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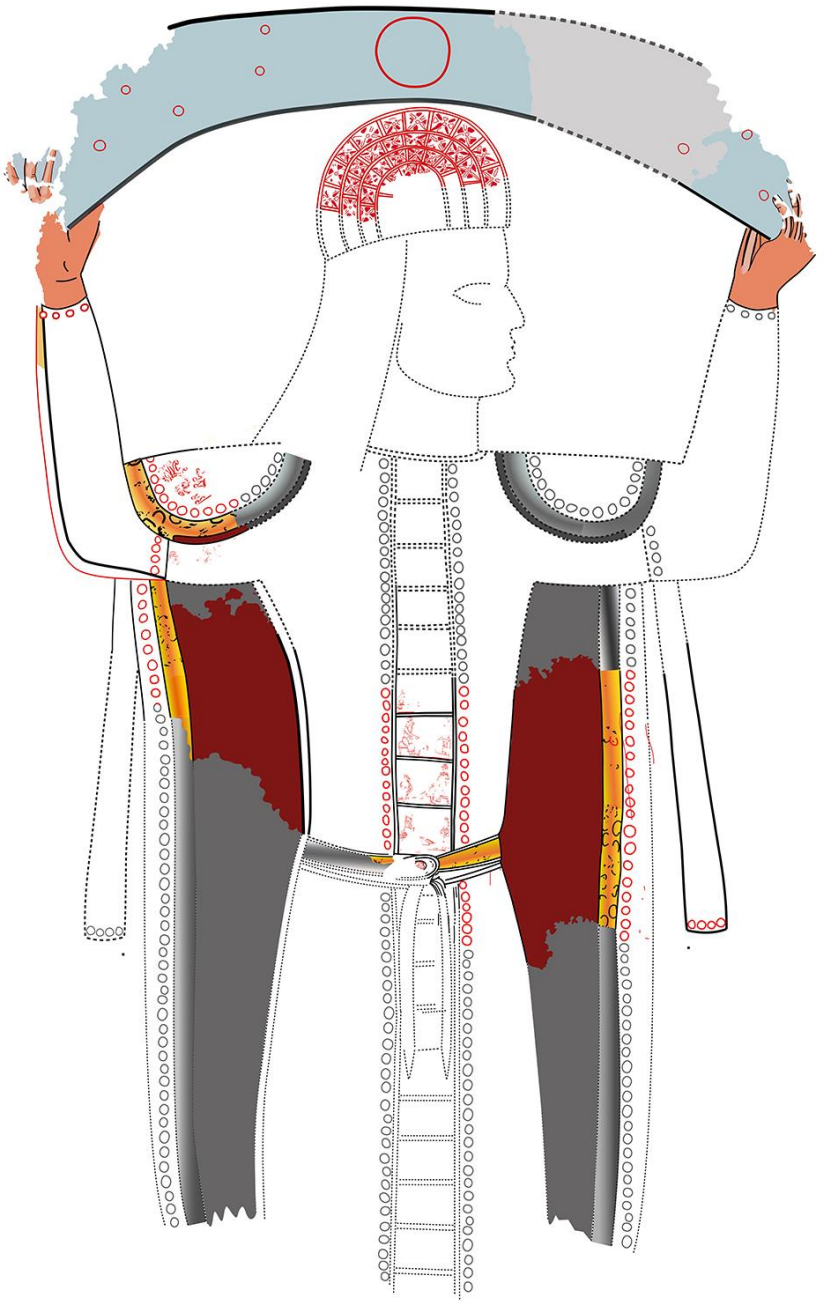

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Akchakhan-kala, wall paintings (after Minardi, this issue: fig. 1).

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Achaemenid Echoes in the Wall Paintings of Akchakhan-Kala, Chorasmia, and their Broader Significance for Central Asia

Michele Minardi

"L'arte non viene mai trasmessa attraverso un 'contagio' passivo, ma solo attraverso una fecondazione voluta e raggiunta in un'ideale di congiunzione."

(Ranuccio Bianchi Bandinelli 1963)

Abstract

In recent years the Karakalpak-Australian Expedition (KAE) carried out archaeological fieldwork at the royal Chorasmian seat of Akchakhan-kala unearthing a large corpus of wall paintings. This imagery was made during Stage 3 of the life of the site's main complex, beginning between the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD and ending in the early 2nd century AD. Among the formal elements employed in this imagery, an unanticipated use of Achaemenid iconographic models is apparent. Most of these archetypes have already been introduced in recently published articles. However, the question regarding their source and ways of transmission was left open to further inquiry. This paper aims to refine the argument and to give way to further analysis and discussion in attempting a clarification of what has already been sustained. Eastern Iranian Chorasmia once was under the Achaemenid sway, and its very foundation as a polity was quite probably due to an intervention of the Persians. But the Akchakhan-kala's paintings were produced much later than the time of the Achaemenid Empire's demise. What we may therefore be witnessing is the persistence of Achaemenid iconography as an artistic legacy, the origins of which would be reasonable to track in a centre of the "Upper Satrapies". Despite the scarcity of available evidence on the very existence of an Achaemenid aulic art and heritage in the East, it is here argued that it might be possible to consider the new Chorasmian evidence as its "echo", although the chronology of the original transmission into the polity of such a legacy is still elusive. This paper will also introduce a further, and previously neglected,

element issuing from the Akchakhan-kala's mural art and belonging to the set of Achaemenid visual "echoes": the motif of the stylized lion's heads with curled mane. Of clear Achaemenid ascendency, this motif decorates the shoulder area of the kandys worn by one of the colossal Avestan deities from the site's columned throne hall. This painted fabric decoration confirms the substantiality of the basic interpretation of the "Achaemenid echoes" coming from Chorasmia, allowing at the same time to development of some further assumptions.

Keywords: Chorasmia, Achaemenid Empire, artistic legacy, transmission of iconographies, Central Asia, Upper Satrapies, Eastern Hellenism

1. Introduction[1]

In a recent paper (Minardi 2018), I have tried to underline the originality of the visual art expressed by the painted colossal deities of Akchakhan-kala and to give it context. These divine figures, originally about 7 m tall, seem to fully be a Chorasmian artistic invention and one of Zoroastrian character (Grenet 2018). Even though originality, style and artistic inventiveness apart, resides in the deities' general iconography incorporating Achaemenid archetypes, an array of features of Eastern-Hellenistic nature supplement their composition. The deities thus seem to bear witness to all the centuries that had passed between the arrival of the Persians in the "pre-Aral" and the 1st century AD, at which time they were painted on the end wall of the throne room of Akchakhan-kala's Central Building; this was at the epochal threshold of the Kushan expansion (Minardi 2018: 115-119).

[1] In this paper I find myself forced to indulge in self-citation for two reasons: the first is because this article is intended to clarify some points of my current research focus, which it further pursues, and the second is because the matter here discussed is strictly related to first-hand evidence that, as part of the team of the KAE, I have recently helped to recovery from the ground and study. I am also aware that in the bibliography of this paper, too many of the articles that list me as author or co-author are marked as "forthcoming". This is unfortunately unavoidable: these papers deal with arguments preliminary to the contents of this one, and some of them, which were written several years ago, are experiencing a delay in publication that is beyond anyone's control. Also, for reasons of space and style, I cannot here repeat all their numerous bibliographic references, and instead I have made cross-references to my past works.

That the art of Akchakhan-kala is being studied with an emphasis on the diachronic permeability of its society is nothing but natural. Chorasmia had always been part, even from a political point of view with the Achaemenids (Minardi 2015: 46-47, 80-81; forthcoming 2021a), of the complex network of cultural relations that existed in Asia, although it had not been Hellenized as all its of southern neighbours were in the aftermath of the *anabasis* of Alexander. Its apparent "isolation" (or its being a "periphery"), is for the most part ascribable to this historical circumstance since consequently, the polity remained *terra incognita*. The historical datum, in addition to a factual (but relative) geographical remoteness, had favoured Chorasmia's "individuality": the pre-Islamic history of the country is characterized by a cultural development without major caesurae until the advent of the Arabs. Unlike the other areas of sedentary Central Asia, Chorasmia was never colonized by the Greeks (there is no *Alexandria* in the lower reaches of the Oxus), and it came into contact with the Hellenistic civilization, and with its regional declinations, more gradually and possibly even deliberately at a later time: cut off from the Achaemenid political system after the defeat of Bessos (Minardi 2015), the polity somehow remained at the periphery of the Hellenistic world until Kushan rule in Asia flourished, the country's elite fully joined the *koiné* of its Hellenized peers only in the 2nd century AD.[2] This is a point of crucial importance that is easily overlooked because it concerns an area of Asia whose history finds little or no coverage in the surviving historical sources (Minardi 2015). Its importance emerges immediately, even from a quick overview of the archaeological evidence: Chorasmia can be considered as a case study, and it is a remarkable ground for fieldwork, for the diachronic examination of culture contact between Iranians, and Eastern Iran and Hellenism. That is also the reason why extra-ordinary, and usually quite rare, material evidence relative to pre-Sasanian Zoroastrianism is found in the polity: this is not a matter of preeminence in the sphere of early Zoroastrianism (a concept once theorized and nowadays dismissed) but the outcome of historical processes. The one area of Eastern Iran that maintained old cultural

[2] At the time of the apogee of the Kushans, a Chorasmian king consciously decided to partake of the dominant cultural climate of his times with the erection of his new seat, Toprak-kala, bringing Chorasmia further into a zone united by a significant level of elite interaction (Minardi 2018; 2020). His choice, perhaps initially dictated by different reasons (Dodson et al. 2015), was eventually ideological.

patterns and did not fall under a Hellenistic influence of higher degree was Chorasmia. Hence, the root of the artistic "archaism" of the Avestan gods of Akchakhan-kala may be sought locally, in a country where the Achaemenids seem to have left a lasting cultural imprint. On the other hand, we cannot exclude a priori the possibility that Achaemenid formal elements might have reached Chorasmia at a later time (together with new crafting techniques around the 3rd century BC? – as discussed below) from a source that had earlier received this Achaemenid input (such as a former satrapal centre). There is more than enough evidence, overall, to argue that about the turn of the 1st millennium AD, the Chorasmian "archaism" was quite possibly so, a local *persistence*, albeit data on its initial chronology are scant. The question is still open because nothing earlier, and nothing later,[3] than the Akchakhan-kala's evidence explicitly witnesses the same kind of artistic perception. Yet, this lack of data might very well be a matter of chance, in other words of an "archaeological accident": the same existence of the therianthropic "bird-priest" used to represent the Avestan *Sraosāvarəz* at such an early period was unknown before our discoveries.

Looked at in the round, the evidence strongly suggests that Eastern Iranian Chorasmia experienced a unique relationship with the Hellenistic civilization, and that this long-drawn-out series of contacts was filtered by its Asiatic declinations. Mainly for this reason, I consider it unlikely that the archaism of some of the Akchakhan-kala's paintings is proof that an "Achaemenid-style Persianism" was as a conscious choice of the Chorasmian royalty in "consequence of the development of a new form of kingship and dynastic identity in a world where the Graeco-Macedonians dynasties had all but disappeared and Iranian dynasties were on the rise" (Strootman 2020: 218). I do not see in Akchakhan-kala any "clear" evidence that such a phenomenon was due to the development of "a new form of monarchy (…) based on a blending of Iranian and Hellenistic practices" (ibidem). The evidence from Chorasmia does not fit this broader theoretical pattern well. Some Hellenistic practices may have naturally entered the country, as we are dealing with an archaeological context of the 1st century BC/1st century AD – 2nd century AD. The local indigenous era, which lasted

[3] Although we are now aware that Zoroastrian themes were also represented at Toprak-kala (Grenet 2018; Minardi 2018).

successfully for seven centuries up to the Arab conquest starting in 712 AD, is probably one of these. However, this era also marks the cultural continuum of the country, and the archaeological data likewise show the important role played by tradition: the local (pre-Sasanian) Zoroastrian religion certainly permeated the life of both the elite and commoners of the polity, from the public to the private/funerary spheres (Minardi forthcoming 2021b). The Central Monument of Akchakhan-kala, for instance, which is the second major architectonic emergence of the site, was a building devoted to public open-air ceremonies for all strata of the population (Minardi and Khozhaniyazov 2015; Minardi 2016b). The whole of Akchakhan-kala was very possibly conceived and used, apart from administrative and possibly other residential purposes, for religious Zoroastrian seasonal festivals (Grenet 2010; Minardi et al. forthcoming); these festivals did not originate in the 1st century BC (neither in the Iranian world nor in Chorasmia, as confirmed by the Isakovka bowl – Livshits 2003).[4] The king(s) of Akchakhan-kala was a Mazda-worshipper: his regnal fire altar was kept in a room adjacent to the throne hall of the palace (Sinisi et al. 2018) while the whole pictorial programme of the royal complex was done according to Zoroastrian themes reflecting a complex symbolism and a specific doctrinal message. It is plausible to think that priests with knowledge of the Avesta were supervising the work of the artists and artisans, both local and foreigners, who were active at Akchakhan-kala under royal patronage. The reason why this new royal and ceremonial centre was re-founded in Stage 3 (and fully decorated according to an organic visual programme) rests unfortunately obscure as historical sources are particularly thin on the ground.

1.1 Roots of Chorasmian art

Much of what we would like to know about the pattern of local-foreign artistic relations in Eastern Iran, and the transmission of iconography and skill it dictated during Achaemenid times is beyond recovery: we will probably never know with certainty whether a Persian-derived (for

[4] The Isakovka bowl is a silver Achaemenid phiale bearing a Chorasmian epigraph inscribed, according to Livshits, probably not before the 3rd century BC. It used to be the possession of the Chorasmian "King Amurzham, son of King Wardan". It constitutes an early record of Zoroastrian festivities in the country (Grenet in Betts et al. 2016: 136; discussed also in Minardi 2015).

themes and contents) mural art existed in Chorasmia at that time, as we will hardly obtain new data from those centres of the Empire (in the eastern satrapies) from which possibly such an artistic input may have come. Archaeology may however one day cast some new light on both issues. Further, it might be imaginable that this (unknown) aulic art spread in Chorasmia at a later post-Achaemenid (Seleucid?) date.[5] It seems that in Chorasmia the modelling and painting traditions had existed long before Akchakhan-kala Stage 3, although not much evidence can be found before the 3rd century BC, or, thus earlier than the "Hellenistic period" (Minardi 2018: 112-114). The artists who made the Akchakhan-kala's paintings certainly did so under the direction of one or more masters who headed of one or several workshops. Such workshops owned models (i.e., their material patrimony, such as cartoons) and had the knowledge (i.e., their immaterial patrimony, such as techniques) to employ and to adapt them according to the demands of their royal customer (for the archaeological evidence in this regard, see Minardi 2018; on the use of pattern books and cartoons in Persepolis, see Roaf 1983). Additionally, the contribution given by foreigners to the imagery of Akchakhan-kala is more than a conceptualization; it is shown in the emblematic case of *ketos*, a high-relief of Greek character from the Altar Area of the Central Building (Minardi 2016a). Besides this fragment of a painted modelled sculpture in clay, there are the contemporary Hellenistic formal elements and features, including painting techniques and iconographies, that were adopted in Akchakhan-kala (Minardi 2018). On the other hand, the Avestan deities are not Hellenistic at all. They

[5] R. Ghirshman in 1962 (1964: 357) and D. Schlumberger in 1969 (1970: 169) already contemplated the possibility of a transmission of Achaemenid formal elements from Persia into the architecture of Mauryan India through the Seleucid Kingdom (*contra* Bussagli [1984] 1996: 92-93 who believed in the persistence of an Achaemenid stratum). Schlumberger also (idem: 171) considered the numerous objects of Achaemenid taste from the "Oxus Treasure", following his dating with a *terminus ante quem* of 170 BC (cf. Cunningham's c. 200-180 BC – Curtis and Searight 2003: 220), as the fruit of "*un artisanat local, qui maintenait en Bactriane, à l'époque de la domination grecque, les traditions de l'époque précédente*". This is debatable because most of the objects of the Treasure seem to be "Achaemenid Persian" in style and to date from the 5th to the 4th centuries BC (Curtis and Searight 2003: 220). It should be noted that no Parthian coins were found in the hoard (ibidem) and that the objects may well be "Achaemenid Central Asian".

appear flat, painted without any attention to volume[6] and space: they are icons. If not for the iconographic elements of western origin that can be singled out in their compositions, it would be hard to believe that they are so *recent*. The Avestan gods are archaic even when seen within their very context when compared to other elements of the vast visual programme enacted by royal patronage in the Ceremonial Complex of Akchakhan-kala (e.g., the riders of the northern corridor – Minardi et al. forthcoming). Their Hellenistic features, although they look as they were "grafted" onto their visual framework, are re-elaborated and re-interpreted (such as the *corona muralis* of Sraoša or the *velificatio* motif of the second god). The kind of Hellenism to which the arts of Akchakhan-kala relate to, conforms to its Eastern-Hellenistic declinations. Historically for Chorasmia the main source of this influence is most likely the Bactrian area, and less likely the Parthian Empire (Minardi 2016a; 2018).

Nothing similar to the Akchakhan-kala's Avestan deities, or to the "red ibex" from the Western Area of the same site (Minardi et al. 2018), is so far known outside the polity in the period in question. On the other hand, the wall paintings of Akchakhan-kala show too many elements echoing Achaemenid models to be considered the fruit of a 1st century AD extemporary artistic innovation. But, albeit plausible, we do not even know whether an art influenced by Persia had existed within the area of the "Upper Satrapies"; the gap in our evidence is huge on this regard (Francfort 2013). All things considered, I am inclined to think that Chorasmia (a territory once under the control of the former Bactrian satrapy and sheltered, mainly geographically, from a direct "impact" with Hellenism) was the place where visual art that had received an original input from a courtly Achaemenid *centre* had the chance to develop locally and continuously (as sustained in Minardi et al. 2018). Some of its elements might have had the chance to survive within an enduring tradition preserved for centuries into the elite and religious sphere. Before the Achaemenids, this Chorasmian elite, as the polity and so its art, did not exist (Minardi 2016c; forthcoming 2021a). Hence, we may consider the "archaic" traits of some of the Chorasmian paintings (apparently the most sacred ones) the fruit of a local tradition. This tradition was handed down from a first currently ungraspable

[6] If not for the timid effort given by the doubling of the contour line on right sides of the deities' bodies.

Achaemenid input and preserved thanks to the lack of that "*grandissimo potere di penetrazione dell'arte ellenistica"* (Bianchi Bandinelli [1963] 1978: 51) that affected other Iranian and Indian contexts. The place from which this artistic input was originally irradiated from remains uncertain; but keeping in mind the fact that the first stage of the Chorasmian material culture is a Yaz-III-derived one (Minardi 2015: 61-84; forthcoming 2021a), and considering the historical links between, Sogdiana and Bactria (Briant 1984) and Chorasmia (Minardi 2018; 2020), this was possibly the satrapal seat of Bactra. New archaeological data on Chorasmian visual arts may transform this view in due course, making us redistribute the emphases we presently place on the various factors involved, but for the moment, the idea of a local heritage lasting for a long, albeit currently indeterminable time, seems the best option. And whether new crafting and artistic methods mediated by Hellenism developed in Chorasmia not earlier that the 3rd century BC, this does not signify that these found a completely empty canvas.

The formative stages of the Chorasmian art are obscure (Minardi 2018: 112-113). Before the discovery of the Akchakhan-kala's corpus of paintings there were no data on any Achaemenid aulic artistic imprint, inspiration or legacy in the polity;[7] there was also no evidence of an explicit Zoroastrian art at this early period. Being the mural and plastic art of Akchakhan-kala expression of a coherent programme implemented with the use of an array of different techniques, we may say that at this 1st century AD-stage it was already formed albeit still experimenting and perhaps developing a new canon that will never be: this formal language will dramatically change not much later in the decoration of the "High Palace" of Toprak-kala.

2. Achaemenid elements in the visual art of Akchakhan-kala: the evidence so far

Akchakhan-kala was a Chorasmian royal seat dominated by a Ceremonial Complex. In its last main stage of life at about the turn of

[7] The Achaemenid influence is clear in the material culture of the polity and in the paraphernalia of the elite emulated by the lesser elite (Minardi 2016c; forthcoming 2021a). This paper discusses aulic art.

the 1st millennium AD[8], the walls of the complex were profusely decorated with wall paintings and other decorative features (Kidd and Betts 2010). The site was not archaeologically explored in Soviet times by the "Khorezm Expedition"; it was rediscovered by the KAE[9] only in the early 2000s. The extraordinary painted imagery unearthed during its excavation constitutes the larger corpus of (religious) mural art of such antiquity so far known in Central Asia.

The three, perhaps originally four, colossal anthropomorphic deities that are part of the corpus (Betts et al. 2015; 2016) were discovered among the fragments recorded during the excavation of the main hypostyle hall (Minardi et al. 2017) of the Central Building (i.e., the palace) of the Ceremonial Complex of the site (i.e. the palace and adjacent structures). One of these gods, who bore on his tunic the explicit Zoroastrian symbol of the therianthropic "bird-priest", was recognised with the *yazata* Sraoša (whose identification is further confirmed and discussed in Grenet and Minardi forthcoming 2021). The second *yazata* to his left might be Tištrya (Minardi 2018), or an allegorical depiction of the ensemble of the Fravashis (Grenet in Betts et al. 1392), and the third one may be Spandarmad (idem: 1395).

[8] Akchakhan-kala certainly was one of the most significant sites of the polity of Chorasmia in its Early Antique 3 period (*ca*. mid-1st century BC – early 3rd century AD). This royal seat was founded around the 2nd century BC and abandoned in the 2nd century AD. During its main stage (Stage 3, which begins around the 1st century BC/1st century AD, coinciding with the start of the Antique 3 period) the Ceremonial Complex underwent a thorough transformation in architecture and decoration. At the end of Stage 3, Akchakhan-kala was abandoned and was then despoiled and robbed of most of its construction elements (e.g., the wooden features of its architecture) and of its valuable materials, probably mostly reemployed in the subsequent royal seat of Toprak-kala, which was founded afresh nearby.

[9] A joint project of the University of Sydney and the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Karakalpak branch, co-directed by Alison V.G. Betts and Gairatdin Khozhaniyazov. Research and fieldwork in Karakalpakstan during the years 2016-2019 were supported by the Australian Research Council DP170101770 grant (Co-PIs: A. Betts, M. Minardi, F. Grenet and M. Karlybaev). The grant also supported conservation and restoration work on the Akchakhan-kala wall paintings which was carried out by the restorers: Natacha Akin, Hélène Blanpain, Mélodie Bonnat, Nina Robin, Marie Smaniotto and Steven Van de Velde. In earlier publications the site, also spelled Akshakhan-kala, was called Kazakl'i-yatkan (or Kazaklӯ-yatkan). The name has been changed from this local one to the name registered in the official heritage record of Uzbekistan.

These "icons" ought to be considered in their specific context which is quite well known thanks to field archaeology. The deities, contrary to what may seem to be the case, were not isolated figures; they were part of a complex doctrinal message, a metaphoric religious narration developed through a visual system that art, in media such as wall paintings and modelled high-reliefs, helped to express and convey. The colossal figures were painted on the end wall of the main elite and representative space of a royal and ceremonial seat, along with a tapestry-like painted representation of a *paradeisos*, a proper a lush garden with deer, kulans and birds, which also covered the column shafts of the hypostyle hall (KAE unpublished, article in preparation). In the same structure, in a secluded adjacent space, the remains of a regnal fire altar were also discovered (Sinisi et al. 2018). Other elements of this religious "narration" were exposed in all the other spaces so far excavated (e.g., a procession scene linked to the "portraits gallery" involving the multitude of the Fravashis – Minardi et al. forthcoming). The constituent trademark of the Chorasmian deities is their Achaemenid-derived iconography. As a consequence, they are similar to each other, stereotyped (cf. Roaf 1983: 99 on Persepolis), albeit with key differences in their attributes. If any part is missing from the depiction of one of them, it can be supplied with a high degree of confidence from the others. Unfortunately, none of the visages of the deities have been preserved.

The gods are shown frontally, but with their heads in full profile. This is one kind of representation used among others in Persia, for instance, in depictions of throne bearers at Persepolis and Naqš-e Rostam. With the scheme of the throne bearer, moreover, the god with upright arms holding up a canopy of sky (as mentioned, it may be Tištrya) shares the "atlas position". General shape apart, also Sraoša seems to follow a Persepolitan model (Fig. 1; except for his raised right arm quite probably holding a weapon) if we observe the particular way in which both his belt and the suspension system for his *akinakes* are represented. Strikingly, the bottom line of Sraoša's trousers is defined by his dagger belt in exactly the same manner as in the Achaemenid depictions of matching equipment associated with tunic and trousers: the tunic is not caught and dragged up by the thong of the scabbard; this is a proper *stilema*. The *akinakes*, with its typical scabbard, was quite probably itself a visual iconographic vestige rather than a weapon still in use in Chorasmia during the 1st century AD (at that time such

daggers, conceived for horsemen, following a widespread fashion usually had a four-lobed scabbard – see Schiltz 2006).

There are certainly some differences in proportions and style between Achaemenid and Chorasmian specimens, due to the different periods in which they were made, the media used and their contexts (e.g., Sraoša's sword has a bent hilt and it is decorated with a pattern, as if fully bejewelled, in a fashion as none of the Persian specimens known).[10] This is why the words "echo" and "archetype" are here carefully employed in defining these Persian iconographic loans. Further, is worth noting again that two of the deities are definitely wearing a *kandys* thrown back on their shoulders with empty sleeves and fur trimming (Kidd in Betts et al. 2016a; Minardi 2018).[11] The third deity, identified as Spandarmad, is in my opinion instead sporting a cape (cf. *Yašt* XXX, 126-128),[12] perhaps to indicate her different sex in this context,[13] embroidered with a pattern representing mountains or tree bark. Also, as we shall see, the *kandys* of the other gods were conceived as embroidered, or decorated with applied bracteates, on their outer sides. At least one of the gods, Sraoša, wears trousers decorated with birds (*anaxyrides*), and all of them have an ornate belted tunic (*chiton)* with short sleeves covering an undergarment with long ones (cf. Xenophon, *Anab*. I. 5. 8). The long tunics are apparently dissimilar to Achaemenid ones; in two out of three cases (excluding the undeterminable case of Spandarmad), there is a central band displaying a series of framed designs. On one case, they are the series of *Sraosāvarəz*, and in the other case, they are more complex scenes representing king(s) and priests wearing the *padām* in a ceremonial setting (Grenet 2018; Minardi 2018; Grenet and Minardi in preparation). The short sleeves of the tunics are likewise decorated with

[10] But see: Curtius III. 3, 18; cf. Xenophon, *Anab.* I. 2, 27, and I. 8, 29. Cf. with the representation of Darius' scabbard in the famous Apulian Darius Vase held in the *Museo Nazionale Archeologico di Napoli.*

[11] It is here worth quoting Schmitt 1990: "Pollux (*Onomasticon* 7.58) […] calls the candys 'sleeved' (*kheiridōtós*) and 'fastened along the shoulders' (*katà toùs ṓmous enaptómenos*). Sometimes the candys may have been edged with fur (probably beaver). Apparently it was worn only when the climate or weather was such that the tunic (called *khitṓn* by Xenophon) and the trousers were not warm enough."

[12] Anāhitā is "[…] *vêtue d'un précieux manteaux aux nombreux plis dorés*". Cf. also idem, 129. "*Elle a revêtu un vêtement de castor* […]". (Transl. Lecoq 2016).

[13] Although, as noticed by Kidd (in Betts et al. 2016a), the *kandys* is not exclusively a male garment. On the women's robe in Achaemenid times, see Goldman 1991.

these scenes. The presence of a central band as the main decorative element of such tunics (cf. with the purple royal chiton with white middle, the *chiton mesoleukos* described by Xenophon)[14] is not exclusively "Parthian" (as already noted by Kidd in Betts et al. 2016: 131); it is found also in the costumes of the steppe dwellers from Antiquity (e.g., Amazons on Greek painted ceramics, *Sakās* from an Achaemenid seal from the Oxus Treasure, perhaps a Chorasmian individual depicted on a gold plaque from the Oxus Treasure, a *Sakā* dancer from Butkara I) to Late Antiquity (Minardi 2013: 136-137). In the case of Chorasmia, the decoration of these bands with images might be related to an input from the so-called Parthian milieu (Dura, Palmyra, Hatra), but this is not a key interpretative element because all of the depiction deals with Avestan imagery (with an apparent emphasis on the priestly class).

Auxiliary to this archaizing iconographical framework, there are some standout elements derived from Eastern Hellenism. These features, mainly the *corona muralis* for Sraoša and the *velificatio* motif for Tištrya, are accompanied by those elements found in minor decorations such as the boat with zoomorphic figureheads and oarsmen depicted on Sraoša's necklace (Minardi 2018: 115; fig. 11; cf. Gandhāra – Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007: 276) or the framed gazelle decorating Spandarmad's garment (Minardi 2018: 117-118, fig. 13). Even the iconographic creation of the Zoroastrian "bird-priest", although perhaps elaborated in Chorasmia (Grenet and Minardi forthcoming 2021), re-enacts a model of western origin (i.e., the siren/harpy) reshaped to fit a vision of the local religious sphere (Minardi forthcoming 2021c). These elements, re-elaborated and, in the case of the mural crown and the canopy of sky, stylistically reinterpreted, are *de facto* Hellenistic in origin.[15] The mural crown (Minardi 2013; Minardi in Betts et al. 2016a) has its closest visual and chronological comparison is with a *tyche nagaradevatā* from Butkara I (Minardi 2020),[16] and the *velificatio* again apparently precedes similar

[14] Xenophon, *Cyr*. VIII.3, 13; cf. Curtius, III.13, 17 (on the tunic worn by Darius III): "*purpureae tunicae medium album intextum erat"*. Discussed in details by Collins 2012. Cf. the tunic worn by Darius III in the so-called Alexander Mosaic from Pompeii.

[15] The mural crown is neither a primarily "Levantine element" (in the area a Romano-Hellenistic one) nor exclusively an attribute of the *tyche*.

[16] Cf. also with the towers of alternate height (and two merlons) on a Bactrian silver

depictions (e.g., the wind god Oado on Kanishka's coins) that found a certain favour in the Gandhāran area under the Kushans (Hallade 1965). I have already argued elsewhere about the origins of such Hellenistic and Eastern Hellenistic formal elements, and about the reasons for their presence in Chorasmia: this is due to historically favoured links through the "Oxus axis", following the river towards the south, in particular with Bactriana, spatially related to Chorasmia via Sogdiana (Minardi 2018; 2020; on the numismatic evidence, Sinisi 2018). Other depictions, soon to be published, this time of "knights" and horses from the northern corridor of the same Central Building, seem to further endorse this argument (Minardi et al. forthcoming). There is nothing formulaic "Parthian" (on the misleading role of this art historical label, see Sinisi 2014) in the art of Akchakhan-kala. Instead, there are visible links with the Hellenistic-influenced arts of the East, along with the Persian "echoes" here discussed.

3. A new element: the embroidery with lions' heads on the *kandys* of the god with the canopy of sky

In 2019, in parallel with fieldwork at Akchakhan-kala, the restoration of the wall paintings fragments belonging to the possible depiction of the Avestan *yazata* Tištrya proceeded. Upon further observation of the fragments, a new element was identified that confirms the remarkable existence, and possibly the persistence, of elements of Achaemenid origin in the art of Chorasmia. The intricate red-coloured drawings located on the god's right shoulder, and thus on the exterior of his *kandys*, had been tentatively interpreted as solar symbols (Kidd in Betts et al. 2015: 1387); now with closer scrutiny, they clearly appear to be the remains of depictions of lions' heads (Figs. 2-4). Only two heads are partially preserved, one of which enough to be identified. Others were likely painted on the lost portion of the shoulder area. The painter seems to have intended the whole *kandys* to be externally decorated with a pattern of these applied or embroidered lions' heads.

The characteristic stylization of the lions' mane, given by elongated "fingers" each terminating with a semi-spiral-shaped finial, is evidently Achaemenid in origin. This is proven by the existence of several Achaemenid gold appliques currently held in various museums

phalera with the depiction of a war elephant (Seipel 1996: 261, fig. 126).

(Fig. 5b),[17] by a well-known decoration on glazed bricks from Susa now held in the Louvre (Fig. 5a), and in a Achaemenid glyptic specimen displaying the same recurrent motif (Moorey 1978, fig. 4). The lion's head motif was popular at the earthland of the empire and it was from there irradiated towards the steppes, as shown by later evidence from some of the kurgans of Pazyryk (Fig. 6; first half of the 3rd century – see below), and Berel' 11 (early 3rd century BC – Samashev et al. 2000: 16, fig. 28). In the Altai area, different decorative elements are found displaying lions (and their "animal-style" transformations) with a similar stylized treatment of the mane often ending with circles.[18] Another lion's head, this time fashioned as a bronze buckle, from Berkara (modern Kazakhstan, published in Stark 2012, fig. 7.12) illustrates the same stylistic convention for the feline's mane. This object, Achaemenid in style and made with a cast, could be, in my opinion, a piece manufactured in Achaemenid Central Asia.[19]

Further, the lion's skin folds and the details of the Chorasmian drawing, especially in the case of the area of the lion's eye, are quite close to the mentioned specimens from Susa. The use of such a motif is so far unique for Chorasmia. It is only the second case in which the imagery of a feline has been employed (Caspian tigers were the only cats once part of the local fauna) in the whole corpus of wall paintings from the site (the other one on a diadem worn by one of the framed figures from the corridor of the Central Building – Kidd and Betts 2010, fig. 9). This supplementary element confirms that models with Achaemenid antecedents stylistically transformed by the passing of time were employed by the artists active in Akchakhan-kala. The evidence for this is straightforward. The question that now need answering, considering that these elements could not have originated indigenously, is where they did come from and when they were

[17] E.g., Miho Museum, Royal Ontario Museum, Princeton University Art Museum, MET, Brooklyn Art Museum, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Chicago Oriental Institute Museum. Some of these specimens are considered in Kantor 1957 and Moorey 1978.

[18] The motif also found its way to the west, as attested by a painted frieze of a Macedonian tomb at Dion (the "Soteriades Tomb", dating at the end of the 4th century BC – Boardman 1970).

[19] On its dating: Stark 2012: 4th/3rd century BC; Arbore Popescu et al. 1998: 3rd/2nd century BC.

adopted in the area south of the Aral. This issue raises many further questions.

4. Persistence of an unknown artistic tradition? Achaemenid heritage in the "Upper Satrapies"

The motif of the lions' heads that decorate the exterior of the *kandys* worn by Tištrya is only the latest of several formal elements with a clear Achaemenid iconographic ascendency recognized in the painted imagery of Akchakhan-kala. The stylization of the lions' manes and facial features reveal Persian archetypes rendered freehand by painters in their Chorasmian 1st century AD style. The presence of other similarly originated visual elements shows that we are not dealing with isolated features but instead with an artistic "package": the workshop(s) active at Akchakhan-kala had either access to models (a cartoon in the case of the "red ibex") or (but much less probably) those who supervised the work had them and the artists had to conform. To the main visual features of this "package" (e.g., the *kandys*, the *akinakes* etc.) and the lions, we ought to add others formal elements (discussed in Betts et al. 2015; 2016), such as Sraoša's Egyptian-shaped torque and his "colourful" trousers. Further, the third partially preserved colossal deity, possibly Spandarmad, wears a mantle embroidered on the exterior with a *pelta* motif evoking tree-bark or mountains of Near-Eastern ascendency. This latter motif, together with the pattern of triangles (or toothed lines) used in the secondary decorations of the deities' garments and equipment, and the amply used floral and geometric pattern decorating Sraoša's bejewelled *akinakes* and Tištrya's tiara (Ghirshman's *étoile à quatre rayons*),[20] are all earlier attested by materials found in the mounds of Pazyryk-5 and Pazyryk-1. All of these motifs have been found, not by chance along with our well-known Persian lions' heads, on various pieces that were buried in the Altai in the first half of the 3rd century BC. Furthermore, Srōsh's *corona muralis* displays towers of alternate height and colour (red and white) surmounted by a series of "horned" merlons (Fig. 7). Both features again echo Persian models, including depictions of embroideries from Achaemenid Susa showing battlements (Fig. 8,

[20] Discussed by Minardi in Betts et al. 2016a: 133-134. Examples contemporary to Akchakhan-kala include specimens from Tillya Tepe.

right). The same battlements – i.e., with "horned" towers of alternate colours – are also seen in a woollen saddlecloth from Pazyryk-5 (already noticed in Azarpay 1959: 136-137; Fig. 8, left).[21] Unlikely all their known antecedents, however, the Chorasmian towers seem to display rectangular niches (unnoticed before) below their horned crenellation, and dentils (or, perhaps, beam heads) further below before their arrow-shaped embrasures (Fig. 9). Structures with niches, dentils and horns appear in the architecture represented in the early 2nd century BC numismatic emissions of the Fratarakas from Fārs, and in what may be their actual Persepolitan and other unknown models (Callieri 2007: 118-122).[22] In Persis, moreover, the Fratarakas used the four-rayed star as an emblem (hoisted on a standard, and thus possibly having a symbolic and religious meaning – De Jong in Callieri 2007: 123-124) and they sported a *kandys* thrown on their back (with a decoration of circles on the cuffs). But while in Persis, the former core area of the Achaemenid power, we can observe both the persistence of tradition (Callieri 2007: 145; also due to the physical proximity to observable models; see also Boucharlat 2014:128, on the "Median" tombs of Zagros), and the employment of the new means provided by Hellenism for "*nuove forme di rappresentazione"* such as numismatics (idem: 114, 127), earlier for Pazyryk and later for Chorasmia, we ought to consider similar patterns of transmission but in a different, geographically detached from Western Iran, context.[23] These shared

[21] The Achaemenid towers display "horns", which might be corner stepped merlons (cf. Temple of Bel, Palmyra), whereas the Chorasmian, Persepolitan and mentioned Frataraka examples have two upright points/horns on each merlon. In the second numismatic series of the Fratarakas the "horned merlons" are changed with the stepped type (Callieri 2007: 125), hence it seems that both types shared the same semantic. The Chorasmian example also differs in that it has what may be a continuous crenellation (see fig. 9a-b). Horns also belong to fire, or incense, burners (e.g., on Kushan numismatic emission with the representation of a standing king Vasudeva in armour). Horned altars comprise a large and diversified group of objects and are found over a long period of time through a wide geographical area (including e.g., Parthian Assur – Andrae and Lenzen 1933, Pl. 36).

[22] Comparanda already noted in, Minardi in Betts et al. 2016a: 132. On the debated chronology and symbolism of the Fratarakas, the chronology which might be higher but not lower, see the recent Sarkhosh Curtis 2010, Engels 2013 and Müseler 2018 with references.

[23] The politically driven desire of the lords of Fārs for emulation is clear in that they do not just wear a *kandys*, but, in later numismatic emissions of the 1st century BC, they seem even to borrow for their self-representation from the royal tombs of Naqš-e

iconographic elements, characterized by a strong symbolic charge, are comparable, but as I have repeatedly noted, there is not much of Hellenistic in the deities of Akchakhan-kala and there are no apparent direct links (if not perhaps for a "common background") between Chorasmia and the Fratarakas of Persis.

Data from Pazyryk suggest the possibility that additional types of crafts, besides models conceived for paintings and sculpture, might have contribute to the diffusion of Achaemenid iconographic elements in Asia: these would have been carpets and embroidered textiles. The lions' heads of Achaemenid taste were found in barrow 2 (Pazyryk-2: ca. 300-282 BC) and barrow 1 (Pazyryk-1: ca. 295 BC), whereas the most famous carpet from this necropolis and other "woollens" came from barrow 5 (Pazyryk-5: ca. 250 BC). The lions' heads from Pazyryk are more ancient than the Chorasmian painted specimens and, like the horned one from Pazyryk-1, closer to their original models. Scholars had already considered the idea that at least the famous carpets from barrow 5, including, I believe, the one with the tower pattern discussed above, were actually Achaemenid, possibly manufactured in Bactria.[24] This is more than suggestive: textiles, which are easy to transport but less to manufacture, were a favoured vector of diffusion of motifs and iconographies throughout antiquity.[25] They were also a vector of complex polychromatic designs. Their manufacture may also have been

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Rostam the iconography of the king in front of a fire altar (Callieri 2007: 125).

[24] Francfort (2008: 38). On the provenance and technical analysis of the "Great Carpet" from Pazyryk-5, see also Lerner 1991 and Böhmer and Thompson 1991 with references. A Middle-Assyrian period document from Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta attests that the representation of cities on textiles already existed at the end of the 2nd millennium BC, and, thus, it is quite probable that the motif of enclosures with towers also existed (Barrelet 1977).

[25] From the "Babylonian" textiles and carpets of Cyrus's tomb (Arrian, *Anabasis* VI. 29. 5) to the representation of textiles incised at Persepolis with passing lions and their matching real specimens found in Pazyryk-5 (Rudenko 1970, pl. 177, A). Even the Fratarakas's standard might be counted among those textiles kept in sacred places for veneration and display (above). It is interesting to recall here that inside Cyrus's tomb there was also a "*kandys"* of "Babylonian" workmanship (*Anabasis* VI. 29. 6). Bactrian and Kushan textiles, such as those from Sanpula and Noin-ula hint at the fact that the Bactrian area witnessed an important high-quality and long-lasting tradition of textile decoration and weaving. Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* VIII. 74) records how expensive the Babylonian textiles were during the time of Nero (37-68 AD) and also mentions the invention of *polymita* in Alexandria (which Plautus, *Ps*. 1. 2, described as being "purple, embroidered with beasts all over").

connected to oral transmission of mythopoetic (Tuck 2006). That textiles from other areas of the Empire were imported into Achaemenid Bactriana is also confirmed by an Aramaic document of the 4th century BC ("purple wool, a garment of Cappadocia, gifts… purple brocade"; Naveh and Shaked 2012, C6). It is not perhaps by chance then, that we can observe a certain correspondence between wall paintings depicting motifs and patterns of textiles and the patterns on actual textiles, over time and space from Persia to Pazyryk and Akchakhan-kala. And considering the fact that Chorasmia was once the northeastern-most enclave of the Empire, it might have been one of those focal areas between sedentary and semi-nomadic cultures in which contacts and exchanges occurred over time (and perhaps continuously; Minardi 2015: 82-83 with references).[26]

Taking into account the historical context of Ancient Chorasmia on the whole, we have to exclude an artistic mediation of Achaemenid models from the steppes into the polity (cf. Francfort 2005: 340). The Achaemenid-inspired features in Akchakhan-kala art, which are quite close to their Persian originals even though more recent than those found in Pazyryk and Berel', also appear to underline the fact that certain forms were diffused via Central Asia.[27] As far as we know, there are no formal elements of steppic origin in the art of Akchakhan-kala.[28] State formation in Chorasmia was the result of a political process ignited by an Achaemenid intervention (Minardi 2015 contra Rapoport et al. 2000).[29] Because of the Achaemenids, political

[26] A trade route from Chorasmia to the foothills of the Southern Urals existed in the second half of the 1st millennium BC (Bolelov 2013: 247-248) apparently since the end of the 5th century BC (idem: 246) through both the Jaxartes/Syr Darya delta and the Ustyurt Plateau. According to Bolelov (2013: 249; 353, Map 25), the presence of mostly 4th- and 3rd-century Chorasmian ceramic material in the barrows of the area testifies that Chorasmia, which in his opinion had established itself as a separated *satrapy* of the Achaemenid Empire in the mid/late 5th century BC, intensified its commerce flow with the steppes because of a newly gained independence from the Persians.

[27] From Pazyryk-5 comes a "fork for check-straps" of saddlery decoration clearly inspired by a *ketos* (Rudenko 1970, pl. 117, C – not considered in Minardi 2016a). This element, as the barrow dates ca. 250 BC, also points towards transmission from Central Asia to the steppes as we are aware that such Greek dragons arrived in Asia with the Greeks (Minardi 2016a: 175).

[28] The only exception might be the roundel in the upper portion of Srōsh's scabbard (Minardi in Betts et. al. 2016: 134).

[29] In this work, Tolstov's speculative "Greater Chorasmian Theory" is still evoked

development in the area followed new and complex trajectories. The non-artistic material culture of the country proves this point. Arguably in consequence, new iconographies (and arts and crafts) likewise entered the country with the Persians. As I noted elsewhere, this probably means that, after the conquest of the lower reaches of the Oxus, an *agent* of the Achaemenid central power, arguably the same satrapy under the control and political influence of which the territory of Chorasmia was until the defeat of Bessos, extended its jurisdiction over these lands.[30] Chorasmia was subdued because of its strategic position, and it became a Persian outpost near the *Sakās*, a bridge towards the both dangerous and useful steppes

The real challenge in considering the presence of Achaemenid formal elements in the art of Chorasmia at the turn of the 1st millennium as a *persistence*, is that there is no evidence of mural art in the country before the "Hellenistic age". Also, evidence of mural art from the Achaemenid capitals is scant: the figurative fragments unearthed at Susa currently appear to be isolated (Boucharlat 2010: 402-403; on the paint applied to the reliefs of Persepolis, see also Roaf 1983: 8; Ambers and Simpson 2005). However, archaeologists are aware that the lack of painted material from the early epochs is quite likely due to the fragility of the evidence and to missing (and missed) archaeological finds. The painted corpus of Akchakhan-kala is eloquent in this regard. Yet at Akchakhan-kala the modelled and painted sculptural evidence so far retrieved has no Persian qualities but, instead, bears the mark of a "traditionalist" Hellenism (the *ketos*). In Chorasmia, and Asia, the unbaked clay modelling technique seems to have been an innovation brought by Hellenism. Evidence seems to indicate that it was apparently introduced into the polity not earlier than the mid-3rd century BC, and possibly even in the early 2nd century BC (Minardi 2016a).

We may consider the hypothesis that both these techniques, mural painting and (less likely, as also recently noted in Francfort 2013: 116) unbaked-clay modelled and painted sculpture, and their material realizations, existed earlier in Chorasmia, as well as in Central

(Rapoport et al. 2000: 24-25). This point is discussed in Minardi forthcoming 2021a.

[30] Political continuity marked the transition from the Achaemenids to Alexander (Briant 1996: 887-889; Naveh and Shaked 2012: 16). Chorasmia was left outside the territories ruled by Alexander.

Asia, and that only with the input of Hellenism they did become technically improved and widespread, due to the birth of that *industria artistica* typical of the Hellenistic age. At least this can be considered as a plausible hypothesis for mural art. From this perspective, even though evidence for earlier periods is scant, the Akchakhan-kala's paintings may reveal themselves as the last output of an original contribution inherited from the Achaemenid sphere. This ancient contribution appears no less clearly than the other one discernible in its art, that is the contribution from its Hellenized south, from which Chorasmia was nonetheless still partially detached. Both inputs are conveyed with originality by the aulic art of 1st century AD Chorasmia, in all the complexity of an artistic creation. But if on the one hand, the Hellenistic element was "current" at the time that the Akchakhan-kala paintings were made, the Achaemenid component was instead already an archetype as proven by the fact that it is only related to the sole iconographical aspect of the works. Hence, I believe that the Persian iconographic archetypes discernible at Akchakhan-kala cannot be separated from the notion of artistic continuity: there are no surviving contemporary parallels of such pregnant "archaic" iconographic echoes in the aulic art of Central Asia.

In the former Achaemenid Asiatic domains, besides the important mass of data evidenced by material culture studies (that cannot be discussed here for reasons of space; see for instance the collection of articles in the recent Genito and Maresca 2019; see also Minardi 2016c), late reflections of an Achaemenid stimulus, of different significance, can be recognized in architecture. Elements such as Mauryan pillars and columns,[31] Graeco-Bactrian (Schlumberger 1970: 27; analysed in Bernard 1976) and Arsacid (Lippolis 2009: 56-57) column bases, and, contemporary to Akchakhan-kala, Gandhāran-Persepolitan types of columns and capitals from north-western India (Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007: 77-80) are well-known examples of this. The column bases of Akchakhan-kala are of a composite type (a stepped plinth underneath a rounded torus) that was locally elaborated on models quite similar to those of the mentioned "Persian Graeco-Bactrian" specimens (for further details, see Minardi et al. 2017).[32]

[31] Cf. note 5 above.

[32] The same columned architecture, as a marker of elite and representative space, enters Chorasmia with the Achaemenids in the 6th century BC (Minardi et al. 2017).

5. Conclusive remarks

In a country characterized by *porous conservativism,* the religious element and its legacy may have run in parallel and continuity with the artistic one. The imagery we are contemplating is linked to the generally conservative concepts of Iranian kingship and religion. At first glance our deities may seem to be isolated icons, but in truth they are central to a visual system (*yazatas* – *paradeisos* – Fravashis) metaphoric expression of a complex religious message. The centrality of the *yazatas* is, at present, also emphasized by the lack of focal representations of royal figures whose depictions are relegated to accessory, although significant, elements of the visual programme, such as the panels in the central band of the colossal Tištrya (Minardi 2018, fig. 15; Grenet 2018, fig. 8). It seems that the Chorasmian king, whose dynasty was celebrated via painted inscriptions found in the corridor of the Central Building, was neither willing to boast of a divine nature[33] nor wanting to explicitly exalt the relation of his house with important foreign ancestors, if not with his *Fravashis* (although Bīrunī records something on this regard, possibly for a later period).[34] Akchakhan-kala was not conceived as a *hierotheseion* (by a king who defined himself *Philoromaios Philhellen*) or transformed into a memorial centre after its main stage of life. Instead, it was abandoned: in the early 2nd century AD the Ceremonial Complex was deserted and despoiled, unlike, for instance, Old Nisa, which became a "huge memorial and ceremonial centre for the Arsacid dynasty" (Lippolis 2009: 54). At the new seat of Toprak-kala, the royal dynasty may have been celebrated by following a tradition renewed by Kushan influence. However, the "High Palace" of Toprak-kala, similarly to the palace of Akchakhan-kala, lost its status and was despoiled and transformed into

[33] The only preserved portrait of a possible king of Akchakhan-kala (Minardi 2018, fig. 16) does not show the nimbus that a later (late second 2nd century AD, Sinisi 2018: 175) Chorasmian king with similar headgear and diadem adopted for his numismatic portrait in a Kushan fashion.

[34] Al-Bīrunī (transl. Sachau 1879: 40-42) records how the kings of Chorasmia during Late Antiquity were proud of their (legendary?) ancestral heritage, perhaps to be linked to the Achaemenid kings (Minardi 2015: 116-117) and that the country was "colonized" in the year "980 before Alexander" (*Anno Alexandri* 304 corresponds, according to the same scholar, with the birth of Christ). This might have been a late propaganda boast of the Chorasmian ruling dynasty; nonetheless, it is worth recalling in this context.

a utilitarian building, probably a fort, after a short span of time (Minardi 2020: 200-201 with references).

It may be that Achaemenid archetypes, which that *de facto* had undergone a long process of transformation in style and content, were knowingly employed at Akchakhan-kala under active royal and religious patronage mainly for political reasons and in relation to a certain propaganda construct (which cannot be in any way a Persian *revival*). This is merely speculation, however. We have to considered that the country was, at the time of Akchakhan-kala's Stage 3, chronologically and geographically far detached from the former centres of Achaemenid power (unlike the Fratarakas of Persis or, later, the Sassanids) and was surrounded by elites who were adopting Hellenism as a shared "language". The message conveyed by the Avestan deities might have been consciously attached to a fabled past inherited by the royal dynasty, but the lack of historical sources means that we have no indications. Nevertheless, the means of visually displaying this conjectural political decision were clearly not re-created in imitation of contemporary models (of long-lost, unknown to us, Achaemenid anthropomorphic deities?), as their style and iconography demonstrate (why was not a Hellenistic garb not instead chosen?). If this were the case, odd Achaemenid models would have been selected: we have gods that look like throne bearers instead of gods who look like kings (why, of the various possibilities available, this position of the body was chosen is unclear); we have an out-of-fashion *akinakes* in a "classic sheath" (a relic that may have been attached to some symbolic quality and status).[35] One of the gods even re-elaborates the Achaemenid "atlas pose" adapting it to a *velificatio*, reversing again to a ritual/cosmic context a representation inherited from Egyptian and

[35] A 5th-century BC non-functional bronze *akinakes* fused in one piece with its scabbard was discovered in Romania, at Medgidia (Schiltz 1994, fig. 169). The *akinakes*, among the objects carried in procession by some foreign delegations at Persepolis and a piece of equipment shared among most "nations" of the Achaemenid Empire (according to their allegoric representations), certainly had a status and symbolic role (a gold *akinakes* is mentioned as a gift/token of honour bestowed by the Persian king, e.g., Xenophon, *Anabasis* I. 2, 27, and I. 8, 29). The dagger had a specific kind of scabbard used to secure the weapon to the thigh of a horseman while riding. This scabbard was later supplanted by the four-lobed one (see above; probably originated in a nomadic milieu around the 3rd century BC, Schiltz 2006: 279), thus with a different strap system, perhaps because of its increased efficiency while riding (on the symbolic value diffusion and origin of this latter type, see Schiltz 2002).

Mesopotamian art that in Persia had become decidedly political (Root 1979: 150-153).[36] The Chorasmian gods hence seem to be the result of a new interpretation of old iconographies. As a matter of fact, the artistic language of the mural art of Akchakhan-kala does not try to show its "Persianism", but instead it ostensibly tries to conform to the dominant Hellenistic *koiné* that surrounds it. What in fact the art of Akchakhan-kala hints at, and what a few generations later is perfectly demonstrated by the art of Toprak-kala (e.g., in its Hellenistic Iranian goddesses – Minardi 2020), is that instead of resisting external stimuli and pursuing "Persianism", the Chorasmian elite of Akchakhan-kala manifested through its art a willingness to partake more of the cultural *koiné* of its southern peers.[37] That is why some foreign artists and craftsmen, possibly (geographically) Bactrians, were called upon and employed in the Akchakhan-kala's royal complex. That is why the regnal fire of the king had precious imported components of Indian elephant ivory (Betts et al. 2016b). Bactriana was also the former satrapy from which, as in the clearly documented case of the first stage of the Chorasmian material culture with ceramics derived from Yaz-III types, similar Achaemenid elements may have been employed by its elite and then diffused into Chorasmia during the centuries of the Persian domination (*contra* Francfort 2013: 116). Artaxerxes II, as recorded by Berossos, ordered the erection of cultic statues of Anāhitā (plausibly after the same official model)[38] in the main centres of the Empire, including Bactra (discussed in Briant 1996: 695-696).[39] This signifies that an aulic courtly art there existed. However, at the time of Akchakhan-kala Stage 3, such archaic features were absent in

[36] Tištrya, in my reconstruction (Minardi 2018), displays a canopy of heaven with his star, Sirius, at the centre. The god's iconography reminds us not only of throne bearers, and their Egyptian models (used as late as the Roman times, e.g., the zodiac of Dendera), but also the god Shu.

[37] The propagandistic and political "*renouveau iranien*" of the Kushan Empire has to be separated from the development of arts, crafts and architecture by that time heavily influenced by the past Greek colonization (Fussman 1977). Cf. *supra* the Fratarakas employing the means provided by Hellenism for their new forms of representations.

[38] Roaf (1983: 147) hypotheses that the statue of Darius found at Susa was designed after wooden models (which were easier to transport and are mentioned in the Treasury tablets). On Berossos and Persian religion, see Jacobs 2013.

[39] According to Boyce and Grenet (1991: 6-7), there are no doubts about the Zoroastrian faith of the Bactrians. Regarding Avestan geography and Zoroastrianism in Central Asia, see Grenet 2015a; 2015b.

Hellenized Bactriana (and Parthia). Therefore, it is implausible to think that the origin of such "Persianizing" elements of Chorasmian art in the 1st century BC/1st century AD were generated outside the local sphere. Later in the 2nd century AD, at Toprak-kala, this "Persianism" almost completely disappears with the breakthrough of Eastern Hellenism (even if some secondary echoes still persist, such as the torque worn by a frontally-shown sculpture of a "bird-priest" – Grenet 2016: 82, fig. 10).

This interim conclusion prompts another set of questions. The place from which these Persian formal elements did originate from, is arguably acknowledged; it is the former Achaemenid satrapal *centres* of the empire (which did not include Chorasmia). Unfortunately, we do not have material data on the process at the origins of such models (see Francfort's analysis 2013). It is plausible to consider that in the satrapal capitals of Central Asia, later the Upper Satrapies, under the stimulus of the central Achaemenid power before the impact of Hellenism, a courtly art was implemented, but we do not have material evidence about the quality and diffusion of the official and courtly art developed east of Persia. We do not even know whether this art allowed local variations (also according to the natural resources available for its manufacture) or remained standardized after its models. We do not know how it existed side by side with earlier local traditions and how they interacted. In this regard, apart from other classes of material such as imported toreutics and those specific sumptuary vessels and derived ceramic shapes, which trace conflict, exchange and emulation processes among elites in Achaemenid Asia and the steppes (e.g., see Treister 2013 on Achaemenid material of the first-half of the 5th century BC found in barrows of the southern Ural area dating in the late 5th- early 4th century BC), we are still in the dark.

Now the case of Akchakhan-kala, which bears material traces of these emulation and artistic processes, is giving us hints about our unsolved queries. In other words, the Chorasmian evidence may give us a glimpse of ancient iconographic models once employed in the aulic/religious art that existed in Central Asia under the influence (whether factual or mediated and inherited) of the Achaemenids. One example cannot prove that a whole process was under way, but the pattern here is suggestive. The date at which these models "arrived" (one fact is clear: they were originally not indigenous) in the polity is still the major open question, although we do know that it was long

before the 1st century BC/1st century AD. Another available datum is that nothing chronologically akin to and iconographically comparable to the Chorasmian gods it is currently known outside the polity. The anthropomorphism of the Chorasmian Avestan deities might, on the other hand, be attributable to a Hellenistic influence. Whether this was the case, and, again, how early this input might have been, is impossible to compute with accuracy because the issue started, as seen above earlier with the cult of Anāhitā in Bactra, at the time of Artaxerxes II. Their transmission into Chorasmia could have occurred late in respect to the beginning of the Achaemenid sway in the country. It may even have been in parallel with the widespread use of the wall painting and clay modelling (with the aid of moulds) techniques in Asia, but again, the iconography had to be more ancient. Certainly, the image of the therianthropic "bird-priest", as I have tried to demonstrate elsewhere (Minardi forthcoming 2021c), owes a debt to Greek models: the iconographic creation of the *Sraošāvarəz* belongs to the "innovative" Hellenistic-influenced side of the imagery of the site (this image, however, renders a vision handed down by the *Vendīdād*). Be that as it may, it seems that the art of Akchakhan-kala knew and employed several Persian archetypes that seem to have persisted; yet they were adapted and modernised in style and used in association with features contemporary to their time by reason of the absence of a sudden clash with the Hellenistic civilization. The employment of these archaizing features, which were ripe in this art while mixing with local and external formal elements, will dramatically cease with the adoption of the new forms derived from Hellenism (of Kushan times) by the elite of the 2nd century AD.

There is another factor to take into account: we should be aware of the extraordinary force of tradition in Chorasmia. This is seen not only in the persistence of crucial elements such as the Zoroastrian funerary ritual (Minardi forthcoming 2021b), but also in the Aramaic script used for the Chorasmian language until the Arab conquest, in the use of the Zoroastrian calendar (on this two latter points, De Jong 2015), in the conservative ceramic characteristics (there are no fish-plates in Chorasmia), and in the fact that a local era (the Chorasmian Era) endured for more than seven centuries (the latest date available is 738 Ch.E., and the earliest is 188/9 Ch.E. – Minardi 2015: 122-124).[40]

[40] As mentioned above, in this case it may be possible to envisage an indirect Seleucid

According to the available data, this era appears to have started in the 1st century BC (*terminus ante quem* 26 BC), thus within the timeframe of the realization of the complex painted imagery of Akchakhan-kala. The monumentalizing of the Ceremonial Complex and its lavish Stage 3 decoration might even be related to the establishment of this era, which would likely have been linked to the access to or consolidation of power of a new ruling dynasty.[41] It is also a fact that the material culture of the country shifted in this period (towards the Antique 3 – Minardi 2015: 127).

