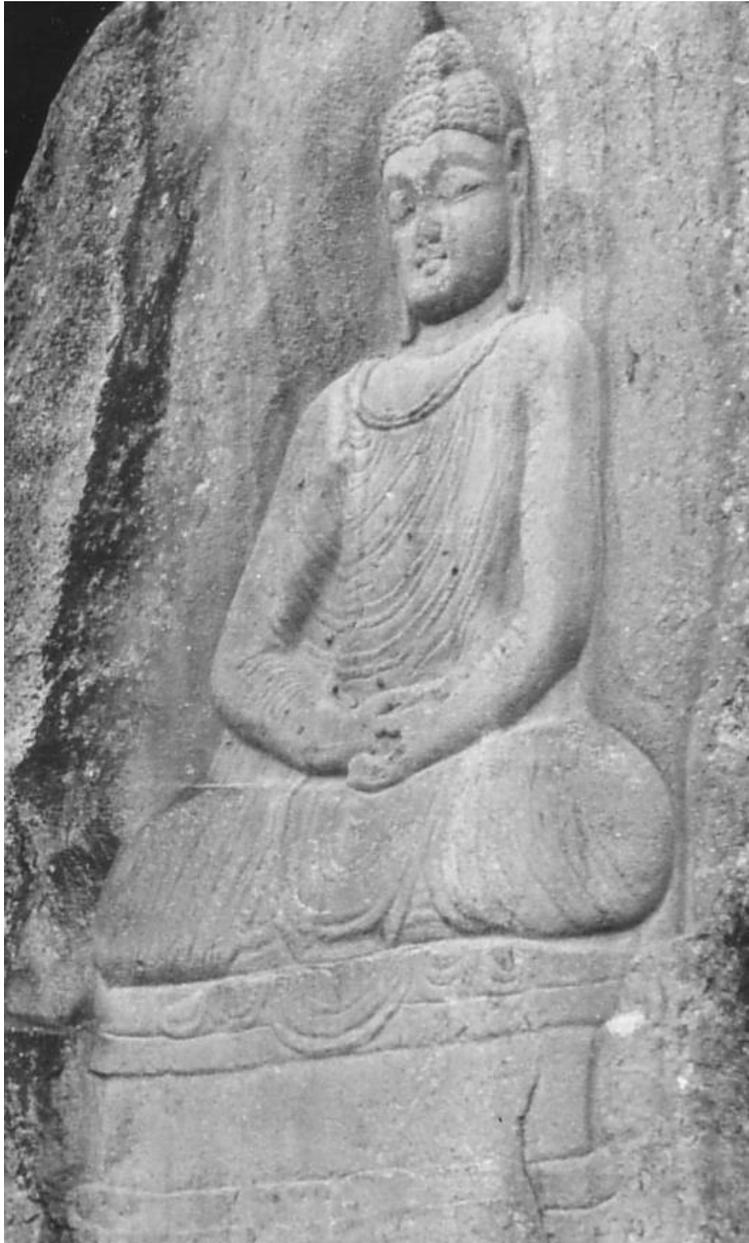


# Journal of Asian Civilizations



Vol. 40, No. 1, July 2017

# **Journal of Asian Civilizations**

**(Founded by Late Prof. Dr. Ahmad Hassan Dani in 1978  
as  
Journal of Central Asia)**

Editor

**Ghani-ur-Rahman (PhD)**

Co-Editor

**Luca Maria Olivieri (PhD)**  
*(Sitara-i-Imtiaz)*

Assistant Editor

**Kiran Shahid Siddiqui (PhD)**

**Vol. 40, No. 1  
July 2017**

## **BOARD OF EDITORS**

Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman	(Pakistan)
Dr. Luca Maria Olivieri	(Italy)
Dr. Paolo Biagi	(Italy)
Dr. Jonathan Mark Kenoyer	(U.S.A)
Dr. Stefano Beggiora	(Italy)
Dr. Aurore Didier	(France)
Dr. Giacomo Benedetti	(Italy)
Dr. Stefano Peló	(Italy)
Dr. M. Ashraf Khan	(Pakistan)
Dr. M. Farooq Swati	(Pakistan)
Dr. Gul Rahim Khan	(Pakistan)
Dr. Rafiullah Khan	(Pakistan)
Dr. Sadeed Arif	(Pakistan)

Cover Photo: The Jahanabad Buddha in 1996 (photo by Luca Maria Olivieri).

Rs. 400.00 in Pakistan  
U.S. \$ 40.00 outside Pakistan

**ISSN 1993-4696**

**HEC recognized “X” category journal, since May 2015**

---

### **Published by:**

Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations  
Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad, Pakistan.  
Tele: +92-51-2601066, Fax: +92-51-9248127  
E-mail: [taxilainstitute@yahoo.com](mailto:taxilainstitute@yahoo.com)

### **Printed at:**

Sohail Altaf Printers, Rawalpindi – Pakistan  
Ph: 051-5770388/ E-Mail: [sohailaltaf1958@gmail.com](mailto:sohailaltaf1958@gmail.com)

## CONTENTS

<i>Article</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Page</i>
1	Paolo Biagi	Why so many different stones? The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered	1
2	Luca Maria Olivieri	Decline or Transformations: Patterns of Change in Swat at and after the end of the Kushan Era (3rd-6th Century AD)	41
3	Zarawar Khan	The “Ionic Temple” of Chakdara, Malakand (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan). Additional Notes and New Data	61
4	Mueezuddin Hakal	Kharpocho Fort Inscription from Skardu, Gilgit-Baltistan, Pakistan	73
5	Luca M. Olivieri	The itinerary of O rgyan pa in Swat/Uddiyana (second half of 13th Century)	87
6	Samina Saleem	Architecture of Khem Bedi Singh Haveli at Kallar Sayedan Pakistan	103
7	Adeela Ghazanfar	Silencing of Women in Chishti Hagiographical Tradition in South Asia: A Study of <i>Siyar al-awliyā</i>	141
8	Samia Khalid	An Anecdote Mirroring the Female Empowerment in the Bahawalpur State	157

*Journal of Asian Civilizations*

9	Ishtiaq Ahmad	The British Colonial Policy and the Khyber Pass in the Uprising of 1897	167
10	Saima Syed	Analysis of Illuminated Manuscript of Qur'an at Ganjbakhsh Library Islamabad	193
	List of Contributors		V

-1-

## **Why so many different stones? The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered**

**Paolo Biagi<sup>1</sup>**

*This paper is dedicated to the memory of Professor Abdul Rauf Khan, of the Department of Geography, Karachi University, for his invaluable contribution to the prehistory of Sindh*

### **Abstract**

*The research carried out in Sindh during the last forty years, and the study of the chipped stone assemblages stored in Karachi University collections, show that Late (Upper) Palaeolithic complexes are known from at least five regions of Sindh. Most sites are located close to good quality raw material outcrops and freshwater sources. Their precise chronology is often difficult to define because they consist mainly of surface lithic scatters or workshops from which datable material is missing. The chipped stone industries of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic of Sindh are easy to distinguish from those of the Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods because of their techno-typological characteristics. The assemblages from the southernmost part of Lower Sindh are represented by typical implements, among which are curved backed points retouched from blade-like flakes that are known also from other parts of the Indian Subcontinent. Lithic workshops are very common in the Rohri, Ongar and Daphro Hills.*

### **1. Introduction**

The scope of this paper is to describe and define the main characteristics of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic<sup>2</sup> of Sindh, a topic scarcely taken into

---

<sup>1</sup> Department of Asian and North African Studies, Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Ca' Cappello, San Polo 2035, I-30125 Venezia, Italy. E-mail: pavelius@unive.it

<sup>2</sup> In this paper the term Late (Upper) Palaeolithic is used. It combines the terminology employed in the Indian Subcontinent (Upper Palaeolithic) with that used in Europe (Late

consideration by most archaeologists who work in the Subcontinent. The reason might be partly due to the impressive remains of the Bronze Age Indus Civilization, which attracted many scholars since their early discovery (Childe, 1934; Lahiri, 2000; 2005), and the difficulties that archaeologists have to face to carry out research in the region.

Before the mid 1970s, Palaeolithic assemblages were reported very rarely from Pakistan (e.g. Krishnaswamy, 1947; Gordon, 1958; Khatri, 1962). During the second half of the 1970s B. Allchin (1976) and A.R. Khan (1979a) published the first Palaeolithic finds of Sindh. In their papers they described the main characteristics of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic assemblages in very different ways. B. Allchin pointed out the uniqueness of the Rohri Hills flint workshops (Allchin, 1976: 479) whose assemblages were “*based upon the manufacture of parallel-sided blades from unidirectional cores*” (Allchin *et al.*, 1978: 320), whilst A.R. Khan emphasized the occurrence of a well-defined type of point, “*a knife like tool, with strongly curved and steeply blunted back and very sharp and more or less straight cutting edge*” that he considered the most characteristic implement of the lithic complexes he discovered around Karachi (Khan, 1979a: 13). In the same paper, this author wrote that Palaeolithic sites are badly preserved in the area because “*they have been eroded so deeply that the entire loose material and soil from their top has been removed*” (Khan, 1979a: 14).

The aforementioned papers were written some a decade after the discovery of Sanghao, a unique Late (Upper) Palaeolithic cave site that opens in the mountains of north-western Pakistan ca. 36 kms north-east of Mardan (Dani, 1964; Allchin, 1973; Ranere, 1982; Salim, 1986). In contrast, excavations at Riwat 55 (Soan Valley, Islamabad) were carried out in the early 1980s (Rendell *et al.*, 1989). Riwat 55 is generally considered to be the oldest Late (Upper) Palaeolithic site of Pakistan, TL-dated to ca. 45,000 BP (Rendell and Dennell, 1987).

Just a few years before interest in the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic period started to arise in India (Raju and Venkatasubbaia, 2002), thanks to the discovery of chipped stone industries of “*Upper Palaeolithic nature*” in Allahabad district (Murty, 1969: 84), and the description of a lithic assemblage from Reniguta (Sharma, 1982). Soon after they were followed

---

Palaeolithic).

by the first definition of the typological characteristics of the Indian Late (Upper) Palaeolithic complexes (Murty, 1970), and their stratigraphic position within the Palaeolithic sequence of the Indian Subcontinent (Mujumdar and Rajaguru, 1970: 97; for a history review see also Sosnowska, 2010: 98). Given the above premises, and also because of our bad knowledge of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic of the entire Subcontinent (Chauhan and Patnaik, 2012: table 1), Pakistan in particular, it is not surprising that until a few years ago most western authors had paid little or no attention to India. This is clear for example when the problems related to the Middle-Upper Palaeolithic transition in Asia were discussed (Brantingham *et al.*, 2004; Kuhn *et al.*, 2004; Derevianko, 2010; 2011a; 2011b).

Other authors, reassessing a model firstly introduced already in the 1960s (Bulbeck, 2007: 315) suggested a route followed by the first modern humans all along the north Arabian Sea coast of Makran and Las Bela (Field *et al.*, 2007; Blinkhorn and Petraglia, 2014), despite 1) the absence of any material culture remains of this period along the entire coast of Balochistan (Snead, 1966; 1969; Besenval and Sanlaville, 1990) and most of India (Petraglia and Boivin, 2014: 330), 2) any radiocarbon-dated Late (Upper) Palaeolithic assemblage prior to slightly earlier than 40,000 BP all over the Indian Subcontinent (Mishra *et al.*, 2013), and 3) new controversial genetic (Gunz *et al.*, 2009; Beyin, 2011: 9; Fregel *et al.*, 2015) and also fossil evidence (Athreya, 2010; Rightmire, 2015). Other authors studied the problem related to the DNA types in Africa and India (Forster, 2004: 260), others again proposed alternative routes along which *H. sapiens* moved to reach southeast Asia (Henke and Hardt, 2011: Fig. 3.5; López *et al.*, 2015). However, the present archaeological and anthropological evidences hide a scenario more complex than that suggested just a few years ago (Glantz, 2010; Scerri *et al.*, 2014; Bolus, 2015).

## **2. The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic sites of Sindh**

Archaeological sites that we can attribute to the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic have been discovered in five different regions of Sindh. They are: 1) the territory around Karachi, the Mulri Hills in particular, 2) Jhampir (Thatta), 3) The Ongar and the Daphro Hills (Hyderabad), 4) Ranikot (Jamshoro) and 5) The Rohri Hills (Sukkur-Khairpur) (Fig. 1). Though none of the sites ever yielded any organic datable material, they have been attributed to the Late

(Upper) Palaeolithic because of the techno-typological characteristics of the chipped stone assemblages.

### **2.1. The territory around Karachi and the Mulri Hills**

The geomorphology and evolution of the Karachi basin have been studied in detail by Professor A.R. Khan during the 1970s. Thanks to the geoarchaeological surveys carried out in those years (Khan, 1979b; 1979c) he noticed that “*the coastal area near Karachi reveals a series of raised beaches and marine terraces*” (Khan, 1979a: 19). The highest series of terraces ca. 50 m high, covered with windblown sand, yielded evidence of both Late (Upper) Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites.

Unfortunately A.R. Khan left to us only summarily descriptions of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites he found in the area (Khan, 1979a: 11). The same author discovered many lithic scatters of the same periods in the Hab River Valley (Mendiari) (Fig. 3, top), and along the banks of the watercourses that flow into the Malir River and the Indus delta, among which is Ran Pethani. Other chipped stone assemblages were discovered around Rehri, a village facing the Khadiro Creek, and the Mulri Hills, at the eastern outskirts of Karachi (Fig. 1, n. 1).

The typological variability of the tool types, the limited information regarding the way the sites were discovered, mapped and sampled, their approximate location and extension, make the attribution of each complex to the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic or to the Mesolithic sometimes problematic. This is why a techno-typological and dimensional analysis of the tool classes, backed points, and geometrics, lunates in particular, is at present underway to frame the different sites into a reliable sequence.

The Mulri Hills are located in front of Karachi University Campus, just south of the University Road. They rise between two important river courses: the Layari (Lyari), in the north, and the Malir, in the south (Fig. 2; Fig. 3, bottom). They consist of variegated beds developed on the Miocene Upper Gaj sedimentary formation that reaches a maximum height of ca. 70 m (Zaidi *et al.*, 1979). During the 1970s Professor A.R. Khan discovered many Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites mainly on the upper slopes of the hills. Thanks to his unpublished field notes, and the distribution maps he left to us, we know that some sites were located close to two main faults, along which several springs gushed. Small, seasonal streams originate from

them. They flow southward into the Malir River that they join ca. 10 km from the present coastline (Biagi, 2003-2004).

One of the Mulri Hills sites, MH-16, yielded a characteristic Late (Upper) Palaeolithic assemblage. Late (Upper) Palaeolithic and Mesolithic industries were recovered also from other Mulri Hills sites, MH-12 (Biagi, 2003-2004: Fig. 11), MH-14 (Fig. 7, nn. 37-54), MH-14a (Fig. 7, nn. 27-36), MH-15a, MH-18 (Biagi, 2003-2004: Fig. 12, nn. 6-13) and MH-22 (Fig. 7, nn. 10-26).

MH-16 is the only site from which A.R. Khan collected a homogeneous Late (Upper) Palaeolithic assemblage. It consists of 425 artefacts obtained from flint pebbles whose source is still unknown. The assemblage is represented by 90 cores (37 prismatic, 35 subconical, 10 polyhedral, and 8 fragments: Fig. 4; Fig. 6, nn. 15, 16), 147 complete, unretouched artefacts that were measured to develop the diagrams of Fig. 8: MH16, 103 unretouched fragments, among which are 45 blades and bladelets, 62 tools, 3 burin spalls, 14 crested blades and flakes and 6 microburins (Fig. 5, nn. 41-47; Fig. 6, nn. 10-12). The tools consist of 14 burins (6 simple, 1 on a fracture, 7 on retouch: Fig. 5, nn. 1-8; Fig. 6, nn. 13, 14), 3 end scrapers (1 long, 1 short, 1 fragment: Fig. 5, nn. 9, 10), 4 truncations (Fig. 5, n. 11), 1 probable triangle (Fig. 5, n. 33), 19 curved backed points (12 total, 7 partial: Fig. 5, nn. 12-17, 19-28, 30, 35; Fig. 6, nn. 2-6, 9), 5 curved points on thick, triangular flakes (Fig. 5, nn. 29, 31, 32), 1 thick backed blade (Fig. 5, n. 18; Fig. 6, n. 1), 6 backed bladelets (Fig. 5, nn. 34, 36, 40-44; Fig. 6, n. 7), 1 backed bladelet and truncation (Fig. 5, n. 39), 3 backed points (Fig. 5, nn. 30, 37, 38; Fig. 6, n. 8), 4 side scrapers, 1 flakelet with abrupt retouch. They are knapped mainly from bladelets or bladelet-like flakelets of normolithic size (2.5 to 5 cm), but also from blades and blade-like flakes (5 to 10 cm). The only microlithic tool (1.25 to 2.5 cm) is the above-mentioned triangle fragment<sup>3</sup>.

Other sites in the area that yielded Late (Upper) Palaeolithic lithic assemblages are Mendiari (Fig. 1, n. 2), Rehri 4a (Fig. 1, n. 3), Deh Konkar (Fig. 1, n. 4), and Ran Pethani 9 (Fig. 1, n. 5; fig. 5, n. 1). Characteristic

---

<sup>3</sup> The blank dimensions reported in this paper follow common European nomenclature. They are: hyper-microbladelets and hyper-microflakelets (<1.25 cm), microbladelets and microflakelets (1.25-2.5 cm), bladelets and flakelets (2.5-5.0 cm), blades and flakes (5.0-10.0 cm), macroblades and macroflakes (>10.0 cm).

curved points were collected also from Langeji, Kadeji and Jorando gorges, Kankar Nala, Khar Nai and Bakran.

Mendiari is located in the Hab River Valley, just northwest of Sona Pass (Fig. 1, n. 2; Fig. 3, top). The area is rich in springs. One site yielded characteristic Late (Upper) Palaeolithic tools. The assemblage consists of 40 artefacts, among which are 15 cores (3 subconical, 5 prismatic, 6 polyhedral, and 1 fragment), 1 end scraper, 10 curved backed points (3 total, 7 partial), 1 large lunate, 2 side scrapers, 1 retouched blade, and 15 unretouched artefacts (Fig. 7, nn. 2-9).

Rehri, along the coast of the Arabian Sea east of Karachi, is also important. The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic site Rehri 4a was discovered inside the same depression where the present village is located. It yielded only 12 tools all coated with a white patina. They consist of 1 simple burin, 8 curved backed points, 1 side scraper, 1 fragment of a retouched blade and 1 unretouched flakelet (Biagi, 2003-2004: Fig. 13, nn. 23-28). They were collected *in situ* from a red clayey soil associated with a few mammal bones and wild ox teeth, which were unfortunately impossible to radiocarbon date because of the absence of collagen (Biagi, 2008a: 8).

## **2.2. Jhimpir**

W.T. Blanford was the first to survey the area around Jhimpir. From the area close to the railway station he reported the presence of cherty and flinty limestone rocks (Blanford, 1880: 153). The 2010 surveys were carried out along the terraces that elongate south-west of the small town. They led to the discovery of many sites (fig. 1, n. 6), most of which were attributed to the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic period (Biagi, 2011). The sites consist of flint scatters lying on the surface of the weathered Kirthar limestone terraces. Their distribution is delimited, in the north, by a freshwater spring, in the south, by a long flint outcrop, in the east by a depression at present filled with the artificial Kalri Lake (Fig. 9, top), where Sonehri and Kinjhar basins were originally located (Khan, 1979a: 16; see also Tremenheere, 1867: map).

Sites JHP-1, JHP-7 and JHP-9 yielded a few microlithic lunates (Biagi, 2011: Fig. 5-7). The presence of typical impact fractures shows that two lunates from JHP-1 were used for tipping arrows or spearheads (fig. 10, nn. 14, 15). The length/width and length/thickness diagrams of Fig. 8: JHP-13, have been developed measuring 60 complete, unretouched artefacts.

The chipped stone artefacts from Jhampir are obtained from local, light grey nodular flint (2.5Y7/1-7/2), whose outcrops are located south and southwest of the main cluster of Late (Upper) Palaeolithic sites. They were labelled JHP-21 and JHP-28 (Biagi and Nisbet, 2010). The tools are often coated with a thin dark greyish brown (2.5Y3/2) to dark brown patina (7.5Y3/3) caused by exposure and weathering.

A brief survey carried out in January 2011 led to the discovery of one more good quality flint source (JHP-30: Fig. 9, bottom) ca. 5-6 kms west-south west of JHP-21. Another small Late (Upper) Palaeolithic site scattered over a surface of ca. 20 sqm, was found some 1 km farther west, at 24°58'53.9N - 67°57'25.0E (JHP-W1) (Fig. 1, n. 7; Fig. 11).

### **2.3. Ongar and Daphro Hills**

Ongar is a limestone terrace located just opposite of the homonymous village, west of the national road that from Kotri takes to Jhirak. The archaeological site was discovered in 1959 (Fairservis, 1975: 76). It was revisited by B. Allchin in the 1970s, who called it Milestone 101 (Allchin, 1976; Allchin *et al.*, 1978: 295-304). W.T. Blanford (1880: 148-149) described the Ongar Hill (Aongar) as a Kirthar terrace “*with much flint derived from the limestone*” all around it.

In the 1970s B. Allchin conducted a preliminary survey of the easternmost Ongar hill. On the top of the horseshoe terrace she discovered “*factory debris of Lower, Middle and Upper Palaeolithic and perhaps also Mesolithic and pre-Harappan periods ... in great profusion*” (Allchin *et al.*, 1978: 296). Professor A.R. Khan resumed the research in the area 1972-1973. He was the first to report the presence of typical Levallois tools in Lower Sindh (Khan, 1979d: 80).

The surveys at Ongar were resumed again between 2005 and 2008 (Fig. 1, n. 8) (Biagi, 2005; Biagi and Franco, 2008). The surveys carried out in those years showed that the entire hilltop had already been devastated by at least 50 years of industrial exploitation (Biagi, 2007a; Biagi and Nisbet, 2011). However, a few Late (Upper) Palaeolithic workshops were found still intact (Fig. 12, top). They consist of heaps of debitage and debris products among which are subconical and prismatic cores with bladelet and bladelet-like flakelet detachment, bifacial picks (Figs. 13 and 14) and rare burins. A few workshops of this period were recorded also from the neighbouring hill called Daphro (Fig. 12, bottom).

## **2.4. Ranikot Fort**

The site of Ranikot (RNK-1: Fig. 1, n. 9) was discovered in January 2010, some 720 m north-west of Sann Gate (Fig. 15, top). The site is located on a Kirthar limestone terrace (Blanford, 1867: 15), ca 165 m high, delimited by the deep incision of a seasonal stream that flows into the Nai Rann (or Sann) River (Blanford, 1880: 135). The central point of the lithic scatter, which is distributed over ca. 500 sqm, is 25°53'11.190N - 67°55'29.486E (Fig. 15, bottom).

The chipped stone assemblage of RNK-1 is obtained from small pebbles of local flint (Blanford, 1880: 135). All the artefacts are weathered, coated with an olive yellow patina (2.5Y6/6) with small, lighter spots. Some specimens show a few, small *concassage* detachments, due to either a slight movement from their original position, or trampling. The terrace did not yield any evidence of pockets of the original Pleistocene soil that contained the tools.

The industry consists of 19 cores (Fig. 16, nn. 8-23), 121 unretouched artefacts (58 complete, from which the diagrams of fig. 6: RNK-1 were developed, 63 broken), 4 burins (Fig. 16, nn. 1-4), 1 crested blade, 12 core rejuvenations (Fig. 16, n. 6) and 1 splintered piece (Fig. 16, n. 5). The cores are small, exhausted, subconical (10) or prismatic (9) with bladelet or bladelet-like flakelet detachments (Fig. 16, nn. 8-23) along one face. The platforms are flat or slightly concave, prepared by one or more removals. A few are thin, others show traces of cortex.

All burins are from flakelets. One is simple with one lateral blow (Fig. 16, n. 1), 1 simple with two opposed, lateral blows (Fig. 16, n. 2), 1 simple with two transversal blows (Fig. 16, n. 3), 1 on retouch with two parallel, lateral blows (Fig. 16, n. 4). The splintered piece is on a bladelet.

## **2.5. The Rohri Hills**

W.T. Blanford was the first to write a geographical and geological description of the Rohri Hills (Blanford, 1880: 101-107) that he attributed to the Brahui limestone formation (Blanford, 1877). He was also the first to report the presence of flint artefacts at the northern edge of the hills near Sukkur and Rohri (Blanford, 1880: 20).

Some 70 years after H. De Terra and T.T. Paterson collected a few lithic implements from the top of a few small terraces at Sukkur (De Terra and Paterson, 1939: 330-336) (Fig. 1, n. 11), which they attributed to their Group A (De Terra and Paterson, 1939: Plate XLV). B. Allchin visited the area in the mid 1970s. She discovered a few Late (Upper) Palaeolithic working floors at Chancha Baloch, ca. 4 kms from Kot Diji, and Unnar (or Nawab Punjabi) (Fig. 1, n. 12) (Allchin, 1976: 479; Allchin *et al.*, 1978: 278-288). The Italian Archaeological Mission resumed the research in 1986s within the framework of the Italo-Pakistani "Joint Rohri Hills Project". Its scope was to verify the presence of prehistoric sites on the hills, map them and try to establish a first chronological sequence (Biagi and Cremaschi, 1988).

During the 1990s it became increasingly clear that all the limestone terraces east of the shrine of Shadee Shaheed were spotted with hundreds of Late (Upper) Palaeolithic workshops (Biagi *et al.*, 1995: 23). The tools were often displaced around oval man-made depressions later filled with windblown Thar Desert sand (Fig. 1, n. 10). Two workshops discovered near the tomb of Ziārāt pir Shābān were excavated during those years (ZPS-2 and ZPS-4: Fig. 17) (Biagi *et al.*, 1998-2000; Biagi, 2008a). According to the micro-morphological analysis of the soil of site ZPS-2 (Biagi *et al.*, 1998-2000: 116), it formed during an “*arid climatic phase that characterized the second part of the last glacial*”, most probably around the beginning of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic period (Negrino and Kazi, 1996: 36).

### **3. Discussion**

Most of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic sites of Sindh are located close to good-quality flint outcrops. This is the case for Jhimpir, Ongar, the Rohri Hills and Ranikot. Workshops characterised by debitage products, debris and exhausted cores, were discovered on the Rohri, Ongar and Daphro Hills (Biagi and Starnini, 2008). The cores from these sites show similar technological characteristics (they are often subconical, with one prepared platform, and blade-like flake detachments obtained by indirect percussion), though they are generally somewhat bigger than those from the sites discovered around Karachi and Ranikot (Fig. 18).

Many of the questions regarding the presence of an impressive number of Late (Upper) Palaeolithic workshops on the Rohri Hills are still

waiting for an answer. They regard 1) the way the finished products were eventually distributed as well as their distribution radius, 2) the location of the base camps where knappers settled, 3) the number of people involved in the manufacture of the blanks, 4) the period during which knapping took place, and 5) the absence of characteristic retouched tools. Regarding the first question, so far we do not have any evidence for artefacts of this period made on the Rohri Hills workshops from both Sindh and neighbouring Rajasthan (Allchin *et al.*, 1978). This fact contrasts with that of the Thar Desert Mesolithic sites whose assemblages are made from Rohri Hills flint. Mesolithic assemblages are quite common in the desert, around salty basins, east of the caravan town of Thari (Biagi, 2003-2004; 2008b). Regarding the other questions, at present we do not have any trace of Late (Upper) Palaeolithic base camps in the study region, no idea of the number of people involved in the manufacture of blanks, and no absolute chronological scheme for the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic workshops, because of the absence of datable, organic material.

The situation in Lower Sindh is rather different. The chipped stone assemblages discovered around Karachi consist of characteristic tools, among which are different types of curved points obtained by direct or bipolar abrupt retouch. Burins are known from a few sites as are subconical and subcylindrical bladelet cores, while end scrapers are rare. Assemblages of this type have never been recovered west of the Hab River course, though they are well known from other regions of the Indian Subcontinent (Murty, 1969; 1970; 1979; Joshi, 1978). According to the available radiocarbon chronology, the first Late (Upper) Palaeolithic industries made their appearance in India around 40,000 BP (Mishra, 2013: 92).

As mentioned above, Professor A.R. Khan discovered many Late (Upper) Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites during the surveys he conducted around Karachi in the 1970s. Lunates are the commonest geometric tools he retrieved. They are represented by several types among which are thick specimens, obtained by bipolar retouch, and thin types made by direct, abrupt retouch (Biagi, 2003-2004). According to their typology and size (length, width and thickness) they were retouched mostly from bladelets (2.5-5 cm long) or microbladelets (1.25-2.5 cm long). The occurrence of exhausted cores and debitage flakes show that they were manufactured on the spot.

A few microlithic lunates obtained by abrupt, direct retouch were recovered also from Jhimpir. The Jhimpir sites are most probably to be referred to the end of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic. Also the chipped stone industry from Ranikot (RNK-1) should be attributed to the study period because of the typological characteristics of both cores and blanks, though this assemblage is rather different from all the other so far discovered in Sindh.

#### **4. Conclusion**

Sindh is a very important archaeological region of the Indian Subcontinent. It is located between the Iranian uplands, India and Central Asia, a territory in which not only different aspects interacted and developed during the Middle and Late (Upper) Palaeolithic (Ranov and Gupta, 1979; Glantz, 2010; Biagi and Starnini, 2014), but also Upper (Late) Palaeolithic traces of evidence are scarce (Glantz, 2010: 106). Moreover, according to some authors, it lies along one of the routes that the first modern humans moving out of Africa followed “going east” (Mellars, 2006; Mellars *et al.*, 2013; Petraglia and Boivin 2014), though other models and routes of dispersal have been suggested (Groucutt and Petraglia, 2014: Table 5:1).

However, many important problems are still to be solved concerning the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic period in Sindh. They regard 1) the south-easternmost spread of Neanderthal groups, and their related Levallois Mousterian assemblages (Blinkhorn *et al.*, 2015), 2) the southern and eastern limit reached by the Aurignacian and its related aspects (Otte, 2004; 2015; Otte and Kozłowski, 2007), 3) the origin of the Middle Palaeolithic “Nevasan” and the flake assemblages in the Indian Subcontinent and their chronology (Sankalia and Banerjee, 1958; Allchin, 1992), 4) the origin and chronology of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic complexes characterised by curved backed points and burins that recur in Sindh and some parts of India (Murty, 1970: 126; Paddaya, 1970: 188), and 5) the distribution of the industries characterised by the systematic occurrence of microlithic lunates (Clarkson *et al.*, 2009)<sup>4</sup>, and their chronological and cultural variability. This point is very important, given that the evidence at present available from Sindh does not support the view recently suggested "*that modern*

---

<sup>4</sup> It is unfortunate that the authors did not provided us with the dimensional parameters employed to describe the geometric microliths.

*humans entered India from the northwest along the coast circa 60 kya with distinctive microlithic technology"* (Clarkson, 2014: 82). In contrast it shows that the (lunate geometric) microlithic technology made its appearance quite late, around the end of the Pleistocene, and that it greatly differs from the preceding Late (Upper) Palaeolithic traditions (blade and Burin etc.), which in turn have nothing in common with the Levallois Mousterian Middle Palaeolithic one.

