century goes well into all the paintings of 19th century. The head dresses of male figures have a great variety. There are thick white turbans with small stash at the back. Other times the male figures are wearing high felt hats that is the peculiar feature of 1730's and is not apparent in the paintings of Rajauri Manuscript in the British Library MS.88410 and MS. 48.6/2 from National Museum New Dehli of the earlier decade. Similarly, the paintings of 1730's do not exhibit a variety in complexions as that of earlier decade do. The complexion is constantly a light peach skin tone. White feathers or plumes are quite common over the turbans or crowns. These specifies the paintings of 1730's manuscripts of Yūsuf wa Zulaik̲h̲a in New York Public Library, S̲h̲ahnāmāh of Sam Fogg repository and the manuscript being discussed here *Fig. 14,15,16,17*.

Figure 12. Zulaikha grieved on Yūsuf's departure. Fol.464, Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library

Figure 13. Yūsuf's departure. Fol. 460. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library.

Figure 14. Yūsuf released from prison. Fol. 384. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bukhsh Library.

Figure 15. Zulaikha on her way to Egypt. Fol. 131. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bukhsh Library.
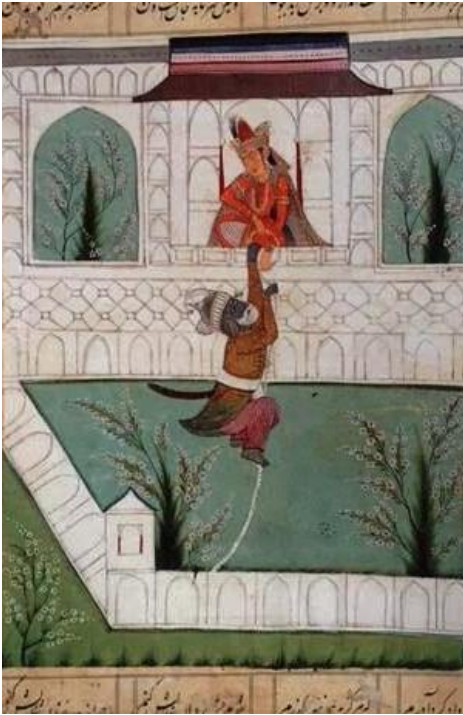
Figure 16 Zāl visits Rudāba, <u>Shahnāmāh</u>, Sam Fogg London (Black &Saidi, 2000: 52-52).

Figure 17. Yūsuf wa Zulai<u>kh</u>a, Spencer Indo-Pers. Ms. 21, Folio.144v , 123x 760 mm (Schmitz, 1992, p. 195, fig. 193)

Landscape Features

The most prominent landscape feature of 1710-40 C.E. Kashmirian illustrations is the extremely high horizon. In all the books from first three decades of 18th century it is painted green or sometimes there is a rare inclusion of an extremely thin line bare of color on the upper most edge of the picture. Mostly the green ground is stretched to the top most edge of the picture plane and horizon line is omitted (MS. 18804, British Library. MS.48.6/2, National Museum, New Delhi, MS.52 Sam Fogg's Repository reproduced on pg.152 and 157, MS.21, MS.62. New York Public Library). All of these and the subject manuscript share this characteristic. However, in our manuscript, Sam Fogg's and New York Public Library Manuscript Indo-Pers. 62, there is lesser stylization in the treatment of foliage on the ground and the multi colored rocks are absent altogether. The treatment of tufts of grass is regular and schematic as in the earlier works but simpler in

1730's manuscripts. This tradition again is retained in the 19th century but becomes too monotonous and mechanical. White and pink blossom trees, lotus flowers on plain grey water also appear commonly in all 18th century paintings *Fig. 18 &19*.

Architectural Elements

White painted structures form the back ground of many scenes. They are adorned with scrolls and vines with red and pink rosettes. There are arches and arched niches with rolled up screens on their tops. Sometimes there is also an inclusion of a hanging canopy at one side of the white pavilion in case of a garden or other outdoor scenes. White architectural pavilions and hanging canopies also form the indispensible element in the 19th century Kashmirian paintings but with much lesser refinement. Cloth tents with triangular slanted roofs having striped designs are also drawn in many outdoor scenes. Wherever the scene requires as for example in the background of a market scene the houses are shown as huts always with slanted roofs so in accordance with Kashmir's environment.

A note worthy element in Kashmir's works of early 18th century is the animal drawings of Kashmir's artist where he proves to be an expert. Camels, elephants, deer and even mountain goats make exotic appearance as in the story of Yūsuf and Zulaikha or Shahnāmāh. They do not appear as interesting and as varied as in 18th century Kashmirian Illustrations *Fig. 14, 17, 18*.

Another important feature worth observing is a black and white chevron patterned flag with "Allāh" written in the middle can be seen in Ganj Bakhsh manuscript and in New York Library manuscript as well in identical form (Schmitz, 1992, Fig.194, Indo-Pers.62), *Fig.21, 22*.

The color palette applied in 1730's manuscript and in the manuscript under discussion alike, are mudane and low-keyed as compared to the paintings of previous decades and the proceeding works as well. The predominating green of the ground is not as deep as that of Rajauri manuscript and National Museum's Khamsa. Similarly if we compare the paintings of 19th century, they appear far more subtle.
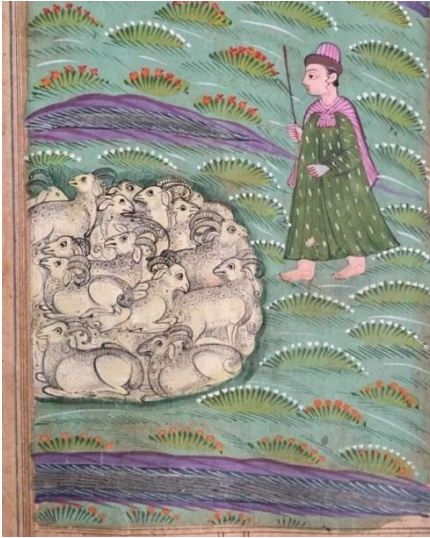
Figure 18. Yusuf as Shepard, Folio.340, Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library.

Figure 19. Zulaikha in Palace. Folio. 194. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library.

Figure 20. Sultan of Egypt waiting for Zulaikha's arrival, Fol.123. Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library

Figure 21. Zulaikha's encounter with Yusuf's caravan. .Reproduced by the permission of Ganj Bakhsh Library

Figure 22 Yusuf wa Zulaikha, Spencer Indo-Pers. Ms. 21,
Folio. 197 , 123x 760 mm (Schmitz, 1992, p. 196, fig. 194)

Conclusion

The examination of various stylistic features of Manuscript 1129 Yusuf and Zulaikha paintings reveal that it belongs to the third decade of 18th century from Kashmir. To prove this hypothesis two undated manuscripts from New York public Library and a manuscript with a complete colophon from Sam Fogg's collection was compared. A comparison of illumination was made with another dated manuscript from Christie's London which also have a scribe's name and provenance mentioned clearly. To ascertain the hypothesis analogies were also drawn with the help of few dated manuscripts produced earlier in the century and that of a whole lot of manuscripts from late 18th and 19th century Kashmir. Yusuf wa Zulaikha, Manuscript 1129 from Ganj Bakhsh Library is a welcome addition and representative of a rare category of painting that set hall marks of manuscript illustration in Kashmir till last era of their production.

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-6-

Solipcism - Vs - Interaction: the Dynamic Nature of Oral Literature

Sayed Shujaat Ali

Abstract

Shift from the medium of primary orality to the medium of literacy caused a difference in the thought and content, reflected in the language used by products of both the mediums. The modern reader, being thoroughly conditioned to the writing mode, takes exception to some obvious so-called communication deficiencies inside oral traditions. The reason is his/her inablity to appreciate the circumstances that existed at the time when orality was the main mode of literary expression, and his/her obliviousness to the mechanism, over which oral traditions depended. Modern readers see oral products as variants of written products and simply as texts that failed to get written. They apply rules of literacy in evaluating oral traditions. Oral forms came into existence centuries before writing was invented, and when the stage for literacy, in the form of paper and pen, was yet to be set. They have a considerably different nature, emanating from a totally different frame of mind and different historical circumstances and context. Unlike the solitude needed for writing, oral traditions were produced in the heat of interaction. Oral traditions used to be social performances, characterized by participation from both the singer and the audience. Both the singer and the audience had ways and means at their disposal, for controlling or affecting the course of communication, during an oral performance. In order to have a correct appraisal of oral works, we need to explore their nature of communication, in relation to the nature of communication employed by the medium of literacy. Various oral and written versions of a Pashto oral tradition of Badala, "Yousuf Khan Sherbano", were analysed for this purpose, and the modes and dynamics of communication, operative at these different stages namely, primary orality and literacy, were found to be quite different. Hence a correct appreciation of the oral mode of communication is indispensable for evaluating the true worth of oral traditions.

Introduction

With the modern over-concern with texts and their study, oral productions have come to lose their identity, of being a separate way of organizing experience and have started to be considered as variants of written products. Deep familiarity with literacy has made us oblivious to the resources and circumstances of an oral speaker. We evaluate oral art forms in relation to writing and not on their own terms. To appreciate correct communicative dynamics between speaker and audience inside oral traditions, we should not look at oral traditions in analogy with literacy, but rather with the frame of mind, when literacy was absent or negligible. An oral utterance conveys more meanings that are part of the real setting and total situation and of which only a nominal and partial segment can be represented by written words. In the act of writing, we do not have the rich context around that helps us convey a lot without depending too much on words, nor do we use our nonverbal and paralinguistic features to communicate ideas. It brings the speaker and listener out of face-to-face interaction and places them in the position of a writer and reader, who are chronologically and geographically distant from each other. In the face of these limitations writing has to grope more for correct words, grammatical devices and sentence constructions that convey meaning precisely.

For studying oral traditions, the researcher chose Pashto oral traditions. They came into existance at a time, when literacy was keeping a negligibly low profile. The researcher depends on Ong, for calling this stage as Primary Orality. According to Ong (1982), Primary Orality refers to the oral mode of expression, before writing or print came into practice and which is totally untouched by any knowledge of writing and print, whereas Literacy refers to the written mode of expression, coming in wake of the initial (primary) oral mode of expression.

The study of Pashto oral traditions was delimited to *Badala,* a Pashto oral form and a singing narrative; It was further delimited to a specific *Badala*, 'Yousuf Khan Sherbano', various oral and written versions of which were chosen. By applying research about contrast between orality and literacy, the paper lets the reader appreciate the true worth of Pashto oral traditions, by sensitizing the reader, that the difference in the features of the products of orality is not due to crudity or lack of care, but rather due to the requirements of the medium of orality.

Theoretical framework

Until very recent times, Pashtun culture and society has remained thoroughly oral. The lives of the inhabitants of this culture were deeply permeated by orality. Tariq Rahman, referring to the nature of culture, existing in this part of the world, and the vital role played by orality here, writes,"We know that orality permeated the lives of these people. In the religious domain, people memorized the Holy Quran. They memorized tales in verse. ...In short, the indigenous tradition was historically oral and it was connected with the emotional and the sacred. It was not written tradition and it was not primarily connected with ratiocination and logical analysis". (Rahman, 2002: 12-13).

The nature of the oral tradition of singing narrative, called Badala, just like the English ballad and epic, is such that it is sung before a live audience. The extent of feedback varies, depending upon the nature of the tradition and upon the situation in hand. How much feedback is elicited, depends on the nature of tradition and then upon the situation, as observed by Finnegan (Finnegan, 1977). Compared to the rich feedback, when singing is performed in groups (Hunter, 1979) and the rich feedback received during works songs, there is almost no feedback when a shepherd is singing to his flock (Treitler, 1974). Unlike written works, which are normally written and read in seclusion, oral traditions are generally highly social in nature and in the oral version, we find participation and lack of distance between the singer and the audience, as compared to the high distance between the writer and the reader (Ali, 2013). 'Orality is a different way of perceiving the world than literacy, as pointed out by many scholars, such as Parry (1928), Notopoulos (1938), and notably by Ong (1982)." (Rahman, 2002: 12-13). Ong (1982) believes that in nature oral thought and expression are additive rather than subordinative, aggregative rather than analytic, redundant or copious, conservative or traditionalist, agnostically toned, empathetic and participatory rather than objectively distanced, homeostatic and situational rather than abstract.

According to Walter Ong (1982), oral thought and expression are empathetic and participatory in nature. Length of an oral story is in accordance with the occasion, sitting, point of time, size of audience, time available, and mood of both the audience and the author. As opposed to it, the writer cannot judge the demands of occasion and the requirements of the readers.'The writer's audience is always a fiction' (Ong, 1977: 53-

81). Rosenberg underscores the importance of audience's feedback, elicited by the oral tradition of sermon, as follows: "The responses of the congregation aid the preacher's timing; they punctuate his lines. . . . The congregation sings, hums, yells, and joins in the service as it chooses, and almost always its tone and timing is musically correct. The quality of the congregation seems to have a great effect upon the sermon, influencing the preacher's timing, his involvement in the service, and sometimes even the length of his performance. A sermon of this type often fails or succeeds according to how well the preacher can stimulate the congregation's rhythm by his own chanting" (Rosenberg 1970: 5).

Georges terms the recounting of a story as a communicative event, the message of which is encoded, by making use of linguistic, paralinguistic and kinesic codes and the transmission and reception of this message elicits ongoing perceptual responses, taken as feedback on both sides, by sender and receiver (Georges, 1969). An audience' nature can lead to variation in the style, length and material of the song sung by a singer (Basgoz, 1975; Lord, 1960). According to Larsen, (1988) the absence of audience or their incapacity to affect what is communicated, makes comprehension more difficult because a speaker's performance is improved by feedback.

Songs sung in groups are more regular in rhythm than songs sung in isolation (Boomsliter, Creel, & Hastings, 1973). Rhythm plays a very important integrative role in oral traditions. Music and dance performed during singing of oral tradition keeps the audience engaged and one integrated whole. The meters found in Pashto poetry are based on stress (MacKenzie 1958); which is a system with fourth syllable stress, fits well into rhythmic patterns in music, consisting of 8, 12, or 16 beats. However, according to Rubin, rhythm starts functioning differently, when writing, with its higher preserving quality, replaces orality. Dependence on rhythm for memorizing is reduced, in addition to reduction in its cohesive function of keeping a group together, as instead of performance before audience, reading in privacy gets introduced (Rubin, 1995).In a statement of oral type, there is no need of explaining who is speaking to whom. But on the other hand, when we use the same information in written form, we use an elaborated code, whereby we have to mention who is speaking to whom. Olson (1977), too, has shown that orality relegates meaning largely to context, whereas writing concentrates meaning in language itself.

Normally speech seems less explicit than speech; however, according to Halliday (1985), depending on the purpose of the text and depending on many variables, a speaker as well as a writer, both can infer something or can state something explicitly. In oral traditions, there is much reliance on "immediate context" to express relationships between propositions. The availability of context makes the work of the oral singer easy. As Olson puts it, in oral tradition, "the meaning is in the context", in literate tradition, "the meaning is in the text." The extent to which knowledge is needed for interpreting a text is less than the one required for interpreting an oral utterance as speech relies on a type of background and situation that is shared among both the parties. However, there are some exceptions when some types of written discourses, like personal letters, also depend highly on a knowledge of context that is shared between these friends.

According to Havelock (1986), understanding in oral tradition is subjective, while understanding in literate tradition is objective. In case of literate tradition, the goal is for the relationship between propositions to be explicit, with the least connective tissue supplied by the hearer. Much of this connective tissue is supplied through integration -that is, through complex syntactic constructions. In contrast, oral tradition emphasizes the interpersonal function and demands maximum contribution from the audience, in terms of supplying sociocultural knowledge and background information.

In oral tradition, meaning is transmitted in the form of formulaic expressions, which signals knowledge that is shared and they contain meaning that is social and that cannot be analysed like in the written form (Tannen & Oztek, 1977). In oral tradition, as can be seen at other places (Tannen & Oztek 1977: 47), it doesn't matter whether one says "I could care less" or "I couldn't care less." The expression is, in either case, a handy way to make reference to a familiar idea (Tannen, 1982a: 2). Adam Parry (1971) found out that due to dependence on memory, an oral poet had to keep a stock of epithets ready; to meet the requirements of meter, during oral performance and that Homer put together formula after formula. He put these formulas together in a way that would be seen mechanical, if judged on the standards of literacy.

Majority of the words used in the epics form part of one or other formula and the formulae used follow a pattern so strictly, that they can be easily predicted. It makes the work of the singer easier to adapt already

existing formulas to new details for composing a song, without much effort. According to Walter Ong (1982), oral thought and expression is aggregative rather than analytic. Though not necessarily referring specifically to speech, Basil Bernstein found that expression belonging to restricted code is characterized by formulaic style, in which thoughts are joined together, like 'beads on a frame' and not in the manner of careful subordination.'(1974: 134).

Ochs (1979) especially has drawn on the difference between oral and the written discourses, by thinking the oral as unplanned whereas written as planned. She shows that whereas written language is characterized by complexity in construction, by use of devices for bringing about coherence and expression of the main idea of the paragraph in a single sentence, to give to the paragraph an appearance of a unified whole, unplanned spoken language, on the other hand, refers mostly to immediate context, is characterized by parallel constructions and is based on those structures of morphosyntactic nature that are acquired in childhood (*Ibid*). Although sentences in spoken discourse are shorter and simpler than written discourse, yet according to Halliday (1985) spoken discourse also has a complexity of its own kind and is therefore not necesssarily less organized. There are spread out and lengthy clauses in spoken discourse too and at times it can be intricate grammatically also (Ibid). Besides, it has a tendency to use deictic modifiers, to abstain from the use of relative clauses, to make frequent use of repair mechanisms whose abundance is confirmed by Chafe (1982) and terms them hesitation-making. Chafe(1982) too, has observed that spoken language provides very little for establishing overt relationship between its different parts, whereas written discourse has at its disposal different means of complex syntactic nature, to establish cohesiveness e.g removal of subject, use of subordinating type of conjunctions etc. Corrections, patchwork or in the words of Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) repair mechanisms, are found in oral works and not in written works. In case of reading with the help of what Goody terms 'backward scanning', extra words can be removed, wrong words can be replaced, more approprtie words can be supplied and order of words can be revised, before they reach the reader (Goody, 1977: 128). According to Halliday (1985) spoken discourse is lexically less dense than written discourse. So contents words like verbs, nouns, adverbs and adjectives are found not so much tightly packed as we

find them in written discourse.

According to Halverson (1992), preservation was the concern of the oral world, which was carried out through mnemonic devices and forms that made memorization and retrieval easier, which included practices like narrativizing, versifying and use of formulaic expression. According to Walter Ong (1982), inside primary orality, where we did not have the support of paper and pen, we find the existence of narrative mode in operation, before the logical argument mode of cognitive functioning was introduced by literacy. In the age of writing, the mind did not have to worry over the compulsory conversion of material into narrative, proverbs and poetic forms and when mind could utilize its energies in other directions, like bringing in new topics and having indepth and thorough discussion over them, without the fear of getting lost what had already been arrived at, because of the facility of writing. He observes that analytic thinking and linear thinking were made possible by writing.

In case of oral conditions, the absence of medium of writing has a deep influence upon the structure and plot of the story. As backward scanning is impossible and text along with its details cannot be seen and manipulated before performance, therefore, the complicated and involved type of plot, in which a sudden unraveling takes place, is impossible to achieve in stories of oral traditions. According to Walter Ong (1982), in case of oral traditions, we cannot proceed with a plot having systematic building up of tension and masterly maintaining of suspense till the end, nor can we manage the whole strands of a plot to be put together, towards the end of the story, for giving us a unified, comprehensive and sudden pleasure that we normally get in stories of complicated plot, like modern detective stories.

Data Analysis and Discussion

In the story, Yousuf Khan Serbano, the listener notices inconsistencies like the use of incorrect words, and wrong combination of words resulting in disturbing the rhythm of line and their consequent correction, in the form of patchwork. In the story of Yousuf Khan Sherbano, there are numerous places, where the singers cover up their mistakes resulting from the failing of memory, which shows that oral traditions were extemporaneous in nature. In case of forgetting a word, the singer provides another word to keep the performance going. The singer keeps attempting until he/she

finds the missing strain, as can be seen in the following lines, from the oral version sung by Fazal Qayum: Lines 817-818

'Shpa shwa thera nwar la na wo,
 Aw shpa shwa thera nwar la sir na wo wahalay,'
(The night passed away; the sun was not yet..,
And the night passed way; the sun had not shot its beam)
lines 846-847 Yousuf Khan proth dey,
Aw Yousuf Khan proth day pa da khushi bayabaaan,
(Yousuf Khan was laying...
And Yousuf khan was laying on a lonely moor)
and lines 850-851 Pa sar da kha,
Pa sar da karramar khakh ka mermaney.
(on the top of Kha
 On the top of Karramar lays burried, Madam)

The oral traditions or bards are not to blame for these deficiencies. Speaking on the spur of the moment divests one of the opportunity to look at one's views from various angles at the point of delivery and renders one subject to numerous objections and contradictions that in the eyes of the speaker could have been avoided, if he/she had been allowed to use the medium of writing. Because of being spontaneous, spoken discourse may contain more ungrammatical, incomplete and reformulated sentences but at the same time according to Halliday (1985), it cannot be termed unorganized but rather differently organized. Even, the literate speakers who have got their speech conditioned by writing, to a large extent, commit undesirable mistakes in their speech. How often do they, despite their good intentions, speak something, the negative connotations of which are realized by them after delivery later on, and which they wish they should have avoided. Besides the psychological fear accompanying the medium of primary orality, in the extreme case, it discourages a speaker to speak at all; if he/she ventures at all, then it normally affects his/her speed, manner and even his subject matter. A speaker keeps looking forward to grasp and arrange ideas, but at the same time, has his/her hindsight in operation, to recollect and build upon what has already been delivered, to do patch up work, in case he/she has deviated or has committed a mistake.