We are all aware of the fact that it is quite difficult to demonstrate the persistence of a tradition that is almost completely unknown. However, the extraordinary character of the painted imagery of Akchakhan-kala seems, in conclusion, to suggest for the first time that this aulic art might very well have existed. We are not beyond the realms of possibility. Besides, the Akchakhan-kala corpus of wall paintings demonstrates that a rich painting tradition had existed not only in Chorasmia but also, more in general, in Central Asia. The fact that this evidence comes from the "periphery" of the Achaemenid empire, and again, later, from the "periphery" of the "Graeco-Iranian world", is explained by the unique (in comparison with the rest of sedentary Central Asia) cultural and historical trajectory of the country. Contrarily, for what it concerns the preservation and transmission of iconographies and the elaboration of style through the centuries in Asia, we do know plenty of extraordinary examples. The process took a variety of forms; the ones that better known are those related to the most powerful *artistic civilization* of Antiquity, the Hellenistic one. The "stucco" material from Tepe Shotor, Hadda (Tarzi 1976), is one of the most incredible examples of such processes and of their successes (discussed in Minardi 2015b). This does not exclude the possibility that other kinds of imagery may have survived and been transmitted thanks to Hellenistic techniques and practices. Perhaps the Akchakhan-kala's deities may be considered as a comparable example relative to the

model (Minardi 2015: 124).

[41] The Chorasmians had sent an ambassador to Han China in 110 BC (Minardi 2015: 57 with references; F. Grenet pointed out to my attention that Pelliot 1938 has to be added to the references). The term "dynasty" is here properly used, because epigraphs from Akchakhan-kala mention kings and sons of kings (cf. above note 4 on the Isakovka inscription).

persistence and survival of Achaemenid models, albeit in the shape of iconographic echoes and not pure forms.

D. Schlumberger (1960: 152-153), before the discovery of Ai Khanoum had already confronted a similar issue relative to Greek Bactria, and only a partial solution to it has been found: *"...la Bactriane n'est pas un mythe, elle est seulement inexplorée. Le vrai problème n'est pas de décider s'il y a eu des monuments dans la Bactriane grecque ou s'il n'y en a pas eu. Il est de savoir si les monuments disparus se rattachaient exclusivement à l'art grec, ou au contraire simultanément à cet art et à un art indigène, de tradition sans doute achéménide, et s'il y a donc eu dans les cours bactriennes un art mixte comparable à celui que nous connaissons, dans le même temps, à la cour des Mauryas."*

The still growing body of archaeological evidence has possibly started to document the traces, or echoes, of this Achaemenid tradition of which Schlumberger did not have any doubts.

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Figures

Fig. 1 – Akchakhan-kala, Central Building of the Ceremonial Complex, wall paintings depicting Avestan deities. From left to right: Srōsh, and possibly Tištrya and Spandarmad (©KAE, interim reconstruction based on 1:1 tracing).

Fig. 2 – Akchakhan-kala, detail of the *kandys* of the second with lion's head (©KAE; image rotated and colours enhanced; fragment under restoration).

Fig. 3 – Akchakhan-kala, 1:1 tracing of the lion's heads decorating the *kandys* of the second god (©KAE).

Fig. 4 – Akchakhan-kala, interim reconstruction based on 1:1 tracing of the lion's heads decorating the *kandys* of the second god (©KAE).

Fig. 5 – Achaemenid comparanda. A: Glazed brick, Susa (detail after Caubet 2010: fig. 349); B: gold bracteate (©Brooklyn Museum, Acc. no. 70.142.6); C: bronze buckle from Berkara, Kazakhstan (after Arbore Popescu et al. 1998, cat. no. 442). Not to scale.

Fig. 6 – Examples of decorations in shape of lion's heads from Pazyryk (after Rudenko 1970: A: detail of Pl. 148 a, barrow 1, felt; B: fig. 75 c, leather, barrow 2; C: fig. 116, leather, barrow 1). Not to scale.

Fig. 7 – Akchakhan-kala, 1:1 tracing of the mural crown worn by Srōsh with towers of alternate colours (©KAE).

Fig. 8 – Examples of patterns on textiles of bicoloured-towers with two merlons: left, Pazyryk-5 (after Rudenko 1970: pl. 177 b); right, Susa (on glazed bricks, detail after Caubet 2010: figs. 380-381).

Fig. 9 – Akchakhan-kala, detail of the 1:1 tracing of the mural crown worn by Srōsh with hypothetical reconstructions of the "horned" crenellation of one of its red towers (©KAE).

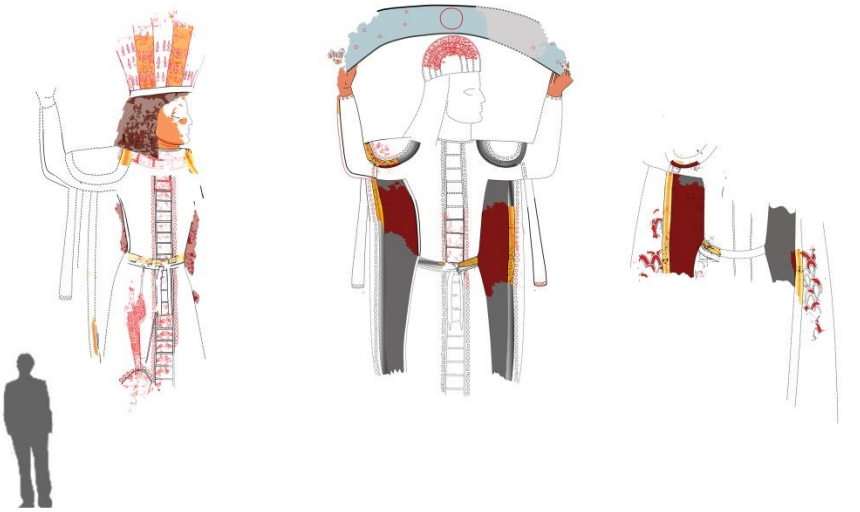

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

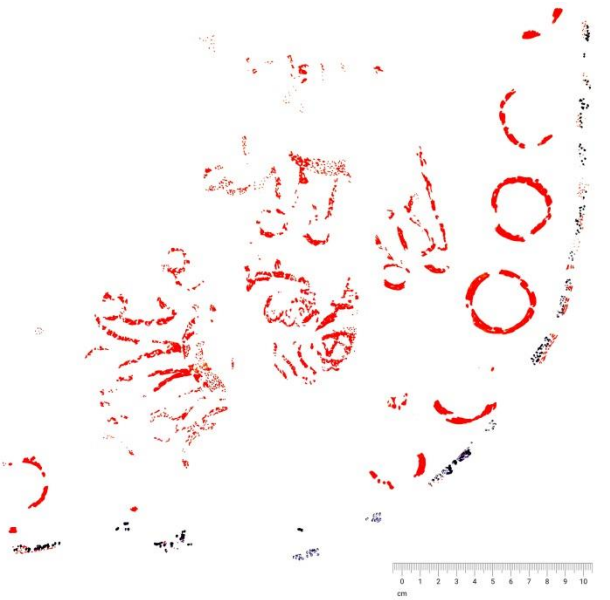

Fig. 3

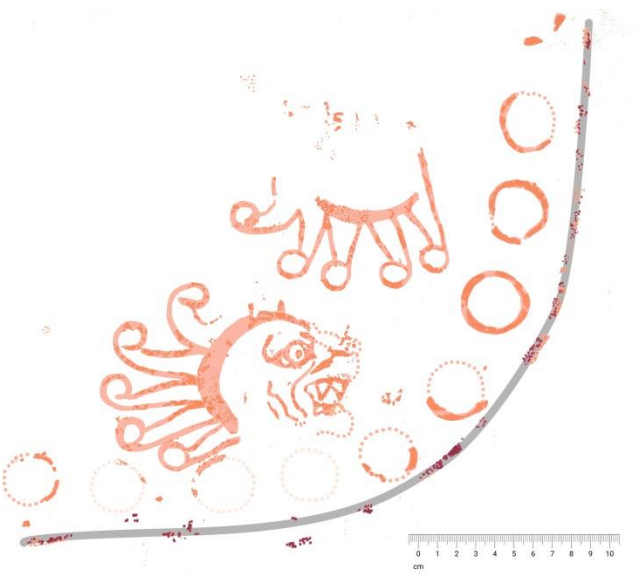

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

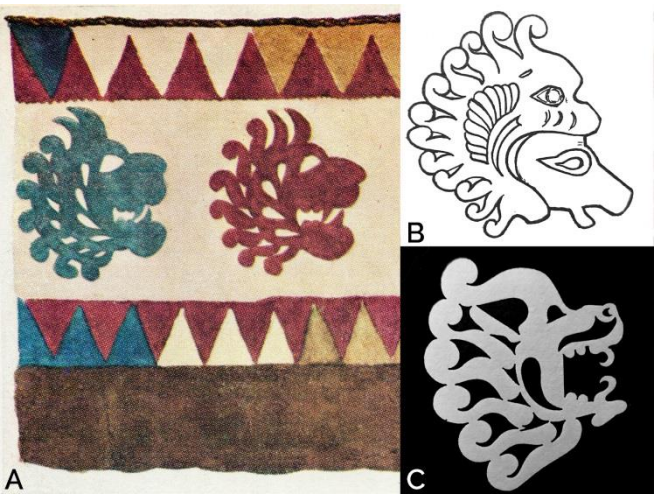

Fig. 6

Fig. 7

Fig. 8

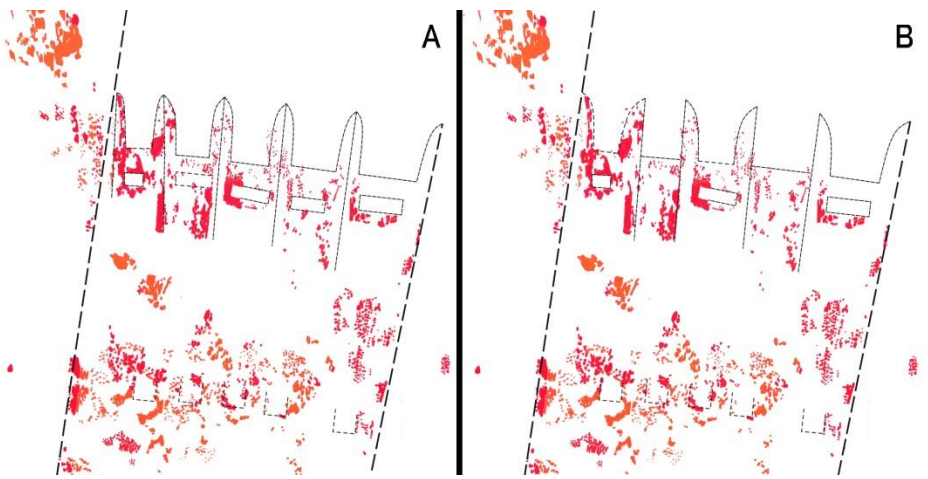

Fig. 9

Toward Materiality and Globalization in the Art of Gandhara

Moizza S. Elahi

Abstract

To better understand and more effectively address the complexity of the art of Gandhara, its development out of cross-cultural encounters and exchanges, and the multivalent meanings that emerged out of the varied processes of its production and use, two analytical frameworks can be usefully employed: materiality and globalization. The conjunction of these approaches holds tremendous potential for the field of Gandharan art and archaeology. This also moves scholarship away from reductive Hellenizing discourses towards ideas, that focus on the effects of the complex connectivity and mobility in lands associated with this art. Beginning with a brief historiographical review and critique of the formative narratives on Gandharan art, this paper goes on to discuss the concepts of materiality and globalization, their respective scope and implications, and how they can be applied (individually and collectively) to Gandharan art.

Keywords: Gandhara, Globalization, Materiality, Sculpture, Technologies

1. Introduction

To better understand and more effectively address the complexity of the art of Gandhara, its development out of cross-cultural encounters and exchanges, and the multivalent meanings that emerged out of the varied processes of its production and use, two analytical frameworks can be usefully employed: materiality and globalization. The conjunction of these approaches holds tremendous potential for the field of Gandharan art and archaeology. The present paper suggests a shift away from aesthetic and iconographic concerns in Gandharan art towards a reorientation with its materiality. In other words, it focuses on the material properties of the artefact, and the action, praxis and practice it engendered. It also makes the argument for moving scholarship away from reductive Hellenizing discourses towards ideas, that focus on the

effects of the complex connectivity and mobility in lands associated with this art.

Beginning with a brief historiographical review and critique of the formative narratives on Gandharan art, this paper goes on to discuss the concepts of materiality and globalization, their respective scope and implications, and how they can be applied (individually and collectively) to Gandharan art. A short case study is conducted in order to show the feasibility and potential of applying these methods in practice, as well as to highlight the many different avenues of enquiry they open up. Some of the main questions are: What is materiality and what are the implications of the 'material turn' for archaeology and art history? Can globalization, essentially a modern concept, be effectively used in the ancient context? What makes concepts based on globalization better than the existing paradigms? What makes Gandharan art a viable candidate for materiality and globalization thinking? Will a focus on these analytical frameworks induce significant changes in the nature of current scholarship on the art of Gandhara?

2. History and narrative

The ancient art of Gandhara has typically fallen in the domain of classically trained archaeologists and art historians (fig. 1). Developing out of antiquarian proclivities of the 17th century, Classical archaeology largely remained under-theorized, stubbornly clinging to traditional practices of operating within highly specialized sub disciplines (Dyson 1993, 195). Classical art historical analysis also remained confined to aesthetic contemplation of artefacts removed from their original contexts, with little thought to the maker's ideas and attitudes in the process of creation (Gell 1998). Therefore, it was the classificatory and positivist approach of archaeology and the aesthetic concerns of art history that informed early scholarship on Gandhara in the 19th and 20th century. With a diffusionist culture-historical perspective that perceived cultures as bounded monoliths, traditional scholarship had been dominated by debates on the Hellenistic or Roman origin of, and 'influence' on, Gandharan sculpture (Foucher 1914; Marshal 1960; for

Fig. 1 - Massed group of Gandhara Buddha and Boddhisattva images collected at Loriyan Tangai (Peshawar District). Photo by Alexander E. Caddy, 1896. © *The British Library Board, Photo 1003/(1042).*

critique Abe 1995; Bracey 2019). The overemphasis on Graeco-Roman 'influence,'[1] (leading to problematic epithets such as Graeco-Buddhist, Romano-Buddhist etc.) to the exclusion of all else, resulted in a unidirectional hegemonic appropriation of Gandharan art by the European subject. These Eurocentric discourses were epistemologically informed by colonialist perspectives, essentially conveying ideas of the Western civilizing influences in South Asia. Conversely, anti-colonial and nationalistic sentiment sought to put down Gandharan artistic creativity by describing it as debased *imitation* of Western forms (Havell 1928, 41), stressing instead the indigenous Indian artistic innovation (Coomaraswamy 1927). The underlying assumption in these approaches was that Gandhara was a passive peripheral receiver of anything that the active Hellenistic/Roman core culture had to offer or that its art exemplified decadent *impurity* of foreign forms unnaturally wedded to Indian ideals (see Falser 2015). Distancing Gandharan art from unidirectional Hellenization (or for that matter Romanization) discourses as well as anti-colonial rhetoric, based on modern-day

[1] Undermining differentiation, 'influence' implies unproblematic causality and casts the maker of art as passive in relation to the active outside agent (Michael Baxandall 1985, 58-62).

nation state ideology, is imperative.

One prevalent art historical methodology in the study of Gandharan art involves interpretation through iconographic analysis. Meaning is sought through a textual model. This essentially stems from the early scholars' primary interest in understanding the Buddhist tradition in the region (Brancaccio and Behrendt 2006, 2). Analysing art solely through the sacred lens invariably brings it into the domain of ideology and propaganda (Bahrani 2014, 34). Additionally, the method runs the risk of seeing images merely as visual illustrations of texts—specifically Buddhist traditions. This approach has been increasingly challenged in art history in recent decades as it undermines the complexity of visual language and tends to leave out the "historical and context bound information that images carry through their material presence" (Lehmann 2015, 22). In the case of Gandharan sculpture, its three dimensionality and its affordance to touch, sight and perception can never be captured by text alone.

In recent decades, there has been an effort to think more in terms of the specific context of Gandharan artefacts (Taddei 2003). Recent studies also discuss the complex and hybridized nature of sculptural imagery (Srinivasan 2006; Pons 2011; Brancaccio 2013; Stoye 2019). However, more work is needed to examine the active role of local agents in intentionally appropriating foreign formal features as well as the indigenization of these forms in local contexts. It is also important to question how, in the process of relocation and translation, new social and cultural meanings were inscribed into the artefacts. Most of the approaches eventually fail to go beyond representation and statically interpret artefacts as mere 'reflections' of the cultural, political and religious entities. The underlying idea here is that the term 'reflection' is inadequate, as it does not incorporate human *agency* and ignores the active nature of material culture, misrepresenting its relation to society (Hodder and Hutson 2003, 3).

3. The matter of artefact

Ironically, despite studying objects, whether artworks, artefacts, visual culture or material culture, archaeologists and art historians often tend to overlook their materiality: the objects' specific material properties or *thingness*, their agency and affects, the kinds of interactions they bring

forth and the complex ways they are entangled with each other and their humans interlocutors (Gell 1998; Knappett and Malafouris 2008; Hodder 2011). By focusing solely on meaning, form and representation, we remain limited within, what Tim Ingold has argued is, the Cartesian dichotomy of mind and body, or mind and matter (Hicks 2010, 74). To understand artefacts, we have to change our understanding of 'meaning' itself; meaning does not only come from representation and mentalist approaches but also resides in the physical properties, production processes, techniques and human object interaction and engagement (Knappett 2005). The concept of materiality originates out of material culture studies in anthropology, emerging out of the Deetzian idea to 'connect people and things' (Hicks 2014, 47). Materiality brings the focus back to objects. It forces us to eschew reductive diffusionist perspectives on object distribution, and to question what objects do, the kinds of actions they allow, the relations they facilitate and the practical demands they exert on humans.

In recent times, art history has also self-reflexively started to draw upon interdisciplinary theoretical frameworks concerning the physicality and materiality of artefacts. It is now being argued that materials/mediums are a meaningful component of visual artefacts and therefore cannot be separated from representation (Lehmann 2015, 21; Yonan 2011). Drawing on visual anthropology, an object-centred focus has highlighted the specificity and efficacy of art objects, leading to new understanding regarding the ontologies of art and the multivalent effects of objects on human perception and action (Gell 1998; Osborne and Tanner 2007). This reflects a significant change in art history from visuality and spectatorship to an acknowledgment of artworks as embodied objects, with their own active agency in the social and cultural practice of a society (Gaifman and Platt 2018).

Mobilizing the concept of materiality for analyzing the art of Gandhara is imperative. Not only because the very conscious choice of using the permanent medium of stone for Gandharan art or the very distinctive qualities of that stone make it impossible to divorce the material from the visual. But also, because the material turn can help us grasp the role Gandharan artefacts played in contemporary society. It is also important to note the relationship between materiality and immateriality in the context of Buddhism: the ultimate belief in immateriality was itself expressed through the very materiality of forms

and practices, making the material a conduit to the immaterial (Miller 2005). In the context of active use therefore, the idea of materiality can be explored through semantic signification or phenomenological analysis of the artefact.[2] For the purpose of the current discussion, however, turning to more pragmatic concerns in terms of making and doing, such as technological action and artefact production on a local level—which I will be returning to later in the paper—can open up interesting avenues of enquiry. It makes us consider the material affordances as well as understand the sequences and choices in production technologies of objects. Focusing on materiality in terms of production and technology also allows us to identify the 'communities of practice' (see Lave and Wenger 1991) that are engendered through *human-thing* interactions. Moreover, in approaching the Gandharan artefact as a boundary object (Star 1989; Wenger 1998) bringing together various communities of practice, we may also understand how, through a tangle of affordance and choice, it shaped the social and cognitive dimensions.

By privileging the Gandharan artefact itself and distancing it from disciplinary practices mired in originary speculations and aesthetic considerations, we may effectively yoke it to the lived experience of contemporary people variously engaging with it. Through the practical ways in which humans use bodily action and technologies to engage with things, we thus approach the meaning of these objects as 'meaning in the making' (Knappett 2020, 187). In the context of production, by focusing on the social life of these objects (Appadurai 1986), and their multidirectional itineraries, we also approach the concept of mobility (Hahn and Weiss 2013, 7): mobility of objects, people, motifs, and/or knowledge. This enables us to employ the notion of materiality for reconstructing the intercultural and cross-cultural, material and social networks these objects were part of. This is where materiality can potentially intersect with 'globalization thinking,' enabling us to study the local and global phenomena through the perspective of Gandharan material culture, technology and practice.

[2] While this is out of the scope of this paper it can be reserved for future study.

4. A globalization of connectivity and mobility

Globalization, an increasingly popular concept in social sciences since the 1990s, has transitioned from a theory purely related to modernity and capitalism, to one that has a deep historical perspective and is proving to be equally useful for antiquity. In recent times scholars have explored the concept of globalization revealing its relevance to past societies as well as its potential to circumvent the constraints imposed by traditional analytical frameworks informed by imperial and colonialist discourses. Arguing for a plurality of ancient globalizations, Jennings has compellingly demonstrated through the archaeological examples of Uruk-Warka, Cahokia and Huari, that long term global patterns of intense interaction—similar to modern globalization—occurred at different times in the past with variation of degree rather than of kind (Jennings 2011, 145). Pitts and Versluys also argue that globalization is a useful frame of analysis for understanding the ancient Graeco-Roman world, as it fulfils the general criteria of increased connectivity, existence of a common market, impact on the local of global developments, time-space compression, cosmopolitanism etc. (Pitts and Versluys 2015, 17; see also Hingley 2005).

Despite widely varying perspectives on the concept, as well as challenges in conceptualizing it for ancient societies, globalization holds immense potential for addressing cross-cultural encounters in the pre-modern past. As cogently pointed out by Knappett, the notion of globalization in pre-modern periods does not actually entail focusing on 'global' as a literal condition or a defining trait of the concept (Knappett 2017, 29). Global, then, need not be planetary and once the constraint of geographic scale is lifted, globalization can be defined as a multi-scalar, complex and dynamic system entailing a multiplicity of movements of objects, motifs, ideas, technologies, practice and/or people. Decentring traditional cores through a focus on local action, the concept of globalization also accommodates differentiation and diversity, providing the impetus to move beyond reductive discourse centring on 'influence'. For the current discussion, it suffices to use the conceptual apparatus of globalization in terms of complex connectivity and mobility, and their multifarious effects in the intersection of the local and the global. The notion of local, however, is not a subaltern inversion of the global but rather the site of interaction, innovation,

negotiation and subversion where the reality of the global comes into existence.

Considering that Gandhara was connected to the globalised and globalising worlds (Greco-Roman world, China, Central and western Asia, Parthia, India etc.) through extensive maritime and overland routes (see Galli 2017; Canepa 2010, 12) and its material culture was part of the broader entangled networks of cultural flows, makes it a particularly well-suited material domain for the exploration of the processes of ancient globalizations as well as meaningful local action in their context. As evidence from *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and *Mansiones Parthicae* indicates, connectivity and mobility have long been part of this region. It was the Kushan period, however, that saw a marked intensification in the connectivity and frequency of networks, and a high circulation of objects and people on both the regional and interregional levels. The remarkable homogeneity of Gandharan sculpture in terms of material, style, iconography, and function across the vast stretches of a seemingly fragmented region, is emblematic of its intra-connectedness. At the same time, the discovery of a Kushan-period storeroom at Begram, dating to the 1st century CE, attests to this region's participation in the wider world as an interface of intense interaction. The so-called 'Begram Hoard' is a veritable time capsule, offering a rare glimpse into the interconnectedness of the ancient world and the multidirectionality of its material networks. Roman bronzes, Egyptian painted glassware, Chinese lacquer ware, Indian ivories, Hellenistic *emblemata* are only some of the examples that form part of the assemblage (Hiebert et al. 2008). These objects are not mere material indicators of connectivity and mobility; as carriers of immaterial forms, techniques and practices, they were also potentially transforming agents. Globalization thinking can thus serve to direct the Gandharan artistic discourse beyond influence, acculturation, colonization and reductive binaries of Graeco-Romans and natives, towards dynamic flows of materials, motifs, and technologies as well as on-going processes of praxis and practice.

5. Implications for the study of Gandharan art: the case of stone relief panels

The stone relief panels are amongst the earliest material manifestations of Buddhist art in Gandhara (Jongeward 2019, 34). They were the most commonly used decorative revetments for adorning the body of a stupa (fig. 2). The reliefs are remarkably homogenous and recognizable in terms of material, style and iconography across the entire region.

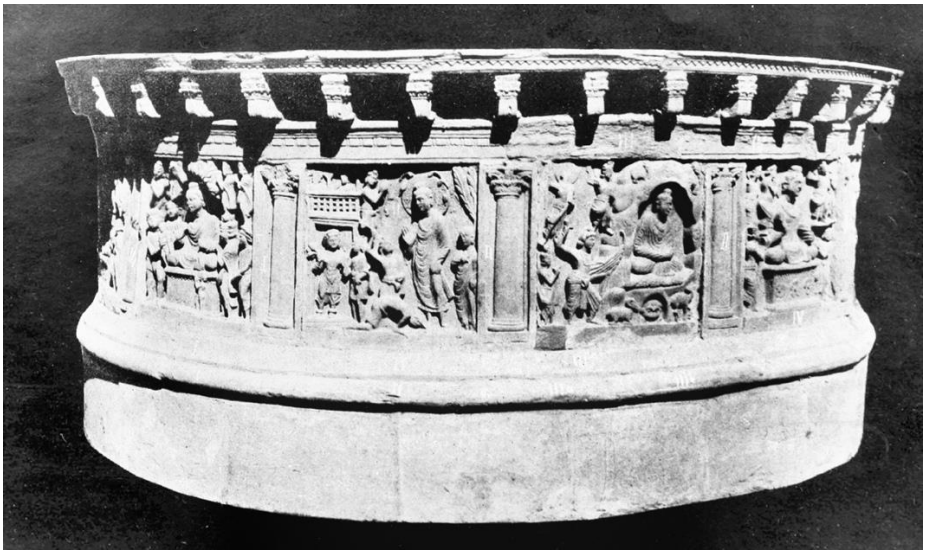

Fig. 2 - Narrative reliefs from Sikri Yusufzai stupa. 2nd to 3rd century CE. Schist. Lahore Museum, Pakistan (after Percy Brown 1908).

Yet differences emerge, highlighting the different levels of skill and craftsmanship, and the varied filters decoration and technologies passed through, before reaching a particular centre of production. Intricately carved with figures, architectural elements, and motifs culled from a wide corpus of Indic, Greek, Parthian and Roman artistic traditions, these artefacts have long been a focus of stylistic analyses. By turning to the matter of the artefact and reconstructing the process of making stone relief panels through a technology-based *chaîne opératoire* approach (Lemonnier 1992), we can identify the networks of socio-material relationships and communities of practice enabled by the object as it comes into being. The *chaîne opératoire* approach not only

highlights the series of operations through which transformation of raw material into an art object occurs, but also the technological processes and practices through which such objects acquire their materiality. Most of all, its emphasis on *choice* at each stage of the operational sequence, which may be guided by cultural as well as technical factors, is crucial to the present discussion. This approach also has the potential to chart small scale bodily movements as well as global flows of information.

6. Material matters

Schist, a metamorphic rock with a very strong grain, is the most favoured and commonly used material for the production of sculpture in Gandhara in the early centuries of the Common Era. It comes in many hues ranging from the dark green schist of Swat valley to pale and deep greys from other regions in Gandhara. In spite of its schistosity, it is malleable and capable of taking great detail. Additionally, the large amount of mica minerals and grains give it a high luster. In 1986, Kempe published his findings on an ancient disused quarry between Dargai and Sakhakot which yielded chlorite-mica-quartz-schist. The microscopic examination, chemical composition analysis and analysis by electron microscope led Kempe to conclude that the disused quarry was one of the sources for Gandharan sculpture (Kempe 1986, 84). Several quarries for this type of stone have now been identified. More recently, Cambon and Laclair presented the petrographic survey results conducted on 196 specimens from Musée Guimet, placing these artefacts in relation to geological sites of Afghanistan and north-western Pakistan (Giulliano 2015, 17). The petrographic surveys carried out in Buner and Swat have also revealed various lithotypes as well as potential quarries that were exploited for sculptural material (Faccenna et al. 1993; Pons 2019, 16). The results reveal the overall homogeneity of the material used for Gandharan stone sculpture with some exceptions from Swat.

As far as the geographical relationship of quarries with archaeological sites is concerned, it has been shown, with reference to Swat at least, that in most cases small-scale quarries produced material that was transported to nearby workshops and construction sites. The material used for sculpture from the monastic sites of this region is

almost always of a local origin. What is significant is that along with use in local production, the stone quarried at some sites in Swat, such as the intensively exploited ancient quarry at the site of Swegalai, was also exported to neighboring regions, for example, the Peshawar plain (Olivieri 2000, 581). These particular quarries produced chlorite schist—one of the more valuable types of schists used in Gandharan sculpture—and talc schist, raising questions regarding regional variations relating to the grade of metamorphism and preference for certain types of schist.

What are the implications of the small-scale mobilities on this level when schist was quarried, rough-hewn and transported to the sculptural workshop or construction site? Can we parse the artistic processes and practices in play insofar as they relate to the carvers and the material exploited for Gandharan art? Did ideas of a difference between the properties and qualities of the material prevail in the perception of people? Properties of schist are observable such as its inherent metamorphism and malleability, whereas the qualities and attributes of stone can be ideological as well as symbolically charged. For example, Bevan points out, that stone is frequently associated with ideas of purity, permanence and essentialism (Bevan 2007, 187 as cited in Panagiotopoulos 2013, 150). There is a crucial need for more materially grounded studies in order to advance our understanding of the social, cultural and economic factors behind the choice for particular schist types as well as to effectively address questions such as those posed above.

7. A tangle of technology, production and practice

In recent years, technical studies on tool marks, assembling techniques and unfinished sculptures from Gandhara have brought invaluable insights into the production activities of sculptors (Faccenna 1997; Rockwell 2006; Vidale et al. 2015; Panuzzi 2015; Dehejia and Rockwell 2016; Brancaccio and Olivieri 2019; Naiki 2019). These studies can be integrated to understand the sequence of production and the use of technologies.

The analysis of the unfinished and finished relief panels from Takht Bahi in Peshawar Valley, Butkara 1 in Swat valley and Musée Guimet (Faccenna 1997; Rockwell 2006; Vidale et al. 2015) reveals the

different stages in the process of relief carving: squaring up of the block on its arrival from the quarry; laying out the design with a fine, hard point; roughly delineating the individual figures and groups; carving out the figural decoration and motifs; applying paints and/or gilding. These activities were carried out by craftsmen with different kinds of specialization, revealing that Gandharan sculptors were not only diversified but also specialized in sculpting techniques (Brancaccio and Olivieri 2019, 139; Pons 2019, 17). That the same relief was tooled by different hands at different stages in the carving process has also been affirmed by stylistic analyses on relief panels from secure contexts in Swat valley (Faccenna 1997, 68). The *Mulasarvastivada-vanaya* (a monastic code redacted in Gandhara) also mentions differentially specialized craftsmen responsible for various stages in the construction and decoration of a monastic building and the monk's active engagement in the entire process (Schopen 2006, 233). The archaeological and epigraphical evidence, however, offers a direct glimpse into technologies as well as the organization of labour, both within specialized workshops and on the construction site.

In Gandhara region, we see the use of a limited number of tools in the production of sculpture. Gandharan sculptors were flexible with their tools and could use one tool in a variety of ways to create different forms and surfaces (Dehejia and Rockwell 2016, 239). The principle tool for sculpting was a flat chisel of different widths, with limited use of point chisel, lathe, burin and drill (Rockwell 2006, 168). Interestingly, no evidence has come to light for the use of tooth chisel and rasp—tools that were an integral part of Graeco-Roman (Palagia 2006, 252) as well as ancient Iranian sculpting practices (Nylander 2006, 130). It should be noted however, that the lack of tooth or claw chisel—an intermediate working tool whose marks are erased during finishing—may be attributed to the difference in the materials. Drills were also used in the Greek world from the 6th century BCE onwards, for rendering details (Palagia 2006, 255). There is no evidence for drill use in Central Indian stone-working processes (Dehejia and Rockwell 2016). Certain reliefs from the Swat region in Gandhara on the other hand, reveal the evidence of drill use. Analyses of relief panels from Gumbat, Saidu Sharif and Panr suggest a very limited use of two types of drill (bow-drill and strap-drill) in the articulation of the final touches on specific kinds of motifs (Vidale et al. 2015; Brancaccio and Olivieri

2019). This was done by distinct specialists who may have had an expertise in rendering classically inspired motifs and scenes (Brancaccio and Olivieri 2019, 139). It is also worth noting that the use of lathe and burin points to technical links between schist sculpting and local wood crafting practices (Vidale et al. 2015, 40).

It has been observed that the pictorial details in Gandharan reliefs were carved out relatively freely, almost independent of the original schema, making space for creativity and agency (Rockwell 2006, 178). Consequently, the inclusion in early Gandharan reliefs of motifs from local crafts (textile and wood furniture) and foreign characteristics, essentially independent of the standard Buddhist religious iconography (see Srinivasan 2006), has interesting implications. The sculpting activities were carried out under the supervision and teaching of a master sculptor who was behind the overall design and conception (Faccenna 1997, 68). Some of these unfinished panels show experimental drawings that may be related to sharing and learning of technical knowledge by new actors through 'legitimate peripheral participation' in the ongoing activity (Lave and Wenger 1991, 29): firm strokes by a skilled master roughly delineating an animal and/or human figure for teaching an apprentice (fig. 3), while hesitant and hurried lines (fig. 4) showing traces of practice by a trainee (Facenna 1997, 75). Another interesting clue comes from the inscriptions of syllables on the back and sides of the relief which have only recently been studied. These have been identified as Gandhari syllables written in local *Kharoshti* script, used as location markers on the sculptural panels to communicate their correct position and sequence for installation on the stupa building using mortice and tenon joinery technique (Salomon 2006, 190). Not only does this have significant implications for questions regarding local or migrant artisans, it also shows how different communities of practice overlapped through the artefact.

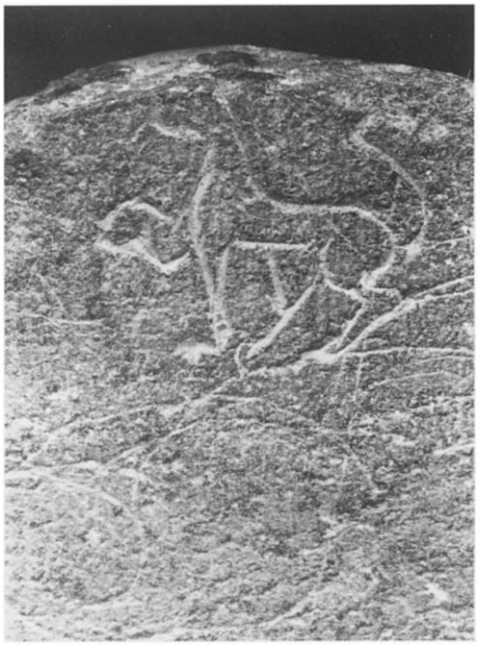

Fig. 3 - Butkara 1 panel. Chlorite-schist. (after Faccenna 1997. Inv. no. 664)

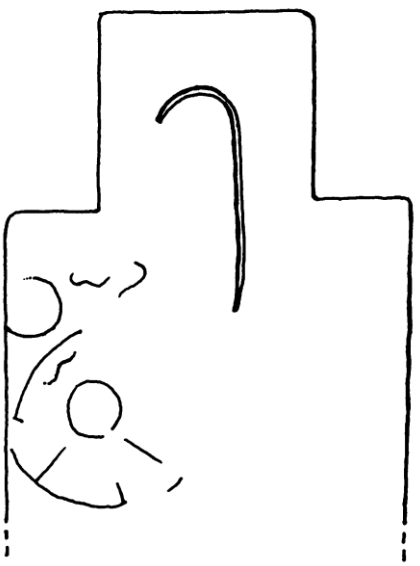

Fig. 4 - Butkara 1panel. Drawing by F. Martore (after Faccenna 1997. Inv. no. 3780).

Therefore, once we treat the Gandharan artefact as an active object on its own terms, its material qualities and physical features emerge, enabling us to reconstruct the *chaîne opératoire* as well as gain other significant insights. We begin to understand how specific material properties inform the artistic process. We also get a glimpse into the coordination and interaction between different sets of workers in the course of the artefact's production and installation. Those responsible for quarrying, rough hewing and transporting the stone, the diversified labour working in the sculptor's workshop, the specialized sculptors intricately carving the panel under a skilled head craftsman, the expert carvers articulating the final details with a drill, and the builders at the construction site responsible for installing the pieces in their correct position, are all brought together through the process of the object coming into being. The choice of subject matter, the overall design conception and installation also highlight the involvement of patrons (monastic and/or aristocratic) and architects in the process. More importantly, a reorientation to Gandharan reliefs' materiality makes us 'see' what these artefacts, as objects, did and the practical events they set into motion. It makes space for the consideration of agency, creativity and difference. Craftsmen, working with the affordances and constraints of schist, available technologies and patrons' desires, intentionally included or excluded styles, forms and configurations out of personal, cultural and/or aesthetic choices and associations. At the same time the material also dictated how iconography (religious or otherwise) and its representation eventually took visual form. The focus on materiality and socially meaningful practice therefore reveals the various *human-thing* engagements and entanglements catalyzing the process of meaning-making, whereby a block of schist is transformed into a 'significative' object (Knappett 2020, 194). This demonstrates that meaning need not only be sought in representation or imagery through the viewer's standpoint, but that it also steadily emerged during the entire material process of its production.

8. Local and global dimensions

The introduction and gradual proliferation of stone sculptures from roughly the 1st century CE onward points to transformation of local visual and material culture as a result of the extensive networks along

which objects, people and technologies were moving. The homogeneity of sculptural phenomenon across Gandharan regions, as well as clear affinities with Classical, Parthian, and Indic artistic traditions not only attests to long distance movement of objects, but also a degree of commonality in aesthetic appreciation. The comparison of material and stylistic features, along with the *chaîne opératoire* on a regional level, has the potential to identify variations and similarities in the immediate geographical locale. The current evidence tells us that the material and artistic technologies are more or less standard in stone relief panels with some slight regional variations (Naiki 2019, 55). Communities of practice seem to extend across the different production centres in the Gandharan region. Craftsmen, it seems, had learnt to anticipate and work with the particular qualities and limitations of using schist. The fact that they used only a limited number of tools may be related to this. Buddhism itself may also have been a binding factor for the strong regional connections between communities. The highly standardized aspect of Gandharan stone relief panels, as it relates not only to the choice of material and technology, but also stylistic, iconographic, and functional properties (use in Buddhist architecture), points to a significant relationship between the monastic community and craft practice.

Similarly, the production sequence can also be compared on a global level with sculpting technologies and traditions from other regions. This would enable us to identify if knowledge and practice were also on the move along with objects, motifs and morphologies on a wider scale. If there is evidence of the reproduction of the whole operational sequence in sculptural production, it would point to the appropriation of the socially situated knowledge and practice. Conversely, if we are confronted with hybrid processes, different kinds of interactions and degrees of mobility emerge, where only some elements in terms of both technology and practice are appropriated. Dehejia and Rockwell argue that Gandharan stone-working practice was unusual: it was characterised by complex technological practices and a different conception of the relationship between sculptor, tool, and stone (Dehejia and Rockwell 2016, 239). Interestingly, Gandharan building and architectural techniques, despite differences, show elements from both Central India and Parthia (Rockwell 2006, 167)—attesting on the one hand, to the versatility of Gandharan stone masons

at appropriating and adapting techniques from different regions, and on the other hand, to the mobility of building technology across great distances. Yet, as our *chaîne opératoire* analysis reveals, when it comes to artistic technologies and operational sequence in terms of sculpting and carving, we see important differences in Gandhara from Indian as well as the Greco-Roman and Parthian production practices. In this sense, despite similarities in material culture in terms of style, form and even iconography, we do not necessarily see a complex transmission or appropriation of behavioural and cultural practices in terms of sculptural production technologies.

What are the implications of this? Does this mean that only motifs and morphologies were on the move, while technologies were locally developed and adapted in order to accommodate the new sculptural traditions? Is it because artistic technologies, in contrast to everyday technologies, are less mobile owing to their inherent mutability (Knappett 2020, 196)? Can we identify in these material connections, an intersection of shared practice and local differences, which come through in the production process of these essentially hybridized objects? Can we investigate communities of practice on the interregional scale?

The evidence of some type of long-distance transfer of certain artistic technologies (e.g. use of drill for finishing touches) does point to shared practices. Yet the use of lathe and burin reveals technical links between stone sculpting and indigenous local craft practices. The use of *Kharoshti* script for location markers also reflects a local production practice. However, before we are in a position to sufficiently answer these questions, we need to conduct more detailed case studies that focus on technologies and practice of sculptural production within Gandharan regional production centres, and also incorporate the diachronic dimension to track changes over time. Comparing these to the technologies and practices in Classical, Parthian and Indian worlds will allow us to trace the global mobility of knowledge and socially situated practice.

9. Conclusions

Past studies on Gandharan art have largely been embedded in taxonomic, iconographic and textual circularities, with little input from

theoretical frameworks such as materiality, phenomenological and cognitive concerns, globalization and network analyses etc., that are progressively being mobilized in archaeology, anthropology and art history. It is time to pose questions that build on these interdisciplinary theoretical and methodological frameworks, that simultaneously dismantle traditional narratives and open up new avenues of research. On the one hand, this paper endeavored to highlight the need for a theoretical intervention in Gandharan art history and archaeology. On the other hand, it has explored the question of how Gandharan art can be harnessed to the lived experience of people interacting with it, while all the time situating it in the global context as well.

A reorientation to materiality enables us to better ground our analysis in the social and cultural contexts that artefacts simultaneously created and inhabited. The focus on materiality through a reconstruction of ancient Gandharan *chaîne opératoire* also provides valuable insights into labour organization. The technology-based approach, itself a conduit to important questions and concerns about agency, choice, artisans, cultural context etc., opens modes of enquiry that may be built upon by scholars interested in questions of Gandharan architecture, energetics and economics. 'Globalization thinking' through material culture enables us to trace the cross-cultural interactions and transformations rendered through the mobility of objects, technologies and practice. Here, analytical frameworks such as hybridization, translation and network analysis emerging out of globalization thinking hold immense promise. The significance of integrating the material and global frameworks lies in their capability to accommodate multi-scalar analyses as well as to bring *agency* back into the discourse.

It is important to note that although these concepts were explored mainly from the perspective of production and practice in this paper, they are equally applicable in terms of reception and use. That does not automatically imply the viewpoint of the viewer, but also of the thinking and sensing bodies living and interacting with the finished Gandharan artefacts. As Tonio Hölscher reminds us, when it comes to artefacts or images it is not only about viewing or interpreting them, but also about "living with them and participating in the social situations in part determined by them" (Holscher 2018, 300). Therefore, whether it is the artisan painstakingly learning and working

with the affordances of schist, and in the process transforming it into intricate relief panels, or it is the circumambulating monk *seeing, touching, interpreting* and variously *engaging* with the figurative imagery carved in stone, both are part of the meaning-making process and practice. For it is within these networks of production and consumption practices that meanings of artefacts emerge (Knappett 2005).

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Archaeological Evidence of Possible Transhumant Settlements at Shati Das – Shatial, District Upper Kohistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan

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Abdul Ghani Khan / M. Shahid Khan Khalil

Abstract

This paper presents the discovery of the first archaeological evidence of early historic transhumant settlement at the Shati Das. The site is located on the left bank of Indus River near the famous Shatial rock carving sites at District Upper Kohistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan. The settlements are located around dried-up lakes at Shati Das. The present discovery shed lights on possible contemporary settlements of the Shatial and Shatial Das rock carving sites. The abandoned settlements are spread around 21 hectares and the structures within, based upon the construction methods and buried nature, belonged to two chronological phases. The settlement of both phases are mainly located in the south and south eastern sides of the lakes. More than 50 percent of the structures are less than 100 square metres in area, while few of the structures cover more than 500 square metres area. Almost all the structures seem to have been divided into two functional areas for animals and humans. The lack of chronometric and environmental datasets from the site hinders the accurate dating of the site. However, the settlements were probably contemporary with the rock carving sites at Shatial and might have belonged to 1st millennium CE.

Keywords: Shatial Rock Carving, Shatial Das: Kohistan archaeology, Transhumant Settlements, Yaghistan, Northern Pakistan Archaeology

1. Introduction

The small village of Shatial is located in District Upper Kohistan of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province of Pakistan. District Kohistan was separated from the Gilgit Agency in 1950 as a separate administrative unit (Dani 1991: 7). The Upper Kohistan District, raised in 2014, is bounded in the north, and north and northeast by Ghizer and Diamer

districts of Gilgit-Baltistan province respectively, in the northwest by District Mansehra of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, in the west and southwest by district Lower Kohistan and in the south by District Swat of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (Fig. 1). District Upper Kohistan is about 75 kilometres (northeast to southwest) wide and 135 kilometres (northwest to southeast) long. Kohistan is also referred to as the Indus Kohistan region in literature (Dani 1991: 76; Dichter 1967: 53; Frembgen 1999; Hauptmann 2008: 352; Jettmar 1961: 98; Nasim Khan 1997-98; Stein 1942: 50). The Indus Kohistan region is mountainous and 'presents an interplay of high mountains and deep river beds' (Dani 1991: 2).

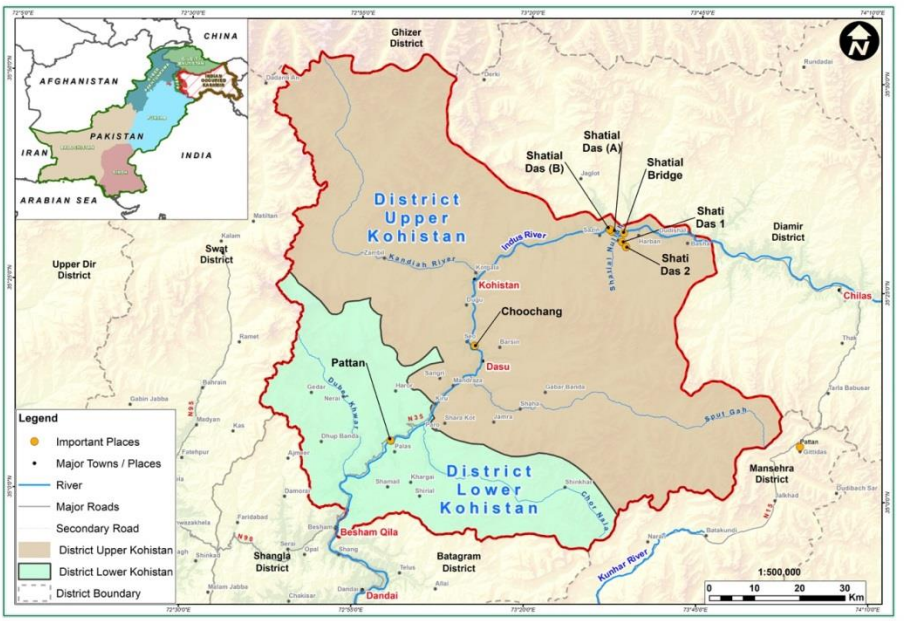

Fig. 1 - Location Map of Shati Das, District Upper and Lower Kohistan, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan.

The Indus River roughly divides the Kohistan region into eastern and western parts (Fig. 1). In the mid-1940s, the Wali of the Swat State forcefully merged Kohistani regions on the western side of the Indus River (Jettmar 1961: 98). Until the early twentieth century, the whole of Kohistan was considered as the *Yaghistan* region; however, after the union, only the Kohistani regions on the eastern side of the Indus River were later on identified with *Yaghistan* (Dani 1991: 277).

Kohistan is well known for the discovery of large number of Buddhist rock carvings at the site of Shatial. The relatively small valley of Shatial is located between the larger Harban and Sazin valleys; in fact, the Shatial village historically belonged to the people of Sazin (Biddulph 1971[1880]: 12). The Shatial rock carvings, classified into Shatial-I, II and III sites, are located on the left bank of the Indus River Fussman and Bandini-König 1997: 3). These sites were extensively documented by the Pak-German Archaeological Mission, under the guidance of Prof. Karl Jettmar and Prof. Harald Hauptmann, and Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani, of the Heidelberg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Germany and University of Islamabad (later renamed as Quad-i-Azam University, Islamabad), Pakistan respectively. These sites are situated around the present Shatial Bridge, which was a major crossing juncture and nodal point on Indus River from 3rd to 8th century CE, connecting the regions of Kashmir and Hazara with Swat valley and beyond. Together, these sites were considered as the only rock carving sites in District Upper Kohistan. The recent discovery of pre-Buddhist rock carvings at Shatial Das by the authors adds further to the current archaeological knowledge of the region. The rock carvings of Shatial Das, dealt in a separate paper by the authors (Zahir et al 2020 – upcoming), are significant for the archaeology of the region.

With limited agricultural land, rainfall and drinking water, the people of district Upper Kohistan primarily engage in animal husbandry (such as goat and sheep farming) and generally practice summer transhumance. In summers, when the weather becomes extremely hot in the main Kohistan valley, most of its populace living in close proximity to the Indus River migrate to high altitude small tributary river-valleys that are relatively colder and greener as compared to the main valleys.

The Upper Kohistan District is strategically located in the middle of the Kashmir valley, Gilgit-Baltistan, Hazara and Swat regions. These regions are known for their rich archaeological heritage. However, the archaeology of Kohistan region is almost unknown and unexplored. The archaeological knowledge of the region is primarily based upon the chance finding of a Scythian gold-girdle, weighing more than 16 kilograms, near Pattan town, now stored in the State Bank of Pakistan as the property of the Peshawar Museum (Hameed 2015: 73; Nasim Khan 1997-98: 127; Rahaman 1990: 5), and the documentation of about seven hundred rock carvings at Shatial rock

carving sites by the Pak-German Archaeological Mission (Fussman and Bandini-König 1997). Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani reported the presence of a bronze ibex in the 'Scytho-Siberian animal style' from Kandia valley of the Kohistan and dated it to the 1st millennium BCE (Dani 1983; Mughal 1985: 216).

Shatial rock carving sites are considered as the starting point of the richest rock art province in northern Pakistan. The rock art province is constituted by a continuum of rock carving sites running parallel for about one hundred kilometres along the Indus River from Shatial to the Raikot Bridge in District Diamer of Gilgit-Baltistan province (Hauptmann 2008: 353). The Shatial rock carvings were discovered when, in 1979, local people took Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani and Prof. Karl Jettmar to these carvings (Fussman and Bandini-König 1997: 3). Gérard Fussman (1994: 1) suggested that the site was discovered by Prof. Karl Jettmar on October 25, 1979. Since then, five fieldwork seasons have been carried out by Pakistani and German researchers to document the sites at Shatial (Fussman and Bandini-König 1997: 3). In 1983, under the direction of K. Jettmar and V. Thewalt, the boundaries of Shatial I were marked up to the western edge of the Shatial bridge and Shatial III the middle and the eastern complex, while Shatail II only included the engravings on the left side of the Karakoram Highway (Fussman and Bandini-König 1997: 3). Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani, referring Nicholas Sims-William, suggested that the old name of Shatial rock carving site was *K'rt* and that the inscriptions recorded it as a sacred site in itself (Dani 1991: 133). Shatial, connected through a bridge with the Tangir valley, was central to the movement of people, ideas and goods with the Swat region, Chitral, Badakhshan and Sinkiang regions through a relatively short route (Fussman 1994: 1).

Before the introduction of Islam in the Kohistan region, villages were believed to have been commonly fortified (Dani 1991: 65; Frembgen 1999:85; Jettmar 1983). These village forts, connected with the Shin people of the region, were constructed on difficult-to-reach terrains, such as on mountain-tops (Frembgen 2008: 254). At least six ancient forts existed in the relatively small Harban valley of the Kohistan region, namely the forts of Hagai-*kot* also known as Tairo-*kot*, Budel-*kot* or Harban-*kot*, Galo-*kot*, Doro-*kot*, Loto-*kot* and Shuro-*kot* (Frembgen 2008: 255 – 257; italics are in the original). It is also believed, though without any substantial archaeological or historical evidence, that during the phase of Islamization of the region in the 18th

century CE, the people of the region left their earlier fortified settlements located on strategic heights (Frembgen 1999: 85; Jettmar 1983: 511). In the 19th century CE, these small village fortresses were seen as a threat to the British in the region and, consequently, the British destroyed these 'local fortresses' in 1892 (Dani 1991: 79). This destruction might have caused the discontinuation of the tradition of construction of the fortified villages in the region. However, the present discovery of non-fortified early historic settlement at Shati Das in the vicinity of the Shatial and Shatial Das rock carving sites, around the now dried-up lakes, problematize this perception. The previous researcher believed that the discontinuation of fortified settlements occurred to the end of 19th Century CE while our newly recorded settlements are older, corresponding to the Shatial rock carvings, and these were not abandoned due to Islamization or British destruction. These are much earlier and the construction and abandonment seem to be related with environmental rather than human agency.

2. Shati Das site

Shati Das is the high altitude plains of the Shatial village that are located around 1000 - 1500 feet higher than the modern Shatial Bazar (Fig. 1). Shati Das in local Kohistani language mean the 'plains of Shati' or 'plains of Shatial'. The pasture lands of Shati Das communally belong to the inhabitants of Shatial and the inhabitants of Shatial still take animals for grazing there. The Shati Das was until very recently accessible through a high gradient mule/goat trails, which is now being converted into a jeep-able road. The trails would have required around 2 – 3 hours for a novice and outsider to climb the mountain. The locals were relatively quick to pace the high gradient climb and would reach the Shati Das site in an hour from Shatial rock carving sites. The Shati Das was accidently discovered by the present authors during their survey of the rock carving sites at Shatial as part of the Cultural Heritage Management Plan (CHMP) of the Dasu Hydropower Project.

The Shati Das is basically a collection of two relatively small mountain valleys, covered on all four sides by relatively steep high rising mountains (Fig. 2). These mountains drain into their respective valley bottoms without low-level outlets down into the Shatial valley below; hence the water was collected in the form of a lake in their

respective valleys. The lakes are currently dried; however, the locals have converted them into agricultural fields for dry forming.

Fig. 2 - Dried-up lakes (outlined in white), transhumant structures (outlined in red) at Shati Das and Shatial carving site (source: Google Earth Pro 2019).

The Upper Kohistan district has a humid subtropical climate with mild and generally warm and temperate weather. With an average rainfall of 648 millimetres precipitation per year at the district headquarters Dasu, the Upper Kohistan district could be considered as supporting environments 'with moderate rainfall spread across the year or portion of the year with sporadic drought, mild to warm summers and cool to cold winters' (Simmons 2015). There is no long term environmental dataset available for the region to warrant comments on environmental fluctuations in the last two millennia. However, with extensive forest cover, the rainfall patterns might have been different in the past. The extensive deforestation might have affected the rainfall patterns within the last few centuries.

Fig. 3 - Dried-up lake 1, Shati Das, Shatial.

There are four dried-up lakes at the Shati Das site (Fig. 2). The Shati Das lake 1, located at latitude 35°30'52.51"N and longitude 73°33'36.63"E, is the nearest and the first to encounter when climbing from north-west or Shatial village. It, located at about 4200 feet from mean sea level, has a perimeter of about 1480 metres and covers an approximately 4.6 hectares in area (Fig. 3). The Shati Das lake 2 is the farthest to the south and the largest of the lakes. It is approximately 500 feet high, by conservative estimates, from the first lake at around 4700 feet from mean sea level. It is located at latitude 35°30'12.90"N and longitude 73°34'9.85"E, and has a perimeter of approximately 2350 metres, covering an approximate area of 26 hectares (Fig. 4). The lake 3 at Shati Das is the smallest of all the lakes and is located at latitude 35°31'7.62"N and longitude 73°34'16.07"E. It has a perimeter of about 147 meters and is 0.25 acres in area. The Shati Das lake 4 is located almost in the middle of the lake 1 and 2 and is located at latitude 35°30'16.26"N and longitude 73°33'36.86"E. The perimeter of the lake 4 is around 850 meters and covers around 4 hectares in area. All the lakes were rain-filled in the past and collected waters from their respective mountains. A similar lake, located at latitude 35°32'28.20"N and longitude 73°32'40.49"E was also discovered on the right bank of the Indus River, across the Shatial bridge. This lake has a perimeter of 1050 meters and covers around 6.5 hectares in area. No settlement was found around this lake.

Fig. 4 - Details of settlement around dried-up lake 2 at Shati Das, Shatial (source: Google Earth Pro 2019).

The survey team, in the company of a local guide, was able to briefly visit the site on Saturday October 6, 2018. In fact, the visit lasted for about a couple of hours as the team had to return to Dasu before evening on the same day. Since then, the team has not been able to visit the site. The present report is based upon field notes, photographs and investigation through Google Earth Pro software. During the field visit, settlements were only recorded at the first lake at Shati Das; however, later investigation through Google Earth Pro revealed extensive settlements along lake 4 and other areas near Shatial rock carving site III. All the measurements for perimeter and areas of the buildings, with the exception of two, and the extent of the sites and settlements, was calculated through Google Earth Pro. Extensive settlement activities were only recorded at and around lake 1 and 2 at Shati Das (Fig. 5 and 6).

Fig. 5 - Structures along the southern edge of lake 1, Shati Das, Shatial.

Fig. 6 - General view of the structures and lake 1, Shati Das, Shatial.

3. Analysis and Discussion

Through Google Earth Pro, a total of 80 structures were documented, primarily built and spread around the lake 1 and 2. The settlement around lake 1 covered around 9 hectares area and were located to the

north-west, west and south-west banks on the slope of the mountains. The settlement around lake 2 covered an approximately 12 hectares area and was located at the eastern, south-eastern and southern banks of the lake.

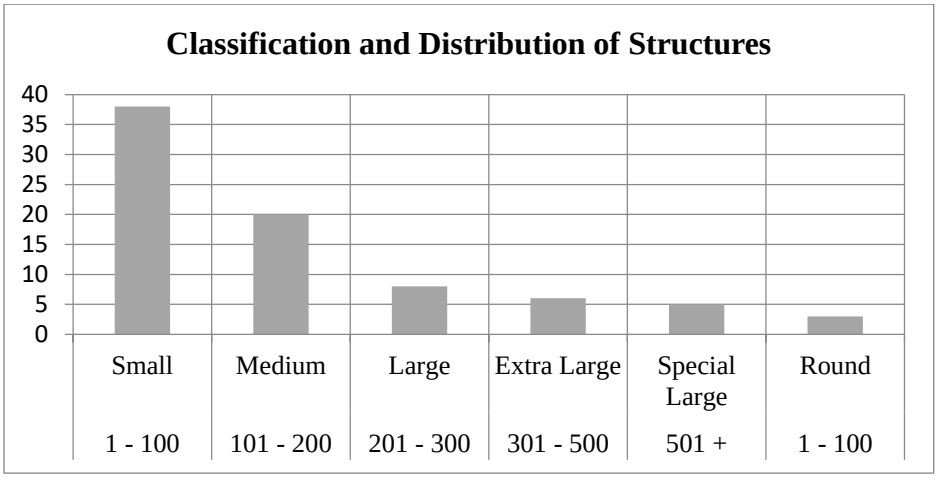

Fig. 7 - Classification of structures by area at Shati Das

Based upon the shapes of the structures, the overwhelming majority, or 77 of 80, of structures were constructed in rectangular shape, while the reminder three were round in shape (Table 1). Similarly, based upon the area of the structures, we classified the structures into five categories, namely Small (including structures from 1 to 100 square metres in area), medium (101 to 200 square metres), large (201 to 300 square metres), extra-large (301 to 500 square metres) and special-large (501 square metres plus).