The first two points have already been discussed in a recent paper (Biagi and Starnini, 2014), whilst point 3 has never been taken into much consideration by most archaeologists, except for those from India (Mishra, 1999). The chronology of some Indian assemblages has been established thanks to the excavation of a few stratified, radiocarbon-dated sites, Patne for instance (Sali, 1989). Regarding point 5, we know that some types of microlithic lunates began to be manufactured around 13,000 BP, if not slightly before in some regions of the Indian Subcontinent (Clarkson *et al.*, 2009: Fig. 4 and Table 1). In Sindh, lunates are common to many Karachi sites. They are made by direct or bipolar abrupt retouch, without microburin technique. Their absence at MH-16, suggests that this site predates their introduction. In southern Sindh they continued to be produced at least until the earliest phases of the Mesolithic (Biagi, 2003-2004).

To sum up: our knowledge of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic of Sindh is still very fragmentary and its chronology still very imprecise mainly because of the absence of both stratigraphic sequences and datable materials. The techno-typological and dimensional characteristics of the assemblages suggest that the Rohri Hills and Ongar workshops should be attributed to an early stage in the development of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic period, before the introduction of blade-and-burin complexes. The latter were followed by industries characterised by lunate microliths, which continued to be made at least until the beginning of the Holocene. The manufacturing technology of the Rohri Hills and Ongar assemblages do not seem to derive from those of the Middle Palaeolithic flake industries that, in some regions of western Sindh, are characterised by typical Levallois Mousterian complexes (Biagi, 2007b; Biagi and Starnini, 2014).

### **Acknowledgements**

The 2005-2010 surveys at Ongar, Daphro and Jhimpir were carried out in collaboration with the Institute of Sindhology, Sindh University (Jamshoro, PK). Many thanks are due to Mir Atta Mohammad Talpur, Mir Farooq Ahmed Talpur, Mir Ghulam Rasool Talpur and Mir Abdul Rehman Talpur, for all their help and assistance. Thanks are due also to the late Professor A.R. Khan (Department of Geography, Karachi University, PK), who allowed the author to study the collections from Ongar, the Mulri Hills, and other Karachi basin sites, to Dr. M. Spataro (British Museum, London, UK), for her help during the study of the above assemblages, Dr. C. Franco (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, I), who took part in the 2008 fieldwork season, Dr. R. Nisbet (Ca' Foscari University of Venice, I) for his assistance during the 2009-2011 surveys at Jhimpir and Ranikot, and Dr. E. Starnini (Turin University, I) for her help during the surveys and excavations carried out by the Italian and Pakistani team of the "Joint Rohri Hills Project".

The research in Sindh was carried out thanks to the financial support of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE) (Rome, I), the Prehistoric Society (London, UK), the National Geographic Society (Washington, USA), the Ca' Foscari University Archaeology Funds (Venice, I), the Ligabue Foundation (Venice, I), and the CeVeSCO (Ca' Foscari University, Venice, I).

## References

- Allchin, B. 1973 - Blade and burin industries of West Pakistan and Western India. In *South Asian Archaeology*, N. Hammond (ed.). London: Duckworth: 39–50.
- Allchin, B. 1976 - The Discovery of Palaeolithic Sites in the Plains of Sind and their Implications. *The Geographical Journal*, 142 (3): 471–489.
- Allchin, B. 1992 - Middle Palaeolithic Cultures. In *History of Civilizations of Central Asia. Vol. I: The Dawn of Civilization: Earliest Times to 700 B.C.*, A.H. Dani, V.M. Masson (eds.). Paris: UNESCO Publishing: 65–88.
- Allchin, B., Goudie, A. and Hedge, K. 1978 - *The Prehistory and Palaeogeography of the Great Indian Desert*. London, New York, San Francisco: Academic Press.
- Athreya, S. 2010 - South Asia as a Geographic Crossroad: Patterns and Predictions of Hominin Morphology in Pleistocene India. In *Asian Paleoanthropology: From Africa to China and Beyond*, C.J. Norton, D.R. Braun (eds.). Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London, New York: Springer: 129–140. doi: 10.1007/978-90-481-9094-2\_10.
- Besenal, R. and Sanlaville, P. 1990 - Cartography of Ancient Settlements in Central Southern Pakistani Makran: New Data. *Mesopotamia*, 25: 79–147.
- Beyin, A. 2011 - Upper Pleistocene Human Dispersal out of Africa: A Review of the Current State of the Debate. *International Journal of Evolutionary Biology*. 2011: 1–17. doi:10.4061/2011/615094.
- Biagi, P. 2003-2004 - The Mesolithic Settlement of Sindh: A Preliminary Assessment. *Praehistoria*, 4-5: 195–220.
- Biagi, P. 2005 - Ongar Revisited. *Sindhological Studies*, 21 (1-2): 5–25.
- Biagi, P. 2007a - The Archaeological Sites of the Rohri Hills (Sindh, Pakistan): the Way they are Being Destroyed. *Sindhological Studies*, 3 (1-2): 5–26.
- Biagi, P. 2007b - The Levalloisian assemblages of Sindh (Pakistan) and their importance in the Middle Palaeolithic of the Indian Subcontinent. In *Archaeology of Early Northeastern Africa*. In

- Memory of Lech Krzyżaniak*, K. Kroeper, M. Chłodnicki, M. Kobusiewicz (eds.). *Studies in African Archaeology*, 9: 1005–1017. Poznań: Archaeological Museum.
- Biagi, P. 2008a - The Palaeolithic settlement of Sindh (Pakistan): A review. *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran und Turan*, 40: 1–26.
- Biagi, P. 2008b - New discoveries of Mesolithic sites in the Thar Desert (Upper Sindh, Pakistan). In *Intercultural relations between South and Southwest Asia. Studies in commemoration of E.C.L. During Caspers (1934-1996)*, E. Olijdam, R.H. Spoor (eds.). BAR International Series 1826: 78-85. Society for Arabian Studies Monograph 7. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Biagi, P. 2011 - Late (Upper) Palaeolithic sites at Jhimpir in Lower Sindh (Thatta, Pakistan). In *Studies in Honour of Işin Yalçinkaya*, H. Taşkıran, M. Kartal, K. Özçelik, M.B. Közem and G. Kartal (eds.). Ankara: Bilgin Kültür Sanat Yaynları: 67–84.
- Biagi, P. and Cremaschi, M. 1988 - The early Palaeolithic sites of the Rohri Hills (Sindh, Pakistan) and their environmental significance. *World Archaeology*, 19 (3): 421–433.
- Biagi, P. and Franco, C. 2008 - Ricerche archeologiche in Balochistan e nel Sindh Meridionale (Pakistan). In *Missioni Archeologiche e Progetti di Ricerca e Scavo dell'Università Ca' Foscari - Venezia. VI Giornata di Studio*, S. Gelichi (ed.). Rome: G. Bretschneider: 9–18.
- Biagi, P., Kazi, M.M., Madella, M. and Ottomano, C. 1998-2000 - Excavations at the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic site of ZPS2 in the Rohri Hills, Sindh, Pakistan. *Origini*, 22: 111–133.
- Biagi, P., Kazi, M.M. and Pessina, A. 1994 - New discoveries of Late Palaeolithic sites on the Rohri Hills (Sindh - Pakistan). *Rivista di Archeologia*, 18: 5–13.
- Biagi, P. and Nisbet, R. 2010 - The Prehistoric Flint Mines at Jhimpir in Lower Sindh. *Antiquity Project Gallery*, 84 (325). Available at <http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/Nisbet325/>.
- Biagi, P. and Nisbet, R. 2011 - The Palaeolithic sites at Ongar in Sindh, Pakistan: a precious archaeological resource in danger. *Antiquity Project Gallery*, 85 (329). Available at <http://www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/Biagi329/>.
- Biagi, P., Ottomano, C., Pessina, A. and Shaikh, N. 1995 - The 1994 campaign on the Rohri Hills (Sindh - Pakistan): A preliminary

- report. *Ancient Sindh*, 2: 13–40.
- Biagi, P. and Starnini, E. 2008 - The Bronze Age Indus quarries on the Rohri Hills and Ongar in Sindh (Pakistan). In *Geoarchaeology and Archaeomineralogy Proceedings of the International Conference 29-30 October 2008, Sofia*, R.I. Kostov, B. Gaydarska and M. Gurova (eds.). Sofia: St. Ivan Rilski: 75–82.
- Biagi, P. and Starnini, E. 2014 - The Levalloisian Mousterian assemblages of Lower Sindh (Pakistan) and their relation with the Middle Palaeolithic of the Indian Subcontinent. *Archaeology, Anthropology & Ethnology of Eurasia*, 42 (1): 18–32. doi:10.1016/j.aeae.2014.10.002
- Blanford, W.T. 1867 - Note on the geology of the neighbourhood of Lyngan and Runeekot, north-west of Kotree in Sind - India. *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, 6: 1–15.
- Blanford, W.T. 1877 - Geological notes on the Great Indian Desert between Sind and Rajputana. *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, 10 (1): 10–21.
- Blanford, W.T. 1880 - The Geology of Western Sind. *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, 17: 1–210.
- Blinkhorn, J., Achyuthan, H. and Ajithprasad, P. 2015 - Middle Palaeolithic point technologies in the Thar Desert, India. *Quaternary International*, 382: 237–249. doi:10.1016/j.quaint.2015.02.027.
- Blinkhorn, J. and Petraglia, M.D. 2014 - Assessing Models for the Dispersal of Modern Humans to South Asia. In *Southern Asia, Australia and the Search for Human Origins*, R. Dennell and M. Porr (eds.), New York: Cambridge University Press: 64–75.
- Boivin, N., Fuller, D.Q., Dennell, R., Allaby, R. and Petraglia, M.D. 2013 - Human dispersal across diverse environments of Asia during the Upper Pleistocene. *Quaternary International*, 300: 32–47. doi:10.1016/j.quaint.2013.01.008.
- Bolus, M. 2015 - Dispersals of Early Humans: Traces, Frontiers, and New Territories. In *Handbook of Paleoanthropology*, 3: 2371–2400, W. Henke and I. Tattersal (eds.). Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag. doi: 10.1007/978-3-642-27800-6\_83-1.
- Brantingham, P.J., Kuhn, S.L. and Kerry, K.W. 2004 - On the Difficulty of the Middle-Upper Paleolithic Transitions. In *The Early Upper Paleolithic beyond Western Europe*, P.J. Brantingham, S.L. Kuhn

- and K.W. Kerry (eds.). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 1–13.
- Bulbeck, D. 2007 - Where River Meets Sea: A Parsimonious Model for *Homo sapiens* Colonization of the Indian Ocean Rim and Sahul. *Current Anthropology*, 48 (2): 315–321.
- Chauhan, P. and Patnaik, R. 2012 - Inter-disciplinary perspectives on Indian paleoanthropology and prehistory. *Quaternary International*, 269: 1–8. doi:10.1016/j.quaint.2012.03.028.
- Childe, V.G. 1934 - *New Light on the Most Ancient East*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Clarkson, C. 2014 - An Arabian Perspective on the Dispersal of *Homo sapiens* Out of Africa. In *Southern Asia, Australia and the Search for Human Origins*, R. Dennell and M. Porr (eds.), New York: Cambridge University Press: 76–89.
- Clarkson, C., Petraglia, M., Korisettar, R., Haslam, M., Boivin, N., Crowther, A., Ditchfield, P., Fuller, D., Miracle, P., Harris, C., Connell, K., James, H. and Koshy, J. 2009 - The oldest and longest enduring microlithic sequence in India: 35,000 years of modern human occupation and change at the Jwalapuram Locality 9 rockshelter. *Antiquity*, 83: 326–348. <https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:3fabf5ba-6410-4567-a065-d9ea931c4062>.
- Dani, A.H. 1964 - Sanghao Cave Excavations. *Ancient Pakistan*, 1: 1–50.
- Derevianko, A.P. 2010 - Three scenarios of the Middle to Upper Paleolithic transition. Scenario 1: the Middle to Upper Paleolithic transition in Central Asia and the Near East. *Archaeology Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, 38 (4): 2–38. doi:10.1016/j.aeae.2010.10.002.
- Derevianko, A.P. 2011a - Three scenarios of the Middle to Upper Paleolithic transition. Scenario 2: the Middle to Upper Paleolithic transition in continental East Asia. *Archaeology Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, 39 (1): 2–27. doi:10.1016/j.aeae.2011.06.002.
- Derevianko, A.P. 2011b - The origin of anatomically modern humans and their behavior in Africa and Eurasia. *Archaeology Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia*, 39 (3): 2–31. doi:10.1016/j.aeae.2011.09.001.
- De Terra, H. and Paterson, T.T. 1939 - *The Ice Age in the Indian*

- Subcontinent and Associated Human Cultures With special Reference to Jammu, Kashmir, Ladakh, Sind, Liddar and Central & Peninsular India.* Washington DC: Carnegie Institute.
- Fairservis, W.A. Jr. 1975 - *The Roots of Ancient India*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press (2<sup>nd</sup> revised edition).
- Forster, P. 2004 - Ice Ages and the mitochondrial DNA chronology of human dispersals: a review. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, B359: 255–264.
- Fregel, R., Cabrera, V., Jose M., Larruga, J.M., Abu-Amero, K.K. and Gonzales, A.M. 2015 - Carriers of Mitochondrial DNA Macrohaplogroup N Lineages Reached Australia around 50,000 Years Ago following a Northern Asian Route. *PLOS ONE*, June 8: 1–21. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0129839.
- Glantz, M.M. 2010 - The History of Hominin Occupation of Central Asia in Review. In: *Asian Paleanthropology: From Africa to China and Beyond*, C.J. Norton, D.R. Braun (eds.). Dordrecht, Heidelberg, London, New York: Springer: 101–112. doi: 10.1007/978-90-481-9094-2\_8.
- Gordon, D.H. 1958 - *The Prehistoric Background of Indian Culture*. Bombay: N.M. Tripathi.
- Groucutt, H.S. and Petraglia, M.D. 2014 - An Arabian Perspective on the Dispersal of *Homo sapiens* Out of Africa. In *Southern Asia, Australia and the Search for Human Origins*, R. Dennell and M. Porr (eds.), New York: Cambridge University Press: 51–63.
- Gunz, P., Bookstein, F.L., Mitteroecker, P., Stadlmayr, A., Seidler, H. and Weber, G.V. 2009 - Early modern human diversity suggests subdivided population structure and a complex out-of-Africa scenario. *PNAS*, 106 (15): 6094–6098. doi: 10.1073/pnas.0808160106.
- Henke, W. and Hardt, T. 2011 - The Genus *Homo*: Origin, Speciation and Dispersal. In *Continuity and Discontinuity in the Peopling of Europe: One Hundred Fifty Years of Neanderthal Study*, S. Condemi and G.-C. Weniger (eds.), Berlin: Springer (Vertebrate Paleobiology and Paleoanthropology): 17–45. doi:10.1007/978-94-007-0492-3\_3.
- Joshi, R.V. 1978 - *Stone Age Cultures of Central India (Report on the Excavations of Rock-shelters at Adamgarh, Madhya Pradesh)*.

- Poona: Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute.
- Khan, A.R. 1979a - Ancient Settlements in Karachi Region. In *Studies in Geomorphology and Prehistory of Sind. Grassroots* 3 (2), Special Issue, A.R. Khan (ed.). Jamshoro: Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Sind: 1–24.
- Khan, A.R. 1979b - Geomorphology of the Mangho Pir Spur. In *Studies in Geomorphology and Prehistory of Sind. Grassroots* 3 (2), Special Issue, A.R. Khan (ed.). Jamshoro: Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Sind: 35–46.
- Khan, A.R. 1979c - River Piracy and Diversion in Karachi basin. In *Studies in Geomorphology and Prehistory of Sind. Grassroots* 3 (2), Special Issue, A.R. Khan (ed.). Jamshoro: Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Sind: 47–61.
- Khan, A.R. 1979d - Palaeolithic Sites Discovered in Lower Sind and their Significance in the Prehistory of the Country. In *Studies in Geomorphology and Prehistory of Sind. Grassroots* 3 (2), Special Issue, A.R. Khan (ed.). Jamshoro: Pakistan Studies Centre, University of Sind: 80–82.
- Khatri, A.P. 1962 - A Century of Prehistoric Research in India. *Asian Perspectives*, 6: 169–185.
- Krishnaswamy, V.D. 1947 - Stone Age India. *Ancient India Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 3: 11–58.
- Kuhn, S.L., Brantingham, P.J. and Kerry K.W. 2004 - The Early Upper Paleolithic and the Origin of Modern Human Behavior. In *The Early Upper Paleolithic beyond Western Europe*, P.J. Brantingham, S.L. Kuhn and K.W. Kerry (eds.). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 242–248.
- Lahiri, N. 2000 - *The Decline and Fall of the Indus Civilization*. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- Lahiri N. 2005 - *Finding Forgotten Cities. How the Indus Civilization was Discovered*. Delhi: Permanent Black.
- López, S., van Dorp, L., and Hellenthal, G. 2015 - Human Dispersal Out of Africa: A Lasting Debate. *Evolutionary Bioinformatics*, 11 (s2): 57–68. doi: 10.4137/EBo.s33489.
- Mellars, P. 2006 - Going East: New Genetic and Archaeological Perspectives on the Modern Human Colonization of Eurasia. *Science*, 313: 796–800. doi: 10.1126/science.1128402.

- Mellars, P., Gori, K.C., Carr, M., Soares, P.A. and Richards M.B. 2013 - Genetic and archaeological perspectives on the initial modern human colonization of southern Asia. *PNAS*, 110 (26): 10699–10709. [doi:10.1073/pnas.1306043110](https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1306043110).
- Mishra, S. 1999 - Developing an Indian stone age chronology. In *Time and Archaeology*, T. Murray (ed.) One World Archaeology, 37: 80–87. London: Routledge.
- Mishra, S. 2013 - Early Hunter-Gatherers: The Upper Palaeolithic. In *A Comprehensive History of India: Vol. I: Part I: Prehistory of India*, M.K. Dhavalikar (ed.). New Delhi: Manohar: 90–105.
- Mishra, S., Chauhan, N. and Singhvi, A.K. 2013 - Continuity of Microblade Technology in the Indian Subcontinent since 45 ka: Implications for the Dispersal of Modern Humans. *PLOS ONE*, 8 (7): 1–14. [doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0069280](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0069280).
- Mujumdar, G.G. and Rajaguru, S.V. 1970 - Investigations on the Pleistocene Sediments from the Belan Valley, U.P. In *Studies in Indian Archaeology. Professor H.D. Sankalia Felicitation Volume*, S.B. Deo and M.K. Dhavalikar (eds.). Indian Antiquary Third Series, IV (1-4): 96–105.
- Murty, M.L.K. 1969 - Blade-and-Burin Industries near Renigunta in the South-East Coast of India. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*, 34: 83–101.
- Murty, M.L.K. 1970 - Blade-and-Burin and Late Stone Age Industries around Renigunta, Chittoor District. In *Studies in Indian Archaeology. Professor H.D. Sankalia Felicitation Volume*, S.B. Deo and M.K. Dhavalikar (eds.). Indian Antiquary Third Series, IV (1-4): 106–128.
- Murty, M.L.K. 1979 - Recent Research on the Upper Palaeolithic Phase in India. *Journal of Field Archaeology*, 6 (3): 301–320.
- Negrino, F. and Kazi, M.M. 1996 - The Palaeolithic industries of the Rohri Hills (Sindh, Pakistan). *Ancient Sindh*, 3: 7–38.
- Otte, M. 2004 - The Aurignacian in Asia. In *The Early Upper Paleolithic beyond Western Europe*, P.J. Brantingham, S.L. Kuhn and K.W. Kerry (eds.). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press: 144–150.

- Otte, M. 2015 - Central Asia as a Core Area: Iran as an Origin for the European Aurignacian. *International Journal of the Iranian Society of Archaeologists*, 1 (1): 19-23.
- Otte, M. and Kozłowski, J.K. 2007 - *L'Aurignacien du Zagros*. ERAUL, 118. Liège.
- Paddaya, K. 1970 - The Blade-Tool Industry of Shorapur Doab, Peninsular India. In *Studies in Indian Archaeology. Professor H.D. Sankalia Felicitation Volume*, S.B. Deo and M.K. Dhavalikar (eds.). Indian Antiquary Third Series, IV (1-4): 165–190. Baomaby: Popular Prakashan.
- Petraglia, M.D. and Boivin N. 2014 - *Homo sapiens* Societies: South Asia. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology and Anthropology of Hunter-Gatherers*, V. Cummings, P. Jordan and M. Zvelebil (eds.). Oxford: Oxford University Press: 328–345.
- Raju, D.R. and Venkatasubbaiah, P.C. 2002 - The Archaeology of the Upper Palaeolithic Phase in India. In *Indian Archaeology in Retrospect. Prehistory. Archaeology of South Asia*, 1: 85–109, S. Settar and R. Korisettar (eds.). New Delhi: Manohar.
- Ranere, A.J. 1982 - Human Occupation in Northwest Pakistan during the Late Pleistocene. In *Anthropology in Pakistan: Recent Socio-Cultural and Archaeological Perspectives*, S. Pastner and L. Flam (eds.). Karachi: Indus Publications: 124–143.
- Ranov, V.A. and Gupta, S.P. 1979 - *Archaeology of Soviet Central Asia, and the Indian Borderlands*. Delhi: B.R. Publishing Corporation.
- Rendell, H.M. and Dennell, R.W. 1987 - Thermoluminescence Dating of an Upper Pleistocene Site, Northern Pakistan. *Geoarchaeology: An International Journal*, 2 (1): 63–67.
- Rendell, H.M., Dennell, R.W. and Halim, M.A. 1989 - *Pleistocene and Palaeolithic Investigations in the Soan Valley, Northern Pakistan*. BAR International Series, 544. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Rightmire, G.P. 2015 - Later Middle Pleistocene Homo. In *Handbook of Paleoanthropology*, 3: 2221–2242, W. Henke and I. Tattersal (eds.). Berlin Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag. doi: 10.1007/978-3-642-27800-6\_55-5.
- Sali, S.A. 1989 - *The Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic Cultures of Maharashtra*. Pune: Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute.

- Salim, M.C., 1986 - *The Middle Stone Age Cultures of Northern Pakistan*. Islamabad: Centre for the Study of the Civilizations of Central Asia, Quaid-i-Azam University.
- Sankalia, H.D. and Banerjee, K.D. 1958 - The Middle Palaeolithic culture of the Deccan, Kartanak and Central India. *Journal of the Palaeontological Society of India*, 3: 158-169.
- Scerri, E.M.L., Groucutt, H.S., Jennings, R.P. and Petraglia, M.D. 2014 - Unexpected technological heterogeneity in northern Arabia indicates complex Late Pleistocene demography at the gateway to Asia. *Journal of Human Evolution*, 75: 125-142. doi: [10.1016/j.jhevol.2014.07.002](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhevol.2014.07.002).
- Sharma, M.J. 1982 - *The Upper Palaeolithic Culture in India*. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan.
- Snead, R.E. 1966 - *Physical Geography Reconnaissance: Las Bela Coastal Plain, West Pakistan*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, Coastal Studies Series Number Thirteen.
- Snead, R.E. 1969 - *Physical Geography Reconnaissance: West Pakistan Coastal Zone*. University of New Mexico Publications in Geography Number 1. Albuquerque: Department of Geography, University of New Mexico.
- Sosnowska, H. 2010 - Outline of Mesolithic and Beginnings of Neolithic in India. *Analecta Archaeologica Ressoiviensia*, 5: 95–139.
- Tremenheere, C.W. 1867 - On the Lower Portion of the River Indus. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, 37: 68–91.
- Zaidi, S.M.S., Quadri, M., Hamid, G. and Bilal, M. 1999 - The Landform Inventory and Genesis of the Mulri Hills Area, Karachi East. *Journal Geographic*, 2 (1): 39–48.

## Figures

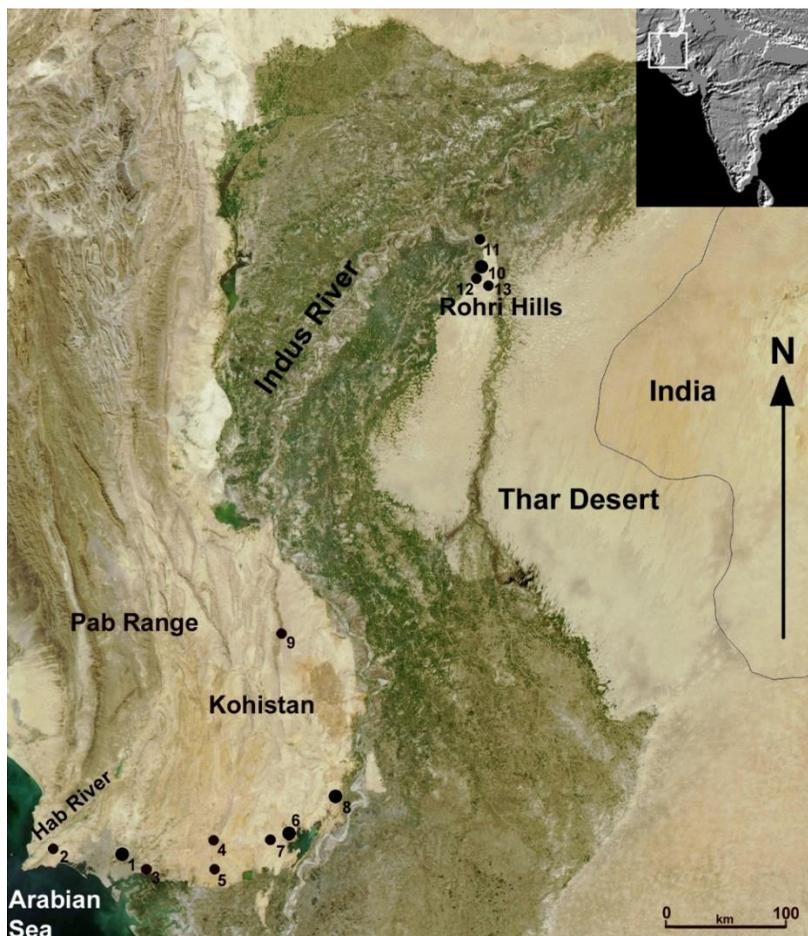


Fig. 1 - Distribution map of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic sites mentioned in the text: Mulri Hills (n. 1), Mendiari (n. 2), Rehri (n. 3), Deh Konkar (n. 4), Ran Pethani (n. 5), Jhimpir (n. 6), Jhimpir W1 (n. 7), Ongar and Daphro (n. 8), Ranikot (n. 9), Rohri Hills, Shadee Shaheed (n. 10), Sukkur (n. 11), Unnar (n. 12), Southernmost hills (n. 13). The larger dots indicate greater complexes (Elaborated by P. Biagi).

*Why so many different stones?  
The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*

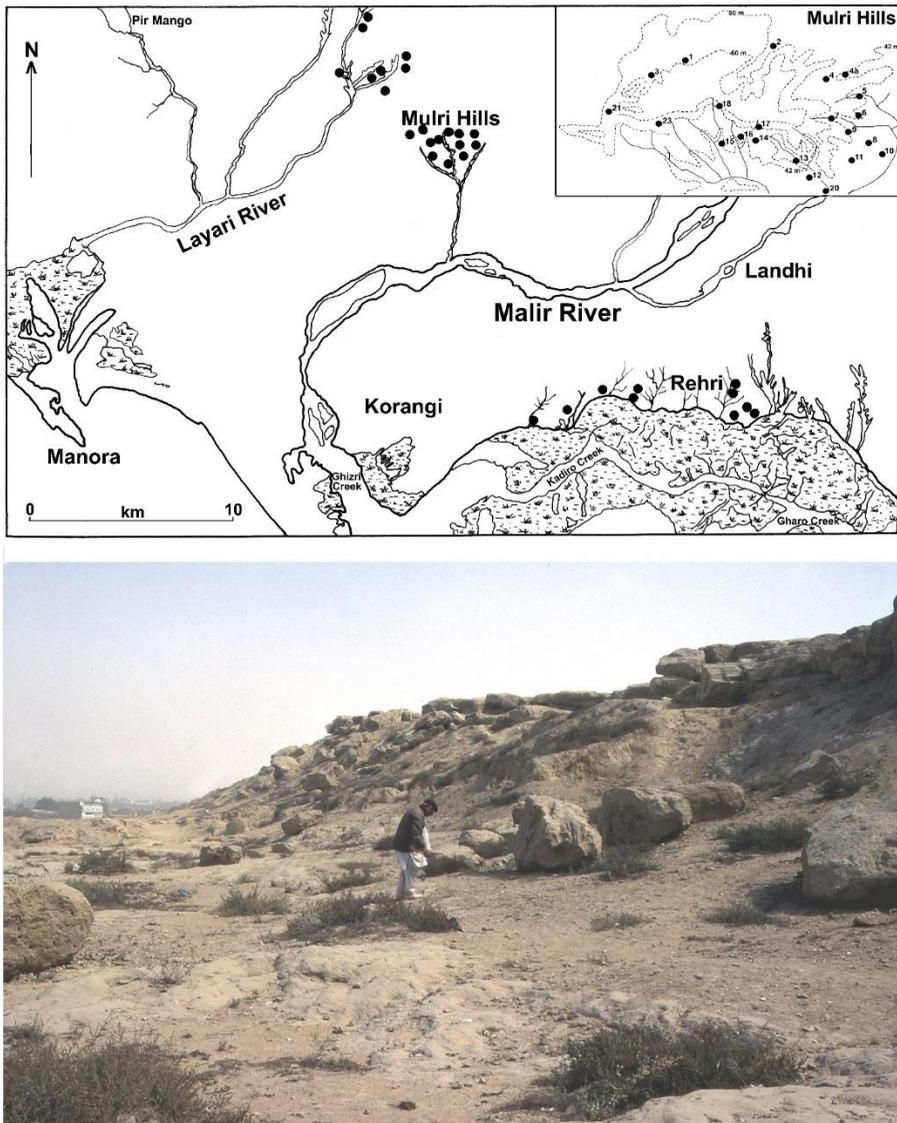


Fig. 2 - Location of the Mulri Hills between the Layari and Malir Rivers (Karachi). The detailed distribution of the MH sites, according to A.R. Khan's field map, is shown in the upper right corner. Other sites along the Layari River and at Rehri are reported in the map (top); Prof. A.R. Khan looking for finds at one of the Rehri sites in February 2002 (bottom) (Drawings and Photos by P. Biagi).



Fig. 3 - Location of site Mile 12 at Mendiari, along the eastern side of the Hab River Valley, in an area of springs as it was in January 2002 (dot: top); the Mulri Hills photographed from the north in February 2003 (bottom) (Photos by P. Biagi).