During an oral performance, the singer cannot stop like a writer, if he/she forgets a word in the middle of narration. He/she has to keep the story running. We find instances of repetition of the previous lines by the

singer, before he catches hold of the lost strain. The oral singer employes it as a tactic, to gain time and to stay in touch with the strain of thought and rhythm, as the total dependence is on memory. Although the corrections are made and the rhythm is restored the patchwork and the traces of incorrections can be witnessed in the recordings of the song too. These slips and mistakes carry through to the audience and the singer has no arrangmement to hide them from the audience. In live performance, these slips and then their patchwork result in a decrease in the interest level of the audience, in the credibility of the singer/speaker and in the force and convincing power of the statements made by the speaker/singer.

Written records are normally free from traces of memory loss. The medium of writing can hide mistakes, without being detected by the reader. In written form, one can exercise backward scanning and enjoy the privilege of revising a draft several times, before it is given the final shape. In case of oral performance, visual element, available in case of reading, is missing and to look back can be achieved at the cost of stopping to look forward. During oral performance, a very serious psychological effect is also experienced. The fear of making mistakes and then getting ridiculed, results in a great deal of psychological pressure, which not only affects speech, but at times, causes avoidance of it altogether. The medium of writing enables one to come out confidently and well- prepared, with a finished product, to venture into the sphere of new ideas, to keep a record of what has been thought out elaborately, to arrange different strains of ideas for shaping them into an organized whole, to anticipate questions, to put one's ideas to test and analysis in privacy, prior to their appearance before others, to refine them, and to think out alternatives. Writing helps in refining one's expression, by going through it over and over, by rephrasing it, by making corrections, replacements, selections and rejections.

The Oral version of the story of Yousuf Khan Sherbno is one continous stream, without divisions into chapters, which we see in writing, to introduce a change, and without offering any arrangment of its material into topicalization and categorization. Singing narratives, like Badalas, are divided into sections and each section is indicated by a signature couplet at the end, bearing the name of composer; they offer not only convenient refreshment breaks, in the lengthy performance of Badalas, but also serve as distinct and manageable smaller units or episodes, with a change in the

topic, a change in the end rhyme or in the rhyme scheme, as normally we see that each succeeding section comprises either of rhyming couplets (aa, bb, cc, etc.) or couplets with an end rhyme (aa, ba, ca, da, etc.). When the visual element was introduced into language, fresh modes of thinking and new devices of composition appeared. With the help of it, a text could now be analysed mentally into categories and the material could be seen systematically as topics and categories.

In the oral version of the story, we see that rising intonation, pauses, verbal request for back-channel responses are the devices used by the singer to monitor communication channel, visible in the temptation given by the singer, and the demand of silence made by the singer through verbal requests. The singer himself/herself can incorporate words and verses from his/her own side to control the behaviour of the audience, visible in the following lines, from the oral version of the story by Fazal Qayum: Line 330-331. 'Da qissey khwaga ba rashi keda ghwag, Aw da sarri zaman ba charey na ki zwag' (And the taste of the story will come if you keep listening! And persons born to real men would never make a noise), and line 379, 'Aw sabawon sho keda ghwag Ali Haider tha' (and the morning dawned, now lend your ears to Ali Haider).

When a dramatic situation approaches, the singer increases the pace of singing and the volume of his/her voice, and by doing so he/she motivates the musicians as well as the audience. The musicians are expected to increase their rhythm and the audience is expected to make emotional responses. When the audience is emotionally moved, a few enthusiastic members of the audience take it upon themselves to goad the musicans, as well as the singer, by passing encouraging comments and catch-phrases. Such situation can be witnessed in the oral version of the story, sung by the singer Said Alam, when he reaches a dramatic situation. He monitors the communication channel through his body language, facial expressions, posture, variation of volume, pitch and pace to motivate the musicians and the audience.

A singer, as opposed to a writer, has the added advantage of knowing and judging whether the audience is getting him or not and whether the message is eliciting the desired emotional response from the audience or not. This feedback from the audience has influence upon the performance of the singer negatively or positively and, in case of Pashto oral traditions, also upon the remuneration given to the receiver over

his/her performance. The type of feedback of the audience brings variation in the length, style and material of the song being sung.

The presence or participation of an audience can save the singer from deviating and missing a forgotten item and can encourage him to perform better. Oral traditions are social in nature and since they belong to the oral culture, they get maximum chance of performance and repetition. The same story, as well as its different versions, keeps on repeatedly sung, before the same listener. As a result of this, the listener becomes well-versed in the tradition and can easily identify the limits and boundaries of the oral tradition concerned. A listener of such type can encourage the singer and can keep the singer on track, by giving positive feedback, in the shape of applause. Similarly he/she can understand when a singer violates the boundaries of a tradition and can bring him back to the track, by offering the missing link, by making corrections and by supplying alternative versions. As a result, we find that the oral traditions themselves provide means for maintaining their stability in the form of a knowledgeable audience who act as conservative forces, to keep the tradition, as well as the singer, within the defined limits.

Due to the social, interactive and reciprocating nature of communication in oral traditions, there is web of relationships between various factors involved in the activity. Size of a piece of oral traditions depends largely on the mood of the audience and singer and upon the level of their reciprocation, existing between the audience and the singer, upon the interest span and attention span of the audience, on the occasion and on the time available for the performance. If the singer is engaging, the audience is attracted and if the feedback from the audience is positive, the singer feels encouraged to add more detail and embellishes his point with additional material. In such a situation, the audience also keeps on goading and praising the musicians, so as to encourage the singers and musician, not to slow down during the performance. If the response of audience is negative, the singer cuts his performance or his song short.

Oral traditions are performed, mostly for or with an audience and form social activities. The proactive and interactive communication between the sender and the reciever, inside various forms of oral traditions, is clearly visible. '*Nimakai'* is one such form which is sung collectively and is characterized by group participation. It is sung in the form of a chorus, by males and females together, in mixed voices, in

which one person repeats the 'sar' and the rest respond with the succeeding lines. Its participatory nature is shown in the use of dialogue and question answer technique. The singer puts question through the 'sar' and the group participants answer the question. '*Loba*' is another form sung in mixed voices, both of males and females and there is a dialogue between the lover and the beloved.. Because of its participatory nature, dramatic manner is used for arousing and maintaining interest of the audience. '*Bagathai*', another oral form characterized by singing in loud voice, participation and interaction, and fast rhythm fit for dance. Bagathai is often sung at points amid Charbetha or Badala, for instilling high emotions in a congregation, removing boredom and for refreshing audience, in the course of narration. The audience participate in it and respond to it in the shape of dance. '*Badala*', also called 'sandara' (song), is another oral literary form, used for narrating long stories and romances. It used to be sung inside *Hujra*'s in villages, but they are still sung in private and special gatherings, such as wedding cermonies etc. As it is a song, so its rhythm and ryhme renders it fit to be sung to the accompaniment of music, for live audience. '*Charbetha*', dialogic in character, is another oral form, sung with rapidity and agility, due to which it is fit to be danced with. Its rhythm, dance and music are helpful in binding the members of group together. Listeners of Charbetha imagine themselves to be the characters of the story inside it. It is performatory, social and congregational in nature, as it is sung at public places, like a *Hujra*, in the presence of people. One person sings the 'sar' and the others complete the Charbetha, in the form of a chorus and derive pleasure in doing so.*' '*Angai*' is a wedding song of lamentation, situational in nature and sung by females friends of a female bride, sitting around her, at the occassion of her wedding departure from her house.

Oral discourse is formaulaic in nature, and an oral bard normally has a store of ready-made formulas at his disposal; the oral singer just adjusts the newer details to these old formulas. It is more conspicuous in the Pashto oral tradition of '*Gharrey*', for the singing of which, the services of a local lady singer, adept in singing elegiac songs of lamentation extempore, are obtained. When someone dies, she is called. She is always on call, to participate in lamentation over a deceased person, for the purpose of making the gathering cry. Getting a few tips of information about the deceased person are sufficient enough for her, to

come up with moving verses of lamentation, with the help of ready-made formulas learnt by heart.

In such a situation, a very basic integrative role is played by rhythm. Through rhythm, a performance is situated in time. Rhythm furnishes an organizing principle for integrating all aspects of performance. When a single individual is singing, then rhythm helps him establish a sort of coordination between his words and his body movements and between his words and music, whereas in case of group singing, rhythm brings about synchrony between the actions of participants and binds the group together. The degree of control, mesmerism, integration and pleasure, which rhythm strives to achieve inside oral traditions, cannot be experienced, when one switches over from oral performance to reading material.

However, rhythm, music, and dance, forming part and parcel of oral traditions, are not without their cost; the singer sacrifiices more appropriate and exact words to meet the requirements of rhythm and rhyme, resulting in crudeness and lack of preciseness and exactitude in language. The distancing, which writing brings about, develops a new kind of precision in verbalization by removing it from the rich but chaotic existential context of much oral utterance. Orally managed language and thought is not noted for analytic precision. In writing one has time to deliberate and find the most appropriate words.

Writing is a solipsistic activity carried out in solitude. An author writes a book, with the hope that it will be read by hundreds of people; for this, the author indispensibly alienates himself/herself from others, for writing it. Contrary to delayed indirect influence in case of writing, in case of oral traditions the content has direct influence over music and music has influence over the singer, audience, singing, and vice versa. Music has a deep influence over the audience and over the pace of story-telling. When some dramatic situation is being described, the pace of music increases, more time is allotted to music, so that it can induce the audience more, and this combination turns the audience emotional; it further leads to their emotional comments which, in turn, serves as a fillip to the musicians as well as the singer. For instance, when the singer reaches to the emotional meeting between Yousuf Khan and his sister, after a great deal of time, and she starts narrating her as well as her mother's persecution, at the hands of her cousins, then we find that some extra time is given to the music, the

pace of the music fastens, the singer incorporates personal verses and repeats emotional lines of the story, and all this leads to further emotional participation and comments by the audience.

The audience responds to the emotional content of the story, to the singing of the singer or to the performance of the musicians, by making some very emotional expressions, as obvious in the following lines, from the version of the story sung by Said Alam. These expressions can be emotional comments of applause and encouragement for the singer and the musicians, like in line 21, 'wa wa Chaman gul' (great! great! Chaman Gul), line 22. 'khair de wi juma gul tha'(Peace be on Juma Gul!), line 59. 'daqqa se!' (yes, In this manner!), 'jwanday de yi rababi! afareeen'(long live the lyre player! Excellent!), 'oye rababi yaaakh sha'(O lyre player wake up!), and line 153 'Khanda ma rababi !' (O the lyre player, do not laugh!); these comments can be related to the audience's participation in the story and with the characters of the story, like in line 58. (haye haye!) (What a pity!), in line 173 'kher di wi' (may peace be there) and line 50.' aaaaw kana!' (Yes! Yes!); they can be rhythmic phrases or sounds of general ecstasy, made by some member of the audience, to give an outlet to its overflowing emotions, like we see in line 36, 'ting sha kana!' (Oooooo bear it now!), in line 40 'khair de wi!'(peace be there!) ; they can be toasts of health uttered by one member of the audience for another, like we see in line 32. 'Juma Gul tha de hum khair yi' (Peace be on Juma Gul too), or they can be ecstatic comments of one listener for another as in line 101: 'haaa salama'(O, Salam), in line 102. 'aw hajiba gwala' (O Ajab Gul), and in line 31. 'Aw mama yikh sha' (Yes uncle, wake up).

These comments refer to a social activity of an audience, unlike the solitary act of a reader or writer. By depending heavily on context, and eliciting emotional and subjective response from the receiver, the oral tradition encourages a sort of identification with the character described, and a sense of empathetic involvement with the speaker e.g, in the lines 274-275 from the oral version, Said Mohammad makes the following comments, for seeking audience's agreement, regarding step-mother and showing the closeness between the singer and the listeners: 'Grano muhtharamo! khuday de daase..Pa insane banda na rawli..Aw khuda de da mairey mor murad wrak kii..Dghasey dhoka warkayi, ashiqi bad maraz dey'(Dear and Respected folk!, may not God bring this over any human being, and may God destroy the wish of step-mother! She deceives thus!,

love is a bad desease). This very quality is at the base of and justifies the emphasis of oral traditions on action and people, instead of complex ideas and deep self-analysis.

The cumulative feedback, in the form of response by the audience, comes at the end of the performance, as can be seen in the oral version of the story by Said Alam. The audience acknowledges pleasure at the end of the story sung by Said Alam, as can be seen in the lines, 246, 'daiiiirr kha ! der kha !' (very great! very fine!), line 237 'der kha !' (superb!), line 238 'der ala! Der ala!' (very fine! superb !), and line 240 'Somra khwand ye wako !' (how joyful it was!).

The singer influences the rhythm of the musicians as well as the emotional status of the audience. The audience makes emotional verbal responses, in the shape of phrases or just meaningless sounds, uttered in ecstasy. The audience can come to understand what actuallly is meant by a singer/bard, through his non-verbal expressions and through the availability of the context, despite his/her using a grammatically wrong sentence, tone, emphasis, rate and voulme etc, to make his meaning clear. Even his/her nonverbal body language may suffice for faulty grammar. But in case of a writing, there is no availability of context; he/she has to create the context for himself/herself and, that too, wholly solely on the basis of words and structures. He/she does not have non-verbal gestures and expressions nor non-verbal devices, like changing tone, volume, rate and emphasis etc, to convey exactly what he/she means. Nor could their availablity to writer have made any difference, because whereas on one hand the appeal of the writer is universal, on the other hand the nonverbal gestures and expressions mean different things in different cultures. In order to convey an idea without the support of gesture, facial expressions, intonation, and a live audience, the writer has to foresee circumspectly all possible implications that a statement might carry, for any possible reader, in any possible situation, and has to manage his/her language work, so as to be self-sufficient in transmission of meaning, without any existential context. The requirement of circumspection renders the job of a writer manifold agonizing.

For understanding the oral expression, higher communicative competence and Pragmatics are required. Inside the oral version of the story, we find expression of discrete propositions and the relationship between them has to be established by the hearer. Unlike a writer of the

text, who expects nothing else than the application of analytical power from the reader and who establishes connection and relationship between different propositions of the text and integrates them through the use of dry complex syntactic construction, in case of oral performance, the hearer is supposed to provide the connective tissue through the store of his/her sociocultural knowledge. For making the communication successful, there is much emphasis on the interpersonal function and the audience is required to make maximum contribution, by bringing in their sociocultural and background knowledge, for the understanding of the content. Oral tradition expects a great deal from the audience. It leaves slots and expects them to be filled in by the listeners, through the shared knowledge between the communicator and the listener and expects audience to respond subjectively and emotionaly, instead of responding logically. Literate tradition depends more on itself, for making its meaning explicit, with the help of resources available to it, in the form of words, syntax, complex constructions, connectives and sequencers etc; it requires of the reader just to respond through cool and objective analysis of the content at hand, without relying on interpersonal relationship and outward knowledge-base, except the use of logic. Unlike literate tradition, in which knowing is achieved through analysis, in oral tradition it is achieved through identification with the characters in the telling.

In the oral version, to describe the incident of Sherbano's falling in love, references to the high emotional states of Yousuf Khan and Sherbano have been made. The singer or the composer has expressed his/her subjective feelings in referring to the state of Sherbano, after her falling in love, by adding personal verses from his/her side. We neither get detailed analyses of the minds of the major characters when in love, nor realize the pangs they undergo, when they remain seperated for years. We just know about their emotional states, when they interact with others.

In order to move the audience, the singer or composer has depended on inclusion of poignant verses from his/her own side. Between lines 25 and 26 from the version sung by the female singer, Gulnar Begum, we find verses that we do not find in the version by Fazal Qayum. They are as follow: 'Aw pa hal me ghrona pa jarra di noo'(the mountains are crying over my condition), 'Aw nakha ye daa da che sindona thre razina noo'(and its sign is that rivers are flowing down of them), 'Aw pradi rawari na khplaey gi noo'(non-relatives cannot be made relatives),

'Aw ka da thothi pa shan ye okrey khidmathona' (and even if you serve them like a parrot is served). But in the written version, the falling in love of Yousuf Khan with Sherbano has been described in an impersonal and cold manner, despite a flowery style as follows: "And so it was only a matter of time that the two saw each other. Cupid's arrows flew and the two hearts were kindled with the warmth of love."

In oral tradition, the purpose is to move and in literate tradition the purpose is to clarify. So, in oral tradition, the appeal is to emotions, whereas in literate tradition, the appeal is to logic. Oral and literate tradition reflects two superseding conmunicative goals. Literate tradition entails an approach to discourse which emphasizes logical, analytic processes and focuses on the content of a message, conventionally de-emphasizing or ignoring the interpersonal dynamics between communicator and audience. Conventionally, the audience is to respond by means of analytic processes, not subjectively. Oral tradition, on the other hand, emphasizes interpersonal function and expects audience understanding to be mediated by emotional or subjective responses.

A writer of a book does not normally get feedback from his/her readers, instantly. He/she cannot judge the success or otherwise of his written work. Contrary to this, an oral singer keeps on getting immediate response from his/her audience. Just like in case of dramatic monologue, the singer keeps on supplying and bringing variation in the content, due to the influence of audience present in front. The purpose for which the oral performer performs live, and its achievement or otherwise, can be judged from the response of the audience, during and at the end of the oral performance.

The close interaction that is obvious from the above mentioned sentences shows that oral performance was a social activity, in which the singer, the musicians and the audience influenced one another. In the oral version, we see immediate effect of the singer's words, facial expressions, body language and intonation, including other features of nonverbal language and paralanguage, over the audience. The music, accompanying the singing, in the live performance, influences the singer and the audience alike. The singing of a singer has direct influence over the pace of the music, the performance of the musicians and the response of the audience. When a singer determines to sweep the audience across and fill their hearts with ecstasy, he/she raises his/her volume, changes his/her tone and

pace and, in this way, gets immediate emotional response. The emotional response from the audience can be in the shape of comments of praise or encouragement for the singer or the musician like in lines 153-154 by Said Alam, we see the words 'jwanday de rababi! afareeen'(long live the lyre player! Excellent!), 'oye rababi yaaakh sha'(O lyre player wake up!). These comments can be related to the audience's participation in the story and with the characters of the story like, in line 173 'kher di wi' (may peace be there), from the oral version by Said Alam. They can be merely words of emotional catharsis, directed towards someone or just general comments, meant for no one like those we find in line 36 'ting sha kana!' (Oooooo bear it now!), in line 40 'khair de wi!'(peace be there!).

By depending heavily on context, and eliciting emotional and subjective response from the audience, the oral tradition encourages a sort of identification with the character described, and a sense of empathetic involvement with the speaker e.g, in the lines 274-275, from the oral version the singer, Said Mohammad makes the following comments, for seeking audience's agreement, regarding step-mother and showing the closeness between the singer and the listeners: 'Grano muhtharamo! khuday de daase..Pa insane banda na rawli..Aw khuda de da mairey mor murad wrak kii..Dghasey dhoka warkayi, ashiqi bad maraz dey'(Dear and respected folk!, may not God bring this over any human being, and may God destroy the wish of step-mother! She deceives thus!, love is a evil desease). It is this quality, which is at the base of and which justifies the emphasis of oral traditions on action and people, instead of complex ideas and deep self-analysis.

The cumulative feedback, in the form of response by the audience, comes at the end of the performance, as can be seen in the oral version of the story by Said Alam. In line 641, the audience acknowledges pleasure at the end of the story, as can be seen in the lines, 246 'daiiiirr kha ! der kha !, (very great! very fine!), line 238 'der ala! Der ala!' (very fine! superb !), line 239 'Der kha ! ' (very good!) and line 240 'Somra khwand ye wako !' (how joyful it was!).

Oral expression has also a tendency for using deictic modifiers, e.g. in the line 41, from the oral version of the story, sung by Fazal Qayum, 'Aw pa dey ghar (this mountain) ke me yaw ror day neghaban' (and in this mountain i have a hunter brother), line 42 'Daa dodayi (this meal) werla saahar wakhti warwram zaa' (i take this meal for him early in

the morning). In the phrase 'da ghar'(this mountain) in the these lines, the noun 'mountain' is qualified by the demonstrative adjective 'da' (this). It suggests closeness and proximity between the singer and the audience, which cannot be expected between a writer and a reader. The use of deictic modifier would suggest that the thing mentioned is part of the context and can be seen or remembered both by the speaker and the listener. Its use makes the job of the oral singer easy, as he is not supposed to describe and explain everything, like a writer does. In oral traditions we use limited vocabulary and every thing is not elaborated. This is because in the oral traditions, we use restricted code, which has limited vocabulary and in which every thing is not elaborated.