More than 50 percent or 41 of 80 structures made up the small-sized category of structures which fell under 100 square metres area. These included three round structures as well and one of them, upon physical visit, seemed as the base of a stupa-like structure (Fig. 8). However, this observation was not based upon any finding of Buddhist material culture or architecture at the site during the brief visit; however, this may change with intensive surveys and excavations in future. The second largest group, 20 of 80 or 25 percent, belong to medium-sized structures, which had an area between 101 and 200 square metres. Ten percent or 8 of 80 structures belonged to the large-

sized category of the structures, measuring 201 to 300 square metres. The extra-large and special-large-sized categories, with areas between 301 to 500 square metres and plus 501 square metres respectively, were the smallest of the groups at the Shati Das and are represented by 6 and 5 structures respectively. This means that, although, the majority of the structures at the site were less or equal to 200 square metres in area, the large, extra-large, and special-large structures were also not uncommon. It is possible that the size of the structure was defined by their function and roles in the landscape, and the creation and maintenance of social identities and statuses within the contemporary society.

Fig. 8 - Stupa-like round structure of earliest phase, Shati Das, Shatial.

The two physically measured structures around lake 1 were 28 metres x 27 metres (or 756 square metres in area) and 19. 4 x 7 metres (or 136 square metres in area) and belonged to the medium-sized and special-large-sized categories. The first structure belonged to the earliest phase at the Shati Das, while the latter structure belonged to the later chronological phase at the site. If these could be considered as type-structures of the two chronological phases, it was clear that the earliest structures were larger than the later structures at Shati Das site.

Fig. 9 - Earliest phase structures at Shati Das, Shatial.

The brief physical inspection of the structures around lake 1 revealed at least two chronological phases, based upon the conditions of the structures and buried nature. The earliest phase structures were buried deep into the alluvial deposits (Fig. 8 and 9), while the later phase structures had largely intact walls, sometimes standing up to one metre high (Fig. 10). The building methods seemed to have remained the same within these two structurally-defined chronological phases. The structures were usually constructed of irregular shape stone and were laid in mud-mortar. Sometimes, the mud mortar, especially in the later chronological phase, contained small bits of pottery or grounded potsherds. Generally, the structures, especially in the later phase, consisted of a large hall with an attached small room. A single example was also noted of which consisted of two large halls; one of the halls had a flat stone in the middle, possible a base of wooden pillar. It is also possible that the stone, which had a broken edge in the form of an opening, might have been sacrificial stone, where animals might have been slaughtered (Fig. 11). The earliest structures were almost always buried deep into the soil and usually a single layer of stones of the walls is visible on the ground. Bits of potsherd in the earliest phase structures were well-fired red-ware, sometimes decorated with grooved designs on the outside. The grooved designs on historic pottery were generally associated with early historic or Buddhist settlements in the

Taxila Valley, Vale of Peshawar and Swat Valley. Some of the potsherds had grey interiors and were provided with a yellowish/reddish wash on the exterior. The walls of the earliest phase structure were generally wider, mostly more than one metre in width, as compared to the later phase structures. At least one of the earliest structures, round in shape, seemed like the base of a stupa-like structure; however, no potsherds or broken sculpture or umbrella pieces were found in and around the structure. This structure was located on relatively higher ground near the south-eastern corner of the lake 1.

Fig. 10- Later phase structures at Shati Das, Shatial.

Fig. 11- Possible sacrificial stone at Shati Das, Shatial.

Fig. 12- Square niches in the walls of later phase structures, Shati Das.

Fig. 13 - Narrow entrances to the structures, Shati Das, Shatial.

Most of the later phase structures had high standing walls with 6-8 rows of irregular stones set in mud-mortar. The walls did not show nay sign of plaster on the exterior or interior surfaces. However, the interior surfaces of the walls were more aligned than the exterior surfaces, suggesting that the builders paid more attention to the interior rather the

exterior. The thickness of the walls of these later phase structures was less than half a metre, almost half of the thickness of the earliest structures. On the interior, these walls were provided with square niches (Fig. 12). Entrances were provided in one of the corners of the large halls and were usually about half a metre in width. This means that the structures were generally provided with narrow entrances (Fig. 13). Some of the large halls were oriented along the slope of the mountain (Fig. 10). The attached room is almost always square in shape and is usually much smaller than the main hall of the structure.

The close inspection revealed at least two types of masonry in the later phase structures; some of the structures were more carefully constructed with extensive use of mortar than the others. The walls of the halls were generally well-laid and straight. In the later phase structures, the walls were generally constructed of small-sized broken rocks from mountain slopes and were usually less than 20 – 40 centimetres in lengths and widths. However, in some of the building large rocks, more than one metre in lengths or widths were also utilized within the large perimeter walls. The earliest structures generally utilized larger stones as compared to the later phase structures. It was also observed that the early phase structures were built largely square in plan. Furthermore, the later phase structures were generally constructed in rectangular shapes, where the length almost always exceeded the width. In fact, sometimes, the lengths were three to four times the widths of the structures. At least within one earlier phase structure on the extreme northwest of the site, and located on the track from Shatial to Shati Das, there were few possible grave structures. The orientations did not correspond to the Muslim burials and these seemed to have been oriented in north-south directions. Small bits of potsherds were found near the graves. Some of the graves were illegally dug.

The local populace of the Shatial and the surrounding villages have no recollection of the time of structures at Shati Das and their use. The Shati Das, its dried up lakes and the abandoned early historic settlements are not part of the oral history or traditions of the region. These structures were only referred to as ancient ruins, sometimes in conjunction with the Shatial bridge site. The local population in their summer houses in the narrow highland valleys of district Upper Kohistan pay greater attentions to the housing of their herds than their own and the enclosures for animals are much larger than their own rooms. Thus, our guide for example, was instantly able to associate the

combination of large and small rooms as of animals and humans respectively. This association was perhaps drawn from their long history of animal husbandry, transhumance and animal enclosures in the Kohistan region and the wider traditions in the northern and north-western South Asia.

In fact, many archaeological sites and evidence have been linked with transhumance in northern and north-western South Asia, starting from Ladakh, to the Indian-administered Kashmir, to the Swat and Dir valleys and to the Vale of Peshawar, especially in the pre-historic, Neolithic, protohistoric and historic epochs (Biddulph 1971[1880]; Coningham and Sutherland 1998; Ota 1993: 107; Young 2003; Young et al 2000, 2008; Zahir 2012). Transhumance practices in northern-western South Asia, and Afghanistan, continues till this day (Biddulph 1971[1880]; Barth 1956; Dupree 1975; Young 2003; Young et al 2000, 2008). However, the archaeology of transhumance has not received its due attention from South Asian archaeologists and the archaeological evidence, though indicative of common practice of transhumance, are relatively sparse.

Biddulph (1971[1880]: 13) was perhaps the first European to mention the existence of transhumance in north-western Pakistan, especially in the adjoining regions of the district Upper Kohistan, on the right bank of the Indus River.

> "Tangir and the neighbouring valley, Darel, are celebrated for the number and fine quality of their flocks and herds. Large numbers of sheep are here annually reared for sale to the inhabitants of the neighbouring valleys. Being somewhat straitened for summer pasture, the people of Tangir have long been in the habit of driving their flocks across the watershed to the Yassin country. In return for permission to graze, they pay to the ruler of Yassin a fixed tribute of salt and tobacco from each village. Besides this tribute, they give sheep and goats in varying numbers as a free gift" (Biddulph 1971[1880]: 13).

Although Biddulph (1971[1880]) did not specifically mentioned the Kohistan region for transhumance, the Tangir and Darel valleys are historically and geographically closely linked with Kohistan. In fact, the modern main route to Darel valley passes through the Shatial, right through the Shatial rock carving sties. Thus, it is equally possible that the same transhumance practices were going on within Kohistan region, devoid of the political linkages with the rulers of Yasin valley,

Chitral. The people of Tangir, Darel and Yasin valley almost share the same landscapes, geographical and environmental contexts and socio-economic relationship as of the Kohistan region.

The study of modern transhumant groups and environmental data from protohistoric archaeological sites in north-western Pakistan suggested to the existence of multiple transhumance subsistence strategies (Young 2003; Zahir 2012: 29). Prof. Ruth Young identified five subsistence strategies, namely intra-valley Winter Transhumance (from Dir and Swat valleys to Vale of Peshawar), inter-valley Winter Transhumance (within high/lowland regions of Dir and Swat valleys), inter-valley Summer Transhumance (within high/lowland regions of Dir and Swat valleys), non-stationary Nomadic Pastoralists (from Dir and Swat valleys) and stable Sedentary Farmers (of Dir and Swat valleys) (Young 2003: 64-69; Zahir 2012: 301-2). Furthermore, it was found that there was a close connection between the animal husbandry practices (primarily goats and sheep farming) to the transhumance practices in the protohistoric phase of the region (Young 2003: 78-82; Zahir 2012:302). This ethnographic-archaeological study also established that the transhumant groups were more inclined to go to the same place and this choice and connection with the same place was part of the group memory of the people practicing transhumance with their past generations (Young 2003: 64-5; Zahir 2012: 240-1). The repeated visits to the same site could have also been linked with the identity of the group or their socio-political statuses.

The prehistoric evidence in the Ladakh region, dated from $5^{th}/3^{rd}$ to 1^{st} millennium BCE, were linked with transhumance practices, hunting and food gathering, based upon the faunal evidence (Ota 1993: 105, 107).

> "It seems plausible that these settlements were seasonal camps, probably occupied during summer seasons when the high altitude areas become suitable for human movements and pastures for cattle are available. The camps were selected wherever a suitable flat land near the river banks was available in narrow valley. These suitable flat lands were repeatedly occupied as evidenced from the successive hearth remains" (Otta 1993: 107).

Six prehistoric sites, with stone tools, and some associated rock shelters, dateable from 8^{th} to 3^{rd} millennium BP, were discovered from the upper reaches of Yarkhun Valley in northern Chitral in the 1990s,

primarily near the river banks and mountain passes, by a joint team of French and Pakistani researchers (Gaillard et al 2002: 25). These late prehistoric sites, similar to their cotemporary sites in the Ladakh, may also be linked with the summer transhumant groups.

Coningham and Sutherland (1998), through analogy with British Iron Age storage pits interpreted the Neolithic "dwelling pits" in the Swat valley in Pakistan and Indian controlled Kashmir, and associated with the Neolithic cultures, as grain stores and linked them with transhumant groups (Zahir 2012: 29). Young (2003) and Young et al (2000, 2008) linked faunal evidence from protohistoric cemeteries and settlements in the Swat valley with those from the site of Bala Hisar, Charsadda during the 2^{nd}-1^{st} millennium BCE, and suggested a strong linkage within these sites in mountainous and plains settings respectively. Zahir (2012), through the study of the grave constructions, grave measurements, and material culture, of the protohistoric cemeteries in Dir and Swat valleys of Pakistan and Vale of Peshawar, also known as the Gandharan Grave Culture of Pakistan, suggested its connection with transhumant practices and inter-valley movement of people and possible trade links during the 2^{nd}–1^{st} millennium BCE (Zahir 2012). He also associated the grave-like structures at the site of Timargarha 3 in Dir Valley with grain stores of the protohistoric transhumant groups (Zahir 2012).

Fig.14 - Transhumant structures at Chillum Lasht Cave, Ayun, Chitral.

In 2010, the first author, and Prof. Ruth Young, during the excavation of a cave site, witnessed the occupation of a proto-historic, possibly prehistoric cave, Chillum Lasht in the Ayun valley of Chitral, by historic and current transhumant groups (Fig. 14). The non-Muslim Kalasha indigenous community and Kho Muslim community of District Chitral, in the Hindukush mountains, engages in summer transhumance practices even today (Young et al 2000: 135). In Chitral, due to the existence of high mountain pastures, and the choice of animals, such as goats, sheep, cows and bullocks, was conducive to the raising and rearing of livestock was possible (Young et al 2000: 138). Most of the adult Kalasha males take their herds to high-altitude pastures to their family/lineage designated places and remain therein with their herds for most of the summers in their rudimentary/semi-permanent structures (pers.comm. Wazir Khan Kalash). Their return from these pastures is celebrated by the whole Kalasha community in the form of a seasonal recurring festival.

> "Goat and sheep herds are taken up to the high pastures by male family members, for four summer months. These pastures are around seven hours on foot from the villages in the valleys. The men and youths travel with the animals and look after them. During this time the animals are milked, and cheese, butter, ghee, and yoghurt made which are all sent back down to the village for storage for winter" (Young et al 2000: 136).

It is believed that the transhumant aspect of Kalasha subsistence is crucial to their social and ideological character (Parkes 1987: 642; Young et al 2000: 138). Similar practices are also carried on the other side of the mountains in the Hindu Kush mountain series in Afghanistan (Dupree 1975).

> "Nomads in Afghanistan migrate either horizontally, over long distances, or vertically (transhumance) from winter pasture lands in the plains to summer alpine pasturelands. Some combine the two. Winter pasture lands exist in the northern low, loess-covered foothills and plains of Afghan Turkestan, the fringe valleys of the Hindu Kush mountains in the south and southeast, and south western semi deserts of Sistan. Summer pasture lands are found in the north eastern mountains of Badakhshan, especially around Lake Shewa, and on both the northern and southern slopes of the high watershed of the Hindu Kush mountain system which cuts through central Afghanistan" (Dupree 1975: 401).

Fredrick Barth (1956) suggested that a strong presence of transhumant practices of Kohistani community under the then extant Swat State in Pakistan. The same could also be true for the Kohistani people of districts Upper and Lower Kohistan in the Indus Kohistan region.

> "Kohistanis, however, have a two-fold economy, for transhumant herding is as important as agriculture. Sheep, goats, cattle, and water-buffalo are kept for wool, meat and milk. The herds depend in summer on mountain pastures, where most of the Kohistanis spend between four and eight months each year, depending on local conditions. In some areas the whole population migrate through as many as five seasonal camps, from winter dwelling in the valley bottom to summer campsites at a 14,000 foot [sic] altitude, leaving the fields around the abandoned low-altitude dwellings to remain practically untended" (Barth 1956: 1081-2).

In his important work on the regional geography of the then North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, David Dichter (1967) noted that

> "In meeting the demands of environment as formidable as that of Kohistan, the people, particularly in Indus Kohistan, practise an extreme form of transhumance, which centres on annual movements involving whole village populations between altitudes 2,000 and 14,000 feet. Their wholesome movements involve the occupation of as many as four to five different houses in a year, based on an altitude belt appropriate to various seasonal conditions" (Dichter 1967: 54).

In fact, Jürgen Wasim Frembgen (1999), who worked extensively in Kohistan, also notes the similar phenomenon in the Indus Kohistan region.

> "In summer goats and to a much lesser degree also sheeps [sic] are put out to graze on alpine meadows. In some parts of Indus Kohistan this is only done by shepherds, in other areas most of the population perform a periodic cycle of migration between the winter villages of lower altitude and the high mountain pastures. The pattern of transhumance can somewhat differ from valley to valley but generally the main winter village is abandoned by most of the population in spring and people move up step by step - in between preparing their fields - to reach the high altitude pastures in the peak of the summer" (Frembgen 1999: 74-5).

Thus, the archaeological, ethnographic and geographic studies in the northern and north-western South Asia, indicate a long history of the continuation of the tradition of owing herds, herds management and transhumance in the region and these traditions go back to at least five thousand years. The current population of district Upper Kohistan, practicing transhumance, keep their herds of goats, sheep and cattle at specially constructed small make-shift enclosures, usually slightly away from their homes in winter villages (Fig. 15). However, they construct a simpler form of house in their summer pastures, devoting more space to the herds than their human handlers. Now-a-days, many of the families send a few members, usually comprising of young males or young couples to the summer pastures with herds and the older members of the family remain in their winter villages. This pattern is practiced in Choochang, one of the historic villages of Dasu valley in district Upper Kohistan. (pers.comm. Liqat Ali) and may or may not be the case in other parts of the Kohistan and adjoining regions.

Fig. 15 - Animal enclosure at Choochang village, Dasu, Upper Kohistan.

Thus, considering the archaeological, ethnological, historical and contemporary practices within the broader region of northern and

north-western South Asia, and the physical and environmental settings of the Shati Das valley, it is highly possible that the ruined settlements belonged to the early historic transhumant groups. Perhaps, these were one of their first stops in their altitudinal summer migrations for summer pastures in high altitude plains. Similar to the present practices, the inhabitants of Shatial, and surrounding valleys, in the past were practicing inter-valley summer transhumance between the high/lowland regions of the district Upper and Lower Kohistan. Furthermore, the Shati Das site was seasonally occupied when environmentally conditions were, perhaps, different than the current environmental conditions. When the lakes had water, it probably attracted the transhumant communities for establishing their summer settlements. When the lakes were full of water, the environmental conditions might have been favourable for the transhumance communities in terms of subsistence potential for themselves and their herds. The plentiful water resources and grazing lands might have attracted the population to station at Shati Das for extended period of time, requiring permanent and semi-permanent structures. Similar, round the year valley bound lakes, are still encountered in different parts of the district Upper Kohistan (pers.comm. Liaqat Ali 2018). Kohistan in general and Shatial in particular holds a strategic location on the ancient Silk routes, and supplementary regional routes, and it is also possible that an important access route passed through the Shati Das valley or in its surroundings.

The evidence from Shati Das point to fact that unlike the historical fortified settlements, the summer seasonal early historic and high-altitude settlements were not fortified in Upper Kohistan region. The high elevation of the early historic settlements at Shati Das was perhaps considered sufficient and advantageous for their protection or that the fortification of the villages was introduced later on, perhaps in the early part of the 2nd millennium CE. It may be argued here that the Shati Das is perhaps the first and most preserved early historical settlements of the transhumant groups recorded in northern and north-western South Asia. The existence of stupa-like round structures in the earliest chronological phase is also very important and suggest the effort of the residents to address their religious needs even when they were moving between their permanent village and semi-permanent seasonal settlements and camps.

The lack of comparable and datable materials, and the brief nature of the current investigation hindered the accurate dating of the structures. However, considering the current knowledge of the archaeology of the region, especially the presence of rock sites at Shatial and Shatial Das, it may cautiously be suggested that perhaps the two architectural phases of the sites were linked with the two cultural phases at Shatial Das (later phase – 1st to 5th century CE) and Shatial rock carvings (3rd – 8th century CE). Thus, the first phase of the site could be tentatively dated from 1st half to mid-1st millennium CE and the second phase from mid-1st to end of 1st millennium CE. It is guardedly suggested that there were at least one abandonment and re-occupation of the Shati Das site as evidenced from two separate construction phases

The two construction phases might possibly have corresponded to two environmental episodes of wet and dry seasons during the first millennium CE. This means that when the lakes were full of water, seasonal settlements were thriving and when the lakes dried, the settlements were abandoned in favour of other suitable regions. It is possible that the gradual decline of Buddhism and the revival of Hinduism, coupled with environmental fluctuations, the dynamics of the political and natural landscapes changed, in the 1st millennium CE resulted in the abandonment, resettlement and final abandonment at the Shati Das site. The construction of the tremendous amount of forts and defensive structures by the Hindu Shahi dynasty in the neighbouring region of Swat and Dir towards the end of first and the start of 2nd millennium CE, might also have influenced the construction of fortified villages in Kohistan in the beginning of 2nd millennium CE. However, it must be emphasised that the tentative nature of these findings and dating parameters requires extensive explorations and excavations at Shati Das and the coring of the ancient dried-up lakes to come up with reliable scientific evidence. These may not only provide datable materials but also, hopefully, furnish tremendous environmental datasets for environmental reconstruction of the past of the immediate and distant regions of northern and north-western South Asia.

Furthermore, multi-disciplinary investigations at Shati Das have the potential to reveal interesting avenues of religiosity, rituals, herd-management and economics of the early historic transhumant groups in Kohistan region. The buried archaeology of the Indus Kohistan is still largely unknown as no proper explorations or excavations have so far been conducted in the region. The knowledge of the region primarily

derives from the rock carving sites at Shatial. The nature of the relationship between the Shatial rock carving sites, Shtial Das, and Shati Das settlement is also unknown; however, their close proximity permits the possibility of the existence of a robust and inter-dependent relationships in the past, and these settlements stand a good chance to be the corresponding, but missing, settlements with the rock carving sites. The presence of round shape stupa-like structure is probably indicative of this possibility. However, the extent of this relationship can only be accessed through multi-disciplinary research projects focusing on investigation of the landscape, systematic transect survey and proper excavations.

Fig.16 - Illegal excavated trenches, pointed out by our guide, at Shati Das.

The site is being plundered by antique hunters and it is not impossible to assume that they will eventually destroy the whole site. Sadly, this destruction at the hands of illegal diggers and by the road building activities, is going on at a rapid pace, along with illegal diggings that are going unabated at the site. Currently, the illegal diggers seem to be primarily concentrating on excavating around the large rocks and in the middle of the structures in search of treasures (Fig. 16). The Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan in general, and the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa in particular should initiate

explorations, excavations, documentation and preservation of the existing structures at the site and surrounding regions.

4. Summary

The discovery of the Shati Das historical transhumant settlements is important not only in the archaeology of the district Upper Kohistan but also in the archaeology of northern and north-western South Asia. Although, archaeological evidence of transhumance exists even for the prehistoric and Neolithic phase, the direct evidence of pastures and settlements have not been documented so far, making the current discovery of considerable importance in the archaeology of South Asia. Similarly, the discovery of dried-up lakes with possible early historical settlement is also also significant as both archaeological and geological datasets could be obtained from the site for archaeological and environmental reconstructions of northern and northwestern South Asia.

The majority of the structures, in both chronological phases, were constructed of un-dressed stones set in mud-mortar and the structure seems to fall in the small-sized category (with 1 – 100 square metres area). All the structures seem to have been constructed favouring the needs of the herds and the human needs were relegated to the secondary position. The structures could broadly be dated to the 1st millennium CE and were tentatively considered to be linked with the rock carving sites of Shatial and Shatial Das. Detailed multi-disciplinary research, and in-depth explorations and excavations, in future would hopefully provide precise datasets on the dating and nature of the settlements at Shati Das. In addition, the contextualized views in this paper on the nature of the site and the chronological classification are by no means final; however, these represent exploratory understandings of the archaeology of the site and region and it may change with new datasets from proper explorations and excavations, and multi-disciplinary research, at the site and region.

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History and Archaeology of Village Khudabadan, District Panjgur, Balochistan

Zahir Hussain / Kiran Shahid Siddiqui

Abstract

The focus of this paper is on the history and archaeology of a village that was a part of the Panjgur district, then Kharan district, and now again a part of Panjgur district. Historically, it has been important since much has happened for and around it. Archeologically, the recent discoveries of a couple of dambs/mound and burial cairns take its ancient history to 5000 BCE to historic times which are have almost never been documented. Furthermore, architectural heritage simple and fading away.

Keywords: Balochistan, Khudabadan, Archaeology

1. Introduction

Geographically, Panjgur is on a strategic position which is used in the ancient and historic times as attested from the previous works. It is bordered with Iran on its west, Washuk on its north, Kech, and Awaran on its south. It is often remembered as an arid region with deserts and mountains. Archaeologically, the ancient nature of Panjgur was already attested by A. Stein (1931: 43-51) and H. Field (1959: 84-9; Khan 1959: 181-89), S. Ali (2010: 139-45) who found Kechi Beg, Togau, Naal, Shahi Tump, Kulli, Londo, Buddhist, early and late Islamic periods. They most likely could not trace most of the below described archaeological sites (*dambs*). Moreover, in a recent survey in Panjgur, the principal author found Kili Gul Mohammad, Dasht Plain/Emir, and all the above-mentioned period pottery from different sites in different areas of Panjgur. Apart from ancient mounds, the Panjgur district has forts, tombs, and other historic structures too. Coming to the point, Khudabadan, the village with historic significance, has several *dambs*, one fort, and several old Masjids. Historically, the village has been a part of Panjgur earlier (before 1769), Kharan in the middle (after 1769), and became a part of Panjgur after the 1960s (Gichki 2011: 4). However, the presence of a Noshirwani fort in this village is puzzling

for the new generation when they are not aware of the history of the area. Earlier, the population of Khudabadan lived in the palm groves near the Rakhshan river. It was once one of the main markets of Panjgur. They all migrated to northern Khudabadan and are still living there.

3. History of Panjgur in the Light of Khudabadan Village

In general, historically or mythically, Panjgur dates back to Prophet Dawood (PBUH) when people are said to have entombed themselves to avoid famine[1]. Then it was Kaus of Iran, Afrasiab of Turan, and Kai Khusru of Iran. Moreover, other rulers include Lehrasp, Gushtasp, Bahman, Huma, and Darab. Most famously it was Alexander of Macedonia who passed the region with his army finding it hard to support a large population. It was Seleukas Nekator (one of the generals of Alexander) who lost the region to Chandragupta Maurya in 303 BCE. Hereafter, the history is not clear. Later history appears that the area was given as dowry to Bahram-i-Gor—404 to 427 CE—for the daughter of Shermah. Furthermore, the historic sources mention the Islamic Army under Abdullah sent by Caliph Umar (RA) in 643 CE. As per a local legend, Mohammad Bin Qasim also passed this region to conquer Sindh. Many invaders like Deilamis, Seljuks, Ghaznavids, Ghaurids, Mongols, and Portuguese occupied the land. Moreover, the local rulers were Hots, Rinds, Maliks, Buledis and Gichkis had the powers as the conquerors did not stay to rule the region (Panjgur District Development Profile 2011: 3).

Tradition has it that Khudabadan was one of the villages of Panjgur under the rule of the Raees tribe once; they are part of Maliks who ruled Panjgur before Gichkis and Khudabadan before the Noshirwanis. One of their forts used to exist in Khudabadan date palm grooves.

Later on, the Gichkis were the most popular and powerful class in Panjgoor who entered the region around the 15th to 17th centuries from either Jaipur, Jodhpur, Marwar, Jamnagar, or Lahore. They gained power over Panjgur around the beginning of the 18th century ousting the Buledis and became the masters of the region (Baloch 1958: 234).

[1] It is most likely a myth since the principal author has encounter several such myths about Londo burial cairns in Panjgur.

Nousherwanis, who once ruled Khudabadan village, earlier ruled north-east of Iran; because of some chaotic situations in Iran, for which they were held responsible. In this regard, they were forced out to migrate towards Sistan (Iranian Balochistan) which is bordering District Kharan. They spread over Rakhshan, currently Besima, to settle there. Mir Abbas Khan the head of the Nousherwani family later entered in matrimonial relations with the dominated group the Peerakzais in the territory. Afterward, using tactics, he gained control over the whole of the area by pushing the former dominant group aside (Kharan District Development Profile 2011: 3).

Later, in history, before Purdil Khan no authentic records are found around the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. Kharan was all in the control of series of dynastic Noshirwani chiefs. There are many instances of battles, killings, and troubles of Naushirwanis with Gichkis, and neighboring chiefs/kings which shows that they were active in history. They also somewhat maintained relations with the chiefs of Kalat (District Gazetteer of Balochistan 1997: 345-51).

The Gichkis like Mir Khudadad Khan replaced Mir Essa Khan to Mir Gajian from the seat of *naib* for some reason. Hence, Mir Essa Khan sought the help of Mir Azad Khan; so, he sent his son Mir Nouroz Khan with a mission along with him and looted some villages of Panjgur. On hearing the information regarding them, Mir Gajian Gichki pursued them and misfortunately got killed (Naseer 2010: 337). However, according to the District Gazetteers, the grudges against each other ended when in 1882 son of Mir Azad Khan, Mir Nauroz Khan, led an expedition that killed Mir Gajian Gichki (The District Gazetteer of Balochistan 1997: 693-94). Robert Sandeman came to Panjgur, Khudabadan, with a mission in December 1883; it was the first time a British agent had come to Kharan boundaries and he was warmly welcomed. A powwow, *darbar*, was organized which politically became a huge success in the form that Azad Khan released suzerainty of the Amir of Afghanistan and accepted British supremacy and of Khan of Kalat by placing him among Sarawani *sardars* in the Brahui Confederacy. The disagreements and hardships between Azad Khan and Khan of Kalat and other chiefs were sorted out on satisfactory terms to all (District Gazetteer of Balochistan 1997: 353-4).

Furthermore, Mir Jahangir, son of Mir Mehrab Khan of Kalat, is said to be inherited Khudabadan from her mother which appears to

have been annexed Mir Azad Khan in return for help to against the British attack, nevertheless, he did send any help. However, Nasir Khan II who had married the daughter of Mir Azad Khan had granted half of the revenue of Tasp[2]. Because of many properties under the control of Nousherwanis in Panjgur, many expeditions were sent against Khan of Kalat (The District Gazetteer of Balochistan 1997: 729-30).

Mir Mehrab Khan the then Khan of Kalat of 1839 requested Mir Azad Khan the aid against the British attack instead of half the Khudabadan village in Panjgur. Nonetheless, he confiscated the village but declined any sort of help which led rivalry between them for the rest of their lives (District Gazetteer of Balochistan 1997: 351).

However, Naseer Khan shares another story (2010: 198) that Khudabadan village was a fief granted to the grandfather of Mir Azad Khan Nousherwani in 1769 after the battle of Mash'had. He was asked again to go to Kalat, so he went and compromised with him; he was provided the property of Khudabadan but strictly told him not to 'build' any fort in Khudabadan again. He had built two forts in Panjgur by confiscating some lands of Khan of Kalat.

However, according to Naseer Khan (2010: 233-35) Mir Azad Khan had given her sister in marriage to Late Mir Naseer Khan II, who had, the then Khan of Kalat (Khudadad Khan) presumed, went to Kharan with a lot of jewelry of Kalat with the intention of not returning. Azad Khan was a hater of Khan of Kalat and he had conspired a lot against him. Mir Khudadad Khan followed an attack, on one hand, on Mir Azad Khan led by Atta Muhammad who won after a siege of 20 days. Mir Azad agreed to all the terms with Atta Muhammad and told him to take some of the close relatives but was unwilling to hand over her sister to Khan right then. He will hand her over himself at Kalat. So, Khan was informed about the terms and he accepted them. He, however, deceived Khan of Kalat later and fled to Persia. On the other hand, Shaghasi Gulam Jan with a platoon was sent to attack Khudabadan and without any restriction, he annexed the Khudabadan fort.

Lord Curzon, in 1903, was the first-ever viceroy to visit Makuran; he appointed an Assistant Political Agent in the next year with his headquarters in Panjgur (The District Gazetteer of Balochistan 1997: 696).

[2] A village in Panjgur.

At times, for political reasons, the Gichkis and Nousherwanis entered matrimonial marriages over time; even the royal families and their children inherited a part of the property from their mother's side. In this regard, the great-grandfather of Nauroz Khan married a Gichki royal woman, by whom he had three sons (Abass Khan, Lalla, and Mohim Khan); the eldest, Abass Khan enjoyed chiefdom and other sons inherited lands in Panjgur. There they became military advisors of the Gichki chief Mir Guhram who first granted them Sordo and then Washbod for their subsistence (The District Gazetteer of Balochistan 1997: 728-29).

Khudabadan was the starting point to annex some certain territories of Khanate by the Nawab Habibullah Khan of Kharan after the outbreak of World War II. Nonetheless, the Brahuis forced him to go away to his fortresses. On the other hand, a military operation was readied to wage on the territories of Kharan, but the British Government wanted to avoid any kind of disorder in its regions in 1939-40 (Fiorani Piacentini and Redaelli 2003: 38).

However, (Radaelli 2003: 38) claims about Khudabadan after examining official documents that Khudabadan was a village in Panjgur under the rule of Gichki *sardars.* The administration had long been under a *wali*. He was provided a fort with a large armed escort for the very purpose. Khudabadan was in the possession of Khan of Khanate who granted it as a *jagir* (a term for granting a donation given to an inferior by a superior in return for military support in the time of war, it can be reversed at any time) to Gichki *nawab* who could only enjoy agricultural revenues and taxes that come from it rather than complete sovereignty. The weakness of Kalat and the growing arch rivalry between the Nousherwanis and Gichkis led the Nousherwani chiefs to control Khudabadan and used it, at beginning of the 19th century, to extend their control beyond Kharan. Also, their presence nearby even threatened the rule of Gichkis in Panjgur before they could be stopped. Recardo Redaelli puts Robert Sandeman words about the happening like "[…] using their footing in Panjgoor as a starting point, the Naosherwanis have gradually […] extended a network of influence over nearby the whole of Mekran, and if left to themselves would probably in a few years more have completely ousted the power of the Ghitchkis […]" (Redaelli).

3. Fort Architecture of Panjgur and Kharan

In Panjgur, as claimed by V. Fiorani Piacentini (2003: 147) traditional and modern lifestyles are coexisting recently. Fort is a military architecture built to avoid direct dangers of attack and to house the administrators of the region or a particular area. There is no work been done on the architecture of the forts of Panjgur. The principal author has recently conducted a survey. The observations are summed up as: there are mostly stone forts in Panjgur. There is Kuhn Kalat which is in very bad condition; it is made of mud bricks mostly. Sadly, its plan is not clear. Furthermore, there used to be a mud fort in Essai but it has been vandalized; however, as in a picture, it looks a congested architecture.

The Nousherwanis, who ruled more than two centuries in Kharan, were indefatigable builders of castles and forts (Fiorani Piacentini 2003: 9). They have built more than 20 forts; namely Fort of Azad Khan, Jhalwar Fort, Fort of Sheereen Zeh, Fort of Pullaintak, Forts of Ladgasht, Fort of Nazar, Fort of Nauroze, Fort of Gorjag, Fort of Shahana, and others. Most of them are in deteriorating conditions (Baloch, Sadiq, Mengal, and Rodeni 2015: 52-4).

4. Archeological Sites of Khudabadan

The village of Khudabadan has some archeological sites i.e. mounds, two forts (one has been destroyed), several old Masjids, and an ancient tomb that used to exist, however. Below is the list of archaeological sites with their descriptions:

Khudabadan Damb: It is approximately 1 km west of Khudabadan Kalat (Lat. 26.98953794; Long. 64.08551121). It is about 387 ft. EW and 154 ft. NS with a height of 15 ft. from the surrounding ground. However, there are its parts on the north and northwest which makes it even bigger. Chronologically, as attested from its potsherds, it dates to Kili Gul Mohammad, Togau, Shahi Tump, Naal, Dasht Plain/Emir Gray, Kulli, and Historic periods. Nevertheless, the mound has been badly damaged since its soil has been used for construction and other purposes. This has caused also some ceramics from the hidden strata out on the ground. There are several stones scattered on and beside the *damb* which were most probably used for construction at some time.

Moreover, there are clear traces of mud bricks on the upper parts of the mound which may relate to the historic period of the mound. Furthermore, there are ruins of two rooms, one cave-like, which were said to have been used by a Sindhi saint before 70 years.

Sinhgol Damb: It is among Sighol date palm grooves taking the coordinates Lat. 26.98610928; Long. 08142336. It is a sizeable mound (306 ft. EW and 154 ft. NS having a height of about 10 to 11 ft.) which is under slow destruction of constructers of the region. Some potsherds attest to its chronology. Its chronology is assumed to be Kulli, Londo, and Historic. The mound is full of black-like stones that were once used for the construction of the structures. There is a historic room on it too. Some of its parts have been converted into fields. There is an old graveyard on its north.

Khudabadan-e-Kalat Damb: It is on the north of Khudabadan-Tasp Road mounting Khudabadan Kalat with the coordinates of Lat. 26.98889333 and Long. 64. 08918000. However, it has been mentioned by A. Stein (1931: 45). The size of the mound is approximately 485 ft. all around. In the recent examination, there is no doubt that the mound is old enough. It may date to the proto-historic to the historic era. However, Fairservis (1971: 408) dated it to 500-1800 CE.

Sarawan/Niwan Burial Cairns: There are series of burial cairns of Londo Horizon in and on the west of Niwan river in Khudabandan-Sarawan just about 1 km. north of the main road. Its coordinates are Lat. 27.00378027; Long. 64.10499830. They once stood in the shape of round and tapering structure-like cairns with ceramics and perhaps other objects alongside them. These burial cairns have been badly looted. Their size cannot be determined clearly; however, we can presume an average size in terms of debris. The average size may have been 18 to 22 ft. in diameter having a height of 3 to 4 ft.

Major Wares	Tentative Chronology	Making Techniques Elsewhere	Recorded Decorations Elsewhere
Kili Gul Mohammad	*c.*5000-3800/3600 BCE	Wheel made; Sometimes coil made; Handmade with coiling technique	Simple Geometric designs in only monochrome
Togau (A, B, C, D and E)	*c.*4300-3100 BCE	Coil and Wheel made	Mostly friezes of caprids, caprid heads and horns, frieze of hooks, etc. in mostly monochrome but occasionally bichrome
Shahi Tump	*c.*3500-2800 BCE	Coil technique and shaped on rotating device	Geometric (swastika motifs common later) and animal designs mostly monochrome
Naal	*c.*3100-2700 BCE	Wheel made	Rich geometric, animal and floral designs (sometimes combined) in monochrome, bichrome and polychrome
Dasht Plain/Emir Gray	*c.*2800-2300 BCE	Combining coiling technique and rotating anvil or wheel-made	Geometric, flora and fauna (sometimes combined) in monochrome, bichrome and polychrome
Kulli	*c.*2600-1900 BCE	Wheel made or turntable made	Geometric, flora and fauna designs in often in monochrome and occasionally in bichrome
Londo	*c.*300 BCE-200 CE	Wheel made and handmade	Geometric, flora and fauna decorations in monochrome and bichrome
Historic	*c.*300-1800 CE	Handmade and occasionally wheel made	Incised geometrics, geometrics in monochrome mostly, glazed

Table 1 - Recorded Wares, their Previously Recorded Tentative Chronology and Characteristics (by the authors)

Tombs: There used to be a tomb in Khudabadan that has been destroyed and no one knows the location of it now. However, several people claimed from a picture of a tomb on social media. The tomb-like that of Shaho Qalandar of Panjgur which can be said to be contemporary with that. However, its authenticity is doubted yet. Furthermore, there are still traces of walls of a room of a Sufi saint who used to reside on Khudabadan Damb where he had two rooms; there are traces of two cells. He was from Sindh who was revered; he met people in one and worshipped in the other. However, there is a recent tomb known to be Ainadeen tomb which is near Khudabadan Kalat; he is known to have been a Sufi from the Sayid caste; his name is Ainadeen who strictly followed Islam.

Hammal-e-Kalat/Dilekeem-e-Kalat and Kalat Jah: It is less than a km. southwest of Kahor-e-Kabristan which coordinates Lat. 26.98611025; Long. 64. 08455517. This is known to be the fort of the Raess tribe who ruled the area once. The fort used to exist before about 17 years from now which was destroyed and converted into a field. It was made of mud bricks. It used to be 154 ft. EW and 106 ft. NS having six bastions; one at each corner and two attached with the main gateway on the north. Few people remember faint traces of its ground plan which has been drawn (see Fig. 5). To add more, there is an area which is known as 'Kalat Jah' in the date palm grooves which means 'the place of the fort' which is half a mile south of Hammal-e-Kalat/Dilekeem-e-Kalat. It can be assumed that there once stood a fort. There are no historic references to it; it is claimed by some people that there used to be a historic fort before the Dilekeem-e-Kalat and Khudabadan-e-Kalat. When the site was visited, few sherds were collected like those of Dilekeem e Kalat. This is a fact this area was inhabited once; nevertheless, this cannot be certain that there was a fort or not.

Khudabadan-e-Kalat (Khudabadan Fort): Historically, P. J. Maitland (1883: 39) claims that it was first constructed in 1877 when the Noushiwanis first attacked and captured Essai town and Kalat from the control of Gichkis in the absence of Mir Gajian. However, it was soon regained with the help of Khan of Kalat. To add more, there are reports of its destruction a couple of times later. During his survey in 1927-28 A. Stein (1931: 45-6) noted, "…the mound of Khudabadan. It is crowned by the ruined walls of a fort which was said to have been built

or restored by the father of present chief representative of the Naushirwani clan at Panjgur and subsequently destroyed by order from Kalat. Judging from the few fragments of decorated pottery, including glazed ware, to be picked up on the slopes below, the small mound is likely to have been occupied about the same period as Kohna-Kalat" (see Khudabadan-e-Kalat Damb).

The construction material of construction is daub. However, mud bricks (0.11 ft. long, 0.7.7 ft. wide and 0.2.6 ft. high) baked bricks and stones are used at certain places i.e. bastions and galleries. Furthermore, date palm trunks have been used as supports. Architecturally, Khudabadan fort is square (83 by 83 ft.) with about 5 ft. thick walls but they look thicker at the very base; the boundary wall at its highest point form outside is 14 ft. There is no direct evidence of merlons on the walls because of their damaged nature; however, it can be assumed that they had merlons on the walls all around as the gateway and the bastions still have merlons.

It has an elongated vaulted pointed arched gateway on the southwestern part. It cannot be entered straight; one has to take right to enter the fort. The gateway vault measures 11 by 11 ft. once had a height of 24 ft. and has a squinch of 5.8 ft. wide and 2.4 ft. high on the left side. The arched gateway is of 11 by 8.10 ft. with 6.7 ft. thick walls. It has been plastered several times as the observations suggest. The space on the left of the entrance measures about 12 to 15 ft. EW and 13 ft. NS. Furthermore, the upper part of the gateway measures 11 by 11 ft. with a 2 ft. high wall. It is reached from a 6.3 by 2.4 ft. doorway with a small flight of steps that had a wooden door once. This part had loopholes too. It was most probably used by the guards. The full length of the wall is 19 ft. with 4 ft. wide walls giving a way of 9.9 ft.

Furthermore, it is almost completely mud-made on the mound with tapering and slanting bastions at its four corners measuring 48 ft. in diameter having a height of about 27 ft. and currently with 1 to 4 by 3.6 ft. doors opening inside the fort. The bastions are round with a height of 13 ft. from inside and having square and triangle deep niches. The thickness of the bastion walls is 3.3 ft. The upper part of the bastions is standing at 3 to 5 ft. having loopholes facing outside and entrances facing inside. The main entrance bastion possesses a slightly inward curving wall made of mud bricks inside to support it. These bastions have small galleries attached with them at a corner; the bastion

on the north-west has its gallery on its east side; the bastion on the south-west has its gallery on the south side; the bastion on the north-east has its gallery on the north side; the bastion on the south-east has its gallery on the west. A gallery is about 10 ft. long and 6 ft. wide with about 5 ft. high. At some galleries, stones were used.

There are seven rooms in the fort of various sizes. Among them, two are on the east (28.4 by 13 ft., right; 16.7 by 13 ft., left), two on the south (17.6 by 11.3 ft., right; 15.10 by 11.3 ft., left), two on the west (24 by 12.9 ft., right; 24.5 by 12.5 ft., left) and two on the north (32.6 by 11.5 ft., right; 10.6 by 11.5 ft., left) while one is in the middle (23.3 by 15 ft.) which looks to be divvied by a small wall from the middle with its opening facing south; it is the only room with stones bases and with 1.6 ft. thick walls which are the opposite of other rooms. The average thinness of other rooms is about 2 to 4 ft. and the standing height of the rooms are about 2 to 6 ft. These rooms have niches each and some two have windows. The room near the entrance on the right has a window that may have been used to see the arrivals inside the fort. The western left room had three special pointed niches probably made for some special use. There is a two-shaft door of the fort which is still used in one of the rooms now owned by the Nako Zahri family. They certainly used wooden doors in the fort. The roofs of the rooms must have been supported with date palm logs, mats, and straw and ropes of palm leaves for knotting.

It is said that it was a two-storied fort. The ground story and the upper story; the ground story was used as a detention and the upper story was used by the royal family. However, there are recently no such traces that prove it to be correct.

The Masjid: There is a Masjid on the south of the fort which was turned into a cemented architecture a few years back. It used to be a rectangular Masjid with a round arch veranda and a big courtyard. It was and is a *Jamia* Masjid of the area. The cemented architecture is almost similar in plan.

The Stable: There is another part of the fort which on the west and somewhat north. It is stable with a couple of rectangular rooms. The animals i.e. horses, camels, etc. were placed here and tended. The place is inhabited by the family of Nako Zahri who once claimed that this place was given to him by one of the later Naushirwani chiefs himself.

The family still tends to protect the fort. They have completed closed it with a wall having broken glasses so that the drunkards and junkies could not enter the fort. However, it also serves their benefit as their house can be seen from inside the fort but it is benefiting the fort architecture too.

Masjids: According to Keiany (2010: 160) Masjids are rural (also tribal) products in Balochistan; people try to merge them with religious beliefs. There are several Masjids in Khudabadan date palm groves which date 100 to 50 years back. They use mud bricks and are roofed with palm logs, bamboo (sometimes), and *Karz* (date palm shoots). Their architecture is simple having a main prayer room with a prayer niche; furthermore, it has a round-arched veranda and a courtyard with an Azan area. However, Bazar-e-Masjid of Khudabadan has a well at the northeast of the courtyard, a tower for Azan with a flight of steps inside on the southeast; it has also placed mirrors which were used to determine the prayers timings. Moreover, there is a room in the northeast with a fire area; it was a grand Masjid. Nonetheless, this is the only Masjid where cement is used. Furthermore, there is another Char Padagi Masjid with one room, *iwan,* and courtyard; it is a *Jamia* Masjid. There is another Masjid named Faiz Jan-e-Masjid which is comprised of one long room, an arched veranda, and a courtyard. There are other several small Masjids with one room and a courtyard.

5. Architectural Influences

In terms of influences, there are certain elements in forts, tombs, and Masjids. Forts ware walled with bastions and rooms attached to them which Iranian influence. Furthermore, the oldest tomb, which is presumed to have once existed, is a regional architecture that prevails in Panjgur and surrounding regions particularly Washuk, Kharan, etc. They are regarded as Pre-Islamic and Islamic (Hasan 1993: 244). They seem to have a regional architectural tradition. Masjids are simple and follow local traditional architecture mostly copying Sunnah as to make a room, veranda, and a courtyard or just a room and a courtyard. Such simple Masjids are directly influenced by the Sunnah. As the study of Mohsin Keiany (2010: 172-84) shows such Masjids almost everywhere in rural Balochistan. He also mentions the Islamic influence of rural

societies in Balochistan (2010: 160). Hence, they are strict followers of Islam.

6. Comparison and Analysis of Mounds and Sites

There are more than 600 prehistoric to proto-historic confirm sites in Balochistan; most of them are mounds. They possess several cultures/wares. These mounds have recently been found they possess several cultures and wares attesting to the fact that they belong to the Balochistan tradition. For example, Kili Gul Mohammad, Togau, Shahi Tump, Naal, Dasht Plain/ Emir Gray, Kulli, and Londo Cultures or Wares are already known from different areas of Balochistan.

The well-preserved forts in Panjgur are mostly made of stone. Generally, the major Noshirwani forts are mudbrick made covered with baked bricks on the outside. Nevertheless, there are mudbrick forts too. However, there is one in Bonistan named Kuhn Kalat which is in ruins and is associated with Maliks of Makuran. Kuhn Kalat has completely covered the mound which long and made of mud bricks apart from its gateway which baked brick made. There is also the use of baked bricks on the northeastern bastion of the Khudabadan fort. The ground plan Kuhn Kalat cannot be obtained, however. Moreover, other forts like Essai Fort (Panjgur), which has been demolished, Miri Forts, of Kech and Kalat, are different from this fort. However, Chakar fort can be compared with it having mudbrick architecture with turrets and their construction material but ground plan.

Talking about the tombs, these tombs are numerous in eastern Iran (bordering with Washuk and Makuran), Washuk, Kharan, and few in Panjgur, one in Kolwa in Awaran (Hasan 1993: 244). They have covered a particular region. It has been a culture of making burying the dead in such tombs at least the rich or renowned people. The principal researcher has found such tombs in Panjgur like Shaho Qalandar in Chitkan, Bibi Rozathon, and Bibi Nazathon in Duzenaap, Bibi Lukky in Gramkan, and Suhren Gumbud in Gwargo. However, except for Shaho Qalandar, all the others have either collapsed or were searched for treasure and they fell. They are all similar to the once tomb mentioned i.e. square with baked figurative panels, and a dome on top, etc. It seems to be a local traditional architecture common to this region.

The Masjid architecture is simple all over Balochistan; for example, it is often a prayer room with a *mihrab* and a veranda, and a courtyard. Sometimes courtyards are skipped. There are some with towers (mostly small ones) and brick dome. They are frequently made of mud bricks. The Masjids recorded in Khudabadan village are also simply made of mud bricks. Some had small towers and brick dome too. Such Masjids are found all over Balochistan particularly in rural areas (Keiany 2010: 172-84).

7. Conservation of Sites

In modern times, there is a lack of space and people are trying to get rid of the mounds and other historic structures. Khudabadan Damb and Singhol Kalat have faced illegal diggings. Hammal or Dilekeem-e-Kalat has already been destroyed for creating a field. Khudabadan-i-Kalat is under the observation of Noushirwanis and Nako Zahri's family who live beside it. Its architectural condition is worsening day by day because of weathering. Few of its walls have already fallen and almost all of them have receded with time. Its bastions and its entrance wall have fallen. Moreover, now they have completely walled it to let no one inside. It is because it was once used by drunkards and junkies for drinking and smoking weed. A lot of people use to play inside it too. The Masjids are also not in good condition; they have broken walls and ceilings. Also, some of the elderly people admire and tend to preserve the heritage of Panjgur. However, they, as claimed, cannot do anything without the help of the young people. They lament on the fact that the young generation has no love at all for their heritage. Moreover, it is also a challenge for the literate community to convince the others and the concerned authorities for the protection of these sites.

8. Discussion and Conclusion

The history of the village dates to *c.*5000 BCE and reaches to the historic era. These *dambs* most probably used Rakshan river which is south of the village. There is no doubt that Khudabadan (Panjgur) has ancient cultures of middle and lower Balochistan and westernmost Balochistan (including Iranian Balochistan). This area has been dominant by both sides. However, Kulli and Londo cultures are found in Kech and Gwadar. Furthermore, they probably used stones in

architecture and historic mounds mudbrick structures. The protection of these mounds is necessary since their soil has already been used for construction purposes and they have been looted as well.

Architecturally, forts are ground plan and making techniques have Iranian architectural influence. For example, they used boundary walls with multiple bastions on the corners and making rooms attached to the boundary walls inside. Moreover, Masjids are made of mud bricks having a simple architecture as believed to be the common practice of Mohammad ﷺ. Such simple Masjids are scattered all over Balochistan which is also a part of the traditional architecture of the area now. However, the older tomb is made of baked bricks on the outside but mud bricks from the inside. This practice was common among the people of that time. There are many proves still standing in different western areas of Balochistan today. Moreover, the two rooms of the Sindhi Sufi saint are also made of mud bricks. One of which has turned into a cave that cannot be entered now and the ruined walls of the other are only visible now.

The heritage is precious passing several meanings and knowledge of the past to us yet we regard it as possessing alien artifacts and are tempted to loot and sell the artifacts out of them. Such is the condition with mounds of Khudabadan, even Panjgur. The tombs have been destroyed for this cause too. Sadly the people of Panjgur do not know the price of this heritage; they might be cursed by the future generations for what they do today to these sites.

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Pl. 1 - Eastern Portion of Khudabadan Damb (photo by the authors).

Pl. 2 - Sherds of Khudabadan Damb (photo by the authors).

Pl. 3 - The Damaged Singhol Damb (photo by the authors).

Pl. 4 - Khudabadan/Sarawan Looted Burial Cairns (photo by the authors).

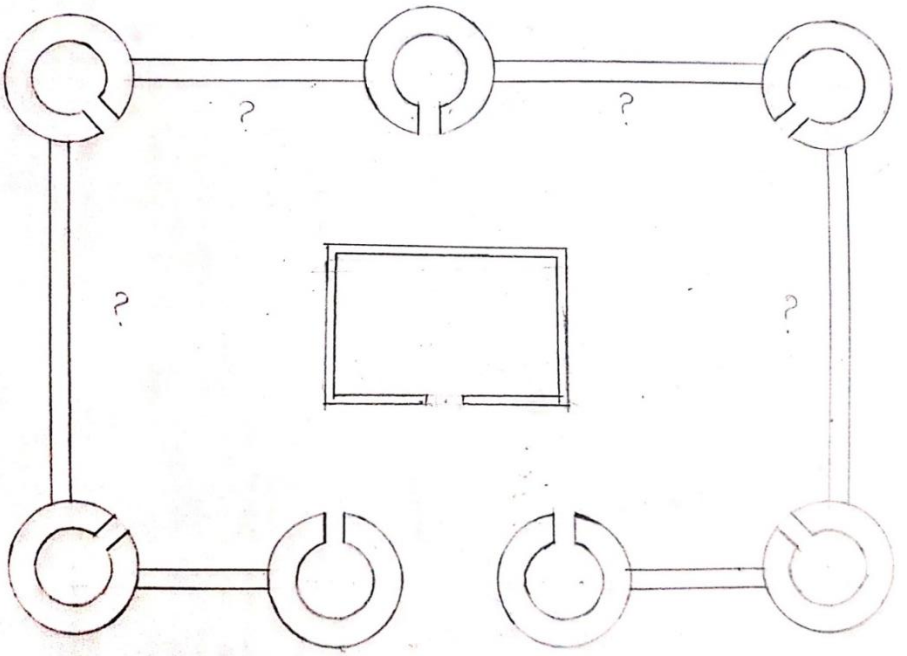

Fig. 1 - The Supposed Ground Plan of Destroyed Fort (by the authors).

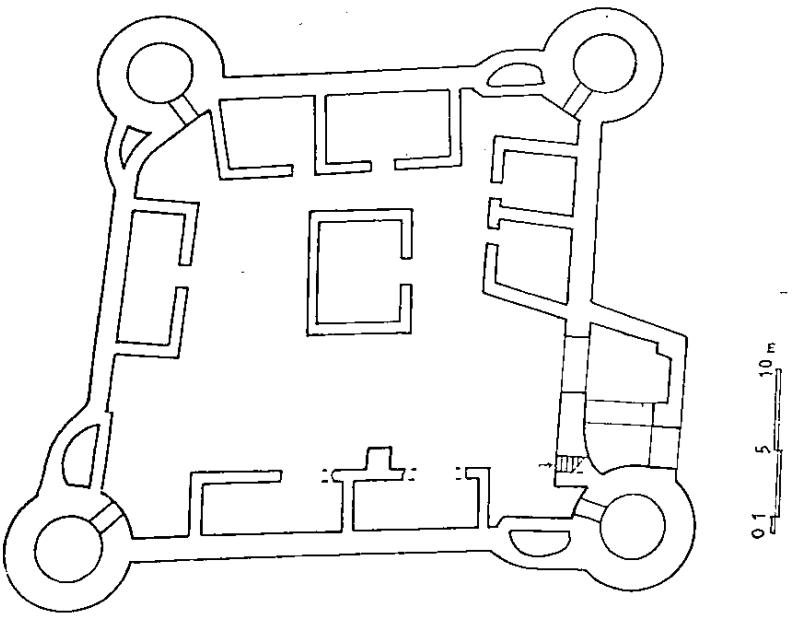

Fig. 2 - Ground Plan of Khudabadan Kalat.

Pl. 5 - Western Part of Khudabadan Damb (photo by the authors).

Pl.6 - Bazar Masjid, among Khudabadan Date Grooves (photo by the authors).

Pl. 7 - Masjid in Khudabadan in Ruins (photo by the authors).

Geonymy in the toponymy of the Swāt valley

Matteo De Chiara

Abstract

Swāt valley is located in the northern part of the province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa in Pakistan. The starting point of this article is the recent publication by the same author of the volume named Toponymy of the Swāt valley. Linguistic archaeology*, by the publisher Sang-e Meel and in the collections of the ACT project and of the ISMEO. This article deals with a special class of toponyms: the geonyms, the names of the generic geographic features. In particular, it studies seven geonyms particularly recurrent in the toponymy of Swāt:* bāṇḍa*,* ḍera/dera*,* ḍerəy*,* ḍop*,* kandāw*,* tangay *and* ṭāngay*. An analysis of their semantics and etymologies offers evidence of the early presence in the whole valley of Dardic populations, as also shown by cartography.*

Keywords: Swāt, Toponymy, Geonymy, Pashto, Etymology

Swāt is a District located in the northern part of Pakistan, in the province of Khyber Pukhtunkhwa, the former North-West Frontier Province of the British Rāj. It owes its name to the Swāt river, which originates in the mountains of the Hindukuš, flowing through the homonym valley until it reaches the confluence with the Panjkora river, and ending after 240 km in the Kabul river and finally in the Indus, near Nowshera.

The valley created by the Swāt river has an average altitude increasing from 600 msl in the lower part (*kuz swāt*), where the plain is larger and more fertile, to 3,000 msl in the narrow gorges of the Swāt Kohistan. The main peaks are in the north: the Falak-sar (6,257 m) and the Mankial-tsukai (5,725 m).

Swāt is a region of particular interest: a melting point of the remaining speakers of Dardic languages, now mostly restricted to the north; of modern Indo-Aryan languages, such as Urdu (but also Guǰri); and of the "newcomer" Pashtuns, speaking Pashto, one of the easternmost Iranian languages, continuously progressing northwards.

This long and troubled history of different and manifold interactions, including with the Greeks, the Indians, the Turks, the

Mongols, the Chinese and so on, left many traces on the toponymy, as I tried to show in the volume on the Swāt toponymy, recently published by Sang-e Meel of Lahore under the auspices of the Italian Archaeological Mission in Swāt, the ISMEO of Rome, the CeRMI, my CNRS unit, and the Inalco in Paris.[1]

Among the toponyms, we can identify some recurrent elements defining more generic geographic features: the geonyms. To this class belong words such as 'mountain', 'pass', 'river', etc. Despite the importance of this subject for the interpretation of the toponyms, there are no general studies devoted to it.

In this article, I will focus on some of these geonyms, showing interesting features from a semantic and etymologic point of view. In particular, I will analyse seven Swāt valley geonyms (Banda, Dera, Derai, Dop, Kandao and Tangai [x2]).[2] The discussion makes use of the main lexicographic and lexicologic tools for Pashto. The final goal is to provide a general typology of these geonyms, based on semantic and on linguistic (etymologic) characteristics.

1. Banda [*bānḍá*, باندې]

The semantics of *bānḍa*, which occurs 149 times in the toponymy of the Swāt valley, are well established. However, this word has several meanings, which need some explanation.

A *bānḍa* is normally a '1. pen for cattle (summer pasturing); fence behind which cattle are driven; 2. small village; 3. camp of nomads, cattle herders; 4. settlements; 5. body, torso; 6. *used in*

[1] M. De Chiara, *Toponymy of the Swāt Valley: Linguistic Archaeology*, ISMEO-Serie Orientale Roma, 25, ACT-Field School Project Reports and Memoirs, Archival Studies, 2, Sang-e Meel, Lahore 2020.