*Why so many different stones?  
The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*

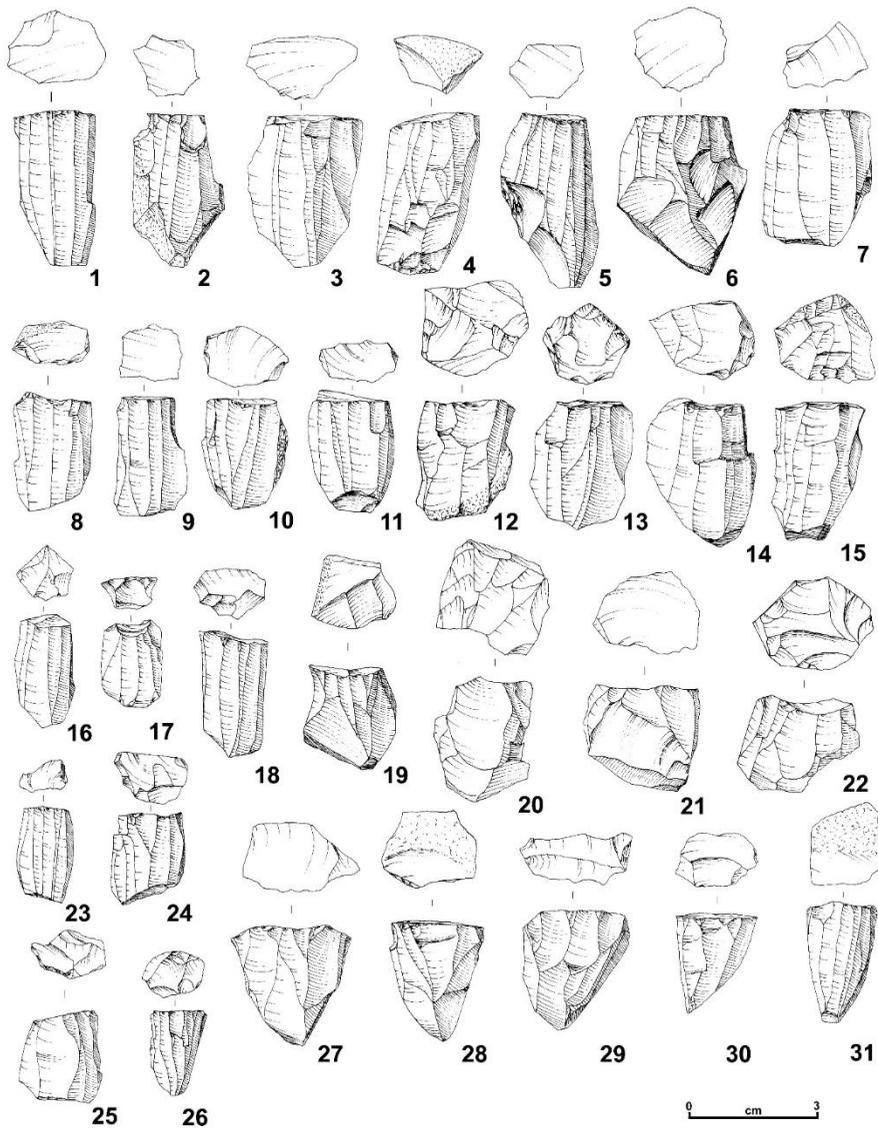


Fig. 4 - Mulri Hills, site 16 (MH-16): Core types (Drawings by P. Biagi, inking by G. Almerigogna).

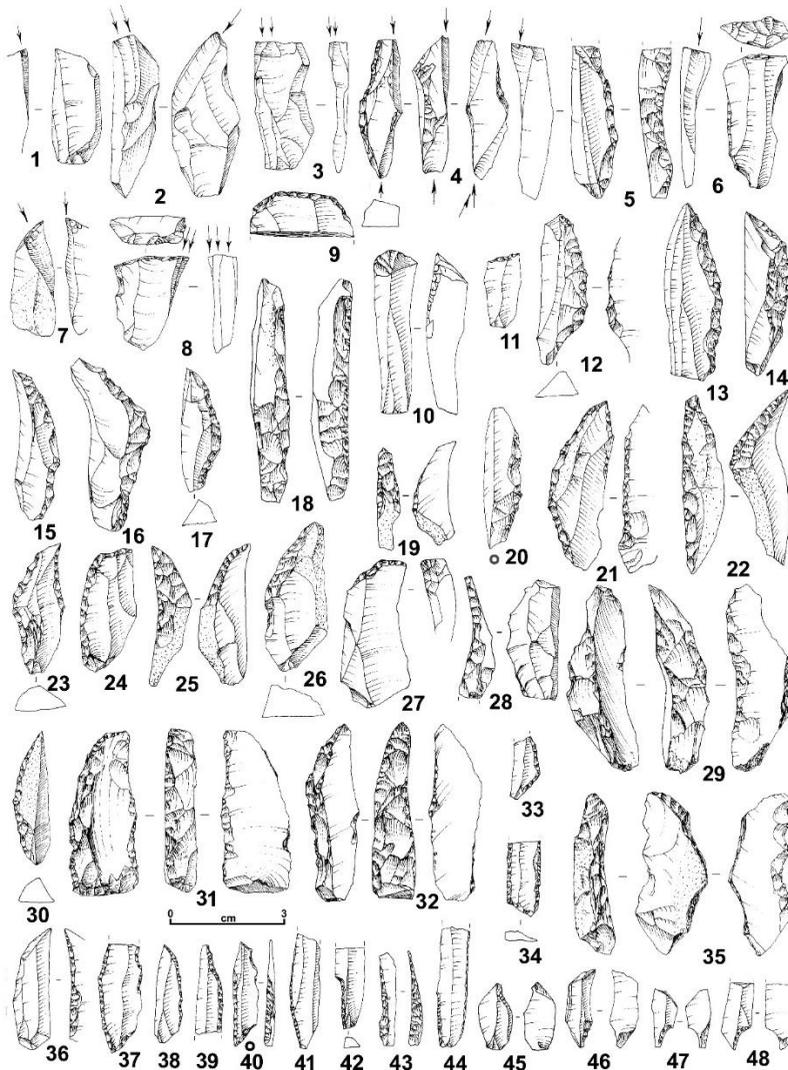


Fig. 5 - Mulri Hills, site 16 (MH-16): Burins (nn. 1-8), End scrapers (nn. 9, 10), Truncation (n. 11), Curved, backed points (nn. 12-17, 19-28, 35), Thick backed blade (n. 18), Thick, curved points (nn. 29, 31, 32), Triangle (n. 33), Backed points (nn. 30, 37, 38), Backed bladelets (nn. 34, 36, 40-44), Backed bladelet and truncation (n. 39), Microburins (nn. 45-48) (Drawings by P. Biagi, inking by G. Almerigogna).

*Why so many different stones?  
The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*



Fig. 6 - Mulri Hills, site 16 (MH-16): Different types of abrupt retouch points and bladelets (nn. 1-9), Microburins (10-12), Burins (13, 14) and bladelet Cores (15, 16) (Photos by P. Biagi).

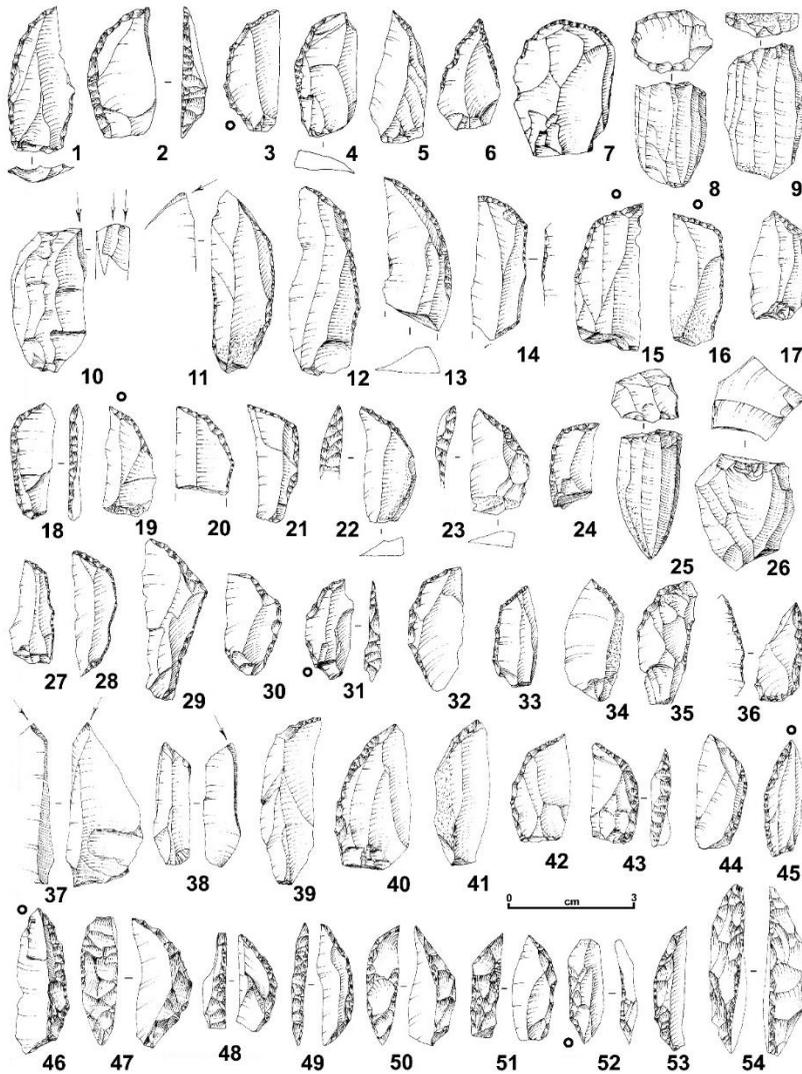


Fig. 7 - Late (Upper) Palaeolithic tools from Ran Pethani (n. 1), Mendiari (nn. 2-9), Mulri Hills 22 (MH-22) (nn. 10-26), Mulri Hills 14a (MH-14a) (nn. 27-36), and Mulri Hills 14 (MH-14a) (nn. 37-54) (Drawings by P. Biagi, inking by G. Almerigogna).

*Why so many different stones?*  
*The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*

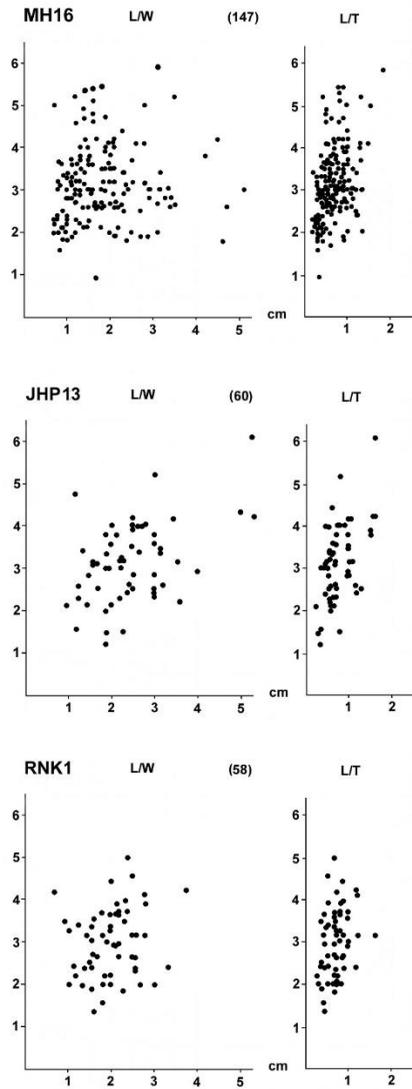


Fig. 8 - Length/width (L/W) and length/thickness (L/T) diagrams of the complete, unretouched artefacts from MH-16, JHP-13 and RNK-1 (Elaborated by P. Biagi).

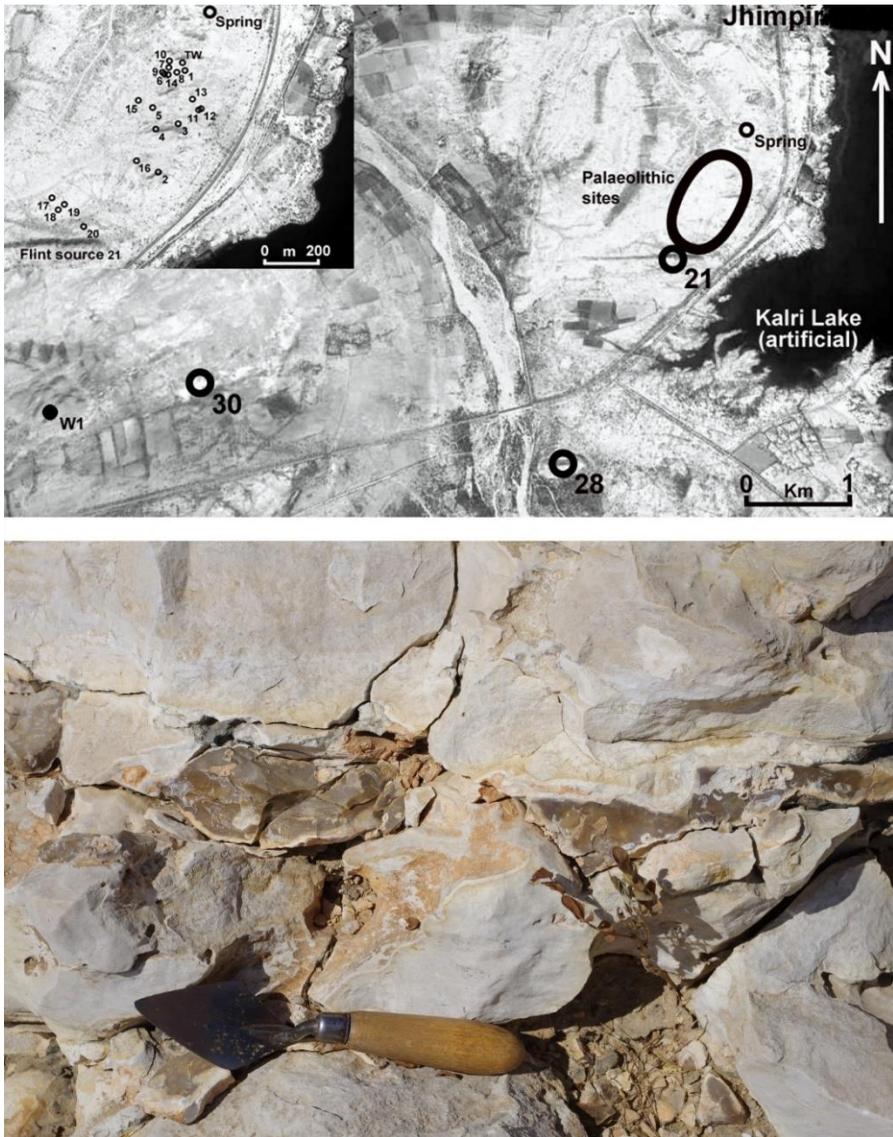


Fig. 9 - Jhimpir: Distribution map of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic sites discovered on the limestone terrace facing the artificial Kalri Lake (top). The precise location of all the JHP sites is shown in the upper left corner. The larger circles show the location of flint sources JHP-21, JHP-28 and JHP-30 (bottom: JHP-30). The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic site JHP-W1 was found some 6.5 kms west south west of the main group of sites (Photos and Drawings by P. Biagi).

*Why so many different stones?  
The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*

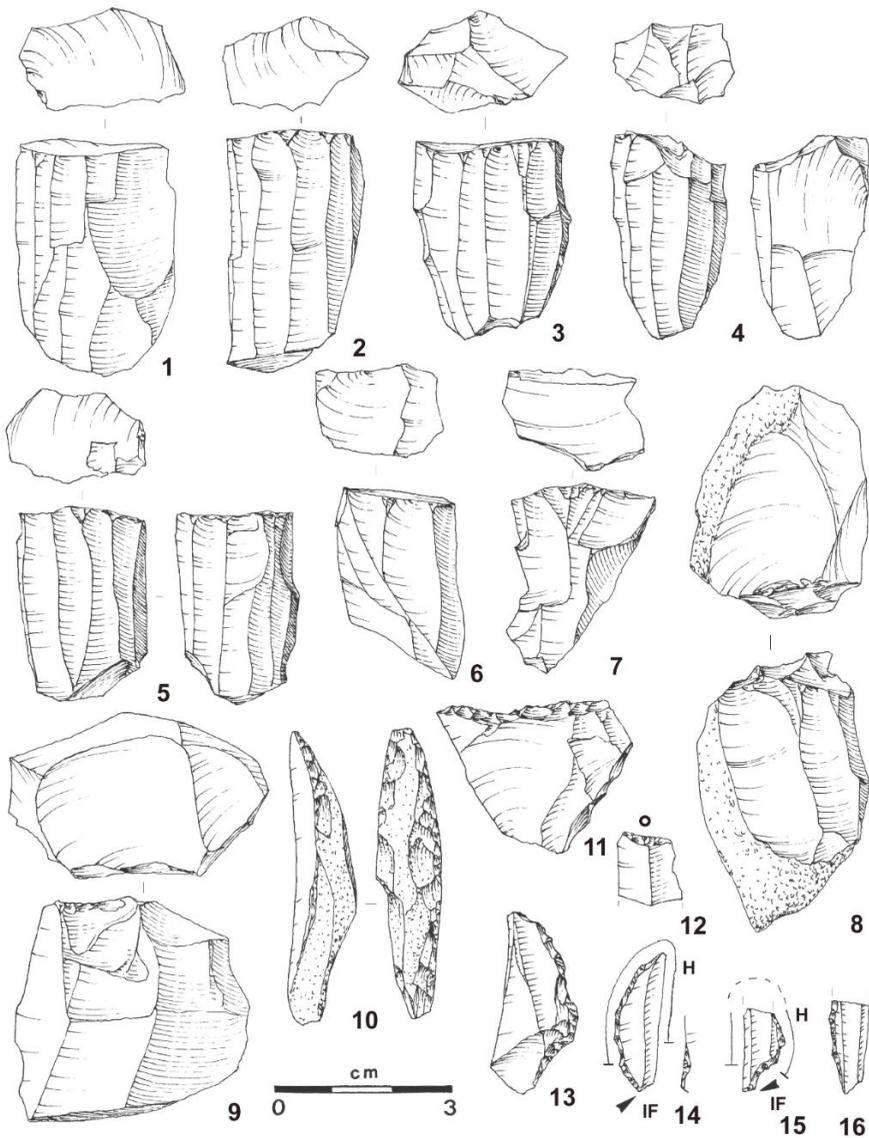


Fig. 10 - Jhimpir: Chipped stone artefacts from Jhimpir site 1 (JHP-1): Cores (nn. 1-9), Core rejuvenation blade (n. 10), Backed flakelet (n. 11), Truncation (n. 12), Backed point (n. 13), Lunates (n. 14, 15), Backed bladelet (16). Traces of wear: hafting (H), impact fracture (IF) (after Biagi, 2011: Fig. 5).

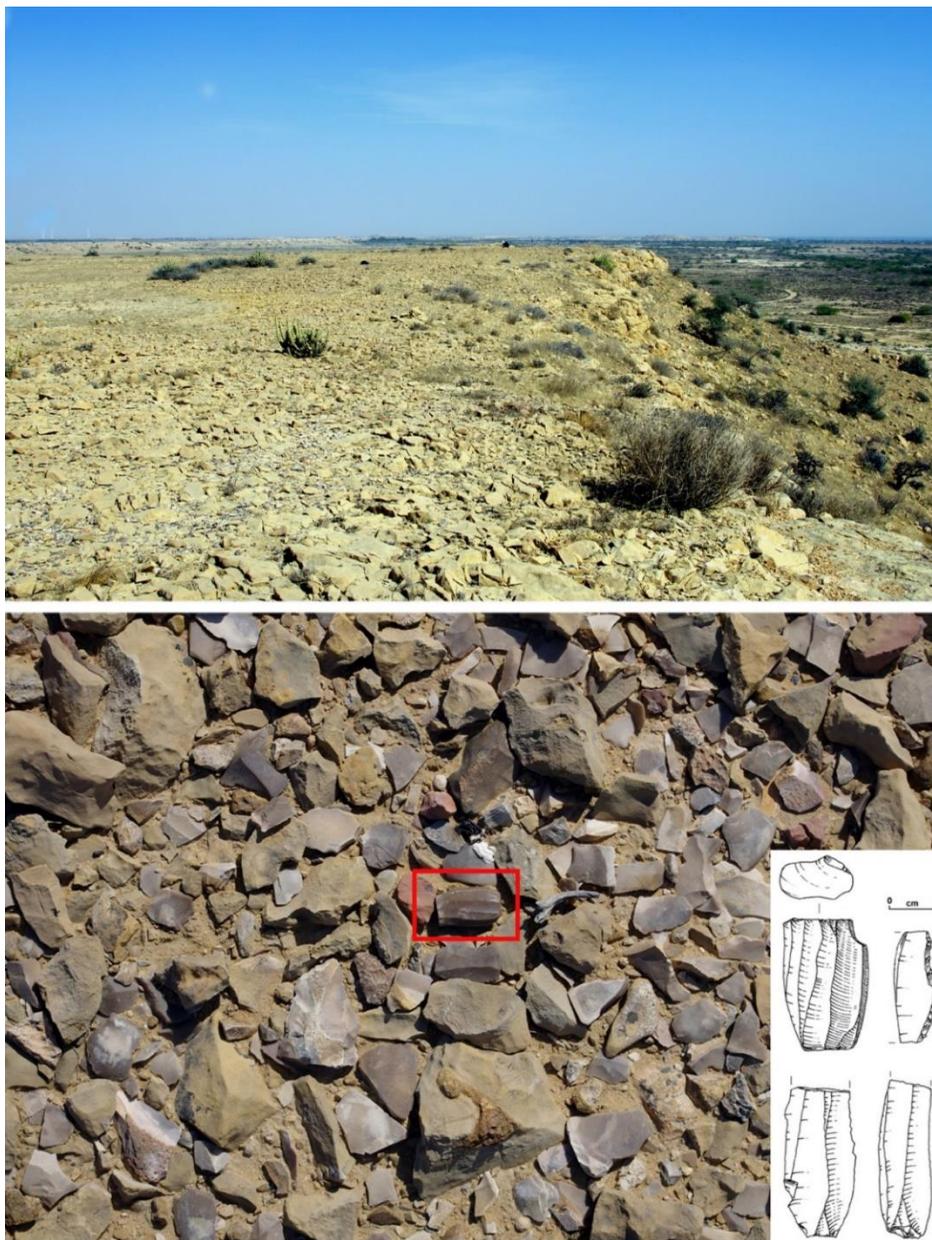


Fig. 11 - Jhimpir: The terrace on which site JHP-W1 is located (top), and its surface with characteristic chipped stone artefacts (bottom) (Photos and drawings by P. Biagi, inking by G. Almerigogna).

*Why so many different stones?  
The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*

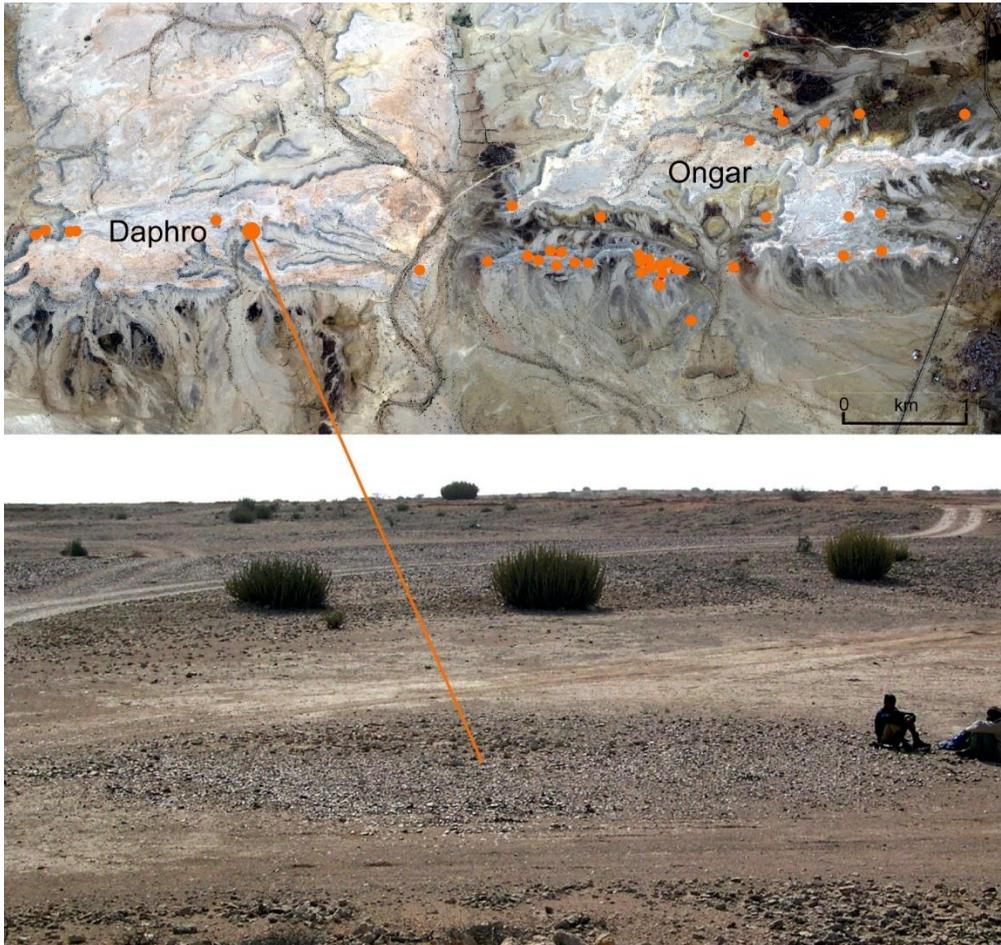


Fig. 12 - Ongar and Daphro Hills: Distribution map of the Palaeolithic tools and workshops discovered on the hills (top). A Late (Upper) Palaeolithic workshop discovered still intact in 2007 at Daphro: 25°09'47.80"N-68°10'56.42"E (bottom) (Map by C. Franco, Photos by P. Biagi).



Fig. 13 - Ongar and Daphro Hills. Late (Upper) Palaeolithic cores on the surface of the limestone terraces at 25°09'38"N-68°12'30"E (top), and 25°09'38"N-68°12'50"E (bottom) (Photos by P. Biagi).

*Why so many different stones?  
The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*

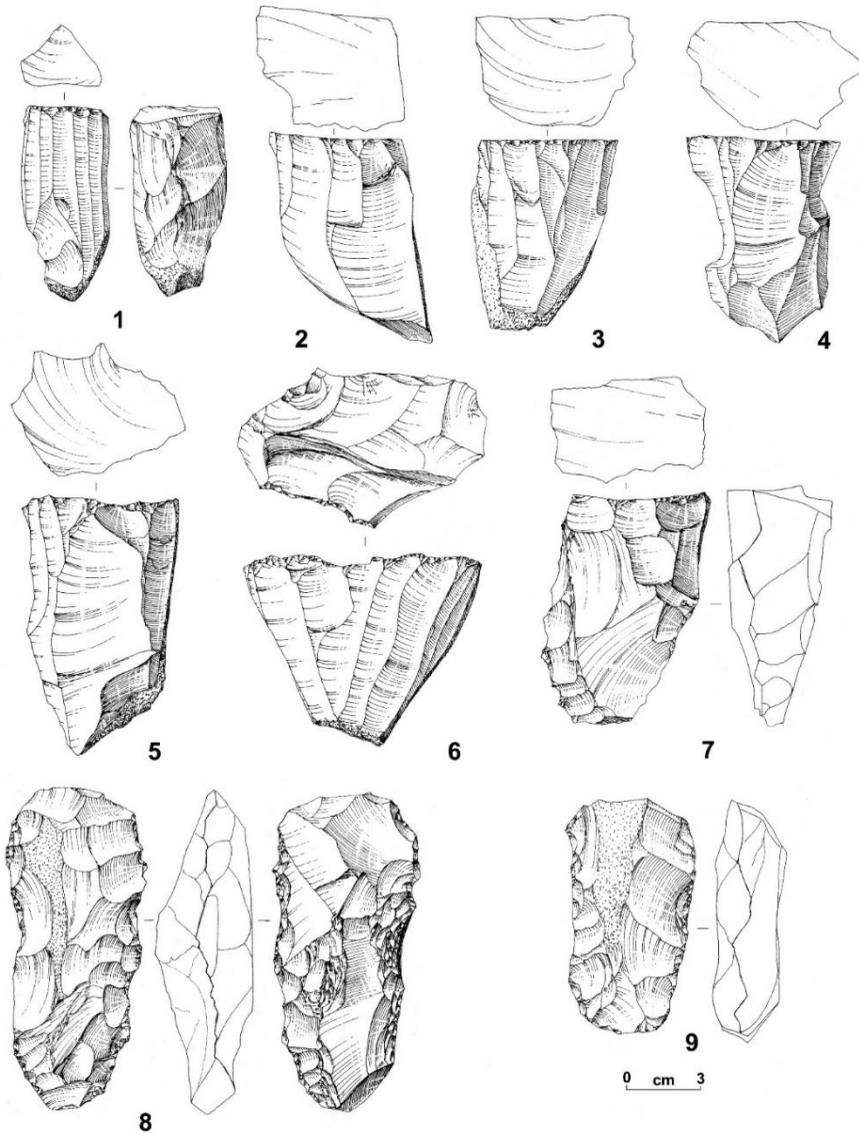


Fig. 14 - Ongar and Daphro Hills. Late (Upper) Palaeolithic bladelet and bladelet-like flakelet cores (nn. 1-7) and bifacial picks (nn. 8, 9) (After Biagi and Franco, 2008: Fig. 5).

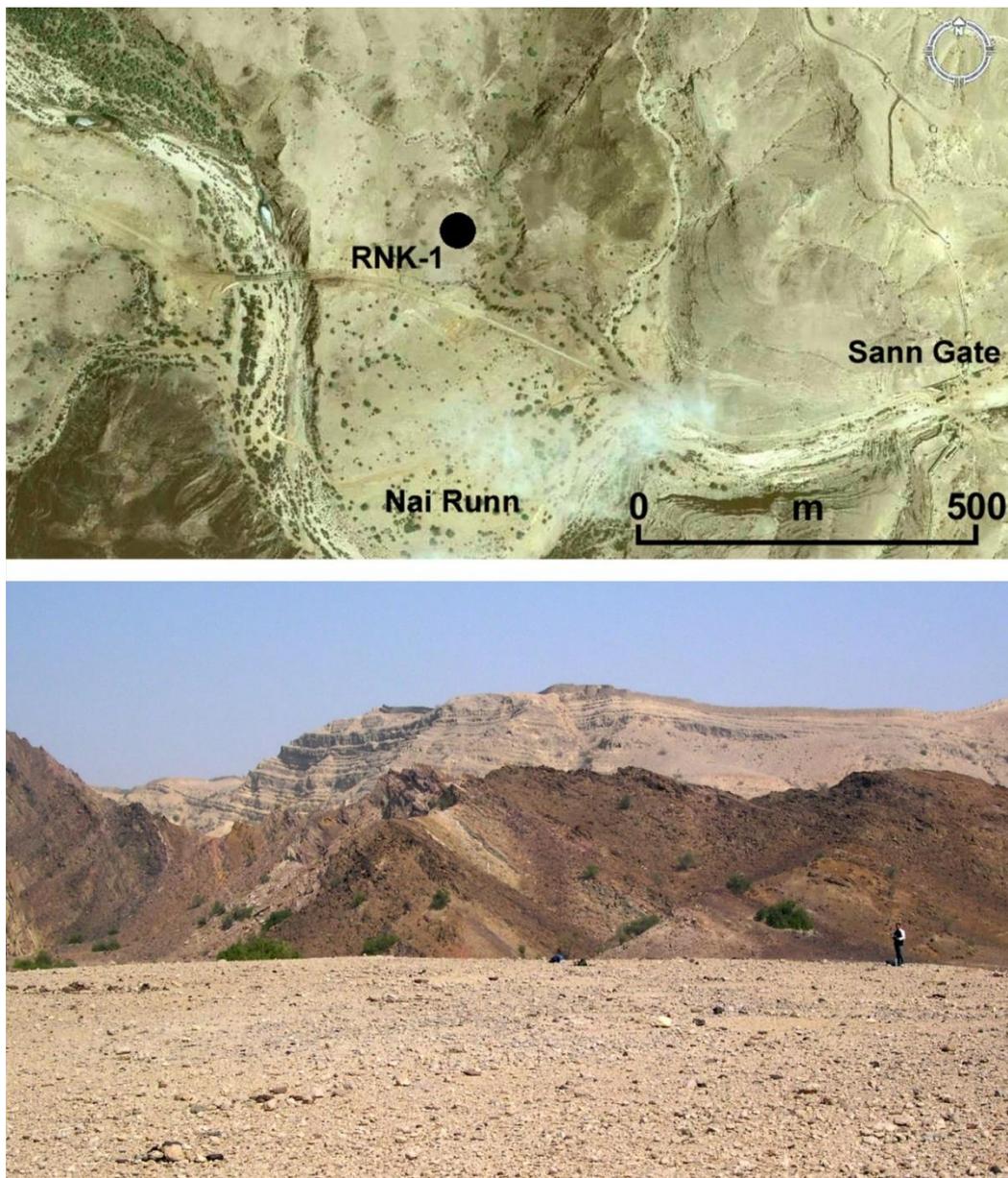


Fig. 15 - Ranikot. Location of the Late (Upper) Palaeolithic site RNK-1 (top), and the site from the south-west (bottom) (Map and Photo by P. Biagi).