Feature of involvement is found in high degree inside oral expression, as oral expression normally takes birth in the presence of immediate context and direct interaction. According to Walter Ong (1982), oral expression is empathetic and participatory, rather than objectively distanced. The use of the phrase, 'Ya Qurban'(May i dote upon), by the singer, at a poignant point of the story, touches the heart of audience with the same intensity like that of the singer. The singer may stop narrating the story and may begin singing poignant verses, to make the event feel more touching; it frequently leads to outpouring of some involuntary or voluntary comments or praises from the audience, which is also a reflection of this feature of the oral expression. The resultant expressions from the audience may serve as tools of phatic communion, for being toasts from one listener, for the health and safety of another listener. Unlike the written samples, which appear more likely to include the use of 'passive voice' and thereby distance the speaker from the subject that is being described, in the oral versions of the story, we find frequency of the use of active voice e.g. in line 50 of the oral version sung by Fazal Qayum, we see, **'**Yaw jinay we tha ledalay Sheraghwand ke' (A girl had seen you in Sheraghwand). So unlike written expression, which is characterized by detachment, oral expression is characterized by personal colour, specific details and direct quotation, concreteness, visibility, use of non-verbal and paralinguistic devices, and emphasis on agency instead of state. The use of detail, direct quotation, description of action, parallel constructions and sound touchoffs inside the oral tradition are meant to realize two qualities pertaining to the immediacy function of spoken language: the quality of involvement and the quality of imageability.

Oral performance discourages one from moving into spheres, where one feels one's ideas are shaky and vague. Therefore, to keep oneself on the safer side and avoid slipping, one prefers to pave the trodden path and be a conservative in the use of language. A close inspection of the language and its structure, inside both the oral and written versions, reveals that whereas elaborate code assigns meaning to an item, that can be understood equally and universally by all and not by a limited group, restricted code, on the contrary, is practised by a close-knit group that has collectively assigned a common meaning to something that is seen through the collective lens of that group only. Because of a live audience and setting before the singer, the details mentioned by him/her in the oral version of the story concerned can be understood better by the local individuals e.g when the poet is describing the route adopted by the horsemen of Yousuf Khan it can be understood and enjoyed properly by a local, who has seen these places and who knows the distances between these different camping points.

Oral story was meant to be sung or read out to live audience, rather than read. It would be sung out of memory than read out from a book. Literacy was rare and the masses were illiterate. These circumstances had its impact upon the expression and thought of the literature produced under the medium of primary orality. In the oral versions of the story of Yousuf Khan Sherbano, we find numerous places where to cope with a situation, the singers improvise. They shorten or lengthen performance in accordance with the need of the occasion and feedback from the audience. They also skip couplets in between and jump towards the next couplets. They insert couplets and sometimes they repeat certain couplets either to let the effect last longer or to recall the next couplets. As obvious from the oral songs of all singers, except that of Fazal Qayum, all songs are just fragments, narrating parts of the complete story. The basic purpose is to move audience and as the complete story is normally already in the knowledge of the audience in the primary oral society, therefore, the singer often chooses a dramatic incident from the story, the narration of which can suffice for the full story. When the medium is the written, then the focus in on completeness. Normally with the advent of writing, the plot is managed in such a way as to procrastinate the major pleasure towards the end of the story. So in written stories, the writer does not normally choose parts, instead of the whole story, for amusing the reader. Singers have chosen different episodes at random. Every episode has a

pleasure of its own and its own dramatic scenes, narration of which brings about emotional satisfaction of the audience.

We see effective use of flashbacks, when Yousuf Khan narrates his story to the King and when sister of Yousuf Khan reports to Yousuf Khan, about the atrocities of his cousins and their maltreatment of his family members. We find the element of plot in its crude stage, in oral forms like Badala. In a long story of oral nature like this, the story has to move forward with breath-taking speed, once it kicks off, as the audience is eager to reach the heart of action. Audience from the stage of primary orality had to be engaged from the very beginning; therefore, they had to be taken to the heart of the story, the media res, immediately, when the scene would be red hot and then the rest of the clarifications and explanations were to be made in flashbacks. However, when a dramatic incident arrives, then the singer stops moving forward, until he has moved the audience fully, through personal emotional couplets and through repetition of poignanat verses.

So, for appreciating the exact worth of oral productions, we need not evaluate them in relation to writing, but rather on their own terms because orality is a unique fashion of organizing experience. An oral utterance represents an exuberant and chaotic existential context, total representation of which is beyond the capacity of writing. Unlike written products, which are the outcome of solipsistic activity, and require seclusion to be entertained, oral traditions take birth in the heat of interaction and are the result of proactive communication between the sender and the reciever. As social performances, they are characterized by participation from both the singer and the audience, where both can control or affect the course of communication. In the oral version, we see immediate effect of the singer's words, facial expressions, body language, intonation and other features of paralanguage, over the audience. The nature of audience also leads to variation in the style, length and material of the song, sung by a singer. Utilizing various mnemonic devices and practices like narrativizing, versifying and the use of formulaic expression, they were meant to be sung out of memory to live audience. The concern was preservation and the singer sacrificed more appropriate and exact words to meet the requirements of rhythm and rhyme, resulting in crudeness and lack of preciseness and exactitude in language. Backward scanning too was impossible and the oral products could not be seen and manipulated before performance.

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-7-

Critical Review of Thieves and Robbers in Mughal India: French Travelers' and Adventurers' Prospective

Sakul Kundra
Bhawna

Abstract

Seventeenth and eighteenth century French travelers' and adventurers' account of their voyage in Mughal India have a paramount significance in travel literature. Their narratives highlighted varied facets of commercial and mercantile avenues of India. They have also emphatically stressed upon the menace of the robbers and thieves to the French commercial operation in India. These warning were really important for the French agents, merchants, adventurers and other commercial officers who wanted to do successful business with safety in India. The objective of this article is to evaluate the narratives of these French voyagers in regard to these major threats from pirates, robbers, half-caste Portuguese, bils, koullys, mawatis, loutchas, malabaris and angrias to their commercial ventures. One will analyze different kinds of thieves and robbers who remained a constant problem and their means to lay robbery and theft in Indian subcontinent.

Keywords: Robbers, Thieves, travelers, adventurers, Pirates, commercial ventures

French travelers' descriptions about India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were an invaluable historical value to ascertain the Occident perception over Oriental world [Mughal India]. These French travelers and adventurers gave a fascinating insight as travelers's records about the commercial and mercantile avenues of India. They have also emphatically stressed upon the menace of the robbers and thieves to the French commercial operation in India. These warning were really important for the French agents, merchants, adventurers and other commercial officers who wanted to do successful business with safety in India. The objective of this article is to evaluate the narratives of these French voyagers in regard to these major threats from pirates,

robbers, half-caste Portuguese, *bils*, *koullys*, *mawatis,* loutchas, malabaris and angrias to their commercial ventures. One will analyze different kinds of thieves and robbers who remained a constant problem and their means to lay robbery and theft in Indian subcontinent.

The highway between Delhi and Agra was not safe as it was filled with cunning robbers who used several methods to rob the travelers. Thevenot said "they use a certain slip with a running noose which they can cast with so much skill about a man's neck, when they are within reach of him, that they never fail, so that they strangle him in a trice.(Sen 1949: 58) Another cunning trick of the robbers was to place a beautiful women on the road who pretended to have been befallen out of some misfortune, and when the traveller, lured by her beauty, gives her lift which the women accepts and sits behind him on horseback but she choke his neck and strangles him or at least stun him. Tavernier mentions about the insecurity of the Indian routes and plundering bands watch for caravans in Deccan close to Ahmadabad where the robbers have named as *Koullys*. These *Koullys* are the peasantry of this part of the country and the greatest robbers, and altogether the most unprincipled people in the Indies. (Bernier 1994: 88-90) Then the robbers who lid hidden come running to attack the caravans. (Sen 1949: 58) Modave remarks on the insecurity of the roads which obliged men to group themselves in the army caravans, whenever they travel from one city to another. (Modave 1971: 167, 212). He also described about this race of *koullys* present in kingdom of Gujarat and they were famous for their armed robberies.

Modave also referred Bils as large robbers who were the saucars. "They are these Bils and Koulis who always give back the communication from Surat with dangerous and difficult Hindustan and who plundered frequently the caravans and assassinated travelers. The side of Narbeda are used as retreat in the first and are very specific to support their profession. They are covered with ravines of unbelievable depth and accesses of all parts are defended by mountains and rocks which make these passages extremely difficult. Bils strengthened mainly for the greatest safety of their armed robberies. They are enemy of all the travelers and hardly maintain relations with their neighbours. However, Marates who, for the safety of their possessions in Hindoustan, had a great interest to make sure the passages of Narbeda

brought them to some composition and we found that one had curiously been exaggerated the danger to us". (Modave 1971: 503) It has been advisable to travel in a company of an escort which not only guarantee the safety but also adds prestige and credibility to traveler identity.

In addition, Modave referred to the dexterity of the robbers, where once his all things were stolen which were in his tent. These Indian robbers took not just many articles which were kept in tent but also his shoes which were left by the robbers at ten steps from the tent. (Modave 1971: 185) On several occasions Modave mentions the terror of robbers who sometimes comes in a group of cavalry consisted of twenty men and some infantrymen. (Modave 1971: 190) In another souba of Shikohabad, there were strong alerts during the night and to walk together during the day because there was continuous threat of the mob of robbers who would run over the district and make many disorders. (Modave 1971: 191)

This adventure also gave details about the techniques of the robbers of main road as he found in south of Agra in small market town named Nisetra. He says that "there were many small forts which were located on hills between Geruine and Nisetra, which belong to Indous chiefs who demanded money from passersby or demand ransom on the occasion of introduction… when they discover some troops of travelers, one send the spies to examine their number, their capacity and material they are carrying. On the information of the spies the travelers are put to rest" (Modave 1971: 453) and he finally says it was difficult to give guaranty to the safety of the traveller.

Bernier referred to robbers in area of the Ajmer and Ahmadabad, who were called *Koullys*. He also commented on the methods adopted by *omrahs* to protect themselves from robbers. He described how the *omrahs* protected their goods by "providing watchmen, who continually perambulate his particular quarters during the night, crying out *Kaber-dar*! or Have a care! And there are guards posted rounds the whole army at every five hundred paces, which kindle fires, and also cry out *Kaber-dar*! Besides these precautions, the Cotoual, or Grand provost, sends soldiers in every direction, who especially pervade the bazaars, crying out and sounding a trumpet". (Modave 1971: 360) In spite of these measures, the robberies were often committed. So, Bernier suggested that the Frenchmen be on

constant alert and not rely too much on the vigilance of servants.

Modave praised the efforts of Aurengzeb who reestablished order and subordination in all parts of his vast empire. He also wanted to intensify the commerce in India. He provided the assurance of facility of communication in the interior of the country. "He ordinarily accorded to Europeans and in general, to all the navigators the highest privilege and introduced a police force so severe and vigilant that one could traverse in his time throughout Hindoustan with such ease and security as one could do from Paris to Marseille". (Modave 1971: 66)

Travelling through rivers was also not safe during the second half of the eighteenth century. Modave described the dangers of sailing on river Ganga where there were many robbers or pirates. They come on boats with skill and swiftness, after the piracy they wink off in small boats which soon becomes out of reach. (Modave 1971: 128) The Europeans also indulge in piracy as English and Dutch pirates had a sphere of activity much wider than their local colleagues, their bases were around Persians and Arabic coasts. The Portuguese pirates were active in kingdom of *Rakan* or *Arrakan* in the gulf of Bengal as pointed out by Bernier.

Bernier advised the Frenchmen to be cautious from the pirates in India. In his travel accounts he wrote that the kingdom of Arakan, "has harboured during many years by several Portuguese settlers, Christian slaves or half-caste Portuguese and other Franks collected from various parts of the world. This was a place of retreat for fugitives from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca and other settlements in the Indies". (Bernier 1994: 174) The king of Arakan kept these foreign pirates as "guards for the protection of his frontiers from *Mogols*, and permitted them to occupy a seaport called Chatigon and made them grants of land. They were left unrestrained by the government of Arakan, so that they pursued the trade of rapine and piracy with their galleasses, supported by numerous arms, entered into branches of Ganges and ravaged the islands of Lower Bengal". (Bernier 1994: 175) These pirates once made a "formal offer to the viceroy of Goa, a Portuguese, to deliver the whole kingdom of Arakan into his hands. Bastian Consalve was the chief pirate, who was so famous that he married the daughter of the king of Arakan". (Bernier 1994: 178) This French traveller suggested that such proposal was not a surprise, as

Portuguese were on the verge of "decay in the Indies, due to their misdeeds and thus it was a proof of divine displeasure, as their general conduct in the Japan, Pegu, Ethiopia, and other places". (Bernier 1994: 178) Bernier described the violent practices of pirates in Arakan, which forced the *Mogols* to guard the opening of Bengal, by keeping large bodies of troops and a fleet of galleasses. All these precautions did not prevent the ravaging of the *Mogol* territories. These pirates became more bold and skilful. They attacked with four or five galleasses, and captured or destroyed large number of galleys of Mughals. Mughals under Shaista Khan[1] decided to capture kingdom of Arakan, and, thus, they collected large number of galleasses and other vessels of considerable tonnage and threatened to overthrow the pirates, if they did not summit to the authority of Mughals.

Aurangzeb gave warning to these pirates to leave the service of king of Arakan and join the Mughal army. (Bernier 1994: 181-182) These pirates revealed their eagerness to act in concert with the Mughal troops. They joined in the attack and capture of Sondiva, an island that had fallen into the hands of the king of Arakan, and accompanied the Indian army from Sondiva to Chatigon. "Shaista Khan brought these Portuguese pirates to Chatigon, where he kept them and their families in his power, an occasion for their services no longer existed; so he considered it quite unnecessary to fulfill a single promise, he had made. He refused to pay them and declared them as traitors, in whom it was a folly to confide; wretches who had basely betrayed the prince whose salt they had eaten for many years. (Thus, Bernier said that) in this manner Shaista Khan extinguished the power of these scoundrels in Chatigoan, who had depopulated and ruined the whole of Lower Bengal". (Bernier 1994: 181-182) These pirates proved to be greatly harmful to the Indian trade and the French were advised by Bernier to be alert. Tavernier tells that the caravans while passing through the route from Surat to Goa and Goa to Golconda via Bijapur were often attacked by Malabari pirates. (Tavernier Vol. 1, 1977:142) Thevenot describes about the need of another precaution as to take as escort a charan, who thanks to the religious sanctity attached to their tribe could dissuade robbers under threat of suicide or self-mutilation, which he took while travelling from Ahmedabad to Surat. (Sen 1949: 19-20)

Mocquet also mentions about the robbers of Goa, he said that

"they go in the night with their *Carpausses,* which are dresses for the head, after the manner of a Coat, plucking up and down the vizard when they please and about supper time go away to such houses where they know there is something to take, knocking at the door if its shut, and enter if they find it open, their faced hid, asking for the master of the house, they demand of him to lend hem 2 to 300 cherphins, otherways they will kill him and so carry away the best things in the house."(Mocquet 1645: 309) Tieffenthaler describes another kind of robbers in Ajmer region, he wrote that "these people have habit to attack the travelers, while leaving their ambushes, to rob them of their goods, sometimes even of the life. This is why one is in the use, to take companions in voyage" (Tieffenthaler 1786-89: 334) which help them to protect themselves from plunder by robbers. He describes also the decline of trade due to the robberies of merchants in the region of Gujarat.(Tieffenthaler 1786-89: 376)

Moreover, Modave also said about the pirates of the Chittagong and Arakan in the region of lower Hooghly. He said in "last two centuries this region was as populated as the rest of Bengal; but the pirates of Chitigoan and Arakan, known under the name of Mogs, united with the hordes of Portuguese fugitives, slaves and half castes, have committed here such cruelty and piracy that the inhabitants have gone away from this region. These pirates are often led by monks. The narratives of the period often speak about a certain Father Paul who became famous by being at the head of these bandits". (Modave 1971: 68) The strength of these pirates increased not only by entry of many soldiers and sailors who escaped being attacked by Hollanders on Portuguese establishment but also by those whom the inquisition or the civil tribunal prosecuted. Modave further said they were united with the Mogs and thus they became more powerful and more formidable that they were earlier. He also highlighted their pirating activities as "these villains infested all the islands of lower Bengal, formed by the diverse ramifications of the two branches of the river. They kidnapped women and children whom they sold at Balassor to the Portuguese merchants who did not merit better than these pirates". (Modave 1971: 68) Later they were destroyed by Shaista Khan, subahdar of Bengal and uncle of Aurangzeb.

Law de Lauriston said all Indian armies have with them certain

number of thieves that were named *Loutchas*, whose chiefs were in the service of the commandants to whom they paid and to have the permission to carry out their exploits. These *Loutchas* companies were composed of savage men. Their number in a small army surpass sometimes than ordinary soldiers. They spread everywhere to spread urgency, which burn and ransack everything, they often maintain abundance in the army to procure the necessary things. There were on foot and have only a saber or stick. They were skillful and determined robbers who takes many forms as sometimes they slip into the enemy camp to take away the horses and came to the end with a surprising dexterity. (Lauriston 1913: 262) Modave also described about these plunderers in the Hindustan armies, who are incharge of the armies of which they made *parti* and of the country which they afflict. They were named as *loutchas, mevatis* (rascals) and *gavares* (pillards). (Modave 1971: 308) They were not able to render any service and they were large devastators and large assassins. It was a misfortune to be fallen in their hands. The Maratha armies were always followed of an extraordinary number of these *loutchas* which made the excursions of Marates so frightening to the provinces.

  Modave gave further details as he said that "the most dreaded species of these public robbers is those which one names the *loutchas*. They make their blows with much address and precaution, having care to have some spies in the troops of the travelers who inform them when the occasion is favorable. These *loutchas* were handsome to disguises, people of the country recognize them easily at a mysterious and embarrassed air of their steps. I remember that travelling in Hindoustan, one of these *loutchas* who went to discover the place and demanded the permission to camp in the place I was. He had a horse and two servants and he said to me that he was Brahmain of Banaras. I showed him the place where he could establish himself. When my people assembled and shouted that he was a *loutcha*. He went away with his people". (Modave 1971: 321)

  Lauriston gave an interesting practice of robbers of stealing of horses which had a good price in India. He described some robbers hide for continuous hours under the fodder without moving to steal a horse whose cord was in the hand of their master when he went to sleep at night. They cut the cord after long waiting when the master of the

horse is asleep and rush away with the horses as they were aware of the routes. (Lauriston 1913: 264) The English had employed many of such men to steal the horses of their enemies, Lauriston said there were two brothers who have stolen many times all the horses of major Laurence and Captain Clive. When two brothers were made prisoners and about to be given punishment then one of them offered to go to seek the horses and bring them back within two days while his companion would remain in prison on the condition that they would be forgiven. This proposal was accepted and one was given the freedom. The freed man did not return in the marked time so major Laurence asked the detained person and asked him why his brother had not returned and left him to die if the horses were not returned till next evening. He replied that the English were very simple to trust the brothers to return the considerable spoils but these fortunes were more necessary for the whole family and they determined one that would perish if there is a need rather than to return the horses. (Lauriston 1913: 265)

Further Lauriston gave an incidence when he was himself robbed. He said that the robbers who came in night at Barely, who entered his tent during early morning who robbed many considerable important things like his writing case which contain four gold watches, silver case, tobacco box and other unusual object of enough considerable amount, it also contain the money and papers. (Lauriston 1913: 210-11) When Lauriston complained regarding the robbery to the chief of the place but his search had no result. As he believed that the commanders of the small cities, towns and villages less distance from the residence of soubahdar, were almost like the chiefs of the robbers especially in Hindustan. (Lauriston 1913: 212) Lauriston complained to the officer in Lucknow where this officer gave him assurance that all will be recovered but nothing was finally redeemed. (Lauriston 1913: 217)

Another kind of robbers was mentioned by Lauriston in the places between Delhi and Agra to the main route which goes to Deccan, were named *mawatis*. They are robbers who run the country by the troops of three to four hundred, their unit sometimes goes up to the number of thousand and their chiefs get along with the raja on whom the country depends, so that the travelers are being obliged to move in caravans, which assembled in the big cities like Agra etc. (Lauriston

1913: 357-358) They do not have a fixed day for their departure. The travelers arm themselves with rifles and the caravans leave when it is believed to become safe to travel.

Further Lauriston gave interesting details of robbers. He said "our European soldiers who roam the countries, fear these kinds of people; they are embarrassed by few of the robbers who never attack when they owed to make loots. As these wandering soldiers are extremely prone to get drunk, he arrived to them nearly all the days some annoying scenes of the arguments, of the batteries, where they are often well slaughtered; but to avoid the disadvantages as much as it is possible, they are disguised themselves in Maures or even into Gentils, that is to say that under the hat they preserve in the middle of gallant one small long quiff of long hair. If they have the business with Gentils, they draw the hat and say Brahmans by showing the quiff as well as the cord. That one have some regards for them". (Lauriston 1913: 359) In addition he told that "I adviced also to an European, who travels without disguising himself, to always carry a wig. More than one soldier or officer even has their life with this artificial hair which is not known in much of parts of India". (Lauriston 1913: 359) These cunning men were jeopardizing the commercial operation of the French which are amply highlighted by the travelers and adventurers of the span of two centuries of our research.