[2] The entire list of geonyms (cf. De Chiara 2020: 53ff.) runs as follows: AN (*ā́n*, ان), BANDA (*bānḍá*, باندې), BAR (*bar*, بر), BELA (*bela*, بېله), CHAM (*čam*, چم), CHINA (*činá*, چينه), DERAI (*ḍeráy*, ډېرى), DOP (*ḍop,* ډوپ), GARAI (*gaṛáy*, ګړى), GHAKHAI (*γā́xay*, غاښى), GHAR (*γar*, غر), GOL (*gol*, ګول), KAMAR (*kamár*, کمر), KANDAO (*kanḍáw*, کنډو), KHWAR (*xwaṛ* خوړ), KILI (*kálay*, کلى), KUZ (*kuz*, کوز), LOE (*loy*, لوى), MAHAL (*mahál(l)*, محل), MAIDAN (*maydā́n*, ميدان), MORAH (*moṛá*, مورې), NAWE (*náway*, نوى), QALA (*qalā́*, کلا، قلا، قلعه), SAR (*sar*, سر), SERAI (*ceráy*, ځيرى), [1]TANGAI (*tangáy*, تنګى), [2]TANGAI (*ṭāngáy*, ټانګى), TSUKAI (*cúka*, څوکه), ZYARAT (*zyārát (gāh)*, زيارت). To this we can add the old geonyms successively integrated in the toponyms: °ABAD (*ābād,* اباد), °BAGH (*bāγar,* رباغ), °BANR (*baṇ,* بن), °DARRA (*dar(r)á*, دره), °GRAM (*grām,* ګرام), °KOT (*koṭ,* کوټ), °PUR (*pur,* پور), °PATAI (*paṭáy,* پټى).

geographical place names Guǰarobānḍa (an inhabited locality)' (Pashtoon). According to Aslanov (here in the English translation of Pashtoon), there exist also a certain number of derived words: *bānḍačí*, *bānḍawə́l* '1. one who is living at a mountain pasture; 2. villager, peasant, farmer'; and *bānḍečáy*, *bānḍesáy* '1. nomad herdsman, shepherd; one who lives on the steppe; 2. summer resident in the country'; *bānḍesí* 'summer camp, area where nomads make camp in the summer'. We find also [2]*bānḍə́* '*proper name* Banda', maybe derived from the same source. All these words have the same origin. Doubts remain whether to consider [3]*bānḍá* 'destroyed, annihilated; killed, fallen' as belonging to the same root.

A quick check in the main Pashto dictionaries (arranged chronologically) confirms these semantics, however with slight differences:

Raverty: '1. sheep-fold, cattle pen. 2. small village or hamlet, few dwellings collected together'

Bellew: 'cattle of sheep pen; hamlet'

Tashrihi: 1- مینه، په غره کي هغه ځای چې مالدار له خپلو ځاروبو سره د اوړي او ګرمۍ موسم په کي تېروي : سترګي دي وي وتلې نه وي - چې په باندې دي لوېږدم نه دي لیدمه (لن)

Daryāb: دَ یو کلي نه بهر هم دَ هغې کلي دَ خلقو ملکیت کښې دَ زمکې دَ ګروندګرو آباد کورونه، وړوکي کلی

Kabir-Akbar: *bānḍá* '1. foire. 2. quartiers d'été'

Akbar: '1. hameau ; 2. quartiers d'été'

This word can also be found in the manjanəy dialects:

Lorimer (1902: 58): *bonḍa* 'offshoot of a village (temporary or permanent)': *Nakīr de Enghar na pa bonḍa tlelai dai* 'Nakir has gone from Anghar village to live in an outlying hamlet'.

Septfonds (1994: 373): *bonḍá* 'lieu d'habitation provisoire', *bonḍa˙kedəl* 's'installer provisoirement'

See also Sultan-i-Rome (2016: 535): 'hamlet; remote pasture in the hills with a few residential houses'.

From a diachronic point of view, the only author who proposed an etymology is H.W. Bellew, according to whom this word should be a loanword ← Hind. *bāṛā*.

If we examine this etymology more closely, we find in modern Hi. (Bahri 1989: 451) *bāṛā* 'enclosure, pen', which derives from Skt. *vāṭa-* 'enclosure, fence': cf. Si. *vāṛo* 'cattle-enclosure'; Lhd. *vāṛ*

'fence', *vāṛā* 'cattle- or sheep-fold'; Panj. *vāṛā, bā°* 'enclosure, sheepfold' (T11480 *vāṭa-*[1]).[3]

The semantics of Skt. *vāṭa-* and derived should be reflected only by the first meaning of Pšt. *bānḍa*, i.e. 'pen for cattle'. However, in this case we can compare better Pšt. *bāṛáy* '1. fence 2. front garden 3. garden plot 4. cultivated earth 5. *military* parapet 6. society' (Pashtoon), which is a clear loanword from IA, in particular from Hi. *bāṛā*, from a formal as well from a semantic point of view.

To return to *bānḍa*, in Balochi we find the equivalent of this Pšt. word: *bhánḍá* 'a fold, enclosure, pen', probably ← Si. *bhánḍo* (DL), *bhánδo* (DP), *bháṇo* (GD). According to Turner (T9436), this Si. word belongs to Skt. [1]*bhā́jana-* 'eating, enjoying' (ŚBr.), but also 'receptacle, pot, plate' (MBh.), < [1]*bhaj-*: Pa. *bhājana-* 'bowl (of earth or metal)', Pkt. *bhāyaṇa-*; G. *bhāṇũ* 'food, meal, dish'; M. *bhāṇẽ* 'meals, dish ready for making a meal'; Ko. *bhāṇa* 'large vessel'; Si. *badana, °duna* 'pot' (or < bhajana-). Related to this Skt. word we can mention Pšt. *bānḍā́r, banḍā́r* 'fest, banquet'.

In this same entry, Turner also tentatively tries to relate Si. *bhāṇu* 'place where cattle are kept, cowpen, dunghill, dung of cows or buffalos', *bhāṇo* 'cattle-fold'; Lhd. *bhāṇ, bhāṇā* 'cattle-shed' (with which AO 228 compares Phal. *bhāṇṓl*); and also K. *bhāna* 'vessel', S.kcch. *bhāṇ* 'a vessel', *bhāṇo* 'dish'.

However, we can maybe better compare Skt. *bhāṇḍa-* 'pot, dish, vessel, ornament, wares' (T9440) and the derivative: NiDoc. *bhana, baṁna* 'vessel (?)'; Pkt. *bhaṁḍa-* 'vessel, utensils, goods, ornament, barber's utensils, razor', *bhaṁḍiā-* 'bag'; etc.

This word is also present in the Dardic languages: Tir. *bhaṇa, bāna* 'vessel, dish'; Kho. (Lor.) *bānu* 'a kind of dish'; Sh. koh. *bōṇ*, gur. *bōn* 'cooking pot', K.ḍoḍ. *bhāṇḍo*.

Other comparisons: Hi. *bhā̃ḍ, bhā̃ḍā* 'earthen pot' (→ Panj. *bhā̃ḍā* 'cooking pot', Lhd.mult. *bhāṇḍā* 'vessel, utensil, granary', awāṇ. *bhā̃ḍā* 'utensil'.

Cf. also Skt. *bhāṇḍaśālā* 'storehouse' (T9441) and *bhāṇḍāgāra* 'treasury' (T9442). Among the derivatives of this last word, Turner mentions Phal. *bhakar-bhāṇā́l* 'goat-house', *bhāṇṓl* 'cow- or sheep-pen in the hills, hill-pasture', Bshk. *banal* 'hill-pasture'. Cf. Morgenstierne

[3] According to M. Mayrhofer (KEWA III 183, EWAia III 464) *vāṭah-* 'enclosure, fence' has a "Mittelindische Ausprägung einer Ableitung von *vṛ-* 'bedecken, umgeben'".

1940: 228 "Bašk. *banál* 'hill-pasture' (*bāṇḍa*) — Pal. *bhāṇōl* 'cow- and sheep-pen; Lhd. *bhāṇā*, &c.". Cf. also Tor. *bān* 'summer pasture' (Aftab Ahmad 2015).

Starting then from the idea of 'receptacle, pot', present in the Mahā Bhārata, clearly related to that of 'eating, enjoying' (Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa), by extension, in the IA epoch the word has already come to indicate a '(cattle-)fold, a pen'. The further semantic development to 'hill-pasture' must have taken place in the north-western regions, among the Dardic populations. We should remember here that our documentation for the Dardic languages is far from exhaustive. The additional semantic development to 'camp of nomads/lieu d'habitation provisoire/quartiers d'été', might have already have happened in Pašto. The word *bāṇḍa* would therefore have been used in toponymy to indicate 'pasture' and eventually, once it was integrated into the toponym and once the place had become a larger, inhabited village, it would have indicated a 'small village', a 'settlement' in general, or an 'offshoot of a village'.[4]

Apart from the pastures showing the generic geonym *bāṇḍa*, today in Swāt we find five villages retaining the constituent *bāṇḍa* in their actual name, thus probably indicating ancient 'hill-pastures' ('quartiers d'été' or 'camps of nomads') which subsequently became 'small villages', 'settlements' and finally even 'offshoots of a village': FIZIL-BANDA فازیل باندہ (*fāzil-bāṇḍa*), KATOSAR-BANDA کتوسر باندہ (*katosar-bāṇḍa*), LALOBANDA لالوبندہ (*lālobāṇḍa*), SUPAL-BANDA سپل باندہ (*supal-bāṇḍa*), TUTAN-BANDA توتان باندہ (*tutān-bāṇḍa*). This latter is the main village in the outermost part of the fertile plain of the Spanai-khwar valley, in the Tehsil of Kabal, and is already quoted by Raverty (1888: 232), thus proving that this process had already begun over a century ago.

Finally, since in Afghanistan this geonym is not attested,[5] we can conclude that it is clearly a local linguistic feature, probably linked to the Dardic substratum.

[4] Could the meaning 'body', mentioned by Pashtoon, be an extension of that of 'settlement'? As Aslanov does not indicate any context, I intend this meaning as related to that provided by Lorimer of 'offshoot of a village'.

[5] The only occurrences of some Banda can be found in the volume VI of the Gazetteer of Afghanistan (Adamec 1985: 88), but they refer to another banda, written بنده.

2.-3. Dera [*derá/ḍerá,* ډېره/دېره] vs. Derai [*ḍeráy,* ډېرى]

This word appears in the toponymy of the Swāt valley, but with a certain ambiguity between *ḍeráy* and *ḍerá/derá*. The first word indicates '1. pile, heap; 2. hill, hillock; 3. manure pile, dung heap', while the latter means '1. dwelling, shelter; residence; 2. stopping place camp, temporary quarters; 3. hut; 4. *used in geographical names* Dera Ismail Khan, Dera Ghazi Khan (both cities in north-west Pakistan)'.

In total, we find 33 occurrences of these toponyms, the majority with *ḍerəy* — AHINGARO-DERAI اهنګرو ډېرى (*ahingaro-ḍerəy*), BABA-DERAI بابا ډېرى (*bābā-ḍerəy*), BACHCHI-DERAI بچى ډېرى (*bači-ḍerəy*), BAZAI-DERAI بزى ډېرى (*bazay-derəy*), BAZWANANO-DERAI بزوانانو ډېرى (*bazwānāno ḍerəy*), DERAI ډېرى (*ḍerəy*), DHERI ډهېري (*ḍheri*), DODA-DERAI دوده ډېرى (*doda-ḍerəy*), GUL-DERAI ګل ډېرى (*gwəl-ḍerəy*), JAMPUR-DERAI جمپور ډېرى (*ǰampur-ḍerəy*), KAKHAI-DERAI کخى ډېرى (*kaxay ḍerəy*), KODARAI-DERAI کودرى ډېرى (*kodaray-ḍerəy*), LANGAR-DERAI لنګر ډېرى (*langar ḍerəy*), MAM-DERAI مام ډېرى (*mām ḍerəy*), MEGO-DERAI ميږو ډېرى (*meğo-ḍerəy*), NIKO-DERAI نيکو ډېرى (*niko-ḍerəy*), PIRMAN-DERAI پيرمن ډېرى (*pirman-ḍerəy*), PUL-DERAI پول ډېرى (*pul-ḍerəy*), SHAMI-DERAI شامي ډېرى (*šāmi-ḍerəy*), SUR-DERAI سور ډېدى (*sur-ḍerəy*) —, and only three toponyms with *ḍera/dera*: KAT-DERA کټ ډېره (*kat-ḍera*), SHAR-DERA شار ډېره (*šār ḍera*), SUND-DERA سنډ ډېره (*sund-dera*).

According to Raverty and Bellew, *dera* is a 'tent, dwelling', while the meaning of *ḍera* is slightly broader: 'tent, temporary dwelling/lodging'.

In the other dictionaries the meaning *hujra*, the 'guestroom (in rural villages)', is also added:

Daryāb: (۱) حجره، ويجره، اوجره، ډېره، مېلمستون، مهمانخانه، دَ مېلمنو دَ کښېنولو ځائي، (۲) ډيره، هديره، بدره، (۳) سکون، مېشت، ځوک چې په يو ځائي کښي استوګه غوره کړي، جمع ډېره جات/ډېرې

Tashrihi: 1- اوجره، حجره، جمه مېلمستون، مېلمنو ځای؛ په تودو سيمو کي زياتره د ځمکو او کروندو خاوندان د ځان او خپلو مېلمنو د اوسېدو لپاره يوه صفه جوړوي چې په شا وخوا کي پېد توتو او پنجه چنارو وني او ولي ولاړوي وي او د ګرمی شپې ورځې له کور څخه دباندي په دغه ځای کي تېروي. په دې ځای کي کټونه اېښوول کېږي او مېلمانه باندي کښېني. دېرې ته که کوم ځوک پناه راوړي نو دا د کور حکم لري او مدعي يې نه شي کولیا چې دغه سړی ته په ډېره کي تاوان ور ورسوي. د هر چا ډېره د هغه په نامه يادېږي او په دغسي ځای کي مرکه او جرګه هم

جوړېداي شي2-اديره، هديره3-مسکون، مېشت، اړونه؛ ځوک چې په يو ځای کې استوګنه غوره کړي

Kabir-Akbar ‘chambre d’amis; résidence, terrasse’

Akbar: ‘1. chambre d’amis; résidence, terrasse; 2. hébergé’

According to Atayee (1358/1979: 31, n. 103) *derā* is “Any place in the open air for the guests is called DERA. Rich tribal men have DERAS in front of their KALAY where strange guests may rest too. Such a guest is served food at meal times. But he may ask for food when he feels hungry. There are CATS in DERA on which guests sit. To sit in DERA of someone also means to be under his protection”.

Both Raverty and Bellew derive *ḍera* from Hind. *derā*, quoted by Turner (T5564) s.v. **ḍēra-*[1] ‘resting-place’: cf. also Panj. *ḍerā* ‘tent, encampment’; Hi. *ḍerā* ‘tent, shelter, temporary resting-place’; Hi. *derā* ‘tent, house’ → Si. *dero* ‘tent’.

Cf. also Bal. *derav* ‘camp’, ← Hi. *derá*, Per. *derah, dera*, ‘tent’, according to Gilbertson 1925.

The careful annotation of A.V. Rossi (ILEB-D3) on Br. *deraw* ‘threshing-floor’ deserves a full quotation here, as it also clarifies the etymology of Pšt. *dera/ḍera*:

> “[Prs. *dera* ‘habitation’]; Ur. *ḍera, ḍerə, dera* ‘tent’, Ansari *ḍera* only, also ‘lager’, Prs. Steingass only, Da. *dēra* ‘žilišče; stojanka; stanovišče; selo, posëlok’, Bal. *derəw, dərə* ‘ḍera’ Mitha, Ašfaq, *deraw* ‘tent’ Mayer, Psht. *derá, ḍerá* ‘žilišče; stojanka; stan; šalaš’; — Prs. not orig. (Morgenstierne [p.c.] “is Prs. *dēra* recorded too early to be a lw. < IA?”); sem. shift not clear (“some confusion seems to have taken place. Perhaps the flat and trodden camping places could be used, by semi nomads, as threshing-floors??”, (Morgenstierne, p.c.). Morgenstierne (p.c.) points to °*aw* as an areal feature (cf. Gujarati *dero*, Si. *dero*). Prob. no distinction in CDIAL 5564 between IA **ḍēra-* and **dēra-* (the latter relying in Bengali and Ur. variants; “I agree ... that you are right in considering the forms with initial retroflex, *ḍerā*, etc., to be the original ones” [Morgenstierne, p.c.])”.

Nowadays, according to N. Manalai (p.c.), the form without retroflex, *derá*, is more commonly used.

As for *ḍerəy*, it should be noted that this word is absent from nearly all dictionaries, except for Aslanov. However, in this case the etymology is much clearer: it belongs to IA **ḍhēra*, **dhēra* ‘lump, heap’ (T5599): 1. Paš. *ḍēr* ‘heap’; K. *ḍēr* ‘heap, store, granary’; Si. *ḍheru* ‘heap’; Lhd. *ḍher* ‘much, many’, *ḍherī* ‘hillock’, mult. ‘heap’; Panj. WPah.bhal. *ḍher* ‘heap’; Hi. *ḍher*, *ḍherī* ‘heap’.

We can observe here that also in IA there is alternation in the initial position between *ḍh-* and *dh-* non-retroflex: this can help us in the analysis of the alternation between *ḍ-* and *d-* in the preceding word, i.e. *ḍera/dera*.

The IA word is also at the origin of Pšt. *ḍer* 'much, many': indeed, the two meanings of 'much, many' and 'hillock', are already present in Lhd.

In conclusion, Pšt. *ḍer* is a loanword from Lhd. *ḍher* and Pšt. *ḍerəy* ← Lhd. *ḍherī*. The semantic extension from 'much' to 'pile → hillock' is already represented in Lhd. with the creation of the feminine by means of the suffix *-ī*. Here, the etymologic analysis done by Bellew and Darmesteter §8 (and followed by Coletti 1980: 37 and NEVP 25; but also by Raverty, Geiger 1898-1901 and Lorimer 1915 for *ḍer*) is correct.

4. Dop [*ḍop*, ډوپ]

This word is attested in five toponyms, all referring to names of peaks, with the exception of DOP ډوپ (*ḍup*), a small village in the plain on the left bank of the Swāt river, north of Khwazakhela.

In this latter case, as proposed in De Chiara 2020, we can see a possible link with IA (T5561) **ḍubb-* 'to sink', caus. **ḍōbb-* [Metath. of MIA. *buḍḍaï* < **buḍyati*]: Paš. *ḍub-* 'to be drowned', Mai. *ḍūb-*; Phal. *ḍup* 'sinking'; Sh. (Lor.) *ḍup* 'plunged in'; Panj. *ḍubbṇā*, Hi. *ḍū/ubnā*; T9272 **buḍyati* 'sinks': Si. *buḏaḍu*, Lhd. *buḍḍan*; Panj. *buḍḍṇā*. In which case it should be discarded from the list of geonyms.
However, this same IA word is at the origin of the loanword in Pšt. *ḍub* '1. immersed (in a liquid); submerged, sunken; 2. *figurative* to be lost in thought, be plunged into thought, be absorbed in thought' (Pashtoon), as already acknowledged by Raverty and Bellew (Hind. *dub*), and of the derivative compound verbs *ḍubawəl* 'to immerse (in a liquid); sink (e.g., a ship)' and *ḍubedəl* '1. to be immersed (in a liquid); sink; 2. to disappear (of water in the sand); 3. to set (of the sun); 4. *figurative* to meditate, be immersed in thought; 5. to lose consciousness' (see also Coletti 1980: 36). This same verb can be found also in Bal. *dubaγ, dubeθa, dubiθa* 'to drown'.

The remaining four peak names[6] show this geonym *ḍop*.[7] In the Daryāb, the only Pšt. dictionary including this word, its meaning is apparently ‘دوند، غبار، لړه، تیارۀ’: but, meaning ‘fog, haze’, it should be a mere variant of Pšt. *ḍub*, quoted above.

Pšt. *ḍob* should therefore go back to Dard. **ḍop* ‘hill’: cf. T5580 **ḍhappa*- ‘lump’, in particular n. 11 **ḍhubba*-, in Mar. *ḍhubā* ‘little hill’, for instance. In this regard, we could consider here Dard. **ḍ(h)up*, a derivative of this root with the meaning of ‘hill, hillock, lump’.

The semantic development is particularly interesting and can be compared with that studied by A.V. Rossi in an article of 2002, dealing with Ir. *gund* (“Middle Iranian *gund* between Aramaic and Indo-Iranian”): here the author argues the appurtenance of a series of terms — **gund*- ‘globular/circular mass’, **kund*- ‘stem of a tree’ and **kund-ū-k/la*- ‘large vessels’ — to a same semantic core (cf. also Rossi 2006 and 2015).

Another parallel, this time also semantically pertinent, is Pšt. *gumbat*, *gumbad*, meaning a ‘cupola, arch’, but in general any ‘spheric, globular object’.

Similarly, **ḍhappa*- basically means a ‘lump, protuberance’. The evolution to ‘heap’, ‘podgy’, ‘mound of earth raised as a mark’, ‘clod’, etc., appearing in the modern Indo-Aryan languages, is a logical consequence of this semantic shift, all the way to the perception of a ‘heap, lump’ as a ‘hill, hillock’ in these mountainous regions.[8]

5. Kandao [*kanḍáw*, کنډو]

This is the generic geonym for ‘(mountain) pass; excavation, hollow’ and is the most used in the toponymy of the Swāt valley: 71

[6] CHANGAI-DOP-SAR چنگی دوپ سر (*čangay-dop-sar*), DOPIALO-SAR ډوپیالو سر (*ḍopyālo-sar*), DOP-SAR ډوپ سر (*ḍup-sar*), SHAH-DOP-SAR شاه دوپ سر (*šāh-dop-sar*).

[7] In De Chiara 2020, Dopialo-sar is wrongly attributed to IA **ḍubb*- ‘to sink’, while it should contain the geonym *ḍop* here analysed + the doubtful sf. *-yāl*, according to Hakimzay (1997: 155) meaning ‘water’.

[8] In the list of geonyms in De Chiara 2020, another possibility, even if it should probably be discarded, is also suggested: Tor. *ḍap* ‘piebald’, possibly linked to the root Skt. **dhuppā*- (T6825): Si. *dhupa* ‘heat of sun’, Lhd. *dhupp*, *dhup*; Gaw. *adup* ‘absence of sunshine’?

occurrences out of 82 passes (many villages are also called Kandao). The remaining toponyms contain either An or Ghakhai.

An (*ān,* ان), meaning 'high mountain slopes', is a loanword from the Dardic languages, probably ← Khow. *an* (Bashir 2005); cf. also Kal. *ān* 'mountain pass, boundary' (← Khow., Trail/Cooper 1999). The second term is probably a derivative of Pšt. *γāx́* 'tooth' < Ir. **gaštra-, gaz-* 'to bite'?[9]

The meanings of *kanḍaw* are, according to Bellew and Raverty, 'notch, dent, gap; dip in a hill, gap in a wall, notch in wood, etc. dented, notched'. Bellew is the only author to recognize an IA origin for the Pšt. word (← Hind. *khandā*).

We can exclude a derivation from the root *kand-* 'to dig' (cf. Pšt. *kandəl*, Prs. *kandan*), as in this case *ḍ* would remain unexplained.[10] Instead, see T3792 s.v. *khaṇḍá* 'broken, crippled': "As 'hill, mountain pass' (< '*rock' < 'piece' or < '*pass' < 'gap' and perh. X skandhá)"; cf. Gaw. *khaṇḍa* 'hill pasture'; Bašk. *khan* 'hill', Tor. *khān,* (Grierson) *khaṇḍ,* Mai. *khān,* Chil. Gau. *kān,* Phal. *khẽ̃ṇ*; Sh. koh. *khŭṇ* (s. Morgenstierne 1940: 240); Par. *khandī* 'mountain peak' ← IA (IIFL I: 265).

Regarding the origin of the sf. *-aw/-ow* in Pšt. *kanḍaw,* one can see in the above-quoted personal communication by G. Morgenstierne to A.V. Rossi in ILEB-D3 that *°aw* (referring to Br. *deraw*) could be "an areal feature (cf. Gujarati *dero,* Si. *dero*)".

As proof of an Indo-Aryan origin, we can look to the analysis contained in ILEB-A173 on Br. *kanḍ* 'gap, breach, opening; hill-pass', where Rossi compares "RxBal. *kənḍ* 'gap, empty space between two objects', MwBal. *kənḍ* 'ditch' Elfenbein where Br. is sq., Bal. *kənḍ* 'khəḍ' Mitha, Ašfaq, cf. SuKurd. *kənd* 'ditch, ravine' Wahby-Edmonds"; and lastly states that "Sem. development 'pass' < 'gap' of CDIAL 3792 IA **khaṇḍ-* seems to have taken place early also in some Ir. counterpart of this base; cf. also PrsBal. *kənḍıg* 'steep path up to mountain pass', Bal. *kənḍəg* Ata 1968.141, EHBal. *k'əndəγ* Gilbertson 'pass', CDBal. *kəndə,* Prs. *kanda* 'hole'. Certainly protoconn. between IA, Ir. and Dr.".[11]

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[9] Cf. EP. 333, Morgenstierne 1926: 34, EVP 28, IIFL II 524, Emmerick 1970: 68, Èdel'man 1986: 145, Grjunberg-Èdel'man 1987: 32-33, Monchi-Zadeh 1990: 65, Steblin-Kamenskij 1999: 187, NEVP 33, ÈSIJ III 92, Cheung 2007.

[10] But cf. Barth/Morgenstierne 1958: 125: *kandów* 'pass'.

[11] Cf. also ILEB-I140: "Br. *kaḍ (k'aḍ)* 'pit, hole; dimple; pitted, sunk in; lowlying'

6.-7. Tangai [*tangáy*, تنګی vs. *ṭāngáy*, ټانګی]

The transcription provided by the maps is not sufficiently clear for us to distinguish *tangáy* from *ṭāngáy* (even if for the speakers the difference is evident), but the former is well known in the toponyms and more widespread. It appears in seven toponyms in the Swāt valley: AMLUK-TANGAI املوک تنګی (*amluk-tangay*), INZAR-TANGAI انځر تنګی (*injər-tangay*), SURAI-TANGAI سورى تنګی (*suray-tangay*), TANGAI تنګی (*tangay*), TANGAI-BANDA تنګی باندہ (*tangay-bāṇḍa*), TANGAI-WARA تنګی وړہ (*tangay-waṛa*), YAKH-TANGAI-SAR یخ تنګی سر (*yax-tangay-sar*).

Pšt. *ṭāngáy* is a 'table mountain; flat-topped hill' and is possibly attested in only one case: TANGU-BANDA تانګو باندہ (*ṭāngu-bāṇḍa*). However, this toponym can be analyzed as Pšt. 'pasture of the wild pears (*ṭāngu* 'name of a tree bearing a fruit like the apple in appearance', Raverty)', or Pšt. 'pasture of the flat-topped hill (*ṭāngáy*)'. It is in the Tashrihi '1-ځمکه اوچته اواره'.

Pšt. *tangáy* is a 'ravine, gorge; narrow valley; pass', also used in geographical names as 'ravine': Naray-Tangay (Pashtoon).[12] Sultan-i-Rome (2016: 482) is more specific on this point: a *tangay* is a "narrow gorge or dry ravine, but sometimes having a water spring".

In the same work, Sultan-i-Rome (*ibid.*), writes: "*Taangay*: A very small patch of *taang* [a patch of land that was created due to a river or stream altering its course; it may be situated in-between the branches of the river or stream or on their sides]; the patch between the two draining-lines of tomato plants".

Tašrihi: تنګ، د غرونو په منځ کې لاره، د غرونو تر منځ تنګه لاره2-د کوچیانو د کرتو جوال، هغه جوال چې کرت په کې وي

tangáy is probably a derivative of Pšt. *tang* 'narrow, tight', in turn inherited from Ir.: cf. Prs. *tang*, etc.

[Bal. *k'əḍ*, Sir. *khaḍḍ*, Si. *khəḍə*; Pkt. *khaḍḍa-*]; Ur. *khəḍ*, Bal. *kəḍḍ* Ašfaq, *kəḍ* Mayer, Gilbertson, MwBal. *kəḍək*; — Cf. *kanḍ*, A173 above? Prob. protoconn. between Dr., IA and Ir.".

[12] In Pashtoon it is also a 'pouch for dried cheese'.

Conclusions

In conclusion, we can observe that geonyms are more conservative than toponyms: indeed, even if the toponym was successively Pashtunized, the geonym maintains its original form.

In the specific case of Swāt, the majority of geonyms are derived from Indo-Aryan sources (six out of seven geonyms, in the case of the present article: *bāṇḍa*, *ḍera/dera*, *ḍerəy*, *ḍop*, *kaṇḍaw*, *ṭāngay*), and, more in detail, from Dardic languages; thus confirming what was already noted by Fussman in his atlas of 1972 (I 23): that among the native languages of Swāt (at least in the historic era) were two Dardic languages: Dameli and Gawar-Bati (but afterwards the Damelis and the Gawars "en [from Swāt] auraient été expulsés vers le milieu du XV^{e} siècle par les Pathans"). Two other Dardic languages can still be found today in the northernmost part of the Swāt valley: Torwali and Baškarik.

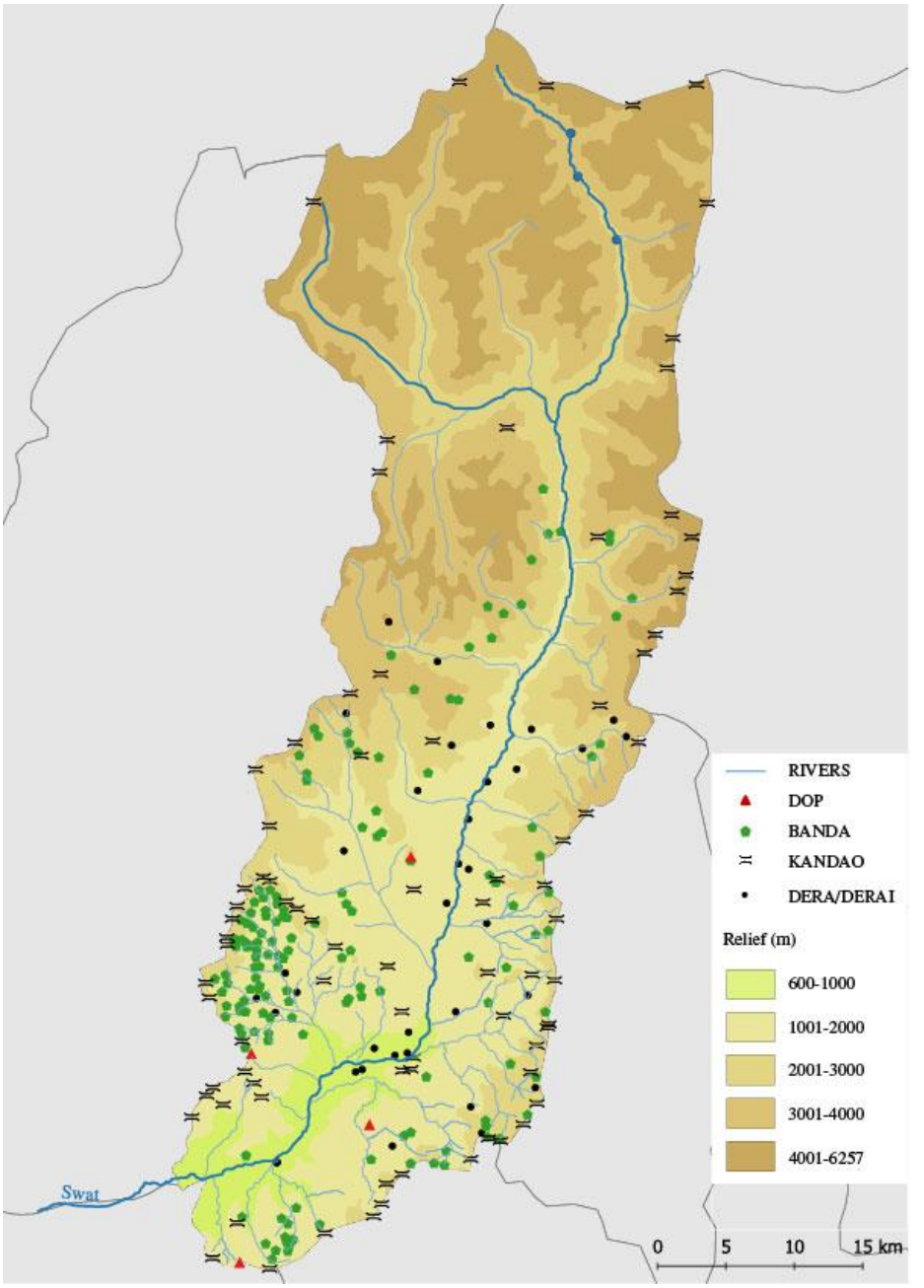

Fig. 1 - Map of Swāt showing the position of the geonyms *ḍop*, *bāṇḍa*, *kaṇḍaw* and *ḍera/dera/ḍerəy*.

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Language abreviations

Bal. Baluchi
Bašk. Baškarik
Br. Brahui
Dard. Dardic
Gaw. Gawar-bati
Hi. Hindi
Hind. Hindustani
IA. Indo-Aryan
Ir. Iranian
K. Kaśmiri
Kal. Kalaša
Kho. Khowari
Kurd. Kurdish
Lhd. Lahndi
M. Maraṭhi
MIA. Middle Indo-Aryan
Pa. Pāli
Pah. Pahari
Panj. Panjabi
Par. Parači
Paš. Pašai
Phal. Phaluṛa
Pkt. Prakrit
Prs. Persian
Pšt. Pašto
Sh. Shina
Si. Sindhi
Sir. Siraiki
Skt. Sanskrit
Tir. Tirahi
Tor. Torwali
Ur. Urdu
WPah. West Pahaṛi

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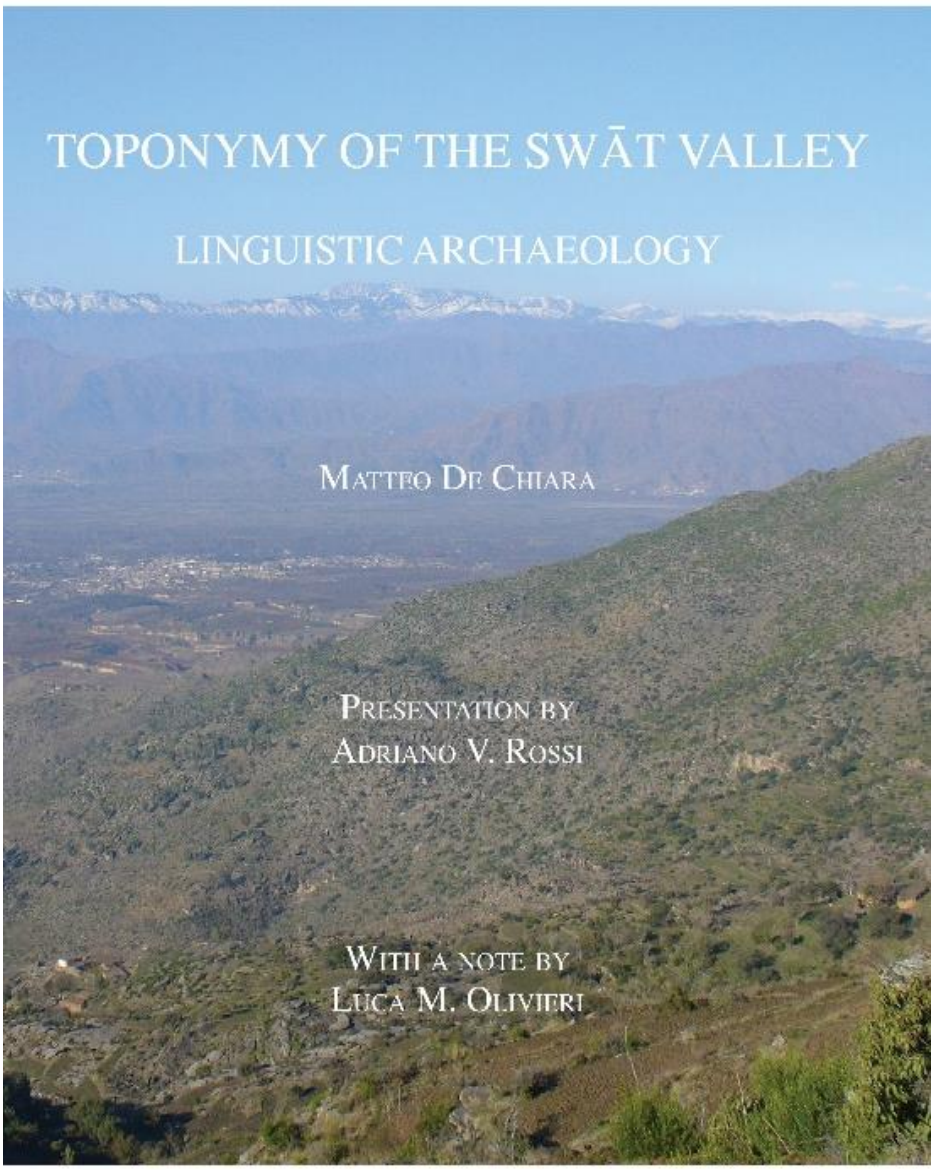

TOPONYMY OF THE SWĀT VALLEY

LINGUISTIC ARCHAEOLOGY

MATTEO DE CHIARA

PRESENTATION BY
ADRIANO V. ROSSI

WITH A NOTE BY
LUCA M. OLIVIERI

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Tarawara community a marginalized linguistic community: An ethnohistorical perspective

Uzma Anjum / Tahir Saleem
Ayyaz Qadeer / Muhmmad Khalid / Wasima Shehzad

Abstract

The study aims to trace the history of Tarawara community Tehsil Oghi, district Mansehra in the province of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. Tarawara. community with 500 speakers of a dying language resides on a remote hilltop village, Dana. Dana is one of the many villages located in Bandi Shungli. The study assumes that marginalization and subsequent loss of a language spoken by an ethnic minority are rooted in socio-cultural and socio-historical contexts. The study has employed the theoretical lens of ethnohistorical perspective to understand the historical traces of substantial marginalization of Tarawara community which led to the present-day language shift and impending language loss of an undocumented language, Mankiyali. Drawing upon Braun and Clarke (2006), the study analyses the ethnographic data in six stages. The study has been an endeavor to understand the embedded themes appearing in interviews, focus groups, and participant observation of this study and to integrate it with the written resources. The ethnographic data and the available literature confirmed that the socio-political and socio-historical backgrounds result in the marginalization of the speakers in this group.

Keywords: Marginalization, linguistic community, language shift, ethnohistory

1. Introduction

Only one interaction with Tarawara community in Village Dana of Union council Bandi Shungli was enough to foretell the future of Mankiyali language spoken by Tarawara community. At first look, it was so obvious that this speech community, like many other communities across the globe, was found in a contact situation. Mankiyali is still spoken by the young and the old, parents and

children, among peers and between different generations but most of the domains of the language use of this community have been taken over by Hindko language. According to Fase, Jaspaert, and Kroon (1992) language shift, language loss, and language death are employed to describe language preservation and loss. They added that the linguistic system of a disappearing language does not just rapidly disappear; it is, constantly, substituted with the language with which it is in contact. Moreover, in such a contact situation, the danger of disappearance is only real for the language of the marginalized minority group (p. 3).

This speech community is in contact and competing bilingual situation. This phenomenon happens when bilingual speakers switch unconsciously and conveniently to the second language. This is an alarming competing bilingual situation where one community gradually shifts to another language (Tsunoda, 2006, p. 99). Tarawara community is steadily discontinuing speaking one of its two languages, Mankiyali, in favor of the other, Hindko.

The focus of the study is tracing the history of Tarawara community residing on a remote hilltop village, Dana. Dana is one of the many villages located in Bandi Shungli. It is a union council of Tehsil Oghi, district Mansehra in the province of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa. It is situated in the north-west end of Hazara (Paget, 1907). According to my initial survey in September 2015, the total population of Dana is 411. The community living in this village speaks a very different language. This language is not intelligible for the people of other communities living in Bandi Shungli, who speak Hindko, Gujari, and Pashto. This language is not listed in any existing literature on languages spoken in Pakistan (Lewis et al., 2014). However, due to the publication of Anjum and Rehman 2015, Anjum, 2016 and Anjum, 2018 the language has been listed in Ethnologue, a worldwide web source on languages of the world in 2020(Eberhard, et, al,. 2020)

Ethnohistory reveals the extensive range of existing scholarship stimulated by anthropological and historical methods to the human context. Of specific attention is to those investigations and elucidations that pursue to manifest the familiarity, association, and identities of indigenous, diasporic, and minority groups that otherwise are ignored by the histories and anthropologies in the context of historical research.

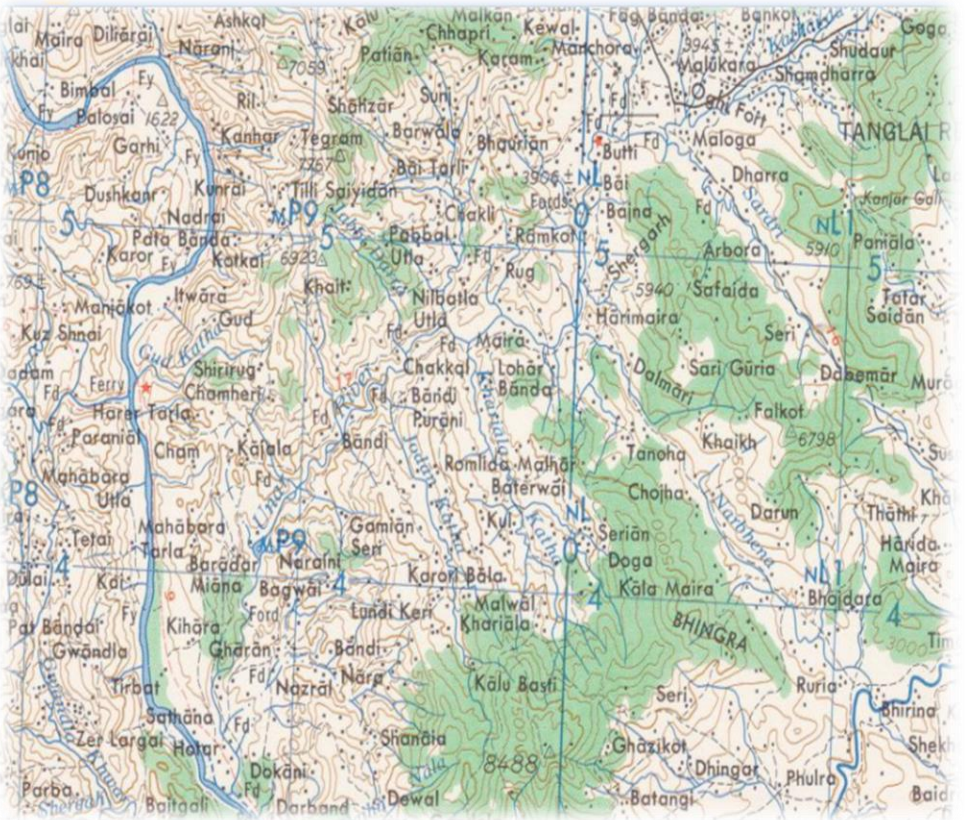

Fig. 1 - Map of Union Council Bandi Shungli (Source: Army Map Service (LU) Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, Washington, D.C. Retrieved on 1 March 2015: http://www.lib.utexas.edu/maps/ams/india/ni-43-05.jpg)

However, some old men and women call it Tarawara or Tarawari. Some say, particularly women and children, that they do not know its name. The majority of this community is proficient in three languages: Mankiyali, Hindko, and Urdu. However, all the women above twenty-five are bilingual in Mankiyali and Hindko. Data from the current study revealed that most of the people are predominantly multilingual (Pashto 67.0 %, Urdu 69.7 %, English 8 %, Hindko 100 %.). Dana is the main village of this community. This community also lives in five other villages: Damaka, Guldar, Arghaniya, Chamrasi, and Shoshni. Twelve families with fifty members in village Guldar and eight families with thirty-five members living in village Damaka still speak this language. These families left Dana in recent years to take charge of the mosques of these villages. Two families with ten members of this community

reside in village Arghaniya; likewise, five families with twenty-five members of this community live in village Chamrasi and six families with twenty-five members live in Shoshni. In these villages, everyone from these families has completely shifted to Hindko language.

2. Methodology

The study is based on the premise that marginalization and subsequent loss of a language spoken by an ethnic minority are embedded in the socio-cultural and socio-historic contexts. The study has been designed at two levels. It is focused on the ethnohistorical underpinning to understand the historical traces of substantial marginalization of Tarawara community which led to the present-day language shift and language loss of Mankiyali language. At the second level, it employed thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) as an analytical framework to uncover the hidden oppressive influences of yesteryear. Ethno history encompasses both particularistic and comparative scholarship and embodies productive tensions among historical, anthropological, and indigenous perspectives on cultural and historical processes. The investigator shapes a multifaceted, holistic representation, examines historical records, states comprehensive views of participants, and steers the study in a natural context. Ethnohistory is an interdisciplinary approach to indigenous, colonial, and postcolonial culture and history. Combining the approaches of history, cultural anthropology, and archaeology, ethnohistory has most often focused on the cultures and histories of the indigenous peoples of settler societies in the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, the Pacific, and South Asia. Ethnohistory encompasses both particularistic and comparative scholarship and embodies productive tensions among historical, anthropological, and indigenous perspectives on cultural and historical processes (Galloway, 2006). The present study is a cultural and critical ethnohistorical study. Thus, the ethnohistorical of the present study helped the researcher to comprehend the phenomenon of language shift in naturalist settings. Data of this study have been collected from several sources: semi-structured interviews, focus groups, participant observation, and data through elicitation and historical accounts related to this region. Given the multifaceted setting of language shift, the sources used for collecting data were wide-ranging. The participants for this part of the research have been identified with the help of a gatekeeper. This kind

of research generally employs gatekeepers to help the investigator for achieving access and developing rapport and trust with the community (Hatch, 2002). The gatekeeper belonged to the community that is the focus of this study. The gatekeeper and investigator had several discussions and meetings about the appropriate participants required for this study and coordination for focus groups. The gatekeeper identified and contacted all those community members. He also asked for their consent to participate in the study. He scheduled meetings with families and individuals for the researcher. This helped me to conduct interviews, focus groups, participant observation recorded data, and published historical accounts. For data analysis, I employed six stages of thematic analysis following six phases of Braun and Clarke (2006). Thematic analysis has been used for recognizing, examining, and reporting patterns (themes) within data. This analysis has been employed to minimize, categorize, and define a specific data set at length. Nevertheless, it has been undertaken generally to go beyond this and to interpret different factors of the research area (Boyatzis, 1998).

3. Findings and Discussion: name of the language and early history of the community

The marginalization of ethnic groups and communities is not a current occurrence. It is directly integrated into the past of the region. The village Dana has been part of Tanawal or Amb state in times of united India. Tanawal state was a semi-independent state (Lethbridge, 1893, p. 328). The current study is structured on Tarawara community's ethnohistory. The substantive material is referred to in the systematic subject entitled "*Name of the language, community, and history of region*". As reported by the speech community history of this ethnic group, their predecessor Molve Abdul Karim, coupled with his family, abandoned his small town Batera, situated in far south of today's district Kohistan. He passed the black hills, Chatta, and was stationed in an area where no one could comprehend his language. He arrived to this area to evangelize Islam. According to Hunter (1908, p. 138), this area was a unit of Mulk-e- Tanawal.

> *Humare aabo ijdad Jad e amjad jo hayan aaya hai wo Aakhun zada ka mureed –i-khas tha, us ka naam tha Molvi Abdul Karim, lakin Aakhun zada us ko manka manka kete the, wo us waqt aaye yahan se*

> *torghar ke raiste se aaye the chatta se wahan se aaye, aakhun zada swat se aaye the.* 'Our patriarch, who migrated here, was the special disciple of Akhun Zada. His name was Molvi Abdul Karim. Aakhun zada used to call him Manka. He came from Swat. He crossed Torghar and (Black Mountain) passed Chatta and finally settled in Shoshni'.

During that time Shoshni was not a populous region. His offspring were stationed in this small town and subsequently, the majority of them moved to Dana a couple of hundred years ago, which is situated at the top of this region (34°28'41" N 72°57'12.9" E). The ethnographic data stated that they were accustomed to visit Dana since the major part of the agricultural land was in Dana. It was a command from Nawab of Amb for the Tarwara people to occupy this small town. *Lambardar* "the village head" of those two small towns was nominated from Dana village. The people of Tarwana village were forced to shift to that detached portion of the area owing to two factors. All the meadows and agricultural territory Tarawara people were cultivating and utilizing for the pasturing of livestock, were in Dana. Furthermore, the village was situated on a pretty significant strategic spot. The Western side of the town provides a panorama sight of various towns and locations situated at the bottom of these mountains. Oghi town is in the East from this point, Darband (Tarebella Dam) is in the West and Shergarh exists in the South. Villages and Black mountains are visible in the North-West. On the west side, Nawab of Amb wanted to build his palace to watch over the villages under his control, the Agror, a bordering rival state, and to keep an eye on turbulent and rebellious Black Mountain tribes like Hassanzais. Nawab had decided to involve the village people in constructing his palace.

> *Nawab sahab yahan mehal banana chata tha, ye jagah unchi thi, aur us waqt telephone shishah k zarieh hoti thi, ye unchi jagah se jahan se Darband bejah jata tha, jab wo yahan aaya tu taz hawah challi tu tent ukhar gayeh, logon ne kaha k yahan pani nae, us waqt pani nae tha, tu us ne apna khyal chor diya.* 'Nawab wanted to construct his residence in Dana because of its elevated position. So that he would keep an eye on the area, moreover, Mirror messages communication would be seen in Darband when he came here to inspect the land but left the idea because of strong winds and scarcity of water'.

The village's elderly male respondents insisted that the rulers here are Tarawaras when their ancestors arrived in this area. When I asked an elderly man about their time of rule in this region, he said they were defeated by Nawabs and left that region many years before Pakistan's independence. In the same village, another participant confirmed that the group of Tarawara had left and disappeared.

> *Is gaon main hi nae balke puey Tanawal main Tarawarh tha, ye zuban bi wohi hai, ye kafi arsay pheley ki baat hai, ye kafi purani baat hai, 1947 main Pakistan tu banna hai, ye us se bi pheley ki baat hai jab nawab Painda Khan aya tu ye log mit gaye. Nawab Painda Khan ne in ko mitaya aur apni nawabi banai.* 'Tarawaras were not only ruling this village but the whole Tanawal. This language belonged to them. This happened many years back. It happened many years before 1947. When Nawab Painda Khan conquered this area, they disappeared. After this Nawab Painda Khan became the ruler of this region'.

As I asked, he did not know where this community was going. Another elderly participant also stated that Molvi Abdul Karim had come and settled at Dana. This village was originally populated by Tarawaras. Molvi Abdul Karim 's children learned and picked up this language from the neighborhood of Tarawara. It was also passed on to generations to come. The most interesting part of the data arose when I asked the participants for the name of their tribe. Most of the first and second-generation male participants denied being Tarawara.

One of the participants further claimed that this tribe was a branch of the Pukhtuns Akuzai tribe. Unlike this, another group member from village Shoshni reported that this group was one of the Yusufzai tribe (in ka talauk swat main basically Akuzai. 'They were basically from the Akuzai Pashtoon tribe from Swat (interview code-789).' When I asked why they are known as Tarawara, the male participant's response was ye galti se likh giya hai 'this name was mistakenly related to our group '

This pattern is consistent with previous studies (Zaman, 2003, Decker, 1992, Weinreich, 2010) as Pashto is a dominant language of this region and association with this identity has been instrumental in socio-economic advantages for native speakers and non-natives. Similarly, the cited literature also revealed that stigmatized linguistic minority speakers appear to hide their ethnic identity. Elderly women

and children, however, have verified this tribe is known as Tarawara. I had collected brief but significant data from that area's revenue officer (Patvari) in my initial survey. The officer explained this culture to me. He recorded the Jamadari 's ethnic registry of genealogy and land records. Likewise, census of 1901 recorded Tarawara as a Muslim tribe with a population of 258 (Risley, 1901). Data revealed many of the inconsistencies that older male participants reported. Besides this, a female and a male first generation referred to it as asan di zuban 'our language or Tarawarah zuban 'tarawara language (interview code-530).' Similarly, most participants often referred to it as us di zuban 'our language ' ey gallan 'this language ,' madri zuban 'mother tongue Daney walon ki zuban 'Dana dwellers' language.

The current findings are in line with Rehman and Baart (2005, p. 2), as their study also noted similar trends in Kundal Shahi, a language of a marginalized minority, spoken in Pakistan-administered Kashmir; these speakers recorded similar expression to refer to their endangered Kundal Shahi language of a minority. A seventeen-year-old boy, however, told me it was called back some three years ago. He told this author that the Tarawara group men had assembled to propose the language 's name. Similarly, in an interview discussion a seventeen-year-old male participant explained that Mankiyali was a new name for this language. Wajid told this author about the recent progress. *Takariban teen saal pheley rakha tha, Unno ne ja kar peeche maloom kia, peeche ja kar pata chala k ye kia zuban hai.* 'It has been named three years back. Men of our village went to Batera to find out about this language'.

Similarly, the reply to my query about why they named this language Mankiyali was not clear and logical either. The majority of the female did not realize why they called Mankiyali their language. This language has been named after Molvi Abdul Karim, according to some of the men of that group. He was a young man with very good looks and became known as Manka. Another middle-aged male participant said this was named after Molvi Abdul Karim who was also known as Manka as Akhun Zada used this name to address him. They also recorded that their culture is also known as Mankiyal, and they called their language Mankiyali for that reason. *Hum isey Mankiyali kehty hain kyun k qom mankiyal hai Jase Gujar hai to Gujari bolty hain ase Mankiyal kom hai to mankiyali zuban k naam say mashonor hon gae,.* 'We call it Mankiyali because our tribe is called Mankiyal.

For example, *Gujars speak* Gujari. In contrast, another pretty old participant came up with a novel idea. *Mankiyal ik gaon ka naam hai Kohistan main, ye kisi qoom ka naam nae hai.* 'Mankiyal is a village in Kohistan, it is not a name of a tribe'.

Second-generation male participants clarified their quest for the language's origin; they mentioned an incident when one of them came across a Bateri speaker. *Bhai bta rha tha k ik dafa swat mein us ko do admi yahe zuban bolty honey miley mein un ki sari bat samjh rha tha lekin woh thora short kar k bol rhe the hum thora khench kar bolty hain.* 'My brother once met two men speaking this language in Swat, he could understand them. Their language was a little different from Mankiyali.'

This event gave them hint to the uncertainty of the reality that Molvi Abdul Karim migrated from Batera Kohistan. Another male participant confirmed that the language he spoke was more intelligible than any other Kohistani language. To test this these men went to Batera. This village is situated on the east side of the Indus River and in this area, Bateri is spoken and the villages around it speak different languages (Biddulph, 1880, p. 12). It has around 2 to 3000 speakers (Decker, 1992, p.89). Reportedly, this language is in the vigorous status EIGDS is 6a which suggests a vigorous usage in the functional domain of the family. In Jammu and Kashmir, near Srinagar, India, this language is spoken too. In 200 families, the number of speakers is 800. This community is reported as non-indigenous and Muslim (Lewis et al., 2014). In the light of this, I suspect that the group wished to get rid of the centuries-old stigmatization and therefore settled on a new name for the group and that language. This is partly due to increased interaction with other cultures, improvements in technology, improved travel facilities, and, above all, a higher literacy rate. The literacy rate of second-generation male participants is impressively high and there are eight school teachers in the group. These men are forward-thinking and enlightened. Likewise, many work in other countries and cities like Saudi Arabia, Lahore, Abbottabad and Islamabad. This fairly strengthened the Community's socio-economic status.

The current research was made possible because I was invited by one of those open-minded community members to visit this place and assist them to maintain the language. Although previous studies (Brenzinger, 1992; Pettigrew, 2008; Bonner, 2001) suggested that minority groups are likely to establish low respect for their language

and culture due to inaction and interaction with minority groups and other dominant groups. Simultaneously, findings also showed that most participants were objects of stigmatization and that many other members identified Mankiyali as a cause of disgrace. The group has been the victim of these aspects as the findings showed that by rejecting marriages with the Tarawara group, neighboring groups distanced themselves from the group. Likewise, most of the first-generation male population and most females documented judgmental remarks from Hindko speaking groups residing in neighboring villages. Tarawara girls disclosed that their language was mocked by Pashto speaking friends and hence they never use their language at school, not even with friends from Dana. *Ketin hain Galliyon jasi hai* ‘it sounds like swear words ’ They spoke Hindko with their school friends. Their Hindko friends at school ridiculed them when they spoke Mankiyali. *Keten hain k ye kesi zuban hai* ‘they say what kind of language is this ’. The findings are consistent with Rehman (2011). Kundal Shahi speakers in this study required the identification symbol 'Qureshi' to compensate for their distinguished but oppressed ethnicity. Blumenfeld and Raymond (2000) argue that it is usually triggered by the dominant groups' negative views, racism, and negative stereotyping (p. 24).

4. The role Amb State and Post Amb State Political context in the Marginalization of Tarawara community

Mankiyali has been one of the languages spoken by a minority living in the Amb state. Findings showed a significant contribution to Amb State socio-historical discourse behaviors in shaping the Mankiyali context. It was a semi-independent state of Tanawal (Lethbridge, 1893, p. 328). This hilly region had an area of approximately 200 square miles (Paget, 1907). It was described as a volcanic territory placed in Hazara's farthest northwest location, in united India's NWFP (now Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa) (34" 15'and 34" 23'N. and 72"52'and 73" 10' E). This is east of the Indus River. Another significant source of water for the area is the river Siran, which flows from north to south. This area was controlled by the Tanoli tribe. It is presumptively a clan of Mughal descent spread over two sections. These two ruling sections of Tanolis were renowned for the Pulal and Hindwal. These two sects were the chiefs of Tanwal.

Tanoli's Pulal branch had jurisdiction over the area to the east of the Siran River. This tribe's chief got power over more areas around when Mughal Empire disintegrated into several small independent states. Gory internal conflicts and feuds however led the Kashmir ruler's invasion. Hughes-Buller (1908) opines that the Hindwal sect, meanwhile, had gained control, and its chief Nawab Khan was killed in the 1818 war against the Durranis (p. 138). Seven generations of that sect controlled this area. They later were also known as Amb's Nawabs. Painda Khan, Nawab Khan 's uncle, was Hindwal's sect's next chief.

He was brave, smart, and astute. Through power, tact, and deception he consolidated his rule and expanded his state boundaries. His close family members were granted important appointments and he took charge of the neighboring Agror area in 1834 for seven years. He was frequently in confrontation with Sikh forces. He lost much of his fear in these military interventions. This was the time of Sayyid Ahmad's Wahabi Jihadis in Punjab standing up against Sikh Raj. These were not followed by Painda Khan. These forces were waging a tough war against Painda Khan. In this fight, Painda Khan lost his realm. That forced him ask Sikh forces, his once sworn enemies, to support him recover his condition. Sikhs decided to join him and guarantee his allegiance on the condition that his son, Jahandad Khan, is taken over. He and his troops assisted Sikhs to overthrow these Wahabi jihadis on this side of the Siran river (Sabir, 1992, p. 386). Wylly (1912) states that even during Sikh regime, Amb State forces backed them up against aggressive Hassanzais, burned them down, and punished them by destroying their settlements (p. 33).

Paget (1907), Hughes-Buller (1908), and Wylly (1912) reckon that during the 1857 War of Independence, most of the literature produced by British army officers glorified Amb's Nawabs mainly because he supported the British Army. Jahandad Khan, with the aid of Gulab Singh, ruler of Kashmir, and the British forces, recovered part of his territory. The British Army participated actively against many Black Mountain tribes including Swatis, Hassanzais, Chagharzais and Akuzais. Wylly (1912) states that in those expeditions, Nawab of Amb State gave complete backing to British troops. In appreciation of his father's contributions, Jahandad Khan, in War of Independence and his contribution to the Black Mountain military expeditions.