*Why so many different stones?  
The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*

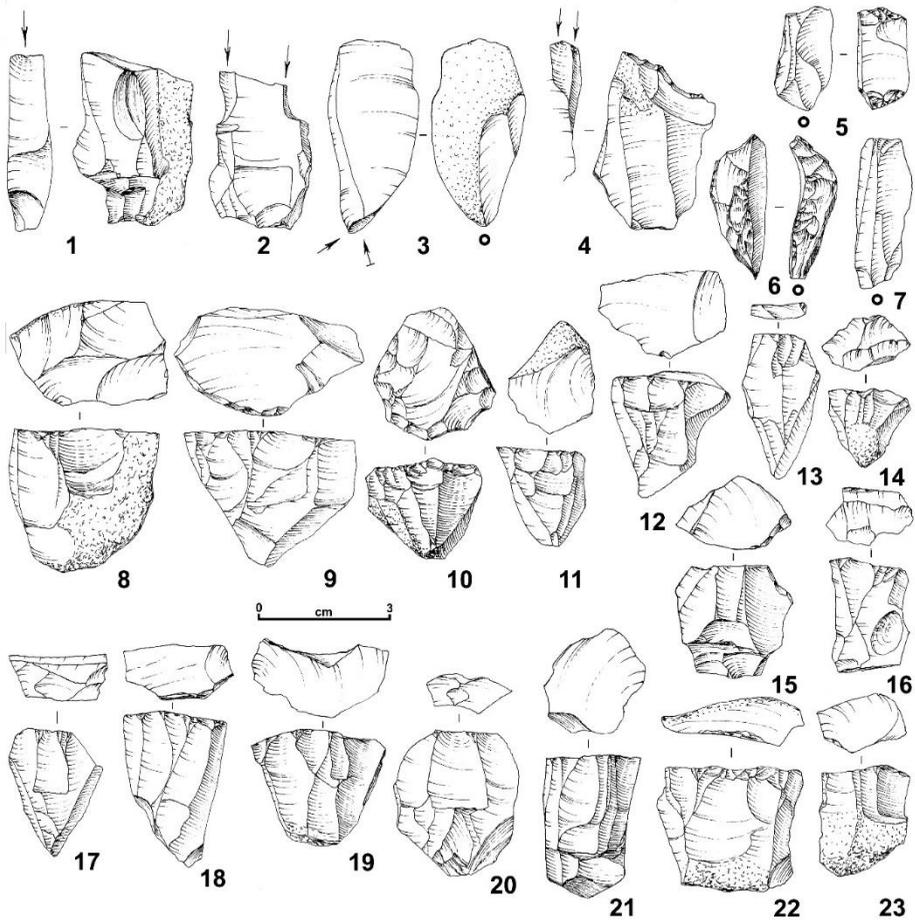


Fig. 16 - Ranikot: Late (Upper) Palaeolithic artefacts from RNK-1. Burins (nn. 1-4), Splintered bladelet (n. 5), Core rejuvenation flake (n. 6), Bladelet (n. 7), Subconical and prismatic cores (nn. 8-23) (Drawings by P. Biagi, inking by G. Almerigogna).



Fig. 17 - Ziārāt Pir Shābān in the Rohri Hills: Location of workshop ZPS-4 (top) and surface of the knapping area of the same workshop with debitage flakelets, one crested blade (n. 1) and one blade-like flake core (n. 2) (bottom) (Photos by P. Biagi).

*Why so many different stones?  
The Late (Upper) Palaeolithic Record of Sindh Reconsidered*

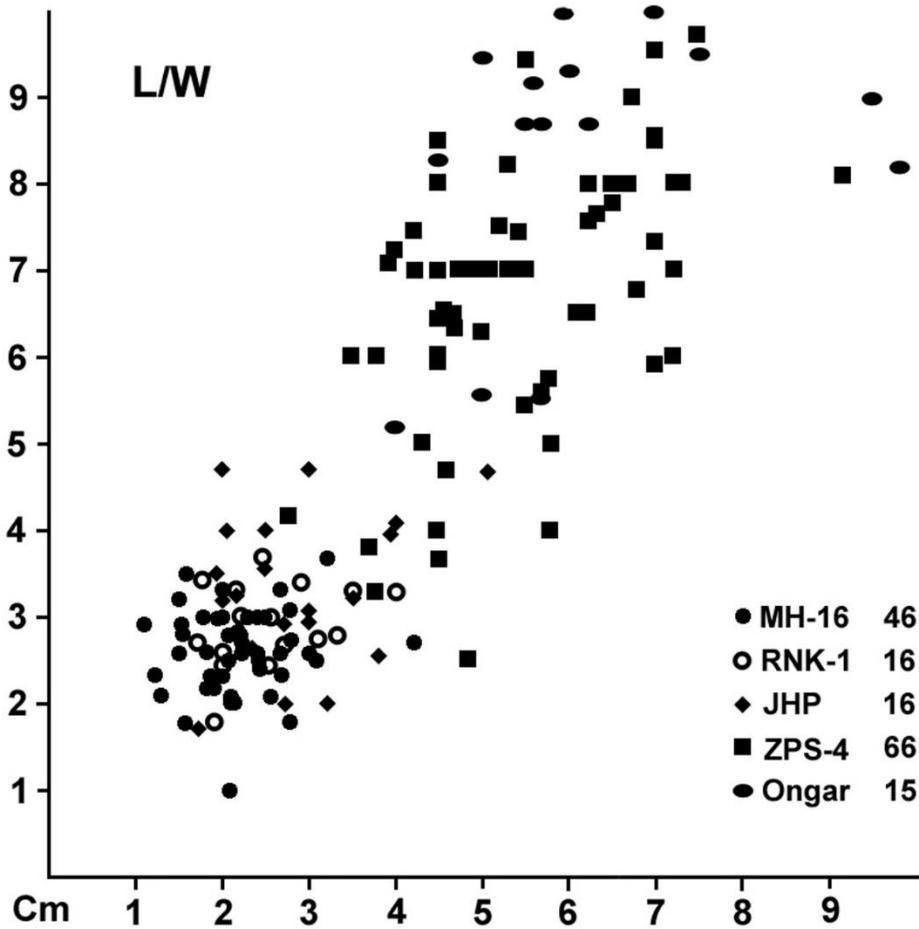


Fig. 18 - Length/width diagram of a sample of cores from the sites mentioned in the text: MH-16, RNK-1, Jhampir, Rohri Hills ZPS-4 and Ongar (Elaborated by P. Biagi).

-2-

## **Decline or Transformations: Patterns of Change in Swat at and after the end of the Kushan Era (3rd-6th Century AD)<sup>1</sup>**

**Luca Maria Olivieri  
(ISMEO)**

### **Abstract**

*In the last years the ISMEO/ACT teams were busy in excavating the late-Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian stratigraphy and urban religious complexes at the Bir-kot-ghwandai site (Swat, Pakistan). The ancient city started declining around mid-3rd century and was abandoned by early 4th CE. Its crisis and abandonment matches the general crisis of urbanization in the northern regions of the Sub-Continent, following the collapse of the Kushan system of power and the rise of non-urban/non-Buddhist elites. In the phase that saw the abandonment of the urban site(s), in Swat, Buddhist complexes in the countryside managed to survive. Though, major changes are documented in that phase, e.g. at Amluk-dara: radical reconstructions, massive introduction/import of stucco and kanjur (the first is the byproduct of the second; the second is not a local lithotype), and progressive decline of both the schist quarry areas the stone sculptors' workshops.*

### **A preamble on methodology**

“A typically neglected phase in oriental archaeology is that of abandonment. The archaeologist is often looking for a confirmation of a previous hypothesis, and is tempted to go straight to the ‘good’ levels, neglecting the superficial phases, which are deemed to be relatively uninteresting. This is an error of both method and substance. [...] In essence it would be like denying that the circumstances of the death of

---

<sup>1</sup> The present article reproduces almost verbatim the text I presented in London at the Courtauld Institute of Art at the Conference *From Gandhāra to Gupta* on 13 May 2017. The Conference was organized by the SOAS – University of London, and by the “Robert H.N. Ho Family Foundation Centre for Buddhist Art and Conservation”. I do acknowledge these Institutions, and in particular Christian Luczanits of SOAS, for having kindly allowed the publication of the text in this Journal.

an individual are of any biographical value. The final phases can instead tell us much about the preceding ones. [...] Trying to understand the abandonment means studying the technical reasons behind the death of a human spatial agglomeration” (Olivieri 2014: 75-77)<sup>2</sup>. The latter sentence pictures the kind of archaeology that we actually implemented in the Swat valley and especially at Barikot, in the last five years (Fig. 1)<sup>3</sup>.

### **The late city of Barikot**

During the final urban phases at Barikot (i.e. during the 3rd century) two earlier residential units were entirely dedicated to worship purposes (Olivieri 2011 [2015], 2012 [2017], 2018). Plans and elevations at both units were restructured anew in order to house public cultic buildings. These buildings look a bit unusual if compared with the mainstream religious architecture of the Buddhist complexes in the countryside (Figs. 2, 3)<sup>4</sup>.

Unit B features a large cultic complex organized into two main buildings. One of them is a rectangular shrine which opens on to a walled courtyard with niches decorated by stelae, and an altar (Olivieri et al. 2014: 106-114 (Fig. 4). A few metres to the North, is a second building, ‘Temple B’, rectangular in plan, open to the East and facing a large courtyard, where a small stele representing Hariti was found (Moscatelli et al. 2017) (Fig. 5).

The second unit dedicated to cultic activities is Unit K (Fig. 6). It consists of a rectangular enclosure with a central courtyard and with a building (or ‘Temple K’) open to the north. In the courtyard stands a small shrine, which was originally provided with stucco decorations and wooden hinged doors and housed a miniature stupa. In a later

---

<sup>2</sup> I do apologize for having started this contribution with a long self-quotation, but this theme has been very rarely touched upon by Oriental archaeologists. Amongst the very few who stressed the importance of abandonment phases there is Giovanni Verardi (2011: 309; 330, fn. 255).

<sup>3</sup> Fieldwork at Barikot is directed by the Author of these notes in a joint archaeological program carried out by ISMEO Italian Archaeological Mission and Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa.

<sup>4</sup> Besides a specific comparison between “Temple K” and Mohra Maliaran (Sirkap), Central Asian antecedents have been hypothesized for these complexes (see Olivieri 2012 [2017]: 8-9).

phase the shrine, almost completely reconstructed after an earthquake, housed a Buddhist stele (Olivieri 2012 [2017]).

Evidence of cultic activity was found inside the inhabitation blocks as well. For example the central courtyard of Unit D housed a small Buddhist shrine (Olivieri 2011 [2015]) (Fig. 3). In the collapse debris of the second earthquake, we found part of its decorative assemblage: an assortment of reused sculptural materials. I would like emphasize that the decorative assemblage of the shrine, housed in an otherwise particularly wealthy mansion - was a pastiche of ill-matching reused material. Instead, as in Unit B, the sculptural material, which seems to have been produced anew for the cult was formed only of small-size stelae. Several more stelae were recovered in situ in various loci at Barikot. All these pieces belong to the same chronological horizon (*post*-200 AD), and – most likely - to the same chain of late Gandharan sculptural production. A production, which finds a sound chronological framework in the late archaeological sequence of Barikot.

Some of these stelae appears quite unusual if viewed from a classic “Gandharan” perspective. For example, from the abandonment layers of Unit F (*post*-300 AD) comes a very interesting miniature stele (h. cm. 11.2) representing Maitreya “as Buddha”, which is - to the best of my knowledge – a *unicum* in Gandhara (Olivieri et al. 2014: fig. 119) (Fig. 7)<sup>5</sup>. More interestingly, the stele is associated with bright red terracotta figurines, including a figurine probably representing a “Sivaite ascetic”, quite common in *post*-Kushana/Gupta phases farther east in India (Fig. 8)<sup>6</sup>.

### **The end of the City**

The seismic history of Barikot is well known. The first documented earthquake occurred in c. 40 AD, followed by a very destructive seism less than a century later. Ample traces of two major earthquakes have been clearly documented in this last century of life of the city: the first at c. 240 and the second at c. 270 AD. After the latter, the city was abandoned and the ruins were briefly re-occupied by subaltern groups,

---

<sup>5</sup> I owe to Christian Luczanits the identification of the iconography (pers. comm., 2012).

<sup>6</sup> On the “Sivaite ascetics” figurines, see Verardi 2011: 145; 146, fig. 1.

who turned the area into a sort of slum.

The urban elites apparently had a reduced financial power or political interest to support the maintenance of the complex urban system. Possible clues to a social and economic crisis are the following:

(1) The appearance of small local coin issues, the so-called sub-Kushan coins, probably minted locally as convertible metal values, which were equivalent to 1/8 of the Late Kushan<sup>7</sup> issues and to a quarter of the Kushano-Sasanian issues (McDowall and Callieri 2004). These three types together represent the overall numismatic assemblage of these late phases.

(2) The failure of the hydraulic network of the city. The entire drainage system had already collapsed before the city itself was abandoned. Drains and pit-wells, two strategic infrastructures in an urban complex, were found in a totally clogged and disrupted state. One must bear in mind that if in an ancient urban society the maintenance of such infrastructures was the task of the lowest segments of society, their collapse might well adumbrate the downfall of a social system<sup>8</sup>.

(3) A complex series of political events may lie behind the abandonment of the city. Rather, we should use the plural, since a phase of definitive abandonment after the reassessment of old archaeological data is documented also at two coeval urban sites of Swat - Udegram and Barama (Faccenna and Gullini 1962, Faccenna 1964-65). One of the major elements of crisis might have been the failure of the traditional ruling urban elites, compromised with the Kushana, and the rise of new elites (a new landed gentry?) who sided with the Kushano-Sasanians, and were less interested in maintaining the urban network alive.

---

<sup>7</sup> Both J. Crib and R. Bracey confirmed to me during the *From Gandhāra to Gupta* Conference that these Late Kushan issues are imitations of Vasudeva coins minted under the Kushano-Sasanians in Bactria or central Afghanistan already in the second quarter of 3rd century AD (pers. comm., 2017). See also Jongeward, Cribb and Donovan 2014 (p. 13).

<sup>8</sup> See the analogous conclusions for the abandonment phases at Merv (Simson 2008).

### **The city and its countryside**

The fall of the cities, in a moment of major crisis of urbanism all over northern India (Verardi 2011: 106), thus represented a radical change in the cultural landscape of Swat, as well as the collapse of a long-standing social pattern, which had been firmly established since the Integration Era, almost a thousand years earlier.

Recent studies on the landscape geography of the Barikot area have highlighted the many changes that followed the decline of the landed gentry vis-à-vis the rise of a new middle class after the annexation of Swat by Pakistan in 1969 (Qasim et al. 2013). Bearing this in mind, one can easily imagine what might have been the outcomes of the de-urbanisation and the collapse of the associated system of power from the 4th century onwards.

In terms of historical landscape, Swat underwent a radical change - a passage from city to village, or following Giovanni Verardi, from what he calls 'the open society' to the *grama* polarity<sup>9</sup>. Traces of Late Kushan and post-Kushan villages with farming terraces have been documented in the valleys south of Barikot (Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006). Generally small (6,000 square meters on average), these few villages are scattered along the edge of the alluvial land of the two dead-end valleys of Kandak and Kotah. It is worth noting that, in the valley of Karakar, which possesses the most important regional route, linking Swat to Taxila, all the settlements are monastic.

In post-urban layers at Barikot we can see how the new polarity is reflected in the household technology. The complex rotary querns (Fig. 9) – a technology probably imported from the West to India in the first centuries AD - were replaced by saddle querns, a traditional single-handedly operated device, which had disappeared at Barikot in early Kushan times (De Chiara, Micheli and Olivieri, forth.) (Fig. 10). In terms of production, the gritty flour produced by the saddle querns should have had implications for diet and cooking ware. We refer to the simultaneous reappearance of another long-neglected tool, the large *parath* type plate, a cooking device for a kind of pancake, which does not require refined flour. Another change in the post-urban pottery tradition are *karela* type pots, which are ethnographically associated with milk and late sheep-farming (Fig. 11), and *mangai*, a typical

---

<sup>9</sup> See Verardi 2011: Chapters II and III.

water-pot with an average capacity of 10 liters (Fig. 12). At Barikot *mangai* are typically associated with post-urban phases: i.e. with a village economy and with a logistic situation in which water-sources are not available inside the settlement<sup>10</sup>.

Conversely, the Buddhist communities managed to cope with the general crisis, although not everywhere nor in equal degrees. Significantly, some urban sanctuaries like Panr I and Saidu Sharif I were soon abandoned, while others, like Butkara I, became a famous pilgrimage destination, or those in the rich hinterland of Barikot, survived for a long time. In fact, there, Buddhist communities over time managed not only to thickly occupy the countryside but, as documented at Sanchi by J. Shaw<sup>11</sup> in other regions, were busy in controlling resources and trade routes.

In the more fertile agricultural lands of Karakar and Najigram, all the major hydraulic infrastructures, dams, aqueducts and pit-wells, are in the vicinity of Buddhist complexes. Or - better - the other way round (Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006).

In the 100 square kilometre hinterland of Barikot, we have an astonishing ratio of 1 Buddhist complex per square kilometre, and only very few villages. Not all the complexes were coeval, but pottery data confirm that almost all overlapped the post-Kushan phase<sup>12</sup>.

What kind of agriculture was performed at that time? At Barikot, the excavation yielded mostly charred seeds of rice, barley, wheat, mustard seeds, wild grapes and berries. That means that all the available agro-lands were exploited: from paddy fields to the wild.

---

<sup>10</sup> During the urban phases water was available from public masonry pit-wells (each 2,000 square meters or two/three dwelling blocks) and conserved in one or two (*pāṇikā*)-*kunda* or large jars, partly interred, each one with an average capacity of 200 liters (Callieri and Olivieri, forth.).

<sup>11</sup> See Shaw 2013, with post-2003 Shaw, and Shaw and Sutcliffe references.

<sup>12</sup> Based on current equivalent data - each square kilometre might have been able to provide food for circa 500 people. If the population size in these zones was far lower, as hypothesized by Monica Smith and others in a recent work (Smith et al. 2016), we can suppose that the farmlands managed by or associated with the Buddhist communities were also able to produce and market food surpluses, as part of their economic system. A very interesting piece of information on the late demography of Swat is provided by the Chinese pilgrim Huichao (c. 720) “[There are] plenty of monasteries and plenty of monks, [and there are even] a little bit more monks than laypeople [...] (Max Deeg, pers.comm.).

Particularly important is the role of rice both as staple food and exported commodity. Swat, with its particular microclimate that had always allowed double crop agriculture, has been producing rice since the Neolithic, and with Kashmir was the main regional production area in ancient times (Stacul 1987).

The role of wild grapes in ancient Swat has recently been reassessed by Harry Falk (Falk 2009) especially after our discovery of dozens of wine-presses and fermentation vats in the countryside south of Barikot (Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006: 142-46). If all these infrastructures had been used at the same time, their annual production of fermented juice could well have been above 7,000 hectoliters. Mustard seeds may be linked to the production of fuel for oil lamps, a market sector to which also the production of *ghee* might have contributed. Since early times, Swat was traditionally home to abundant livestock<sup>13</sup>. The latest evidence from Barikot's dump areas shows that cattle and sheep farming was widespread, but we documented also game and wild animals, including non-edible precious animals like big felines and rhinos. Again, all terrains were exploited, from the lower grazing lands to the upper rangeland, and the wilds, both the savannahs of the lower valleys and the mountain forests. Part of these protein-based resources, were used to produce collagen. The study of this aspect is still in progress on samples from Amlukdara. Collagen was apparently used not only as a binder for colours, but also to make stucco layers more stable and weather resistant<sup>14</sup>.

Starting from before the post-urban phases the Buddhist communities expanded in the upper mountain territories following a process of acquisition of economic space, including mountain passes, springs, summer pastures and forests (Olivieri, Vidale et al. 2006: 131-38).

It is evident that the Buddhist communities progressively intruded into the ecological space of the rural tribes, communities as we know from their amazing rock-art that were never properly converted to Buddhism (Olivieri 2015)<sup>15</sup>.

---

<sup>13</sup> Arrian (*Anab.* IV, 25, 4-5) reports that some extremely strong and beautiful bulls were captured between Bajaur and Malakand, and sent by Alexander to Macedonia.

<sup>14</sup> Ilaria Bonaduce, University of Pisa, pers. comm. (2017).

<sup>15</sup> Despite the loss of the vital space, the mountain communities were apparently

### **An epilogue on late sculptural production**

Two of these Buddhist complexes in the hinterland of Barikot have been recently excavated: Gumbat and Amluk-dara. Both founded between the 1st and the 2nd century AD, they not only survived the crisis of the 3rd century but underwent extensive renovation (Olivieri et al. 2014)<sup>16</sup>.

The stupa of Amluk-dara is undoubtedly one of the most majestic and best conserved in Gandhara, it evidences a complex sequence of building and reuse phases spanning a long period of time, from the 2nd to the 10th century AD (Fig. 13). Towards the end of the 3rd century the monumental staircase was radically modified, and a considerable part of the original schist decoration was removed and was either reused or discarded. In this phase the Main Stupa was probably decorated with a false gable of colossal size, certainly of stuccoed limestone, which likens the monument to the nearby coeval stupa of Tokar-dara (Faccenna and Spagnesi 2014: 331-76). Pilasters, modillions, and figured decorations at Amluk-dara were remade in kanjur (organogenic limestone) and copiously and repetitively stuccoed and painted<sup>17</sup>.

---

integrated at the fringes of monastic life. Apart from hunting, the extraction of quartzite stones used as flint, and the production of butter, used as fuel for lamps, were important. The comparison with the modern Gujars, who started settling in Swat from Kashmir only after the establishment of a Swat State in 1916, reminds us that also vertical transhumance people need stable conditions. The long-standing presence of these ancient communities on the outskirts of the “civilized world” in Swat is an indirect marker of political and juridical stability that means security and certainty of contracts and land ownership. Such stability, which was originally symbolized by the city, was later represented by the Buddhist monasteries, which must have inherited the role of economic and political pivots in Swat after the 3rd century AD.

<sup>16</sup> For details and archaeological data on these two sites, see the excavation reports published in 2014 (Olivieri et al. 2014).

<sup>17</sup> Cf. the Kushano-Sasanian phases at Old Termez (Ferrerías Martínez et al. 2014). Amluk-dara, although partly buried and collapsed, continued to be used, as shown by the very late stucco-covered floors on which worship continued to be practised. Radiocarbon analyses date this phase to the 6th-7th century. The radiocarbon datings of the final phase lie between the 7th and 10th century. A later earthquake, which caused the collapse of the chattravali of the Main Stupa, marked the definitive abandonment of the sacred area.

On the basis of the above data, three conclusions may be drawn:

(1) Schist is widely available and quarried in Swat. Previous research has clearly demonstrated the local origin of the stone material utilized for the decoration of the Buddhist stupas in Swat. For example, the green chloritoschist of Saidu Sharif I was quarried 1 kilometer away from the site.

(2) Kanjur is not a local stone. Very limitedly available in Swat, kanjur can instead extensively quarried in the calcareous reliefs south and south-east of Swat (Buner, Swabi and Taxila). Therefore, we may guess that the shift to kanjur implied a major change in the local economy. The appearance of kanjur might support the hypothesis that the local schist quarry areas of Swat were working at an unusually very low pace for their standard, maybe just for the only surviving contemporary production, i.e. the stelae that we have found in plenty at Barikot.

(3) The shift to kanjur, owing to the nature of the latter, implies a massive role of stucco modelling. Kanjur and stucco appear together in Swat. Petrographic analyses of samples of both kanjur and stucco from Amluk-dara have proved that the two materials are chemically compatible, thus supporting the hypothesis that the stucco was largely produced as a by-product of kanjur stone workmanship.

## References

- Callieri, P. and L.M. Olivieri (forth.) *Ceramics from the excavations in the historic settlement at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai (Barikot), Swat, Pakistan (1984-1992)*, ACT Reports and Memoirs, Special Volume 2, Sang-e-Meel Publisher, Lahore.
- De Chiara M., R.Micheli and L.M. Olivieri (forth.) Pšt. *meč*□*n* م ی چ ن ‘hand-mill, quern’. Linguistic and archaeological notes. In S. Badal Khan, G.P. Basello and M. De Chiara (eds.) *Festschrift in honor of Adriano V. Rossi* (provisional title), ISMEO-University of Naples “L’Orientale”, Napoli-Rome.
- Faccenna, D./G. Gullini (1962) *Mingora: Site of Butkara I. Udegram*, ISMEO Reports and Memoirs I. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.
- Faccenna, D. (1964-65) Preliminary Report on the 1963 Excavation Campaign of Barama I (Swat-Pakistan), *East and West* 15, 1-2: 7-23.
- Faccenna D., P. Spagnesi (2014) *Buddhist architecture in the Swat Valley, Pakistan. Stupas, viharas, a dwelling unit*, ACT Reports and Memoirs, Special Volume 1, Sang-e-Meel Publisher, Lahore.
- Falk, H. (2009) Making Wine in Gandhara under Buddhist monastic supervision, *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* (Evo suyadi. Essays in Honor of Richard Salomon’s 65th Birthday) 23: 65-78.
- Ferreras Martínez, V., E. Ariño Gil, J.M. Gurt Esparraguera, and S. Pidaev (2014) The enclosure of Tchingiz-Tepe (Ancient Termez, Uzbekistan) during the Kushan and Kushan-Sassanian periods. Archaeological stratigraphy and 14C dating analyses, *Iranica Antiqua*, XLIX: 736-764.
- Jongeward, D., J. Cribb and P. Donovan (2014) *Kushan, Kushano-Sasanian, and Kidarite Coins. A Catalogue of Coins from the American Numismatic Society*. The American Numismatic Society, New York.
- MacDowall, D.W., P. Callieri (2004) *A Catalogue of Coins from the Excavations at Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai 1984-1992. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai Interim Reports II*, ISIAO Reports and Memoirs, New Series III,

- Istituto Italiano per l’Africa e l’Oriente, Rome: 27-90.
- Moscatelli, C./L.M. Olivieri/Syed Niaz Ali Shah (2016) A Late Kushan Urban Temple from Bazira/Vajīrasthāna. Data from the 2016 Excavation Campaign at Barikot, Swat, *Pakistan Heritage*, 8: 49-61.
- Olivieri, L.M. (2011 [2015]) The Last Phases at Barikot: Domestic Cults and Preliminary Chronology. Data from the 2011-2012 Excavation Campaigns in Swat, *Journal of Inner Asian Art and Archaeology* 6: 1-40.
- Olivieri, L.M. (2012 [2017]) The Last Phases at Barikot: Urban Cults and Sacred Architecture. Data from the Spring 2013 Excavation Campaign in Swat, *Journal of Inner Asia Art and Archaeology* 7: 7-30.
- Olivieri, L.M. (2014) *Digging up. Fieldwork guidelines for archaeology students*. ACT Report and Memoirs, Series Minor 1, Sang-e-Meel Publisher, Lahore.
- Olivieri, L.M. (2015) *Talking Stones. Painted rock shelters of the Swat Valley*. ACT Report and Memoirs, Series Minor 2, Sang-e-Meel Publisher, Lahore.
- Olivieri, L.M. 2018. Vajīrasthāna/Bazira and Beyond. Foundation and current status of the archaeological work in Swat. In *Buddhism and Gandhara. An Archaeology of Museum Collections*. Routledge (ed. H.P. Ray): 173-212, London and New York
- Olivieri, L.M./M. Vidale et al. (2006) Archaeology and Settlement History in a Test-Area of the Swat Valley. Preliminary Report on the AMSV Project (1st Phase), *East and West* 44, 1-4: 73-150.
- Olivieri, L.M., et al. (2014) *The Last Phases of the Urban site of Birkot-ghwandai (Barikot). The Buddhist sites of Gumbat and Amluk-dara (Barikot)*, ACT Reports and Memoirs, II, Sang-e-Meel Publisher, Lahore.
- Qasim M., K. Hubacek, M. Termansen and L. Fleskens (2013) Modelling Land Use Change Across Elevation Gradients in District Swat, Pakistan, *Regional Environmental Change*, June 2013 (DOI 10.1007/s10113-012-0395-1).
- Shaw, J. (2013) Sanchi as an Archaeological Area, *History of Ancient India*, 4. Vivekananda International Foundation and Aryan

*Decline or Transformations: Patterns of Change in Swat at and after the end of the Kushan Era (3rd-6th Century AD)*

- Books (ed. D. Chakrabarti and M. Lal): 388-427, New Delhi.
- Simson, St. J. (2008) Suburb or slums? Excavations at Merv (Turkmenistan) and Observations on Stratigraphy, Refuse and Material Culture in a Sasanian City, *Current Research in Sasanian Archaeology, Art and History*. BAR International Series 1810 (ed. D. Kenet and P. Luft): 94-103, Oxford.
- Smith, M., T.W. Gillespie, S. Barron and K. Kalra (2016) Finding History: the locational geography of Ashokan inscriptions in the Indian subcontinent, *Antiquity* 90 (350): 376-92.
- Stacul, G. (1987) *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Swat, Pakistan (c. 3000-1400 B.C.)*, IsMEO Reports and Memoirs XX, Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Rome.
- Verardi G. (2011) *Hardships and Downfall of Buddhism in India*, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi.