Another interesting case of robbery was mentioned by Polier. He said that when he was travelling with the Nawab Shuja-ud-daula, many of the goods were stolen on the way from Lucknow to Beneras. He said the Nawab has issued strict orders to the state messenger of Beneras to apprehend the thieves and recover the goods.(Polier 2001: 8a, 99) He further said that orders were given to dispatch the thieves and goods to Faizabad. Polier also warns the collector of the area under whom the theft place come under jurisdiction and force him to be responsible for finding robbers and the stolen goods. He also indirectly warns him if the necessary steps are not taken to catch the robbers than he will complaint about him to the nawab. .(Polier 2001: 10a, 100)

Tavernier told about the pirates named Malabaris who were present in the route from Surat to Goa, "the Malabaris who are fanatical Musalmans and very cruel to Christians…. They seldom venture farther to sea than from 20 to 25 leagues; whenever the Portuguese capture any

of these pirates they either hang them straight off or throw them into the sea. These Malabaris number 200 and sometimes as many as 230 men on each vessel, and they set sail in squadrons of from ten to fifteen vessels to the attack of a big ship; they do not fear cannon."(Tavernier Vol. 1, 1977:143)

There were Maratha pirates in the west coast of India. These pirates were known as Angrias. Modave said they "have excited so much complaints that England made enough efforts to extirpate them. The admiral Watson in 1755 attacked and destroyed some of their best maritime establishment. It was to make them the nearly beard, but he pushed back immediately and they continued like before their first affairs." (Modave 1971: 397) They made huge naval maritime ships and led their plunder. The east coast was not deprived either of dangers, but piracy was the fact especially made by Europeans, which had resulted in to exasperate Great Mogol against *Ferenghis* or Topiwallas (foreigners and carrying hats).(Villers 1987: 491)

CONCLUSION

French travelers and adventurers played a paramount role in giving the warning to their merchants and state sponsored commercial operations to safeguard themselves from Indian thieves and pirates. There were large numbers of pirates, robbers, bandits, raiders, muggers, thieves prevalent in India with different tactics to conduct their business in different parts of India. Thus the commercial ventures in India both on land and sea were unsafe and it exaggerated in eighteenth century due to lack of centralize government after decline of Mughals. Thus, these travelers and adventurers acted as commercial agents to the French state who was contesting to establish their domain against English. Despite these warning given to french state by their so called commercial agents, French was unable to establish its commercial dominance in India due to lack of support by French state.

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[1] *Chah-hest- kan (*Shaista Khan) undertook the expedition against the king of Arakan.

-8-
Abul Fazl's Comparative Study of Hindu Culture: An Analysis

Asiya Bibi

Abstract

The Hindus and Muslims of the sub-continent lived for a long time in their separate worlds burdened with their inherited traditions. The Hindu culture was not studied or understood by the Muslims because the majority of them considered it an anathema to their cherished religion and culture. Abul Fazl imposed upon himself the task of introducing to the Muslims true and essential features of Hindu religion and culture. Thus, his description of the Hindu culture in the Ain-i-Akbari, running to about 150 pages of the large folios edition in Persian, covering the information about Hindus' beliefs, philosophy, language, food, dress and festival etc. serve the same purpose. Abul Fazl was interested to focus on the positive aspects of Hindu culture and to present it in a favorable manner to Muslim readers. His real aim was to lessen the hostility between the Hindus and Muslims and to promote the political cause of his sovereign. Abul Fazl's work made a significant contribution to Persian literature. However, it presents a popular summary or general introduction to Hindu culture and not an in-depth and explanatory study.

Introduction

The name Hindu owes its origin to the Persians who did not reach beyond the "*Sindhu*", the original name of the river Indus, at the time of their conquest of Indian provinces. (Rapson 2011: 81). The Persian pronounced *S* as *H*, and the name Hindu or Hind was derived from the word "*Sindhu"* (Sagar 1992: 4). From Persians, the word passed to Greek (and latter to West), and the corruption of the word engendered other words like Hinduism, Indus, India. Today, the word *Hindu* usually applied only to the members of the Hindu religion. While, Hindu Culture signifies the amalgamation of doctrines, cults, rituals and practices, norms and traditions, astrology, geomancy, arts and architecture of Hindus (Riggs 2006: 301). The first Muslim scholar to write about Hindu culture in a systematic and scientific manner was Abu Rayhan al- Biruni, a great

luminaries of medieval Islamic sciences, who accompanied the Gaznavid Sultan Mahammud to India and written his remarkable work, *Kitab al-Hind* (Sachau 1983: vi-vii) as a result of first-hand observation of the peoples and cultural practices of the land. Although al- Biruni had learnt Sanskrit in order to be able to read Hindu texts, his view point was that of an outsider. From an insight point of view, during the Mughal period, Abul Fazl made a tremendous contribution to Muslim knowledge about Hindu Culture (Sharma 2006: 84).

Shaykh Abul al-Fazl (Persian: ابو الفضل) also known as Abul Fazl Allami was the author, liberal thinker and informal secretary of the emperor Akbar. He was the son of Shaykh Mubarak Nagawri (d.1593), on norms, e of the most distinguished scholar of his age in India. He was born on Muharram 6 A. H. 958/14 January, 1551 A.D. at Agra, where his father has settled in 1543 A.D, as a teacher. Abul Fazl was a pupil of his father, and owed his profound scholarship and liberty of outlook to the training given him by the latter (Hasan 1979: 117). He became well-acquainted with both the *ma'qulat* and *manqulat* (rational and traditional sciences) (Alvi 1985: 20). Referring to his early education he once remarked "The beginning of my education came from Arabic. In Persian I was less versed" (Beveridge n.d.: 545). With a firm background of Arabic language he turned to study of religion and philosophy. He reflected for some time on the secrets of the *Ishraqiyah (*Platonist), the wide treasures of the Sufis and the wondrous observation of the Mashshayan (Peripatetices). Then he was drawn towards a comparative study of different creeds, religions and school of thoughts. From fifteenth to twenty fifth year of his life he regularly participated in religious discussions and debates in search of deeper synthesis of religious attitudes. He got fed up with the whole technique of casuistry as developed by the medieval Muslim theologians. These religious controversies, however paved the way for growth of cosmopolitan tendencies in him and he developed a catholic and tolerant attitude in all religious matters (Nizami 1983: 143). Another challenge to Abul Fazl's thoughts came from the circumstances of his family. Shaykh Mubarak's sympathy with the Mehdavies landed him in great trouble. Orthodox *ulema* mobilized all their forces against him. Makhdu -ul-Muluk Abdullah Sultanpuri confiscated his grants of lands. In 1979/ 1569-70 A.D. Abul Fazl exuberated matters by challenging in public the opinions of one of the leading *ulema*. The atmosphere at court became

tense. The leading *ulema* mounted intense campaign against Shaykh Mubarak and his sons, as a result of which Shaykh Mubarak was driven with his family from home to home seeking haven for twenty years (Jarret 1948: 446- 509). Very naturally these persecutions made a profound impression on Abul Fazl's mind. Now he decided to devote his subsequent career to exposing what he considered the narrow minded bigotry of the *ulema* (Hasan 1979: 117). In 1981/1574 A.D., Abul Fazl made his first appearance in Akbar's court. He favorably impresses the emperor and soon thereafter entered court services (Nizami 1983: 145). For the next quarter of a century Abul Fazl served as Akbar's par excellence, shaping, articulating and immortalizing the ideals espoused by the emperor. By 1575 Akbar began convening weekly discussions with a wide variety of religious participants in his *Ibadat khana*. Abul Fazl figured prominently in these discussions and, by virtue of his intellect and skillful manipulation of the conversations, he discredit the *ulema* in the mind of the emperor. He was instrumental in bringing about the ultimate downfall of the *ulema* by the promulgation in 1575, of the *madhr* (decree) drafted by him in collaboration with his father which invested Akbar by the authority of deciding points of difference between the theologians (Hasan 1979: 117). He also helped the emperor in evolving the policy of religious toleration (Alvi 1985: 49-50).

Despite the fact that during more than twenty years in the imperial service he had never performed any military duties as was normal for members of the Mughal nobility. Abul Fazl had received substantial promotions and enjoys enormous influence with the emperor combined with his liberal religious sentiments, these circumstances aroused ill-feelings among certain nobles, including Akbar's son Prince Salim (Rizvi 1975: 456-58). In 1595, he was posted to Deccan, at the instance of these hostile elements. He distinguished himself there as an able administrator and military commander. But after a short time he was recalled from Deccan to Agra by Akbar in order to assist him in dealing with contentious Prince Salim, the heir designate to the Mughal throne. On his way back he was assassinated by Raja Bir Sing Deva, the disaffected Bundela chieftain of Orcha, on 4 Rabi I 1011/ 22 August 1602. His head was severed and sent to Salim, as whose instance the crime had been committed. The news came as a great shock to Akbar, who mourned the loss deeply (Hasan 1979: 117).

Abul Fazl's enduring fame rests upon his chronicle of Akbar's reign, *the Akbarnama*. It is a history of Akbar (down to the 46th regnal year) and of his ancestors, compiled in three volumes (first two volumes published in Bib .Ind) it is in the third volume, known as *Ain-i Akbari*, in which Abul Fazl provides valuable information about the traditions and culture of the Hindus. (Jarret 1948: 260-358). The remainder of the paper will attempt to provide an overview of Abul Fazl's description of Hindu Culture. However, the focus of the research will be on the analysis of Abul Fazl's approach towards the comparative study of Hindu culture. In the end, an attempt will be made to evaluate the contribution of Abul Fazl in explaining the Hindu culture.

Abul Fazl's Description of Hindu Culture
While describing the Hindu culture, Abul Fazl first of all provides information about Hindu Philosophy and religion. He was of the view that in order to understand the concept of God in Hinduism, it is necessary to know about different systems of Hindu philosophy. According to him Hindus had six major system of orthodox philosophy, viz., the *sankhya,* the *Yoga,* the *Wyaya*, the *Vaisheshika*, the *Purva*, the *Mimansa* and the *Vedanta.* All these hold the four Vedas as authentic. Abul Fazl informs us that each philosophical system is divided into various sub-systems; while every system has its own distinct concept of God. This leads to a variety of concepts of God in Hinduism. However, basically the Hindus believed in the Unity of God. (Jarret 1948: 143-98). Abul Fazl tells us that the Hindu philosophers reckon four states of auspiciousness which they term *varna*. 1. Brahmana 2. Kshatriya 3.Vaisya 4.Sudra. Abul Fazl discusses in detail the various branches and duties of these castes. Then he goes on to discuss the sciences of the Hindus. Among the eighteen sciences discussed by him are the *Vedas,* the *Puranas*, the *Dharamasastras* or the Institute of Law, the *Siksha* or Phonetics, the *Kalpa* or Science of Ceremonial Duties, the *Vykarana* or the Science of Grammar and Linguistic Analysis, the *Nirukta* or the Vedic Etymologies, the *Hyotisha* or Astronomy, the *Chandas* or Meters and, the Science of Archery and Weapons. The *Ghandharveda* or the Science of Music, the *Artha-sastra* or Economics and *Rajniti* or Science of State-craft (Jarret 260-70). Apart from the above information Abul Fazl reviews the following aspects of Indian culture.

Religion
Besides describing the system of orthodox philosophy, Abul Fazl provides information about the Four Periods of Religious life, the Divine worship, the Incarnations of Deity, viz the *Matsyaratara* (Fish Incarnation), the *Kurmavatara* (Tortoise Incarnation), the *Varahavtara* (Boar- Incarnation), the *Nara Singa* (Man- Lion Incarnation), the *Vamna* (Dwarf Incarnation), the Sacrifice (Yajna), the Alms giving (Dana), the ceremonies in the honor of the deceased persons (Jarret 1948: 291-319), the rules of fasting, the sins and the sacred places of pilgrimage. (See for detail Jarret 1948: 326-36).

Language
The languages of India belong to several language families, the major one being the indo-Aryan language (a sub branch of Indo-European) spoken by 74% of Indians and the Dravidian languages spoken by 23% of Indians. Other languages spoken in India belong to the Austroasiatic, Tibeto-Burman, and a few minor languages families and isolates (Ishtiaq 1999: 26-27).

Abul Fazl informs us that many dialects were spoken in India, and the diversity of those that do not exclude a common inter-intelligibility are innumerable. He writes that those forms of speech that are not understood one of another, are the dialects of Delhi, Gujrat, Multan, Marwar, Telinganah, Marhatta, Karnatic, Sind, Afghan of Sahl (between Sind, Kabul and Qandahar), Baluchistan and Kashmir (Jarret 1948: 133).

Food
Perhaps one of the most important areas of Hindu life is food. The treatise on dharma discusses the issue of food in detail. What is consumed, who consumes it, who prepares the food, when it is done, and how much is eaten, with whom one eats, what direction one faces when one eats (Narayanan 2006), and 323). While discussing the question of food among Hindus, Abul Fazl first of all provides a list of impermissible food for Hindus. These include human flesh, beef, horse flesh, domestic cocks and hens, the parrot, the sarika, the mynah, the pigeon, the owl, the vulture, the chameleon, the bustard, the saras, the papiha and water fool, frogs, snakes, weasels, the ruddy goose, animals whose toes are joined, animals that abide in towns, except the goat, dried fish or flesh. Carnivorous animals,

the elephant, the rhinoceros, the monkey, the various reptiles, camels milk, mare's milk, goat's and ewe's milk, garlic, leeks, carrots. The Hindus also don't eat the food which is produced from unclean land, food which a man's foot has touched or hand of woman in her courses, food dressed for offering to the deities, food dressed with oil or water and left all night and food in which hair and insects may have fallen and food set apart or food of one who has committed the five great sins Abul Fazl discusses the various ceremonies regarding the cooking and eating food. He observes that the cleanliness is the most important in the preparation and service of food in Hindu kitchen. A special place invariably rubbed over with cow-dung was reserved for cooking meals. No one but the person who cooks may occupy the spot, and he must first bath and put on a lion-cloth and cover his head and thus prepare the meal. Cooking was never entrusted by the Hindus to anybody except a high caste Brahman or to a member of their own caste. Abul Fazl informs us that the Hindus consider the five ceremonies indispensable before eating:-

1. Reading some portion of the Vedas
2. Sprinkling water as a libation to departed ancestors.
3. Placing some food in front of the idol.
4. Throwing a little food on the ground in name of the deities.
5. Giving some to the poor.

According to Abul Fazl formerly it was the custom for a Brahman to eat at the house of Brahman or of a Kshatriya or of a Vaisya, and a Kshatriya might eat at any house except that of a Sudra; and a Vaisya in the same way, but in this cycle of *Kali Yuga*, each must take his meal in the house of his own caste. Abul Fazl also discusses the utensils from which the Hindus eat. He writes that the utensils of Hindus include generally the leaves of trees and fashioned of gold, silver, brass, and also of bell-metal. The Hindus avoid the use of copper, earthenware, and stone vessels. They consider it improper to eat from a broken dish or from the bar or banyan tree *(ficus Indica)*, the pipal (*ficusreligiasa*), and the swallow-wort (Asclepius gigantea). Abul Fazl tells us that the Hindus do not take meal twice either in the night or day (Jarret 1948: 323-25).

Dress and Ornaments

Every region and every community of India has its own code of dress. Historically, most Hindu communities celebrated the body and wore clothes to enhance and adorn it. After the arrival of Islam in northern India in the twelfth century C. E., the covering of the body initially became fashionable, especially in northern India. In the south there was less covering, and even now on ritual occasions men in the Brahmanic communities may not wear much on the upper part of their bodies(Narayanan 2006: 322).

Abul Fazl provides a bit of information about Indian dress and ornaments. According to him a dress of blue color, unless it be of silk or wool, is considered improper for any caste except a Sudra. However a Brahman's wife at night, and a Kashatriya woman as a bride or at a feast, may wear it. A Vaisya woman must avoid it when performing the *Sraddha* or funeral rites. The women of all three castes may not wear it when cooking or eating (Jarret 1948:322-23). Abul Fazl writes that a man is adorned by twelve things:- 1. Trimming his beard. 2. Ablution of his body. 3. Drawing the sectarian marks of caste. 4. Anointing with perfumes and oil .5.Wearing gold earrings. 6. Wearing the *jama* fastened on the left side. 7. Bearing the *Mukuta*, a golden tiara worn on the turban. 8. Wearing a sword. 9. Carrying a dagger and the like at the waist. 10. Wearring a ring. 11. Eating Betel. 12. Wearing Sandals or shoes. While a woman is adorned by Sixteen things such as bathing, anointing with oil, braiding the hair, decking the crown of her head with jewels, anointing with sandal-wood unguent, the wearing of dresses and which are of various kinds. One is *angiya* (Sans. *Angika)* i.e a jacket without a skirt. It was chiefly worn by women. Second is *Lahanga,* which is a waist-cloth, joined at both ends with a bang sewn at the top through which the cord passes for fasting. The third is the *dandiya,* which is drawn over the head and the other end fastened at the waist. These three garments are of necessity. The wealthy women wear other garments over this. Some wear the veil and *Pae-jamas* and sectarian marks of caste, tinting with lamp black, wearing ear-rings, adoring with nose-rings of pearls and gold, wearing ornaments round the neck, decking with garlands of flowers and pearls, staining the hands, wearing a belt hung with small bell, decorating the feet with gold ornaments, eating pan. Finally blandishments and artfulness (Jarret 1948: 182-83).

Indian ladies were accustomed to the use of jewels and ornaments from their very childhood. The ears of both sexes and the noses of girls were pierced through at a very tender age. Ornaments of gold, silver or brass, according to the means of parents, were thrust through the pierced hales (Chopra 1955: 322-41). Abul Fazl enumerates 37 jewels in his list in the *Ain*. Of the five ornaments allotted to the head are 1. The *Sis-phul*, 2. *Mang* 3. *Kotbiladar*, 4. *Sekra* 5. *Binduli*. While different types of ear-rings such as *Khuntila, Karnphul, Bali, pipalpatti* were worn. *Champakali* is usually used to adorn the shell of the ear. Among the nose ornaments, Abul Fazl discusses the *Besar,* which is a broad piece of gold to the upper ends of which a pearl is attached and at the other a golden wire which is clasped on to the pearl and hung from the nose by gold-wire. *Phuli,* is another nose-ornament. It is like a bud, the stalk of which is attached to the nose. *Laung* is also a nose ornament. It is made in the shape of a clove. *Nath,* which is golden circle with a ruby between two pearls, is worn in the nostril. Around the neck were worn necklaces of gold, pearls and other precious stones. Different forms of necklaces described by Abul Fazl are *Har, Guluband* and *Hans*. Arms without ornaments were considered a bad omen among Indian women. So they bedecked their arms with various ornaments such as *Gajrah, Jawe, Chur, Churin, Jad and Bazuband*. Fingers are adorned with various kinds of *Anguthis,* finger rings. *Chhudr-Khantika* is an ornamental waist-band fitted with golden bells. Abul Fazl tells us that rings are worn by ladies on toes also. Three gold rings called *jehar* served as ankle-ornaments. *Pail,* the ornament of the legs, called *khalkhal* in Arabic, is commonly used. *Ghunghru,* consisting of small bells are worn between the *Johar* and *Khalkhal. Bhank* and *Bichhwahw* are the ornaments used for the instep. *Anwat* is an ornament to decorate the big toe. Abul Fazl writes that all these ornaments were made either plain or studded with jewels, and were of many styles. He admires the Indian goldsmith for their skill and delicacy (Jarret 1948: 184-85).

Ceremonies at Birth
The birth of a child is a joyous and auspicious occasion for Hindus. But it is also hedged about with impurity because all biological processes are considered to be polluting. During a woman's first pregnancy, after the hair-parting rite, she goes to the home of her parents and remains there till child's delivery. Then she returned to her marriage home with a new and

higher status of mother. The birth of a boy, especially the first child, is considered to be more auspicious than that of a girl (Duvvury 1991: 192), though the birth of a girl is not necessarily regarded as inauspicious (Flood 1993: 203).

Regarding the ceremonies at the child birth Abul Fazl tells us that as soon as a child is born, the father bathes himself, worships the deities and performs the *Sradha* ceremonies. When the midwife cuts the umbilical cord, the whole family becomes unclean. The Brahamans together with their kindred remain unclean for seven days; the Kshatriya for twelve days; the Vaisya and the superior class of Sudra for fifteen days, and the inferior sudras for thirty days. This state is called *Sutaka*, which means impurity from childbirth. In this state they refrain from the *Homa* Sacrifice and the worship of the deities and from repeating the *gayatri* and many other ceremonies. They content themselves with interior remembrance of the Deity. During this time strangers avoid associating or eating with them. At the close of this period they are freed after ablution. They name the child after looking in the astronomical table for the sign and station of the rising of the moon. When the child became four month old, they bring it into the sun before which time it is never carried out of the house. In the fifth month, they feed him with some kind solid food. When the child is year old, or in the third year, they shave his head, but by some this is delayed till the fifth year, by other till the eight year, when a festival is held. In the fifth year they send him to school. They observe the birthday and annually celebrate it with a feast. At the close of each year they make a knot on a thread of silk. The child is invested with sacred string at the appointed time (Jarret 1948: 348-49).