Most of the literature produced by British army officers glorified Nawabs of Amb mainly because of his support to the British

Army in the 1857 War of Independence (Paget, 1907; Hughes-Buller, 1908; Wylly, 1912). Jahandad Khan regained part of his state with the help of Gulab Singh, ruler of Kashmir, and the British forces. British Army remained engaged against various tribes of Black mountain such as Swatis, Hassanzais, Chagharzais, and Akuzais. Nawab of Amb state provided his full support to British forces in these expeditions (Wylly, 1912). In recognition of the services of his father, Jahandad Khan, in the War of Independence and his contribution to military expeditions of the Black mountain, The British Government awarded Muhammad Akram Khan the title of Nawab. As mentioned by Hughes-Buller (1908), he obtained further titles and a jagir in the Hazara district region (p. 139). This regime was given a semi-independent state status. Under Regulation II of 1900, the ruler's powers were established. Hughes-Buller (1908) further added that this mandate gave political, criminal, and revenue authority to the rulers to administer this state, except for state crimes and serious crimes such as murder (p. 138).

This state's subjects had no privileges since most of the inhabitants residing in the region were regarded as the occupant with no luxury of transferring the land to the next generation. Agrarian workers were expelled on minor issues from the farming territory. They inhabited and harvested the field, and after each harvest, they were expected to pay 'the representative of Nawabs' half the crop production for irrigated land and one-third of the arid land. Panni (1965) stated that inhabitants living in the region were not permitted to take timber for fire and carry animals to grasslands and forests without Nawab's approval, and pay Nawab a particular sum of ghee (p. 384).

The last Nawab of the state was Muhammad Saeed Khan. The state was finally proclaimed a part of district Hazara in 1969. In 1969 Amb state was integrated into Pakistan's settled city. Amb state was annexed to Pakistan's NWFP province (now Khyber-Pakhtoonkhwa), in 1969. The state capital, Darband, was inundated in the waters of the newly built Tarbella Dam. Following the state union, the peasantry was free to use the production of crops themselves. This helped them live a relatively better life and ultimately contributed to free migration, schooling and socioeconomic growth. Ahmed (1973) stated that Muhammad Saeed Khan declared property rights for the residents of the Amb and Darband regions, nevertheless, owing to the 1972 land reforms, the matter of ownership of the citizens of that Amb State was

resolved after remaining pending due to bureaucratic procedures (p.104).

Local and indigenous languages in Pakistan have never received official patronage at the national level. For non-linguistic reasons, the allocation of official status to various languages was done. The utmost aim of this legal process is to foster the integration of indigenous and mainstream languages and cultures. At the national level, these decisions endangered minority and local languages (Rahman, 2006). Education is seen as an important instrument of language policies to impact and control a society's language context (Holmes, 2013, p. 348). Findings showed that Urdu was a language of instruction until 2011, and English was taught as a second language at the primary level. Previous Awami National Party-led cabinet passed the 2011 Regional Languages Authority Bill in KPK province. Major regional languages in early education were introduced in light of this bill (Khan, 2013). In this region, Hindko was introduced in early education. This step has generally been in favor of Hindko language, but this will result in further arousal of the language shift for languages like Mankiyali, which is already competing with Hindko in all other language usage domains. PTI recently leading the provincial government and changed the medium of instruction from Urdu to English. These market-based mechanisms forced parents to favor that decision against their dominant national and regional language because some parents reportedly favored this policy change (Khan, 2014). However, this shift in policy, according to Lee (1996), Baker (2001), Cummins (2000), and Torrance and Olson (1985) will further outstrip the kid from the school as the integration of an entirely unacquainted language as an educational medium in early education, that has been called dysfunctional to the developmental needs of children.

Some female students who speak Mankiyali have reported being penalized for speaking this language in the classroom. These young women reported being punished, humiliated, and penalized by a Mansehra teacher whenever he observed them talking in that language during his class. They confessed to this author that they had been unable to pass the examination during the early years of school because they could not follow their teachers as they spoke Urdu. In contrast, kids whose parents were able to afford private schooling and coaching were doing better in the exam.

The language has turned out to be a cultural and social asset for the children of this ethnic minority. This could become a loss or profit based upon the family's financial resources to fill the gap for irrelevant language in schools and language at home. This factor has affected their performance at school and also has pivotal potential ramifications for these people's lives (Bourdieu, 1986). Nargis however supported literacy in the mother tongue for Tarawara kids.

> *Faidae bohat se hain k ye hamri zuban hai, jis zuban main taleem ho wo jaldi aae gi, bohat se log hain jo apne bacho ke sath Hindko kartey, ke in ko school main muskilat nahi paren gi, humri zuban main bachoon ko bohat muskilat hoti hai. Ja kar wo school main parte hain, une urdu nae ati, ghar main zuban aur hai school main aur hai, bacho ke liya yahan muskil hai, us waje se koi log Hindko karte hain aur koi log urdu main bachon ko samjaten ye hain.*
> 'This has a number of advantages, learning of language assists students at school. There are a lot of parents who interact with their kids in Hindko thus they realize that they're taught at school. The kids of our language have massive issues; when they enter school they realize Urdu pretty tough, the language spoken at home is distinct from the language of school, kids have issues. For this reason, parents use Hindko or Urdu while assisting them in their studies.

Abdur Rehman, head of a family group, mentioned that his nephew from a renowned private school had passed grade nine in good grades. He learned to write and speak English at this school. He further mentioned that his brother worked in Saudi Arabia and parents could afford to cover school dues and tuition-free for their children's extra coaching, as he would not get admission to a local government college without securing good grades. This economic gain from learning a language with greater cultural capital ensures good educational results and a brighter future (Bourdieu, 1982).

5. Conclusions

The present study is an academic venture to supplement and celebrate the cultural and linguistic diversity of Tarawara community. It is the first attempt to investigate Mankiyali, an undocumented language, spoken in the Mansehra District of Khyber Pakhtoonkhwa (KPK). Most importantly, it is set to celebrate the marginality of a small group of people who speak a language distinctive and different from

neighboring communities. It is an attempt to place it on the linguistic map of Northern Pakistan where twenty-five documented languages are spoken. No linguistic literature reported this language (O'Leary, 1992; Grierson, 1906; Morgenstern, 1973; Lewis, et al., 2014; Rehman & Baart, 2005). This language is spoken in a godforsaken and far-flung village of less known UC, Bandi Shungli. The basic stimulus of such studies is to show the possibility to save these lesser-acknowledged indigenous minority languages and endangered languages to prevent language loss and language shift. The revival and protection of minority languages is not impossible. The revival of Hebrew in Israel, French in Quebec, and Catalan in Spain are examples of some of the various successful efforts found around the world (Fishman, 1991). Similarly, Forum for Language Initiatives (FLI), a non-governmental organization, has been playing an important role in Pakistan in a cultural and linguistic context. FLI has been engaged to document the languages and cultures of the language communities especially those living in northern Pakistan. FLI is consistently helping the language communities in establishing mother tongue-based multilingual schools by training the local people in the areas of curriculum development and teaching (Akhunzada, 2013). Similarly, Rahman (1996) proposed introducing local languages in elementary education and at the local government level like Switzerland. This will not only safeguard people's culture but also help them promote their regional and local identities.

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When did the East-Iranian Quhistāni fortresses become "Ismaili"? New perspectives for a History of Ismailism

Simone Cristoforetti / Matteo Sesana

Abstract

This article questions whether the expression "Ismaili castles" is appropriate to describe the fortifications of the historical region of Quhistān, in Eastern Iran. "Ismaili castle" is a locution largely used among the historiographical studies of Persian Ismailism of the Alamūt period (1090-1256), since it would reflect the strategy of political control experienced by the Ismailis in the territories they ruled. However, this expression derives from the crystallization of a 19th and the 20th century idea in line with identity-based and ideological perspectives circulating among the European scholars. According to this perspective there was a sort of "Ismaili" identity recognizable in all their mountain "castles". The expression is not adequate in terms of historical interpretation, and specifically for reconstruction of the history of medieval Quhistān. We aim to trace back the chain of transmission of the interpretative categories which permitted a widespread use and diffusion of the locution "Ismaili castles", and to analyze its impact among the modern studies on Persian Ismailism. We will then reconsider the role and function of the castles in Quhistān, in light of the preliminary observations we made during a survey conducted in the region. This article contributes to the recent debate on the necessity to free current historiographical approaches from outdated paradigms and to widen the scope of the research to new and unedited sources. To this regard, in our conclusion we propose possible research paths and methods of historical investigation on the medieval history of Iran.

Key words: Ismailis, Ismaili castles, Quhistān, Seljuqs, Mongols, medieval fortifications, medieval history of Iran

> "*Identity*" *we argue, tends to mean too much (when understood in a strong sense), too little (when understood in a weak sense), or nothing at all (because of its sheer ambiguity).*
> (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, 1)

> *Ma soprattutto non vi preoccupate perché più delle cose o delle persone sono importanti le relazioni tra una cosa e l'altra, una persona e un'altra, e tra cose e persone.*
> (Valerio 2020, 6)

Since 2000, in an illuminating article dedicated to the use and sometimes abuse of the concept of "identity", the sociologists Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper wisely alerted us against the uncritical use of words or locutions simply due to their broad diffusion among the scholarship, and even the common people (Brubaker and Cooper 2000).[1] At the beginning of their article, the authors quote *verbatim* a passage by George Orwell, as follows: «The worst thing one can do with words, is to surrender to them». If language is to be «an instrument for expressing and not for concealing or preventing thought», Orwell continued, one must «let the meaning choose the word, and not the other way about» (Orwell 1953: 169–170; *apud* Brubaker and Cooper 2000).

Let the meaning choose the word is our aim, as we take into consideration a widespread locution that one inescapably encounters upon learning about the past political and military activity of the Ismailis, and especially their taking control over and building of a formidable network of strong fortresses, covering an area that encompasses the territories of modern Syria, Iran and Afghanistan. Indeed, the case in point is that of the "Ismaili castles" (or "Assassins' castles"[2]), and more precisely those of the

[1] As for the authorship of this article, pp. 158–182 are by S. Cristoforetti and pp. 182–197 M. Sesana. In the present article, we shall be using two forms of quotation marks. Guillemets («...») report statements, expressions, and terms explicitly quoted from primary sources or from the secondary literature. Curved quotation marks ("...") are used to cite commonly accepted expressions, on whose appropriateness we are going to discuss over the course of the article.

[2] The locution "Assassins' castles" appears in a conspicuous share of 20th century scholarly production on the matter. The preference for this definition rather than "Ismaili castles" could be due to its suggestiveness, directly linking these structures to European historiographical categories and *tropoi* widespread in Medieval Studies, such as the idea of the *castle* as autonomous politic and administrative unity and c as we shall discuss in detail in the course of the article – the myth of the Old Man of the Mountain. For a brief, but very clear account on the development of the legend of the *Old Man of the Mountain* see Daftary 2015a: 15-16.

"remote" historical region of Quhistān, mostly in the Eastern Iranian areas now bordering Afghanistan.[3] Here, we are referring to the Nizari branch of the Ismailism, or the Persian Ismailis of the so-called Alamūt period (1090–1256 CE).

Our intent is not to ascertain *when* most of the Quhistāni fortresses felt under control of the Nizari Ismailis – this point has been already partially clarified, even though we still lack a detailed chronological reconstruction for the major part of the sites[4] –, but rather to reconstruct how those mountain fortifications in Quhistān came to be known as "Ismaili castles" (or "Assassins' castles") *tout court*. A proper understanding of the origins of this label will allow us to avoid some interpretative problems that emerged in casting the trope of the "Ismaili castle" on the complex of fortresses and fortifications scattered in Quhistān.

"Ismaili castles" is a definition widely used in the studies on the matter. If "Ismaili" indicates the Nizari branch of Ismailism, or just the Persian Ismailism, the word "castles" translates the plural form *qilāʿ* of the Persian word *qalʿa*.[5] The term "castle" is lacking and imprecise when applied to the Ismaili network of fortresses and strongholds, and it calls for some discussion. There are two main orders of problems. First, in

[3] The medieval sources place the historical region of Quhistān – an arabicized form of the Persian *Kōhistān*, *i.e.* "the Region of the Mountains" – within the borders of Khurāsān, at the south of the city of Nīshapūr and at the north of the region of Sīstān, including in its boundaries the cities of Bīrjand, Qāʾin Turshīz, Tūn Gunābād, Ṭabas, and Ṭabas-i Masīnān (Kramers 2012). The region encompassed the territories of the two modern Iranian regions of Southern Khorasan, and the meridional portion of Rezavi Khorasan, including the districts of Turbat-i Ḥaydariyya and Turbat-i Jām. It covered also a portion of the area westward Herat in nowadays Afghanistan. The place name Quhistān is no longer used in the current topography, and it defines exclusively the historical region.

[4] The early successful Ismaili uprising in Quhistān dates to the end of Malikhshāh's reign (1072–1092) and the years after he and his powerful minister Niẓām al-Mulk (d. 1092) died. Those were years of political uncertainty in the Seljuq empire, caused by a decade of struggles, first among the two main political factions of the empire, the Niẓāmiyya, headed by Niẓām al-Mulk's family members and entourage, and the supporters of the four-year-old son of Malikhshāh, Maḥmūd, headed by his mother, the powerful widow of Malikshāh Terken Khātūn, and her minister Tāj al-Mulk, and later between the Sultan Barkyārūq, one of the leaders of the Seljuq family, and other members of the family.

[5] In the absence of comprehensive lexicographical analysis of the term *qalʿa,* its significance and usage among the medieval Arabic and Persian sources, – although aware of its inadequacy – we shall render it with the English word "castle", or alternatively "fortress" and "fortification", used as synonymous. We shall return on this in the course of the article.

which manner a "castle" can be qualified as "Ismaili"? In what consists the "Ismailicity" of the various but sometimes imposing defensive structures to which the term "Ismaili castle" is usually applied? Second, more specifically, is the categorization of a certain sort of "castle" as "Ismaili" useful for the study of Quhistāni Ismailism? In other words, even accepting that such a locution is someway suitable (for example, in the case of the Ismaili defensive network in the Sub-Caspian region of Rūdbār), is it helping us to better understand what happened in Quhistān between the 11th and 13th century CE? These are only but a few questions in need of adequate answers before we can reconsider the presence and military activism of a strong Ismaili enclave within the Seljuq empire at the end of the Abbasid age.

What an "Ismaili castle" is and how it differs from other similar defensive structures, has been asked several times. Recently, the need for a more robust definition became apparent. The Institute of Ismaili Studies (IIS) attempted to provide a valid definition of «Ismaili castle» in the section *Nizari Ismaili Concept of Castles* of its official website, listing its key features and structural characteristics. According to the present definition, «Ismaili castles» differ from others – namely from those that Normans and the Crusaders built – in their *position*. «Ismaili castles» are set on «the crown of a great mountain dividing the fortifications up into self-contained sections culminating in a great citadel». The same webpage gives the four main principles that informed the decision to fortify a place or build a new fortress on a pre-existing fortified site:

« 1) The area chosen for fortification must be in a naturally strong defensive position with a terrain sufficiently remote and difficult to approach in order to discourage attack hostile parties; 2) The complex of fortresses within the chosen area must have the ability to support each other in the event of an attack and enable an efficient system of communication to be established, whether by beacon or other means; 3) The chosen area must contain enough material, especially wood and stone, to allow the construction and reconstruction in the case of an existing fortress, to be carried out expeditiously and with a minimal labour force; 4) The terrain should have fertile ground and water nearby to provide adequate water and food supplies. The site chosen must also be sufficiently elevated to prevent undermining of sapping and it must be out of range of mangonel attacks. As a result, the immediate surroundings and approaches of a fortress must be as steep as possible. The fortress areas must also be of sufficient size to allow large underground storage

chambers to be built for water and food and the surface area must be as sloping as possible to allow rainfall to run into the specially constructed water cisterns».[6]

This definition, although comprehensive, is inadequate. All the features described above are not uniquely Ismaili. Instead, many fortresses in Persia, Syria, and even in Afghanistan, Anatolia, and Central Asia share the same features. Indeed, what Ismaili fortifications ought to be and how they differ from others remain vague. In other words, the definition proposed focuses on the fact that the fortifications stood on strategic points at considerable heights for defensive purposes, and, at the same time, they had to be situated near water sources and fertile fields. These assertions are too generic. All of this could be said for most fortresses, regardless of Ismaili control, and for fortresses built before the Alamūt period and occupied by the Ismailis only later. In short, there is no discriminating factor that allows us to distinguish an "Ismaili fortress" from the coeval Seljuq, Khwārazmian or Ghūrid ones. If we narrow it down to the case of Quhistān, the inadequacy of this interpretative frame becomes more evident. On what basis should we apply the definition of "Ismaili castles" to the entire network of castles of that region?

Similar questions have been posed also by a team of archaeologists of the Iranian superintendency. The Iranian archaeologists put forth tentative answers in an article containing the results of the archaeological researches they carried out on «the Ismaili castles of Quhistān». While they recognize that «the Ismaili fortresses are mostly fortresses existing before the Ismailis' emergence, or bought by them», they point to the fortresses' strong defensible position and the facility of communicating with other fortifications as the key feature of the Ismaili network of fortresses (Surūsh and Naṣrābādī 1386/ 2007–2008: 114–115). The Iranian experts identified 37 «Ismaili fortresses» in Southern Khorasan according to four criteria: position, construction materials, architectural style, and textual proofs. Regrettably, they do not provide an explicit definition of what they understand as «Ismaili construction materials and architectural style». Textual proofs are very scant of information about the matter,

[6] "Nizari Ismaili Concept of Castles | The Institute of Ismaili Studies," https://iis.ac.uk/library/nizari-ismaili-concept-castles (accessed February 16, 2020). The definition is clearly based to what Peter Willey reports in his work *Eagle's Nest*. It seems that the redactors of the webpage – albeit not explicitly – are quoting from Peter Willey's considerations about «the cardinal principle that governed the construction of all the Ismaili castles» (Willey 2005: 95–7).

which leaves us once again with the sole *position* criterion, «Ismaili fortresses are located on the summit of the mountains in order to be better protected by the enemies and they are constructed in the vicinity of natural water sources like springs or streams» (Surūsh and Naṣrābādī 1386/ 2007–2008: 115). These generic characteristics are due to strategic and military concerns. As such, position is in no way useful to ascertain the "identity" of any castle. However, this archaeological study rightly underlines the important relationship of the most relevant fortresses in the region with main routes and cities in their surroundings. This was the case of Muʾminābād and Gurask fortresses, that controlled the routes and the area of Ṭabas-i Masīnān. Hawz-i Ghulāmkush fortress controlled the city of Bīrjand. Shāhdizh is a fortress situated few kilometers far from the urban center of Nihbandān, the ancient Nih. Rustam fortress overlooked the small city of Khūsf. These are only a few examples among many more. We will come back later to the implications of these crucial yet overlooked relationships between fortresses, routes and cities. In the face of these difficulties we are inclined to ask ourselves: is the definition of "Ismaili castles" necessary? And more importantly, does it help our understanding of the history of Quhistān?

We shall argue that the notion of "Ismaili castle" is misleading. To do so, we must reconsider when the locutions "Ismaili castles" and "Assassins' castles" appeared in the modern scholarship, and how they became category labels applied to all the remains of medieval mountain fortifications of Quhistān.

The emergence of the "Ismaili castles"

The first ideas circulating in Europe about the Ismailis date back to the Crusade period, and identified the Nizaris as members of a sectarian movement (Daftary 2015a: 14–15). The Ismailis were held to be ruthless killers hidden in the mountains and willing to commit political murders under the effect of drugs to overthrow the established government (Ar. *ḥashishiyyīn,* from which the appellation "Assassins"). These legends culminated in a synthesis popularized by Marco Polo (d. 1324). The Venetian traveller, in the section dedicated to the Persian region of *Timochaim* – or *Tunocain* in the Tuscan version, *i.e.* Tūn and Qāʾin, two main centers of medieval Quhistān – describes the land as thick with castles and cities, and proceeds narrating the novel of the *Old Man of the Mountain*, his impregnable castle and his loyal followers (Ramusio 2015:

R, I, 20–21). This version of the Assassins' legend, – whose authenticity is doubtful[7] – by the 14th and 15th century became accepted as a reliable description of the sect of the Nizaris.

Similar notions would last until the 19th century when the French orientalist Silvestre de Sacy (1758–1838) correctly identified the Ismailis as a Shiite community. However, in terms of historical narrative, he relied mostly on hostile Sunni traditions and prior myths. It was in this context that the Austrian orientalist Joseph Von Hammer-Purstgall (1774–1856) addressed the subject. In his *Die Geschichte der Assassinen* published in 1818, which is the earliest Western book dedicated to the Nizaris of the Alamut period, Von Hammer-Purstgall conferred undue importance to the legend of the *Old Man of the Mountain* and gave credence to the medieval legends on the fanatic and bloodthirsty nature of the Ismailis. Von Hammer-Purstgall's work was to inform later studies on the Ismailis until the Thirties of the 20th century (Daftary, 2012).

Wladimir Ivanow (1886–1970) takes the credit for his enormous effort to lead the studies on Ismailism within a proper historical framework through the study and the edition of Ismaili primary sources (Ivanow 1922). His results led the way for the tangible results of historical synthesis of Marshall Hodgson (1922–1968) (Hodgson 1955). Largely thanks to Ivanow and Hodgson, we dispose of an excellent reconstruction of some crucial phases of the development of Ismaili thought and doctrine, and of an historical reconstruction of some phases of Ismaili history, marked by political and military activism, although significant shortcomings remain. Hodgson's work was continued by brilliant scholars like Samuel Stern (1920–1969) and Louis Massignon (1883–1962), who both contributed to a deeper knowledge in the fields of religious thought and early propaganda of the Ismailis, and in more recent times by the leading scholar Farhad Daftary (see, for instance, Daftary 2007).

By contrast, much less attention has been reserved to archaeological sites and material culture. This is painfully true for the great number of fortifications commonly attributed to the Ismailis

[7] As Daftary (2015a: 16) pointed out: «Strangely, it did not occur to any European observer that Marco Polo may have actually heard the tales in Italy after returning to Venice in 1295 from his journey to the East – tales that were by then widespread in Europe – not to mention the possibility that the Assassin legends found in Marco Polos's travelogue may have been entirely inserted, as a digressionary note, by Rustichello of Pisa, the Italian romance writer who was actually responsible for committing the account of Marco Polo's travels to writing».

scattered on the Iranian Plateau. Archaeological remains could yield crucial information on the construction technologies and architecture of the Ismailis, and, more importantly, on their relationship with the territory they controlled. Indeed, as Hodgson argued, only a deeper reconstruction of the social and economic history of Seljuq times will allow to understand the role played by the Ismailis in their context (Hodgson 1955: 28–29). This is not to say that the field is completely lacking. We have the travelogue of Freya Stark who visited the Alamūt Valley in 1930 describing the fortresses of the region, and Wladimir Ivanow's archaeological survey on Alamūt and Lamasar, published in 1960 and followed by Samuel Stern's description of the fortress of Khān Lanjān (Stark 1934; Stern, Beazley and Dobson, 1971: 45–57). Moreover, significant studies were conducted by the German archaeologist Wolfram Kleiss (b. 1930) and by the independent researcher Peter Willey (1923–2009) through various reports on the medieval fortresses of Alamūt Valley, Qūmis and Quhistān.

In sum, we have considerable scholarship on the Iranian Ismailism in the Alamūt Valley, focusing mainly on the Ismaili thought and doctrine, but, regrettably, little attention has been paid to the Quhistāni Ismailism and its rise and fall in Eastern Iran. In fact, we still not have an adequate historical reconstruction of the history of this region between the end of 11th and the second half of the 13th century. This is in spite of the fact that primary sources report Ismaili missionaries in Khurāsān in the 9th century CE and speak of Quhistān as an important center of Nizari Ismailism under the leadership of Ḥusayn Qāʾinī (since 1091–1092 CE).[8] It is not by

[8] Even though the region was at the center of significant political and historical events such as the «Iranian upheavals» (Scarcia Amoretti 1975) during Early-Islamic times, and the appearance of the Khārijī movement of Ḥamza ibn Ādharak at the end of the 8th and the beginning of the 9th century, Quhistān is more often associated with the presence, from the 11th to the end of the 13th century, of the Ismaili communities and the so-called «Ismaili independent territorial State» (Daftary 2015b: 48). Indeed, Quhistān represented, after the region of Rūdbār, the most important center of Nizari Ismailism in the Iranian Plateau (Daftary 2015b: 48–49). In its territories, there is a remarkable large amount of fortifications, which since the first studies regarding the region, have been commonly considered to be part of the «Ismaili network of castles» (Willey 2005: 189). The region of Quhistān is incredibly thick with mountain fortresses, and this contributed to strengthen the conviction that it was the perfect habitat for heresies and, in the present case, for the Ismailis, due to the multitude of mountain ranges and peaks and its remoteness from the center of the Abbasid caliphate, «for this reason the Ismailis were often called *al-malāḥida al-qūhiyya* [*i.e.* "the heretics of the mountains"]» (Kramers 2012).

random chance that the Ismaili presence and the power over Quhistān lasted until the Mongols invasions of Iran and in some cases even later. This neglect of Quhistāni Ismailism stands in stark contrast with the impressive amount of archaeological evidences available, largely datable to this period of Eastern Iranian history. The only comprehensive studies on this region in relation to the Ismailis, are focused on their *modus gubernandi* over the territory, forcibly insisting – as we shall see – on a regional military and political control based on the extensive network of mountain "Ismaili" fortresses spread all over Quhistān.

It is beyond doubt that the numerous and, in some cases, imposing ruins of mountain fortresses we see today were in use at the time of the Ismailis, and, in some cases, they were much older fortifications renovated by the Ismailis. However, we argue that the association between "castles" and Ismailis is not based on reliable textual and archaeological data. Instead, it appears to be derived from the crystallization of an idea conceived in the 19th century. The studies produced during the 19th century and in the early 20th century have recognized an Ismaili "identity" for the totality of the Quhistāni castles. The same studies inferred from this the existence of an «Ismaili state» based on the control of strongholds and fortifications (Daftary 2015b: 48–50). As we said, this approach was largely due to 19th century historiographical studies on the Ismailis and to the importance given to the legend of the *Old Man of the Mountain* living in a well-fortified mountain castle. This legend would resonate among the scholars until the first half of the 20th century. It was only after the second half of the 20th century following Hodgson's work that these mythical elements were purged from the reconstruction of the history of the Ismailis. However, the assumption of a link between the Ismailis and their "castles", at least for the case of Quhistān, has not been adequately challenged.

The notion of Ismaili castles is shaky or, at the very least, ill-defined. Nevertheless, it has enjoyed widespread use in modern scholarship. It is useful to see how some of the most significant studies on Ismaili Quhistān adopted this category, and how they were shaped by it.

The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate by Guy Le Strange, published in 1905, is one of the earliest modern academic work proposing an historical reconstruction of the Ismailis of Quhistān. The brilliant British Orientalist Guy Le Strange (1854–1933) spearheaded the scholarly effort to reconstruct the medieval geography of the Islamic Middle East. In his highly valuable work, he drew the geography of the Abbasid Caliphate as

it appears from Arabic and Persian geographical sources. In this book, he presents all information derived from Arab, Persian, and Turkish geographers, travelers, and historians from the 9th to the 17th century, reporting data about routes, lands, cities, and villages as well as trades, manufactures, and agriculture of the regions of the Caliphate, from Anatolia to Western Afghanistan. In the chapter XXV, Le Strange describes the historical geography of Quhistān. The author lists the cities of the region, and records relevant historical information for each of these.

In terms of historical reconstruction, Le Strange affirms that the region between the 11th and the second half of the 13th was the theatre of a struggle between the Ismailis and the central ruling powers occupying the region, namely Seljuqs, Khwārazmshāhs and Mongols. Le Strange stresses the Ismaili power over Quhistān in connection to fortresses and strongholds (Le Strange 1906: 354). At this regard, it should be remembered that Le Strange was writing in a scholarly context that was still strongly anchored to a picture of the Ismailis distorted by medieval legends and mythical tales. Le Strange bases his considerations on older studies on Ismailism that focused on the Nizaris' apogee in the Alamūt Valley. It was in fact in Alamūt that «Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ surnamed the Old Man of the Mountain» came into possession of several impregnable fortresses (Le Strange 1906: 221). These perspectives led Le Strange to postulate that was the case also in Quhistān. The Ismaili capillary control over the region was due to «the Old Man of the Mountain, who conquered strongholds and erected fortresses to overawe Kūhistān» (Le Strange 1906: 354). The British historian read the medieval sources on this basis, and over-emphasized the importance of the castles among the Ismailis in Quhistān. Le Strange in fact, recognized an Ismaili *identity* in the fortifications of region, applying the category "Ismaili castles" to all mountain fortifications of Quhistān, even where an association of the fortresses with the Ismailis is not openly stated by primary sources.[9] Le

[9] For instance, while describing the historical geography of the city and district of Turshīz, Le Strange (1906: 354) cites a passage from Mustawfī's *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (1336/1958: 175). The medieval Persian historian reports the presence of several fortifications in the outskirts of Turshīz, including Qalʿa-yi Bardārūd, Qalʿa-yi Mīkāl, Qalʿa-yi Mujāhidābād and Qalʿa-yi Ātashgāh. Le Strange argues that the "castles" in question «doubtless had been those of the Ismailians». However, since in Mustawfī's work there is no evidence associating these "castles" with the Ismailis, this identification can only be a conjecture by Le Strange; cf. Le Strange's translation of *Nuzhat al-qulūb* (Mustawfī 1919: 142), «In the Turshīz district there are many strong castles (that belonged to the Assassins) as for instance these four the Castle of Bardā Rūd, the Castle

Strange's assumptions contributed to forge the idea – then amply systematized by subsequent studies – that, in Quhistān as in the Alamūt Valley, the Ismailis followed a distinctive pattern of control of the territory, conducted through a network of strongly fortified mountain castles.

Finally, Le Strange establishes a direct relationship between medieval Nizaris and the contemporary Ismaili communities in Quhistān: «the representative of the Old Man of the Mountain, at the present time is Āgā Khān, chief of the Khūjah community in Bombay and» – he continues – «it is curious to find that some of the Ismailian sect still linger in Quhistān, who now pay their tithes to Āgā Khān, as their predecessor did with the chief of Alamūt. At the village of Sidih, to the south of Qāʾin, Major Sykes found nearly a thousand of families of these Ismailians, who yearly transmitted a considerable sum to their religious head in India» (Le Strange 1906: 355, n. 1). Le Strange relies here on Major Percy Sykes' overview of Quhistān and, in particular, of the village of Sidih, that the British diplomat described in his travelogue entitled *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia.* Sykes published his travelogue in 1902, after years of observation and travels in Iran and Central Asia since 1893.

Major Sykes gives a very detailed travel record of the lands and cities of Sīstān and Quhistān where he travelled in the summer of 1900. After having visited the city of Qāʾin and having described the fortress of Qalʿa-yi Kūh – without mentioning any association with the Ismailis – he focuses on the description of his visit to the small village of Sidih, located between Qāʾin and Bīrjand, where he met the Ismaili chief of the village, a young man named Murād Mīrzā. The latter told Sykes how many Ismaili families lived in the area and talked him about the relationship of the Quhistāni Ismaili community with the Āqā (Āgā) Khān in India (Sykes 1902: 409).[10]

Le Strange, combined the data concerning the Ismaili presence in the region collected by Sykes with the historical sources he read through the lens of a 19th historiographic perspective (*i.e.* resorting to a well-

of Mīkāl, the Castle of Mujāhidābād and Ātashgāh (The Fire-temple)».

[10] This information is reported also by Wladimir Ivanow in his *Ismailitica* (1922: 52), «At the present time the sectarians [*i.e.* the contemporary Ismailis] live in many villages in north-west from Birjand, although it is strictly disguise. They are more open only in Sedeh, a village on the Meshed-Sistan road, half way between Qain and Birjand, where their headman, the tax collector lives»; at this regard, he adds in the footnote 8, «At the present time [the tax collector] is a certain Murād Mīrzā, a clever and practical man».

established narratological frame into which he embedded the scattered information he extracted from the sources). In doing so, he could underline the importance of the connection between the Ismailis and Quhistān, and to see the castles as the most significant clues of the Ismaili apogee in the region between 11th and 13th century. In all likelihood both the (European) legend of the *Old Man of the Mountain* and the outmost importance of the "castle" in the European medieval history played a role in Le Strange's reconstruction of the history of the Quhistāni Ismailism.

Between February 1923 and October 1925, the German archaeologist Ernst Herzfeld (1879–1948) embarked on a research journey to Iran with a quite similar perspective in mind. In 1926, he published a travel report titled *Reisebericht*, where he provides a detailed description of the archaeological remains of Persia he visited from Kurdistān to Khurāsān (Herzfeld 1926: 225). Between March and May 1925, the German scholar stayed in Quhistān. He was perhaps inspired by the reading of Sykes' travelogue and Le Strange's work, when he surveyed the main cities of Qāʾin and Bīrjand and in the village of Sidih, this latter cited by both the prior studies.[11] In Sidih, Herzfeld met the Ismaili chief of the village, and asked him some questions about the history of the local community. The headman explained to Herzfeld that the region abounded of "Ismaili castles", which were in ruin at that time. Then, the German orientalist visited in person four of these fortresses and reports their names: Ferizdūn, around the village of Durukhsh, Qalʾa-yi Dukhtar on Kūh-i Arg in Sunnīkhāna (*i.e.* on the outskirts of Ṭabas-i Masīnān), Sarāb three *farsakh* far from Sidih, and Qalʿa-yi Kūh-i Abāzar in Qāʾin. Wherefore, Herzfeld relied on prior studies and direct oral sources, arguing that the ruins of the mountain fortresses of Quhistān were actually remains of "Ismaili castles". Herzfeld noticed the poor state of conservation of these fortresses, and aptly notes that only a comparative study between Alamūt and Quhistān may lead to tangible achievements in piecing together the history of Ismailism of the region (Herzfeld 1926:

[11] Herzfeld's research journey was preceded by Ivanow's visit in Quhistān in 1920. Ivanow visited Qāʾin and Bīrjand in September 1920 with the object of conducting a research on the contemporary Ismaili communities. While describing the Ismaili villages of the area, he adds a brief historical note, «This corner of Iran [*i.e.* Quhistān], situated off the trading roads, was till quite recently the scene of a very patriarchal and old-fashoned life. Still more was the case in the middle ages, and no wonder that the *Ismaili castles* which appeared as early as XI c. A.D. could flourish practically unmolested till the troops of Hulagu Khan in the second half of the XIII c. destroyed many of them» (the italics is ours; Ivanow 1922: 52–52).

273–274). Herzfeld's warning showed the only way forward towards a proper historical analysis of the Ismailis of Quhistān. Nevertheless, what followed has not been a comparative analysis of the two regional realities, but rather a *sic et simpliciter* application to Quhistān of an outdated interpretative frame mostly based on what historians knew of the Ismaili presence in Rūdbār and in the Alamūt region. This interpretative frame – on which nature we will return soon – informed most of the historical interpretations of the Ismaili phenomenon available today; we shall call it *Alamūt paradigm*.

Starting from the Sixties of the 20th century, some archaeological surveys have been conducted on the "Ismaili castles" of Eastern Iran. The aforementioned German archaeologist Wolfram Kleiss produced one of the first studies on the matter (Kleiss 1969: 72–77). Since his first researches, Kleiss tended to believe that the «Assassin influence» covered an extremely large territory within Persian borders extending from Azerbaijan to Sistan. According to the scholar – and this was obvious enough at this stage of the studies – Ismaili power projected from a network of mountain fortresses dislocated all over the country (Kleiss 1994: 315–321). However, Kleiss dated the great number of fortresses scattered in this area only according to architectural features and pottery findings, both datable to the Seljuq period, between the 11th and 13th century (Kleiss 1994: 318). With welcome clarity, Kleiss discusses the «striking feature of all the Assassin castles». First of all, the natural features on which the castle is located have to be well incorporated in its defensive structure; secondly the fortification must be equipped with water cisterns in order to resist a siege; thirdly, the presence of barracks complex made the castle impregnable (Kleiss 1990). In the cases of two Quhistāni fortresses of Qalʿa-yi Kūh in Qāʾin and Qalʿa-yi Muʾminābād in the district of Ṭabas-i Masīnān, Kleiss recognized such similar features (Kleiss 1977: 44–49). Kleiss' criteria do not differ significantly from those proposed by the Institute of Ismaili Studies, discussed earlier, that in turn rely on Peter Willey's definition of «Ismaili castle» (Willey 2005: 95). In light of the general agreement between Kleiss, The Institute of Ismaili Studies, and Willey, it seems likely that Willey drew from Kleiss and expanded Kleiss' discriminating factors to construct a conclusive definition of «Ismaili castle».

To his credit, Kleiss earnestly admits that the precise identification of the «Ismaili fortresses» remains problematic. As he points out, we do not have textual sources that allow us to identify any single castle as

Ismaili (Kleiss 1994: 318). With regard to Quhistān in particular, except for few cases like the fortress of Muʾminābād in the outskirts of Ṭabas-i Masīnān and the Shāhinshāhī (or Shāhdizh) fortress in Nihbandān, whose association with the Ismailis is reported by the sources, the data emerging from the texts is all too scant. Therefore, in the absence of sufficient archaeological data, the identification of these fortresses as "Ismaili castles" can only be hypothetical.

Between 1970 and 1974 a team of Japanese researchers headed by Minobu Honda from Hokkaido University, led three expeditions to Alamūt and Quhistān, investigating the fortresses of the Seljuq period. In 1972 Honda produced a handwritten report concerning the results of his first two expeditions in Iran (1970 and 1972), entitled *Report on the Study of Ismaili Castles*. Unfortunately, the unpublished report was lost soon after Honda passed away in 1999. Honda's expeditions produced other materials as well: a large photographic collection, short reports, Honda's observations, all of which is now in possession of one of his collaborators, Seiichi Kitagawa, who is gradually making them available online.[12]

The most substantial published studies on the «Ismaili castles» of Quhistān are those conducted by Peter Willey. From 1959 to 2000 he undertook several small-scale expeditions and surveys to Iran to investigate on the «Ismaili network of fortresses», producing several articles and books. In 2005, Willey published *The Eagle's Nest*, a compendium of years of work. In his *Introduction* to this book, Willey says that he started his researches after reading Freya Stark's *The Valleys of The Assassins* and having met Dr. Samuel Stern, who encouraged him to study the «Ismaili castles» in the Alamūt Valley (Willey 2005: *preface* xx). Here, during the first expeditions conducted between 1959 and 1963, he was able to identify the exact location of the castle of Maymūndizh, and subsequently published his first book *The Castles of the Assassins* (Willey 1963). From 1963 to 1979, Willey focused on the Iranian regions of Qūmis and Quhistān, looking for «undiscovered Ismaili castles» (Willey 2005: *preface* xxi). A further expedition in Quhistān was conducted in 1997 during which, as Willey himself claims, notable results were achieved (Willey 1998; 2005: *preface* xxii). According to Willey, the network of the "Ismaili fortresses" counted over 250 strongholds located

[12] We would like to thank Seiichi Kitagawa for this precious information, and for his efforts to publish Honda's extant materials. A compendium of Honda's photographic collection is now available on Seiichi Kitagawa's website https://jami7-al-tawarikh8.webnode.jp/.

between Syria and Khurāsān, and Quhistān had the highest concentration of «Ismailis castles» (Willey 2005: 168). Consequently, he assumed that the region must have played a crucial role in the «Ismaili state» (Willey 2005: *preface* xxiv). It must be said that Willey detected several misstatements in older studies. Notably, he found that the some of the information collected by Herzfeld was inaccurate, and states that the real number of the fortifications in Quhistān had been underestimated, leading to the general assumption that the «Ismaili state» consisted of Alamūt and a few other castles in Quhistān and elsewhere in Iran (Willey 1967: 156–162). In the report of his last expedition in 1997, he affirms that he identified forty new «Ismaili castles» in the region, eight of which located in the outskirts of Qāʾin (Willey 2005: *preface* xxii).

However, Willey's researches are not devoid of significant shortcomings and methodological weaknesses. Willey, on the basis of the prior scholarly literature, not only accepted the category of «Ismaili castles», but even he conducted his researches presuming that the entire amount of Seljuq and Mongol fortresses of Quhistān were "Ismaili". Furthermore, Willey does not base his claims on archaeological excavations or actual textual proof. Rather he relies on personal observations. Willey's discriminating features of an "Ismaili castle", appear vague and, again, they are applicable to other periods and actors of Iranian history (Willey 2005: 95–97). In short, many of Willey's findings are arbitrary and they can only amount – at least for a considerable number of the fortifications in Quhistān – to unproven hypotheses, however promising they may be. On the one hand, Willey's researches showed that the region was very well fortified, «apart from the great fortresses, there are a very large number of smaller forts and military outposts» (Willey 2005: 168), but, on the other hand, the relationship between fortifications and Ismailis remains foggy.

The studies of Peter Willey – and specifically his last book, *The Eagle's Nest* – are the most recent researches on Quhistāni castles and are the reference work in the field. Willey's work stands at the end of a chain of transmission of the idea of the "Ismailicity" of the Quhistāni castles. This idea – firstly developed by Le Strange and later detailed throughout the 20th century – resulted in a fossilization in scholarly understanding of the Ismaili phenomenon in Quhistān.

Increasingly, scholars at large gave an historical, almost substantial, not due reality to the *idea* of the "Ismaili castles". They often misused this locution, to the extent that every castle of Quhistān has come

to labeled as "Ismaili". All in all, the widely-believed connection between mountain castles and Ismailism relies only on the reception of prior studies, superficial direct observations, local informers, and arbitrary interpretations of textual passages. As a consequence of its wide diffusion, mostly due to Willey's works, the category of "Ismaili castles" took hold, and became the key for the interpretation and reconstruction of the entire history of Nizari Ismailism between the 11th and 13th century. This is not to deny that a significant number of castles have been controlled by the Ismailis, but rather to question the seamless identification of each and every mountain castle as "Ismaili" and the categories that led to it. The aim is to lay the ground for new research endeavors that will look at the evidence with fresh eyes.

An *Alamūt paradigm*?

Currently, scholarship holds that the so-called "Ismaili State" was founded by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ in the Sub-Caspian region of Rūdbār, and spread by the Ismailis propagandists and missionaries first to Quhistān and later to other regions of the Iranian Plateau (Daftary 2015b: 41–57). The existence of an Ismailis state in a mountain region such as Rūdbār, strengthened the idea that there was a sort of Ismaili model of government and military expansion, connected with a network of mountain fortresses (Daftary 2015b: 50). All too easily, this led scholars to postulate a direct and fixed association between the castles and the Ismailism. The idea that there was a standard model of territorial control through the "Ismaili castles", resulted in an historical reconstruction that inevitably over-estimated the importance of these structures and the link between Ismaili political and military activism and mountain regions.

However, this *Alamūt paradigm* does not account for the crucial variance between different regions of the vast Iranian Plateau, such as their geophysical profile and climate. In the case in point, the stark differences between Rūdbār and Quhistān hardly entail comparable models of anthropization and exploitation of the territory. It is simply wrong to apply a standard interpretative model, namely the *Alamūt paradigm*, to the analysis of the history of both regions. A single element – the mountain castle – does not constitute evidence of a *modus gubernandi* peculiar to the Ismailis. Any implicit comparison of Quhistān to the Rūdbār region that fails to take into account climatic and geophysical features leads to a fundamental misunderstanding of how the

interrelation between the human beings and their environment actually worked (an interrelation, whose importance is well stressed by Chiara Valerio's words, 2020: 6).

Generally speaking, scholars of medieval Iran often overlooked urban conglomerates and their interrelation with rural areas. With regard to the Eastern Iranian lands, and, in particular, Khurāsān, consistent attempts in this direction have been made by Richard Bulliet in his studies on the city of Nīshābūr (Bulliet 1972). More recently, Arezou Azad proposed an historical reconstruction of the urban space of the city through an innovative analysis of the Persian local story *Faḍā'il-i Balkh* (Azad 2013). But, then again, most regions of the Iranian Plateau still await a comprehensive study of urban settlements and their surroundings.

Recently, the preeminent scholar Jürgen Paul published his translation of Jean Aubin's article titled *Elements for the Study of Urban Agglomerations in Medieval Iran*, written by the French historian and presented at the conference on the *Islamic City* held in Oxford in 1965 (Paul 2018). As Jürgen Paul himself claims in his introduction, the reason that has prompted him to translate in English Jean Aubin's study is that, «it hasn't had the impact it deserves, and in spite of all progress achieved over the intervening half century, many of the questions it raises still seek full answers» (Paul 2018: 21).

In his study, Aubin attempts to provide innovative methodological elements in order to comprehend in depth the characteristics of the conurbation of medieval Iran, avoiding prejudices and the idea of a standard model of Islamic city. Indeed, as he notes, an important aspect which has been neglected by the historians for too long is the relation between the urban and the rural sphere, beyond simplistic descriptions of the city as an agglomeration surrounded by fields and irrigated gardens. The hinterland usually recognized as vital for the subsistence of the entire city, it is overlooked in most studies. Moreover, historiographical sources often feed historians with a narrative reflecting the point of view of the court and its ruling elite. In primary sources the city is merely the backdrop of the narration and it does not have agency. The same applies to the countryside. Scant information emerges from the sources about the role of the hinterlands and this reflects in the little interest that modern historians have in it.

Obvious enough, Aubin's method is especially valid when we look at Quhistān. Yet, it did not enjoy the widespread application one would expect. To date, studies on rural lands and the cities are still informed by a

sort of separation between the rural and the urban sphere. This (frankly untenable) separation of the urban and the rural is intimately linked with the current understanding of the political settings of the Seljuq age. The complex relationship between the Seljuqs and the Ismailis that emerges from the sources is simplified, and to some extent polarized into two main systems of territorial control: the Seljuq central power, equipped with a court and an urban-type administrative system, exercised power over the main cities, commercial centers, and routes, while the Ismailis, whose power is acritically associated with the network of fortresses located outside urban spaces, controlled the hinterlands, and exercised control over the principle routes in the plains from their strongholds, gaining their proceeds from the predation of passing caravans.

This reconstruction does not appear to be entirely exhaustive in light of multiple medieval accounts of consistent Ismaili presence in the main urban centers of Quhistān. We will return later on this. For now, it will suffice to note that the relationship between Ismailis and cities attested by primary sources, has been reported by the modern historians as a mere historiographical data. This led them to de-emphasize the role of Nizari activism in the urban agglomerations of the region, which were, and still are, usually found in the plains that lay at the foot of the mountain hills. Available scholarship does not account satisfactorily for the role played by Quhistāni cities where Ismailis often lived and by those rural areas that were by necessity connected to the network of fortresses during Seljuq and post-Seljuq times.

As Aubin taught us, before analyzing the social and urban history of the Iranian lands, one must question the phenomenon of urbanization, the reasons for its formation, how an urban agglomeration originates, the factors which contributes to its transformation and, accordingly, investigate why urbanization stopped and receded. On the wake of what has been affirmed by the French scholar, three factors are at play in the rise and the decline of urban phenomena. First, the geographical factor: different geographical and climate characteristics call for different systems of social organization. Second, the economic factor: for instance, the development or the loss of importance of a commercial artery at which a city is located, determines its growth or its decline. Third, the political factor: the prestige of an urban formation or its loss of strategic importance, can be determined by political decisions of the ruling class (Paul 2018: 32–33). It goes without saying that each of the three factors can have a stronger or weaker influence on urbanization processes at any

given moment. What is crucial here, is how different their outcomes in terms of urban and social configurations can be, even when comparing conurbations in neighboring provinces and regions.

Building on Aubin's discourse, it could be argued that not only the categorization of «Islamic city» is unsound, but that it is just wrong to assume that there is a standard pattern valid for all the cities of the Iranian Plateau.

While Aubin himself does not go this far, his model should also apply to rural areas in symbiotic relationship with the cities (*i.e.* the hinterland). This means that we need to take into account the same three factors that shape urbanization processes, and drop the unproductive idea of a standard "Iranian" or "Islamic" model applicable to regions with different geophysical profiles and climates.

In the present case, it is misleading to apply the *Alamūt paradigm* and assume natural resource management and the means of livelihood of the Quhistāni fortresses were the same of those in Rūdbār region. The significant geographical and climatic differences imply different systems of agricultural production, water management, and food and water supply networks. The same goes for the economy. The mountain region of Rūdbār is characterized by a lack of significant urban centers and important commercial routes – in fact, the crucial trading road of Rayy-Hamadān passed through the city of Qazwīn, located in the plain, which was, notoriously, in perpetual struggle against the Nizaris of Alamūt. On the contrary, Quhistāni fortresses are often located in the proximity of the several urban centers in the plains. These cities, which in some cases were quite populous as it is the case of Qāʾin, Tūn and Turshīz, were crossed by important caravan routes linking some of the major world trading hubs of the 12th and 13th centuries, as the Nīshābūr-Hirāt road, the Nīshābūr-Nih-Sīstān, the Nīshābūr-Ṭabas-Yazd and the Nīshābūr-Ṭabas-Kīrmān routes (Cornu 1985: 144–156, tables vi, xvi, xvii; Krawulsky 1978: 123–133).

Even from a political perspective, there is a crucial difference between Rūdbār and Quhistān. The Alamūt Valley was the headquarters of the Ismaili power in Persia, while Quhistān remained subordinate to it at least until the second half of the 13th century, when the army of Hülagü Khān invaded Iran and destroyed the fortresses of Alamūt (654/1257). Quhistān survived the destructions and for several years offered effective resistance to the Mongols during the first Ilkhanid age, by creating alliances with Mongol forces and finding support in local rulers (Dashdondog 2020: 314; May 2004: 233).

To sum up, modern historians have conceptualized the existence of an essentially Ismaili model of politico-territorial administration founded by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ and put in place in Alamūt. This model relied on a network of mountain strongholds, from where the Ismailis lunched raids against and enemies and committed political murders with the objective of destabilizing the precarious dynastic equilibria within the Seljuq central administration.[13] Scholars commonly accept that the political project of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ consisted in sending missionaries (*dāʿī*s) to areas outside the Rūdbār region, namely Quhistān and Iṣfahān, in order to spread the doctrine, and disseminate the Ismaili model of political and territorial control, as well as the Ismaili methods of political struggle against the Seljuqs, he had already deployed in the establishing of the Alamūt enclave (Daftary 2007: 313–319). This model of administration constitutes the *Alamūt paradigm*.

The uncritical application of the *Alamūt paradigm* beyond Rūdbār and specifically to Quhistān has led to the identification of most if not all Quhistāni fortresses as Ismaili. This happened in spite of lack both of a sound definition of what makes any fortress Ismaili and material or textual proof for case by case identifications. Overall, the success enjoyed by the *Alamūt paradigm* meant that the otherwise self-evident differences between Rūdbār and Quhistān were grossly overlooked. To put it briefly, scholarship on Quhistāni Ismailism is plagued by a fundamental anageographism, a sort of geographical anachronism. The failure to account for Quhistān's specificities impaired the efforts to reconstruct the history of Ismailism in this region. For instance, it prevents historians to answer why Ismaili resistance here was relatively longer-lived than in Rūdbār.

What we propose is an analysis of available archaeological and textual sources that casts aside any *identitary* and *ideological* perspective stressing opposing religious affiliation as the bedrock of opposing systems of territory occupation and modalities of social-economic organization – the Ismailis in the mountain castles and the urban Sunnis of the plain (Hodgson 1955: 79–80). Instead, our polestar is the interpretation of social and economic data in light of the environment in which the castles are placed, the natural resources at their disposal, and the interrelation between urban and rural landscapes. This approach accounts for the fact

[13] As Daftary (2015b: 50) points out, «The Ismailis strategy was based on the seizure of a host of strongholds from where a multiplicity of simultaneous rising could be launched throughout the Seljuq realm to overwhelm the existing decentralized order from within».

that each geographic and climatic condition calls for specific modes of territory exploitation, water and food supplies systems, and concurs in how human societies devise their different economic, social and political structures.

Contrary to what its name may suggest, Quhistān is not a region of impervious mountain ranges. Its territory is a vast alluvial desert plain, interrupted by mountain ranges of medium altitude, and dotted with isolated mountain hills with slopes softened by natural erosion. The climate is generally arid and the precipitations are significantly scarce throughout the year (Fisher 1968: 73–76). Quhistān has no significant watercourses with a stable annual flow rate, and the water supply is mostly through a complex system of artificial underground channels (*qanāt/kārīz*) and occasionally by natural spring of modest flow. According to the records of medieval geographers in pre- and post-Seljuq times, the region was quite populous, with several small and medium size urban agglomerations, as well as sizeable centers of strategic importance, such as the already mentioned Turshīz, Tūn, Qāʾin, and Bīrjand. For these reasons, Quhistān has little in common with Rūdbār and the Alamūt Valley, in particular for what concerns agricultural production. Rūdbār is a mountainous region located in the Sub-Caspian region, comprising several narrow valleys between high mountain ranges in the core of the Alburz mountain range (Fisher 1968: 38). The region is rich in springs, streams and stable watercourses and it is crossed by the second largest river of the country, the Sifīdrūd. This latter originates in the North-western Alburz, it runs for 650 km and enters in the Caspian Sea on north-east of Rasht, draining the waters of several tributaries, including the Qizil Uzan and the Shāhrūd rivers. The Shāhrūd rises from the Takht-i Sulaymān Massif, in the Eastern Alburz mountain and one of its tributaries is the Alamūt river, which gives the name to the valley where it is located the famous castle of Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ (Fisher 1968: 42–44). The valley has a relatively high annual precipitation, with sparse rainfalls in spring and autumn, that turn frequent in winter (Ganji 1968: 227). Similar climatic conditions – peculiar of the entire Rūdbār – favour even rice cultivation, which is typical of well-watered alluvial slopes and riverside areas, as well other cereals like millet, wheat, barley which are proper of dry lands and are grown on the piedmont unirrigated terraces.[14] In terms of water and food

[14] Fisher (1968: 41–42) affirms «In common with most of the central and Western Caspian plain, the abundance and luxuriance of natural vegetation as compared with the rest of Iran are a most striking features»; see also Volk 1963: 317.

supply, Rūdbār was a somehow self-sustaining region, since available water allowed for a double type of cropping, practiced in the immediate proximity of castles or even at their slopes. In addition, the geographical and geological features of Rūdbār – high mountain ranges, rugged peaks and narrow valleys protected by fortresses – served as natural barriers, contributing to the region's political self-sufficiency.[15]

Quhistān is quite different. Agriculture in Quhistān depends almost entirely on sophisticated systems of water canalization, the *qanāt* (or *kārīz*), which draw water from a "mother well", usually located on the upslope of a range of mountains or hills, and brings it to villages, towns and cities in the arid and dry plains (Bulliet 2009: 22–23). Throughout Iranian history, *qanāt*s were built to make fertile vast arid and semi-desert areas. Even where other water sources were available, *qanāt* made the water supply more efficient, permitting more abundant crops throughout the year.[16] A new *qanāt* could be dug to increase agricultural production or to sustain a new city. In the words of Richard Bulliet, this was the case of the so-called *fulān-ābād* centers – such as, for instance, Muḥammad-ābād, Aḥmad-ābād etc. – whereas *fulān* stands in for the name of the founder, who financed the digging of the *qanāt*, gives sustenance to the villagers, and supplied plow animals, seeds and building materials, while the *ābād*/*ābādī*, "settlement or inhabited space", derives from the Middle Persian *-āpāt,* "developed, inhabited, cultivated".[17] *Qanāt*s vary in length

[15] Colin Volk, the geologist who joined Peter Willey's expedition to Alamut in 1960, writes that at the time of his visit, the region of Rūdbār was economically dependent on other lands outside its borders, and this was «in contrast to the greater degree of self-sufficiency that may have existed in former centuries, as during the Assassin movements. At that time, in the attempt to make Rūdbār an economically viable unit, the agricultural potential, from the mountain slopes to the valley terraces and alluvial fans, would have been used to the uttermost, protected as the valley was by a series of castles and fortresses, themselves cannily utilizing the natural features of the land» (Volk, 1963: 319).

[16] As Bulliet (2009: 22) states, «In thousands of instances the cultivation of village lands depends entirely on a *qanāt*. However there are certainly exceptions. […] water from other sources may suffice for growing winter crops (e.g. wheat and barley), which benefit from the winter being rainy season in most of Iran, but be insufficient for summer crops (e.g. cotton), which grow throughout the hot, dry season and utilize the regular flow from a *qanāt.*».

[17] Contrary to what Ahmed Ashraf argues, Richard Bulliet does not excludes a folk etymology associating *ābād*/*ābādī* with *āb,* "water", which, while not philologically correct, could have a part in the popular use of the term *ābād* for *qanāt*-waterd settlements; see, Bulliet 2009: 19–27, and Ashraf 2011.

from a maximum of 50 km, as in the exceptional case of the *qanāt* of Yazd, to a length between 0,5 and 2 km, as most of the *qanāt* in the Iranian Plateau. Another exceptional case is the *qanāt* of Gunābād – which is still in use – in Quhistān, in the southern part of the modern Iranian province of Rezavi Khorasan. The *qanāt* of Gunābād reaches a length of 35 km and it disposes of extremely deep vertical shafts, one reaching 300 meters of depth, while in most *qanāt*s, the shafts are not deeper than 50 meters (de Planhol 2012). Not just the digging, but also the maintenance of the *qanāt*s was very expensive, and it had to be conducted frequently to prevent structural collapses and wear due to the water flow. The investments behind the *qanāt*s indicate the utmost importance of this structure in arid areas, as the cultivation of villages and city lands depended on it. For these reasons, the economic prosperity and wealth of the arid regions of the Iranian Plateau – and for once Quhistān is no exception – lied in the cities of the plains and their surrounding agricultural hinterland.

Important commercial routes contributed to shape Quhistān. The main fortresses of Quhistān – *i.e.* those that modern historians labeled as "Ismaili" – are not located in some remote valley. Instead, they are found in immediate proximity with the main cities at the crossroads of crucial trading routes, in stark contrast, once again, to the fortresses in Rūdbār. This shows that in Quhistān the urban sphere was the center of political and economic life, and this was also valid for the Nizaris, who ruled, or tried to rule, the region. Moreover, the remaining fortresses in Quhistān are often located on the summit of single mountain peaks of medium height, just a few kilometers outside the cities, and sometimes right above them. They do not dispose of natural barriers or protections, making them easily surrounded and besieged. These fortresses are much more vulnerable in comparison to the those in Rūdbār. This is the case of the Shāhānshāhī castle in Nihbandān, placed on the top of an isolated peak five kilometers far from its nearest town; the same can be said of Qalʿa-yi Kūh, located on an a hill just three kilometers from Qāʾin, Kūh-Qalʿa in Firdaws (the medieval Tūn), situated on an isolated mountain peak at twelve kilometers as the crow flies from the city, and watching a wide stretch of the main route Nīshābūr-Tūn-Qāʾin. Another example is Qalʿa-yi Kūh, which is located just above the town of Sarbīsha. Clearly, the proximity of these castles with urban centers in the plains raises questions concerning the relationship between the fortresses and the cities.

If the *Alamūt paradigm* is in some way recognizable in the case of Rudbār, it is useless for Quhistān, given the specificities of the region in terms of natural and economical environment and (supposedly all-important) location of the fortresses. This is true, by way of example, for the castle of Qāʾin, or the Shāhānshāhī fortress in Nihbandān among the many that we mentioned above.