Figures

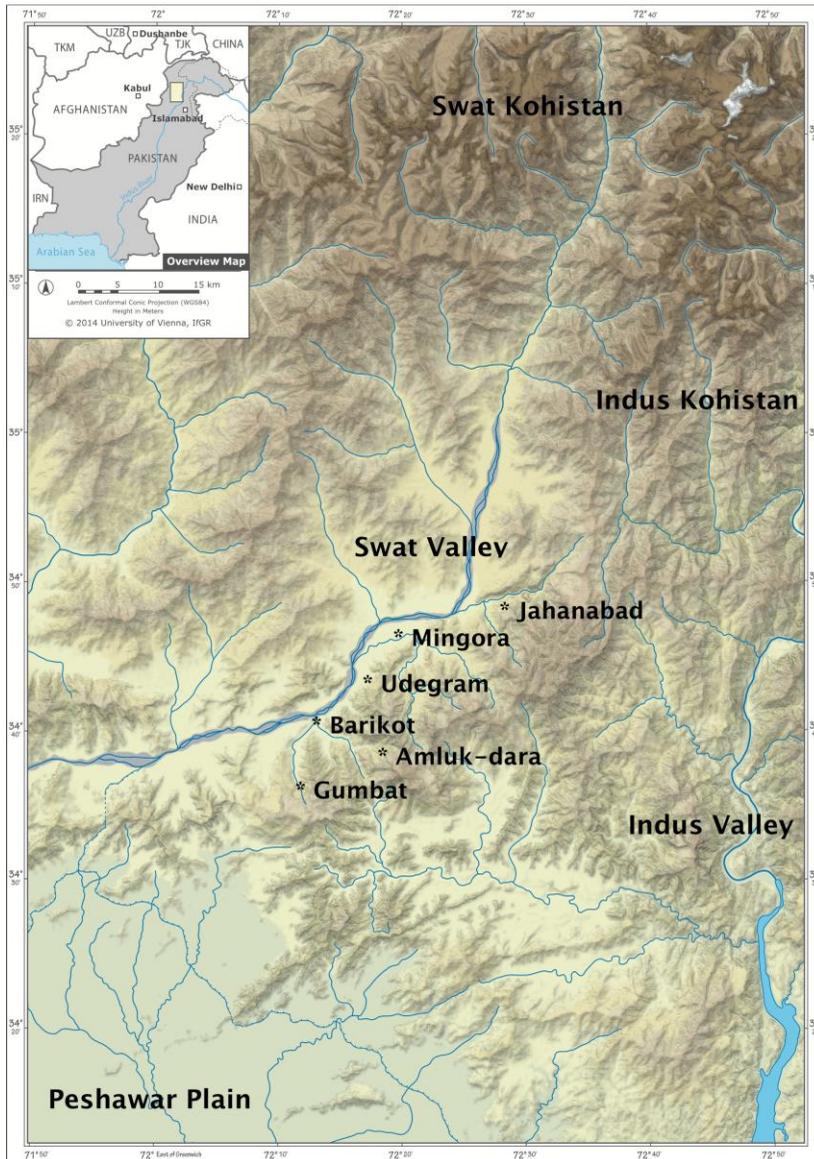


Fig. 1 – Map of the Swat valley  
(by K. Friz and D. Nell, University of Vienna for ISMEO).

*Decline or Transformations: Patterns of Change in Swat at and after the end of the Kushan Era (3rd-6th Century AD)*



Fig. 2 – The southwestern quarters of ancient Barikot seen from NE (Trench BKG 11) (Photo by E. Iori/ISMEO, 2016).



Fig. 3 – Trench BKG 11 (Drawings by I. Marati and F. Genchi/ISMEO).

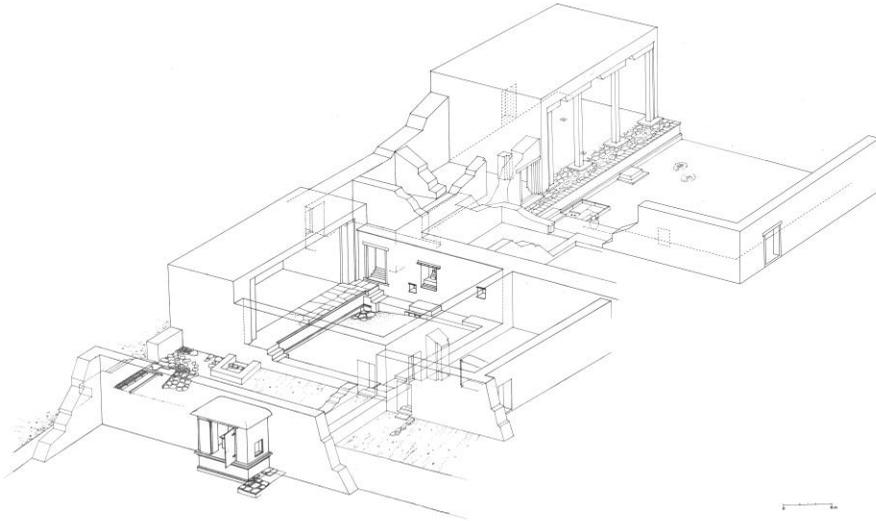


Fig. 4 – Units B and D (axonometric restitution) (Drawings by F. Martore/ISMEO).

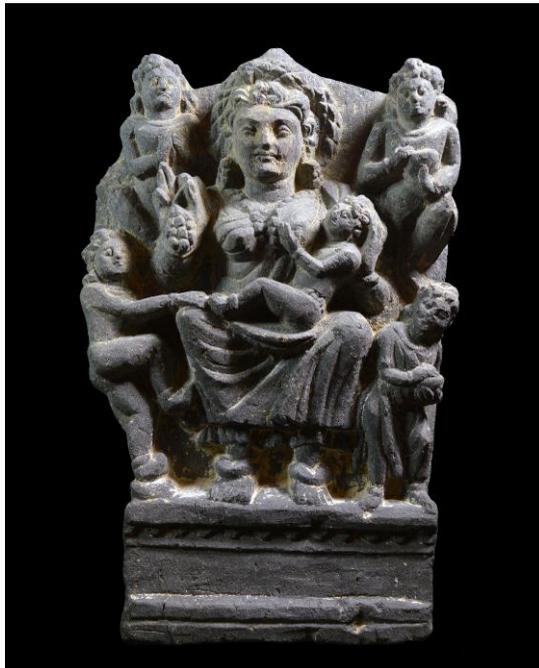


Fig. 5 – Stele BKG 3636 (Photo by C. Moscatelli/ISMEO).

*Decline or Transformations: Patterns of Change in Swat at and after the end of the Kushan Era (3rd-6th Century AD)*

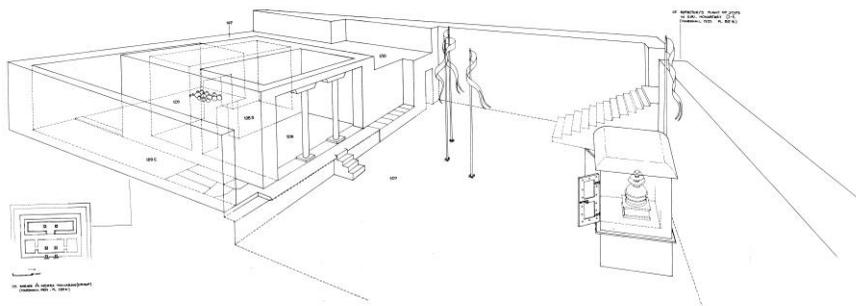


Fig. 6 - Units K (axonometric restitution) (Drawings by F. Martore/ISMEO).



Fig. 7 – Stele BKG 2088 (Photo by Aurangzeib Khan/ISMEO).



Fig. 8 – Figurine BKG 2086 (Photo by Aurangzeib Khan/ISMEO).

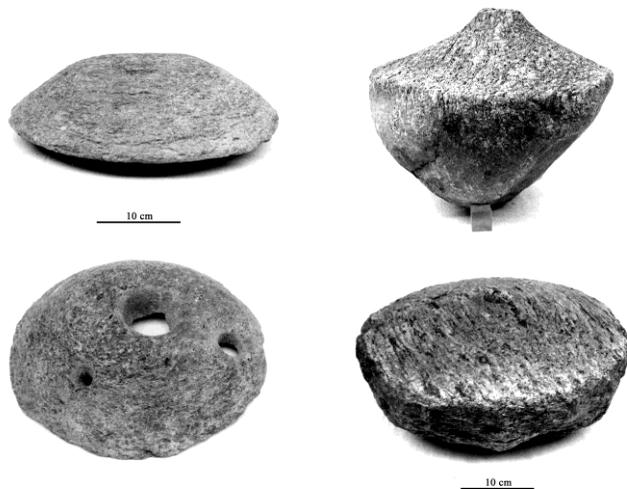


Fig. 9 – Rotary querns from Barikot (Photo by R. Micheli/ISMEO).

*Decline or Transformations: Patterns of Change in Swat at and after the end of the Kushan Era (3rd-6th Century AD)*

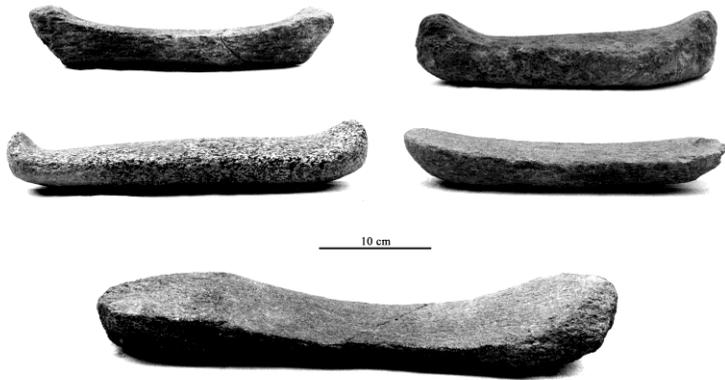


Fig. 10 – Saddle querns from Barikot (Photo by R. Micheli/ISMEO).

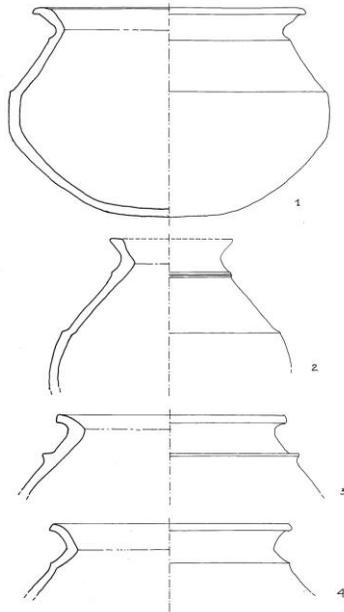


Fig. 11 – Karela pots from Barikot (Drawings by P. Callieri and F. Martore/ISMEO).

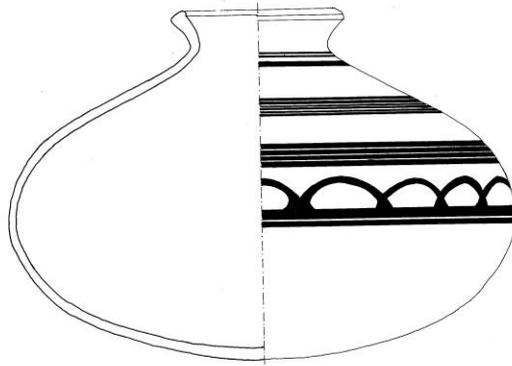


Fig. 12 – *Mangai* pot from Barikot (Drawings by F. Bellisario and F. Martore/ISM)

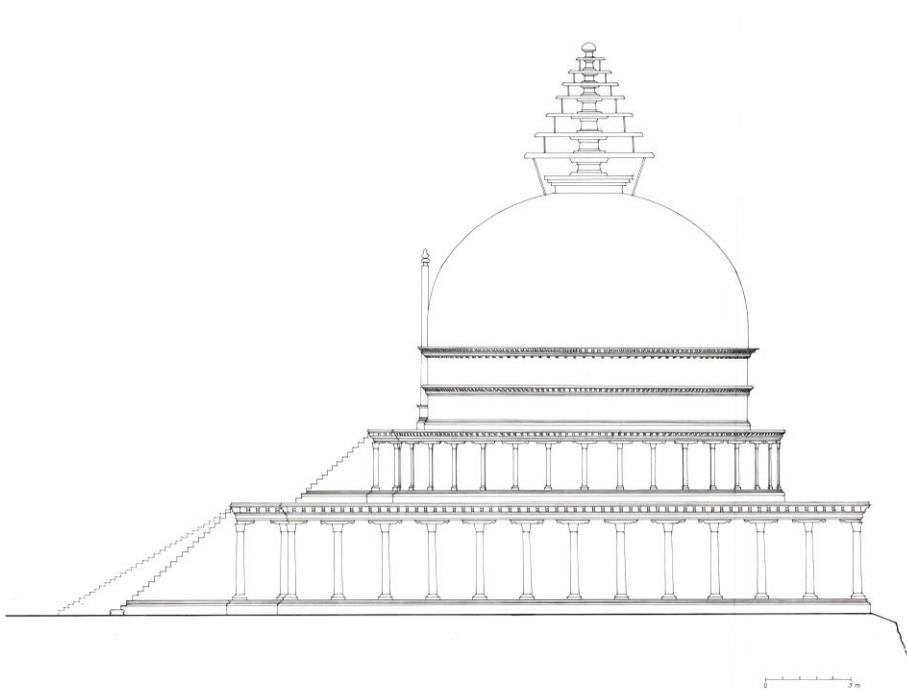


Fig. 13 – Side prospect (N) of Amluk-dara stupa (Drawings by F. Martore/ISMEO).

-3-

**The “Ionic Temple” of Chakdara, Malakand (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan).  
Additional Notes and New Data**

**Zarawar Khan**

**Abstract**

*The Ionic temple of Chakdara, Malakand division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan remained the subject of academic debates since 1896, when it was photographed by Alexander Caddy of the Calcutta Museum. At the same year the entire building of the temple was demolished by the contractor of military works department for the sake of building materials to be reutilized in the construction of a culvert near Chakdara. The unpublished report of Alexander Caddy recently surfaced in Pakistani archives along with the reports of other military officers C.M. Enriquez and Lieut.-Colonel Mainwaring allow to reconstruct the history of this important discovery, as well as to report on some previously unknown important details on the monument.*

**Introduction**

Until few years ago, archaeological information and details on the so-called “Ionic temple”, at Chakdara consisted in nothing more than the few lines written by Alfred Foucher (Foucher 1905: 108-109) and some photographs taken by Alexander Caddy (both dated 1896). Over the years the memory of the “temple” had started fading, and it was cited by scholars more as a sort of *araba fenix*, than a real architecture. In 2008-2009, the serendipitous and important discovery by L.M. Olivieri of a set of archival documents in Malakand Fort (Olivieri 2015: 14) luckily included the recovery of the full text of the report of Alexander Caddy, considered lost. Thanks to the new data, the “Ionic temple” at Chakdara can now be an object of study. But still there are gray zones, as we will see.

The town of Chakdara is located (Figure. 1) in the Malakand Division of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province of Pakistan and is the administrative headquarter of the Lower Dir District. Dir Districts are also famous for the extensive archaeological remains consisting of

protohistoric cemeteries, Buddhist stupas and monasteries, as well as Hindu temples and settlement sites, which have attracted the attention of scholars and antiquarians since the first half of the nineteenth century of the current era. In this connection, General M.A. Court, one of the military officers in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh was probably the first to mention various archaeological sites in the vicinity of Chakdara as early as 1839 (Court 1839: 304-13), and few years later, R. Leech, the then Political Agent of Kandahar also secured information about the ancient monuments and inscriptions of Dir through his agent Raja Khan of Kabul (Leech 1845: 812-17). Equally important are the reports of H. G. Raverty and H.W. Bellew, which threw valuable light on the extensive Buddhist remains in the surroundings of Chakdara (Bellew 1864: 8-9, 111; Raverty 1864: 151).

However, despite the interest taken by Western scholars in the antiquities of Dir, Swat and Malakand no excavation could be conducted since the area enjoyed complete independence from the British rule until 1895, when the British military halted at Chakdara and took the control of some of the areas in lower Swat. Aside their military duty, some of the British army officers directed their attention to the ruthless excavation of the archaeological sites, especially the Buddhist establishments in and surrounding Chakdara for the sake of obtaining ancient treasures and sculptures etc. The news of the extensive Buddhist ruins and the abundance of sculptures in the vicinity were soon received by the Government of India. Therefore, two survey expeditions then came to Malakand, of which the first one reached in the month of April 1895 under Captain W.J. Bythell and prepared large scale plans of the Malakand and Khar<sup>1</sup> camps and a theodolite traverse of Dir, Lowari pass etc (Black 1896: 60). The second expedition came under the command of Mr. Waddell who carried out an official survey of the archaeological remains of the area, and also collected sculptures for Government (i.e. for the Calcutta Museum) in July 1895 (Errington 1990: 777).

---

<sup>1</sup> Khar is the name of a village near the modern Batkhela bazar and about two kilometers from Malakand top. The British army had established a strong camp there in 1895 which also included a polo ground (Churchill 1898: 18-19).

### **The Ionic Temple of Chakdara**

The Ionic temple of Chakdara, which is the focus of the present study, was among those monuments, which underwent destructive diggings carried out by the British Military officers in 1895. Until now the only surviving documentation was the one by Alexander Caddy of the Calcutta Museum, who was dispatched to Malakand in 1896 for collecting the Buddhist sculptures. His excavations report was yet printed, but apparently not properly distributed. At a certain moment (before the partition of India), all the copies should have been probably withdrawn and pulped, which may be the reason why no copy is preserved in the British Library (where the photographs of Alexander Caddy are deposited)<sup>2</sup> or in other public repositories in UK. A surviving copy (without illustrations) was found by Luca M. Olivieri in the Malakand archival records (Olivieri 2015: 52-53). On that basis Kurt A. Behrendt managed to write a comprehensive essay on the said temple (Behrendt 2015). After Caddy's departure, the Ionic temple was demolished by the British military works department for the sake of building material, for which Alferd Foucher, the well-known authority on Buddhist art, has sadly deplored (Fergusson 1910: 210, fn.2).

### **C.M. Enriquez narrative on the temple**

Apart from the report of Alexander Caddy, information regarding the first discovery and excavation of the Ionic temple of Chakdara is fortunately available in the narrative report of (Capt.) Colin Metcalfe Enriquez<sup>3</sup>, the then Assistant Recruiting Staff Officer for Pathans, in the 21<sup>st</sup> Punjabi [Infantry]. He was probably the first to describe some of the architectural components of the Ionic temple before its excavation

---

<sup>2</sup>Olivieri, pers. comm. (2016).

<sup>3</sup>C.M. Enriquez was born in Uttar Pradesh, British India, in 1884. He died in Rangoon, Burma (Yangon, Myanmar) in 1969. In 1903 he joined the Queen's Royal West Surrey Regiment (Second Lieutenant, Peshawar). In 1905 was transferred to the Indian Army (21st Punjabi Regiment in Multan). He was a prolific author (his books on Burma have been republished recently). He wrote extensively on his experiences in the North West Frontier (*The Realm of the Gods*, Thacker, Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1915; *Khyberie, The Story of a Pony on the Indian Frontier*, A. & C. Black, London, 1934).

in 1895 (or about one year prior to the arrival of Caddy to Malakand) in the following way:

“From the archaeological point of view, the upper part of the Swat valley, above Thana, is full of interest. It contains a great number of “stupas” which owing to the unfriendly attitude of the Swatis, are never likely to be explored. During the 1895 occupation, however most of these Topes and ruins were mapped; but time and funds admitted of only one or two being excavated. These were found to contain great quantities of coins and statuary, bearing unmistakable sign of Grecian origin. One building in particular, which had apparently been added to by Buddhist and Hindus successively, was without doubt a Greek temple. It was a square building, supporting a hemispherical dome. Two Ionic pillars formed the props to the archway, through which the shrine was entered. The entire porch and the pillars have been removed to the British Museum. In this temple were found Greek lamps, and two statues, the one of Greek dancing girl, and the other of a Greek soldier fully armed. An important find on one of the Topes was a frieze, illustrating the life of Buddha. The last scene depicted the cremation of the master after his death. The best of the relics have been placed in various museums. In many of the Swati ruins, as well as in those of Yusufzai, the use of Gothic arch is frequent. Architecture had reached a high standard even in those ancient days, and the square, the pyramid and the hemisphere are all represented” (Enriquez 1910: 7-8).

C.M. Enriquez was associated to the 21<sup>st</sup> Punjabis, an infantry contingent of the British military, annexed to the Chitral Relief Force in 1895. Enriquez’s halt at Chakdara provided an opportunity to survey the Buddhist stupas of Thana village probably in the company of Captain W.J. Bythell<sup>4</sup>. He observed the Ionic temple still in fairly good condition and crowned by a dome<sup>5</sup> while the façade was provided with a porch supported by two Ionic pillars. Besides narrating the excavation of the temple and the discovery of two sculptures within, Enriquez also writes that “The entire porch and the pillars have been removed to the British Museum”. This information, if confirmed, may have a great

---

<sup>4</sup> As already mentioned, he went to the site in April 1895

<sup>5</sup> The dome was not visible anymore when Caddy visited the site in the month of February 1896; see the reconstruction by L.M. Olivieri and F. Martore in Behrendt 2015 (on p.270).

impact on the future studies of this monument<sup>6</sup>. However, the pedestal of the Ionic pillars supporting the porch remained intact till the photography of Caddy in 1896 (see below).

Although C.M. Enriquez has not mentioned the names of the museums where the sculptures he recovered in the Malakand area were sent, I was able to trace two Buddhist sculptures in the Peshawar museum collection, which were gifted by him in 1913 (after the publication of his narratives in 1910)<sup>7</sup>.

### **Alexander Caddy Report of the Ionic Temple**

The typeset report of Alexander Caddy shows that he came to Malakand on 17<sup>th</sup> February 1896 on the order of the then Secretary to the Government of Bengal<sup>8</sup>, and on the next day he was shown two excavations made by Majors Mainwaring and Macleod at two separate mounds near the parade ground of Chakdara, then located to the west of the Chakdara fort just at the foot of Dumkot hill<sup>9</sup>. The excavations had revealed the remains of a palace and a temple in a deplorable condition with signs of disastrous floods. About the temple excavated by Major Macleod, Caddy states the following: “It is a small Ionic temple *in antis*, the bases and portions of the two columns remaining, while the

---

<sup>6</sup> I made a preliminary survey, which was limited to the available and public information:

[http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/search.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx) (last date accessed: 29/11/2016).

In the British Museum Collection I found nothing that can be associated to pillars, shaft or capitals neither of Gandharan or Ionic style, coming from Malakand area or former North-West Frontier Province, and donated or acquired around the end of nineteenth /beginning of twentieth century. Also in the extremely detailed catalogue of the Gandharan sculptures at the British Museum (Zwalf, *Catalogue of the Gandharan Sculpture in the British Museum*), I found no information.

<sup>7</sup> These sculptures bear the Peshawar Museum inventory nos. PM\_02812 and PM\_1015. Although the exact provenance of these sculptures is not recorded, yet one can guess that these were collected in Malakand area on the basis of artistic comparison with other Buddhist sculptures found at Chakdara and preserved in the Dir Museum

<sup>8</sup> Information taken from the *facsimile* of Alexander Caddy's original report at the Library of the Mission House in Saidu Sharif, Swat (kind permission of Dr. L.M. Olivieri, Director of the Italian Archaeological Mission).

<sup>9</sup> Information based on the verbal communication with L.M. Olivieri and on photograph No. 1003/969a of the British Library collection.

porch and the capitals of the pillars were wanting and the spring of the dome is open to the sky".<sup>10</sup>

The contents of Caddy's report and his photographs preserved in the British library testify that the Ionic temple was deprived of the frontal porch and domical ceiling. Although the disastrous floods are held responsible for its destruction and no reference is made about the previous diggings conducted in 1895 by C.M. Enriquez, yet the photographs are the only surviving documents of the architectural and historic glory of the Ionic temple and can add additional information as well. We would therefore, like to incorporate the description of some of them in the present study.

One of these photographs in the British Library (BL no. 10031153) illustrates the post excavation scenario of the Ionic temple and shows horizontally excavated ditches at the left and back sides of the square cella. The stones extracted from the walls are lying haphazardly on the ground while a straight cut extending from the left corner to the spring of the dome prove that how careless excavation has been carried out. Moreover, the dome has been demolished and the building is left open for the growing of plants and shrubs.

Another photograph (BL no. 10031150) exhibits a closed view of the doorframe along with threshold and the inverted pyramidal cornice, all designed from dressed stone blocks. On the ground level, near the right jamb of the frame, lower portion of an engaged pilaster can be viewed which is composed of a square plan, low plinth, torus overlapped by dressed stone blocks masonry in tapering order. The upper portion of the same pilaster is missing and shows signs of collapsing in the masonry, which might have occurred due to the removal of the porch<sup>11</sup>. The pickaxe dig marks above the spring suggests that the dome was intentionally raised to the ground probably in search of antiquities.

### **Lieutenant.-Colonel Mainwaring Collection of Buddhist Sculptures**

While it is known from Alexander Caddy that Majors Macleod and Mainwaring had carried out excavations at Chakdara, yet no record

---

<sup>10</sup> Information taken from the Alexander Caddy's 1898 report, p 2.

<sup>11</sup> The same cut can be observed in the drawing sketch by F. Martore on page 269 of Behrendt 2015.

exists in his report that how many Buddhist sculptures were collected by the latter two during their military tenure in Malakand. On the other hand the record of the British museum fortunately shows that (Lieutenant-Colonel) F.G.L Mainwaring<sup>12</sup> had sold a number of Buddhist sculptures to the same museum in 1904 (Zwalf 1996: 27). Similarly the personal narrative of Mainwaring on a portion of the Gandharan sculptures found in the Swat valley during the Chitral Relief Campaign of 1895-96 proves that he remained encamped at Chakdara on the right bank of River Swat, *where the temple was located* and most of these sculptures were collected from excavation near the Shahkot pass as he says that:

“By leave of my commanding officer *at camp* [italics mine] I took a fatigue party of sepoy to the spot shown me by the aforesaid Khan *of Aladand* [italics mine] and there, after a little excavation, I found the ruins of an ancient Buddhist stupa. Unfortunately some previous invaders had completely destroyed (many centuries ago) what had once been a beautiful shrine, containing excellent specimens of the sculptor’s art. Some fragments of them I collected, and, by the help of my men, took back to camp; and at the first opportunity sent off a small percentage of them to India. The political officer *obviously Major H.A. Dean* [italics mine] in the interest of the Governments of Bengal and the Punjab, retained this collection and also the sculptures subsequently found by myself and other officers of my regiment” (Mainwaring 1903: 94).

It is interesting to note that Alexander Caddy has made a mention of Major Mainwaring as a responsible person for the excavation at Chakdara, on the contrary Mainwaring associates his collection to the Buddhist sites located near the Shahkot pass, which is about three kilometres away from Chakdara. The sculptures shown in the accompany plate of his report were then sold to the British Museum and can be recognized in the recently published catalogue<sup>13</sup>.

#### The Fate of the Ionic Temple

What happened to the Ionic temple after Caddy’s departure, is not recorded elsewhere except in a few lines by A. Foucher, who arrived to Chakdara in 1896 and saw that the dilapidated little vihara

---

<sup>12</sup> Major Mainwaring of Caddy’s report

<sup>13</sup> Zwalf 1996: pls. 55, 62, 69, 100, 108, 155, 159, 163, 164, 480, etc.

“*Ionic temple*”[italic mine] has received its final destruction from the contractors of the Military Works Department for the sake of obtaining building material to be reutilized in the construction of a culvert near Chakdara (Fergusson 1910: 210 fn.2).

Although the above-cited reports of C.M. Enriquez, Alexander Caddy, and A. Foucher throw light on the discovery, excavation and architectural components as well as ultimate destruction of the Ionic temple, yet there exists a contradiction about the mysterious whereabouts of the frontal porch. If the statement of C.M. Enriquez is to be relied then the fragments of the porch should be in the possession of the British Museum. But on the contrary, there is no reference in the catalogue as well as online collection of the British museum neither of the Ionic capitals, nor of shafts of other architectural item ever shifted from Malakand in or around the date mentioned in the report. On the other hand, the deprived pillar bases and damages caused by the dragging of beams from the facade of the temple and the report and available photographs of Caddy testify that the porch was missing before his arrival.<sup>14</sup>

In the light of the above discussion it can be concluded that the Ionic temple of Chakdara was an excellent example of the amalgamated Greek and Gandharan architecture and remained preserved as long as the end of the nineteenth century. The intact frontal porch supported by Ionic pillars, the hemispherical dome with which it was crowned and

---

<sup>14</sup>In the series of contemporary statements can be added another evidence preserved in the recently recovered documents in the Malakand archival record. In the month of October 1895, a collection of Gandharan sculptures and architectural items ranging between two and three hundred pieces, along with fortyseven other items found in the the Swat valley and the southern slopes of Malakand, reached to the Indian Museum of Calcutta under an agreement concluded between H.A. Deane, the then Political Officer, and L.A. Waddell (Olivieri 2016: 34-35). Moreover, the Lahore Museum received eleven stone pieces (certainly inscriptions) in the month of November 1895. A minor and later controversial statement is given by Mainwaring. He wrote that the major collection of sculptures found by him have been deposited in the Malakand fort where the then Political Officer, retained them in the interest of the Government of Bengal and Punjab (Mainwaring 1903: 94). But if it was really the case, then how Mainwaring and even Enriquez made their personal collections, from which they lately sold or donated some pieces to the Peshawar and British Museums?

the oil lamp *chiragh* still remained *in situ* testify that the local population could not devastate it until ruthlessly excavated and raised to the ground by British officers for squenching their thirst of ancient relics, sculptures and precious objects etc. Their interest in antiquities was so high that even the architectural components did not escape from their sight. In many cases only worthless or defaced sculptures were handed over to the Government while the most favorite ones were retained with them until retirement and then sold on high prices (see e.g. the Stewart case)<sup>15</sup>.

The porch of the so-called “Ionic temple”, if not incorporated in the collection of the British Museum (or Calcutta and Lahore museums), would have come into the share of some influential officer, and therefore lost forever.

---

<sup>15</sup>Discussed in Olivieri 2016: 77-81.

## References

- Behrendt. K. (2015) Alexander Caddy's 1896 Report: The Chakdara Ionic Temple and other Sites, in L.M. Olivieri, *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lords of Marches*:263-284.
- Bellew. H.W. (1864) *A General Report on the Yusufzai*, Lahore: Govt. Press.
- Black. C.E.D. (1896) The Indian Surveys, 1894-95, *The Geographical Journal*, 8, 1:57-61
- Churchill. W.L.(1898) *The Story of the Malakand Field Force An Episode of Frontier War*, London: Longmans, Green and Co.
- Court. M.A. (1839) Collection of Facts which may useful for the comprehension of Alexander the Great's exploits on the Western Banks of the Indus (*with map*), *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, VIII, (January to December):304-313.
- Enriquez. C.M. (1910) *The Pathan Borderland*, Simla: Thacker, Spink and Co.
- Errington. E. (1990) Towards Clearer Attribution of Site Provenance for some 19<sup>th</sup> Century Collections of Gandhara Sculptures, in M. Taddei and P. Callieri, eds., *South Asian Archaeology 1987*, 2:765-781.
- Fergusson. J. (1910) *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised and edited with addition by James Burgess and R. P. Spiers, Vol.1, London: John Murray Publishers.
- Foucher. A. (1905). *L'artgréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra: étude sur les origines de l'influenceclassiquedans l'artbouddhique de l'Indeet de l'Extrême-Orient*, Paris: Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient, E. Leroux.
- Leech. R. (1845) Account of the Panjkora Valley, and of Lower and Upper Káshkár, by Raja Khan of Cabool, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XIV, (July to December, Nos.163 to 168): 812-817
- Mainwaring. F.G.L. (1903) The Gandhara Sculptures, A Symposium, *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club*, Vol. XXIV: 93-95
- Olivieri. L.M. (2015) *Sir Aurel Stein and the Lords of the Marches, New Archival materials*, ACT Report and Memoirs, Archival Studies,

1, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.

Raverty. H.G. (1864) An Account of Upper Kásh-kár, and Chitral, or Lower Kàsh-kár, together with the independent Afghan States of Panj-Korah, including Tál-ásh', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIII, I-V: 125-51.

Zwalf. W. (1996). *Catalogue of the Gandharan Sculpture in the British Museum, in two Volumes*, London: The British Museum Press.