Customs of Marriage

Marriage *(vivaha)* has been the expected norm of Hindu societies unless a person becomes a world-renouncer. With the marriage *samskara* a young man enters fully into the house holder's life in which he can pursue the goals of *dharma*, gaining wealth and worldly success, and experiencing pleasure, particularly *Karma* (sexual) pleasures. For a woman, marriage means the end of her childhood life with her family and friends and the beginning of a new life with her husband, with a new set of social relationship to negotiate (Flood 1993: 205). Abul Fazl enumerates eight kinds of marriages:- 1. Brahmay. The Bride's fathers with other elders of

the family goes to the house of the bridegroom and bring him to his house and give her daughter's hand to the groom and his father. Certain incantations are then pronounced and the *Homa* sacrifice is performed. Both parties declare that they have not been subject to leprosy, phthisis, dyspepsia, hemorrhoids, piles, chronic issue of blood, deformity of like or epilepsy. At the nuptials an attendant of the bride washes the feet of the bride and bridegroom and draw the sectarian marks upon them three vessels filled with rice and curds are given to them to eat. After this, the bride and bridegroom are dressed out and taken to a retire chamber and a curtain is hung between them. A Brahman repeats certain prayers and places in the hand of each some rice and five betel-nuts. The curtain is then removed and they present to each other what they hold in their hands. The Brahman next places the two hands of the bride in those of the bride groom and repeat certain prayers. Then he binds them both with loose-spun cotton thread. Finally, a fire is lit and the couple takes seven steps around it. Abul Fazl informs us that until all this is done, the engagement may be lawfully cancelled. 2. Daiva. In this form of marriage, a maiden is bestowed on the Brahman while performing the sacrifice 3. Arsha. This kind of marriage takes place when a pair of kin has been received from the bridegroom. 4. Prajapatya. The man and woman are brought together and united by this bond. 5. Asura. A maiden is received in marriage after giving money to her relatives. 6. Gundharva. The couple, due to their mutual affection, voluntarily united in wedlock without the knowledge of other. 7. Bakshasa, it is a forcible seizure and abduction of a girl from her people by the ravisher and marrying her. 8. Paisaeha. In this form of marriage, a lover secretly approaches a girl when asleep or intoxicated.

The marriage of a daughter involves a family in great expense as it is an occasion for giving gifts to the bridegroom's family. However, Abul Fazl observe a dower is not mentioned in the case of Brahmans, and divorce is not customary. He further tells us that in ancient time it was the rule for Brahmans to take wife from among all the castes, while the other three castes considered it lawful to wed a Brahman woman. In the present *kali Yuga* no one chooses a wife without of his own caste. When the betrothal is first proposed, the lines of paternal and maternal ancestry of both the man and woman are scrutinized. In computing their genealogies, if within each fifth degree of ascent the lines unite, the marriage is not lawful. Abul Fazl tells us that until the elder brother is married, the

younger may not marry. Moreover, the Hindus held it expedient that the bride should not be under eight and any age over ten is thought improper (Sinng 1997: 1874-75). The man should be twenty five. Except the king (Hastings 1997: 542). the Hindus do not consider it right for a man to have more than one wife, unless his first wife is barren, or her children die (Jarret 1948: 337-38).

Ceremonies at Death

Death, as in most cultures, is inauspicious in Hinduism and fraught with the danger of pollution for their bereaved and the danger of being haunted by a ghost (Flood 1993: 206-7). According to Abul Fazl a dead person is cremated on the day of death if possible. The corpse is bathed, shaved if male, wrapped in a cloth and carried to the cremation ground by male relatives. A funeral pile of palasa-wood is formed upon which the body is laid. It is advisable that the son should set fire to the pile, otherwise the youngest brother of the deceased or, failing him, the eldest. Abul Fazl discusses the five types of expressing grief among the Hindu women. 1. The women expire on learning the death of their husbands, 2. The women out of affection for their husbands voluntarily consign themselves to flames 3. The women, who due to the fear of reproach surrender themselves to be burnt, 4, who accept death regarding it as sanctioned by custom, 5. Who against their will are forced to burn themselves by their relatives.

Abul Fazl writes that the Hindus do not burn the ascetic, and the child that has not yet teethed. Their body is consigned to earth or launched into the river. Similarly, they do not burn those who disbelieve the Vedas or who are not bound by the rules of any of the four castes, nor a thief, a woman who has murder. During the days immediately following the funeral, the family members becomes polluted and remain polluted until the final rites (*sraddha)* are performed. These *Sraddha* rites are offerings to deceased of rice-balls. According to Abdul Fazl, the Hindus believe that when the natural body dies, the soul takes a subtle frame which they call *preta,* and it cannot enter paradise in this form of body, and during the space of ten days this body continues in being. On conclusion of certain ceremonies, it abandons this, form and assumes another which is suited for paradise Abul Fazl further tells us that when a person dies, his sons, brothers, pupils and particular friends share their head and beards. They

also put on the sacred strings across the other shoulder. If the deceased is a Brahman, all his relations sleep on the ground or bed of grass for ten days and eat only what is sent to them, or what may be procured from the market. They cook nothing for themselves. Regarding the period of impurity, Abul Fazl tells us that if a child, before it has teeth, dies the impurity lasts one day and is removed by bathing. If the deceased child is two years old, the impurity lasts one day and night. For the death of a daughter up to ten years of age, ablution suffices to purify. If the deceased is an adult male, the impurity remains for ten days and is removing by bathing (Jarret 1948: 354-57).

Festivals

The Hindu year, using the lunar calendar, is punctuated by a number of *utsava* (festivals). Abul Fazl has indicated few of them. According to him during the month of *Chaitra* (March, April, Hind *Chait*), eight festivals occur. 1. *Srishtyadi*, the first lunar day of the light half of the month 2. *Nava-Ratra* (Hind-*Navaratr*): the nine first nights of the year are chiefly employed in ceremonial worship and prayers and piligrms 3. *Sri-Panchami,* the fifth lunar day of the light half of the month. 4. *Asokashtami,* the eight of the light half of the month. 5. *Rama-Navami,* ninth day of the light half of the month 6. Chaturdasa (Hind *Chaudas*) the fourteenth 7. *Purna-masa* (Hind *Purnamasli),* the fifteenth 8. *Pariva* (Sansk. *Pratipad*) the sixteenth calculating from the *Sukla Paksha* or light fore night. During *Vaisakha* (April-may) four festivals are celebrated 1. *Tij*, during the third of the light fortnight. It is the birthday of Parasurma. 2. *Saptami,* the seventh, 3. *Chaturdusi,* the fourteenth. 4. *Amavasu,* the thirtieth. During the month of *Jyseshtha* (Hind. *Jeth,* May-June), there occurs three festivals 1. *Chaturthi,* the fourth lunar day 2. *Navami,* the ninth 3. *Dasami,* the tenth which is called *Dasa-hara*. In the month of *Sravana* (Hind. *Sawan*, July-Aug.) there occurs the festival of *purnamasa*. This is a great festival with the Brahamans, who on this occasion fastened the amulet called *Raksha-bandhana* on the right wrists of the principal people. The festival of *Naga-Panchami* also occur in this month. It is celebrated on the fifth of the light fortnight of *Sravana*. In the month of *Bhadra-pada* (Hind. *Bhadon,* Aug-Sept.) there are five festivals: the fourth, fifth, sixth, twelfth, and twenty third. In the month of *Asvin,* there occur two festivals 1. *Vijay-dasami*. This is also known as *Dasa-hara.* On

this day, the Hindus, particularly the Kshatriyas pay particular attention to their horses. 2. *Sraddha Kaya-gata,* the fifteenth of *Krishna-Paksha* of the month of *Asvin.* During these fifteen days the Hindus give alms in the name of their deceased ancestors. In the month of *Magha* (jan-Feb) there are four, viz., the third, fourth, fifth and seventh). On the fifth: a great festivals is held on this occasion, the Hindus throw different coloured powders upon each other and sing songs. In the month of *phalguna* (Feb-march) there are two 1. *Holi,* this festival extends from 13th to 17th. The Hindus lit fires and throw different articles into it. They fling colored powder upon each other and make much merriment. 2. *Siva-ratri.* This occurs on the 14th of *Krishna-Paksha.* The Hindus keep the night of this day in vigil and narrates wonderful legends (Jarret 1948:349-54).

Games and Amusements
Unlike the amusements of twenty first century like cinema-going, flying etc., that have come to us through contact with the west, the pastimes in vogue during the medieval times were similar to those commonly found today. So for the games and amusements of Hindus are concerned, one do not find direct references to these in Abul Fazl's works. However a general idea of these can be formed after gathering bits of information provided by Abul Fazl here and there in his works. It appears that chess, *chaupar* and playing cards were the chief among indoor games; while outdoor diversions included hunting, animal fights, *Ishqbazi* and *chaugan.* It is regrettable that no reference to *Kabadi* is founded in Abul Fazl's writings. But the game must have been played in the villages (Chopra 1955:51).

Magic Shows and Acrobatics
Jugglers mountebanks, *conjurers* and magicians were all source of recreation to the Hindus. They spread throughout the country and formed the chief source of recreation to the Indian people (Chopra 1955: 72). Abul Fazl writes that "the troops of astonishing sorcerers, cunning jugglers, wonder working magicians, and *conjurers* of such sleight of hand, performing such extraordinary feats that not the vulgar alone, but the acutest minds are deceived into a belief in their miraculous power (Jarret 1948:132).

Dancing
Dancing served as a pastime for the rich. It was usual to call for dancing girls on festive occasions. They would play, sing and dance to entertain the guests (Chopra 1955: 73). Abul Fazl informs us that the *Akhara* was a special type of dance enjoyed by the nobles. Some of the female domestic servants of the nobles were taught this dance. Four pretty women led off a dance, and some graceful movements are executed. Four others were employed to sing, while four more accompanied them with cymbals. Two others played the *Pakhawaj,* two the *Upang,* while the *Dekhan rabab*, the *Vina* and *Yantra* were each taken by one player. Two women holding lamp stood near the circle of performers; some employed more. It was customary for a band of these *natwas* to be retained in service to teach the young slave girls to perform (Jarret 1948: 273).

Music
Music formed one of most favorite pastimes of Indians. Abul Fazl provides detailed information about various musical tones and instruments. According to Abul Fazl songs were of two kinds. The first is called *Marga* or the lofty style as chanted by the gods and great *Rishis* which is held in great veneration. The second kind is called *Desi* which is applicable to the special locality. Abul Fazl has also discussed the various classes of singers such as 1. *Vaikaras,* who are the chanters of ancient hyms. 2. The *Kalaants,* who sing *Dhurpad*. 3. The *Dhadhis,* they are the Punjabi singers who play upon the *Dhadda* and the *Kingara.* They praise the heroes in their songs and lend fresh spirit to the fight. 4. The *hurkiyah,* these men play upon the *Huruk,* which is also called *Awaj* 5. The *Dafzan,* these are tambourine player. The *Dhadi* women chiefly play on the *Daf* and the *Duhul*, and sing the *Dhurpad* and *Sohta* on occasions of nuptial and birthday festive 6. The *Sezdah-tali,* the men of this class have large drums, and the women while singing play upon thirteen pairs of *talas* at once. 7. The *Natwas.* These men play upon *Pakhawaj,* the *Rabab* and the *Tala* 8. The *Kirtaniya,* these are the Brahamans who sing the praises of Krishna. 9. The *Bhanvayya,* these men sing in various modes and exhibit wonderful performance 10. The *bahand,* These singers play on *Duhul* and *Tala* and mimic men and animals 11. The *Kanjari*, the men of this class play the pakhawaj, the *rabab* and the *Tala,* while women sing and dance 12. The *nats,* they play on the *Tala* and *Duhul* (Jarret 1948: 260-73).

Fairs

The visits to periodical fairs and seats of pilgrimage were also source of joy for the Indian village people and men and women were eager to undertake them. There are many pilgrimage centers in India. Abul Fazl writes that there are seven sacred cities in India which are object of pilgrimage, Benares, Awadh, Mathura, Dvarka, Hardwar, Ujjain and Kanchi. Sacred rivers are also the object of pilgrimage. These are dedicated to one of the deities and peculiar characteristics are ascribed to them. Similarly, places situated on the banks of sacred rivers also attract pilgrims, as, for example the village of Soron on the Ganges (Jarret 1948: 332-35).

Analysis

Abul Fazl's fundamental purpose in the study of Hindu religion and culture was to focus on the spiritual and positive aspects of Hinduism in order to present it in favorable manner to the Muslims so that conciliation may be created between both the creeds and cultures.]In fact, majority of the Muslims of India regarded the Hindus similar to the *Mushriks* of pre-Islamic Arabia, the idol worshiping polytheistic tribes against whom Muhammad (PBUH) waged wars and for whom the religious tolerance is not prescribed by the Quran (Titus 1979: 151). Moreover, Muslims have always been a minority in the subcontinent. They developed a feeling that they were constantly in danger of being overwhelmed by an environment which was an anathema to their cherished ideal of monotheism. They wanted to preserve Islam in its pristine purity and to protect it from any encroachment of polytheistic ideas of Hinduism (Friedmann 1986: 79). Abul Fazl tried to convince the Muslims that the Hindus were not the polytheistic; rather they believe on the unity of God and that the symbols and images that the Hindus carry are not idols, but merely are there to keep the minds from wandering (Jarret 1948: 8).

Abul Fazl also tried to justify the caste system of Hindus by describing its religious basis. Moreover he argued that the political institutions becomes well-tempered by a proper divisions of ranks (Alvi 1950: 30-31). In fact, Abul Fazl was a die-hard supporter of creating peace and concord between Islam and Hinduism. He, at the very threshold of his study in *Ain-i-Akbari,* even in the introduction, makes the reader well acquainted with his basic aim by proclaiming:

"It has long been the ambitious desire of my heart to pass in review to some extent, the general conditions of this vast country, and to record the opinions professed by the majority of the learned among the Hindus. I know not whether the love of my native land has been the attracting influence or exactness of historical research and genuine truthfulness of narrative…. Nor were the motives altogether these, but rather that when I had arisen from the close retirement of studious application and discovered somewhat of ignorance and dissensions of men I formed the design of establishing peace and promoting concord." (Jarret 1948: 1).

Incidentally, Abul Fazl outlined the various causes which led to misunderstanding and hostility among the adherents of different religions and cultures. First; diversity of tongues which often leads to the misapprehension of mutual purpose; secondly, the distance that separates the learned of Hindustan from scientific men of other nationalities who thus are unable to meet. If by a chance they meet together, the absence of an interpreter preclude any practical result. Thirdly, the absorption of mankind in the delights of corporeal gratification. In fact, men regard the absence of beauty in an object as considering it beyond the pale of existence and therefore not to be thought of as worth acquisition or productive of enjoyment. Their fastidiousness is averse from listening to accounts of foreign people even by way of apologue.

Fourthly, indolence which prevents people from profound investigation and deeper insight; fifthly, traditional and inflexible adherence to customs and the low flicker of lamp of wisdom. According to Abul Fazl from immemorial time the exercise of inquiry has been restricted, and questioning and investigation have been regarded as precursors of infidelity. Whatever has been received from father, director, kindred, friend or neighbor is considered sacrilegious. Sixthly, the uprising of the whirlwind of animosity and storms of persecution which have prevented the few earnest inquirers from uniting to discuss their individual teats and from meeting in friendly assemblies in a spirit of sympathy. Elaborating this point Abul Fazl holds rulers responsible for this apathy. He remarks: "if temporal rulers had interested themselves in this matter and assuaged the apprehensions of men, assuredly many enlightened persons would have delivered their real sentiments with calmness of mind and freedom of expression. Through the apathy of princes, each sect is bigoted to its own creed and dissensions have warred high. Each one

regarding his own persuasion as alone true, has set himself to the persecution of other worshippers of God, and the shedding of blood and the ruining of reputation have become symbols of religious orthodoxy. Seventh reason in the opinion of Abul Fazl was "the prosperity of wretches without principle who deceitfully win acceptance by affected virtue and rectitude (Jarret 1948: 2-6).

These seven observations of Abul Fazl are as true today as it was then. He takes the sufferings of human beings belonging to different creeds and cultures, reads their each wound and weakness and strike his finger on the place and tells them thou ails lie here and here. It should be kept in mind that Abul Fazl's primary concern in putting forward these causes of dissentions was to remove tension and conflicts between Hinduism and Islam in India as he professes in the preface of *Ain-i-Akbari* that his basic aim in the study of Indian religion, philosophy, rites and usages is that "hostility towards them might abate and the temporal sword be stayed awhile from the shedding of blood, that dissensions within and without be turned to peace and the throne brake of strife and enmity bloom into a garden of concord (Jarret 1948: 2).

Apart from removing tension between Islam and Hinduism, Abul Fazl tries to emphasize the basic cultural identity between the Hindus and the Muslims. However, he was looking beyond a parallel co-existence of these cultures or to a composite traditional cultures, a mere synthesis of traditions. He made his own bow to the cultural existence when after a survey of traditional culture of India, be goes on to give us notices of foreigners arriving India from Adam to Humayun, and then of Muslim divines and saints of India, as if these constituted streams that too belonged to India. But such stream had to join together; purified by reason, before the higher unity could be achieved (Alvi 1985: 32). For this higher ground to reach, Abul Fazl see an essential role to lie with the sovereign, who is responsible for catering the nourishment of the people, belonging to different creeds. He writes:

An important aspect of Abul FAzl's study of Hindu culture is that he elaborates his work upon the theme (i.e love for land and people of India) which Amir Khusrau had earlier described in his work, *Nuh-i-Sipihr* in a rather sketchy manner. In chapter 1 of *Ain-i-Akbari* (titled: The Boundaries of Hindustan and a Brief Description thereof), Abul Fazl observes:

"Mines of diamond, ruby, gold, silver, copper, lead and iron abound. The variety of its fruits and flowers proclaims its lurariance, its perfumes and melodies, its viands, and raiment are choice and in profusion. Its elephants cannot be sufficiently praised, and in the part of the country, the horses resemble Arabs in breed and the cattle are uncommonly fine…." (Jarret 1948: 7).

Abul Fazl presents the Hindus as religious, affectionate, hospitable, genial and frank. He extols their love of scientific pursuits, their austerity, and their industry, loyalty and truthfulness. He reinforces this analysis, which seems to unite the virtues of the Rajputs and the Khstariyas by saying:

"Their knowledge of affairs, capacity in execution, recklessness of valor, fidelity, especially in times of difficulty, their devoted attachment and disinterest services and other eminent good qualities are beyond measure great (Jarret 1948: 8).

Apart from genuine spirit of enquiry and love for knowledge, Abul Fazl has specific and definite purpose in the study of Indian culture i.e. to promote the political objective of Akbar. The component of state apparatus during Akbar's reign included Iranis, Turanis, Afghans, Indian Muslims and Rajputs. Akbar had founded the Iranis and Turanis groups unreliable, while the Afghans were ruling the eastern provinces from Bihar to Bengal. Akbar wanted to enlist the support of Hindus and Muslims. Realizing the fact that both these were antagonistic to each other, Akbar thought of promoting peace and concord between them. To pursue this purpose, he decided to establish a translation bureau (Rizvi 1975: 176-77). Abul Fazl comments upon the purpose of establishment of this bureau in the following words:

"Akbar was anxious to introduce reforms among all section of his subjects and did not discriminate between friends and foe. As he found there were exceedingly great differences amongst Hindus and Muslims and there was no end to the polemics involved, he decided to get the reliable texts of both religions translated, so that shaking of their enmity, they should try to search for truth. Thus having obtained knowledge of their respective shortcomings, they should set themselves to reform. Moreover Akbar found that there was no dearth of people in every religion who thought themselves as perfect, who misinterpreted their religious beliefs and did not bring the standard works of their religion to the

knowledge of the common people. Thus the spirit of faith remained concealed. Akbar found it essential to prevent the people from falling victims to the nefarious designs of such custodians of faith, and decided that if the standard works of different religions were translated into a simple language, they would be able to know the truth for themselves. This would put an end to the monopoly of those who did not state the real spirit of their religion to their respective followers" (Rizvi 1975: 207).

Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari* was also written to serve this purpose. That is why, while writing this work, Abul Fazl kept in view not only the intelligentsia of the time but also the fact that his readers included the persianized Hindu court nobility. [66]

Abul Fazl's approach to the study of Hindu culture is descriptive and narrative. It is not an explanatory and detailed study. In fact, his work serves as a popular summary or a general introduction to Hindu culture. However, Abul Fazl remains silent on some important aspects of Indian culture such as astronomy, medicine, astrology, geomancy, architecture and painting etc,. Similarly, Abul Fazl, while discussing the various traditions and ceremonies, focuses on pan-Indian level and does not goes into detail about their regional peculiarities. Abul Fazl has admittedly had not personal knowledge of Sanskrit language. He has derived his in formations through the medium of two methods: 1.Narrative method, which involves the employment of pundits to help him in translating a Sanskrit work. 2. The Retranslation method, to retranslate a Sanskrit work, making an early translation as the basis of the work (Hasrat 1979: 191). As both these methods were extremely unsatisfactory, Abul Fazl was subjected to charge of plagiarism by H. S. Jarret. Nevertheless, he admits that Abul Fazl exercised great care and precision in setting out the information he received from these method. He acknowledges the value and comprehensiveness of Abul Fazl work in the following words:

"The range and diversity of its subjects (i.e., of the *Ain-i-Akbari)* and the untiring industry which collected and marshaled, through the medium of an unfamiliar language, the many topics of information to their minutest details, treating of abstruse sciences, subtitle philosophical problems, and the customs, social, political and religious of a different race and creed, will stand as enduring monument of his learned and patient diligence…Though there is much to be desired, his comprehensive and admirable survey yet merits the highest praise…." (Jarret 1948: vii-viii).