As we said, the fortress of Qāʾin is located just outside the town walls on a hill about a hundred meters higher than the city allowing a clear line of sight on Qāʾin, the wide surrounding plain, the villages, crop fields and routes therein. Evidently, the symbiotic relationship between the fortress, the city, and the plain cannot be overlooked. In fact, control over the fortress, meant control over the city due to their proximity, and vice-versa. The city was the actual commercial and economic powerhouse and, therefore, the seat of political power in the area. The fortress was there to keep things that way, it was not an autonomous and separate entity. As a matter of fact, fortresses in Quhistān could not be self-sufficient, they had to be sustained by agricultural production in the plains.[18] Modern studies on Ismailis do not account for these facts. Instead, they stress the conflict between cities and fortresses, as if Quhistāni fortresses mimicked the opposition between the city of Qazwīn and the fortresses of Rūdbār, typical of the *Alamūt paradigm*.

This leads us to reflect on what Jean Aubin affirmed more than half a century ago about the necessity to investigate the relationship between the rural and the urban sphere in order to better understand the characteristics of conurbations in medieval Iran and the interrelations between the agricultural production and cities, and subsequently to investigate the relationship linking the castles with this two entities.

[18] These considerations are the results of an expedition we conducted in Southern Khorasan in 2018, on which we shall return later. The size of the castles and the geo-morphology of their location generally could not allow agriculture. Where agriculture was practiced, the cultivated area was anyway exiguous and it clearly insufficient to feed a military contingent, let alone the entire population of the castle. A possible exception might be the castle of Darah which is described by Mustawfī as having crop fields at its top, see Mustawfī 1336/1958: 178. Moreover, the arid climate of the region only allowed agricultural production where stable water sources (*i.e. qanāt/kārīz*) were made available. It is therefore difficult to think that the agriculture practiced on the castles of Quhistān would have been sufficient to sustain the «Ismaili state» founded on the network of fortresses. It follows that the cities, along with their productive hinterlands, must have played a major role in the control of the region.

But what was the role and the importance of the city under Ismaili power in Quhistān? The question is worth asking because the cities were the pivots of the region, it stands to reason to assume that Ismaili rulers had an economic and political interest in them. In other words, it is conceivable to assume that political actors in Quhistān had more at stake in the cities rather than in the fortresses. A similar interest in the cities pertained not only to the Seljuqs, Khwārazmshāhs or Ghūrids and later Mongols, occupying the region between the 11th and 13th century, but reasonably also to the Ismailis. Indeed, if this last point has been addressed by the studies, although timidly and only partially, by recognizing that historical records indicate an Ismaili presence in the main urban centers of Quhistān, this data has not been fully investigated and it has not received the attention that it deserves.[19]

Reconsidering the role of the castles

According to the historical sources, prosperous centers of the region, such as Turshīz, Qāʾin, Gunābād and Ṭabas, had consistent urban communities of Ismailis. In some cases, these communities controlled politically their cities and were well military organized; they had armies to attack the enemies and defend the urban population from the assaults of the nominal ruling Sultanate during Seljuq and Khwārazmshāh periods. Multiple accounts report that the Ismailis of Turshīz had been besieged repeatedly. According to *al-Kamīl fī al-Tāʾrīkh* by Ibn al-Athīr, in 520/1126 Sultan Sanjar's *wazīr* attacked the Ismailis controlling the city (Ibn al-Athīr 1871: vol. 10, 445). In his *Tārīkh-i Jahān-Gushāy*, Juwaynī mentions a siege of Turshīz conducted in Khwārazmshāh times (Juwaynī, 1912: vol. 2, 46–47; trans. 1958: vol 1, 313–14). This author reports on a long-lasting blockade put in place against the Ismailis at the hands of Shāh Takish. With the objective of capturing Turshīz, Shāh Takish ordered to fill the deep moat around the city, but after months of siege he had to desist. The same event it is recorded by the Persian historian and geographer Mustawfī Qazwīnī in his *Tārīkh-i Guzīda*. After the killing of the *wazīr* Shams al-Dīn Hirawī (or Niẓām al-Mulk, in Juwaynī's version) at the hands of an Ismaili *fidāʾī*,

[19] A partial exception is the already quoted article *The Ismaʿilis of Quhistān and the Maliks of Nīmrūz or Sīstān* written by Clifford Edmund Bosworth in 1995. The historian, relying on a plurality of historical sources, recognizes a sizeable Ismaili urban presence both in the main centers of Quhistān and in the villages.

Shāh Takish sought revenge and gave the order to eradicate the Ismailis presence in Persia, starting with Quhistān (Mustawfī 1362/1983: 489).

It seems that the Ismailis controlled not only Turshīz, but also other cities of Quhistān. In Seljuq times, on Sultan Sanjar's orders expeditions were conducted against the Ismailis of the city of Ṭabas in 496/1103 (Ibn al-Athīr 1871: vol. 10, 216–217), and again, under the Khwārazmshāhs against the «Ismaili» Qāʾin and Gunābād, as well as against smaller centers in Northern Quhistān like Khūsf, Zūzan and Khwāf, this latter openly described as «Ismaili» (Ibn al-Athīr 1871: vol. 10, 217 and vol. 12, 110).[20]

Primary sources yield interesting information on the numbers of the Nizaris in the urban centers. The Persian writer Muḥammad ʿAwfī reports that, when Turshīz was conquered by the last Naṣrid *amīr* Yamīn al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh ibn Tāj al-Dīn (III) Ḥarb (r. 610–618/1213–1221), one hundred thousand Ismailis were slaughtered (ʿAwfī, 1335/1956: vol. 1, 49). In Nih it is recorded the defeat of an army of one thousand four hundred Ismailis (*Qarāmiṭa*) by the Naṣrid forces in 489/1096 (Bahār 1314/1935: 388; trans. Gold 1976: 317). During the Mongol invasion, the cities of Tūn and again Turshīz had been devastated. The historian ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Juwaynī refers that Hülagü after conquering the city of Tūn ordered the entire male Ismaili population to be slaughtered (Juwaynī, 1912: vol. 3, 102–103; trans. 1958: vol 2, 615–616).

The numbers recorded are clearly exaggerated. They are modeled on a well-known propagandist narrative that overstates the numbers of the enemies defeated – here the Ismailis –, to make the victories of the conquerors more valuable. Nonetheless, such information should not be underestimated. If read in light of what we said above, these passages confirm our assumption on the pivotal role the cities had for the Ismailis in the Quhistānī context. By this, we do not intend to disregard the fact that the sources record a high number of the Quhistānī fortresses under Ismaili control. An evident example is a passage of Jūzjānī's *Ṭabaqāt-i Naṣīrī* where the author affirms that there were seventy fortresses all over Quhistān in the hands of the Ismailis (Jūzjānī 1342–1343/1963–1964: vol. 2, 186). The high number recorded by Jūzjānī – which, if reliable, reasonably indicates a widespread control of the region by the Ismailis, since it would represent approximately the same number of fortresses found by the archaeologists in Quhistān – indicates a widespread Ismaili

[20] See also Jūzjānī 1342–1343/1963–1964: vol. 1, 380.

control on the entire region. But we must be careful not to read too much in the sources. Instances of Ismaili control over the fortresses does not allow us to talk of an *Ismaili identity* of these fortresses, since these were simply one among the means of control of the region, together with the control over its cities and routes. The fortress was crucial not only for the Ismailis, but also for any power willing to hold the region at that time. As an evidence of a similar scenario, Jūzjānī himself, in another passage of his *Ṭabaqāt-i Naṣīrī*, reports that the Naṣrid ʿUthmān Shāh ibn Naṣīr al-Dīn ʿUthmān, cousin of Yamīn al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh (ruling in Sistan) sold the Shahānshāhī fortress in Nih to the Ismailis, and later Yamīn al-Dīn Bahrām Shāh tried again to recover it, but failed (Jūzjānī 1342–1343/1963–1964: vol. 1, 282). This account confirms the strategic and political importance of this fortress in exercising control over strategic commercial routes, namely the route crossing Nih and connecting the Persian Gulf with North Khorasan. Of course, the fortresses were key in the maintenance of the power over the region for any ruling group or dynasty and they could be military conquered, or at times sold and bought. In light of this, the effort to identify "Ismaili castles" by their architecture, defensive structure, pottery remains or infrastructure of food and water supply, is just misleading. Even worse, this effort leads scholars to underestimate a wider phenomenon, which encompasses different patterns of rural resistance and defense against the enemies. Specifically, in addition to the existence of fortresses located in the immediate vicinities to the urban centers, it must be noted that there are in Quhistān other types of castles with different placement on the territory and architectonical features.

At this regard, we shall present own direct observations. These are the result of a survey we conducted between September and October 2018 in the modern Iranian regions of Southern Khorasan and Rezavi Khorasan (*i.e.* the territory of the historical Quhistān). The purpose of our expedition was to better comprehend what historically had been the role of the castles and to observe directly the environment in which they are located, as well as the remains of their buildings, architecture and defensive systems. During our expedition, we visited sixteen sites (see the following map) and mapped approximately forty fortifications, fifteen of which in the region of Bīrjand alone. Surprisingly, we found that, in addition to well-fortified fortresses of considerable size, located in proximity of the cities, overlooking the main roads – as those described above –, there was a different type of fortification. First of all, this type of site was located in an

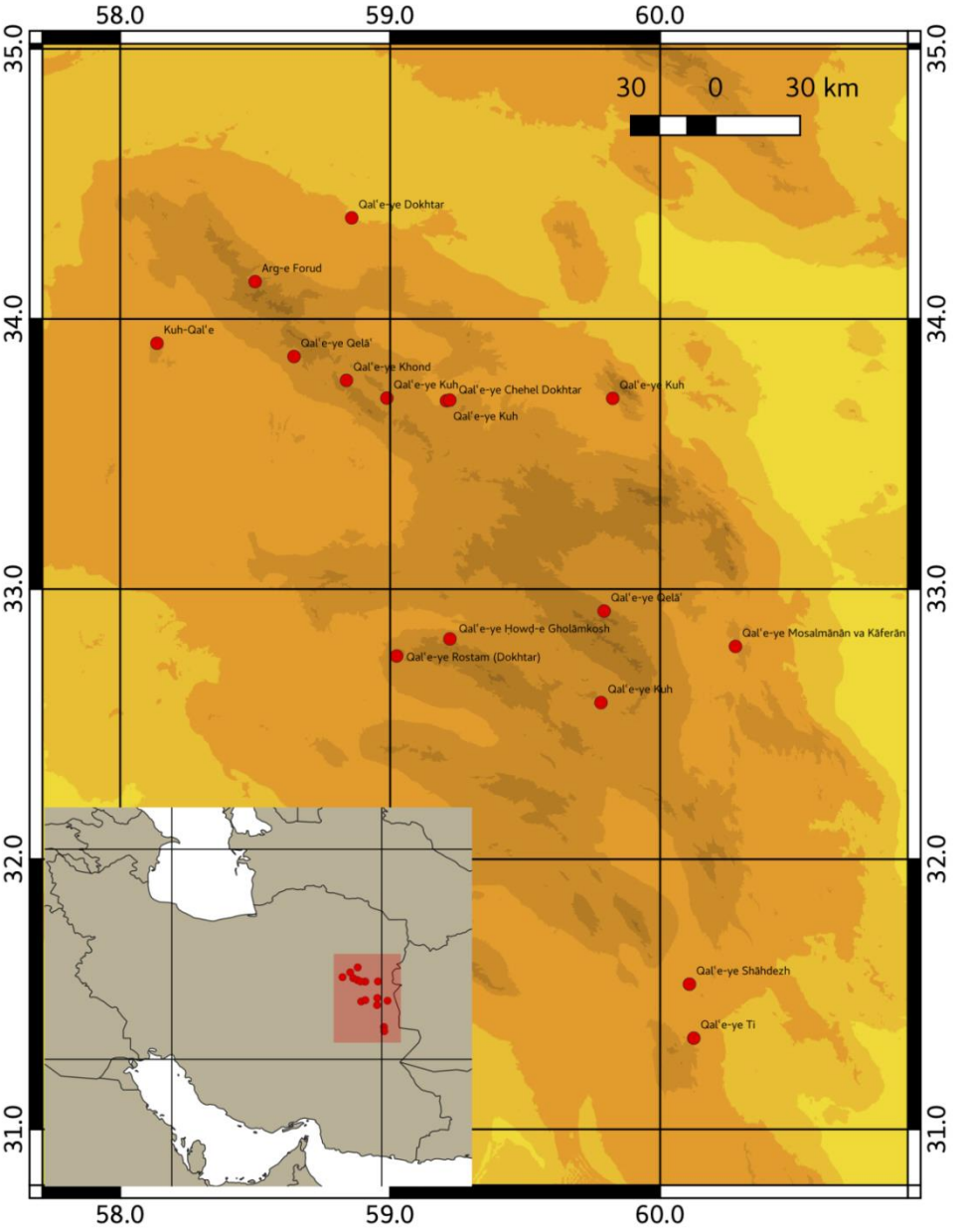
entirely rural environment, in the hilly countryside at dozens of kilometers far from the main urban centers of the plains. These fortifications had been built near very small agricultural villages and were weakly fortified. These rural fortresses had one or two watching tower at most, and in some cases no defensive walls at all. Moreover, due to their extremely small size, they were not able to sustain a military contingent, nor dwelling spaces. A good example is the case of the castle of Qalʿa-yi Khund, located near the small village of Bīhūd, in an entirely rural and agricultural environment 60 kilometers far from Qāʾin.[21] The fortification lies just above the village, on a low hill at the heart of a vast flat and *qanāt*-irrigated area, particularly suited to the cultivation of saffron, barberry and jujube. The archaeological remains show that the area had essential defenses, since it disposed of just a single ring of walls. We found the same features in some other fortifications we visited, for instance Qalʿa-yi Kūh in Jazanān (in the county of Qāʾin) and Qalʿa-yi Ṭī in Nihbandān. The former is located in the very small village at 35 kilometers far from Qāʾin, while the latter is located in an extreme rural area at 30 kilometers far from Nihbandān. Both these fortifications are constructed at the top of isolated or semi-isolated hills, they are small, weakly fortified. At Qalʿa-yi Ṭī in Nihbandān the rests of just one small-sized tower and a small dam – presumably intended to collect rainwater for watering livestock – are still visible.

These buildings are quite different in size in comparison to the fortress of Qalʿa-yi Kūh near Qāʾin, and the Shāhānshāhī fortress of Nihbandān. An even starker comparison could be made with Kūh-Qalʿa in Firdaws which is the biggest and most fortified castle we have seen in the region, with three lines of defensive walls, about twenty watch towers still visible, remains of palaces and dwellings, and a fortified citadel at its top.

The structure of these three small-sized fortifications makes it clear that they did not have a military function *stricto sensu*. During our survey we were able to identify two common characteristics of this second type of fortress: the rural setting, and the presence of an extraordinary amount of surface remains such as ceramics, potteries, and jars. These findings suggest that this kind of fortifications were mainly built to store grain, other crops and flocks, and to defend them from potential plunders. The

[21] As Peter Willey (2005: 168) pointed out, the Quhistāni district of *Qāʾināt* (*i.e.* the area of Qāʾin) was thick with mountain fortifications, «some large and imposing citadels, others smaller fortifications and outposts». Willey visited the castle of Bīhūd during an expedition conducted in 1966, and included the fortification in his list of «Ismaili Castles and Fortifications» (2005: 273).

agricultural use of the land where these structures stand, supports the hypothesis of a close connection with local agricultural production.



Map of the Quhistāni fortresses we visited in 2018.

However, abundant findings of potteries and rest of jars is a common feature of all the Quhistāni fortresses, indicating a general usage of the fortresses as granaries and wharehouses. The main difference betweeen the two types of fortresses we observed in the region lies in their territorial placement: those overlooking the plains are larger and heavier fortified than those located in rural areas distant from the main routes and cities in the plains.

If that is indeed the case, the fortifications of Quhistān would not have a much different function from those we usually find, for instance, in the Levant and in North Africa. We are referring specifically to the Agadir, «a fortified enclosure where chambers are allotted to the various families of the tribe for storage of grain, and where the tribe takes refuge in times of danger», which is typical of the Berbers of Tunisia, Algeria and above all Morocco (Bearman *et al.*, 2012). Similar structures were also present in the Levant in medieval times. In fact, in the case of Syria, the usage of the fortresses as granaries is attested from the Fatimid to the Mamluk period (Raphael 2013: 56–67). To give just an example, the Mamluk Sultan Baybars (r. 1260–1277) reportedly stocked some of the fortresses of Egypt and Syria with grain to prevent food shortage and to supply his military campaigns (Ibn al-Furāt 1942: Vol. 7, 192; *apud* Raphael 2013: 63–64). The usage of fortresses as granaries is attested also in Northern India at the time of Bābur's expeditions. Bābur, founder of the Mughal dynasty (r. 1526-1530), attacked the fortifications of the region of *Hashtnagar – i.e.* along the Swat River in nowadays Northern Pakistan, notoriously characterized by a remarkable agricultural production – and plundered the grain stored therein to supply his military campaigns (Bābur 1921: 376, 410).

The hypothesis that a large amount of the Quhistāni fortifications had served as granaries, poses a further challenge to the category of the "Ismaili castle". Instead, a storage function would be disconnected from any identity discourse — in medieval Quhistān everybody needed to store and keep their crops safe, whatever their political or religious identity may be. A storage fortress is an expression of the shared economic and social way of life experienced in rural provinces of medieval Iran.

For a history of Quhistān

Over the course of this article we showed that the widespread adoption of "Ismaili castle" as interpretative historical category is groundlessness and

inadequate in the Quhistāni context. Although the sources confirm a connection of some of the fortifications of the region with the Ismailis, this fact has been overly emphasized and thus misunderstood. Since the first studies on Ismailism this misunderstanding led to a crystallization of the concept of "Ismaili castle" and to an enduring stagnation in the field of research.

To speak of "Ismaili castles" means to insists excessively on the "identity" of these buildings, to the point that it had led several scholars to *recognize* a sort of ill-defined "Ismailicity" in the architectural features, materials of construction, and location of the castles. Likewise, the label «Ismaili pottery» have been applied to the remains of the ceramics and jars found in the fortresses. On this matter, the art historian and archaeologist Rosalind Wade Haddon underlined the meaninglessness of both the definitions "Ismaili pottery" and "Nizari pottery". In fact, there is no element allowing us to *recognize* a specific ideological or religious identity of the pottery remains found on the fortified sites, which are instead generally datable to the Saljuq period.[22]

As scholars failed to isolate architectural or material elements that would clearly define the Ismaili identity of the fortresses, they turned to the political field, discussing how the Ismailis were politically organized and exercised power. It was as part of this effort that the idea of an "Ismaili state" connected with «Persian "national" and cultural sentiments» emerged.[23] In fact, following the legends circulating in Europe regarding the Ismailis – whose echoes persisted until the first

[22] Rosalind Wade Haddon contributed to Peter Willey's *Eagle Nest*, writing an *Appendix* to the book, entitled *Ismaili Pottery from the Alamut Period*, where she says that: «although the Nizari polity in Persia lasted over 150 years, we do not, as yet, have any pottery defined as 'Nizari' or 'Ismaili'. This does not mean that they did not manufacture their own diagnostic wares; it simply means that insufficient archaeological work has been carried out in their known strongholds and settlements to establish such a fact. Indeed, we will see below that Peter Willey's team may well have identified a typical Nizari product. It is to be hoped that this picture will gradually change as both national and international teams work at these numerous sites» (Wade Haddon 2005: 277–87).

[23] Daftary (2015b: 45–46) recognizes that «Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ revolt in Persian went beyond a strictly Ismaili one, having a broader appeal in Persia», «Ḥasan's revolt was an expression of Persian "national" and cultural sentiments». In this scenario, «Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, as an expression of his Persian identity, and in spite of his intense Islamic piety, adopted Persian as the religious language of all the Persian-speaking Ismailis». Daftary's considerations do not differ significantly from what Hodgson stated in 1955 «Unlike the bands of warlords, the Isma'ilis strength could survive even serious defeats; for it was based on *free patriotism* rather than on pay» (the italics is ours; Hodgson 1955: 116).

decades of the 20th century – modern scholars theorized the historical existence of an Ismaili state founded by Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ, instated first in the Alamūt Valley and then spread all over medieval Iran. The identity of the Ismaili state was to be *recognizable* in a formidable network of mountain fortresses which served as «*dār al-hijra*s and bases for further operations» (Daftary 2007: 328), since «the characteristic pattern of Nizari warfare appear to have been modeled upon the story of Mohammed himself» and «Madina was the first *dār al-hijra* of Islam, the first *place of refuge*» (Hodgson 1955: 79; original in italic). In this perspective, the strongholds represented «so many lesser Madina, from which the Ismailis made raids on the surrounding Sunni lands» (Hodgson 1955: 80). Such a concept of an Ismaili *modus gubernandi* became a fixed pattern and it was seamlessly applied to other regions of medieval Iran to explain the success of Ismailism throughout the entire Iranian Plateau. As we showed, this *Alamūt paradigm* does not account for crucial differences existing between Rūdbār and Quhistān. These differences are primarily geographical and climatic, and secondarily, but not less importantly, economic and social. In light of this, a direct translation of the *Alamūt paradigm* from Rūdbār to a different region can be misleading and hampering.

These considerations led us to reflect on the function of the fortresses in Quhistān given the environmental, urban, social, economic setting of the region at that time. We know that in medieval Quhistān climatic and economic circumstances gave cities a dominant role over the fortresses. Undoubtedly, in strategical terms the fortresses represented an important tool to keep one's political power over the region, as they watched over the main commercial routes and cities. Therefore, fortresses had a military function and were used as such both by the Ismailis and by other coeval ruling groups or dynasties as the Seljuqs, Khwārazmshāhs or Ghūrids. But these typically military fortresses, found just above the main cities or close nearby, are not the only ones found in Quhistān. Our preliminary survey in the region taught us that there are other types of fortification in Quhistān. This second type of fortification is of small dimensions, poorly fortified in comparison with the fortifications overlooking the plains, and located deep in the countryside, surrounded by crop-fields and small farming villages. Their clear connection with the agricultural environment and the nature of surface remains strongly suggest that these structures were mainly used as defensible granaries and warehouses. Farmers would store grain and other agricultural products, as

well as some head of cattle, and were able to defend them to some extent against aggressors. Similar practices are attested in North Africa, Levant and Northern India. Unfortunately, this hypothesis still needs to be supported by strong archaeological data. So far, only superficial surveys have been conducted on the rural fortifications sites of Quhistān.

Even if archaeological excavations were to support our hypothesis, a crucial question would still remain answered. Why and when a so many fortifications were left abandoned? What changed in the socio-economic framework of Quhistān that caused this? Is the catastrophist view of the Mongol conquests convincing? Did the Mongols destroy fortresses and cities provoking a devastating economic crisis throughout the entire Persia? Historians have rejected the idea of the Mongol era as a dark period for the Iranian Plateau. On the contrary, scholarship has come to recognize the dynamism, the vivid commercial and cultural exchanges, and the religious and linguistic pluralism experienced during the Ilkhanid rule.[24]

In the absence for the foreseeable future of archaeological data that could shed light on this question, we need to find other meaningful, albeit limited, avenues of research. We propose two.

First, the field is painfully in need of a fresh reading of the historical accounts freed from the typically 19th century identity-based perspective, whose faults we have discussed at length. Second, key data could emerge from a study of the Persian lexicon used by the medieval sources. We suggest specifically a lexical analysis of the Arabic-Persian term *qalʿa*, which in the course of the present article we rendered in English as "castle", "fortress" or "fortification". Even through these renderings are the most common in current scholarship, they conceal more than they reveal. The term *qalʿa* in primary sources refers to both the fortresses located on mountain peaks, and the urban citadel, within the city walls. Already Wladimir Ivanow in 1931 expressed perplexities concerning the translation of this term, «the term "castle" is a very unhappy rendering of the original term *qalʿa*, which means simply, and first of all, a fortified village or town, as well as a specially fortified refuge, used in the time of danger, and left unoccupied in ordinary times» (Ivanow 1931: 43). Although there is some recent lexicographical work on the medieval Arabic and Persian terms for city and countryside, there is

[24] For a recent treatment of political, military and cultural history during the Mongol period, see Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack, and Francesca Fiaschetti (eds.) 2020.

not any comparable investigation on the term *qalʿa* and its usage or meaning.[25]

These two paths would allow Iranian and Ismaili studies to leave typical 19th expressions such as "Ismaili castle" or "Ismaili state" behind, and to avoid the simplistic application of outdated paradigms. This theoretical shift would be on top of a much needed clarity on the practical issue of what exactly Persian sources mean by expression like *qalʿa-yi Turshīz* or *qalʿa-yi Qāʾin – i.e.* are they are referring to the fortress located on mountain peaks nearby the city or to the fortified citadel within the city-walls?[26]

However, these two avenues of research would not fully address the shortcomings concerning the reconstruction of the social and economic history of Quhistān. Nor they would answer why these castles were left abandoned. Despite some notable progresses, we still not have a full picture of social, economic and everyday life during the pre-Mongol and Ilkhanid era. In pursuit of new historical details and clues, historians of this period have over-investigated and over-stressed edited and translated sources. In doing so, scholars limited their researches to a small number of sources, neglecting the many more texts which still are unedited and could yield crucial information.[27] There is a large amount of manuscripts – in the range of thousands of texts – preserved in European and Asian collections which still remain unstudied (De Nicola 2020: 14). Precisely in this sense, particularly productive would be the investigation of the Persian-written literary genre of the *tadhkirāt,* ("*memorandum*", biographical

[25] See, for instance, Mottahedeh 2018: 46–49. Despite its exhaustiveness regarding the Arabic and Persian terms for the city, streets, markets and systems of irrigation, this compendium overlooks the medieval terminology for the fortified constructions in the urban and extra-urban contexts. The Arabic-Persian term *qalʿa* did not make it into the sections dedicated to the terms used to describe the "fortresses and palace" located within the city walls, and to the terms on rural constructions and the countryside.

[26] By way of example, the Persian historian and geographer Mustawfī in his *Tārīkh-i Guzīda* (1362/1983: 489) uses the expression «Turshīz qalʿa» in his description of the siege of Turshīz perpetrated by Shāh Takish against the Ismailis. It is not clear whether the author is referring to a mountain fortification outside the city or to the urban citadel within the city-walls; cf. Juwaynī, 1912: vol. 2, 46–47.

[27] We are quoting here what Bruno De Nicola (2020: 4–21) affirmed in a recent illuminating article, «There is an unbalanced use of resources in the field. While scholars (myself included) have been debating over the same edited/translated sources, using and reusing them in search of new information and approaches, they have been narrowing down the scope of the research to a limited amount of narrative sources that only represents a tiny portion of the literary heritage of Ilkhanid Iran».

compendiums) – in large part still unedited – collecting information, anecdotes, acts of the life of memorable persons, as poets, Ṣūfī shaykhs, military leaders, kings. A preliminary study on this kind of compositions has been conducted – once again – by the preeminent historian Jean Aubin through the investigation of an unedited *tadhkira* narrating the life of the early 15th century Ṣūfī *shaykh* Akhī Muḥammad-Shāh, living in the village of Shārakht in Northern Quhistān (Aubin 1967: 185–204). The text is very detailed and contains interesting geographical and economic data regarding the town – as the presence of the *mazraʿa*, *i.e.* seasonal farming villages surrounded by fields at the dependences of a major center – as well as information about the religious and social landscape of Timurid Quhistān. Anyway, Aubin's work – published in 1967 – remains surprisingly enough a pioneering study, and it has not been furthered by any similar investigation.

As a concluding note, we would like to put the considerations proposed in this article towards a methodological renewal of the field in the broader context. The brilliant historian Bruno De Nicola recently issued a call to widen the scope of historiographical research on the Ilkhanid period. De Nicola is aware that even though significant progresses have been made, «however, as scholars of the period, we cannot be complacent and remain neither stationed in the same paradigm nor constantly revisiting the same sources» (De Nicola 2020: 5).

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Colonial literary Sources and the Image of Pashtuns: A Historical Analysis

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Abstract

Colonialism is the form of the ascendance of individuals or groups on the states and departments of people. In the Indian sub-continent, the cultural domination of colonizers on the minds of the colonized led to the spread of certain perspectives that marked the distinction within society. Hence through the process of reification and codification of history British classified the Indian society: compartmentalized the whole into various groups. By applying the same approach British labeled the Pashtuns of the western frontier as "Pathans" either they were courageous/warriors or they were sinister and corrupt. In this paper, an attempt is made to unveil the difference between the original Pashtun and the Colonial Pathan by utilizing the theory of Orientalism given by Edward Said. Moreover, it is also argued that the true identity of Pashtuns is contradictory with the Colonial image and stereotypes like honoring the Baloch, intimidating the Sindhis, Ruling the Punjabis, and buying the Pashtun.

Keywords: Pashtuns, Colonial Period, Literature

1. Introduction

Colonialism is the name of a system of rules which acknowledges the authority of one person to enforce his will upon another. It leads to a situation of supremacy and dependence which extensively subordinate those people who are governed by it (Nwanosike & Onyije 2011: 42). Colonial conquest is not only circumscribed to the arms and armaments but the colonial powers fortified and legitimatized themselves by cultural technologies of rule. Colonialism itself was a project of cultural control that abducted the minds of people by classifying them into certain groups and assigning them various characteristics which later became an important feature of their social identity.

Similarly, the word 'Pathan' was assigned to the western frontier Pashtuns, of the Indian sub-continent by their Colonial masters. There was a contradicted view on the personality of Pashtuns as to one extent they were considered as warriors and courageous fighters and on the other side, they were considered barbaric, menacing, and immoral. Albeit the dominant Colonial perception regarding Pashtuns was that they were cynical but it contradicted with the popular perception of Pashtun society. While considering the colonial writings there existed a point of view propagated strongly by Winch (1958) that the colonial writings should not be considered authentic as they had cultural bias (Lindholm, 1980: 351). This argument was furthered by stating that the true and valid understanding of a cultural system can only be possible via native accounts (Zein, 1977: 230). Thus, the colonial representation of other cultural systems must be discarded in favor of more considerate reports. Similarly, the dual representation of the personality of 'Pathan' in literature was due to cultural relativism i.e cultural bias. There is a need to critically examine the factors and rationalities behind those writings which vary according to different ecological, cultural, and state outlook.

Colonial literature on the stratification and labeling characteristics of Pashtun society is mostly considered as less valued, as the colonial writer is a person who is under the influence of corporate-state order and is directed to do the same as the state wants him to write. However recent ethnographies are striving to unfold the realities of Colonial writings by researching and analyzing the 'texts' that had produced the concept of 'othering' and demarcated the society into the historical background of the relationship between Colonial powers and Pashtun tribes.

2. Theory of Orientalism

Orientalism was the term first coined during the nineteenth century. Edward Said a political activist, an academic and, a literary critic published his work named "*Orientalism*" in 1978 in which he explained his understanding of 'Orient' (The East). He mentioned in his book that Orientalism is a multi-dimensional term where each of its aspects is interdependent on others. First of them bears an academic connotation where any form of knowledge acquisition related to the Orient is called Orientalism. It is also a style of thought based upon an ontological and

epistemological distinction made between "the Orient" and "the Occident" (Said, 1978: 2). Moreover, the notorious aspect of Orientalism includes the western style for restructuring, dominating, and having authority over the Orient (Said, 1978: 3).

Many authors have interpreted Said's Orientalism based on their understanding like the popular conception that this system emerged when several scholars felt the urge that improved knowledge of Asia was compulsory to promote the West's colonial ambitions. Moreover, he also opined that the western researchers were very filthy by the European thoughts as well as presumptions that they could not cope justly and sincerely with the Asian difficulties (Mart, Toker and Esen ,2010: 367).

Likewise, other authors believed that Edward Said dedicated his energies to the correction of Oriental Studies in Europe, with linguistics and interpretation of the meaning of culture through the process of invention, ethnography as well as the interpretation of Oriental texts. He mentioned that Orientalism was determined to establish European hegemony over the Orient. He further augmented his claim that every European in his perception about the Orient was an imperialist, racist, and wholly ethnocentric (Khawaja, 2007: 696-97).

Said, however, is the finest recognized for unfolding plus criticizing "Orientalism", which he considered as a collection of untrue stories and fundamental Western egotism to the Far East. In Orientalism, Edward Said asked for a "restrained and relentless Eurocentric bias against the people of Arabs as well as their culture" (Said 2003: 10). He elaborated that there was a long practice of untrue and fabricated descriptions of Asia and the Middle East in the culture of the West that had provided as an implied justification for Europe plus US' colonial as well as the imperial ambitions (Mart, Toker and Esen, 2010: 368). Moreover, the Europeans distinct themselves as superiors and they legitimated their colonial rule by this idea. They even thought that it was the responsibility of the Europeans to the world to enlighten the uncivilized nations of the world (Lockman, 2010: 90).

Orientalism was aimed at redefining oriental studies by considering their imperial background. Said took the help of Foucault's power theory in his stance that European study of the East can best be understood when they are analyzed under the discourse of power. To exemplify, it can be stated that according to Said, no western discourse

about people, nation or culture be it of political or literary nature can ever be on passive end in the backdrop of colonization and imperialism as all the participants have cultural sovereignty. Hence, literary texts are also created under the influence of these political contexts, generating discourse about the East labeling it as the cultural "other" (Pinggong, 2002: 178).

Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* clarifies his point of view in the following words:

> *..[A] discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power, shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts, values), power moral (as with ideas about what "we" do and what "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do)* (Said, 2003: 12).

By utilizing this approach, the colonial ethnography and codification of the history of Pashtun society do not seem free from the bigotry of colonial powers. They called Pashtuns a barbaric and uncivilized race that marginalized and segregated them from central India and other societies. According to the colonial writers like Mundy and Kipling, a debate had started over Pashtun's character that was protracted into literature while depicting the utopian views of the brave fighter 'Pashtun'. On the contrary, there was also a counter view in which the Pashtuns were considered as threatening, brutal, and dishonest in the subcontinent was taken up in Scott's classic The Raj Quartet (Lindholm, 1980: 351).In this article, it is endeavored to study and highlight the facts in light of the native perspective so that the authentic truth can be brought forth.

3. British Affinity with the Tribes of the Western Frontier

British established their ties with Pashtun in the nineteenth century to safeguard the frontiers from the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte. In 1808, Mountstuart Elphinstone visited Afghanistan in the court of the emperor named, Shah Shuja to sign an agreement between Afghanistan and the British Raj (Elphinstone 1815: 195). From this date until the end of the British Raj their alliance had remained very complex and

multidimensional especially the responses of Pashtuns remained very fluctuating with the changing policy of British Raj adopted towards them. Having a strong lineage system, with the feature of brevity, Pashtuns established several social administrations that ranged from Afghanistan's kingdom to the anarchical type of democracies in hill tribes. Furthermore, the relationship between the British and the Pashtuns began with the mission of Elphinstone.

Elphinstone was very impressed by the hospitality of Pashtuns and therefore in his book he remarked,"The British travelers from India [...] admired the strength of the Pashtuns as well as the fair skins, their features, industry, and hospitality" (Elphinstone 1815: 198-99). It is, however, an astonishing part of the story for Elphinstone that the attitude of Pashtuns towards Raj remained much lenient. It was just because Elphinstone went to Afghan court just as a guest and potential ally rather with the desire of dominating them. Similarly, it was due to the openness of Pashtun mentality that they welcomed him without any bigotry but in the form of a guest. This positive attitude of Pashtuns changed the mindset of Elphinstone who considered them barbaric.

The British were not alone in their colonization of the Indian sub-continent but they also had other European contenders like the French and the Portugese.In wake of those circumstances, it was quite inevitable that the warlike Pashtuns could become the supporters of the Raj against their enemy, the French. However, the center of Raj was far from the Afghan border so this alliance was considered merely to secure the borders from invasion and there had no such assumption that the British domain of interest could overlap that of the Pashtuns (Omrani, 2009: 183). This kind of behavior in the British was due to the self-image of Pashtuns as an ignorant and warrior race. Prominently, the martial Pashtuns could work as a police force to crush the insurgences of the enemies of Raj. Intentionally or unintentionally, the colonial attitude accepted the Pashtuns as the men whose interests were the same as their own (Lindholm,1980: 353). This change in attitude of the British due to changed circumstances present that the actual image of Pashtun image was basically a product of the British interests in their dominated areas.

As soon as the threat of the French was curbed a new enemy emerged on the frontier that was Russia and its motto was to take access to the warm waters. To tackle this issue British had to adopt the policy of defense and to do so, they had to again ally with the tribes of

frontiers and Afghanistan. Albeit, the British were more inclined towards expansionism and thought that while doing so the Pashtun tribes will be absorbed into the Empire and become part of the Central government of Raj (Lindholm, 1980: 353). There were two different basic situations in the discussion that were known as 'close borders' plus 'forward policy'. The supporters of the close borders had asserted that in defensive position with the nearby state must hold the immediate boundaries including the River Indus and the western mountains; on contrary, those who supported forward policy suggested to spread the presence of British to the further west, to the Herat and Oxus River to build a defensive buffer zone (Spain 1961: 168).

The forward policy of Britain failed when its troops were annihilated by Pashtuns in 1841 and after that, the former maintained close border policy, and Pashtun tribes were asked to remain on the margins of State boundary which was beyond the control of Centre (Stewart 2007: 180). Hence, it can be analyzed that, when conditions went in the favor of the British they changed their attitude towards Pashtuns, and when they failed to occupy their territories British marginalized and labeled them as being aggressive and vociferous. However, the close border policy also remained ineffective because, in the north, the strategy of quitting the large tribal area non-administered led to bigger chaos. According to Sir Olaf Caroe, the last British administrator of North Western Frontier Province, violence had increased in Pashtun tribal areas just because of bitterness with Raj's retaliation. After the second war of Britain and Afghanistan, the former asserted much control over the tribal boundaries of Pashtuns, and a new forward policy was maintained to control the marginal tribes. British concentrated its military force in that region with the support of the tribal heads to crush the self-rule of the Pashtuns that was guaranteed to them by Colonial Frontier Crimes Regulations (Caroe 1965: 376).

The forts were constructed, armies were deployed on different strategic points in the tribal zones, and official boundaries were also recognized defining regions of control for the different rules of India including; Iran, Afghanistan, and Kallat.After the British occupation of tribal areas, Pashtuns never remained quiet instead, they started an uprising against them and it did not lead to the establishment of a central government system of Crown. However, during the 3rd Anglo-Afghan War fighting between the government forces and Pashtuns was

intensified. During Indian Independence Movement there was a great disturbance in tribal territories and the urban axes.

As Poullada remarks, "The proud Pashtuns, carefully settled in the mountains, faced the forward policies of Raj with the fierce guerrilla fighting skills and smiled with the contempt at the episodic extractions. By the end, the British administration satisfied with the policy of control and punishment" (Poullada 1979: 132).

4. Cultural Representation and Ideological Domination of Pashtun Society

The nature of relations between Pashtun tribes and the British was mainly dependent on the interests of the British in their colonies.The colonized always had to face this kind of social control where their colonizers establish their narrative on the basis of their cultural and racial bias.The same happened here in frontier but it was not fixed rather it was situation-oriented.Sometimes the stereotypical version of 'warlike tribes' was used for protecting the interests of the British against others and sometimes to counter the influence of Pashtuns.Orientalism got involved in this debate when the colonized and colonizers' perception of reality seemed to be opposite. Orientalists believed that the portrayal of colonized people in the literary texts of Westerners was not authentic as they had always been prejudiced towards them and established their opinions on the basis of their limited exposure and experience with them.

Orientalist scholars had emphasized how the West treated the East as 'other', classified them into certain groups, and labeled them with certain stereotypes that became an ultimate force of social control. Thus the classification of society into various groups divided people and this categorization became an important part of their identity because the labeled groups had different established opinions and ethical relationships. For instance, it was claimed by the British that Pashtuns were highly decentralized and could not regulate themselves under a central form of government. However, there is need to deconstruct this narrative to bring forth the reality that , Pashtun society is highly egalitarian and does not allow the authority of a single person while they give equal status to the dignity and honor of each individual and never compromise on the principles of equality and equity (Ginsburg 2011: 96). By analyzing this custom, one cannot consider

them 'Traditional' or 'uncivilized' because they possess a highly unique system of individualism.

As far as the Oriental studies on Pashtun tribes are concerned they depicted a different picture of Pashtuns depending on the circumstances in which they were written and also on their authorship.The colonial writings on frontier were primarily by political administrators and military personnel. Thomas Holdich served for twenty years in frontier and his depiction of Pathans was that, "the Pathan is a republican of a worst type. He is law unto himself " (Titus 1998: 663). Similarly, in the late nineteenth century Winston Spencer Churchill wrote an account of the British campaign against Pashtuns in Malakand where he presented his perception of Pashtun tribes as, "warlike tribes, barbarous, unapproachable, and irreclaimable" (Churchill 1898: 304).In addition to this, he blamed Islam for the martial characteristics of Pashtun tribes as it was founded and expanded by the sword so Pashtuns being staunch Muslims were considered to be merciless fanatics. The perception of Churchill related to Pashtuns (Orientals) was highly prejudiced as the popularity of Islam in the sub-continent is primarily the result of the preaching of Sufi mystics. Moreover, the warlike trait of Pashtuns cannot be attributed solely to them as there had been many warlike nations in history like Anglo-Saxons (Cole 2009).

Moreover, Pashtuns were always considered as 'violent' in colonial literature and the reason behind this misconception was the lack of their own voice."The voiceless-ness of Pashtuns is created and sustained by highly militarized and politicized agendas routed through the Afghan state that target them as an enemy to be physically exterminated and culturally eradicated"(Hanifi 2016: 4). Moreover, the Pashtuns were considered warriors or savages due to the lack of native Pashtun literature in colonial times. Furthermore, the excessive dependence on colonial literature to understand the tribal Pashtuns had caused them to consider them as conventional and extremists. In this regard, Farooq Yousaf (2019) argues, "it was a major "intellectual polarization" among the British colonial writers that perceived Pashtuns "having the propensity for violence." However, this "intellectual polarization" has existed, in some way, even after the British Raj left the Indian subcontinent in 1947." (pg. 3)

As far as the British were concerned, they had always endeavored to segregate themselves from their subjects in Colonial rule

and adopted the sense of 'Othering' towards the locals. Hence, colonial dissertations were expected to establish the different concepts of 'Others' which were compliant to authority plus obtainable to assist.

For more than a century Afghanistan and Pashtun tribes remained as a wild west for the British of India. With Pashtun clans, the British always tried to control Afghanistan, to direct surrendered tribal districts, and to impose the Imperial law in the directly administered regions(Brown 1993: 667). The restrictions had imitated in different survey reports and several Colonial records. At a concrete level, it was consequential to ken with whom to contract in both Persian and Pashtun as well as how to accumulate and assess evidence to impact incidents. The cultural expression had remained vital to comprehend that what the British labeled Pashtuns, which turn out to be a major subject of British elucidations. Initial interpretations frequently showed shaded indebtedness of social dealings. In a while and with recurrence, however, more elusive former explanations were over-generalized plus preoccupied in the individuals' behaviors. Here is an example which states; "The real Pashtuns are maybe the cruelest of all nations with that we were passed into connection in the Punjab. They are murderous, barbaric, and unkind at their highest level. Similarly, they had a system of honor that they firmly follow; and the attraction about them, regarding the chief men, that approximately makes one overlook their deceitful behavior. They lead untamed, energetic life in the mountains, plus there was also an aura of masculine freedom about them which is inspirational in a state like India" (Brown (1993) quotes Bonarjee 1899: 11-12). Such texts summarized set knowledge into widespread labels that conceited plus exaggerated through discussions on strategies during the whole British period. Moreover, initial colonial authors recognized delicacies of Pashtun attitude, social relations, and standards when awarding and assessing evidence about Pashtun. The understanding of one's tribe, family as well as reputation reproduced straight facts about the Pashtuns, although placed in 18th-century traditionalist texts. In the established Colonial government, these vulnerabilities became subdued and later vanished at last of the 19th century. Future works were bigoted and categorical. "Though Pashtuns had gone through several views, yet there was a prominent characteristic of their handbooks was that since the end of the nineteenth century till the independence of India there was no significant change seen in their descriptions. The descriptions

of every race had remained astonishingly the same" (Chene 1991: 7). Finally, during the colonial era, Pashtuns' attitude recorded by anthropologists and ethnographers became an important ingredient of their 'national identity'.

According to Said's Orientalism this colonial knowledge was the over powering system of thought.It was primarily written with a Eurocentric prism where they considered the natives as "others" in order to justify the evolution of world system which comprised of a center/periphery polarity and reproduced through exploitation (Sa'di, 2020: 1-2).In addition to this Said was also focused on the impact of colonialism on the European societies.His argument that orientalist views were convincing in all aspects of European life and this legacy can not diminish easily.Hence,many sociological problems of islamophobia, discrimination of people of color and race prevalent today can be the products of long history of colonialism.This can be argued here that Said's Orientalism although is an old and outdated work but it still has some relevance when it comes to the projection of other people by Eurocentric prism as mentioned above.The mild form of Oriental discourse, where 'civilizing mission' propagated by the liberal minded circles still persists in order to fulfill their neo-imperialistic aspirations as witnessed in case of US's invasion of Iraq (Sa'di 2020: 3).

Moreover, many authors like Bernard Lewis have criticized Said for not digging deep and applying broad generalizations in his work.However, in 1995 Edward Said himself in his work 'afterword of Orientalism' provided answers to this critique.He mentioned that his work had been interpreted wrongly by many where they opined that the Orientalism was meant to project Islam and Arabic cultures as perfect and West as one which is after aggrandizement.He elaborated that he had clearly mentioned in his book , 'there is no stable reality' (Said 1978: 331) by which he meant that knowledge of the surroundings reality is constructed within specific discourses shaping how we perceive the world.In simple words he was convinced that imprint of individuals who wrote about Orient can not be ignored.Thus, the same was applied in the case of colonial identity of Pashtuns who were termed as barbarious as well as brave and courageous depending on the understanding of reality at that time.

5. Conclusions

The British when took control of the Indian sub-continent they not only conquered the land but they also tried to took hold of the minds of the people as well. One of the significant examples in this regard was their classification of Indian society. They classified the different ethnic groups and labeled them according to what was deemed fit to them. Hence, they constructed many stereotypes,like honoring the Baloch, intimidating the Sindhis Ruling the Punjabis, and buying the Pashtun.

Similarly, the British also tried to segregate themselves from the rest of Indian society by adopting the sense of 'othering' towards the natives. Orientalism is one such system that was devised by the West to justify this 'othering' in the literature. It made its first appearance in the nineteenth century when many scholars considered that a fair knowledge of Asia was essential to substantiate the West's colonial aspirations. The colonial literature used the term ‘Pathans’ for the Pashtuns of the North West Frontier Province and portrayed them to be uncivilized and bribable. Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* strongly criticizes this notion of Colonial stereotyping based on Western superiority complexes. He considered that this depiction of the ethnic identities in Western literature was a kind of justification for their colonial and imperial ambitions as well as their cultural bias. The ethnographic studies of the Pashtun society depict that there exist two counter views related to their character. One presenting them to be brave warriors and the other being sinister, cruel, and corrupt. However, the critical evaluation of the native accounts presented the reality to be otherwise.

It is found that the classifications of the Indian society and labeling and stereotyping of the ethnic identities were meant for social control over them. It is opined that these groupings were not used as a simple label but also as methods for establishing opinions, knowledge, and ethical relationships.It is widely believed that the classification in which a man is retained alters the connotation of his behavior. Some scholars presented the true Pashtun character considering all the delicacies of their social relations, their tribal and family life, and honor. On the contrary, the colonial authors of the nineteenth and twentieth century did their characterization of Pashtuns on their bureaucratic terms most probably because the colonial history of the frontier was based on the accounts and personal memoirs of the

political administrators and the military officers. Hence, making it indispensable for the readers of history to deconstruct the 'identities' considering all the underlying aims and ambitions of the colonial ethnographic writers.

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Forgotten Heritage:
A Case Study of Temples in Wachowali Bazaar, Lahore

Adil Farooq Pasha / Inam Ullah Leghari

Abstract

This paper discusses the remains of a number of temples found in Mohalla Wachowali within the walled city of Lahore. These temples were described in 1886 by Kanhaiya Lal, in his book 'Tarikh-e-Lahore and are compared with the state of these temples today through photographic documentation. As 'sites of memory', these temples enable the mapping of the dialogue between the material heritage of the Old City and the ideological narratives around history. These remains show the result of intangible narratives on the built form of the city, providing a counterpoint to the heritage conservation efforts currently underway. It discusses the inter linkages of material heritage with ideology and memory, and what implications it has for archaeological study within dense urban environments.

Keywords: Hindu Temples, Lahore, Material Culture and heritage, ideology and memory

1. Introduction

Lahore is often advertised as the cultural capital of Pakistan, with the Lahore fort and Shalamar Gardens on the UNESCO's World Heritage Sites since 1981, and three other sites on the tentative list, including Badshahi Mosque, Wazir Khan's Mosque and the tombs of Jahangir, Asif Khan and the Akbari Sarai . The Aga Khan Trust for Culture has seven ongoing heritage conservation projects in Lahore, namely the Shahi Guzargah (Royal trail) pilot project, Gali Surjan Singh Conservation Project, The Shahi Hammam, Wazir Khan Mosque Complex, Northern Façade of the Wazir Khan Mosque, Chowk Wazir Khan and Lahore Fort .

This paper focuses on an aspect of Lahore's architectural heritage that is not included in any of these lists. From its mention is Hieun Triang's travelogue in 630 A.D. to the formation of Pakistan in 1947, Lahore was home to a large non-Muslim population which

included Sikhs, Hindus and Jains. They left behind a rich legacy of temples, tombs and shrines that quickly got absorbed into the densely liquid urban fabric of the city. Their remains can still be seen scattered throughout the old city, inside and outside the Walled City.

The article tries to demonstrate how heritage and history are a fluid phenomenon, intertwined with ideas of politics, collective memory and identity. It follows the theoretical work of Pierre Nora (1989) and David Lowenthal (1998) on the role of memory and heritage, discussed in light of landscape and nation building by Paul Claval (2007), historic preservation (Farrar 2011) and the role of symbols in urban memory (Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryah, 2008). The inter linkages of heritage; memory and identity are discussed by Sara McDowell (2008). The temples studied in this paper are seen as 'sites of memory' where history and memory work opposingly. Although these temples are part of the architectural fabric of The Walled City, their place in the heritage of the city has been erased, forgotten and neglected due to ideological pressures and the structural process of nation-building.

The paper presents passages from Kanhaiya Lal's Tarikh-e-Lahore (History of Lahore), which was written in 1886 . The selected passages have been translated into English by Adil Pasha for this paper. These passages describe the temples of Mohalla Wachowali as they were at the time. The juxtaposition of these descriptions of living temples with photographs of their remains today demonstrate the effect of shifts in identity formations through the process of building modern nation-states.

The research discusses the value-based approach to heritage conservation - driven by structural forces - as having a bi-directional flow between material and immaterial heritage. While heritage is the sum of a people's past, memory is constructed in the present. What is remembered in memory survives in the architecture of the city, while what is forgotten decays into brick and dust.

2. Literature Review

The production of culture and its role in the formation of a collective identity is argued by Paul Claval to be a political project. The 'political', 'constructed' culture, as it operates in contemporary times is distinctly different from the 'vernacular', historical understanding of

culture (Claval, 2007, p. 85). For Claval, interest in landscapes is linked to their role as sites of memory. They become central in the building and preservation of collective identities (Claval 2007: 85).

In times past, history and myth were often inextricable. Myth provided a vehicle for the past to be stored and transmitted from generation to generation. 'All that happened before the birth of the oldest members of the community was immemorial – it could not be known directly.' (Claval 2007: 86) Claval argues that 'writing transforms culture into objective memories' with this transformation having 'both temporal and spatial consequences'. (Claval 2007: 88)
Identity is thus closely associated with these constructed memories and history serves as a tool, used to both 'construct and chart an understanding of the progress of particular societies.' (Claval 2007: 88)

Monuments can be considered as vehicles for coding 'collective memory', or as Kulisic and Tudman say:
'references for spatial and temporal interpretation, because on the one hand they are lasting and they transmit messages through space, but also they are themself a message in the space, and on the other hand they evoke memory and remembering, sending off messages through time.' (Kulisic and Tudman 2009: 130)

Discussing the heritage value of religious sites, Rana P.B. Singh also holds that 'heritage is not an innate or primordial phenomenon', it is in fact a symbolic phenomenon that people created, which becomes 'associated with a belief system', integrating into its 'symbolic expressions and mythologies' (Singh 2017: 2).

For Singh, the potential for conflict and contention arises 'when one culture interacts with another culture holding different values', 'particularly if control or assets are at stake.' Instances of such conflict are more prevalent around the 'religious heritage landscape of South and South East Asia (Singh 2017: 2).

Given the 'created' nature of heritage, an implication for losing or forgetting certain aspects of heritage also exists. This is particularly true in urban landscapes, where the density of the built forms lend ease to change. Margaret Farrar holds that what is selected to be preserved always stands in counterpoint to what is neglected. 'Historic preservation, however, can have equally depoliticizing effects by conjuring up peculiar, selective, or even wholly imaginary pasts (Farrar 2011: 723).

This amnesia is often politically propagated, as an instrument of forces that require a certain shared value system to be propagated, most often being the state. For Rose-Redwood, Alderman and Azaryah 'the city is a site for both symbolic control and symbolic resistance', in terms of how memory acts around places. For them, 'urban memory provides a "means of accessing how various strata of society and different communities construct the metropolitan world"' (2008: 162).

Peter Probst echoes this perspective, where 'heritage is defined in relation to history and memory, for which it acts as a substitute' (Probst 2012: 11). The formation of a heritage is especially problematic for new and emerging nation states, where 'the state instrumentalizes, manipulates, suppresses, and at times even abuses local memories in order to overcome its still fragile and fragmented nature' (Probst 2012: 10).

Discussing the ethics of culture and heritage, Constantine Sandis argues that 'where there are rights there are also duties, such as those of preservation, in memory or actuality.' (Sandis 2014: 19) Although nation-states enforce a particular perspective with regard to their heritage and cultural values 'removing something from one's culture does not eliminate it from one's heritage'. For Sandis, 'the acknowledgment of heritage forms part of the ethics of remembering, and it is important to remember both the good and the bad, atrocities as well as achievements' (Sandis 2014: 13).

As a result, 'histories can become distorted and permeated (often deliberately) with inaccuracies and myths during the selection process, making the act of 'forging' in memory construction just as crucial for the cultivation of identity' (Rowlands 1999: 130).

The prevalent idea in these debates is that 'the past is chosen deliberately and subsequently consumed as appropriate but, arguably, demeaning in that it trivializes that which people consider sacred (McDowell 2008: 42). Heritage is thus 'the selective use of the past as a resource for the present (and future)' (Ashworth and Graham 2005: 7) and that 'memory and commemoration are inexorably connected to the heritage process'. Forester and Johnson (2002: 525) believe that by contesting, supporting, ratifying or ignoring symbols in the landscape, political elites and communities engage with one another through 'symbolic dialogue'. Through this analysis of 'symbolic dialogue', we can 'map meaning' in the cultural landscape (Whelan 2005: 61); (McDowel 2008: 41).

Fast rates of growth and high population pressures have forced people to inhabit these sacred structures, which have been adapted through various interventions to suit human habitation. Many of these temples have been saved by these locals from destruction by religious fanatics when tensions between India and Pakistan increase (Sheikh 2015). The people around these historic landmarks live in a carefully negotiated space between respect, necessity, survival and memory.

This text seeks to explore the cultural fabric, through architectural traces, of a geography that was once famed for its multi-layered, complex, tolerant and syncretic nature. As Nehru remarked, the subcontinent is 'an ancient palimpsest on which layer upon layer of thought and reverie had been inscribed, and yet no succeeding layer had completely hidden or erased what had been written previously' (Nehru 2005); (Natarajan 2013: 370).

3. Methodology

This article presents an exploratory research on sites of cultural and archeological significance. It takes a phenomenological approach to studying the relationship of material and immaterial culture, with implications for heritage and conservation paradigms.

Through extensive photographic documentation, interviews with the inhabitants of these locations as well as the Department of Archaeology and Lahore Museum personnel, and a literature review of academic material and historical publications, this paper makes the case that more Hindu temples existed in Lahore than are currently documented. Anthropological data was collected to provide insights to the erasure of the 'sacredness' of these sites from collective memory as a cultural mechanism, resulting from a history of violence, politics of space and identity.

The paper also uses secondary sources of data collection. Secondary research was conducted at the Archaeology Department at the University of Punjab, Lahore and the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations at Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad. This research uses Kanhaiya Lal's book 'Tarikh-e-Lahore' as source and reference, as it provides one of the few existing historical accounts of these temples.

4. Locale

Mohalla Wachowali: Mohalla Wachowali is located in the center of the Walled City, west of Shah Alami Road that bisects the old city (Figure 1). It can be approached via the Mochi Gate, through the Paniwala Talaab. It is adjacent to the Suha Bazaar. In the present time, Wachowali bazaar is a hub for the manufacturing of ladies' shoes, sandals, and slippers. Numerous small workshops are found in the buildings and apartments here, while many buildings on the ground level serve as storehouses for the brands these workshops work with.

About Mr. Kanhaiya Lal: Born in 1830 in the town of Jalaiser to a Hindu Kayasth family. Rai Bahadur Kanhaiya Lal was a civil engineer by profession, and served as an Assistant Engineer in the Public Works Department (PWD) during British Rule. His first appointment was in Lahore, in 1850, where he stayed for the remainder of his life.

Kanhiya Lal worked as an engineer on some of the era's architectural masterpieces, including the main building of Government College, Mayo School of Arts, Lawrence Hall and Montgomery Hall. Having a diverse and eclectic education, Kanhaiya Lal was both a poet as well as an amateur historian. He published two books of Urdu and Persian poetry before writing the Tarikh-e-Lahore. Till date, it is one of the most comprehensive historical records of the city.

5. The Temples of Mohalla Wachowali

The following section presents excerpts from Kanhaiya Lal's work Tarikh-e-Lahore, written in 1886 (Lal, 2013 {1886}). The authors have translated these selected passages into English for the purpose of presenting a description of the temples when they were intact and in use. Kanhaiya La's book is one of the few historical documents that describes the names of these temples, their ownsership and architecture to this level of detail.