*The “Ionic Temple” of Chakdara, Malakand (Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan).  
Additional Notes and New Data*

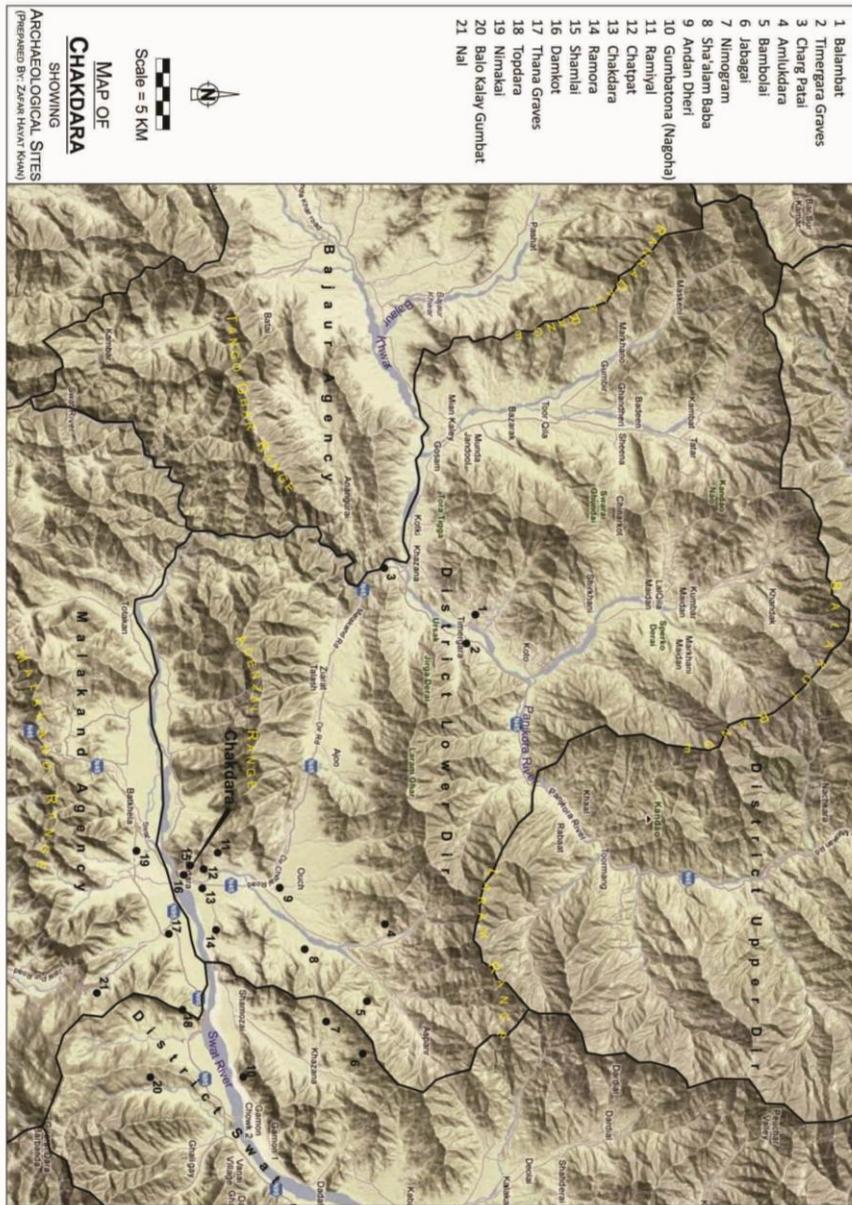


Fig. 1 - Google map showing the location of archaeological sites of Chakdara  
(Source: Courtesy Mr. Zafara Hayat Khan, Lecturer Islamia College University, Peshawar).

## **Kharpocho Fort Inscription from Skardu, Gilgit-Baltistan, Pakistan**

**Mueezuddin Hakal**

### **Abstract**

*The historical monuments in Skardu town always mark the past glory of Baltistan, also known as Little Tibet. This essay is an attempt to decipher and understand the bilingual inscription at Kharpocho Fort, stands at the head lower settlements in Skardu. The deciphering process of this inscription, in Persian and Devanāgri scripts, and its analytical study is adding our understanding about the history of Dogras in Gilgit-Baltistan. This paper is offered in four parts: the first part of introduction attempts to explain the provenance; the second, discusses the past inquiries; the third, deals in the decipherment of the inscription; and the fourth part, analytically studies the inscription from a historical perspective, leading to the conclusion of this study.*

### **Introduction**

The fort at the head of Skardu town is known as “Kharpocho”, to locals it means the grandfather’s fort (Dani 1989: 118). This fort is located above a foothill, at the northern side of the lower stretching town. Geographically, the site is positioned on 35°18'14.20" Northing and 75°38'22.73" Easting, connected to the River Indus. This site can be approached through a narrow jeep-able street, linking the main road to the fort. At the lower connected plains in the valley, near this site, there is a polo ground; remains of pre-Dogra fort; and a graveyard of historical significance, where one can still find the graves with inscribed marble cenotaphs.

The existing structure of the fort (Fig. 1) is dated to the period of Dogras in Little Tibet; however, the remains still spot the existence of similar structure before this activity at the site. A track from the lower graveyard in zigzag plan is leading to the main entrance of the fort. The main gate in wood is highly decorated with the motifs of geometrical and floral designs. There are two strong wooden frames holding this entrance in the fortification wall, constructed of the wooden cribbage and columns. The two jambs of the exterior door

frame are executed with the lotus motifs at the lower and upper ends, and a pentagonal pattern is carved out between them. The decorated cusped impression of the arch in wood shows the continuation of Mughal style arches of the Shah Jahan period (Brown 1981: 105). In this arch, there are eight cusps on each side, topped by the ogee pattern in the center. The inner door frame includes an undecorated sill, and the jambs adorned with the patterns similar to that of the exterior. The door is prepared with five huge vertically aligned wooden planks. A single cross bar was internally used to lock the gate with the full strength. The covered area, to the inner side, leads to the courtyard of the fort. The fortification wall is provided with seven bastions at irregular intervals. Inside the fort area, the standing structures include the historic double storied mosque of the Maqpon period and the army barracks of the Dogra era. The intact structures still stand along the southern wall, but the northern battlement was demolished by the canon bombards in the battle of December 1947 between the Dogra fighters of Jammu and Kashmir and the joint forces of Gilgit and Chitral Scouts (Fig. 2).

### **Previous investigations and the scope of this research**

An introductory information about the location of the fort above Indus and the structural plan is mentioned by Drew (1980: 362-363). This fort was also visited by De Filippi in 1924; he documents the mosque inside the Dogra building (Anastasio 2009: 16-17, fig. 3). Later on, Dani (1989: 118-119) attempts to record the details of the fort, locates the inscription, recognizes the scripts and notices the date mentioned in them. However, previous studies have neglected the complete decipherment of the Persian and Devanāgri inscriptions. Therefore, this study attempts to decipher this bilingual inscription and strives to understand its historical significance.

### **The decipherment and miscellaneous details of inscriptions**

This inscription is incised on the flat surface of the rock (Fig. 4), used in the construction of barracks. It is located in the southern area, connected to the steps adjacent to the mosque (Fig. 3). The average height of irregular outlined flat surface boulder is 1.3 meters and average width is 2.2 meters. The inscription is divided by four vertically elongated sections of uniform size. Each panel is crowned by cusped multifoil arch—with two cusps on both sides and capped by the pointed arch of ogee shape. It appears that the Persian poetry was

carved first, then the outline drawing was executed, and the Devanāgri inscription was added over.

The first and major part of the inscription is in the nast'aliq style of Perso-Arabic script, opens with “شری رامجے” / “Śri Rām Je”. Following this Hindu slogan there are six segments—each comprised of four verses—of the poem. The first section marks the construction of the fort in the name of Mahārāj Ranbir Singh. Following this, the first couplet of the second section deals with the limits of his empire, including Jammu, Kashmir, Tibet, Ladakh and, was extending to Gilgit. However, latter couplet, and third and fourth sections of the poetry describes about the intellect and policies of Mahārāja's Prime Minister Anant Ram. It also adds probably about his promotion as chief. Fifth section explains about an anonymous Governor, like an iron fort, of this mountainous area, who belongs to the town of Kshtwar. Last portion dates the inscription to 1941 of Vikrama Samvat (VS) contemporary to AD 1884.

The Devanāgri part, also opens with the same slogan of “श्री राम जी” / “Śri Rām Ji”, and briefly provides us the same details as that are in Persian portion. However, additionally, it mentions the name “Pratap Singh”, the successor of Mahārāja Śri Ranbir Singh. The preliminary transcription, transliteration and translation of both inscriptions are offered below.

1.

شری رامجے

Śri Rām Je

2.

بامداد و فضل جهان افرین  
بنا قلعه سر تبت به زمین  
بنام مهاراج رنبیر سنکھ [سنکھ]  
که کس پادشاٹ ندیده چنن

be-imdād-o-fazle jahān āfarin  
banā qil'a sar-e Tibet be zamīn  
be-nām-e Mahārāj Ranbir Sinkh [Singh]  
keh kas padśāth nadīda chunīn

With the support and grace of Demiurge;  
built a fort at the head of Tibet on earth.  
(This fort is constructed) in the name of Mahārāj Ranbir Singh;  
(such a building) has never been seen by any emperor so far.

3.

جمون کاشمر تبت و هم لداخ  
بود تا بکلکت [بگلگت] بزیر نکین [نگین]  
بتدبیر دیوان ننت [انت] رام کو  
بود مملکت را چو حصن حصین

Jammu, Kashmar [Kashmir], Tibet-o ham Ladākh  
būd tā be Kilkit [Gilgit] be-zīr-e nakin [nagīn]  
be-tadbīr-e dīvān Nanat [Anant] Ram ko  
būd mamlikat rā chu haṣan-e haṣīn

From Jammu, Kashmir, Tibet and including Ladakh;  
to Gilgit was under his control.

With the planning of Divān (courtier) Anant Ram;  
the country reached the peaks of its glory.

4.

خطابش وزیر معظم بود  
ارسطو ثانی برای ذرین  
وزیرد کرنامجور شب سرن  
لعقلش ندارد کسی هم قرین

khitābash wazir-e mu'azam būd;  
Arastu thāni barāyi zarīn.  
wazīrad karnāmjur shab saran;  
la'aqlash nadārad kasī ham qarīn.

He was entitled with the Prime Minister;  
and for this glory he is Aristotle the second.  
The minister, got the ambition by concurring the nights;  
in wisdom there was non compareable, of his time, to him.

5.

ز عهد وزیر کلان تا بحال  
کماندار و افرالی حد چین  
کمینه غلام غکخوار شاه  
بود مهته منگل زروی یقین

ze-'ehd-e wazīr-e kalān tā be-hāl  
kamāndar-o afrālī had-e chin  
kamīnah ghulām ghakkhwar-e shah  
būd mehtah mangal ze-ruī yaqīn

From the era of Great Minister (?) to our time;  
He is the archer and the extender of the kingdom to the limits of China.  
Mean, slave and sympathetic of Lord;  
ranked as the chief on Tuesday with the faith in will.

6.

وزیر تبت ساکن کشتواژ  
بدانش بود فاضل افضلین  
بنا کروئر [گورنر] کوه کرد [گرد] و نشکوه  
سرقلعه یک قلعه آہنیں

wazir-e Tibet sākin Kshtwar,  
be-dānish būd faẓil-e afẓalīn;  
banā karvanar [governor] koh kird-o [gird-o] nashkoh,  
sar-e qil'ah yak qil'ah-e āhanin

Minister of Tibet from the town of Kshtwar;  
became the scholar of scholars by his wisdom.  
He ranked as the Governor of the surroundings in the mountains;  
like an iron citadel at the head of the fort.

7.

پی سال تاریخ آغاز او  
ز کلکم تراوش شده ایخنن  
فزون بود از نهصد ویکهزار  
بکو [بگو] چهل و یک در شمار سنیں

paī sāl-e tārīkh-e āghāz-e ū;  
ze kalkam tarāush shudah īkhnān.  
fazūn bud az nahsād-o yak hazār;  
biku [bigū] chahal-o yak dar shumār-e sinīn.

In the beginning of the last year;  
this grant became with the oozing from the reed.  
Furthermore, it was one thousand nine hundred;  
and say forty one among the count of ages.

8.

श्री राम जी

स+

Śri Rām Ji

sa +

9.

(preliminary transliteration and translation)

ऊँ श्री महाराजा साहब बाहादर रणबीर [सिंघ (?)] जी जमु व काषमीर व  
तीबत बलेके तोक सपह ने मंगल के रवा श्री घबणण कील श्री प्रताप ग  
[ण] स 1941

ūve (?) Śri Mahārajā sāhab bāhādar Raṅbir [Singh (?)] ji Jamu va  
Kāshmir va Tibet baleke toka sepah ne mangal ke ravā Śri Ghabanana  
(?) kila Śri Pratap ga[na] sa 1941.

...Śri Maharaj Sahab Bahadar Raṅbir [Sing] of Jammu, Kashmir, and  
Tibet... [?] ...Śri Pratap... [?] ...on tuesday in the count of years  
1941.<sup>1</sup>

### **Kashmir and Gilgit-Baltistan during AD 1884-85**

Skardu, the central town of Little Tibet, was conquered by the Sikh forces in AD 1841 under the leadership of Zorawar Singh (Drew 1980: 362-363). Right after this event, Sikhs constructed a fort at a new site

---

<sup>1</sup> The language of this inscription appears to be a local dialect, might be Dogri. Its proper translation is required for the better understanding of the inscription.

above the hill. Later on, in this fort, a bilingual inscription was added. This inscription now help us to know about the events during the opening of AD 1884, with reference to three personalities of the nineteenth century: first, about Śri Mahārājā Sāhab Bāhādar Raṅbir Singh, succeeded the throne from Ghulab Sing in AD 1857; second, about the appointment of Divān Anant Ram as the Wazir during the later part of Ranbir Singh's reign (Khuihami and Pushp 1961: 13); and third, about the successor of said Mahārāja, Śri Pratap Singh.

The year 1941 VS is very clearly mentioned in both scripts but precise date is still vague. Although, the seventh stanza of Persian part, appears to be added later, dates the poetry to “the begining of last year” 1941 VS. Therefore, this evidence let us assume the date of carving inscription on stone somewhere during the year AD 1885.

AD 1884, a transitional year in the Dogra history of Kashmir, is preceding the succession of the Mahārāja Pratap Singh to the throne on 12<sup>th</sup> September 1885. During this period, the kingdom reached to its climax in the matters of geographical expansion, as also highlighted by this inscription. Kashmir had little economic stability after the miseries from economic downfall and the famine of AD 1877-79 (Brill 2016 [1913-1936]: 794); and it was the year right before the sufferings from the earthquake of AD 1885. Administrative changes within Kashmir is also indicated in the inscription with the evidence of the placement of Anant Ram as the Prime Minister. This should be connected to the appointment of the new governor of the mountain areas of Little Tibet and its surroundings. Here, “the Wazir of Tibet<sup>2</sup>”, actually belonging to Kshtwar, is appearing with a new colonial title of “Governor” of this area. This evidence mark the start of foreign influence in the system of administration of the State. Though, the inscription is not declaring the British interests in Kashmir's territory. However, the establishment of Residency in Kashmir during this transition is evident (Sheikh 2016: 174); appearing to be connected with the Great Game. Later, in order to deal with the foreign affairs, economic and administrative interventions of British Indian Government in Kashmir, the succeeding Mahārāja entrusted Babu Nilambar Mukharjee the matters of Trade and Finance, and Anant Ram was charged to deal with Foreign Affairs (Yasin 1984: 34-35).

---

<sup>2</sup> Word “Tibet” in this inscription means the land of Baltistan i.e. *Tibet-e Khurd*, not the proper or greater Tibet.

### **Summary and conclusion**

The historical significance of Little Tibet is added by this inscription executed on the flat surface of the boulder at Kharpocho Fort. This boulder is affixed in the southern wall of the structure, reconstructed during the Sikh period (AD 1841-1846). The decipherment of this bilingual inscription is adding the history of Dogras in Gilgit-Baltistan. It describes the administrative changes within Kashmir; the geographical expansion of the empire to the limits of China; and the promotion of Devan Anant Ram as the Prime Minister of Kashmir. Moreover, it mentions the date 1941 VS in Devanāgri portion of inscription as well as in Persian verses. This date confirms about the events during AD 1884, the last year of the reign of Mahārāja Ranbhir Singh, succeeded by Mahārāja Pratap Singh in AD 1885.

## References

- Anastasio, S. 2009. The Italian Expedition of Filippo De Filippi to Karakoram, 1913-1914. *Journal of Asian Civilizations*. Vol. 32. No. 2: 10-24.
- Brill, E. J. 2016. First Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1913-1936, Volume 4 *Kasmir Historical Documents*: no. 10.  
<http://www.koausa.org/historicaldocuments/10.html>
- Brown, P. 1981. *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co. Private Ltd. [seventh reprint]
- Dani, A. H. 1989. *Islamic Architecture: The Wooden Style of Northern Pakistan*. Islamabad: National Hijra Council.
- Drew, F. 1980. *Jammoo and Kashmir Territories: A Geographical Account*. Karachi: Indus Publications.
- Khuihami, G. H., and Pushp, P. N. 1961. *Tārīkh-e Hasan*. Srinagar, Kashmir: Research & Publication Department, Jammu & Kashmir Government.
- Sheikh, S. A. 2016. Impact of the Colonial Intervention in Kashmir: An Attempt for Reforms: (1885-1925). *African Journal of Basic & Applied Sciences*. Vol. 8 No. 3: 173-179.
- Yasin, M. 1984. *British Paramountcy in Kashmir 1876-1894*. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.



Fig. 1 - Aerial view of the Kharpocho fort, locating the position of inscription in structure (Source: GoogleEarth).



Fig. 2 - Current condition of northern wall (photo by the Author).



Fig. 3 - Façade of mosque and inscription in the southern wall (photo by the Author).



Fig. 4 - Details of bilingual inscription at Kharpocho (photo by the Author).

-5-

## **The itinerary of O rgyan pa in Swat/Uddiyana (second half of 13th Century)**

**Luca M. Olivieri**

### **Abstract**

*The paper presents a detailed reconstruction of the itinerary of the Tibetan pilgrim O rgyan pa towards Uddiyana. The reconstruction is based on the translation of his travelog published by Giuseppe Tucci in 1940. The journey took place between 1260 and 1283. In light of the most recent archaeological research, some geographical benchmark of his itinerary can be defined. This paper focuses in particular on the whereabouts of the so-called “Indrabhuti Temple” in the vicinity of Manglawar, Swat.*

### **Introduction**

There is a general and strong consensus on the identification of Uddiyana with the valley of Swat and neighbouring territories despite some recent disagreements. The grounds for this identification can be summarized as follows (reproduced verbatim from Olivieri 2016: 39).

“1) Archaeological research in Swat has amply demonstrated the existence of a strong Vajrayanic background already in the 7th century CE<sup>1</sup>. 2) Textual evidences show that from 5th Century CE, Chinese and Tibetan travelers and pilgrims for more than thousand years visited the Swat valley believing that it was Uddiyana. 3) If the true Uddiyana, as physical realm, should have been searched elsewhere than in Swat, we ought to conclude that those venerated pilgrims and travelers were wrong”.

---

<sup>1</sup> In particular we refer to the stele of a “Siddha” currently in the Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif (Olivieri 2016: figs. 7-8; Filigenzi 2015a: fig. 140, fig. on p. 162)

This paper reproduces the contents of a key-note speech delivered by the author at the Sherubtse College, Royal University of Bhutan, Kanglung (Bhutan) on 17 October 2016. The author would like to thank Prof. Sangay Thinley, Dean of the Sherubtse College, Prof. Sumjay Tschering (responsible for the Conference Series of the Centre for Archaeology and Historical Studies [CAHS] at the College), and, last but not least, Dr. Kuenga Wangmo (CAHS), Kuengachholing, Motihang, His Majesty’s Secretariat Thimpu, Bhutan.

Archaeological evidence in favor of the identification of the Swat valley with Uddiyana has been recently summarized in Olivieri 2016 and Filigenzi 2015<sub>a</sub> and 2015<sub>b</sub>, while textual evidence was thoroughly analyzed and studied by past scholars particularly by G. Tucci (1931, 1940<sup>1-4</sup>, 1958<sup>1-3</sup>, 1971<sup>1-3</sup>, 1977<sup>1-3</sup>).

The present note intends to present other elements of overlap between archaeology and texts, which may contribute to clarify the debate. These elements include the whereabouts of a temple associated to King Indrabhuti in the travelogue of O rgyan pa, a Tibetan pilgrim of the second half of the 13th century.

### **The travel of O rgyan pa (ca. 1230-1293)**

The travel of O rgyan pa to Uddiyana should have taken place between 1260 and 1283 according to the reconstruction of his biography (Tucci 1940<sup>3</sup>: 6)<sup>2</sup>. Tucci recovered and translated a large portion of O rgyan pa's travelogue, but focused mostly on the final part of his outbound trip, the one related to Swat. Very recently, the description of the previous stretch of his journey in Kulu-Lahul-Chamba valleys (Himachal Pradesh) was studied and published by V. Widorn in a very detailed study on the ancient geography of the area (Id. 2015).

It seems that the journey of O rgyan pa through the valleys of Lulu-Lahul-Chamba was a quite miraculous journey and extremely fast (ibid.: 207). Probably he reached the Punjab plain either through the Ravi or the Chenab valleys. The first route might have been the best way out of the Kulu-Lahul-Chamba according to the 13th century ancient geography (compare figs. 7.2 and 7.3 in Widorn 2015). Eventually we find O rgyan pa traveling towards WSW, crossing the Jhelum and heading to Malakote (the modern Malot) in the Salt Range (Tucci 1940<sup>3</sup>: 25). Then he moved in direction NW and, *before* crossing the Indus, he reached Rajahura/Rajapura, one of the four gateways to Uddiyana. The other three gates cannot be identified with certainty except for Nila that can be located on the upper Soan River (ibid.: 26, fn. 82)<sup>3</sup>.

---

<sup>2</sup> Additional references to the most update works related to the topic of this paper can be found in Olivieri 2016, which is also accessible in the Internet.

See <http://www.bhutanstudies.org.bt/category/journal-of-bhutan-studies/>

<sup>3</sup> The toponym can be related to River Neelam, which flows from Kashmir to Jhelum. For the antiquities in Upper Neelam, see Ahmad and Samad 2015.

### **Approaching Uddiyana**

This point however demonstrates that the borders of the region that in antiquity was referred to as Uddiyana do not overlap exactly the geographical limits of the Swat Valley. Uddiyana was a large dominion that included the following modern districts of Pakistan: part of Abbottabad (if Nila is *that* Nila), Manshera (up to Besham), Swabi, Buner, Shangla and beyond (see also Widorn 2015: fn. 1). The core of Uddiyana should be found in Swat, or better at Dhumat ‘ala, as in O rgyan pa’s travelog is said that “no other place except Dhumat ‘ala is [specifically] called U rgyan” (ibid.: 27) (see below).

O rgyan pa crossed the Indus probably near Hund and from that point on he believed that he had entered in Uddiyana (ibid.: 27). First he stopped outside a town called Kalabur/Kalapur and then (at this point the text is unclear) in one day he reached town of Kaboko, whose chief Rajadeva was “the master of the greatest part of U rgyan”. It should be noted that O rgyan pa does not use the term king as he did for the queens of Malakote and Rukala. The term “master” can be explained in light of the statement he makes later in the account “At that time O rgyan had been just conquered by the Hor” i.e. by the Mongols (ibid. 27), or in any case was under Muslim rule (Tucci 1977<sup>2</sup>: 227) (see below). Rajadeva, certainly a Hindu aristocrat, was not the king of Kaboko, rather the administrator or the “master” of the territory. Kaboko should be searched about 15 km (= 1 walking day; Tucci 1940<sup>3</sup>: 14) N-NW of the area of Hund, i.e. in Swabi or lower Buner districts.

With the help of a guide bearing a letter signed by Rajadeva (certainly a *lassez-passaire* for the Hor), O rgyan pa crossed Bhonele (Buner) in direction NW and reached K‘a rag k ‘ar (Karakar) where was a boundary limit. Judging from the description that follows it seems that he had the Karakar top as a point of view.

From there (i.e. to the N) O rgyan pa sees the green and lavish valley of a River Kodambhar, which should be the ancient name of the Karakar River. To the E, there is the Ilo (Ilam) “the foremost of all mountains of Jambudvīpa”, with its richness of medical herbs, grapes, antelops, flowers, etc. (ibid.: 28). From Karakar top he reached Ra yi k ‘ar “which is said to have been the capital of King Indrabhote. Now it

is divided into two towns: in one there are about sixty houses, in the other about forty” (ibid.: 28). It is possible that Ra yi k ‘ar is Raja Gira, and the two towns were the nearby twin villages of Udegram and Gogdara (ibid.: 28, fn. 98; see also Bagnera 2015: 55-57). At the same time, it seems improbable that O rgyan pa walked down the Kodambhar, crossed Barikot and reached Udegram along the Swat River. And this for two reasons: neither he mentions Barikot, which in the 13th century was still an important military centre (Olivieri 2003<sub>a</sub>, 2003<sub>b</sub>, 2010), nor the Swat River. Therefore is possible that O rgyan pa followed the easy mountain track that reaches Raja Gira from Karakar via Sarbab/Ghalegai. From there he must have stepped down to the Saidu valley and Dhumat ‘ala, simply crossing the Raja Gira ridge in direction E. In fact, according to his travelog, after Ra yi k ‘ar, the pilgrim visited Dhumat ‘ala, the holiest place of Uddiyana, “the core of the miraculous country of U rgyan”, the real target of his trip. We infer that also from the particular that Dhumat ‘ala was have been specifically mentioned in the *lassez-passaire* of Rajadeva.

Dhumat ‘ala, 5-7 km NNE of Ra yi k ‘ar, has been identified by Tucci with T’a lo/ T’a lo (= d’ala, Dhara/Dara) i.e. Butkara I (Tucci 1940<sup>3</sup>: 29, fn. 103; Id. 1958<sup>2</sup>: 65, 78, fn. 12; Id. 1977<sup>2</sup>: 177, 227, fn. 19), the great Buddhist urban sanctuary excavated by D. Faccenna. Butkara I was founded in the 3rd century BCE, and its last living phase is dated to 10th century CE (Faccenna 1980-1981; Iori and Olivieri 2016).

If Dhumat ‘ala is Butkara, all the other sites visited by O rgyan pa can be located with a certain degree of certainty. The snow mountain of Ka ma ’oñ ka/Kamā ’oka/Kamadhoka might be Mt. Mankyal (5,710 m asl); Śrīparvata mountain can be identified with the Dwo-sare; Ka pa lo bho jon with its sacred tree and spring can be Tirat (Tucci 1940<sup>3</sup>: 30, fn. 110; Stein 1930: 56, fig. 41; Tucci 1958<sup>2</sup>: 86; Id. 1977<sup>2</sup>: 217-218, fn. 78; Filigenzi 2015<sub>a</sub>: 25)<sup>4</sup> (Fig. 3). The most interesting and

---

<sup>4</sup> From Tirat comes the rock *Buddhapada* now in the Swat Museum (Tucci 1958). Again on Tirat, it is interesting to note that just opposite it, on the left bank of River Swat, at Jare, lies a colossal rock-relief representing Avalokitesvara/Padmāpaṇi (Olivieri 2016: fig. 5) carved in a crude flat style, which is completely different from the one of the other rock-reliefs of the Swat region (Filigenzi 2015<sub>a</sub>: 25, 218, fig. 108), while recalls very closely the style of the 11th century rock-reliefs of Kardang in the Kulu-Lahul-Chamba region (Widorn 2015: fig. 7.10).

furthermost place visited by O rgyan pa in Swat/Uddiyana was Maṅgalaor, (Manglaor/Manglawar) to the N of Ra yi k ‘ar “[where] is a temple founded by king Indraboti [and] where there are various stone images of Buddha (Munīndra), Tārā and Lokeśvara” (Tucci 1940<sup>3</sup>: 28).

### **The temple and the stone images at Maṅgalaor**

#### *Manglawar/Mingora*

Tucci was convinced that the ancient city of Mengjeli (Mêng chie li = Maṅgalapura) mentioned in the Chinese sources had to be located in Mingora rather than at Manglawar as it was thought before. He was certainly right in supposing the existence of a major ancient urban centre in the Mingora area, as proved by archaeological research (see a reassessment of the problem in Iori and Olivieri 2015). Tough, he was wrong in stating that “[my] doubt of the accuracy of the identification of Mêng chie li with Manglaor was only strengthened by a careful examination of the ground around Mangalaor [*sic*], bare as it is of ruins and archaeologically very poor compared to the many places in Swat” (Tucci 1958<sup>2</sup>: 76-77). The survey carried out by A. Stein in 1926, that Tucci knew very well, gives a vivid and illustrated description of the rich archaeological evidence of the area of Manglawar (Stein 1930: 47-51, figs. 35-37). Moreover the statement is contradicted by Tucci’s own narrative, where he largely describes the archaeology of the Manglawar area (Tucci 1958<sup>2</sup>: 87-88).

The evidence on the ground (updated to 2016) can be so far listed as follows:

- 1) A colossal stupa complex in the SE outskirts of Manglawar at Shakorai, identified by Tucci as the Adbhuta-stūpa of the Chinese sources (the site is completely destroyed and nowadays only traces of the gigantic complex can be noticed) (Tucci 1958<sup>2</sup>: 87; Filigenzi 2015<sub>a</sub>: 213) (Fig. 6);
- 2) A large boulder with a rock-relief representing Avalokitesvara/Padmāpaṇi (destroyed by the Talibans and now reconstructed in Swat Museum, Saidu Sharif);
- 3) A flight of carved steps leading from (2) to (8) (i.e. from E to W);
- 4-6) Three large Buddhist rock inscriptions well-known since British

India times and then published by G. Bühler and H. Lüders (see references in Tucci 1958<sup>2</sup>: 87; Filigenzi 2015<sub>a</sub>: 213);

7) A boulder looking like a sort of stone stūpa mentioned as miraculous by the Chinese sources (Tucci 1958<sup>2</sup>: 88);

8) A colossal rock-relief representing Buddha in *padmāsana* (defaced by the Taliban in 2007 and recently restored by the Italian-Pakistani project ACT);

9) A monumental staircase leading to the cliff where (8) is carved (i.e. from N to S);

10) Large number of walls and structures terracing the steep slope leading to the cliff and surrounding a natural water spring; around the structures a great quantity of fired bricks has been reported;

11) Deep natural cavities open on the E side of the same cliff, that could have been used as hermitage places (traces of red paintings has been documented in some of them).

12) Poor remains of a large stūpa on the top of the cliff where (8) is carved.

Note: Evidence nos. 2-12 are located in an area E of (1) and of approximately 1 ha., on the three sides of the cliff (i.e. N, W and E). Evidence (2) and (8) are dated to 7th century CE (Alam and Olivieri 2011; Filigenzi 2015<sub>a</sub>), a chronology, which is confirmed by the late relative chronology of the fired brick-structures. The early chronology of the inscriptions (4)-(6) (Stein 1930: 50), while might be prove of an early establishment of a cultic complex on the spot, has never been revised.

## **Conclusions**

The reconstruction of the itinerary of O rgyan pa proposed in this paper, although following what already proposed by Tucci, introduces important new elements. The reconstruction strongly supports the evidence that, following the Tibetan and earlier traditions, O rgyan pa's Uddiyana was located in an area now located in North-West Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa<sup>5</sup>. Even if the location of the "temple of Indrabhuti" remains still elusive, the level of detail present in the description of O rgyan pa is extremely precise. The "various stone images of Buddha (Munīndra), Tārā and Lokeśvara" are still visible in Maṅgalaor, (Manglaor/Manglawar), a major cultic centre at least from the 7th century (i.e. from the times of Indrabhuti) as suggested also by the presence of large stupas, caves, inscribed rocks, and gigantic rock-sculptures.