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that Abul Fazl provides, in the *Ain-i-Akbari,* rich information about Hindu culture after al-Bruin's time (C. 1020 A.D.). In fact his work serves as an admirable treatise of reference on Hindu beliefs, food, dress, rituals, learning, recreations and indigenous lore which still retain and perhaps will long continue to retain their hold on the popular mind. Above all, Abul Fazl's study of Hindu culture is not confined merely to discussions and explanations; rather he had to pursue two practical purposes; first to create peace and harmony between the Hindus and Muslim. (Time and again, Abul Fazl tries to convince the Muslims that Hindu religion and culture is not an anathema to their religion, and thus there is no harm to maintain peaceful relations with Hindus); secondly Abul Fazl lays stress upon the sovereigns that they should, irrespective of their religious affiliations, cater the interests of all his subjects, belonging to different creeds and cultures. In fact, he wanted to divorce religion from politics. Insofar as the same principle has provided an antecedent, for the secular ideology of India and Pakistan, it remains Abul Fazl's far-reaching legacy.

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Fig.1 Hindu pilegrimege places (Nigosian 2000)
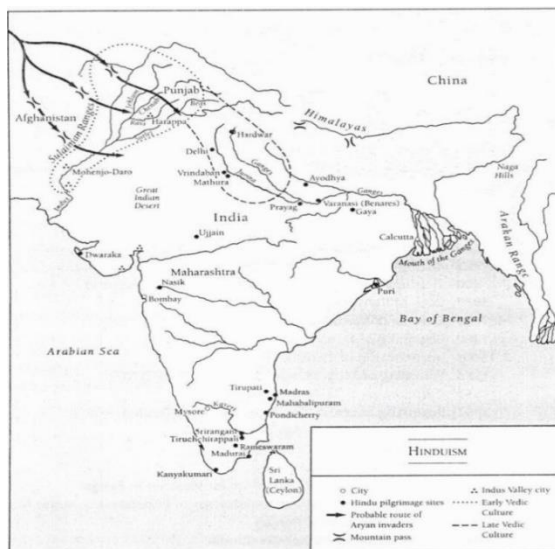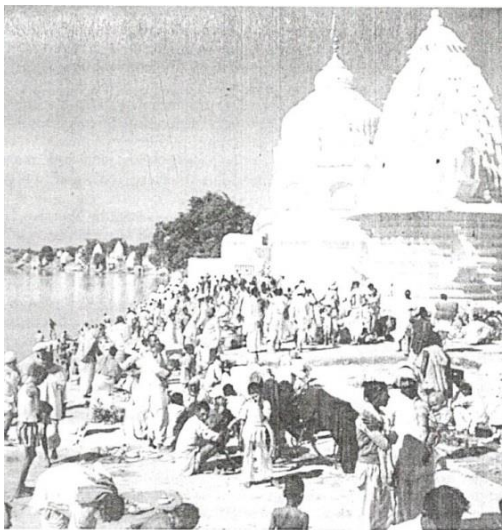
Fig.2 Hindu pilegrimage to Varanasi (Benaras)
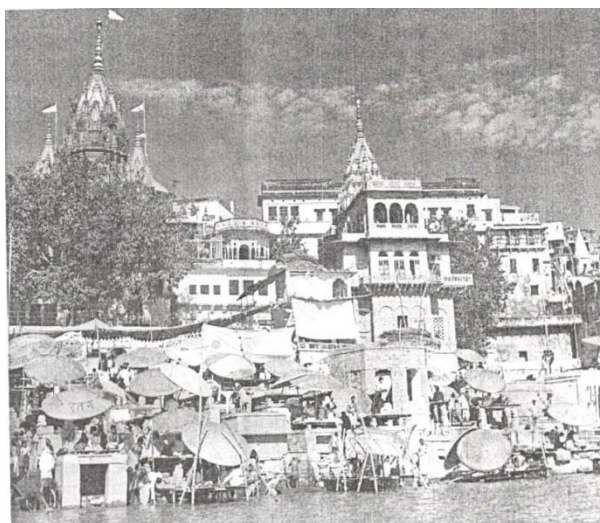Curtesy of Government of India Tourist

Fig.3 Hindu pilegrimage to Mathura
Curtesy of Government of India Tourist
Office, Toronto Office, Toronto

Fig.4 Hindu marriages
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/**Marriage**_in_**Hinduism**

Fig.5 Hindu funeral rites
http://www.bbc.co.uk/schools/gcsebitesize/rs/death/hindudeathritesrev2.shtml

-9-

The *Virahinī* Motif in Sufi Lyrics of Shah Husayn of Lahore

Tanvir Anjum

Abstract

In South Asian literary traditions, virahinī motif is commonly found in bhakti literature. A virahinī woman or a wife separated from her lover or husband experiences the agony of separation, and thus intensely longs for her union with him. Symbolically, she represents the longing of the human souls for union with the Supreme deity. Particularly, in Vaishnava cults in Hinduism, the goal of a devotee's spiritual quest is to submit before Lord Krishna, which is expressed through the metaphor of submission of a wife before her husband. The feverish love of the virahinī is not unlike the sufi experience of 'ishq (heightened love of God coupled with intense longing for union with the Divine) based on the idea that human souls had been separated from their Divine source of origin, and thus had a burning desire to return to It. The virahinī motif is commonly found in South Asian sufi poetry, including the Punjabi sufi poetical tradition originating with Baba Farid. The sixteenth-century sufi, Shah Husayn of Lahore (1539-1593) employed the virahinī motif in his kāfīs to depict the sufi notion of alienation of human soul from God, and its desire for reunion. By doing so, he made a conscious attempt to vernacularize and indigenize the doctrines of Sufism in local socio-cultural context. Though he evoked the virahinī motif, which was in consonance with already existing literary conventions in India, he replaced Radha with Hir, depicting the latter as a virahinī (waiting for Ranjha, who symbolized God), since Hir is a more familiar character for the Punjabi audience.

Keywords: *virahinī*, bhakti, Sufism, Punjabi sufi poetry, Shah Husayn, feminine voice, Divine love

The sufis of the Islamicate world have sometimes articulated the transcendent experience of Divine love in their poetic compositions in an idiom of temporal human love. The woman-soul symbol abounds in Indo-Muslim literature, wherein the sufi poets employed gendered imagery of human lover and Divine Beloved, which necessitated the use of metaphorical and figurative language. By inversing their gender and

acquiring a feminine persona, they spoke in the voice of ardent feminine lovers, while portraying God as a male Beloved. In bhakti or Hindu devotional literature, it is often expressed through the literary motif of *virahinī*, a bride-in-waiting or a devoted wife separated from her groom or husband, and thus waiting for his return and union with him. The sufi poets often evoked the metaphor of *virahinī*, borrowed from the bhakti literary traditions. These poets identified themselves with a *virahinī*, whereas the Divine Self was symbolized by a groom or husband. In Punjabi poetic tradition, Baba Farid evoked the metaphor of *virahinī* for the first time to depict the notion of separation of human soul from God. Later, Guru Nanak (d. 1539) alluded to it, but it was Shah Husayn of Lahore who further developed this motif during the sixteenth century in his moving sufi verses. The present study analyzes the deployment of *virahinī* metaphor in the verses of Shah Husayn by undertaking their poetic exegesis.

1. The *virahinī* tradition in bhakti/Hindu devotional poetry

Virahinī is a trope of alienation and separation, which is quite popular in South Asian religious literature, and as a motif, it can be found in Hindu, Muslim and Sikh religious contexts (Asani 2002: 76). In addition to Hindi-Sanskrit, it has also been expressed in literature in regional vernaculars like Punjabi, Gujarati, Bengali, Marathi and Tamil, etc. The poets articulate their own emotions and feelings through the feminine voice of *virahinī*, as they depict the mystical urge of union with the Supreme Being. They put words in the mouth of a *virahinī* to depict the longing and suffering of human soul in separation from the Supreme Being. The *virahinī* motif is particularly found in bhakti or Hindu devotional literature. Bhakti (literally meaning devotion) refers to any tradition of Hindu devotionalism. The bhakti movement is considered a monotheistic reform movement (Prentiss 1999: 3), which originated in India during the seventh century. The preachers of the movement believed in the equality of all human beings as well as equality of all religions and unity of God. They were critical of excessive ritualism and ceremonialism in Hinduism, and also challenged the supremacy of the priests or Brahmans in the Hindu society. They also rejected caste discrimination, and believed in universal toleration. They emphasized on the doctrines of love of and devotion to God, and believed that only love and devotion could guarantee salvation

for the human beings.

Bhakti is often referred to as the religion of love and devotion (Bhattacharya 2003). In bhakti, a devotee may express passionate devotion to a spiritual guide (referred to as Guru-bhakti), or devotion to an abstract, formless or unembodied Divine (referred to as Nirguna-bhakti), or devotion to a personal god having a form (referred to as Sagun-bhakti). However, more often a follower's intense devotional worship and extreme love are directed to Vishnu (or its incarnation in the form of Krishna) or Shiva. Historically, it was from the fourteenth through the seventeenth century that bhakti movement swept across the northern and eastern India. During the sixteenth-century, the Krishna bhakti devotional poetry in India became popular, and from Braj regions and Bengal, it spread to all parts of South Asia (Petievich 2007: 8). However, the Vaishnava devotional poetry in Bengali written in praise of Lord Krishna touched its creative peak in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Dimock & Levertov 1967: x). The term Vaishnava literally means devoted to Vishnu, whose most famous *avatar* (incarnation) is Krishna. For Vaishnavas, those devoted to Vishnu or his *avatar* Krishna, he is approachable only through bhakti, i.e. devotion and dedication. In Vaishnava cults in Hinduism, the goal of one's spiritual quest is to submit before Lord Krishna, which is expressed through the metaphor of submission of a woman or wife before her husband (Hawley 1986: 236).

There are multiple forms of bhakti or devotion, one of which is *viraha* bhakti (love-in-separation), the other major type being *virodha* bhakti (love-manifest-as enmity) (Ellis 2009; Hardy 1983). The term *viraha*, also pronounced as *biraha* or *birha*, means separation. The *viraha* bhakti revolves around the theme of separation from Krishna. In *viraha* bhakti poetry, the verses are generally addressed to Krishna, to whom the *gopīs*, or the milkmaids, particularly Radha, express their love and longing for union. As the story has it, Krishna (the dark-colored figure) is raised among the herdsman. He plays beautiful flute that touches the heart and the soul of the listeners, particularly the milkmaids, the most beautiful of whom is Radha. After the wedding of Krishna and Radha, the groom (Krishna) had to leave for Mathura, leaving behind the bride, Radha as a *virahinī*—a woman separated from her lover or husband, who experiences the agony of separation and thus, intensely longs for her union with him. All Vaishnavas or Krishna devotees identify themselves with Radha

(Singer 1968: 184), and assume the feminine persona as a *virahinī* before Krishna.

Moreover, in bhakti yoga, there are five kinds of *bhavas* or mental attitudes that reflect the nature of relationship of a devotee to God. One of them is *madhurya bhava* (or *kanta bhava*), which refers to the attitude of a devotee towards God as a woman towards a lover/husband. The other four *bhavas* are *shanta bhava* (a serene and unemotional love for God), *vatsalya bhava* (attitude of a mother towards a child), *dasya bhava* (attitude of a slave or servant), and *sakhya bhava* (attitude of a friend) (Devanand, 2008: 73-74). The image of *virahinī* is central to *madhurya bhakti*, in which she is the embodiment of agony and suffering due to separation. Radha is the personification of *madhurya bhava*, which is considered the highest form of bhakti. Her intense love and longing for Krishna represents the urge of the human soul to love the Supreme Deity, and be united with Him.

The male bhakti poets assumed a feminine voice, and identified themselves with the *gopīs* including Radha in their poetic compositions (Hawley 1986: 231-56). However, Mira Bai (d. 1547), the sixteenth-century Rajput saint and poetess of Rajasthan, is among the few female *bhaktas* or devotees. In her moving poetic verses, she vividly evoked the metaphor of *virahinī* by portraying herself as the bride of Lord Krishna (Bly & Hirshfield 2004: 1-6), much to the chagrin of her family and the religious establishment since she was a married woman. She identified herself with a *gopī*, and all her emotions and feelings of love were directed towards Krishna, for whom she longed earnestly. She suffered the pangs of separation like *gopīs*. Her love for Krishna was unrestrained. She boldly expressed her feelings in her *bhajan*s or devotional poetry composed for Lord Krishna, despite the fact that it was against the social ethos for a married lady to express it for anyone except her husband. One can clearly discern *madhurya bhava*, i.e. the attitude of a devotee towards God as a woman towards a lover/husband, as well as *sakhya bhava*, i.e. the state of a devotee towards God as that of a friend in her verses (Nilsson 1969: 24).

There is a rich sensual imagery associated with persona of a *virahinī*. *Viraha* is an experience of misery and agony in separation. The pangs of lovelorn heart cannot be expressed through words. The pinning woman separated from her husband behaves like a possessed lover, unable to restrain her emotions or control her being. She mourns her unrequited

and unfulfilled love. The burning flames of *viraha* burns down everything. The constraints do not permit her union. The singing of birds in forests, the sound of rain pouring from the sky—all these phenomena intensify her longing for the union. However, it must be remembered that both negative and positive feelings are associated with *viraha*; agony and suffering are negative emotions associated with it, but it is also a sign of Divine presence, which is positive (Burger 2010: 52-54) Moreover, the *virahinī* motif also depicts the idea that women may love God just as men do. Their gender is not an obstacle in the way of God, since women are at par with men in relation to God.

While the bhakti tradition is said to originate in the Vedas, there can be no denying the impact of the ideas of early sufis, particularly of the Basrah School (founded by Hasan of Basra; d. 728), on bhakti movement (Vaudeville 1962: 35-36). Intense love and devotion to God are central doctrines of Sufism. The feverish love of *virahinī*, as expressed in the bhakti tradition, is similar to the sufi notion of '*ishq* (Mishra 1998: 169; Vaudeville 1962: 36), often defined as intense love of God coupled with a burning desire for union.

2. The notion of alienation of human soul from God in sufi context

In Sufism, the concept of love for the Supreme Being—Allah or God is quite central, and therefore, it is often referred to as the 'way of love' or devotion (Chittick 2008: 74-75). In sufi terminology, love is referred to as *hubb, muhabbah, shawq,* or '*ishq*. According to sufis, God is not a transcendental Reality. Instead, He is closer than one's jugular vein (Al-Quran, 50:16), He is accessible and comprehensible for the human beings. He is *al-Wudūd*, the Loving One, the God of love, mercy and compassion, Who can be befriended; in fact He befriends those who sincerely seek Him. To the sufis, Divine love is characterized by reciprocity, which is also mentioned in a Qur'anic verse (5:54). Moreover, among the Divine attributes, love has a necessary connection with human beings, since the Qur'an associates love only with human beings among all creatures (Chittick 1995: 55)

Many early sufis talked about the notion of love of God (Lumbard 2007: 345-85), but the articulation of disinterested or unconditional love for God is attributed to an eighth-century sufi woman named Rabi'ah al-'Adawiyah of Basrah (d. 801). She is the first sufi to enunciate the nature

of Divine-human love relationship. Her poetic verses gush with Divine love. 'Thirsty with love,' she yearns for the Divine union, as she declared: (Upton 2003: 3, 28)

> 'The source of my grief and loneliness is deep in my breast.
> This is a disease no doctor can cure.
> Only Union with the Friend can cure it …'

The Persian sufi, Abu Yazid (or Bayazid) of Bistam (d. 875) not only employed the Persian terminology '*ishq* for love of God, he also argued that it is mutual love between God and human beings, though the love of God precedes human love for God ('Attar 1905: 170; Böwering 1989: 183-86). He referred to the sufis as the 'brides of God' in his poetry (Ernst 1997: 60). Thus, he became the first sufi to evoke the bridal metaphor for explaining the relationship of a sufi with God.

The separation between the lover and the beloved is a recurrent theme in Arabic and Persian poetry. However, in sufi context, it refers to the primordial alienation and separation of human soul from its Divine source of origin. According to the sufi worldview, all human souls are bound to love God, as promised by them on the occasion of the Primordial Covenant (*yawm-i alast*). Muhyyi al-Din Ibn al-'Arabi (d. 1240) of Andalusia, also known as 'Shaykh al-Akbar' (The Greatest Master) was one of the most prolific sufi theorists who elaborated upon the theme of love. According to him, the One Reality is all-prevailing Love and Beauty. The ultimate goal of love is to know the reality of love, which is identical with the Divine Essence. In fact, the basis of all love is Beauty. Human beings love God because He is Beautiful, and He loves His Creation because He loves the beautiful. Divine Beauty is the source of all other form of beauty. Love is the cause behind the creation of all beings, and it is also the cause of the return of all towards Him (Affifi 1939: 170-73; Chittick 2005: 35-46).

However, it was junior contemporary of Ibn Arabi, Jalal al-Din Rumi (d. 1273), one of the greatest sufi theorists and poets, and the founder of *Silsilah* Mevleviyya, who further elaborated upon the sufi philosophy of '*ishq* in his monumental work, *Mathnawī-yi M'anawī* (Couplets of Meaning). Rumi's philosophy of '*ishq* was based on the idea that the human souls had been separated from their Divine source of origin, and that was why they had a burning desire to return to it. The

opening verses of *Mathnawī* allude to this idea of separation, titled as 'The Song of the Reed' by an eminent English Orientalist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, R. A. Nicholson (1995: 31):

> 'Hearken to this Reed forlorn,
> Breathing, even since 'twas torn
> From its rushy bed, a strain
> Of impassioned love and pain.
>
> "The secret of my song, though near,
> None can see and none can hear.
> Oh, for a friend to know the sign
> And mingle all his soul with mine!
>
> `Tis the flame of Love that fired me,
> `Tis the wine of Love inspired me.
> Wouldst thou learn how lovers bleed,
> Hearken, hearken to the Reed!" '

Rumi employs the symbol of a reed-flute for the human soul, which has emptied itself of its animal self, and filled itself with the Divine Self. This blessed soul, during its earthly life and fleshly existence in the form of physical body, remembers it union with God in the pre-eternity, and longs ardently for deliverance from the world where it is stranger and in exile, and yearns to reunite with the Creator. After Rumi, the theme of separation and alienation of human soul from God was expressed more forcefully and emphatically in sufi poetry through the use of varied symbols and metaphors in later centuries.

3. The *virahinī* or separation motif in Punjabi sufi poetry

The depiction of woman as a lover or beloved is a common theme in poetry. One also comes across negative portrayal of women in Arabo-Persian poetry, as she is sometimes depicted as a symbol of worldly possessions and enticement. Woman-soul symbol is rarely found in Arabic and Persian poetry, but this symbolism abounds in South Asian literature, including Hindu or bhakti devotional literature as well as Indo-Muslim sufi literature. Many male poets in South Asia have spoken in feminine voice (Abbas 2002: Petievich 2007), and have also evoked the persona of a *virahinī* (Schimmel 1999: 119).

The metaphor of *virahinī* is 'the most distinctive marker of the

"Indo" in Indo-Muslim poetry' (Pietevich 2007: 6) as well as 'the most interesting Indian literary convention' that the sufi poets incorporated into their poetry (Asani 2006: 620). The sufis took advantage of the popularity of the *virahinī* motif, and explored its potential usage in varied forms with the complex context of sufi ideology and doctrines. Sufi poets not only adapted this symbolism, but also expanded its use by adopting it as a metaphor in varied theological frameworks. In sufi writings, the symbol of *virahinī* has been evoked in relation to God, a sufi master or guide, and even Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) in some cases (Asani 1994). In Ismaili sufi literature, in addition to the above representations, the said motif has been used in relation to the Shi'i Imams as well (Asani 2002: 76-78).

Shaykh Farid al-Din Masud Ganj Shakar, popularly known as Baba Farid (d. 1271; not to be confused with his descendant Shaykh Ibrahim Farid II; b 1450-d. 1554), is not only the first poet of Punjabi language, he is also the first to compose verses in feminine voice (Grewal 2004: 45-48) in Punjabi. He employs bridal metaphor for describing the relationship between the human soul, imagined as a bride or wife, and God imagined as a groom or husband, as he uses terms like *shauh*, *khasam*, and *pirr* for referring to God (Sagar 1999: 118-19; Dalawari 1999: 8-11). Not only that, he also evoked the image of a *virahinī*, and her suffering and longing in the absence of her beloved (Petievich 2007: 6). Symbolically, a *suhāgan* or *suhāganī* (literally meaning a happily married woman enjoying marital bliss) is the one who is liked by her husband, and who enjoys union with him. In one of his couplets, he writes that everyone is capable of loving, but it is the privilege of the Husband-Lord to reciprocate it or not (Khan 1978 i: 156). To Baba Farid, life in this world is a period of separation of human soul from God, which makes living a painful experience, as he declares (Sekhon & Duggal 1992: 21):

> 'Sorrow is the bedstead,
> Pain the fibre with which its woven,
> And separation is the quilt
> See this is the life we lead, O Lord.'