> "*Thakur Dwara Jwala Dai*: This Thakur Dwara is situated to the west at the forefront of the bazaar in Mohalla Wachowali. Its building is magnificent and solid, with plastered walls. The founder of this house was a woman by the name of Juwala Dai, wife of Ram Kishan, who dedicated the construction of the temple with her heart's compassionate intent. The foundation of the house is almost one story

high. Access is gained by climbing the stairs, after which a magnificent door has been constructed with sections and engravings. Proceeding ahead of this is a heavy ambulatory covered with a roof. Going on the path towards the south, this ambulatory opens to a yard. The yard is enclosed by the building on all four sides. On the east is the wall which adjoins the street of the bazaar. Towards the west are small apartments, kitchen etc. Towards the north a courtyard has been made with ornate construction. This courtyard has vaulted chambers with carved roofs of wood…On top of this courtyard is a second story, on which a grand sitting area has been made with windows. It has been constructed in the same style, shape and colour as the lower courtyard. The priest of the temple lives here. To the south of the yard is a magnificent temple to the Lord, made very beautifully and solid. The door of the temple faces north, and a beautiful verandah is constructed in front of the door. Entering the door of the temple one enters the sacrum of the temple. It has a vaulted ceiling and above it is a very tall, staged pyramidal dome. The top of the dome is gilded. The floor of the temple is made of marble and its walls are engraved. On the wall opposite the door, an ornate marble niche houses two statues, one of the Lord Krishna and the other of Radhika made beautifully out of stone. Both these statues have been dressed in proud raiment and jewelry. Countless people come here to worship at both times." p.138

"Makan Ram Dwara: This auspicious house is also situated in the Wachowali Mohalla. Although it is on the bazaar front, the access to and from the temple is from a side lane. Its foundation is high. One climbs the outer stairs to enter the door. Crossing the vestibule to go inside, one finds a beautifully constructed square house. There are four wooden verandahs on its four sides. Three corners have small rooms attached, while the fourth corner, towards the north-west has an ambulatory. The western verandah has windows opening towards the bazaar. A period of six years has passed since this building was constructed and Harji Ram was appointed as the resident priest of the place…The recitation of holy books Bhagvad Gita and Ramayan is done daily and the worship of the deities is done with great focus and attention, so that whoever comes at the time of recitation is immediately given a rosary of tulsi (basil) in his hand and is told to worship Ram. As long as he is there he keeps reciting bhajan (chants) on the rosary. He keeps it back when leaving. In the middle of the circle is a huge pile of these rosaries and a man has been appointed to manage the rosaries.." p.139

"Bheru Ji ka Asthan: This auspicious place of worship is built on a side street from the main road towards the east in Mohalla Wachowali. There are three terraces built on top of one another. The first is made of brick with lime plastered walls, on top of it, although a bit lower in height, is a terrace made of red stone. Over this is a marble terrace and the building of the temple itself is also of marble which has two niches. One niche holds a lamp which burns day and night. The second niche, built on top of the first, holds an iron peg driven into it on which garlands of flowers are kept hanging. On top of this is a 'small dome' which should be called a half-dome and it has a little bit of gilding on it as well. On the lower terrace there is a small room to the south with a wooden door that faces north. It holds the necessary apparatus for keeping the lamps lit etc. Across the street from this temple there is a two storied hostel for the worshippers' rest. It is a windowed house that faces the temple with only the street in between. This building has been made magnificently, with many windows and a solid construction and the worshippers come stay here and rest." p.140

"Mandir Bawa Mehr Das: This is a building in Mohalla Wachowali that covers a vast area, with four magnificent temples in it. It might be appropriate to call this a collection of temples rather than a single temple. In the center is the building of Thakurdwara Mehr Das which is the first and the oldest building. It is not less than 200 years old. It holds a lot of stone statues of deities. The oldest idol, which is from the time of Bawa Mehr Das, is kept with great pomp on the lower niche. In other niches there are many other idols of Lord Krishna and Mother Radha etc. In the present time, i.e. 1936 Bikrami, a clothier by the name of Vas Dev has renovated this temple. He has greatly enlivened it with whitewash and other things. He has also placed two idols of Lord Krishna and Radha Ji by himself in it. He has also placed a marble brick with his name engraved on it at the front of the temple so that people will know that this temple was made by Vas Dev around 1936 Bikrami.

This building is not domed. There is instead a room with several niches which have idols placed in it. Every statue has ornate raiment. This temple is treated with great reverence because of its old age, and people come to worship here at both times.

The second temple is a grand building built behind the yard of Shwala Mehr Das. First there is a magnificent platform solidly constructed. The Temple is on top of this, its door being towards the east. Entering this there is a small stone platform for the temple. On it is the footprint of Lord Shiva. On this is a basin with a metal pitcher

which holds water. The walls of the temple are solid and engraved with an arched ceiling with an elongated pyramidal dome that is beautiful and the gilding shines on it. This shwala was made by Sukh Ram Das Khatri Kapur around 1930 Bikrami in memoriam of his deceased son Mela Ram. Jai Kishn Das, Sukh Ram Das' grandson looks after the affairs and expenses of the temple.

The third temple is an extremely well made shwala towards the right of Shwala Mehr Das. This temple is also placed in the middle of the yard with a solid and large platform. It also has a pyramidal dome which is gilded. Its founder was a paan-seller by the name of Bhagtan who ran a paan shop during Sikh rule over Lahore. This building was made around 1930 Bikrami as well. Thus both these temples were made in the same year with this yard.

The fourth temple is dedicated to the Goddess of 84 bells. It is situated opposite the temple of Bawa Mehr Das towards the East. Its platform should be considered the same as that of Bawa Mehr Das' temple. This building is also made solidly out of lime plaster. In front of the door there is a ceilinged verandah. There are wooden shafts placed in the walls of the temple on which 84 bells have been placed. The door of the temple is towards the south. Going inside there is a stone idol of the goddess placed in a niche. It has lime plastered walls, vaulted ceiling and a penannular (onion shaped) dome above it. This goddess appeared here around 1931 Bikrami, i.e. 1875 C.E. It chanced that the priest started digging up some bricks from the yard. While they were digging out the bricks this goddess came out of the ground. It became known that the goddess has decided to appear by herself. In a short time, this news spread throughout the city and the believers gathered here in such large numbers that for some days there was a festival here. Thousands of rupees were gathered as donation. Finally, it was decided that this deity's temple should also be constricted in the same yard. The priest Cheetu Mehrotra Khatri spent his own savings to construct this temple and carved a brick with his name and placed it over the door of the temple. On this brick his name Cheetu and the date February 1875 C.E. is written. On the northeast corner of the yard there is an ambulatory, and on the southwest corner of the platform there is a wooden domed temple with tin metal sheets over it and a Shivling is placed in the center but there is no basin or pitcher." (p. 142)

6. The Temples Today

In the 145 years that have passed since the writing of the above passages, a lot has changed in Wachowali Mohalla. There is no whole building existing today that fits the descriptions given by Kanhaiya Lal. However, fragments of these buildings can be seen emerging from the landscape. With the progress of time, the architectural fabric has grown denser inside the Walled City. With its outer boundaries restricted, the Walled city has grown vertically as well, and the once iconic spires of these temples are now dwarfed by the surrounding constructions (Figure 10).

It can be assumed that the parts of the temples other than the spires have been repurposed and remodeled to fit the needs of the communities residing in the Mohalla today. The spires have survived as they serve no other purpose, their bricks are irregularly shaped, and perhaps they still carry the essence of a sacred place and hence have not been destroyed (Figure 2)

The buildings that do remain appear as fossils embedded inside the city, around which the living city has adapted itself.

One has to go through narrow alleys to reach these buildings and once there, there is no way to get a good perspective on the building (Figure 4). The only way to get an objective view is to climb to the upper stories or roofs of the surrounding houses, which involves obtaining permission from the residents.

The structures are in a state of extreme neglect and disrepair, yet signs of their once ornate craftsmanship can be seen. The bricks used in the niches and jharoka of the shikara (spire) are individually constructed, and of dimensions unique to the structures. The lime plaster, although now darkened and eroded, still holds its form, preserving the shape of the temples' shikara (Brittanica, 2011).

The yards, terraces and platform that provided the negative space to these structures have vanished, being buried beneath the more modern additions as seen in Figure 3, characterized by the use of contemporary bricks (9x4.5x3 inches).

Figure 6 shows the view of the temple spire from above, with the lower left corner showing the piles of garbage that have accumulated in the spaces in between the shikara and the surrounding buildings.

Figure 7 shows the spire in context with another spire (detail in Figure 2) that is situated around 50 feet from it. Originally part of the same temple, these two structures now have three houses in between them.

Figure 8 shows another temple, with its inner sanctum and shikara being relatively intact. Its doorway arch is intact, showing delicate reliefs. The niches on the tower itself still hold pigments from frescoes that would have been decorating the towers along with the gilding. However, it is surrounded on all sides by high buildings, with its walls adjoining other structures. The room itself was being used as a store. The tower of this temple is more than 30 ft. high from the roof of the room, yet the surrounding buildings now dwarf it. Figures 9 and 10 shows other views of the same temple.

7. Discussion

The change in these places from lively, gilded places of worship to derelict remains of an era forgotten came about not as a result of bureaucratic neglect or lack of policy but through the structural application of an ideology of nation-building that does not have room for such places in its cultural syntax.

The survival of these buildings can also be attributed to local indigenous memory, operating on a mythical and almost subconscious level that has prevented the destruction of these buildings.

The complex as it exists today is inhabited by several families, who no longer view the 'shikaras' and the sanctuaries as sites with any religious significance. However, the fact that they have not demolished the structures points to an implicit understanding of their 'sacred' significance. The remains of the temples remain separated from the profane residential spaces which have surrounded and even absorbed some parts of the temple structure.

When asked about their perceptions regarding the temples they inhabit, these families were of the view that 'this is our home, the people who built these have gone away long ago, and we have resided here since the time of our grandfathers.' They also add that although some visitors come to see the temple every year, their number has gone down, adding that 'most of the visitors are foreigners (white people), and no Hindu has visited these sites for many years.'

During our research, all residents stated that they have 'always inhabited this place, since the time of our grandfathers.' These

structures had also 'always been there', but there the dialogue between them and the places they inhabited ends. This dialogue, that has all the characteristics of a 'cultural amnesia' discussed earlier, serves to prevent the inhabitants being in ideological conflict with the structures they inhabit.

These remain, although still distinguishable as sacred places, and having all the characteristics of the religious architecture of Hinduism. Over the years, they have slowly submerged below the conscious recognition of the inhabitants of the Walled City. Now they serve as the ground upon which the contemporary landscape is built.
This conscious amnesia has interesting implications for archaeological research in densely populated urban areas. This phenomenon is analogous to witnessing the formation of the archeological strata we find in the excavation of ancient cities.

Any detailed survey work of these and similar sites will also have to adapt new methodologies, in order to deal with the resident population for whom these 'sites' have been home since the formation of the country. These sites present a highly active, fluid architectural fabric that is undergoing rapid change. A single wall can have bricks from as long ago as the Mughal Era to the present day. These bricks are also reused, while newer modern bricks are often used to repair old walls (Figure 11).

8. Conclusions

The evidence presented above lays the grounds for a widespread Hindu presence throughout the Walled City, with a vibrant and flourishing architectural tradition. At present however, these temples have lost 'ownership' among the community as temples, and are seen simply as 'structures'. The sanctity that accompanied the temple space seems to have been withdrawn with the departure of Hindus from the city. The structures are seen as relics from a past that has little to do with the lives of the inhabitants, yet still occupy a vaguely sacred position that prevents outright destruction.

It is also evident that a lot of strain on these temples comes from population pressures, especially in the Inner City. The habitation of these temples is often not the most convenient of living arrangements, but the highly fluid nature of urban dynamics in these areas is swiftly taking over the fragile temples- whose existence

depends directly on the conscious or subconscious perception of value among the people of 'androon'(interior) Lahore.

The findings presented in this paper aim to lay the groundwork for more detailed study into the historicity of the temples existing within the Walled City of Lahore, which as an urban center is subject to high pressures of population growth and urban dynamics, exerting a strain on these cultural heritage and material culture in the context of Hindu temples.

Lahore has several such sites of historical and archaeological significance that have not come to notice of any study or documentation. These sites can be classified as highly vulnerable to the forces of modernization, population growth, urbanization and development. They are made even more vulnerable by not falling under any conservation or protection agendas, which are mostly used to promote dominant political and cultural ideologies.

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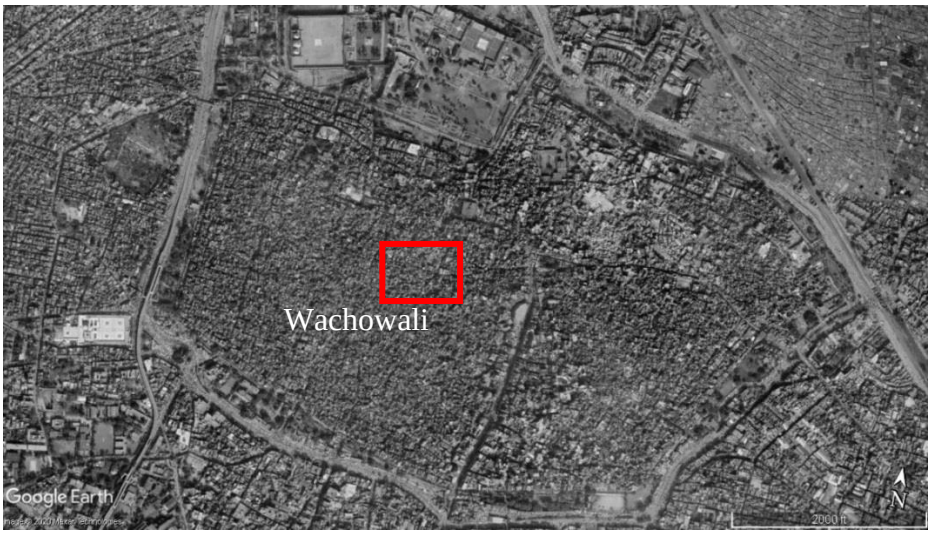

Fig. 1 - Aerial View of Walled City, Lahore with Mohalla Wachowali marked in red. Data Darbar is on lower left and Lahore fort at the top of image. ©Google Earth

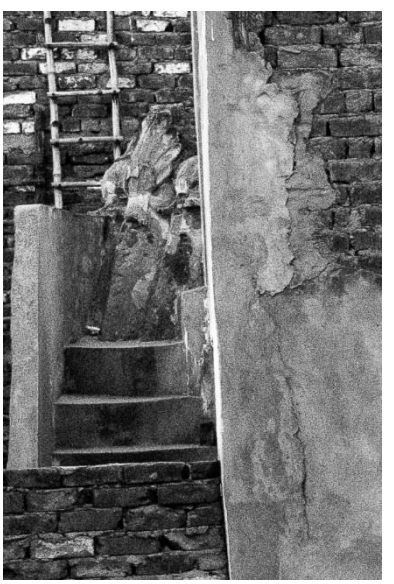

Fig. 2 - The spire of a temple peers out of a staircase.

Fig. 3 - The walls of a temple form the end of a narrow street.

Fig. 4 - Street view of a temple, showing pillars and shikara.

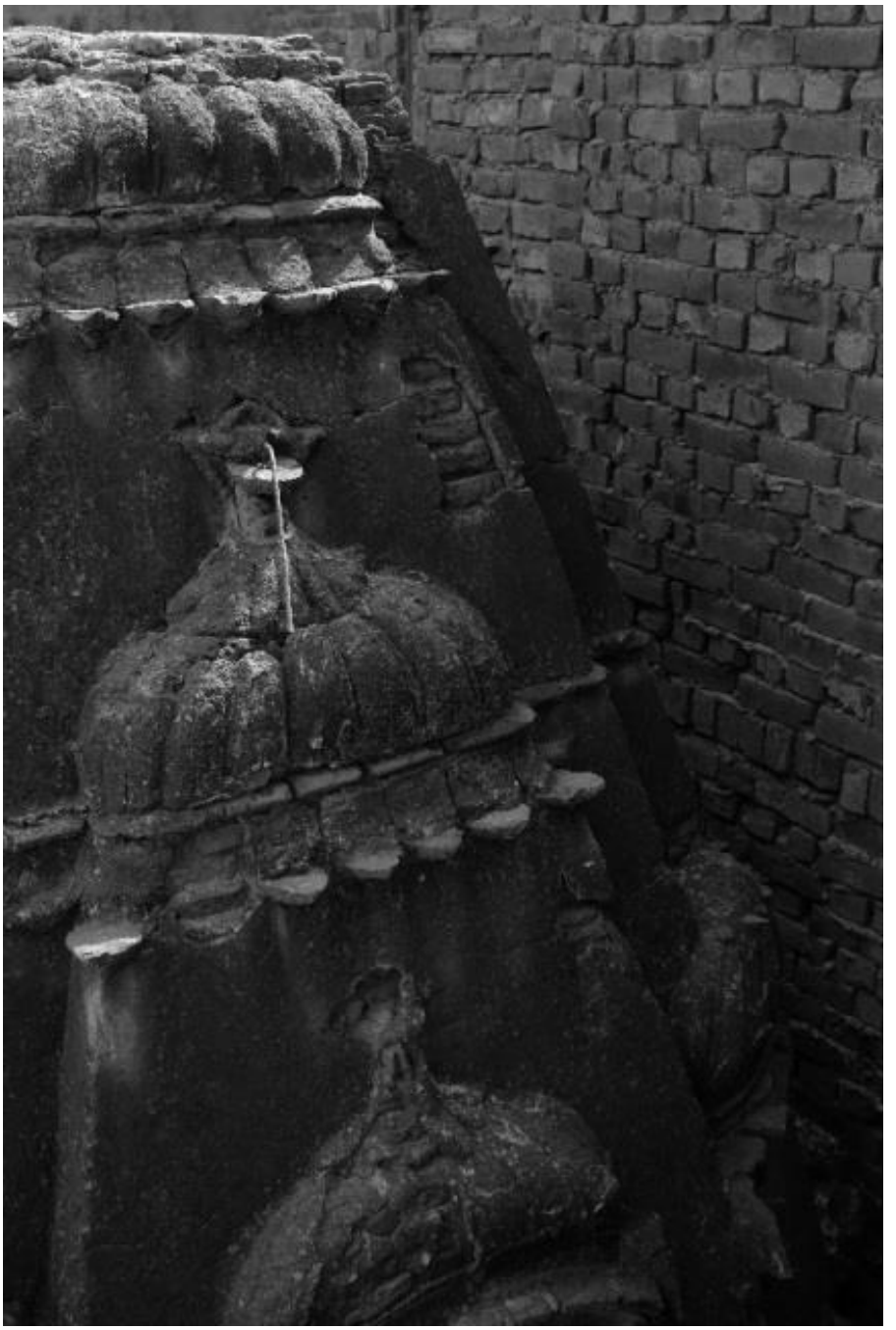

Fig. 5 - View of shikara from roof of opposite building.

Fig. 6 - View from above.

Fig. 7 - View across, showing remans of another shikara in background.

Fig. 8 - A temple embedded in the surrounding buildings.

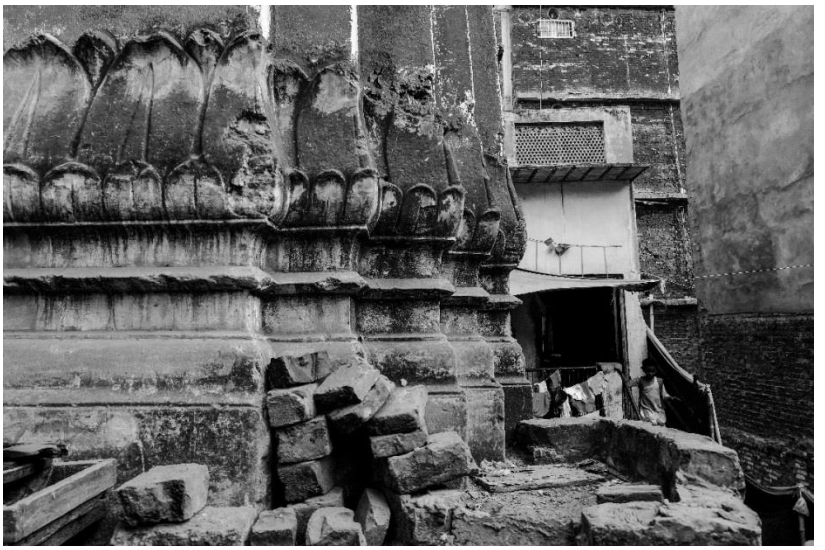

Fig. 9 - The base of the shikara.

Fig. 10 - The shikara in context to surrounding buildings.

Fig. 11 - A construction site showing the use of multiple types of bricks.

The Peshawar Museum in Retrospect

Nidaullah Sehrai / Muhammad Waqar

Abstract

Peshawar Museum was established in 1905 and is the fourth oldest museum in Pakistan. It presents a blend mixture of British and Rajastani architectural elements. It has the largest Gandhara Buddhist collection of panel reliefs and other sculptures. A lot has been written on the museum collection but the museum building itself has always been ignored. Was the museum building originally designed for the display of antiquities or for some other purpose, if the building was not originally designed as a museum, how did it end up in becoming a magnificent repository of sculptures are the kind of questions which needed to be properly addressed. An attempt is made in the following pages to answer these question. This research is based on the archival material now available. A detail description of the architectural features is given here for the first time.

Keywords: Peshawar Museum, Victoria Memorial Hall, British, N.W.F.P, History, Archaeology

1. Introduction

The Asiatic Society of Bengal (ASB)was founded in 1784. The cultural material collected by its researchers was displayed in Calcutta (present Kolkatta) in a proper museum in 1814 (Markham *et al.* 1936: 195). Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India and Sir John Marshall, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India were responsible for establishing museums in the main cities and over half a dozen site museums in the subcontinent (Ibid : 10). The first museum of Pakistan, the Victoria Museum, Karachi, was founded in 1851, the Lahore Museum in 1864, the MacMahon Museum, Quetta in 1900 and the Peshawar Museum in 1907 (Pl. 1) (Dar 1981: 13). Apart from these, other museums were also founded at several places in the territory presently called Pakistan. The Peshawar Museum is first mentioned by Mr. Loewenthal (1862:411-13) while discussing some of the sculptures and panel reliefs in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and its

gradual filling with antiquities in 1861. Sir Alexander Cunningham (1871:125) mentions the existence of a museum at Peshawar in 1872, while discussing an inscribed relic casket (vase) which he believed was from Taxila and was in the possession of the Peshawar Museum. But where was this museum precisely located no information is available. During the War of Independence 1857 the ground floor of the Ali Mardan Khan Villa was converted into the Government Treasury, where as antiquities were stored on the first floor (Khan 1998: 20). The Guides Mess had its own collection of sculptures often mentioned by early writers. The N.W.F Province District Gazetteer, Peshawar records "The Mess besides being a museum of precious relics and trophies is also the home of the Corps of Guides. The glories of old Gandhara are recalled by a number of sculptures and statues which are unique in design and interest." (N.W.F. P. Gazetteers 1934: 315). On the request of Sir Aurel Stein this precious collection was handed over to the Peshawar Museum.

2. The Concept of a Museum Building

According to the archival record published by the Rashtrapati Bhavan[1] Library Delhi, India, 'Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer, Offg. Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, of the North West Province wrote a letter to the Governor General of India dated 24th July 1905. In the letter he wrote, "To honour the Late Queen Victoria it is decided to build a monument at Peshawar in her memory which was officially named as Victoria Memorial Hall and will be inaugurated by Prince of Wales when he will visit Peshawar in 1905. An amount of Rs. 45,000 was collected (which included Rs. 20,000) through private donations in the province in 1901-02. While the Municipality provided Rs. 20,000 (mentioned above) and Rs. 5,000 by the District Board of Peshawar. The Local donors were in favour of constructing a Darbar Hall (Assembly Hall) in Her Majesty's memory. During the Director General of Archaeology, Mr. John Marshall;s visit to Peshawar in 1903 he suggested that a museum for the Buddhist period antiquity of the province should be constructed at Peshawar and promised that he will request the Government of India for a Grant-in-Aid of Rs.15.000 for the museum project. A total of Rs. 60,000 were collected for the project

[1] It is the name of President House of India.

and spent on the construction, furnishing and interior decoration of the building. For the building the present site was selected which was in the middle of cantonment and city". The reply from the Govenor General's Office was also received in the following order:

Letter from Private Secretary to Viceroy, to H. A. Stuart, Esq., C.S.I., Offq. Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated 28th July 1905, on the contribution for the Victoria Memorial at Peshawar.

> "The Viceroy desires me to forward the accompanying letter from Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer, regarding a contribution from archaeological funds for the Victoria Memorial at Peshawar. Will you please let me know the views of the Department upon it?" (Indian Archaeology 1899-1905: 66-68).

There are no details available regarding the private donors and their contributed amounts. But it was a common practice that an inscribed plaque mentioning the names of donors and the donated amount was installed in the buildings. The Victoria Memorial Hall, Muzzafargarh which was inaugurated in 1909 the donor's plaques are still installed in the original place (Pl. 2). When the Prince of Wales visited Peshawar, the building was incomplete and it was not inaugurated by him. Instead he was presented with a model of the building as a silver casket in which the welcome address was kept. The address was presented and read out by Babu Abdul Gafur Khan, Divisional Judge in Gor Khuttree where the Prince of Wales stayed during his visit (Pl. 3) (Sahai 1906: 140).

2. Building Style

The other memorial buildings constructed by the British in Peshawar are Mackeson Memorial, Hastings Memorial, the All Saints Church, the Saint John's Church and the Government House (Jaffar 2008: 154). The Portuguese, Dutch, French and Danish colonies adopted their native style of architecture of 17th and 18th century's buildings in India. The British also followed their footsteps but adapted it to the climatic conditions of the Indian subcontinent in larger cities. During the latter half of the 19th century the architects merged the local indigenous styles with the British architecture. Mr. R. F. Chisholm and Mr. H. Irwin

produced "Hindu-Saracenic" style. The other renowned architects of the same period were Sirdar Ram Singh in Punjab, Mr. F. C. Oertal in the United Provinces and Mr. E. B. Havell in Bengal, Mr. G. Wittet in Bombay. (Brown 1942: 135-36).

3. Sir Swinton Jacob: The Architect

Sir Swinton Jacob (Pl. 4) of Royal Engineer also transformed the Indian architectural styles according to the modern needs. He designed Sandeman Memorial Hall, Quetta; Victoria Memorial Hall, Peshawar; St. Stephen's College Lahore in present day Pakistan. As an Engineer and Political Officer, he severed the Maharajah of Jaipur and was awarded with KCIE (Knight Commander of the Indian Empire) and CVO (Commanders of the Royal Victorian Order). He died at Weybridge on 4 Nov 1817 (Rao 1915: 203-4).

Marshall twice mentioned the completion of the newly constructed Peshawar Museum building and mentioned the imperial subsidy of Rs. 15000 for the museum at Peshawar in the Annual Reports of Archaeolgical Survey of India (Marshall 1907: 02, Marshall 1906-07?: 03). The same amount was promised by Marshall in 1903 visit to Peshawar as mentioned above in the letter of Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer.

The Victoria Memorial Hall was built in 1905 and lies 34.01 N and 71.56 E on the world map. The museum was opened for the public as Peshawar Museum in November 1907. It is situated close to the Governor House and the Secretariat buildings just by the side of the main road that comes from the Cantonment Railway Station. The Memorial building stands on a grassy terrace. The brick building with four crowing kiosks at the corners is typically Curzonian architectural style, having Mughals and European elements. The total display area was 4850 sq. and consisted of one hall and four side galleries, two each on ground floor and up-stairs (Pls. 5, 6) (Dar 1979: 11-12, Jaffar 2008: 96, Dani 1995: 216-17).

4. Lawns

The size of the museum front and side lawns have shrinked because of new construction work and widening of the main road. The old Cypress trees were removed in 2001 and new trees were planted. The old trees

were complimenting the antiquity of the building and their removal has damaged its beauty. Flower beds are cultivated with oranges, roses and seasonal plants. For watering boring was done in the front lawn where pottery sherds were recovered at a depth of 80 feet. It shows that the museum is located on an archaeological site and in the past from the nearby Governor House punched mark coins were recovered.

5. Building Exterior

Prof. Dr. A. H. Dani has written about the architecture of the Victoria Memorial Hall Peshawar that it is a mixture of Mughal and British architectural elements, but if the building is studied in detail it has more influence from the monuments of Rajasthan. Swinton Jacob was stationed in Jaypore for a long period.

The museum building is oriented from Northwestern and Southeastern. Bricks, wood, iron and (*Kasuri mitti*) mortar was used in the construction of the building. The brick are devoid of plaster and are laid in English bond. The plaster was used only in interior and for decorative work. The whole building can be divided into four parts: the main hall, side aisles, side galleries and offices. The building is resting upon a raised podium showing torus and cyma mouldings. Its thick walls have empty space in between for insulation purpose. The main entrances to the hall are provided on the western and eastern side in the centre in the form of a projected vestibule. Its front corners have octagonal shafts/turrets crowned by cupolas/*chattris*; while the side walls are pierced with a windows. The projected *chajja* marks the level of ceiling, above it is a low wall forming a terrace on top of the vestibule. On the ground floor on either side of the vestibule are two windows; on the first floor are five of which the middle one has similar *jharoka* frame of the ground floor. The other four windows on the side have flat roof decorated with merlons. In their construction show segmental or terminated arches and double doors and are framed by projected cornices having two pilasters topped by a *chajja.* The parapet is crowned by three ribbed cupolas. The windows are separated by piers having Loin spout on either side. The parapet is plastered and decorated with false merlons. Each pier at the parapet is crowned by a cupola with a square solid base and a false arch on either side. The cupola are crowned by finial. Some piers on the central hall are crowned by solid capulas. The only difference is that instead of

windows it has a ventilator in each panel. The wooden shutters of the ventilators are divided into three cusped arched frames with glass pans. Originally the corner cupolas and the *jharoka* at the front rested upon four pillars with arches (Pls. 7, 8).

6. Rooms/Offices

At each end of the longitudinal wall are square rooms of which the ones at the east and south open on the south eastern side and are meant for offices. The arched windows are framed in recessed arches. The rooms on the first floor are provided with an entrance from the aisles and on three sides windows are framed by a half projected *jharoka*. The balcony of the *jharoka* rests upon a row of projected brackets forming a cornice: two pillars are support the *chajja*. On top of the roof of these rooms are octagonal platforms with (domed pavilion) *chattri*. Each pillar is in the form of an octagonal shaft crowned by a capital supporting a cusped arch in a recessed frame having projected *chajja*, above is a round low drum from emerge stylized acanthus leaves forming a collar for the dome which is crowned by *padmakosha* and finial. The roofs of the rooms on which the *chattris* are resting and projected in the centre with receding corners on three sides. Originally it was provided with a wooden railing which was later on replaced with cemented grill (Pl. 9).

7. Western Entrances to Stair

Flanking the main entrance are two doors, each opening under a cusped arch. These were used by the people for going to the first floor. Presently these doors have been blocked and the space converted into a washroom of the curator's office on one side on the other into a kitchen. On top of the entrance is a small office having small arch window in eastern and western walls. Towards the south is an arched opening with a doorway having a narrow-projected balcony supported by a cornice (Pl. 10).

8. Main Entrance from the Governor House side

The main entrance to the hall on the northwest. It has three double doors in cusped arches framed in rectangular panels having rosettes in

the spandrels. The door are separated from one another by three pilasters. In the side walls were arched windows which have been permanently blocked. The doors open into a lobby having entrances to the curator's office and the coin room opposite to it. In the centre of the entrance lobby is a huge segmental arch which separate the offices from the steps leading to the first floor (Pl. 11).

9. Main Hall

Three archways supported by octagonal shaft columns open into the main hall. Opposite to these arches are two large arches similar to the five arches on either side. In past there was a raised platform at the opposite side, which was later removed and the windows in the back wall were permanently blocked. It was used by the musicians and singers during ball parties. All the arches are framed in a recessed rectangular panel with rosettes in the corner. The balconies of the first floor are slightly projected with the help of simple brackets in row, thus forming a cornice with a low wooden railing having gul-e-no pattern. The main hall is constructed with the help of five huge arches supporting the flat roof constructed with the help of iron girder beams, Tee iron rafters and *choka* or thin bricks. To hide the girders and for the sake of beautification a false ceiling was built in 1969. To strengthen the structure the beam girders are externally attached with thick iron plates with the help of nuts and bolts and these plates are again tied to one another with a thick long iron bar which is a very unique type of strengthening process. The purpose was to avoid the collapse of the structure caused by the huge span of arches exerting pressure on the side walls. The purpose of the side aisles was to provide strength to the structures. The wooden floor of the main hall was made of teak wood replaced and repaired many times, presently the teak planks have been replaced by diyar or Pine. There is a space between the wooden floor and the ground below it for air circulation. The air ducts are provided on all the four sides to protect the wooden logs from of humidity and to keep it dry (Pls. 12).

10. Lobby on First Floor

Wooden stairs of teak are provided on either side of the entrance lobby. Of the three contiguous archways, the central doorway is changed into

a showcase while the side doors with glass pans open into the terrace on top of the half lobby i.e. curator's office and coin room. At each corner of the parapet is a solid cupola and the parapet is decorated with pseudomerlons. The doors and windows of both rooms are made in segmental arches. The newly constructed galleries have tarnished the beauty of the old building which was well balanced.

The curator's office and coin room clearly indicate that these were later additions when Sir John Marshall gave the idea to build a museum in Peshawar. The brick recovered from curator's office during repair work are inscribed with 1908. On top of the main hall at each corner is a cupola which was supported by four pillars while towards the Governor House were three cupolas in the centre which are missing now. The corner cupolas are replaced with solid ones.

11. Addition in the building

In 1969–70 on the eastern and western sides of the building, two halls were added in a similar fashion. In 1974–75, a second story was added to these two side halls (Ali *et al*. 2014: 5716). S. M. Jaffer have acknowledged the contribution of the people for the development of the Museum in the following words: "That Peshawar Museum has a very bright future admits of no doubt. It is deeply indebted to Mr. B. A. Kureshi, S.PK., S.Q.A., C.S.P., Chairman, Planning and Development Board, West Pakistan, for his untiring efforts in initiating and completing its renovation and starting its expansion at a cost of Rs. ten lacs and thus meeting the long-felt need" (Jaffar 1969: iv).

12. Administrative Control

Sir Aurel Stein was appointed as the first curator of the Museum in 1906 and it was opened for the public in November 1907 (Markham *et al.* 1936:). Initially the Peshawar Municipality was looked after the Museum until April 1910.Then the control was shifted to the Local Government but still the Municipality maintained its garden which was later handed over to the Local Government in 1917 (Markham *et al.* 1936: 195). Being a provincial Museum it was directly controlled by the Director of Public Instructions, Peshawar in the past (Jaffar 1969: iv). The curators were also holding the charge of Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle till 1927 when the

office was shifted to Lahore. With the appointment of a full-time curator, the building along with antiquities was transferred to the Provincial Government. Then a Board of Governors was established for the Peshawar Museum in December 1971. It was an autonomous body headed by the Chief Secretary of the Province as Chairman of the Board. The Museum started receiving annual Grant in Aid from the Provincial Government. Later on, the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa was established on 1st July 1992. The control of the museum was then handed over to this Directorate, which operated under the of Archaeology and Museums, Ministry of Sports, Youth Affairs, Tourism, Archaeology and Museum, Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa (Ali *et al*. 2014: 5714-15).

13. Activities in the Museum

The first session of the Legislative Assembly of the then North-West Frontier Province took place in the museum building on April 19, 1932 (Pl. 13). The Viceroy of India, Lord Willington inaugurated the session (Ali *et al*. 2014: 5715). For the legislative Council meeting, it was kept closed for seven weeks in 1935. The building was also used for committee meetings, vice-regal durbars, meetings of the local Associations of Peshawar, Girl Guides, Local examinations, tea parties, etc. Because of these activities the museum was kept closed for the visitors (Markham and Hargreaves 1936: 68).

Amoung other important event which took place in the Victoria Memorial Hall was the Jirga of Mohmands, Orakzais, Afridis and other neighboring tribes. On 13 February, 1915, Roos-Keppel held a representative ***Jirga*** of 3,000 men in the Victoria Memorial Hall, Peshawar, where he announced the grant of increased allowances on the condition of "loyalty, good conduct, ratification of past agreements, and equitable distribution of the whole subsidy" by the tribe. For the loyalty of the trans-border chiefs, Roos-Keppel recommended gift of rifles and ammunition to the Mehtar of Chitral and the Nawabs of Amb and Dir (Baha 1978: 85).

In the post Partition era the establishment of the Museums Association of Pakistan took place on the premises of the Peshawar Museum. It was chaired by Sir Mortimer Wheeler in 1949 and was also attended by Abdul Qayyum Khan, Chief Minister, North West Frontier Province. Large number of people participated and the Association

worked tirelessly for the development of Museums in Pakistan (Pl. 14) (Shakur 1949: 10).

14. Collection and Display

During the first display large sculptures were displayed outside the building in the vestibule (Pl. 8) and the relief panels along with small sculptures on wooded panels in the side aisle (Pl. 10-11). The museum collections were displayed in the vestibule, side galleries, and upper galleries of the building (Pls. 15, 16, 17) (Dar 1979: 11-12).

Initially trilingual labels (English, Urdu and Pushto) were used for the guidance of visitors. Now only bilingual labels are placed with the exhibits. Before partition there was a "Purdah" day on Thursday when only female visitors were permitted.

The arches with in the hall gave way to showcases and for display of sculptures in 1968-70. The newly established eastern hall was converted into the Ethnological and the western hall Islamic gallery.

The record number of visitors to the Peshawar Museum in pre-Partition era was 95,904 in 1910-11. When Sahribahlol excavation were carried out by H. Hargreaves in 1906-07, he gave an account of the sculptures found and displayed in the Peshawar museum, in the following words.

> "The sculptures finds were singularly rich and numerous. No complete detailed list of them is here given, as this will find its natural place in the illustrated catalogue of the Peshawar Museum, where the collection is now exhibited. But an even better idea of the extent of the finds than such a list would give, can be gathered from the statement that they number nearly 300 fragments and fill twelve cases in the museum, where they take up more than one entire side of the main gallery. In arranging these sculptures in the Museum an attempt has been made, so far as I know the first attempt of the kind, to exhibit them with some classifications" (Marshall 1909: 106).

Similarly, during the excavation at Takht-i-bhai in 1907-8, the excavator mentioned the excavation material in the following words,

> "The most important result of the work in the year under review was the recovery of the sculptures mentioned above. Apart from shapeless

> fragments and those too badly damaged to justify being placed in the Museum under present condition (footnote:), the stone fragments alone number 472 specimens, occupying 15 cases in the Museum galleries, besides some dozen larger sculptures in the entrance hall (Spooner 1911: 135).

The number of antiquities went on increasing rapidly. The available space for display in the museum became insufficient with the passage of time. Thus arrangement had to be mad for additional space.. The credit of rapid development in all departments of the museum goes to Dr. Spooner, who classified the antiquities according to the most scientific and up-to-date methods. The catalogue of the antiquities could not be finalized because of his other engagements as Archaeological Superintendent. Proposals accordingly were made for the appointment of an assistant (Marshall 1909: 03).

The antiquities consisted of of images of the Buddha, Bodhisattvas and Buddhist deities, reliefs illustrating the life of the Buddha and Jataka stories, architectural pieces and minor antiquities excavated at Charsada, Sahribahlol, Shah-ji-ki-dheri, Takht-i-Bahi and Jamalgarhi (See Figure), including engraved gems, pottery, relic caskets, stone, ivory, shell and metal objects. In the upper gallery are exhibited lithic inscriptions in Kharoshti, Sarada, Gupta, Kufic and Persian characters and photographs of the excavated sites yielding the antiquities. Electrotypes of the early coins of the North West Frontier Province are exhibited in the hall but the coins collections, jewellery and more valuable metal antiquites including the Kanishka relic casket are preserved in safes in the Library. Five cases of arms are displayed in the lower gallery and portaits of Sikh and Afghan rulers of the Province are hung in the hall and specimens of Kashmir papier-mâché, fine needle-work and Persian and Sanskrit manuscripts are exhibited in the upper right gallery (Markham and Hargreaves 1936: 195).

The museum was considered the best and up-to-date in India. The revised *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum* could not be published because of pressure of work on Mr. H. Hargreaves, the then Honorary Curator. It was expected to be published on his return from leave in October next. He was then relieved of the additional charge of the Honorary Curatorship. The yellow wash given to the interior of the building, has been replaced with a more pleasing pale buff colour (Pls. 18, 19) (Dilawar Khan 1931: 156-57).

14. Discussion

The present research has traced back the history of Museums in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa to 1857 when the antiquities were kept on the first floor of Ali Mardan villa during the War of Independence for safe custody. The same Ali Mardan villa remained in use as Peshawur Museum as mentioned by Lowenthal. The present building often mentioned as a Ball Hall, is also not true. It was constructed for the dual purpose i.e. Darbar Hall and a Museum, which is clear from the archival record published by the Rashtrapati Bhavan Library, Delhi. The architect of the building was Jacob Swinton who designed a beautiful majestic building and for strengthening of the roof he used the concept of side aisles which was very common in the Cathedral architecture of Europe for strengthening the central hall. He also used the concept of iron plates tied to one another with a long iron bars with the help of nut and bolts. The structure is well balance from the architectural point of view and shows influence from the architecture of Rajasthan where the architect stayed for a very long period. Besides being a museum, it was the hub of all major political, cultural and social activities of the province.

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Fig. 1 - Sculptures lying outside the Museum building (1930).

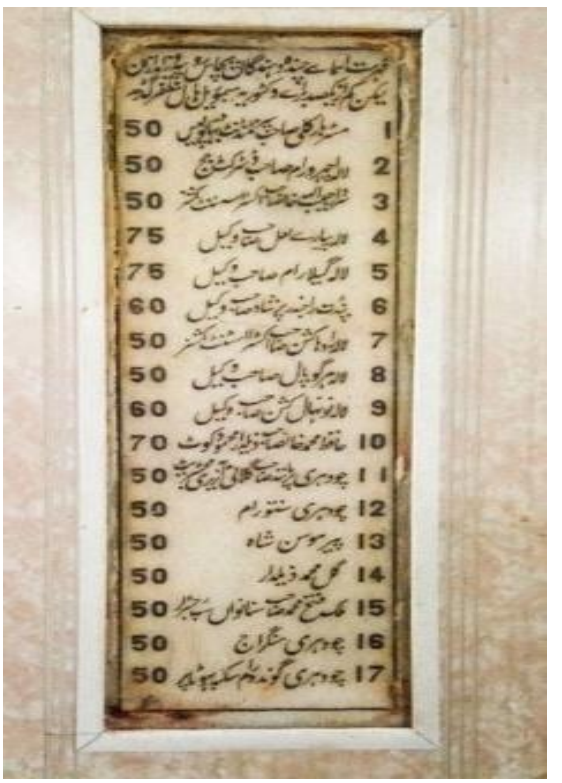

Fig. 2 - Stone plaque shows names of the donors.

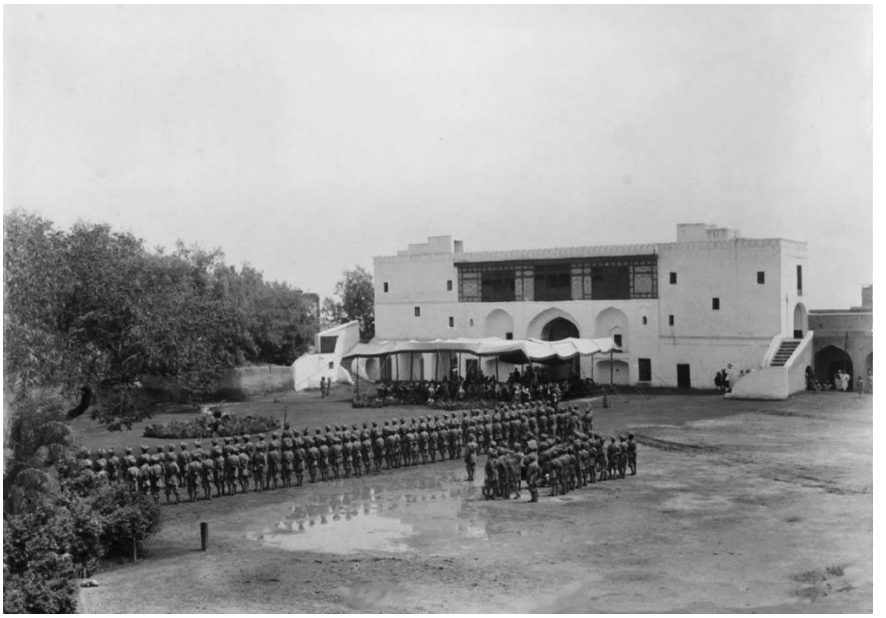

Fig. 3 - View of a Darbar at Gorkhutree during Prince of Wales visit to Peshawar (1905-06).

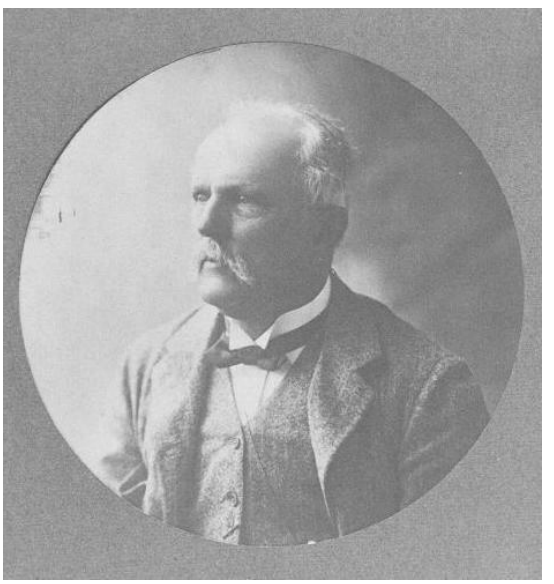

Fig. 4 - Colonel Sir Swinton Jacob architect of Victoria Memorial Hall (Peshawar Museum).

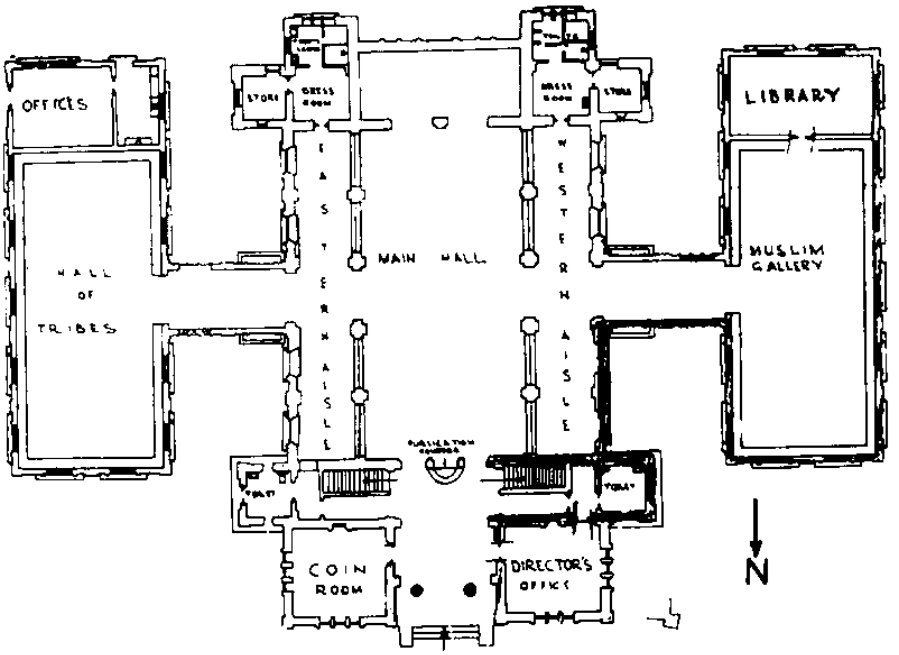

Fig. 5 - Plan of the Peshawar Museum, Peshawar ground floor.

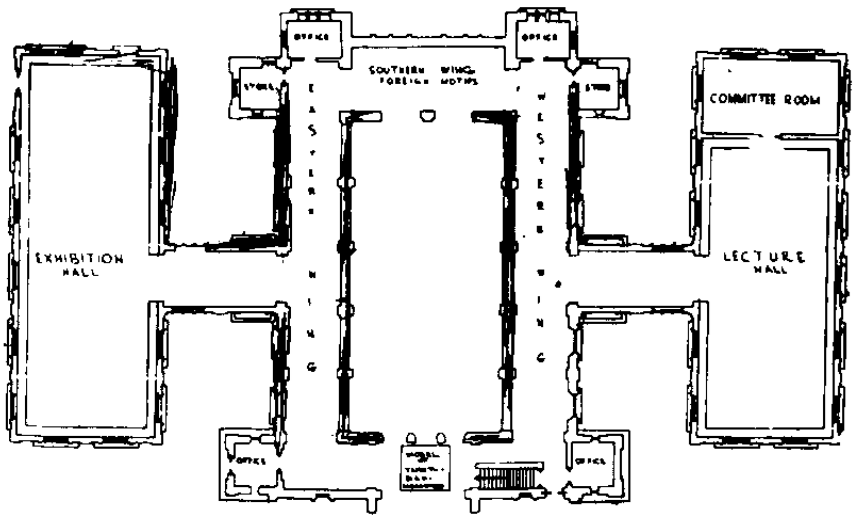

Fig. 6 - First Floor Plan of Peshawar Museum.

Fig. 7 - Museum building, looking from eastern side.

Fig. 8 - Museum building from back side.

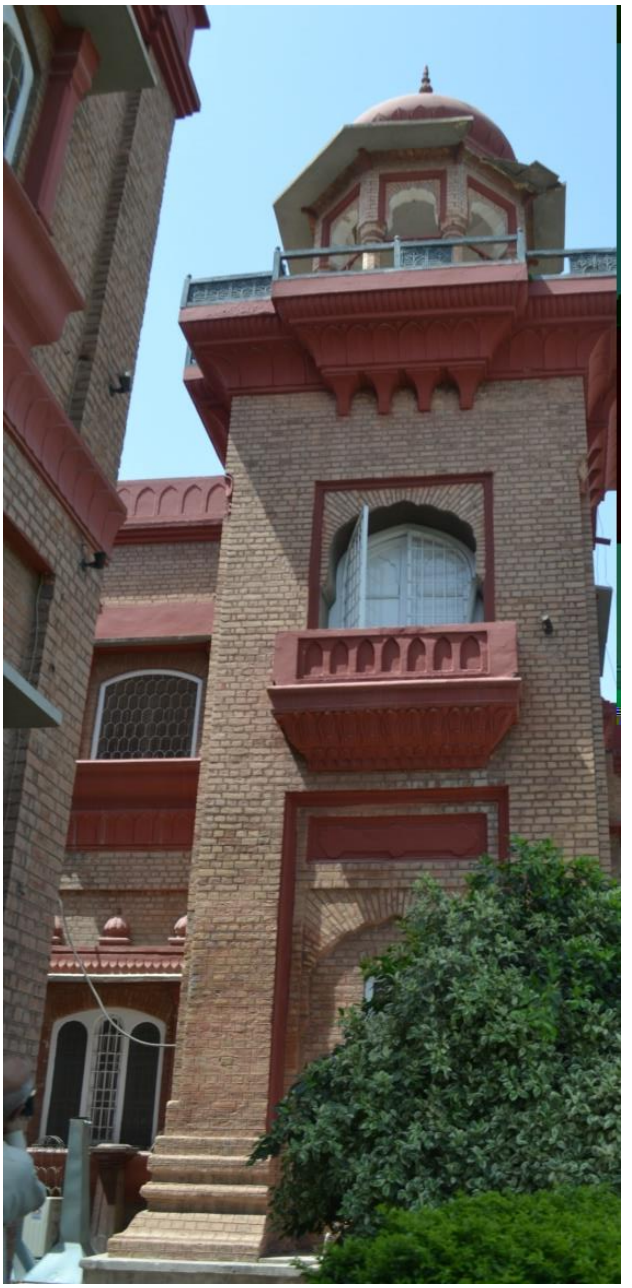

Fig. 9 – Detail of Fig. 7.

Fig. 10 - Main entrance having three arch-gateways.

Fig. 11 - Main hall, displaying Buddha life story.

Fig. 12 - Members of the Legislative Assembly (1938).

Fig. 13 - Sir. Mortimer Wheeler, Archaeological Advisor, Government of Pakistan, reading his inaugural address in the Proceeding of the MAP first session (1949), held in Peshawar Museum, Peshawar. Courtesy: 'Proceeding of the MAP first session (1949).

Fig. 14 - Display of Sculptures on Panels.

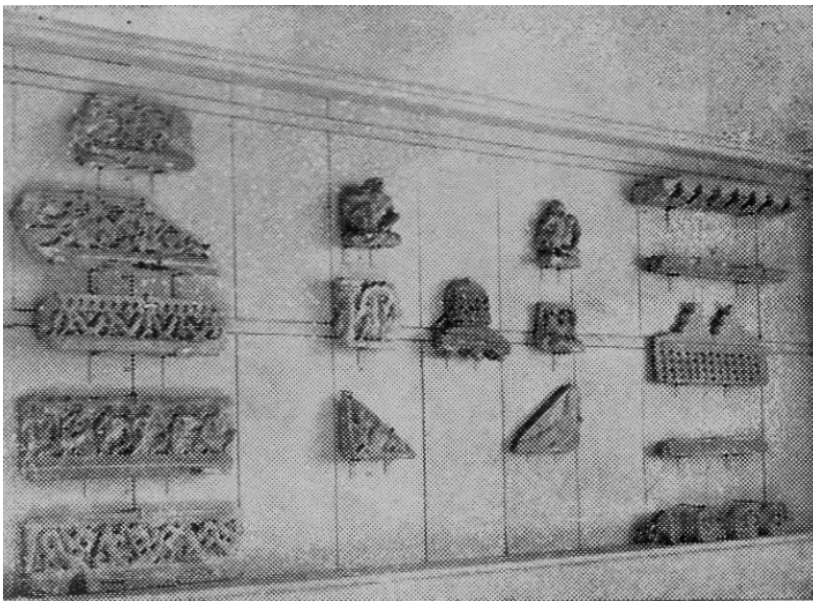

Fig. 15 - Specimen of open-display (1962).

Fig. 16 - Bird Eye view of Peshawar Museum the Kiosks and Cupolas are whitewashed.

Fig. 17 - Entering view of Peshawar museum from western gateway (1965-66).

Estimation of Production Technology of Potsherds from Kaghan Valley (Mansehra) using their Physical Properties as Basic Parameters

Naveed Usman / Shakirullah / Rashid Ahmad

Abstract

Physical characteristics such as colour of the potsherds, colour of the groundmass, isotropism, texture, grain size distribution, maximum grain size, roundness and sphericity of the non-plastic inclusions (clasts) may refer to the estimation of technology used in the pottery production. A total of fifty seven potsherds collected from the surface of seven different sites of the Kaghan Valley Mansehra have been studied for their above-mentioned physical properties. The study revealed that these characteristics have been proved as strong parameters for the estimation of firing environment (oxidative or reductive), production technology and the nature of tempering material used in the paste preparation for the pottery production. Moreover, these properties especially the colour reveals the presence of organic and inorganic materials in the paste and their current condition in the potsherds in addition the state of burning of these materials i.e. fully burnt or partially burnt.

***Key Words*:** Colour, Oxidation, Reduction, Firing Atmosphere, Non-plastic inclusions

1. Introduction

Morphological and macroscopic analyses reveal important information regarding the macrofabrics of vessels/ potsherds which surely motivated the researchers to trace the links between various archaeological sites (Maritan et al. 2017: 712-725). The textural properties which can provide information about the type of raw materials used for pottery production, the technology of production, and post-depositional environment of the potsherds are (Orton et al. 1993: 69, 2013: 277-285; Szakmany 1996: 143-150, 1998: 77-83, Banning 2000: 160-242) the following:

1. Colour
2. Isotropism (optical activity of the groundmass)
3. Texture type
4. Grain size distribution (GSD)
5. Maximum grain size (MGS)
6. Roundness
7. Sphericity of the clasts

Pottery materials show remarkable variability in average grain size (AGS), the grain size distribution (GSD) of the non-plastic inclusions (clasts), and type of the texture i.e. hiatal, serial or hiatal to serial. One of the most important things in the microscopic analysis is to identify the intentionally/purposely added tempering material. It is very critical because it greatly influences the production technology (Maggetti 1994: 23-35, Szakmany 1998: 77-83)

Besides other parameters, the colour of groundmass also demonstrates the firing atmosphere at the time of production. The firing atmosphere affects the colour in different ways. For instance, if a vessel is fired in an oxidizing atmosphere, the resultant colour will be reddish to orange whereas if the process is done in the reducing environment, the end colour will be grayish to black.

The presence of organic materials and finely grained iron minerals also impart the characteristic colours to the vessel. For example, organic materials burn out when the vessels are fired in the reduction atmosphere and turn blackish. It will not be discharged from the vessel itself but rather will impart the dark colour to it. The firing in the reducing atmosphere in the absence of organic materials will convert the iron oriented minerals into iron (II) oxide or magnetite which itself is blackish and consequently imparts blackish colour to the vessel.

The firing temperature also affects the formation of iron based minerals. At very high temperature the firing process is fast which affects the complete burning of the organic material due to less firing time (Maggetti 1994: 23-35). Therefore, in many cases the potsherds contain black cores in their middle. Moreover, the oxidation state of iron also influences the resultant colour, for example, in the oxidizing atmosphere the oxidation state of iron is changed from iron (II) to iron (III) which impart reddish to orange colour to the resultant vessel (Rye 1981: 123-140, Sinopoli, 1991: 58).

2. Material and Methodology

A total number of fifty seven potsherds form seven different sites of the study area have been selected for the study, which are distributed as:

1. Ganool: 28 Sherds
2. Ratta Nulla: 1 Sherd
3. Shogran: 5 Sherds
4. Tarla Paror: 5 Sherds
5. Ashanra: 6 Sherds
6. Tarli Batta Kundi: 6 Sherds
7. Morad Vega: 6 Sherds

All of these potsherds are examined for the type, thickness, colour scheme, surface, isotropism, texture etc. in order to classify them in proper manner (Appendix 1 and 2). The type is examined visually with the help of an expert eye whereas the minimum and maximum thickness is measured with the help of a digital vernier caliper. The main thing to decide for the study was colour scheme.

Many systems of colour arrangement have been proposed, and at least three colour standards have been used by archaeologists for the description of pottery: Ridgway (1912), Maerz and Paul (1930), and Munsell (1942). The advantages of the Munsell system are so great that it is hardly necessary to argue its superiority. It is the only one of the three which has equal visual spacing of colour. As a standard for colour matching, it covers the range most uniformly in consequence of the fact that it is based on the way a human being sees the colour rather than on the way colourants are mixed or colour is calculated by laboratory or instrumental methods. One of the reasons why it has been widely adopted in scientific work is that is has been subject to the most exacting measurements, and optical constants have been determined with a degree of accuracy which ensures exact reproduction. Equal visual spacing and a convenient system of symbols facilitate interpolation in colour reading (Shepard 1956, Banning 2000: 241, Sinopoli 1991: 65, Orton et al. 2013: 157).

The cooling process also affects the outer colour of the vessel after the completion of firing process (Picon 1973: 1-135, Sinopoli 1991: 12-13) In the literature, archaeo-scientists have reported three modes of firing and cooling (Orton et al. 2013: 165)

Mode 1: firing in the reducing atmosphere while cooling in the oxidizing atmosphere
Mode 2: both firing and cooling in the reducing atmospheres
Mode 3: both firing and cooling in the oxidizing atmosphere.

The crossed nicols method was used to determine the isotropism of the ground mass. In this method two nicols prisms were placed in front of each other and are oriented in such a way that their transmission of the plane polarized light are at the right angle. The predominant information that this method gives is the presence of finely grained content of the carbonate in the matrix which describes the following two facts:

a. The presence of the calcareous clay in the matrix will reveal that the firing temperature did not reach the level at which it would have been damaged i.e. 750 to 800 ^{o}C. if it is found that the ground mass still have the optical properties then it is understood that the non-calcareous clay was used by the potter or the pottery was fired at a temperature where all the calcite content has been burnt out (Szakmany 1998: 77-83)
b. The ground mass showing the isotropism means that the firing temperature of pottery during the process was not less than 1050 ^{o}C (Maggetti 1994: 23-35).