I would like to refer here to a local folktale relating that the entire Pashtun settlement of Manglawar was built with bricks and stones taken from a single colossal *gumbat*<sup>6</sup>. One cannot but fancy that such wonderful and colossal building (a stupa? a shrine?) may have been the "temple of Indrabhuti" which was still visible at Manglawar in late 13th Century.

---

<sup>5</sup> This tradition remained alive until 20th Century. The last documented Tibetan pilgrim who visited Swat before the Partition was Khyung Sprul. According to his biography he should have visited Swat before 1935, which is the year when he met Tucci in Tibet (see references in Olivieri 2016: 30).

<sup>6</sup> *Gumbat* is a Pashto term, which is generally associated to stupas, but more generally to any Buddhist architecture featuring a prominent dome, like the Great Building at Gumbat-Balo Khale, which is not a stupa but a chapel.

## References

- J. Ahmad and A. Samad (2015) Śarda Temple and the Stone Temples of Kashmir in Perspective: A Review Note, *Pakistan Heritage*, 7: 111-122.
- Alam, H. and L.M. Olivieri (2011). A Recent Acquisition of the Lahore Museum: Brief Note on a post-Gandharan Buddhist stela, *Lahore Museum Bulletin*, XX-XXVII: 35-40.
- Bagnera, A. (2015) *The Ghaznavid Mosque and the Islamic Settlement at Mt. Rāja Gīrā. Udegram*. ACT Reports and Memoirs, V. Sang-e-Meel Publisher, Lahore.
- Faccenna, D. (1980-81) *Butkara I (Swāt, Pakistan), 1956-1962*. ISMEO Reports and Memoirs, III, 1-5. ISMEO, Rome.
- Filigenzi, A. (2015<sub>a</sub>). *Art and Landscape. Buddhist Rock Sculptures of Late Antique Swat/ Uddiyāna*. Österreich Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse Denkschriften, 462. Wien.
- Filigenzi, A. (2015<sub>b</sub>) Reinvented Landscapes: Art, Faith and Trade Routes in and around Uddiyāna in the 7th-8th Century CE. In P. McAllister, C. Scherrer-Schaub, and H. Krasser (eds.), *Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya*, pp. 105-150. Vienna.
- Iori, E. and L.M. Olivieri (2016) The Early-Historic Urban Area at Mingora in the light of Domenico Faccenna' Excavations at Barama - I (Swat), *Frontier Archaeology*, 7: 99-112.
- Olivieri, L.M. (2003<sub>a</sub>) *The Survey of the Bir-kot Hill. Architectural Comparisons and Photographic Documentation. Bīr-koṭ-ghwaṇḍai Interim Reports I*, ISIAO Reports and Memoirs, Series Minor, VI. Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome.
- Olivieri, L.M. (2003<sub>b</sub>) La fase di occupazione islamica del colle di Bir-kot. Le evidenze dalla ricognizione e dallo scavo. In B. Genito and M.V. Fontana, eds., *Studi in onore di Umberto Scerrato per il suo settantacinquesimo compleanno*, II, Università degli Studi di Napoli "L'Orientale", Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici - ISIAO (Series Minor LXV), Naples, pp. 593-608.
- Olivieri, L.M. (2010) Late Historic Cultural landscape in Swat. New data for a tentative Historical Reassessment. In M. Alam, D. Klimburg-Salter, M. Inaba and M. Pfisterer, eds., *Coins, Art*

- and Chronology II. The First Millennium CE in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 412/Veröffentlichungen der Numismatischen Kommission, 50. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien, pp. 357-369.
- Olivieri, L.M. (2016) *Guru Padmasambhava in Context: Archaeological and Historical Evidence from Swat/Uddiyana (c. 8th century CE)*, *Journal of Bhutan Studies*, 34: 20-42.
- Stein, M.A. (1930) *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swāt and Adjacent Hill Tracts*. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, 42, Calcutta.
- Tucci, G. (1931) *Sea and Land Travels of a Buddhist Sādhu in the Sixteenth Century*, *The Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII, 4: 683-702.
- Tucci, G. (1940) *Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley*. Calcutta. [Reprint 2014, *On Swāt: Historical and archaeological Notes*. Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad].
- Tucci, G. (1958) *Preliminary Report on an Archaeological Survey in Swāt, East and West*, 9, 4: 279-328. [Reprint 2014, *On Swāt: Historical and archaeological Notes*. Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad].
- Tucci, G. (1971). *Himalayan Cīna. Études tibétaines dédiées à la mémoire de Marcelle Lalou*: 548-552. Paris [Reprint 2014, *On Swāt: Historical and archaeological Notes*. Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad].
- Tucci, G. (1977). *On Swāt. The Dards and Connected Problems*. *East and West*, 27, 1-4: 9-85, 94-103. [Reprint 2014, *On Swāt: Historical and archaeological Notes*. Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-e-Azam University, Islamabad].
- Widorn, V. (2015) *Traversing the Land of siddhas and dākinīs*. In P. McAllister, C. Scherrer-Schaub, and H. Krasser (eds.), *Cultural Flows across the Western Himalaya*, pp. 189-235. Vienna.

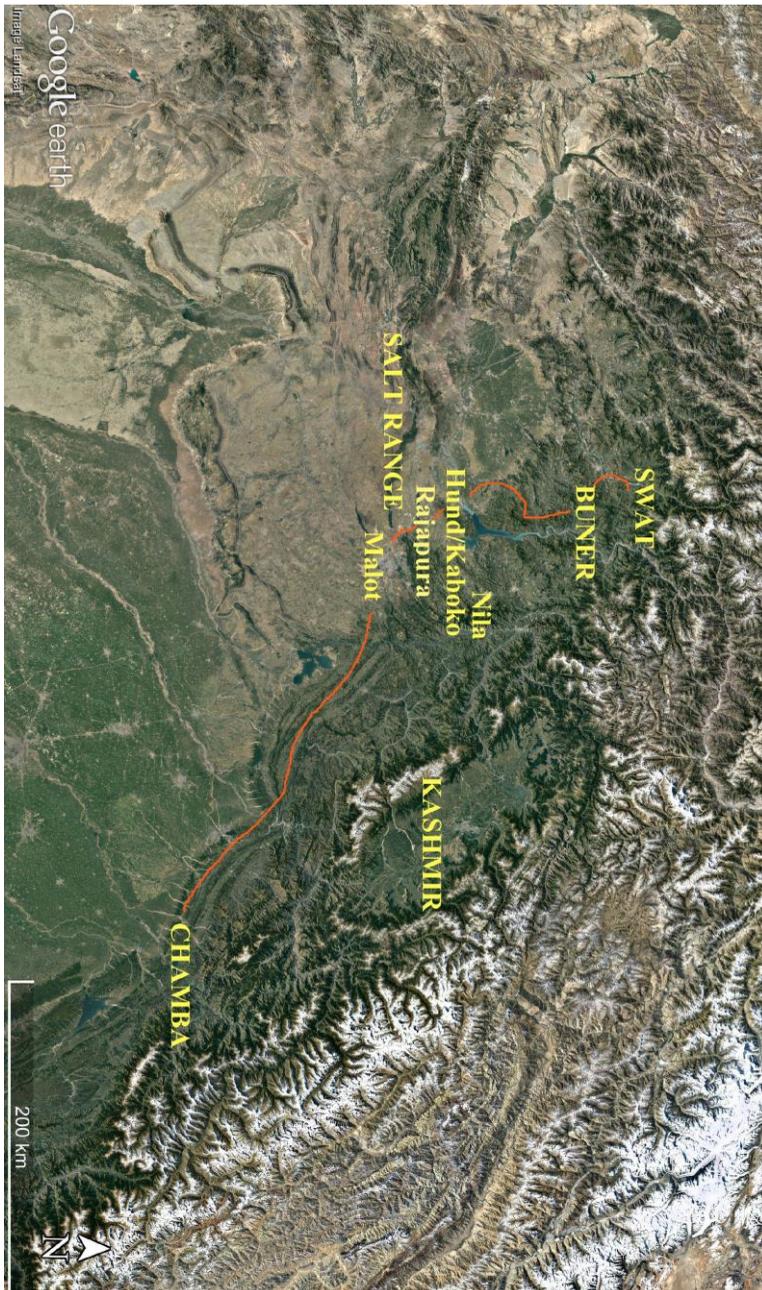


Fig. 1 - The track before Uddiyana (Source: Google Earth, elaborated by the Author).

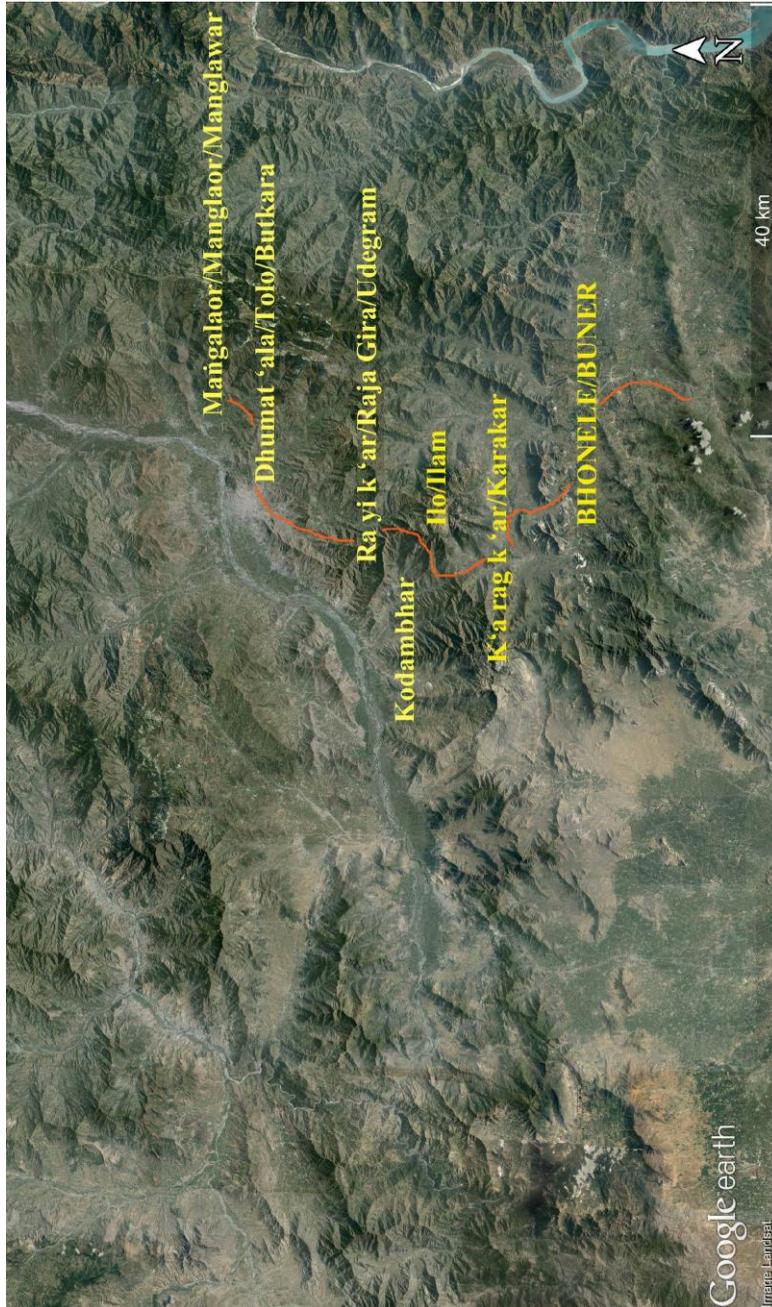


Fig. 2 - The track in Uddiyana (Source: Google Earth, elaborated by the Author).

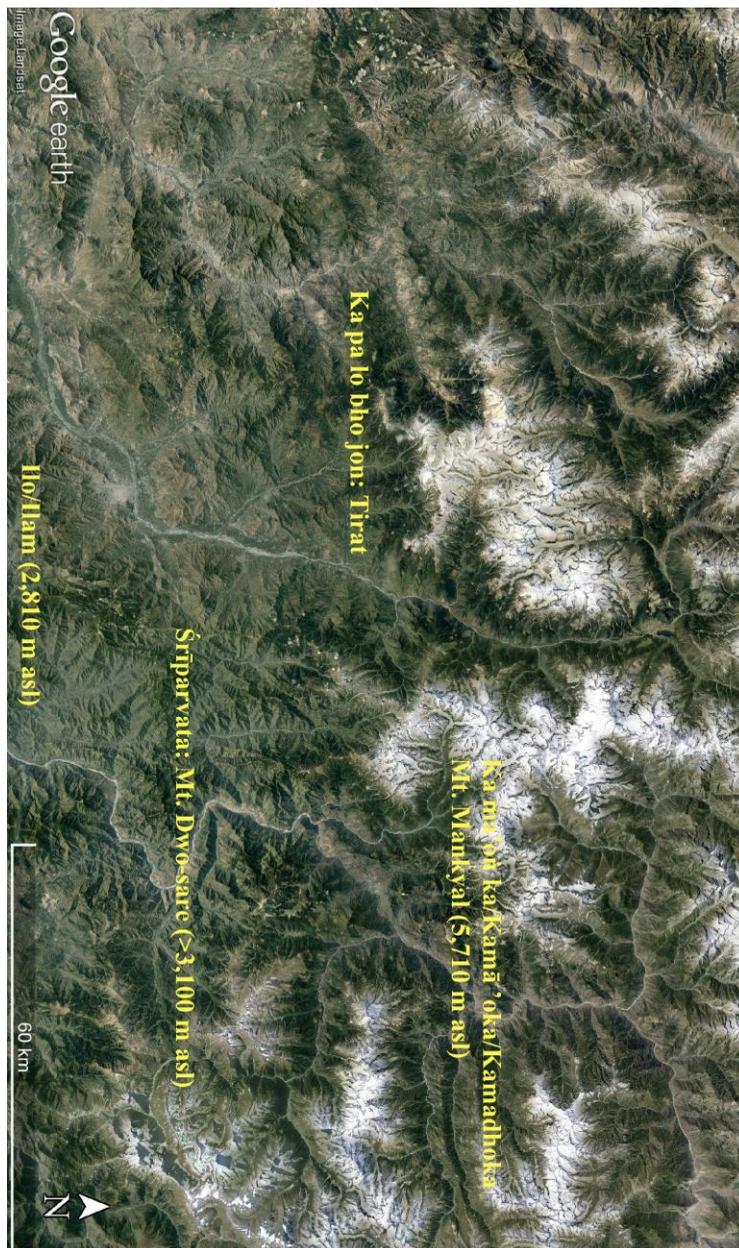


Fig. 3 - The major orographical reference points in Uddiyana (Source: Google Earth, elaborated by the Author).



Fig. 4 - The evidence on the ground at Jahanabad/Manglawar  
(Source: Google Earth, elaborated by the Author).

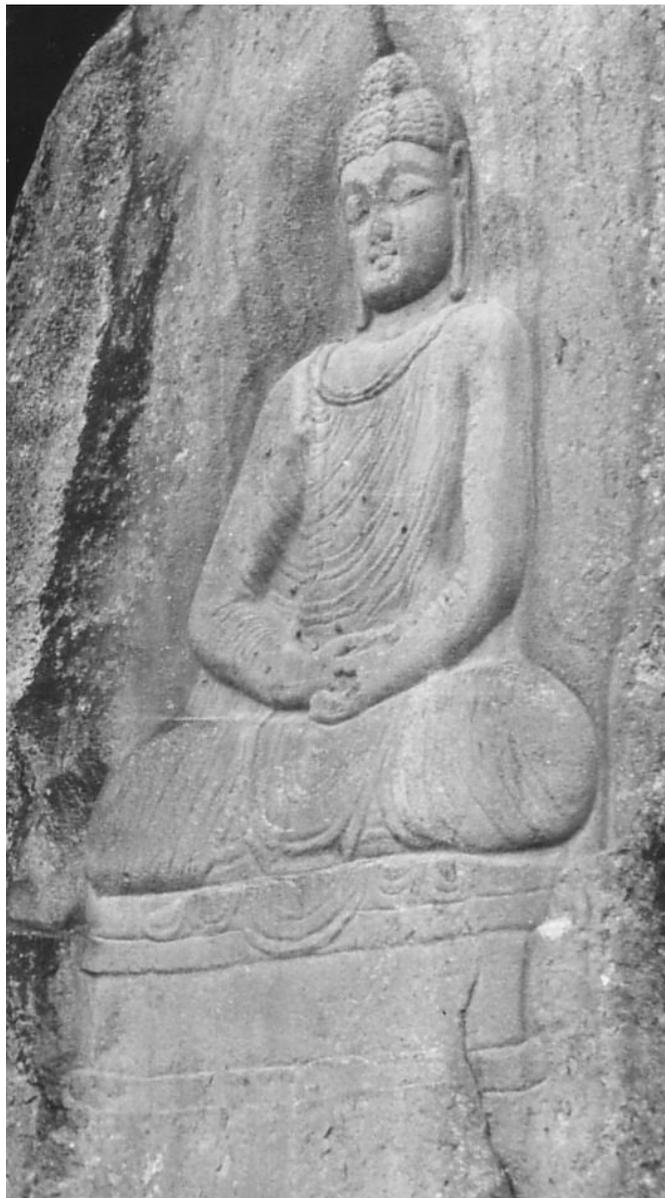
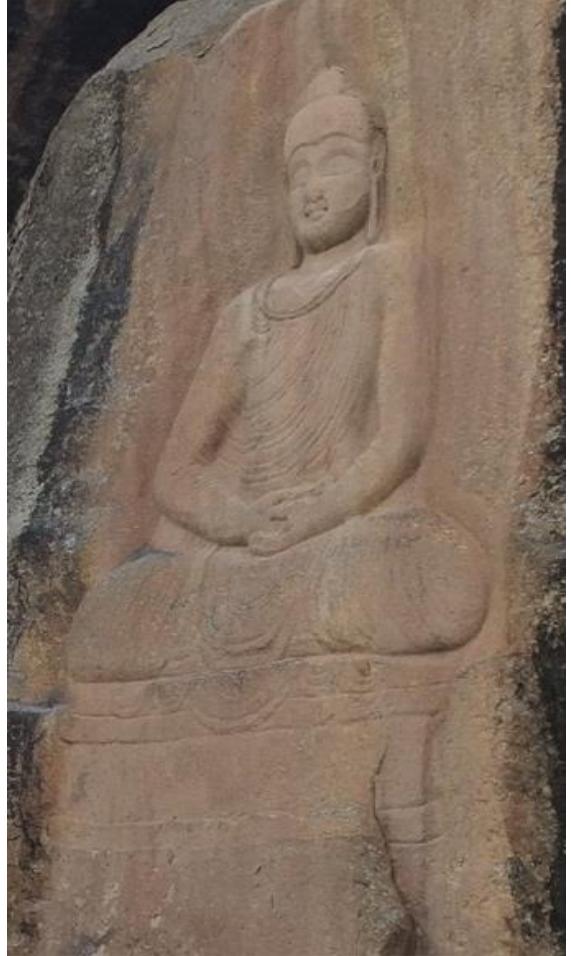


Fig. 5.1 - The Jahanabad Buddha in 1996 (Photo by the Author).



Figs. 5.2-3 – The Jahanabad Buddha in 2007 and 2016 (Photos by the Author).

-6-

## **Architecture of Khem Bedi Singh Haveli at Kallar Sayedan Pakistan**

**Samina Saleem**

### **Abstract**

*This research paper is a case study of a residential building almost 200 years old, which has not been documented. It is actually a residential complex that was not only used for residential purpose, but it has some kind of religious or social significance. These kinds of buildings are commonly known as havelies. This specific haveli or “mansion” is so rich and fascinating in its architectural style and art of Mural painting that it not only tells us about the religious stories from Hindu Epics, but also tells us stories of Sikh Gurus. The architectural style used in this Havelies is a combination of Hindu and Mughal building style. The general condition is deteriorating. The main objective to document this Haveli is to take the attention of the authorities to the restoration and preservation of such buildings, which are dying or vanishing with the passage of time. Haveli was used as a center for Sikhs at the time of partition, when they moved to Indian side. And present condition of the building is pathetic, should be restored and opened for tourists.*

### **Introduction**

This research is related to the case study of Khem Bedi Singh Haveli at Kallar Sayedan. It is important to mention here that the area of Rawalpindi is overwhelmingly filled with Hindu Sikh havelies and buildings. But the dissertation is mainly focused on the documentation of architecture of Khem Bedi Singh haveli (commonly known as Bedi Mehal, Bedi palace). During this research about Bedi Mehal it was revealed that this place has always been having some religious and social significance. Before creation of Pakistan the haveli was owned by Bedi family, which is a Sikh family of religious importance and they also had prominent positions in the Government organization. They used this building for residential as well as a religious and social purpose. They had certain halls in the building that were used for organizing events of social and religious importance. During partition of India and Pakistan, Khem Bedi Singh Haveli has been used as

a safe place for the Sikhs of Kallar Sayedan. After Independence of Pakistan in 1947, this Haveli was handed over to Government High School for boys Kallar Sayedan. It is very regretful that this important building has not been documented in detail, and never caught the eye of the authorities like Archaeology department or ministry of Culture, so that they could work for the restoration and preservation of this important building. The result is that this Haveli has never been documented (except for a survey report published in TIAC journal 2010) In spite of the fact that a great number of eminent people belonged to this area which is known as Kallar Sayedan. This negligence of the local people and the school authorities became one of the major reasons for the destruction of this building. Now the building is at the verge of destruction and this research and documentation might catch the attention of the authorities for the restoration of the remaining parts of the architecture and Art of this building. The speed with which this building is moving towards destruction can be noticed by visiting this building frequently in weeks or days the mural paintings are chipping off from the walls of the haveli. This documentation will not only tell us about the condition of the havelies in District Rawalpindi but also will guide us about the beliefs and motivation behind construction of this building.

Before partition of Subcontinent, along with the Hindus, Muslims, Jains, Buddhists, another religious and political community that established in this area is Sikh Community. The religious leader was Baba Guru Nanak and the religious book is known as Guru Garanth Sahaib. Before the division of Subcontinent there was a lot of syncretism in different religions of this area. The reason for this syncretism was the Culture. The Cultural amalgamation with religion has been a source of influence for each religion.

This dissertation will open a window to the past, that how the owners of this haveli not only respected their own beliefs, but beliefs of other religions. May be that is the main reason that none of the Sikhs have been reported killed in the area of Kallar Sayedan, but all the residents were transferred to Indian side safely. Since partition of India and Pakistan is considered one of the greatest uprooting in the history. It was not monitored by any authority (Lamb, Alastair 1993: 1- 3). This is not less than a miracle that all the residents undamaged reached their destination.

## **Introduction of the Building**

The haveli of Khem Bedi Singh at Kallar Sayedan is a great contribution of the Bedi family. Bedi family was not only known and respected because of their financial position, their religious affiliation said to be the 5<sup>th</sup> or 7<sup>th</sup> descendents of Guru Nanak the religious leader of Sikhs.



Fig. 1 - Courtyard of the haveli with murals (Photo by the Author).

A senior teacher Mr Sallahud Din of Government Boys High School Kallar Sayedan (Working in the vicinity of the Haveli) had been a great help not only accompanied us for visiting the Haveli, but was a great source of Oral information about this Haveli which he heard from his forefathers. He also referred us to an important personality of Kallar Sayedan, Master Karamat Husain, who is an author of many books about Kallar Sayedan named as *Tarikh-i-Kallar Sayedan* (History of Kallar Sayedan) in five Volumes.

It is said that during the partition of India and Pakistan when Sikhs were moving from the area of Kallar Sayedan all the Sikhs of this area took refuge in this Haveli (Husain, Karamat 2007: 27). Apart from Architectural

details this mansion has great treasures of aesthetic significance, especially Mural paintings.

### **Brief Introduction of Kallar Sayedan**

Kallar Sayedan is a Tahsil of Rawalpindi District. It became seventh Tahsil of Rawalpindi in 2004, before that it was a part of Kahuta Tahsil. Nearby cities are Gujar Khan and Kahuta. Its population according is 1 Million 90 thousand people. Literacy rate in Kallar Sayedan is 62%. Kallar Sayedan is 45 kilo meters from Rawalpindi. A road leads to Kallar Sayedan from Rawat, which is 20 KM from Rawalpindi.

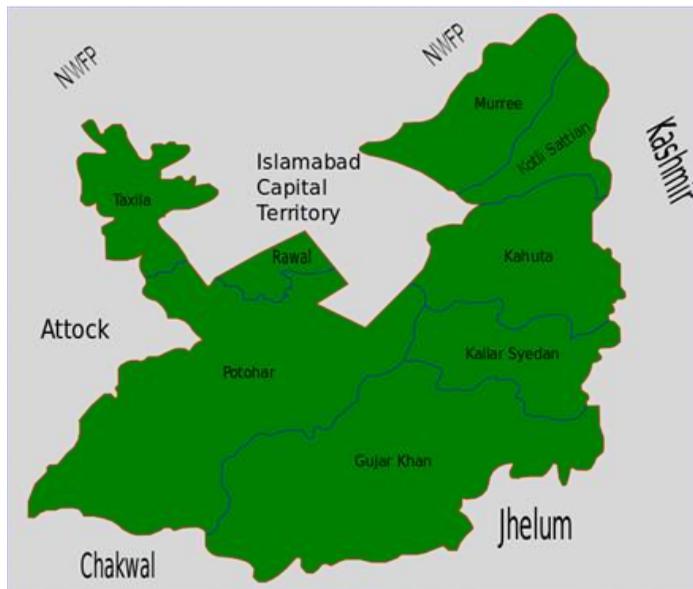


Fig. 2 - Map of Kallar Sayedan (Source: Google).

The first Sayed family settled here was the family of Sayed Ghulam Shah, his ancestor Mir Bader Ali Shah and his family. In 2005 it was their 12<sup>th</sup> generation who was settled here. Those days Sikhs were working on most influential positions, e.g. Guru Baksh Sigh Bedi was an honorary Magistrate. Sadaat family, who belonged to the Shia sect, (of Islam) was also respected in Kallar. Sayeds were educated people and they became the rulers of this area in 1151 by Mughal emperor Alamgir (Husain. 2007: 26). Another belief about the name is that Kallar was a waste land and all the

wells of the land had *Khaara Pani* (a term used for rough waters). The name Kaller became from the term *Kharaa*. The wells of Kaller Syedan still have rough water (oral information by Mr Sallahuddin).

Baba Khem Singh Bedi one of the founders of the Singh *Sabha* movement, was born on 21 February 1832 at Kallar Syedan, District Rawalpindi. He was a direct descendant, in the thirteenth place, of Guru Nanak.



Fig. 3 - Portrait of Khem Bedi Singh (unknown source).

On the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions in 1849, 14 of these villages were resumed by the new government. During the uprising of

1857, Baba Khem Singh assisted the British in quelling a local revolt in Gugera district. He personally took part in a number of skirmishes, proving himself an excellent marksman with gun and rifle. While accompanying Assistant Commissioner Berkeley on a drive to reopen communications with Multan, Khem Singh distinguished himself in a cavalry charge on 21 September 1857. The following day he barely escaped death in an ambush in which Berkeley was killed. The Government of India bestowed on him a *khill'at* or robe of honour of the value of 1,000 rupees and a double barreled rifle. His *jagirs* were enhanced from time to time and, towards the end of his life, his possessions in land in Montgomery district alone amounted to 28,272 acres. He was appointed a magistrate in 1877 and an honorary *munsif* in 1878. He was made Companion of the Indian Empire (C.I.E.) in 1879, was nominated to the Viceroy's Legislative Council in 1893, and when the Indian council Act was extended to the Punjab in 1897, he was among the first non-official members nominated to the Punjab legislature. He was knighted in 1898 (chohakhalsa.com).

The construction of the haveli started in 1840. Most of the construction work was completed by Khem Bedi Singh, but since this was a large project, it was continued by Guru Baksh Singh Bedi. Khem Singh Bedi died in 1904. In the record of revenue Department there is title of Court of Wards, Sir Raja Guru Baksh Singh. This title was awarded to him from the British government in 1914 in reward to his services in First World War. Because of being the richest in the area and religiously sound, they were respected amongst Sikhs, like Sayeds are respected in Muslims (Husain, Karamat 2007: 72).

### **Original Architecture of Khem Bedi Singh Haveli**

After 1947, some of these rooms of the haveli were occupied by revenue and education department. One of these rooms was used as the office of the Head Master. These lined rooms are at the verge of destruction due to the negligence of the management but are still used by the school teachers.



Fig. 4 - Court rooms (Photo by the Author).

Adjacent to these rooms is a famous well of the haveli which was the only source of providing water. Opposite to this Court yard at the extreme Western side was a big stable, which does not exist now. Mr. Karamat Husain, told me: “I was studying in class nine at that time has witnessed this stable” which was well equipped with all kind of horses, dogs of expensive breeds and all of animals were kept there”. There is an iron pillar in the middle of the old haveli building and the new school building near the grave of Hotay Shah. This pillar is said to be 250 years old. The grave of Hotay Shah is known as Hotay Shah *kaa takyaa* (final living place of the dead).

### **Grave of Hotay Shah**

In the middle of the old haveli building and the new school building is a bed shaped platform which is controversial now. Master Kramat Husain reported that he has been hearing from his ancestors that this is the grave of a Sufi Saint Hotay Shah. It is also said that this Sufi Saint was generally forgotten by Muslims, but Bedi family took care of him. Hotay Shah was buried by Sikhs by all religious fervor of Muslims. It is also a strong belief of the locals that it was because of the blessings of this Saint that no one

from the non- Muslim population was killed at the time of partition in 1947. All the Sikhs of Kallar Sayedan were safely transferred to the Sikh majority population area on Indian side without any killing which is nothing less than a miracle.



Fig. 5 - Grave of Hotay Shah (Photo by the Author).

According to a resident this Gurumukhi script means “that Bhai Singh of Bhatiyar Kalan made Palang Sahaib (Mister) walk (tehalkarai) this means in Gurumukhi to decorate something” (Husain, Karamat, 74- 79).

Bedi Mehal was also used for social activities of the time. All the buildings including Stable and gardens have not even a single mark of their existence in the compound of the Khem Bedi Singh Haveli now. This reveals the great heritage and historical loss.

The ruins of this haveli tell us that this must have been a beautiful building, generally a mixture of Hindu and Muslim style of architecture. This residential cum religious building is heavily decorated from inside. They have not only used the wood extensively for the doors windows and balconies but also have painted pictures on the wall of most of the rooms. These fresco (?) paintings depict two kinds of subjects religious and secular, and at many places they are mixed with each other. These kind of paintings

are very common in the buildings of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century specially palaces and havelies. That is why the same kind of decoration can be seen. Some other important Sikh buildings in Punjab e.g. Haveli of Hari Singh Hawli in Gujranwala, Saman Burj in Wazirabad, the residence of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, Haveli of Nounihal Singh at Lahore and many other Sikh buildings.

### **Material, Construction Techniques and Ground Floor Plan of the Haveli Khem Bedi Singh**

The original complex of Khem Bedi Singh haveli had many other structures included in the area inside the boundary wall. But now only the residential place exists in its original condition and is deteriorating with the passage of time. The main purpose of research is to study and document the art and architecture of the building, which is demolishing due to very little or no work of restoration.