Baba Farid further states (Sekhon & Duggal 1992: 22):

> 'I did not sleep with my love tonight
> And every bit of my body aches.

> Go ask the deserted ones,
> How they pass their nights.'

After Baba Farid, Guru Nanak (1469-1539) also employs the feminine voice along with the bridal metaphor in line with the bhakti literary tradition. According to a *shabd* (a hymn or a section of a hymn) of Guru Granth, the sacred scripture of the Sikhs, Nanak classifies human beings or souls in two categories: *duhāngan* and *suhāgan: duhāngan* refers to those unlucky women whose love remained unfulfilled, who failed to achieve their love, or are deserted by their Husband (God), whereas *suhāgan* refers to those lucky women who enjoy union with their Husband, achieve their love and thus, reap the fruit of their past actions (as cited in Singh 1993: 79). In the opening *shalok* (couplet) of Guru Granth, Nanak evokes the symbol of the veil of a bride for the illusion which hinders the vision of reality (*Siri Guru Granth Sahib* n.d.: 2). The Sikh literature that developed after Nanak further elaborated upon these themes.

After Nanak, it was Shah Husayn of Lahore who evoked the complex imagery associated with *virahinī* in his soulful Punjabi verses in the sixteenth-century. After him, Bulhe Shah of Qasur (1680-1758) further developed this metaphor. In particular, his *bārāmāsa* or *bārāṇmāh* (literally meaning the twelve months) describes the longing of a wife for her husband through the twelve months of the year (Khan 2011: 427-38). What follows is a brief introduction of Shah Husayn and his poetry, and the poetic exegesis of his verses to demonstrate his skillful deployment of the *virahinī* motif.

4. Shah Husayn—'the poet of separation'

Shah Husayn (1539-1593) of Lahore, widely known as Lal Husayn, is a renowned sixteenth-century sufi poet of the Punjab. Reportedly, his ancestors had converted to Islam in the fourteenth century. At the tender age of ten years, he was initiated in Qadiri *Silsilah* at the hands of Shah Bahlul Daryai (d. 1575) of Chiniot (District Jhang, Western Punjab), (Chishti 1964: 364-76). During the next twenty-six years of his life, he followed the path of sober Sufism, strictly adhering to social norms as well as the injunctions of *shari'ah* (the law of Islam). However, in 1575 at the age of thirty-six, he renounced sobriety, and embraced the demeanour of intoxicated sufis. He spent the rest of his life in singing, dancing and drinking in the streets of Lahore (Chishti 1964: 372-73; Subhan 1938:

265-66). Thus he became the first and the foremost sufi of the Malāmatiyya (literally meaning self-reproaching) or antinomian tradition in the Punjab (Malik 2008: 40). He did not leave behind any book, except for the poetry in Punjabi language that he composed. His attachment to a Hindu disciple named Madho (who later converted to Islam) has become proverbial, as well as controversial, though his poetry is silent about their alleged relationship (Krishna 1938: 14-18).

The poetry of Shah Husayn is deeply embedded in Sufism, or the mystical tradition of Islam, and he was far from being a 'Vedantic Sufi poet' and 'almost a Hindu saint in his beliefs,' as mistakenly suggested by Sharda (1974: 104). Contesting these arguments, Shackle stresses on the Islamic-sufi character of the premodern Punjabi sufi poetic literature, and argues for its understanding in essentially sufi context (2012: 26-27). Shah Husayn is also considered a pioneer of the tradition of employing *kāfī* (a short poem generally containing a refrain and rhymed lines) in Punjabi poetry (Bhutta 2008: 223-29). Since his *kāfī*s were well-rhymed and primarily meant for singing, these came to be popularly sung by the people. Musicality in his verses makes them easier to be sung and remembered. In the words of a critic, the *kāfī*s of Shah Husayn are 'designed as musical compositions to be interpreted by the singing voice. The rhythm in the refrain and in the lines is [sic] so balanced and counterpointed as to bring out a varying, evolving musical pattern' (Syed 2003: 10).

5. Radha as Hir: the persona of a *virahinī* in Shah Husayn's *kāfī*s

The sufi notion of separation and alienation of human soul from God, and its desire for reunion is one of the central themes in the *kāfī*s of Shah Husayn. The intensity of emotions and the agony and anguish of parting have been skillfully depicted by him in his poetry. It is for this reason that he is considered 'by far the most articulate poet of separation and union' (Gill and Singh 2012: 157). In the words of Sekhon and Duggal: 'His poetry has echoes of pangs of separation and the agony of an alienated soul that make for fine lyricism and spontaneity of expression in his verse' (1992: 66).

The image of a *virahinī* finds an elaborate articulation in his poetry, as the imagery associated with a *virahinī* is considerably expanded. Terms like *vichhoṛā* (separation, estrangement, or parting) and *birhoṇ*

(love in separation) epitomize the experience of separation. For depicting the agony and misery of a *virahinī*, he employs the imagery associated with Hir-Ranjha trope, one of the most legendary love tales of popular Punjabi culture, and thus replaces Hir with Radha as a *virahinī*. In this way, he was the first to make use of the subjects and artistic devises of Punjabi folklore in sufi poetry. In other words, he originated the tradition of employing references to the tragic tales of folk romances in Punjabi sufi poetry for dissemination of sufi teachings (Schimmel 1975: 384; Suvorova 2004: 194). Since these folk romances had wide appeal among the common people, the sufi verses of Shah Husayn earned popularity, and thus proved a perfect vehicle for propagating the lofty ideals of Sufism. Drawing upon the Hir-Ranjha motif, Shah Husayn referred to God as Ranjha or Ranjhan, the hero of the tragic love tale. In Punjabi classical literature, Ranjha is the archetypal lover. He also represents the archetype of God, portrayed as a Beloved in the sufi poetry (Waqar 2009: 131-58). After Shah Husayn, Bulhe Shah and more notably Waris Shah (1722-1798) employed the images associated with Hir and Ranjha as lovers.

Shah Husayn highlights the wretchedness and pangs of separation of Hir from Ranjha (Bhatti 1961: 10), symbolizing the separation of human soul from its Divine source of origin. Her heart only yearns for Ranjha (Bhatti 1961: 12). The following *kāfī* depicts the condition of Hir as a *virahinī* (Khan 1987 ii: 148; see also Bhatti 1961: 14-16 for a slightly different version, and its rendering in English in Ghaffaar 2005: 2:691):

> Sajjan bin rātāiṇ hoeyāṇ vaḏiyāṇ (RAHĀO)
> Rānjhān jogī meiṇ jogiyānī kamlī kar kar saḏḏi āṇ
> Mās jhaṛey jhar pinjar hoeyā kaṛkan lageyāṇ haḏiyāṇ
> Meiṇ ayānī naeh ki jānāṇ birhoṇ tanāwāṇ gaḏḏiyāṇ
> Kahaē H̲usayn Faqīr Sāīṇ dā dāman terey meiṇ laggiyāṇ

> Without the beloved, nights have become long (RFRAIN)
> Raanjha is *jogi*, I am a *jogan;* People call me possessed
> I am shedding flesh, reduced to a skeleton, my bones crackle
> Being a simpleton, what do I know of love? The ropes of separation are stretched
> Says Husayn the Lord's devotee, I'm deeply attached to you

The above-quoted *kāfī* skillfully depicts the persona of a *virahinī*: in the absence of her beloved, she has been reduced to a skeleton as her flesh has diminished, and her bones are creaking. In Husayn's verses, the persona of

virahinī has been assumed by Hir, who is separated from Ranjha. Hir symbolizes the yearning human soul whereas Ranjha symbolizes God, from whom the human soul has been alienated. Husayn expresses the eternal longing of the soul in a *kāfī* where he states that Hir was inclined to Ranjhan from her infancy (Bhatti 1961: 26). It must be remembered that the sufis stress on the human need to love God, as promised by the souls on the occasion of the Primordial Covenant (*yawm-i alast*). So the yearning of the human soul to love God, according to the sufis, is pre-eternal. However, during the earthly existence, the ordinary human conditions do not permit union with the Divine.

Sufi poetry is always considered intensely symbolic and densely metaphorical. The sacred and the secular, the physical and the metaphysical are interwoven in the imagery. Earthly and heavenly desires are inextricably linked, being two sides of the same coin. The metaphorical (*majāz*), representing the outward and external manifestations of reality, stand in contrast to the real (*ḫaqīqah*), which is the inner reality or the essence. The origin of this dichotomy between metaphorical and real goes back to the early Muslim period (Heinrichs 1984: 111-40). The belief has been summed up in an adage: *al-majāzu qanṭaratu 'l-ḫaqīqah*, meaning the metaphorical or phenomenal is a bridge to the Real. So the external world is a bridge which leads to the Divine Reality. Therefore, the sufis have always expected the readers or recipients of their poetry

> 'to cross the bridge from the 'metaphorical' and figurative world of poetry and symbol to the world of ultimate and 'truthful' meanings. Hence, the process becomes a certain mode of understanding and perceiving existence. It is the transmutation of everything visible into symbols' (Abou-Bakr 1992: 44-45).

To Husayn, separation is comparable to a butcher who enters the body with a meat cleaver in his hand (Bhatti 1961: 26), or to a frightening roar of a lion (Bhatti 1961: 30). *Birhoṇ* or love-separation is an affliction which is put in human body. Her tears fall like a heavy downpour in rainy season (Bhatti 1961: 30). The flames of separation burn the *virahinī* every moment, as she longs to have a glance of the beloved (Bhatti 1961: 28). In separation, her body becomes an oven in which the flames of sighs burn her (Bhatti 1961: 34). For her, the nights are painful while the days are

torturous owing to the absence of the beloved (Bhatti 1961: 18, 24). In her moments of immense grief, her parents as well as her in-laws have been estranged (Bhatti 1961: 24). She complains that there is discrimination in the world: some people enjoy the whole bread while others long for its morsel, similarly there are lovers who enjoy each others' embraces but some wives suffer in the absence of their husbands (Bhatti 1961: 122, 124).

Husayn further elaborates upon the miseries of a *virahinī*. She is unable to sleep on the wedding or conjugal bed in the absence of the beloved, as she is tormented by his separation (Bhatti 1961: 24). Elsewhere Husayn likens the bed to a pyre, as he states that while mounting the wedding bed, her body and soul are roasted (Bhatti 1961: 34), as if it is the funeral pyre on fire which she mounts. All the four borders of her skirt have been soaked wet by her constant weeping. The beloved had promised to return soon but twelve months have lapsed (Bhatti 1961: 60). In fact, an age seems to have elapsed in waiting for his return. Everyone knows that she is yearning to meet him. She is hopeful that he would return one day (Bhatti 1961: 110).

The following short *kāfī* by Shah Husayn most explicitly and vividly expresses the intensity of separation (Khan 1978 ii: 161; for a slightly different version of this *kāfī*, see Bhatti 1961: 46, and its rendering in English in Ghaffaar 2005: 2:783):

Māē nī meiṇ kehnu ākhāṇ dard vichhoṛē dā ḥāl (RAHĀO)
Dhuhvāṇ dhukhyē merey murshid wālā jāṇ phulāṇ tāṇ lāl
Sōlāṇ mār diwānī kītī birhoṇ piyā khayāl
Dhukhaṇ dī roṭī sōlāṇ dā sālan āheiṇ dā bālan bāl
Jangal bēlē phirāṇ dhudēndī ajey nā pāyo lāl
Kahaē Husayn Faqīr Sāīṇ dā milē tāṇ thivāṇ nihāl

O Mother! To whom can I tell the pain of separation (REFRAIN)
The fire of my mentor is smoking; when I search my soul, I find it all red (with blood)
The piercing of thorns (of parting) have made me mad, my mind's preoccupation is separation
Bread of agony, curry of thorns, the fuel-wood of sighs is lit
I roam jungles and moors searching for him, yet I have not found Lal (the beloved)
Husayn, the destitute devotee, says that I will achieve bliss only if he is found

Husayn calls himself a *jogan* (a Hindi/Punjabi word used for a female ascetic or a devotee) (Bhatti 1961: 14, 22), often used as a symbol of renunciation and self-denial. He laments that as a *virahinī* her nights are tortuous and agonizing, and her days are distressing. Her sure destiny is death. As a *bairāgan* (a female ascetic who renounces worldly pleasures and comforts), her tangled locks are around her neck. She roams about in wildernesses, searching for the departed beloved (Bhatti 1961: 22). The term *bairāgan* is derived from Sanskrit word *vairāgya*, which means the one who is free of passion, or emptied of all desires. Generally, a *bairāgī* (a male Hindu ascetic) is devoted to Vishnu or its incarnation Ram or Krishna. So the *virahinī* motif goes well with the Hindu ascetic traditions associated with Vishnu devotees.

The untidily twisted or tangled locks of a *virahinī* around her neck in the above discussion refer to her state of confusion with particular reference to her sexuality. It is important to note that in bhakti literature, the hair of a *virahinī* is to be *ekavenī* (a twisted undressed single braid). The bound hair of *virahinī* generally reflect her bound or restrained sexuality during the absence of her beloved or husband, while her unbound hair represent her unbound and unrestrained sexuality upon his return. However, in addition to it, in South Asian culture, sometimes unbound hair may also represent a state of separation or widowhood (Olivelle 1998: 11-50). Here, keeping in view the context and the content of the poem, her tangled locks represent her controlled sexuality.

6. The *virahinī* motif, and vernacularization of sufi doctrines

In the wake of spread of Islam outside Arabia, leading to mass conversions of people, the universal principles of Islam were vernacularized in specific time and space. Consequently, more contextualized or localized forms and expressions of Muslim piety emerged in these regions. Islam as a faith promised enough flexibility and accommodation to be adjusted in varied socio-cultural backgrounds. The indigenous social and cultural traditions came to be well-reflected in the beliefs and practices of the convert Muslims. Thus, vernacularization of Islam can be understood as a process through which the doctrines and message of Islam were adapted in local regional environments in the non-Arab regions (Green 2012: 103-15). As a matter of fact, an overwhelming majority of the world Muslims are non-Arabs. Vernacular Islam focuses

more on the beliefs and practices of the Muslims living in very diverse geographies, speaking varied languages and dialects, professing multiple cultures with local forms of knowledge. Many Muslim practices in these regions have local cultural influences, and many of such practices are confined to specific locales, and are distinguishable from the universal practices shared by all Muslims.

Though the founding sufi shaykhs of the early centuries of Islam had composed sufi texts in Arabic, and later on in Persian language, the later centuries witnessed the production of sufi literature in local vernaculars. Unfortunately, some scholars dismiss sufi vernacular literature as something marginal, being associated with 'folk Islam,' with which the common people identify themselves. Contrarily, sufi literature in Arabic or Persian, having a popular appeal among the elite, is seen to represent the so-called 'high' Islam (Asani 1988: 81, 91). This notion of 'high' sufi literature needs to be de-centred, bringing the vernacular sufi literature at the centre of academic discourse.

Historically, sufis in Muslim societies are seen as the prime agents of vernacularization of Islam through varied means and at varied levels. One of the ways of vernacularizing the message of Islam and Sufism was the production of sufi literature in local languages and in culturally familiar idioms. For some sufis as well as their critics, such a vernacularization of the message of Sufism was tantamount to corruption and dilution of Islam with paganism. Such a criticism, however, could not stop the sufis from translating the doctrines of Sufism in local terms. The Punjabi sufi poetic tradition played a crucial role in vernacularizing and disseminating the doctrines of Islam and Sufism at popular level. The poetic exegesis of Shah Husayn's verses reveals that he did not merely expand the bridal metaphor through borrowing rich imagery from socio-cultural topography of premodern Punjab, he also indigenized and vernacularized it in context of local cultural ethos and literary conventions. The adoption of the *virahinī* motif by sufis like Shah Husayn depicts that they made conscious attempt to vernacularize and indigenize the message of Sufism in local context. In the words of Asani: '… the woman-soul—especially in the form of *virahinī*—is a symbol adopted by many of the subcontinent's Muslim writers as they indigenized their poetry to the literary tastes of their local Indian audiences' (Asani 2014: 140). The deployment of *virahinī* motif in Shah Husayn's poetry is in

consonance with already existing literary conventions in India. The complex imagery associated with a *virahinī* is evoked by him but Radha has been replaced by Hir as a *virahinī*, since the latter is a more familiar character for the Punjabi audience.

To conclude, the bridal metaphor in Shah Husayn's poetic verses was interlaced with rich imagery drawn from the socio-cultural topography was well-embedded in the cultural ethos and literary conventions of premodern Punjab. Many local concepts were effectively appropriated by Shah Husayn for indigenizing and expanding the bridal metaphor such as the use of *virahinī* motif. His identification with women, particularly with the female characters of romantic folk tales, and his feminine speech and the consequent imagery would not have been without implications: in the patriarchal social structure of Punjabi society, wherein masculinity as a social and cultural construct was (and is still) seen as a source of honour and pride for men, the symbolic gender reversal by the sufi poets like Shah Husayn must have challenged the basic premises of gender relationships.

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-10-
Historical Construction and Deconstruction of Religious Shrines with Special Reference to the Shrine of Bari Imam, Islamabad

Muhammad Azam Chaudhary

Abstract

This article relates to an ongoing debate in social sciences about social ontology i.e. the nature of social institutions. By relying mainly on the premises of the theory of 'social construction of reality' this article has elaborated the emergence of majzub saints and shrines. Altogether four case studies have been used but the main being the shrine of Bari Imam. This essay gives a detailed account of how the nationalization of this shrine has completely changed its character. I have presented the view that many of these reforms were contrary to the original thoughts of Bari Imam. Bari Imam was a majzub-qalendar. Majzub-qalandars are saints seized by the intoxication who reject normal social pleasantries and violate orthodox features. Bari Imam himself chose to settle down in an area otherwise inhabited by people of the minority and marginal groups among them transvestites, religious mendicants, prostitutes and homosexuals. After his death, his shrine continued to attract these people which also include women who did not conceive, patients who were ill but could not afford a doctor and medicine, etc. Most of these people were the product of the society and its customs. The Sufis like Bari Imam understood this and provided space, food and a sense of religious belonging to the most vulnerable, poor and marginalized section of the society. The state's taking over of the shrines and reforms have punished the victims. The main idea was to show that shrines are not fixed entities with rules and regulations where social actors have no role to play. The social actors which include the shrine pilgrims and the state itself are those who construct, maintain, repair, reinvent and reconstruct shrines like all other social institutions.

This essay can be divided into two main parts. In the first part case studies of saints and shrines from two villages are presented. These saints I have seen growing and their shrines being constructed. This may be called a sort of bottom up approach. The second part, the case study of the

shrine of Bari Imam, I have started from top i.e. the recent most stage and tried to travel back in time. Therefore, the first part I have called construction of saints and shrines. The second part I have termed deconstruction.

Key words: *urs*, m*ajzub/qalandar*, shrine nationalization, social role of shrines, Sufism.

Introduction
The paper aims at contributing to the debate about social ontology i.e. question of the nature of social entities. Social scientists are divided over the question whether social entities are objective i.e. they have existence of their own also known as objectivism or they should be considered socially constructed by the actors? According to the first category, organizations (ranging from University, courts, police, shrine or even a family), are considered tangible objects having rules, regulations, procedures, hierarchy, etc. which are learned and implemented. In other words: "organizations and cultures are pre-given and therefore confront social actors as external realities that they have no role in fashioning". (Bryman 2008: 19). The second category, the social construction theory also called constructionism, as already the name suggests, stresses construction in the sense of constructed by the social actors themselves. The term and basic idea of social construction was introduced in Peter Berger Thomas Luckmann's book *The Social Construction of Reality*.

This article is built upon the premise of social construction theory because in my opinion, it is dynamical, processual and inclusive. In other words, it does not exclude the existence of organization and their rules and regulations even the learning and abiding by of these rules and sanctions. Its main merit though is its emphasis on the process; construction, amendments, change, repair, discarding and even recreating of organizations and their rules. While introducing this theory Leeds-Hurwitz wrote that:

"Central to the social construction is the verb to construct, which implies building something, making something, or bringing something into being that has no existence previously." … (Leeds-Hurwitz 2009: 892).

This theory will be used in this article to explain how saints,

saintlihood and holiness are constructed in the Punjab. The data mainly consists of lives of some saints, the emergence of their shrines and finally an in-depth study of the shrine of Bari Imam. The cases included in this essay are of saints and shrines belonging to the mujzub group. Except the shrine of Bari Imam, located in Islamabad, where I did fieldwork during the years 2003-06, the data about other saints and shrines comes from two villages of central Punjab (Misalpur, District Faisalabad[1] and Jatpur[2], District Toba Tek Singh). I was born and spent first about 17 years of my life in the village Jatpur. I also lived in Misalpur village for some years and many close relatives lived here too and I have done fieldwork during early 1990s. I am continuously in touch with both of these villages.