3. Discussion and Results

Colour

The potsherds can be divided in to several groups on the basis of colour and core layers which also refer to the firing conditions (Fig. 1, Appendix 1). These groups/types are as under:

1. Completely black, dark grey or brown potsherds (31 samples)
2. Potsherds with black core and reddish outer and inner sides (2 samples)
3. Potsherds with reddish core and black outer and inner sides (9 samples)
4. Potsherds with black core and thin outer and inner layers and reddish layers between them, also called sandwich structure (8 samples)

5. Potsherds with outer side black and inner side reddish (4 samples)
6. Potsherds having body reddish to yellowish colour (3 samples)

From colour of the cores, the following firing conditions and techniques can be concluded (Picon 1973: 53, Orton et al. 1993: 131-141, Orton et al. 2013: 211-219, Santacreu and Albero 2014: 101-108):

1. Potsherds found with black or dark gray colour were fired and cooled in reducing conditions
2. Potsherds with black core and red inner and outer sides were fired in reducing conditions and cooled in oxidizing conditions. There are some diffused black cores with sharp boundaries which suggest the rapid cooling process
3. Potsherds with red core were fired and cooled in reducing conditions. The reddish core also suggests that initially the process was started under oxidizing conditions and when the desired temperature was attained, the conditions suddenly changed to the reducing ones and end-firing and the whole cooling were taken place in the reducing atmospheres
4. Potsherds with sandwich structure i.e. black core and thin outer and inner layers and reddish layers between them were fired and cooled in the reducing conditions. Red layers suggest a sudden change of conditions from reducing to oxidizing. Probably, the door of the kiln suddenly became opened due to the mismanagement of potter and air entered the kiln which caused this sudden change. The door was then closed again and after consuming the air in firing, the conditions again became reducing. Margins of the cores are sharp which refer the rapid cooling
5. Potsherds with reddish inner surface and black outer surface were fired initially in oxidizing atmosphere, the conditions then became reducing later on and the cooling then took place in reducing atmosphere which refers the outer black colour. Probably, there was a small vessel placed inside the large vessel and the reducing conditions did not take place in the inner side of the ceramic which is evident from its reddish colour (Velde and Druc 1999: 123-124)

6. Potsherds with reddish body were fired, soaked and cooled in the oxidizing atmosphere.

Isotropism of the Groundmass

The type of raw material used for the production of pottery is attributed to the fabric analyses parameters such as colour and isotropism of the groundmass, texture type, grain size distribution, maximum grain size, roundness and sphericity of the non-plastic inclusions or clasts.

From all the fifty seven potsherds studied, thirty five were observed with the isotropic textural properties (brown to dark brown in colour) whereas twenty two were found with fully or partially anisotropic texture (yellow to orange colour) (Fig. 2, Appendix 2).

It shows the low firing atmospheres indicating the non-calcareous clays where the carbonatic material became vanished and did not exist anymore. Any of the calcite fragment artificially added may not be considered in the isotropism.

Texture

The artificial tempering was probably done by the potter during the paste preparation which is obvious from coarser size of the clasts and their hiatal texture, but mostly it has been observed that they were dependent on natural clay or sediment temper. This may be attributed to the materials present in the vicinity nearer to the place of production and for avoiding the transportation it may have been preferred which is supported by the presence of angular clasts in excess (Maggetti 1994: 23-35) (Fig. 3, Appendix 2). The artificial temper may also have been added from the fluviatile sources in order to improve the paste quality (Szakmany 1998: 55-60).

The unsorting of material, serial grain size and sub-angular to sub-rounded shapes of the clasts also support the inclusion of the fluviatile materials in the paste.

Maximum Grain Size

The histogram shows that the maximum grain size (MGS) of the clasts is between 1500 to 2000 microns which refer to very coarse sand (Fig. 4; Appendix 2). There are some samples which even show the grain sized more than 2 millimeters.From the above discussion, the paste production (by the potter using the available raw material) measures can be concluded as under (Maggetti 1994: 23-35):

1. Where the texture is fine, distribution is serial, grain size is comparatively larger, roundness is well, the clasts are carbonatic which belong to the clay pallets as found in case of the potsherd sample TBK-6
2. Where the texture is serial, clasts are sub-angular to rounded, maximum grain size is between 600 and 1000 microns, the sediments are fluviatile and the paste is not tempered artificially as observed in case of samples GNL-20 and ASN-3
3. Where the texture is more hiatal than serial, clasts are angular to sub-rounded, grain size is between 1000 to 4000 microns (granules), the sediments are fluviatile materials mixed with silty clays which consist of large grains or granules as observed in the case of samples GNL-14 and ASN-2

Where the texture is hiatal, clasts are angular to sub-rounded, grains size is between 4000 and 7000 microns, the sediments have fluviatile origin same as the non-plastic inclusions that were used as tempering material. So much grain size lead to the pebbles sorting which may have been crushed for the sake of preparing the tempering material which is obvious from partially rounded clasts.

4. Conclusions

The colour of raw clays is primarily due to two classes of impurities, organic matter and iron compounds. Clays that are relatively free from impurities are white. Organic matter makes clay gray to blackish, depending on its amount and condition. Hematite and the hydrated forms of ferric oxide produce reds, browns and yellow colours. These are compounds in which the iron is in its highest state of oxidation. Compounds in which the iron is not fully oxidized impart a gray colour to the clay.

The potsherds under study have been classified into six different groups on the basis of their colour determined by the Munsell Colour System. Each group represented the characteristic firing and cooling/soaking atmosphere as a characteristic colour tone which had been imparted due to the presence of different constituents (organic and inorganic) and the oxidation state of Iron (II and III). The isotropic properties show the low firing atmospheres indicating the non-

calcareous clays where the carbonatic material became vanished and did not exist anymore.

It can be concluded from the color that some of the potsherds were fired and cooled in reducing conditions whereas some in oxidizing condition. Some of them were initially started under oxidizing conditions and when the desired temperature was attained, the conditions suddenly changed to the reducing ones and end-firing and the whole cooling were taken place in the reducing atmospheres. Some of them were fired and cooled in the reducing conditions while some potsherds were fired initially in oxidizing atmosphere, the conditions then became reducing later on and the cooling then took place in reducing atmosphere which refers the outer black colour.

In texture, the unsorting of material, serial grain size and sub-angular to sub-rounded shapes of the clasts support the inclusion of the fluviatile materials in the paste. The maximum grain size (MGS) of the clasts is between 1500 to 2000 microns which refer to very coarse sand and consequently to the coarse wares.

Acknowledgements

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Pl. I - (Kaghan Valley Mansehra): On-site Potsherd at Morad Vega.

Pl. II - (Kaghan Valley Mansehra): On-site Potsherd at Tarli Batta Kundi.

Pl. III - (Kaghan Valley Mansehra): Samples of Collected Potsherds.

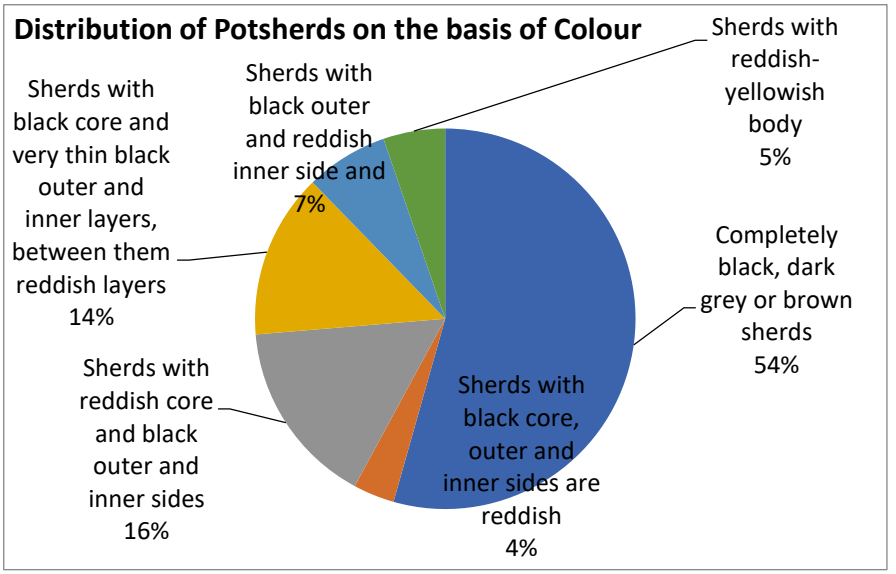

Fig. 1 - Distribution of Potsherds on the basis of Colour.

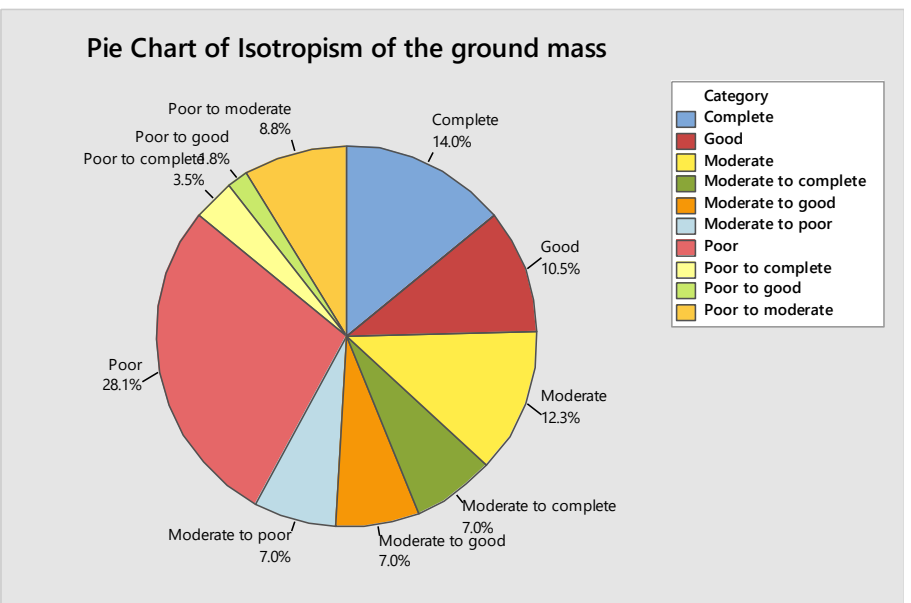

Fig. 2 - Pie chart of isotropism of the ground mass.

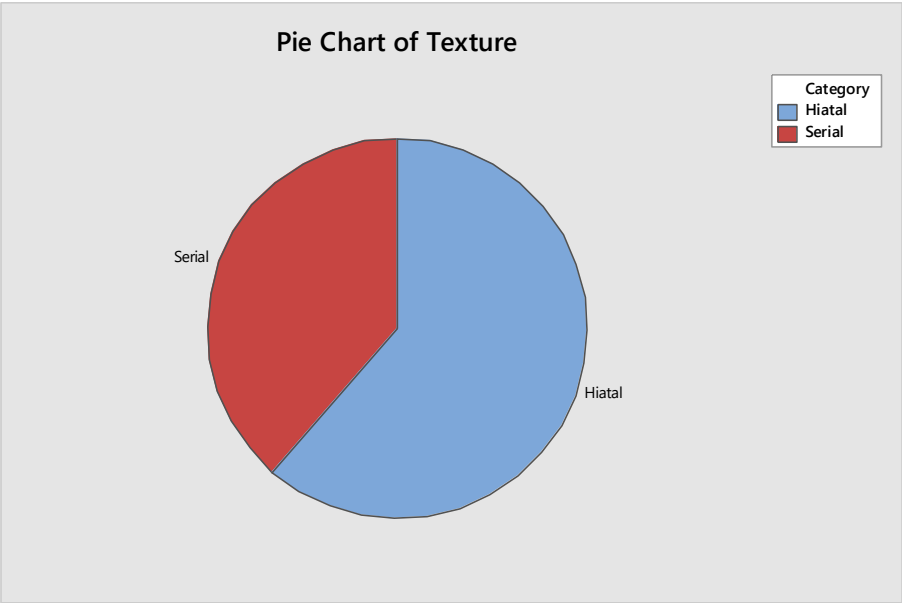

Fig. 3 - Pie chart for texture.

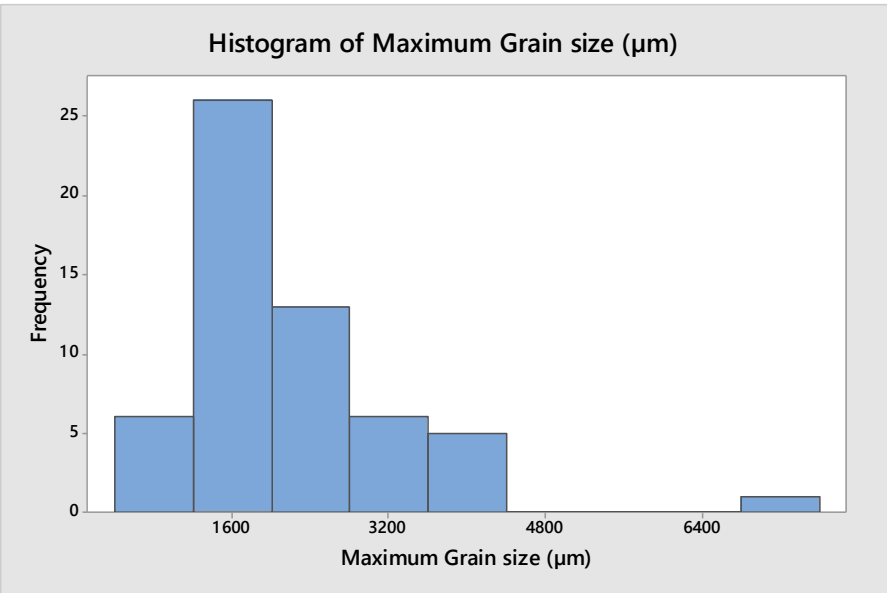

Fig. 4 - Histogram of maximum grain size.

Appendix 1: Type, Thickness, Colour Scheme and Surface of the Selected Potsherds

S.NO	No.	Site	Type	Thickness (mm)		Colour (Munsell Colour System)			Surface
				Min	Max	In	Core	Out	
1.	GNL-1	Ganool	Body Sherd	10	20	10YR 5/2 greyish brown		10YR 5/1 grey	Unburnished
2.	GNL-2	Ganool	Body Sherd	12	14	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	GLEY 1 2.5/N: black	5YR 6/6 reddish yellow	Burnished
3.	GNL-3	Ganool	Body Sherd	10	11	10YR 5/3 brown		10YR 2/1 black	Burnished
4.	GNL-4	Ganool	Body Sherd	10	10	10YR 5/1 grey		10YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
5.	GNL-5	Ganool	Body Sherd	9	9	7.5YR 6/3 light brown	GLEY 1 2.5/N: black	7.5 YR 5/5 brown	Burnished
6.	GNL-6	Ganool	Body Sherd	11	11.5	10YR 4/1 dark grey		10YR 3/1 highly dark grey	Burnished
7.	GNL-7	Ganool	Base fragment	23	27	GLEY 1 2.5/N black		GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
				Base dia. 78mm					
8.	GNL-8	Ganool	Body Sherd	6	8	10YR 4/1 dark grey		10YR 5/2 greyish brown	Burnished
9.	GNL-9	Ganool	Body Sherd	7	7	10YR 4/1 dark grey		10YR 3/1 very dark grey	Burnished
10.	GNL-10	Ganool	Body sherd	9	11	10YR 2/2 highly dark brown		10YR 2/2 highly dark brown	Burnished

11.	GNL-11	Ganool	Body sherd	10	11	10YR 5/2 greyish brown	10YR 4/2 dark greyish brown	Burnished
12.	GNL-12	Ganool	Body sherd	8	10	10YR 4/1 dark grey	10 YR 3/1 very dark grey	Burnished
13.	GNL-13	Ganool	Body sherd	12	12	10YR 4/1 dark grey	10YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
14.	GNL-14	Ganool	Rim Fragment	13	15	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
15.	GNL-15	Ganool	Body Sherd	11	25	10YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown	10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown	Burnished
16.	GNL-16	Ganool	Body Sherd	9	22	10YR 6/1 grey	10YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
17.	GNL-17	Ganool	Body sherd	8	9	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
18.	GNL-18	Ganool	Body sherd	7	8	GLEY 1 4/N dark grey	10YR 5/3 brown	Burnished
19.	GNL-19	Ganool	Body sherd	10	11	10YR 4/1 dark grey	10YR 3/1 very dark grey	Burnished
20.	GNL-20	Ganool	Body sherd	10	10	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	10/YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
21.	GNL-21	Ganool	Body Sherd	10	10	10YR 5/3 brown	10YR 4/2 dark greyish brown	Burnished
22.	GNL-22	Ganool	Body Sherd	10	11	10YR 4/1 dark grey	10YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
23.	GNL-23	Ganool	Body Sherd	7	8	10YR 4/1 dark grey	10YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
24.	GNL-24	Ganool	Body Sherd	12	12	10YR 5/1 grey	10YR 5/1 grey	Burnished
25.	GNL-25	Ganool	Body Sherd	8	11	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
26.	GNL-26	Ganool	Base Frag	16 BD:	33	GLEY 1 2.5/N	GLEY 1 2.5/N	Burnished

			ment	56		black	black	
27.	GNL-27	Ganool	Body Sherd	6	7	10YR 5/1 grey	10YR 6/1 grey	Burnished
28.	GNL-28	Ganool	Body Sherd	8	9	10YR 6/3 pale brown	10YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
29.	RTN-1	Ratta Nulla	Base Fragment	7 BD: 64	13	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
30.	SGN-1	Shogran	Body Sherd	13	14	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
31.	SGN-2	Shogran	Body Sherd	9	9	10YR 1 6/2 light brownish grey	GLEY 1 4/1 dark greenish grey	Burnished
32.	SGN-3	Shogran	Body Sherd	10	12	10YR grayish brown	10YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
33.	SGN-4	Shogran	Base Fragment	17 BD: 64	19	10YR grayish brown	10YR 4/1 dark grey	Burnished
34.	SGN-5	Shogran	Body sherd	7	8	10YR 6/2 light brownish grey	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
35.	TRP-1	Tarla Paror	Rim Fragment	10	10	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
36.	TRP-2	Tarla Paror	Body sherd	5	6	10YR 5/8 yellowish brown	10YR 5/8 yellowish brown	Burnished
37.	TRP-3	Tarla Paror	Rim Fragment	6	6	10YR 4/3 brown	10YR 6/3 pale brown	Burnished
38.	TRP-4	Tarla Paror	Body sherd	5	6	10YR 3/2 very dark grayish brown	10YR 2/1 black	Burnished
39.	TRP-5	Tarla Paror	Body sherd	9	11	10YR 4/4 dark yellowish brown	10YR 5/6 yellowish brown	Burnished
40.	ASN-1	Ashanra	Body sherd	12	13	10YR 4/1 dark grey	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Unburnished
41.	ASN-2	Ashanra	Body Sherd	13	14	10YR 5/3 brown	GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Unburnished

42.	ASN-3	Ashanra	Body Sherd	7	7	10YR 3/2 very dark greyish brown		10YR 2/1 black	Unburnished
43.	ASN-4	Ashanra	Body Sherd	9	15	10YR 5/1 grey		GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Burnished
44.	ASN-5	Ashanra	Body Sherd	7	8	10YR 5/3 brown		GLEY 1 2.5/N black	Unburnished
45.	ASN-6	Ashanra	Body Sherd	7	8	GLEY 1 3/N very dark grey		GLEY 1 3/N very dark grey	Burnished
46.	TBK-1	Tarli Batta kundi	Body sherd	7	7	GLEY 1 3/N very dark grey		GLEY 1 3/N very dark grey	Unburnished
47.	TBK-2	Tarli Batta kundi	Body Sherd	14	15	7.5YR 6/4 light brown		7.5YR 4/4 brown	Burnished
48.	TBK-3	Tarli Batta kundi	Body Sherd	5	7	GLEY 1 3/N very dark grey		GLEY 1 3/N very dark grey	Burnished
49.	TBK-4	Tarli Batta kundi	Rim fragment	7	8	10YR 4/2 dark greyish brown		10YR 4/2 dark greyish brown	Unburnished
50.	TBK-5	Tarli Batta kundi	Body sherd	13	15	10YR 5/2 greyish brown	10YR 2/1 black	10YR 6/4 light yellowish brown	Unburnished
51.	TBK-6	Tarli Batta kundi	Body Sherd	8	10	10YR 2/1 black		10YR 2/1 black	Unburnished
52.	MVG-1	Morad Vega	Body Sherd	11	12	10YR 5/4 yellowish brown		10YR 3/1 very dark grey	Unburnished
53.	MVG-2	Morad Vega	Body sherd	10	10	10YR 3/1 very dark grey		10YR 3/1 very dark grey	Unburnished
54.	MVG-3	Morad Vega	Body sherd	8	9	10YR 4/3 brown		10YR 3/1 very dark grey	Unburnished
55.	MVG-4	Morad Vega	Body Sherd	11	13	10YR 3/1 brown		10YR 3/1 very dark	Unburnished

								grey	
56.	MVG-5	Morad Vega	Body sherd	8	9	10YR 4/1 dark grey		10YR 3/1 very dark grey	Unburnished
57.	MVG-6	Morad Vega	Body Sherd	7	9	10YR 6/3 pale brown		10YR 3/1 very dark grey	Burnished

Appendix 2: Colour of the Groundmass, Isotropism, Texture, Grain Size, Roundness and Sphericity of the Clasts of the Selected Sherds

S.NO	No.	Colour of the ground mass	Isotropism of the ground mass	Texture	Grain size distribution	Maximum Grain size (μm)	Roundness of the clasts	Sphericity of the clasts
1.	GNL-1	Brown to dark brown	moderate-complete	hiatal	Poor	3900	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
2.	GNL-2	Orange to brown	poor-moderate	serial (hiatal)	Very poor	2500	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 4
3.	GNL-3	Brown to dark brown	poor-complete	hiatal	Poor	2600	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 5
4.	GNL-4	dark brown	complete	hiatal	Poor	3000	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
5.	GNL-5	brown	poor-moderate	hiatal	Poor	4000	Very angular to rounded	1 to 4
6.	GNL-6	brown-dark brown	moderate-complete	serial	Poor	1400	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
7.	GNL-7	black	complete	serial (hiatal)	Poor	2200	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
8.	GNL-8	(dark) brown	moderate-complete	hiatal	Poor	7000	angular to sub rounded	2 to 4

9.	GNL-9	brown	poor	hiatal	Poor	1700	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
10.	GNL-10	brown-dark brown	moderate-complete	Hiatal (serial)	Poor	1800	Sub angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
11.	GNL-11	Brown	Poor to good	Serial	Poor	1400	Very angular to round	1 to 3
12.	GNL-12	Brown	poor	hiatal	Poor	1800	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 2
13.	GNL-13	Brown	Poor to moderate	hiatal	Poor	2400	Sub angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
14.	GNL-14	Brown	Good	hiatal	Poor	3700	Sub angular to sub rounded	1 to 3
15.	GNL-15	Brown	Good	hiatal	Poor	3800	Sub angular to sub rounded	1 to 3
16.	GNL-16	Dark brown	Complete	hiatal	Poor	2700	Angular to round	1 to 3
17.	GNL-17	Dark brown	Poor	hiatal	Poor	2900	Angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
18.	GNL-18	Brown	Complete	hiatal	Poor	1700	Sub angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
19.	GNL-19	Orange	Poor	Serial	Moderate to Poor	1300	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
20.	GNL-20	Brown	Moderate	serial (hiatal)	Moderate to Poor	2000	Angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
21.	GNL-21	Brown	Moderate	hiatal	Poor	3000	Angular to sub rounded	1 to 3
22.	GNL-22	Brown	Moderate to good	serial (hiatal)	Poor	1900	Angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
23.	GNL-23	Brown	Poor	hiatal	Poor	2200	Angular to rounded	1 to 4

24.	GNL-24	Brown	Poor	hiatal	Poor	1800	Angular to rounded	1 to 4
25.	GNL-25	Brown	Poor	Serial	Poor	1500	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 5
26.	GNL-26	Brown	Poor	Serial	Poor	1600	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 3
27.	GNL-27	Brown	Good	hiatal	Poor	2200	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 3
28.	GNL-28	Brown	Poor	hiatal	Poor	1600	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 5
29.	RTN-1	Dark brown	Good	Serial	Poor	1800	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 3
30.	SGN-1	brown	Moderate to poor	Serial	Moderate to good	1200	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
31.	SGN-2	Yellowish brown	Poor	hiatal	Poor	1800	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 2
32.	SGN-3	brown	Moderate to poor	Serial	Moderate	650	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 4
33.	SGN-4	brown	Moderate to poor	hiatal	Poor	1600	Angular to sub angular	1 to 2
34.	SGN-5	brown	Poor	Serial	Moderate	1100	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 2
35.	TRP-1	brown	Good	hiatal	Poor	3400	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
36.	TRP-2	Brown	Poor to moderate	Serial (hiatal)	Moderate to poor	1400	Angular to round	1 to 3
37.	TRP-3	Brown	Moderate to good	Serial	Moderate	1000	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 2

38.	TRP-4	Dark brown	Complete	Hiatal	Poor	2500	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
39.	TRP-5	Dark brown	Moderate to good	Serial (hiatal)	Moderate to poor	1000	Very angular to sub rounded	2 to 3
40.	ASN-1	Dark brown	Complete	Hiatal	Moderate	2200	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
41.	ASN-2	Dark brown, black	Good	Hiatal	Poor to moderate	2800	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 4
42.	ASN-3	Yellowish brown	Poor	Serial	poor	1600	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
43.	ASN-4	Yellow	Poor	Hiatal	Moderate	1800	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 2
44.	ASN-5	Yellowish brown	Poor to moderate	Serial	Moderate to poor	2000	Angular to round	1 to 4
45.	ASN-6	Brown, dark brown	Poor	Serial	Moderate to poor	1900	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 3
46.	TBK-1	Brown	Moderate	Hiatal	Poor	2700	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
47.	TBK-2	Yellow	poor	Hiatal	Poor	3400	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
48.	TBK-3	Brown	Moderate to good	Hiatal	Poor	3600	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 3
49.	TBK-4	Brown	moderate	Serial	Good	1000	Very angular to round	1 to 5
50.	TBK-5	Brown	Complete	Serial	Moderate	1800	Angular to round	2 to 4
51.	TBK-6	Brown	Moderate	Serial	Moderate/good	700	Angular to round	1 to 4
52.	MVG-1	Yellow brown	Moderate	Serial	Poor	1900	Very angular to	1 to 3

							sub rounded	
53.	MVG-2	Brown	Complete	Hiatal/serial	Poor	1600	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
54.	MVG-3	brown	Poor	Serial/hiatal	Moderate	1700	Very angular to angular	1 to 4
55.	MVG-4	Dark brown	Moderate to poor	Hiatal	Poor	1900	Very angular to sub rounded	1 to 4
56.	MVG-5	Yellow brown	Poor to complete	Hiatal	Poor	2000	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3
57.	MVG-6	Brown	Moderate	Serial/Hiatal	Moderate to poor	1400	Very angular to sub angular	1 to 3

Additional Notes and Items for Discussion

Terracotta figurines from the urban site of Barikot/Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (Swat, Pakistan): Some observations on the anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines and their contexts of finding

Gennaro Alterio / Giuseppina Esposito

Abstract

This note presents a preliminary study on the terracotta figurines collected at the urban site of Barikot/Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai. The site, lying in the middle stretch of the Swat Valley, Northwestern Pakistan, has been excavating by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (ISMEO) since the 1970s. The abundance and reliable scientific frame of the finds make the study one of a kind in the archaeology of South Asia, as it provides a valuable opportunity to create a type-chronological based catalogue.

Keywords: Terracotta figurines, anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, Barikot, Swat.

1. Introduction

The ancient urban site of Barikot/Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (Swat, Pakistan) has been excavated by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (ISMEO) since the 1970. So far (2019), excavations have yielded 867 terracotta figurines (275 anthropomorphic and 602 zoomorphic). The terracotta figurines have been documented throughout almost three thousand years of archeological stratigraphy: from Protohistory (c. 15^{th}/8^{th} century BCE) to the Medieval period (c. 10^{th}/13^{th} century).

2. The anthropomorphic figurines

The terracotta human figures collected at Barikot amounts to 275 specimens (Esposito in press). The long chronological sequence of the site reflects a great typological differentiation: some figurines have decorative and stylistic elements linked to the local culture, such as the complex ornamented belts and necklaces (depicted, incised or

appliquéd) on the Baroque and Channivira Ladies; other figures, albeit locally produced, feature decorations typical of the West (the "Hellenistic" type) (Menegazzi 2014).

The main typologies identified are: "Hellenistic" type, Baroque Lady, Channivira Lady, Fiddle-Shaped, Buddhist figurines, and Knights/Warriors. Figurines being badly preserved or lacking comparisons with other productions were not included in any of these typologies.

The "Hellenistic" type (Plate Ia) is the most represented in the archaeological record of the site, probably because they were made from moulds (single or double) and thus easy to manufacture.

The second most represented typology are the Baroque Lady (Plate Ib) (Codrington 1931: 141-145; Dani 1965-66: pp. 48; Gordon 1932; Id. 1934; Id. 1935; Id. 1938; Wheeler 1962: 104-109) and the Channivira Lady[1] (Plate Ic), both featuring decorations and attributes linked to the local culture.

The Fiddle-Shaped (Plate Id) figurines are the most ancient typology (Stacul 1966: pp 56, fig. 65-66; Silvi Antonini 1963: fig. 10-11; Dani 1967: pl. LI, pl. LIII; Jettmar 1967: pl.LI). They were named after their shape, which resembles a violin. Generally, they show necklaces rendered by one line or more lines of engraved points. Some specimens have incised "solar" motifs, representing often the eyes.

The Buddhist figurines (Plate Ie), although present in small quantities compared to the others, show how Buddhism permeated small-scale crafts.

Lastly, the figures of Knights/Warriors, among which is a knight riding a horse (Plate If), demonstrate how, albeit with sporadic attestation, the terracotta figurines were not linked to a female-sphere only.

The graphic in Fig. 1 outlines the trend of the anthropomorphic figurines at Barikot. The majority of them belongs to a chronological phase spanning from the 1st century BCE (Saka/Parthian period) to the

[1] "Channivira Lady" can be distinguished from the "Baroque Lady"-type by specific characteristics. They are made from orange clay and covered with red engobe. In some cases, loose hair is engraved on the back. The main decoration consists of a pair of engraved lines crossing on the chest and, generally, also on the back; this motif can be traced back to the *channivira*, a female ornament also found in Indian stone sculpture.

2nd century CE (mature Kushan period), the latter corresponding to the greatest development of the city.

3. The zoomorphic figurines

As for the terracotta zoomorphic figurines, the excavations have yielded 602 specimens distributed in a ubiquitous manner during the entire life of the site (Alterio in press).

Within the temporal distribution (Fig. 2) there are two attestation peaks: the first dating from the 1st century BCE/1st century CE (full Saka/Parthian period) to the 3rd century CE, (Late-Kushana period); the second during the 7th-15th century CE.

The entire group consists of a bestiary rich in types. There is a prevalence of quadrupeds (Plate IIa) such as cattle, horses, elephants (Plate IIc) and carnivores; birds, monkeys and reptiles are little in number. The identification of the animal remains sometimes tentative or dubious for the absence of qualifying details. In other cases, a distinctive attribute typical of single specie makes the identification clear.

Let us consider, for instance, the cattle figurines. The representation of the dewlap, which is usually placed under the neck, is a significant clue for recognizing the animal. If the figurines present a hump placed near the neck, then a more specific specie can be proposed: in the case illustrated in Plate IIb, that is a zebu.

Elephants are qualified by the presence of a trunk with tusk on both sides or by large ears, which often occupy entirely the sides of the face.

In the representations of horses, much attention was given to the treatment of the mane and forelock as well as the harness, which was often applied and/or engraved. Horses, however, were not manufactured in this manner only.

Harness can be also found on figures that, for the presence of other qualifying elements, can be identify with other animals, such as cattle, camels, elephants.

4. The terracotta figurine inside the context

Table 1 shows the association of figurines in relation to the areas and spaces of provenance (Callieri and Olivieri 2020: 215-266).

The materials comes from Trenches BKG 4-5 and BKG 11 and are related to a chronological period spanning from the mid-3rd century BCE to the late 3rd CE.

The samples analyzed in Table 1 represent only 82 figurines, both anthropomorphic and zoomorphic.

Data provided by the associations shows that about 44% of the sample comes from waste areas, where materials associated with cooking activity (mortars and saddle quern) were documented.

The figurines, therefore, seem to have a limited life: they have been discarded right after being damaged or lost their function whatever it was. This is confirmed by the high presence of mutilated specimens found in waste areas.

Almost 30% of the figurines sample was associated with traces of fireplaces, possibly pertaining to kitchen or work areas. Only three figurines have been found in situ in a kitchen area.[2]

The fact that the figurines are associated with areas of production and handling of raw materials (food and manufacturing) suggests that they were part of the religious sphere of the productive segment of the Barikot society and not of the elites. No doubt, they are the manifestation of a substratum of popular religiosity which has remained lively within the dominant (Buddhist) religious culture.

As confirmed by the analysis on samples of terracotta figurines, the production of them, at least during the urban phase of the site, was handed over to potters.[3] The two productions were almost certainly executed in parallel, and probably in the same workshops.

The link between the two productions acquires a significant value if the different meanings of the artifacts are considered: ceramic production is highly functional, terracotta figurines are not.

Within the selection of anthropomorphic figurines there is a unicum, namely TF 0716 (Plate Ig) (2nd century CE), which comes from a residential area. It represents an infant with a body rendered by simplified forms and with deep impressed eyes.

[2] The figurines are: TF 0035 (zoomorphic), TF 0286 (anthropomorphic), TF 0278 (anthropomorphic)

[3] Archaeometric analysis made by Prof. Lara Maritan of the Department of Geosciences of the University of Padova.

Zoomorphic figurines have also been found within Court 107 inside the Trench BKG 11. Together with Rooms 108/109 (Temple K), this courtyard was part of a public religious space in Unit K during the 3rd century CE. It housed a Buddhist chapel [1023-1123] in front of which abundant offerings are documented in the collapse strata of the second half of the 3rd century CE (Olivieri, 2014: 119-125).

It is significant that these offerings did not include human figurines, while the zoomorphic ones show features of specific species: lions (TF 0500, Plate IIe; TF 0501), an animal traditionally associated with royalty and horses (TF 0498, Plate IIf; TF 0502, Plate IId; TF 0200) with detailed harness. These figurines seem to be linked to male activities.

In conclusion, it is evident how, within our assemblage, the terracotta anthropomorphic figurines and the zoomorphic behave differently: the first are only found in function areas, while the second in cult areas. This data is important as it links the anthropomorphic figures to domestic and rural religiosity.

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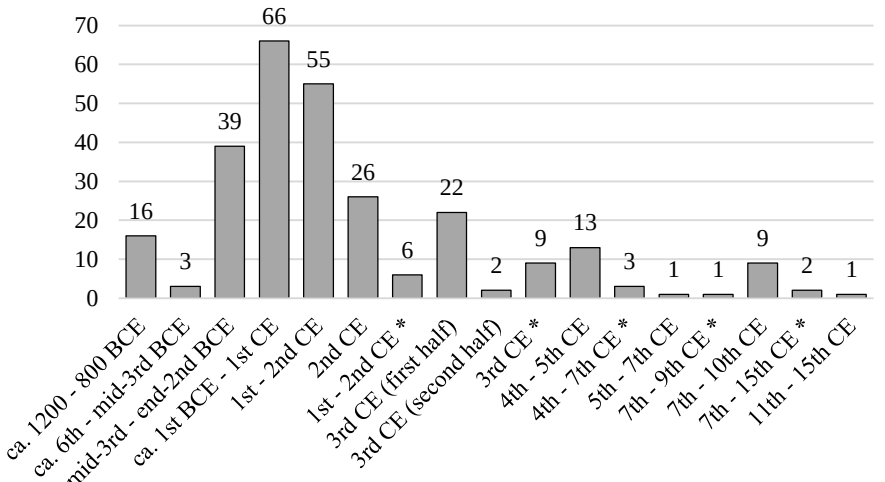

Fig. 1 – Distribution of anthropomorphic terracotta figurines through times.

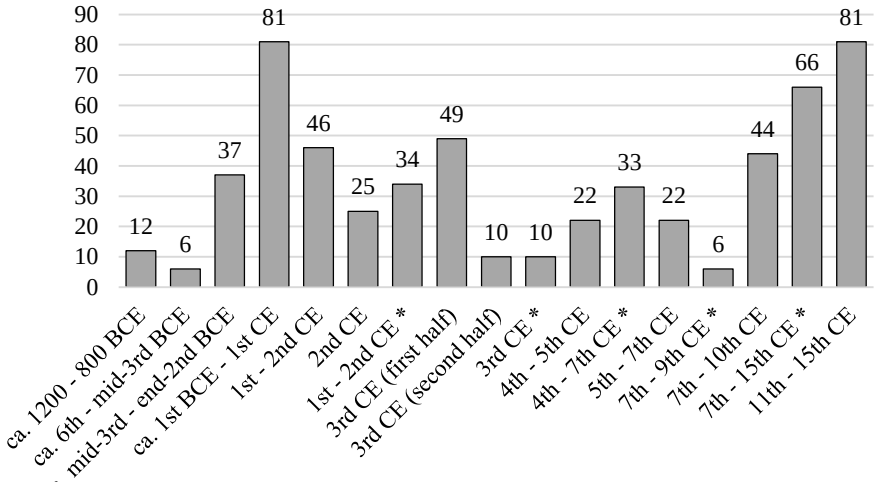

Fig. 2 – Distribution of zoomorphic terracotta figurines through times.

* Undefined periodization currently under study

Pl. I – Anthropomorphic terracotta figurines; a. TF 0592 (Photo by C. Moscatelli); b. TF 0374; c. TF 0407; d. TF 0447; e. TF 0494; f. TF 0383; g. TF 0716. [The entire photo, unless otherwise indicated, are by G. Alterio/G. Esposito (2019) reproduced with the permission of the ISMEO Archaeological Mission in Pakistan].

Pl. II - Zoomorphic terracotta figurines; a. TF 0051; b. TF 0862; c. TF 0414; d. TF 0502; e. TF 0500; f. TF 0498. [The entire photo, unless otherwise indicated, are by G. Alterio/G. Esposito (2019) reproduced with the permission of the ISMEO Archaeological Mission in Pakistan].

No. Catalogue	Typology	Provenience	Period	Area
TF 0319	Animal	4 W (2764)	ca. mid-3rd - end-2nd BCE	Waste area: associated with mortar
TF 0612	Human	11 K 1900 (1904)	ca. mid-3rd - end-2nd BCE	Working area: associated with iron processing slag
TF 0096	Human	401 (925)	ca. mid-3rd - end-2nd BCE	Waste area: associated with a saddle quern
TF 0339	Human	453 (1451)	ca. mid-3rd - end-2nd BCE	Surface: trace of fireplaces
TF 0286	Human	413 (1482)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	Kitchen floor: trace of fireplaces
TF 0012	Animal	433 (1309)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	Residential area: trace of fireplaces
TF 0061	Animal	433 (1324)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0213	Animal	433 (1327)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0067	Animal	519 (2773)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	Waste area: associated with a saddle quern
TF 0080	Animal	519 (2773)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0206	Animal	519 (2773)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0231	Animal	519 (2773)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0289	Animal	519 (2773)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0334	Human	519 (2773)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0320	Human	519 (2773)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	

No. Catalogue	Typology	Provenience	Period	Area
TF 0062	Animal	519 (2799)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	Waste area: associated with a saddle quern
TF 0187	Animal	519 (2799)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0236	Animal	519 (2799)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0338	Human	519 (2799)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0332	Human	519 (2799)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0329	Human	519 (2799)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0584	Animal	11 K 1690 (1658)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	Working area: associated with copper crucible
TF 0592	Human	11 K 1690 (1658)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0588	Human	11 K 1690 (1658)	ca. 1st BCE - 1st CE	
TF 0457	Human	519 (2713)	1st - 2nd CE	Surface Street 10: waste area with ash
TF 0049	Animal	520 (2762)	1st - 2nd CE	Surface: hallway, Unit G to Street 10
TF 0459	Human	520 (2762)	1st - 2nd CE	
TF 0458	Human	520 (2762)	1st - 2nd CE	
TF 0453	Human	520 (2762)	1st - 2nd CE	
TF 0452	Human	520 (2762)	1st - 2nd CE	

No. Catalogue	Typology	Provenience	Period	Area
TF 0341	Human	411 (1277)	2nd CE	Surface: with fireplaces
TF 0716	Human	412 (740)	2nd CE	Residential area
TF 0343	Human	429 (465)	2nd CE	Surface: with fireplaces
TF 0325	Animal	511 (2608)	2nd CE	Surface: horseshoe-shaped fireplaces and saddle quern
TF 0342	Human	514 (2664)	2nd CE	Surface: external area with pit-well
TF 0284	Human	514 (2697)	2nd CE	Surface: external area with pit-well and horseshoe-shaped fireplaces
TF 0313	Human	517 (2681)	2nd CE	Deposit: with fireplaces
TF 0455	Human	517 (2681)	2nd CE	Deposit: with fireplaces
TF 0060	Animal	519 (2661)	2nd CE	Waste area: associated with a saddle quern
TF 0075	Animal	519 (2661)	2nd CE	
TF 0217	Animal	520 (2722)	2nd CE	Deposit: with fireplaces
TF 0451	Human	521 (2716-2717)	2nd CE	Residential area: undefined strata
TF 0287	Animal	413 (287)	3rd CE (first half)	Deposit: filling = floor 285 with fireplaces
TF 0022	Animal	421 (30)	3rd CE (first half)	Surface: with fireplaces
TF 0197	Animal	421 (30)	3rd CE (first half)	
TF 0009	Animal	427 (527)	3rd CE (first half)	Waste area: associated with a saddle quern
TF 0035	Animal	4 (401)	3rd CE (first half)	Kitchen floor: with fireplaces
TF 0499	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 103 (1263)	3rd CE (first half)	Surface: public court of Temple K
TF 0649	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 107 (1170)	3rd CE (first half)	
TF 0501	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 107 (1185)	3rd CE (first half)	
TF 0502	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 107 (1200)	3rd CE (first half)	Surface: public court of Temple K; material associated to votive offers of shrine [1023]
TF 0500	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 107 (1208)	3rd CE (first half)	
TF 0200	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 107 (1208)	3rd CE (first half)	
TF 0201	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 107 (1208)	3rd CE (first half)	
TF 0202	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 107 (1208)	3rd CE (first half)	
TF 0498	Animal	11 E 5-6/7-8 K 107 (1211)	3rd CE (first half)	
TF 0092	Animal	430 (340)	3rd CE (second half)	Waste area: associated with a saddle quern
TF 0204	Animal	430 (340)	3rd CE (second half)	

Table 1 – Some association of terracotta figurines with recognized area.

Obituaries

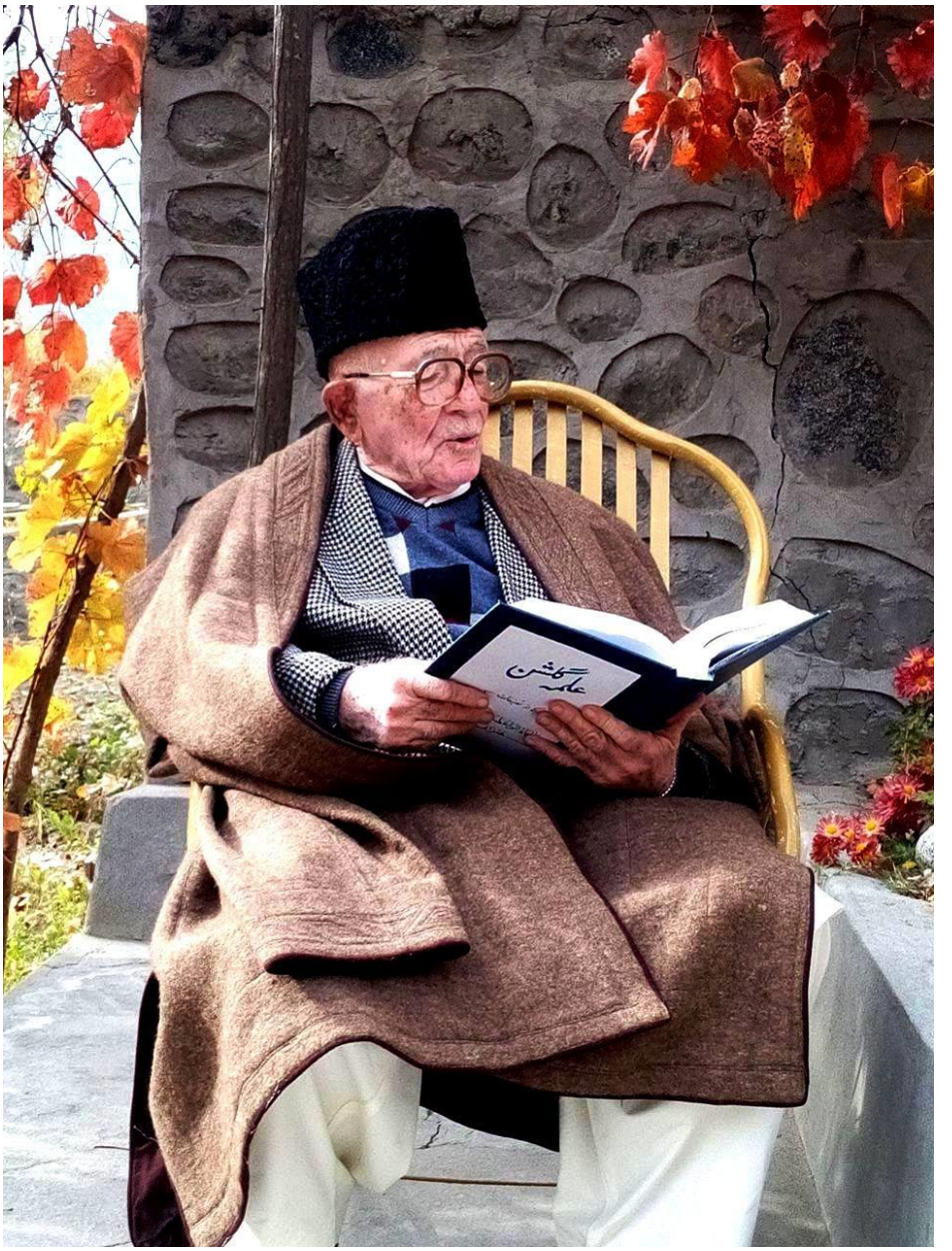

Fig. 1- Ghulamuddin Ghulam Hunzai (Photo by Karamat Ali 2014).

The Life Long Contributions of Ghulamuddin Ghulam (1924-2020)

Mueezuddin Hakal

In Hunza at the Fort of Altit on 27th of December 1924, a child gets birth, was named Ghulam Musa after the dreams of his father Qalander Ali and by identifying his *t'aliya* related to the Prophet Moses. He was the first among his fellows from this village to get formal education at Primary School Baltit, after informal education from locals knowing reading and writing. After passing his first three years of primary education, he started to teach his age-fellows at his home in 1935 voluntarily. Further, continued teaching for eleven years informally, at his home school. This school received the formal recognition of Diamond Jubilee (D.J.) School System, patronised by HRH Sultan Muhammad Shah, Aga Khan III, in 1946. Thus, this school was converted as it is into D.J. Primary School, Altit, and he shifted the school to the Old Mosque connected to the Fort. That school continued till 1973 when the whole system was capitalised by the Government of Pakistan, thus again his school was renamed Government Primary School, Altit. After this, he was transferred to Baltit (Karimabad) and later to Sultanabad (Gilgit) where he was acknowledged as the Best Teacher from Northern Areas by the Federal Government, and received retirement in 1986. As a result, many of his students from Hunza to Gilgit were remembering and calling him the *Ustād*. In this connection, one of his early students, Brigadier (r.) Naunihal Shah shares his memory and mentions in condolence letter as,

> "Master Ghulamuddin, as he was popularly known, was not only a teacher. He was a reformer. In early 1940s, when no one in the village could read or write he had learnt to read and write. He put his this skill entirely at the service of the community. Look at the hats he wore, Khalifa, Wa'iz, social activist, community leader, architect and teacher. This made him stand as a figure totally unparalleled in the village. Every individual and family looked unto him for guidance and advice. He was still young at that time and winning the support of leaders of local tribes was not easy. But he was blessed with the art to win their support, primarily, due to his sincerity and selflessness."

Along with this, he served in young days of life as *Khalifa-e Pīr* in religious circles, since 1938, and was performing religious rituals and practices for his tribe Hakal-u-kutz and others. In this connection, his learning in Islamic Studies and Philosophies moved his interest towards the production of a huge poetic literature in his tongue Burushaski and Persian in Major, and Urdu rarely in a minor. Probably, his poetic contribution is the largest, ever produced in the Burushaski language. To bring the spoken Burushaski in writing, he utilised his style of writing based on Perso-Arabic script with

unique diacritical additions for fulfilling the extra phonetic requirements. More than this, he spent his seven years of life translating the Holy book of Qur'an into Burushaski for the first time, which is considered as the major contribution in Burushaski Language, and hence in recognition of this service, the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Shaukat Aziz, invited him to the Prime Minister House to award a reward on 25th of August 2007.

Fig. 2 - Burushaski Translation of Holy Qur'an presenting to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Shoukat Aziz. (Photo by Official Photographer PM House 2007)

He utilised his calligraphic capabilities to present the medieval period manuscripts to the masses include, *Dawat-e Nasiri*, *Haft Baab-e Abu Ishaaq*, *Tuhfa-al-Naazirin*, etc. Besides this, he expressed his philosophical intellect in poetic traditions in monograph forms and published *Majlisul M'arifat* (1968), *Hudud-e Deen* (1981), *Diwan-e Karimi* (1992), *Nur-e Shul* (1998), Burushaski Translation of Holy Qur'an (2005), *Kulliyat-e Ghulam* (Persian 2015), *kaleed-e M'anuviyat* (2015), *Kalam-e Maula Ali* (2015), *Noor-e Sabaq* (2015), *Da'wat-e Ilm* (2015), and *Makhzan-e Hikmat* (2015), which mainly contains devotional poems and the literature related to Islamic Studies. There is still a huge part of his unpublished contributions in manuscripts forms needed to be presented to the readership in the future.

He passed away towards the eternity on 8th of August 2020 leaving behind his contributions for the generations to come. His work and service will mainly help to understand the Burusho culture in a general and the Burushaski language in particular concerning the evolution of Ismaili tradition in northern mountain areas of Pakistan.


اندر توصیف مالک الملک
وهو الحی القیوم

ای خداوند دو عالم مالک ملک خدا — کل شیء هالک الا وجه ذوالعلا
بر کتاب صفحهٔ عالم چو دیدم وصف تو — از ازل در دین و دنیا شان تو دیدم ابتدا
از برائے امتحان مخلوق را پیدا کنی — صنعت خود می نمائی بر دمی مخلوق را
تخت و تاج عارضی مر آنکه را تو خواستی — با اجل هم با امانت دادهٔ با ابتلا
مثل خوابی باشد او را تاج و تخت عارضی — چونکه بیدار میشود از خواب عمر بی وفا
حشمت و جاه و جلالش دولت و فرزند و مال — هیچ مقدوری ندارد چون اجل آید درا
مشت خاکی را بامر خود دمیدی روح را — روز دیگر میکنی این خاک و روح از هم جدا
خاک آمیزد بخاک و آتش و آب و هوا — کل شیء هالک رود سوی اصل در انتها
نفس انسانی که آمد از وجود امر حق — زین یقین دارم که جان با امر تو یابد بقا
اصل جان است نفس کلی عقل کل اصل منتهی — خود نمودی عقل و نفس جزو یم را ابتدا
وعدهٔ نار و بهشت است با عقاب و با ثواب — جاهل اندر باطل است و عاقل اندر حق بقا
جاهل آنست هر که باشد بی خبر از اصل خود — از کلام لیس للانسان الا ما سعی
عاقل آنست هر که دی جوید اصول اصل خود — اصل عقل و نفس در وحدت همی یابد صلا
از اصول اصل جن و انس هم دیو و ملک — تو منزه از همه عالم خداوند علا
گاه دور شمس آید گاه قمر با انجمان — روز و شب گردان کنی گاهی صباح و گاه مسا
گاه بهاری آید اندر سال گاه آید خزان — گاه زمستان گاه تابستان از بر یکدیگر
تخم روید در زمین سبزی برون آید ازان — بار دیگر تخم اول آید اندر خوشه ها
همچنین تخمی است جان هم زندگی روید ازان — خوشه وصل جان با جانان مثل دانها

رحمت بی انتهایت با جمیع مخلصان
بر غلام خود بکن از ابتدا تا انتها

Fig. 3 – Persian poetry of Ghulam, in his pen.

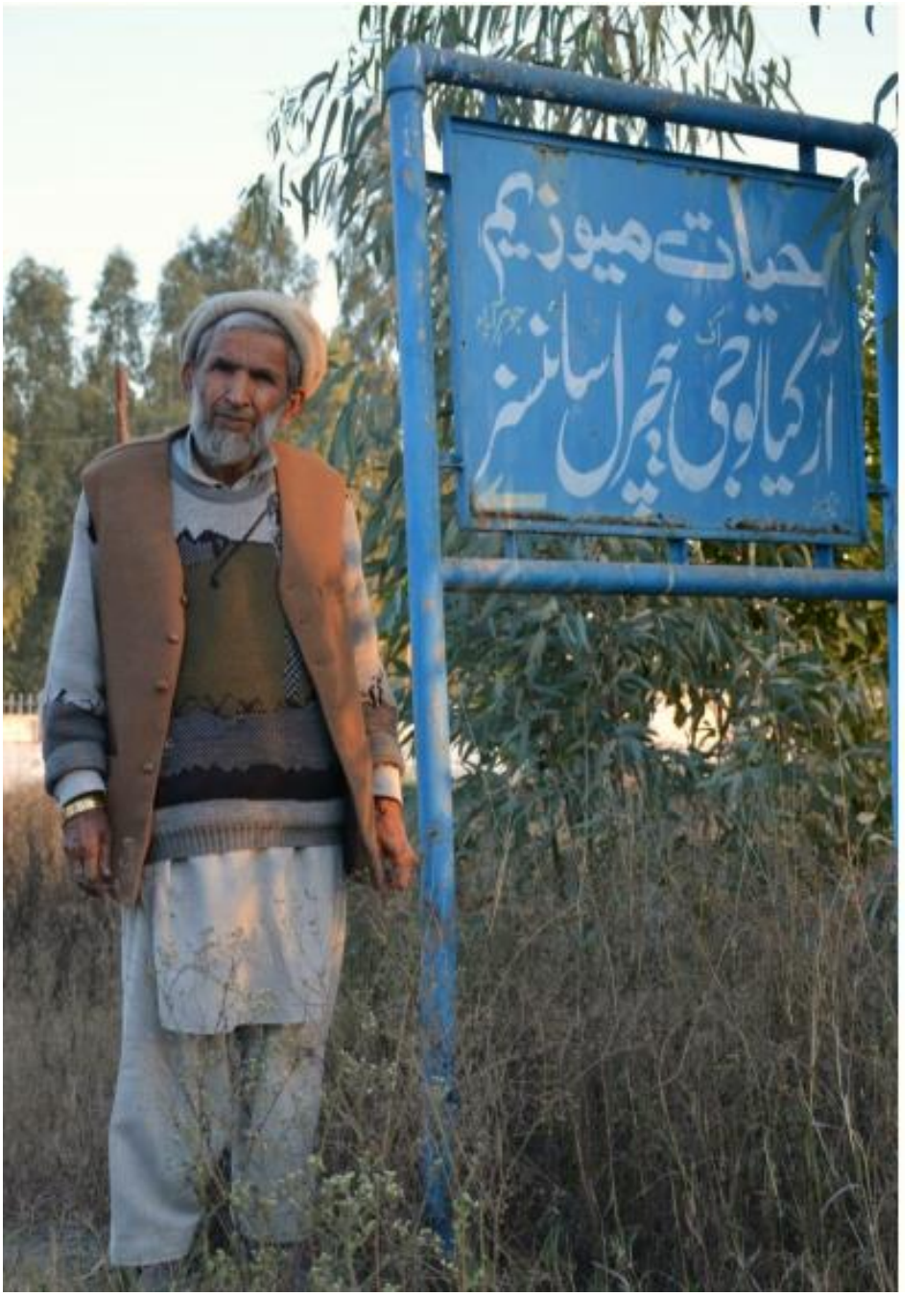

Fig. 1 - Sheikh Muhammad Hayat aside the display board of Museum
(Photo by HKL, 2018).

Field Memories with Sheikh Muhammad Hayat (1934-2020)

Mueezuddin Hakal

The birthplace of Mr. Muhammad Hayat was village Jhawariyan, in District Sargodha, and the date was 4th February 1934. After receiving secondary education, he started working as a teacher at a local school in District Sargodha. Later his service shifted to District Khoshab.

His connection with Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations (TIAC) was very long, since the time of its inception. He was regularly visiting Prof. Dr. Ahmad Hassan Dani, Dr. M. Saleem, Prof. Dr. Ashraf Khan, and Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman, the Directors of this Institute, to slake his intellectual thirst. My first interaction with him was at Lahore in Second Museum Conference at COMSATS in 2017. Where he invited me to visit Khoshab, but he visited TIAC before my first academic tour to District Khoshab.

My first visit was in February 2018, the second tour was in October 2018, and the last with him was in October 2020. Mr. Hayat was not a teacher only, but also he worked as an investigator of history and archaeology. In his academic journey, he explored many of the sites in the surroundings of the Salt Range, and gave access to the sites to the researchers, and facilitated their field activities at Khoshab.

In this connection, he authored six books including *tārīkh-e Sa'ud-i 'Arab* (1992), *tārīkh-e Islāmī Jamhūriya-e Irān* (1994), *tārīkh-e Wast-e Asia* (2003, 2nd edition 2020), *Sarzamin-e Sargodha* (2003), *Zill'a Khoshab, tārīkh ke a'ine me* (2014), and *Tārīkh-e Ālam-e Islām*. His major contribution was to establish a collection of artefacts for the museum with his name 'Hayat Museum of Natural History and Archaeology' established by the District Administration of Khoshab.

He facilitated many scholars to have academic tours to Khoshab. First, Prof. Dr. Ahmad Hasan Dani visited the area on his insist. Dr. Saleem with his support arranged several field trips in Soan-Sakesar Valley and Khoshab. Dr. Saif-ur-Rahman Dar visited the site of Nari and produced a paper. After him, I visited the site of Nari and Temple of Kattha Sagral, and Rorapindh was for the first time explored and identified as a contemporary site of the Gandharan period, in the first tour. In the second fieldwork, we moved up to the valley Sakesar and visited the ruins around the lake of Śakyamuṇi-sar, noticed the unique graves of the early Islamic period, monuments of the Mughal Age in Khoshab, and also to Amb temple. In third and recent fieldwork we visited the early Islamic graves in Sakesar and revisited the sites of Nari, Rorapindh, and Kaṭṭha Sagral. Nari was previously identified by Saif-ur-Rahman Dar (2002) as the site of Pre-Indus cultures continuing to the later phases of Civilizations, from the surface data, and excavations based future investigations will add more to it. From the surface

investigations of data from Rorapindh, we have declared it to be the site of Scytho-Parthian and Kushan age, contemporary to the sites of Gandharan heritage and culture in the Khoshab region. Temple at Kaṭṭha Sagral (Hakal 2018) is adding about the architectural history of Hindu Shahis, the mound on which temple was existing can establish the connection between Gandharan and Hindu Shahi period history. The monumental large size graves in this area with their unique ashlar masonry with vernacular Indian elements of elaborated decorations marks the emergence of Islam in this land and the continuity of local traditions. The monuments of the Mughal age add more to the glory of Islamic History in this area, on-road between Kabul and Lahore.

Fig. 2 - Mr. Hayat, second from left, during the last field with TIAC team at Rorapindh (Photo by HKL, October 2020).

Thus, the role of Mr. Muhammad Hayat in the explorations of the sites here has helped us to understand the cultural sequence of history from the Kot-diji period to our times. We planned to visit the archaeological sites in the desert area of District Khoshab, which was our next planned academic tour to this area. It was appearing that he was in hurry to show us everything, for which he was regularly mentioning “after me, no one will show you all that I have seen”. Unfortunately, he left us before guiding us to his explored sites in this region.

It was shocking news for me to receive a call and message from the personal number of Muhammad Hayat around 12:02 PM on 1st December 2020 by his grandson about the news of his passing away. That day, I had nothing else, only to pray for the departed soul to rest in eternal peace.

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