Let me start by explaining what is meant by mujzub and why I have chosen to focus on them in this essay? Frembgen describes *majzub* as a person who is: "many faceted … he can be a thorough ascetic at one time and a complete pleasure-lover at other times, indulging in gluttony and seeking the company of dancing girls and prostitutes." (Frembgen 1998: 144). *Majzub*, *qalandar*, *malamati*, dervish even *fakir* and *saien* seem to have the same qualities, perhaps different names for the apparently same or, at least, for the identical being. According to the Awarifu'l Ma'arif there are:

"(…) two types of dervishes, the *qalandariyya* and the *malamatia*. The former were so seized by the intoxication of 'tranquility of the hearts' (*qalb*) that they rejected normal social pleasantries and the mores of personal relationships. (…) The *qalandariyya* sought to violate orthodox features in their behavior. (…) The contact of *qalandar* with *nath-yogis*, also wandering throughout that part of the world, influenced them to wear ear-rings. Another custom they shared with the yogis was the consumption of grass, probably Indian hemp, and some other drugs (…). The most perfect among them went naked (…). However, they sat before fires to keep them warm." (Rizvi 1978: 301-319).

The reason for choosing cases of mainly mujzubs is that the main case study in this article (Bari Imam) is of a majzub. Since these cases are about how saints emerged and later on how their shrines were built they should help us understand the life and early years of the main case study i.e. shrine of Bari Imam about which we do not have any such data. The

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[1] For a detailed ethnography of this village see Chaudhary 1999.
[2] For a detailed ethnography of this village see Chaudhary 2007.

other reason for choosing mujzubs as cases was my own inability as a young man to imagine holiness being attached to them. It was not that all fools were holy but that how comes that some of them were considered holy. Besides that I have chosen them because the process of becoming saints or construction of shrines happened before my eyes in these cases.

The following four aspects of social constructionism were chosen, as proposed by Leeds-Hurwitz, to demonstrate construction of holiness in the Punjab:

"Social construction is generally understood to incorporate four stages: construction, maintenance, repair, and change. …First, social actors develop a concept and then figure out ways to make it concrete. … Second, people need to actively maintain a particular social construction if it is to remain viable, for if it is no longer relevant, it will be ignored and thus dissolve… Third, social actors need to periodically repair their constructions because aspects may be inadvertently forgotten or deliberately changed over time…. Each generation reaffirms and maintains some parts of the social world, repairing or recreating or discarding other parts… [S]ocial actors invent texts of various sorts, whether verbal (stories, conversations, arguments) or visual (brochures, press releases, flags), as well as understandings of the significance of these and other social productions. All these texts may appear natural or obvious, yet must be recognized as human inventions" (Leeds-Hurwitz 2009: 892-93).

This essay can be divided into two main parts. In the first part I will present case studies of saints and shrines from the above mentioned two villages. These saints and shrines I have seen growing or shrines being constructed. This may be called a sort of bottom up approach. The second part, the case study of the shrine of Bari Imam, I have started from top i.e. the recent most stage and tried to travel back in time. Therefore, the first part I have called construction of saints and shrines. The second part I have termed deconstruction.

Part I: Construction of Saints and Shrines
There are three Case Studies included in this part. The first two cases come from Jatpur village and the last case is from Misalpur village.

Baba Mast of Jatpur was one of three brothers in the only Syed (a descendent of the holy Prophet mpuh trough Ali and Fatima) family of the village. Their parents especially the father were well respected people of the village. People of the village would come to them for advice and ask them to pray or even give amulets for them in the case of problems. All the three brothers were not very intelligent. The youngest of them Asghar Shah was given to drinking and quarrelling. The 2nd eldest Pir Atta was rather normal and the eldest of them Baba Mast was a half sap. If properly guided he could do some household chores or small farm jobs like helping to cut animal fodder, buying small kitchen items from the shop, etc. In the beginning children, would sometimes tease him but their parents forbad them especially because he was a Syed. Gradually villagers, more particularly school children, started asking him for prayer and blessing before going to exams and at the time of school results. School children on being successful will give him sweets, some of them even clothes, shoes to wear or even money.

Finally, Baba Mast died in the year 1991. His quarrelsome youngest brother buried him in his house. This was unusual because it was the only grave in the village. There is a graveyard at a distance of about one kilometer where dead of the village are buried. This quarrelsome brother, Asghar, was blamed by some people to have buried Baba Mast to make it a source of earning. A lot of the people, especially school going youth, took part in this burial. A yearly urs, on the death anniversary of Baba Mast started being celebrated. But as a whole it remained a bit controversial in the village because people were not very happy with Asghar. The visitors to shrine decreased gradually and Asghar died.

Farooq who had known Baba Mast when a school child managed to go Dubai for work. After spending some years in Dubai, he decided to come back to the village. He told to have seen Baba Mast in his dream complaining about having been forgotten. He built a small mausoleum and the yearly urs celebrations got a new life. A lot fun fare is attached to this urs like football tournament, Kabadi and wrestling in the school ground which was not far away from the shrine. The latest news is that a dispute has started between Farooq and the two sons of Asghar. The later want to take over the charge of the urs management. It is still not decided.

Baba Foosanwal of Jatpur This was perhaps the most fascinating character. All out of nowhere he entered the village. No one could ever find out where he came from. He wore only a piece made of jut around his waist, carried around a two meters long stick on his shoulder with plastic bags hanging from it. He would walk around in the village hurling abuses. In the beginning the village children threw stones on him but were stopped by the elders. One of the families, Dukhneke, took him to their visitor's room and gave him food and treated him nicely. But he would not change his wearing and did not part with his stick and plastic bags. He could not tell where he comes from, who he is and what he carried and why? He would similarly simply disappear from the village after spending some days. Sometimes after a year and sometimes many times a year, he will visit the village. However, whenever he came to the village he will come to visit the house of Dukhneke.

Stories of his saintly miracles started to spread. All possible good fortune stories of Dukhneke family (good crops, success in a very old court case, one son got visa of Saudi Arabia for work) were connected to Baba Foosanwala. More and more people started looking after him, offering him food and especially ate any food left by him for Baraka. Many just wanted a touch by him or an insult by him for many believed if he insults by abusing this brings good luck. People did not care that he was dirty or even almost necked. There was a rush to host him but he did what he wanted. There were stories that he was a saint in making, i.e. he was doing what was ordered to him by his *murshid* (spiritual guide) and that he understood everything. One day came a news that he died in a neighbouring village. The people of that village made a tomb of the saint and there is a yearly urs.

Baba Zaher Pir of Misalpur
There was a jand tree in the agriculture fields of Mr. Rafique's, simply called Feekly, in the village Misalpur. Feekly, ordered the cutting down of this tree in order to be able to cultivate this piece of land which was otherwise lying barren. Donkeys carrying the loads for the clearing the land would run away to sides when they reached the spot where jand tree was found it was told. Feekly and the labour who cut the tree both turned mad. Another interesting event happened, a bus driver stopped his bus on the main road passing about one hundred meters from this place because

they saw a human like figure made of reeds riding a donkey. This was also reported to have been witnessed by two labour women carrying grass for their buffalos passing this place at that time. Then finally an accident involving a bus and a truck occurred here.

The stories were widely discussed in the village. Finally, a shrine was constructed at the spot where jand tree stood and it was named 'Baba Zaher Pir'. A big urs started to be celebrated with a generous lungrer (free kitchen) for the poor. Stories started to circulate about the healing powers of the saint like healing of different types of diseases like head and joints aches, malaria, childlessness and name what you want. People, especially, bus drivers stopped here some of them to say their fateha and but most to contribute in the money box.

This continued for some years. The number of buses stopping for the saint started to decrease. The villagers attending the shrine also decreased gradually. It was located at a distance of about two kilometers from the village. The shrine attendant, the elder brother of Feekly, who was very active in the beginning started to lose interest. One day he started cultivating the land he had donated for the visitors to the shrine. This further led to the decrease and finally to almost the desertion of the shrine. Some years later I happened to pass from that area again and was surprised to find that the shrine has been renovated and the number of visitors have increased dramatically. The area around this shrine has become a very busy place because a new vegetable market has been established here. I still need to find out who has initiated the reliving of this shrine.

Part II: Deconstruction of the Shrine of Bari Imam
The following case study can be imagined as a continuation of the cases that have been mentioned above. The saint, as we will see, was himself a majzub and besides that since we do not have any first hand record of his life and early years of shrine this can help us imagine what it was like. Deconstruction can simply be taken as the opposite of construction. If we accept that social entities are socially constructed than a deconstruction is to be imagined comparable to the digging of an archaeological site where every addition or change is carefully and systematically removed and recorded in order to understand each layer. We would likewise ideally try to expose the whole project of social construction of the shrine of Bari

Imam. The aim is also to expose the contradictions in this construction by digging below surface. Finally, that though we would love to fully reconstruct changes in all phases but, unfortunately, due to lack of written sources a full de-and reconstruct of the shrine is impossible. We have, therefore, simplified it two main phases that we call the pre and post Awqaf (state-run) administration of the shrine.

Our basic assumption is that people 'construct' saints and shrines according to their own views and that saints and practices at shrines are influenced by the state policies. Similarly, state policies themselves change with the changing political regimes especially in countries like Pakistan. We want to put forward the view that the way the shrine of Bari Imam is being managed as present has not much to do the preaching or ideas of the saints lying buried. The religious practices at the shrine changed with the changes in the state structures (the Mughal period before 1858, the British period (1858-1947) and creation of Pakistan (1947 onwards) and the changes in political regimes.

Before Awqaf control around 1960, the shrine of Bari Imam was mainly venerated by minority and marginal groups like, *malang* (religious mendicants), prostitutes, *hijre* (transvestites) and fortunetellers. (Buddenberg 1993, Chaudhary 2011). If we go through the old record, we find mention of some of monuments and structure which do not exist today for instance *mutch* (a huge fireplace said to be burning from the times of saints life). *Mutch* has been an essential and integral part of Bari Imam's shrine where the visiting people ate and took with them the ashes for those back at home from this fire which was known as *khake shifa* (ashes of healing). Similarly, the spring known as *Chashmaie Shifa* (healer spring) has been demolished. Believers at the shrine and members of *khulfa'* families will tell a number of miracles relating to the healing of chronic illnesses with ashes from the *mutch* and the water of the water spring. The *banian* tree adjacent to the grave where the saint had meditated and where people used to light oil lamps, recite the holy Quran and say their prayers no longer has a place in the new design of the shrine. *Dhamalkhana* (room for dervish dance), *Niqarkhana* (place of huge beating drums) were also removed. Buddenberg wrote about the changes in the shrine: "any ecstatic practices have been forbidden (dancing, use of drugs, etc.), and the groups of participants have been curtailed. During the

past years, the number of women participating decreased considerably and the fakirs are conspicuous by absence". (Buddenberg 1993: 86) All these developments contrast very sharply with the life of the saint himself who was a *majzub* and chose to live in, at that time, a remote village, where people belonging to the marginal and minority groups lived.

The Shrine of Bari Imam Today[3] which is in the very final stage of its construction and once finished, it will be a very impressive modern mausoleum second to second to none in Pakistan. It will be visible from a far distance dominating the entire surrounding. Besides the tomb, the whole complex consists of a courtyard, verandahs, a prayer hall, a multipurpose hall for colloquia, a library, a seminar hall and a dispensary. In addition, the state trust Awqaf and security offices, the *langer khana*, or cooking and food distribution area as well as storage facilities, blocks for ablution, toilets and *samma* (may be translated as religious music) area. The new shrine complex is spread over approximately 100 kanals (approximately two thousand square meters). There will be attendants, like at the shrine of Data in Lahore, who will guide visitors in paying 'properly' homage to the shrine.

In a nutshell, my argument views the changes at the shrine after state control as working against Bari Imam's original thoughts and as adversely affecting his 'clients', especially those who belong to minority and marginal groups. I have further argued that in fact, if not in pronouncement, the very concept of nationalization (constructing mosques, building schools, libraries or research centers at the shrine compounds) had targeted the educated urban middle class population and not the poor, the illiterate rural people and particularly not those belonging to the marginal and minority groups (prostitutes, transvestites, *malangs* etc., or even women in general). These poorest of the poor had been the 'real' clients of many shrines, such as those of Bulleh Shah, Shah Hussain, Lal Shahbaz and of course the shrine of Bari Imam, all of which were taken into state custody. I would like to go a step further and argue that the way 'formal Islam' is propagated and interpreted by the state and reflected in its shrine reforms leaves little space and relevance for the above mentioned marginal groups. In many cases, even their professions

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[3] The ethnographic data for this part has been taken from my earlier publications.

(prostitution, singing/dancing of transvestites, mendicants etc.) were simply incompatible with the formal religion. Saints and their shrines, such as that of Bari Imam, have offered them a space to survive in the fold of Islam.

This was evident in the idea of creating the Awqaf by President M. Ayub Khan (1958-1969). The original idea came from none other than Javed Iqbal, the son of Allama Iqbal, the founder of the idea of Pakistan. The son tried to translate the ideas of his father into concrete policy measures (Ewing 1990: 176). He wrote that:

"(…) Awqaf should take into its possession (…) all the Monasteries (*Khanqhs*, etc.) or tombs of the Saints in Pakistan (…). There is no denying the fact that the mystical orders produced Saints of a very high quality in the world of Islam. … But now … They have been transformed into centers of moral and religious corruption" (Iqbal 1959: 57).

As a consequence, big shrines, especially those not managed by direct descendants of the saint, were taken into the state control. The aim was to turn them into centers of social welfare by building hospitals and schools for poor and rural people. Research centers, libraries and mosques were set up or planned for several major shrines. The goal was, to encourage a 'scholarly' rather than what was regarded as a 'superstitious' approach to shrines and Sufism (Ewing 1990: 179-80). Ewing evaluated the impact of state control of shrines during the regimes of Ayub Khan (1958- 1969), Zulfiqar Ali Butto (1971-1977) and Zia-Ul-Haq (1977-89) and argued that the traditional cosmology which was congruent with the traditional social, political and economic structure was replaced by a new worldview that was congruent with the social and political goals of the different governments. She was further of the opinion that despite differences in the policies and goals of Ayub, Butto and Zia, the three regimes administered the shrines in similar ways (Ewing 1990: 176, 186).

The earliest phase of the shrine i.e. period after the death of Bari Imam is like a dark spot. The earliest written record of the shrine we find is around the year 1780. (He died around 1708, Chaudhary 2012: 86). These entries show that it must have been a very small affair. As we know about the shrine of Baba Farid (Eaton 1984: 335) and Data Ghanz Lahore (Strothmann 2016: 72-76) this shrine too must have taken quite some time to be among the established. This is perhaps the reason this shrine is not

mentioned in the Mughal records of the years 1526-1857. The situation changed considerable after the British occupied the area (after 1849) and made nearby Rawalpindi a garrison city and even more drastically since the early sixties when Islamabad was made the capital of Pakistan. It has since become the model for all Pakistani shrines and a symbol of the State of Pakistan.

The shrine of Bari Imam is located almost like in the backyard of the Presidency. The data about income and expenditures (Hashmi 2010: 228-236) from shrine records show that by the end of the nineteenth century the shrine, especially the annual *urs,* had grown considerably. The grown importance of the shrine was clear from the reports that the British deputy commissioner and local police helped in the management of the *urs,* even sending *sarkari mehdi* (official *mehndi*) as was reported in the local newspapers. (For copies of the newspapers: Hashmi 2010: 134). In the Census Report (1895) it is reported that: "About 20,000 persons attend the fair annually, a large number of *natch* girls always attending. The last Thursday of the month of *Jeth* is the chief day of the fair which is attended by many Hindus as well as Muhammadans". (Gazetteer 1895: 80-81). Besides the growing importance of the shrine this quote is also an evidence of the fact that minority and marginal groups like dancing girls and Hindus visited the shrine. This was also confirmed by Buddenberg: "Till recently, the Kanphatas or Goraknathis also attended the festival … Drugs, dancing, and ecstasy have always been part of the rites of the Goraknathis." (Buddenberg 1993: 185)

Bari Imam's family was Qazmi Syeds hailing from Bagdad like Sheikh Abdul Qadir Gilani the founder of Qadiria School. Besides inheriting the Qadiri silsila he also seems to have confessed to Qalandari order. According to his hagiographers Bari Imam left the normal life and started wandering in forests and remote areas and finally reached the place where his grave is found. This place according to his hagiographers "was the abode of thieves and robbers called *Chor* in Urdu therefore known as *Chorpur*" (Naqshbandi 2004: 50) In my view *Chorpur* should not necessarily be taken in literal sense as place of thieves but perhaps a place of the minorities and marginal people.[4] That he became a *mujzub* is also

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[4] Buddenberg reports the evidence of Goraknathis (a Hindu religious sect) and Fussman and Schimmel hinted at the presence of Zoroastrians at the site of shrine (for details see Buddenberg 1993: 184).

reported by Syed Hassan Shah Peshwari (this is the same Syed family that brings *dalli* from Peshawar already mentioned above) who explained as follows: "When I reached the area of Potohar I saw Shah Latif Mujzub. He is a great mast (intoxicated) *majzub*"[5].

Nurpur Shahan more popularly known by the name of Bari Imam continued with the tradition of *majzub* saints and their way of life ever since. A comparatively recent example of this is the saint "Hazrat Gul Warith Khan (Pia) al-mar`uf Mama Ji Sarkar *Majzub Qalandar*. Like his *murshshid* (spiritual guide) Bari Imam he belonged to the *Qadiriyya* and *Qalandarya* brotherhood. He was a follower of Bari Imam. He died on the 27th of the Muslim month of Ramadan AH 1411 (12 April AD 1991) and is buried in Nurpur (Frembgen 1998: 142). According to Hashmi (2010: 80-82) who owns the first-hand written sources about the shrine from around 1780, the *khalifas* and their descendent were called *saien* or *fakir*. Further he also mentions the institution of *balkas*, who wore colorful clothes, their shaven heads, earrings and had begging bowls to live by begging. To conclude, the affiliation of the marginal groups mentioned above with Bari Imam was not a later or recent development.

Conclusion

In a theoretical debate about the nature of social institutions this article has supported the position that social entities are constructed by social actors. The focus in this article has been on the Muslim religious institutions of saint and shrine. With the help of several case studies it has shown that the saints and their shrines are constructed by the social actors, i.e. people. The saints themselves have even little impact in this. This construction was then naturally subject to change and not the least by the state as an important actor. The state itself of course also went several changes like for instance from Muslim Mughals to the Christian British occupation, the partition of India into Muslim Pakistan and Hindu India, the changes in the state ideology due to different regimes like for instance Ayub Khan (1958-1969), Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1971-1977), Zia-ul-Haq (1977-1988), etc.

The first three cases were of rural saints, their lives and the emergence of their shrines. The case studies of these shrines mainly show

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[5] The text is a translation by the author from the original in Urdu: Naqshbandi 2004: 78.

the role of the villagers in the making of saints and their shrines. They also show rise and fall of the shrines and there is no intervention of the state in this process. The case of the Bari Imam's shrine is different because of its being located in Pakistan's capital city. This location has a very dominating state impact on the religious practices even structure of the shrine. Important conclusion from this debate is that shrines are not something fixed, given, objective, with rules and regulations, etc. The shrine of Bari Imam, for instance, changed almost 90 degree from being a shrine of the majzub to a shrine of an orthodox Sharia following saint. This was mainly due to state policy which guided by ideas like that "the original saints were themselves *ulama*, trained religious scholars who followed the *shariat*" (Ewing 1984: 169). It is a continuous process which involved constructing, reconstructing, repairing and amending, both the shrine and the religious views attached to the shrine. It will be wrong on other hand to assume that shrines or other social institutions and entities are completely flued. They do have a structure but this structure whether social or physical needs to be explained and understood in the light of the given circumstances and especially changes in them, for instance education, etc.

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LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS[*]

Francesco Martore   Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan.
                        francescomartore@gmail.com

Luca M. Olivieri   Director/Project Manager, ACT Project,
                        Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan.
                        act.fieldschool@gmail.com

Rafiullah Khan   Assistant Professor, Taxila Institute of Asian
                        Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University,
                        Islamabad.
                        rafiulakhan@gmail.com

Ifqut Shaheen   PhD Scholar, Taxila Institute of Asian
                        Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University,
                        Islamabad.
                        ifqatmahr@gmail.com

Sarfaraz Khan   Lecturer, University of Swat, KP, Pakistan.
                        pakhtoonustaz@gmail.com

Ghani-ur-Rahman   Associate Professor, Taxila Institute of Asian
                        Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University,
                        Islamabad.
                        ghaniurrahman@hotmail.com

Nausheen Abbas   PhD Scholar, Taxila Institute of Asian
                        Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University,
                        Islamabad.
                        nausheen_abbas@hotmail.com

Rukhsana Said Khan   Assistant Professor, AJ&KU, Muzaffarabad
                        rukhsanakhan454@gmail.com

[*] The order follows the contents.

Sayed Shujaat Ali   Assistant Professor, English Department, Kohat University of Science & Technology, Kohat.
s_shojaat_ali@yahoo.com

Sakul Kundra   Assistant Professor, Department of History, Fiji National University, Fiji Islands, Email: jnulec@gmail.com.

Bhawna   PhD French Scholar, Senior French and Business Management Teacher, International School Nadi, Nadi, Fiji Islands.
jnulec@gmail.com

Asiya Bibi   PhD Scholar, Islamic International University, Islamabad, Pakistan.
zohaibkhn101@gmail.com

Tanvir Anjum   Associate Professor (Tenured), Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.
tanviranjum1@yahoo.com

Muhammad Azam Chaudhary   Associate Professor, National Institute of Pakistan Studies, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.
azamchaudhary59@yahoo.de