#### **Material and Construction Techniques**

It is said by the locals that in construction of this building the best massons from Attack and Rawalpindi participated. Master Karamat Husain (renowned person of Kaller Sayedan) actually had a chance of meeting a few people who participated in the construction of the building. Stone is the prime material used for the construction of haveli acquired from the local areas. The building is constructed in Ashlar masonry, in which stones are cut into shape of bricks. If we look at the plaster on the walls it looks like that building is really around 200 years old, however there is a controversy about the actual date of construction. Major material used in the building is Stone which was acquired from the local quarries. The walls are plastered with lime and Jute fiber, which is a very strong binding material for the stone. That is the reason for the survival of this building without any restoration work till about 200 years. Stone was the chief material of construction, which was cut with great mastery in shape of bricks. The plaster or binding material was prepared by Jute fibers and lime powder.



Fig. 6. Stone “bricked” wall (Photo by the Author).

This material is much stronger than Cement but it took a lot of effort in preparing this binder and plaster for stone bricks. The size of stone brick is 4x 12x 3, but the size of bricks varies at different places. The overall construction work of the haveli started by the father of Khem Bedi Singh and was carried on by Khem Bedi himself. It almost continued for about 50 to 60 years with minor additions to the building.

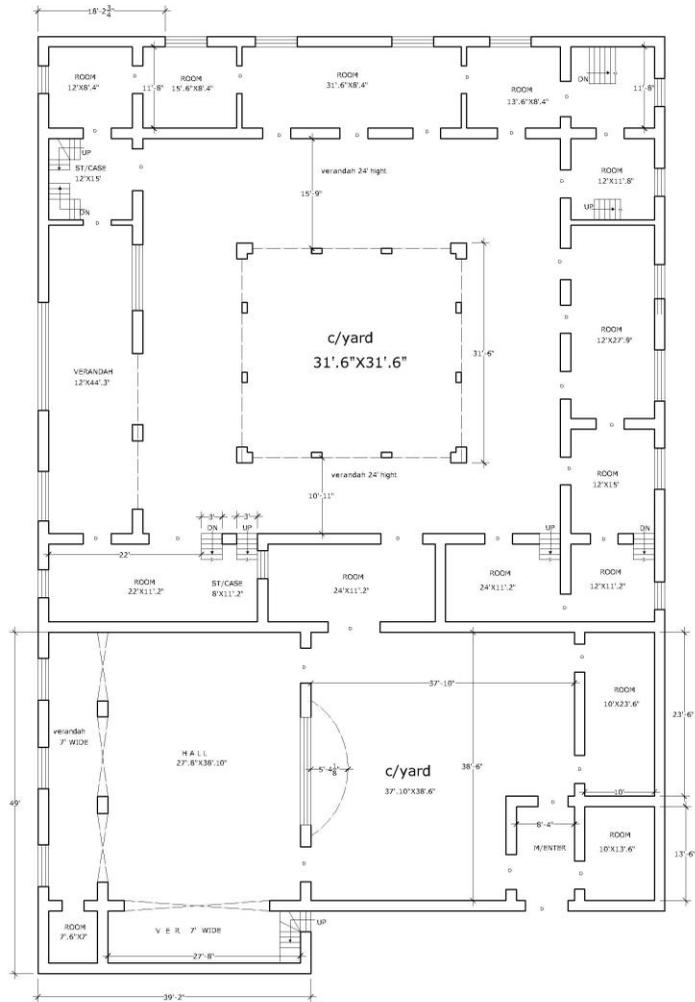
\* \* \*



Fig. 7 - Researcher measuring the wall (Photo by the Author).

### **Plan of the Existing Haveli**

This building is rectangular in plan and divided into two portions entered by two different doors. First portion has rooms on three sides and the fourth or Eastern side has a wooden gate to enter the building. The first portion must have been used for social and religious activities because it has an enormous assembly hall on northern side and there is line of 3 rooms on southern side might have been used to accommodate the guests who were there to participate in the event. The second portion appears to be used for residential purpose and also social and religious activities in which women also participated either from the upper galleries or from the balconies and windows. This building has five stories including basements (will be discussed at the end) and the upper most gallery. There are stairs going upwards to each story at all the four corners. At the turn of each story there is a bath room.



GROUND FLOOR PLAN

Fig 8 - Ground floor plan (Drawings by the Author).

All the outer wall or boundary walls of haveli are 3 feet wide, but inner walls are 18 inches wide. The first rectangular portion of the ground floor serves as citadel.

There are over all 15 rooms in the first rectangular portion of the ground floor. Small room under the stair case is also included in this.

The width of the gate is 5.5 feet and the height is 7.5 feet made of wood. The wood used in haveli is “shisham” (Indian rosewood). The wooden door is intricately carved and inlaid by star shaped nail like metal knobs to join the carved parts with the door.



Fig. 9 – Main (first) entrance door (Photo by he Author).

### **Inner Area Description of First Courtyard and Rooms**

After entering from the gate one enters in a guard room. This small room is 8 feet wide 12 feet long and its height is 10 feet. It has a less decorated simple arched window and a rectangular door on the left, which takes us to the courtyard.

Entering from the simple door on the right. There is an arched stair case going up turning to the right is another guard room, on top of the lower guard room. The size of this room is 8.5 feet and length is 23.6 feet. There are four arched windows, two on the longer side and one each on smaller sides, may be used for the guards. There is a locker or safe like cupboard on the fourth wall.

### **Assebmly or Event Hall**

Across the courtyard is a big rectangular hall that has been used as an assembly or meeting hall at the time of Baba Khem Bedi Singh. According to the locals this hall used to be a piece of artistic decoration. Assembly hall was ornamented with abig shandlier in the middle, even after 1947, when the family of Khem Bedi Singh vacated this building, it was auctioned later. While looking at the hall from the courtyard we can see that there is a bigwooden jharoka (overhanging balcony) with a half dome at the top ornamented with lotus petals.

The jharoka is 25 feet high and almost 6 to 7 feet wide and is in quite destroyed condition (but wood work must have been a master piece of carving). The half dome has five patellar floral motive all around it. The rectangular grid (jali) in the arches is filled with star shaped geomatric patterns. This jharoka is a master piece in itself.

There are two arched doors on both sides with metalic arched covering to save it from rain water. There is a ventilator on top of this jharoka. On the right side is the entrence door leading to the 2nd courtyard, which is also a masterpiece of carving.



Fig. 10 – Jharoka (Photo by the Author).

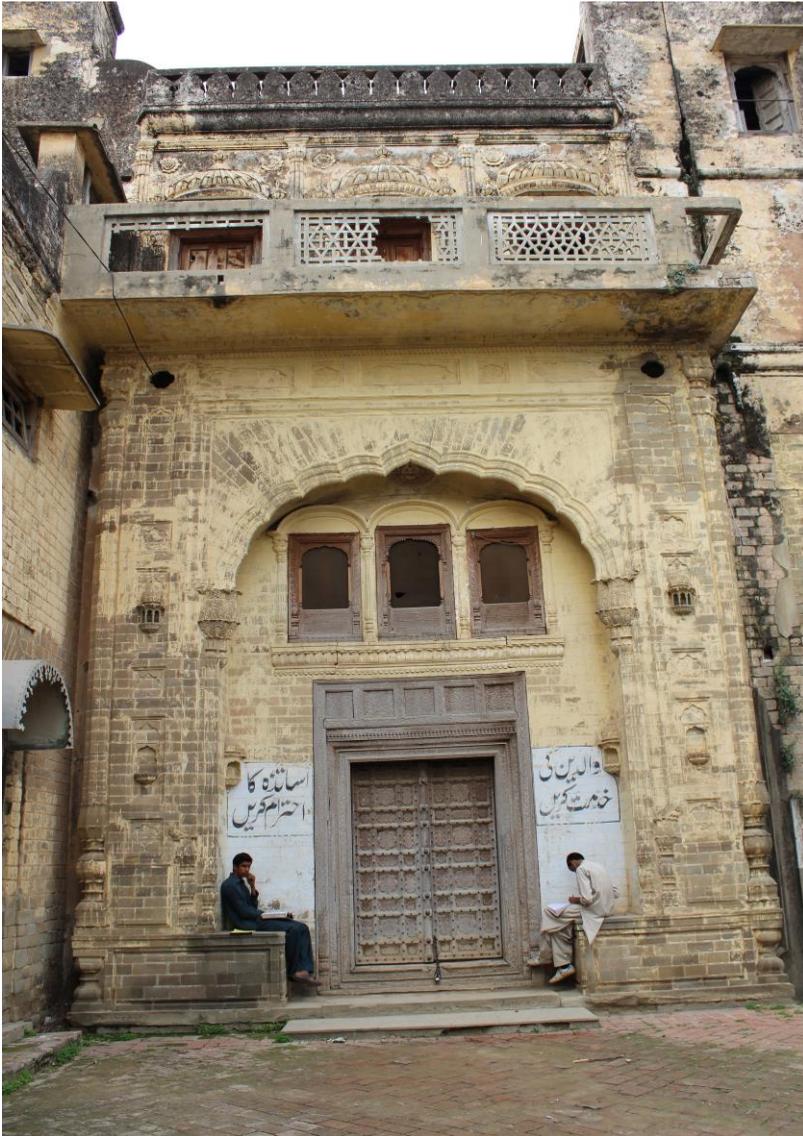


Fig. 11 - Second entrance gate (Photo by the Author).

Sikh architecture has a combination of Muslim and Hindu architectural styles. The same kind of influence can be noticed in the decoration style.

These Islamic patterns on the top of jharoka arches prove that the Sikhs were interested in adapting any good element from others that can make their buildings more attractive. In earlier times the hall had a decorative chandelier in the center, which was sold in 1948 to a rich person for only 500 hundred rupees in an auction.

In the first court yard after the guard room on the left wall or the Western side opposite to the 2nd entrance gate with the portrait of Khem Singh Bedi, there are five multi foiled niches. These niches may be used for oil lamps. Niches have been a tradition of Subcontinent in all religious and residential buildings in general had small or big niches. On the Eastern side of the first courtyard there is another carved door with a big multi foiled arch that takes us to the gallery or the next part of the building.

These windows are with thin attached columns in between. In the middle of this multifoiled arched entrance gate there is a sculptured and painted portrait. It is said to be the portrait of Baba Khem Singh Bedi himself painted like a sun god.



Fig. 12 - Arch with portrait of male figure (Photo by the Author).

Entering to the inner portion, we enter to a veranda going all around to the court yard with murals, and rooms around the veranda. There are all together 20 rooms in the 2nd courtyard. Coming in the veranda, if we turn left, there is the small room with the stair case up and a small entrance with the stairs going down wards to the basement.



Fig.13. Aisle view (Photo by the Author).

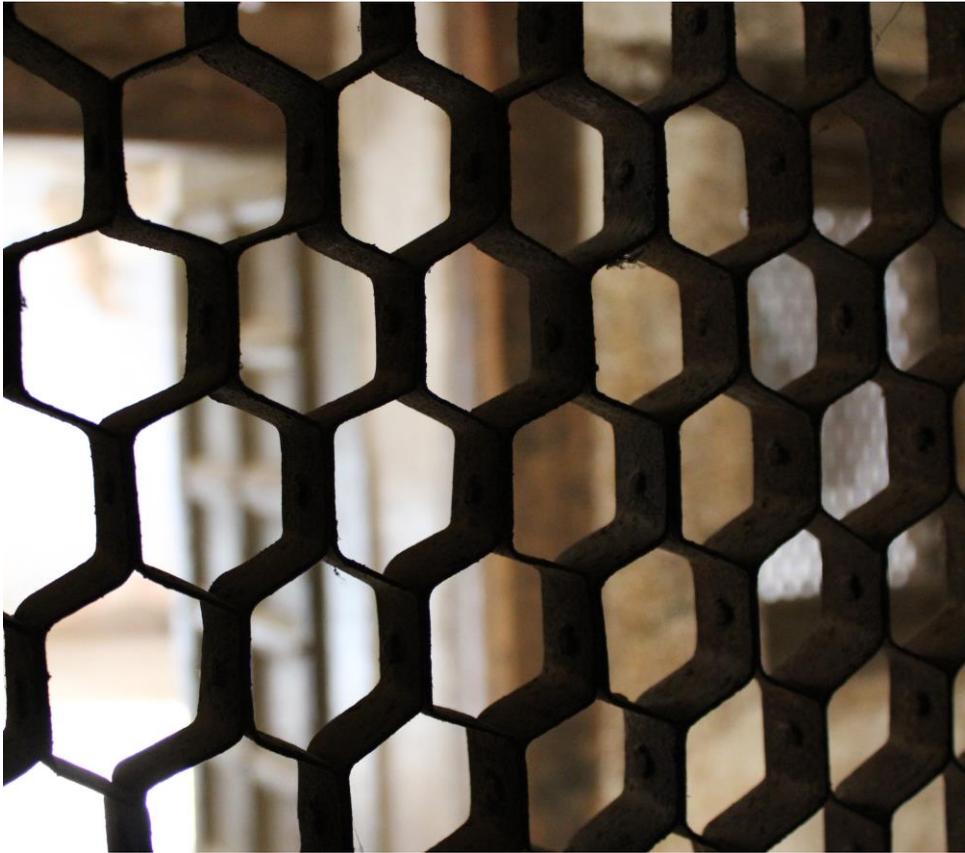


Fig. 14 – *Jali* with hexagonal pattern (Photo by the Author).

This Veranda is 60 feet long on all sides of the arched court yard in the middle with murals. Standing in front of the entrance if we look up there are two balconies on both right and left side on the 1st Floor. These are very finely carved wooden balconies, still in good condition.

\* \* \*



Fig. 15 – Balcony (Photo by the Author).

The bad condition of the roof and seepage is damaging the woodwork of the haveli, and we can also see the fresco paintings are also decaying with the passage of time.

#### **Description of 1st Floor, Plan, Art and Architecture**

As discussed earlier, 1st floor building is constructed mostly on a square plan. There are only few rooms built above the first portion of the ground floor, which is rectangular in plan. According to the construction style of Sikh buildings in general and architecture style of Khem Bedi Singh haveli in particular, it is a common practice to create stair cases at all corners of the building.



Fig. 16 - Fresco of the courtyard (Photo by the Author).



Fig. 17 - Fresco of courtyard (Photo by the Author).

### Plan and Description of First Floor

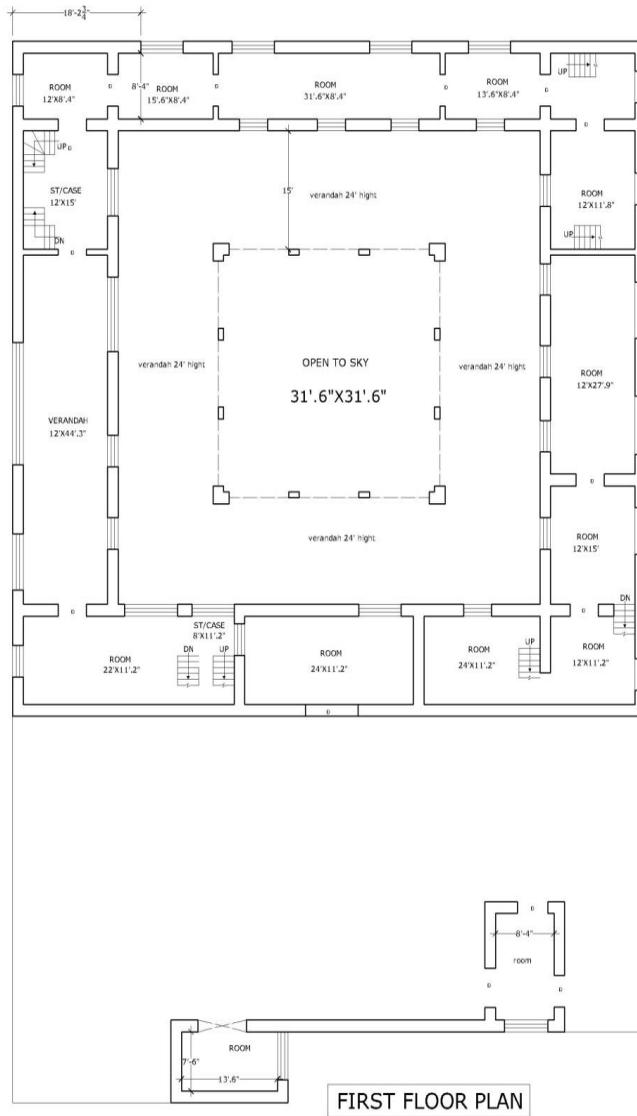


Fig. 18 - Plan of first floor (Drawings by the Author).

The first floor consists of 20 rooms on three sides, connected with each other with doors. Western side only has two small rooms, because of the ground floor hall has double height. These two small rooms have windows opening in the ground floor hall. As it can be clearly seen in figure 18, the plan of the 1st floor is constructed only on structure of the 2nd part of the ground floor. Only two guard rooms are constructed on 1st floor of the first rectangular portion. The guard room on the left of main entrance is 7.6 feet wide and 13.4 feet long. The other guard room above the main entrance is 8 feet wide 12 feet long and its height is 10 feet.

**Right Side from the Stairs on 1st Floor:**

When we turn to the right from the stairs there is a door leading to a room. The length of this room is 24.8 feet, width is 11.3 feet and the height is 10 feet. This room is divided with a wooden arched partition, which has intricate carving of floral and geometrical motives.



Fig. 19 - Room with wooden partition (Photo by the Author).

This is the last room on eastern wall. The rooms on the Northern side seem to be specially dedicated for the females only, because we find many

paintings of females (probably members or religious people of the Bedi family). The first room is a small room which is 11 x11 and height is 10 feet. The room is filled with frescos.

But other small connected rooms are filled with geometrical and floral designs. This kind of wall painting can be seen in many Sikh buildings and also in all rooms of this haveli and in the courtyard murals.



Fig. 20 - Walls with designs (Photo by the Author).

These two stories ground floor and first floor are very rich as far as the mural paintings are concerned, but 2nd and 3rd floor are simple. It seems that 2<sup>nd</sup> floor was used particularly for residential purpose.

### **Description of 2nd Floor, 3rd Floor and Basement**

#### **Description of 2nd Floor**

There are four stair cases on all the four sides of the building that take us to the 2nd floor. Rising 14 stairs from the southern side reached the 2nd floor of the haveli. Coming out from the stairs room, turning to the left on western side are 5 rooms, two small rooms on both sides and a bigger one in the

middle. Almost each side ends up with a stair room and a small bath room that might be constructed in a small place under the staircase. There is only one room constructed on the 2nd floor on the frontal side of the building that is on the main event hall of the first courtyard, which is a guard room. The protecting small wall for the central courtyard is made of bricks.

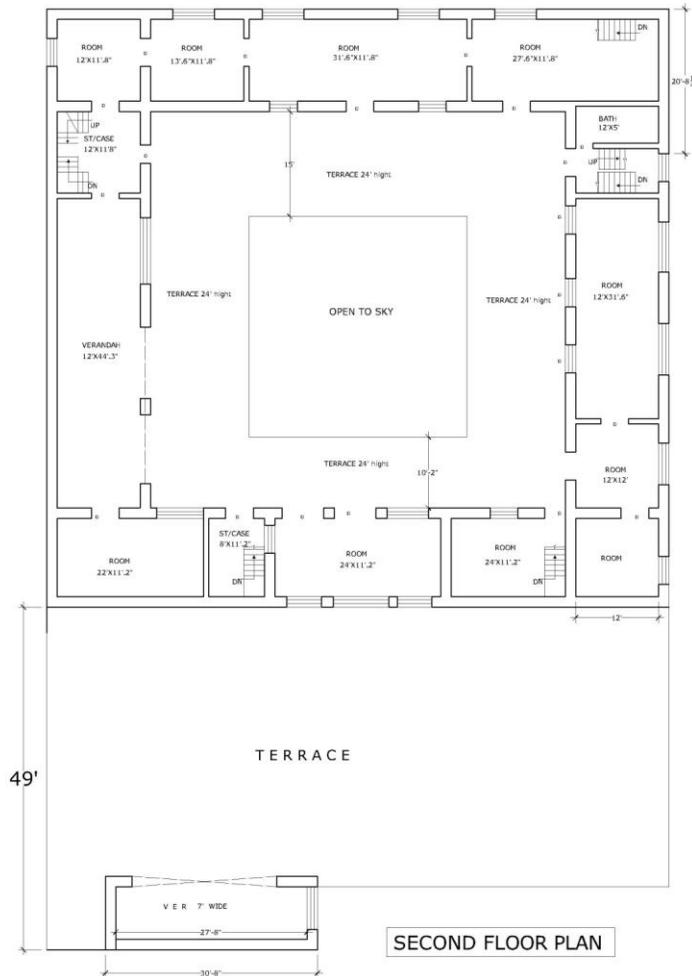


Fig. 21 - Second floor plan (Drawings by the Author).



Fig. 22 – 2nd floor (Photo by the Author).

Apparently there are hardly any signs of mural paintings on this floor. However it can be seen under the layer of white wash at some places that there might be some paintings on these walls. The main room on the eastern side of the 2nd floor is the one with three steps. This room has a beautiful balcony at the back, which is decorated with perforated *jali* and with beautiful geometric designs.

\* \* \*



Fig. 23 – Balcony (Photo by the Author).

The owner of this haveli might have been enjoying the view of Kaller Sayeda from this balcony at the back of his room. The door leading to this balcony is very delicately built with attached pillars supporting the door, which can be seen in the figure 22. These *jalis* are badly destroyed now, but their design can still be seen.

The three rectangular areas in the balcony have different designs of jali. The middle one has diamond shape and checkered, the right Jali has octagonal (eight sided) circular Jali.

The pillars now in semi defaced condition have a beautiful decorated Corinthian capital, with inverted leaf motive. The shaft has grooves and projections. There are two pillars on both sides.



Fig. 24 - Pillars of balcony (Photo by the Author).

### Plan of the Third Floor

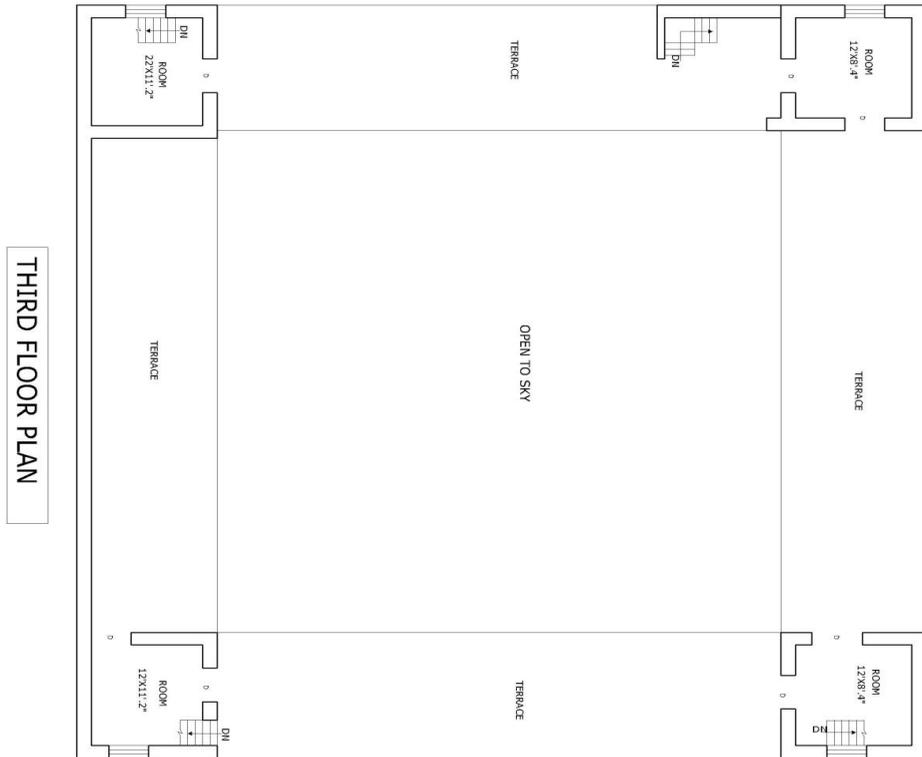


Fig. 25 - Third floor plan (Drawings by the Author).

Third floor has four guard rooms or watch towers in four corners of the building. The boundary wall of the third or top floor has small turrets at different intervals. There is a narrow stair case going up on the roof top from eastern side, which is 2.5 feet wide. On the northern side there are stairs going up and stairs going down, with small watch tower. The size of this room is 12 x 8.4 feet. On the south western side there is a guard room or

watch tower and there is a small toilet and stairs. Every guard room has two doors and almost 6 windows. The walls of top roof also have turrets. The whole floor is segmented in to four sections with one guard room in every section.



Fig. 26 - View of guard room and parapet wall (Photo by the Author).

\* \* \*



Fig. 27 - Roof top (Photo by the Author).

### **Parapet Wall**

The walls are almost 6 feet high. The parapet walls of this floor are simple and smooth with lime plaster. Parapet wall is interrupted by alcoves (niches or recessions in the walls). There is symmetry in the arrangement of alcove and turret. Three alcoves and one turret are arranged in the parapet walls of the 3rd floor. All the niches are not closed but some of the niches are open on both outer and inner sides, may be for better ventilation and watching purpose. The dome of the turret sometimes has a pointed metal vertical bar and some time it has been covered with the same construction material of the dome.

The tradition of implanting turrets in the parapet wall is still carried on in Indo-Pak, Subcontinent.



Fig. 29 – Turret (Photo by the Author).

The turret in fig.29 is from the 3rd floor. The dome is raised on three small pillars, with four small arches on all sides. The neck of the dome is like a projected fillet. The dome is with inverted leafs in the centre and at the top ending part of the dome.

### **Basements of the Haveli**

There are altogether eight rooms in the basement of the haveli. The purpose of these basement rooms is not clear. These rooms are very small in size, with limited number of doors and windows. No efforts have been made to beautify these basement only the designs on the small window.

Only one basement is still surviving out of 8 basements of the haveli. But the staircases and their fallen roofs indicate that they were of the same style and design in the whole building.

The basement on eastern side in the 2nd courtyard with mural paintings is in the best condition so far. The size of this basement and all other basements on this compound are 12x11.2 feet in size. It has one door

one window in the stairs that opens up in the basement and two ventilators.



Fig. 30 - View of the basement (Photo by the Author).

After getting down 13 stairs from the eastern side of the courtyard there is this basement that is in good condition can be seen in figure. There are lines of niches on both sides of the wall. There are two ventilators on the southern side. Light can be seen in the image above coming from those ventilators.

### **Conclusion and Recommendations**

Havelies are fortified structures that are actually a complex, of multiple buildings in its boundary. They are called havelies either because of their enormous size or these buildings have some other social or religious significance. This research is mainly related to the Sikh Havelies in District Rawalpindi with a case study of Khem Bedi Singh Haveli at Kaller Sayedan. The area of Rawalpindi is overwhelmingly filled with Hindu and Sikh Havelies and buildings. One part of research is focused on Sikh Havelies in Rawalpindi. The second part of article is mainly related to Art and architecture of Khem Bedi Singh Haveli at Kaller Sayedan. During this research about Bedi haveli it was revealed that this place has always been having some religious and social significance. Before creation of Pakistan The haveli was owned by Bedi family, which is a Sikh family of religious importance and they also had prominent positions in the Government organization. They used this building for residential as well as a religious and social purpose. The purpose of this research is to bring to light this hidden treasure of fresco paintings in this haveli at Kaller Sayedan and other havelies in Rawalpindi. This research also provides very significant information about the Sikhs and their religious beliefs. Sikhs stayed here for more than hundred years with their adaptable nature. During their stay they adopted many ideas from Hindus and Muslims. So it is inevitable to ignore importance of Sikh period. Sikh architecture is extremely important, because they added many Gurdavaras and havelies before partition of India and Pakistan. These buildings are vanishing with the passage of time and intolerant behavior of the residents of the area. I suggest and conclude that Sikh period especially Sikh art and architecture should be added in the course of college and Universities for the students of archaeology, art, and architecture. In this way the restoration and conservation process will be also monitored from time to time and researchers will work more on Sikh art and architecture in future.

## References

- Abidi, Ali Raza. 2005. *Gernaili Sark*. Lahore: Sang-e – Meel Publications, Haji Hanif Sons printers Lahore Pakistan
- Ahluwalia, Roda. 2008. *Rajput paintings, romantic divine and courtly art from India*. London: Published by the British Museum Press. A division of the British Museum Company Ltd 38 Russell square, London. WCIB 399.
- Ahmad, Niaz. 1982. *Gazetteer of Rawalpindi district 188-83(1895)*. Panjab Government, Lahore: Repr. Sang-e-Meel Publication.
- Aijazuddin, F. S. 1992. *Historical images of Pakistan*. Lahore: Feroz Sons (PVT) LTD Lahore, Pakistan.
- Behrendt, Kurt. 2007. *The art of Gandhara*: New York: The Metropolitan Museum of art.
- Bhatti, Ilyas. 2001. *Taxila An ancient metropolis of Gandhara*. Islamabad, Pakistan: publisher IlyasBhatti, Khursheed Printers Pvt Ltd Islamabad.
- Bingle, A.H. 1984. *Sikhs*. New Delhi: Sumit Publications- 110002.
- Bridget, and R. Allchin. 1982. *The Rise of Civilization in India and Pakistan*. London: Cambridge 1st publication.
- Cole, W. O. and SambhiPiar. 1978. Singh. *The Sikhs, their religious beliefs and practices*. London: Roulledge&Kegan Paul.
- Cunningham, Alexander. 1999. *Archaeological survey of India*. Calcutta: Vol.5. Edited by Susan Stronge, Book name. New Delhi, India: Pakistan Book Depot. M- 86 Connaught palace.
- Gregor, W. L. M. 2007. *The History of the Sikhs*. New Delhi: Rupa. Co. 7/ 16, Ansari Road, Darya Gang New Delhi 110002.  
[http://www.chohakhalsa.com/folder\\_3/kallar\\_seydan](http://www.chohakhalsa.com/folder_3/kallar_seydan).
- Hussain, Karamat. 2007. *KallerSayedankiikahaniTarikhkiZubani*. Lahore: Wahid Alam building BangaliGaliGumbat Road Urdu bazar Lahore 9/3.
- Ilyas, Bhatti. 2001. *Taxila An ancient metropolis of Gandhara*. Islamabad: publisher IlyasBhatti, Khursheed Printers Pvt Ltd.2001.
- Kalhor, Z. A.2001. *Hindu and Sikh Architecture in Rawalpindi and Islamabad*. 2010: Journal of Asian Studies, Vol. 33, No 1.
- Khan, Muhammad, Khan, Waliullah. 1962. *Sikh shrines in the West Pakistan*. Pakistan: Department of Archaeology Ministry of

Education and Information Government of Pakistan.

- Mahmood, Shaukat. 2001. *Documentation of SardarSoojan Singh's Religious School Rawalpindi*. Pakistan: An unpublished project of NFCH (National Fund for Cultural Heritage) and Ministry of Culture Govt. of Pakistan.
- Marshall, John. 2008. *The Buddhist Art of Gandhara Pakistan*. Karachi: Royal Book company BG- 5 Centre, Fatima Jinnah road, G.P.O Box 7737, Karachi- 75530, Pakistan.
- Qaiser, Iqbal. 1998. *Historical Sikh Shrines in Rawalpindi, Pakistan vich Sikhian diya Pavitr Thanwan*. Lahore: Punjab History Board. 130/ 3-B- 1, Township, Lahore- 54770
- Sky hawk, Hugh Van. 2008. *South Asian Religions on Display*. New York: Edited by Knut A. Jacobsen. London and New York: Rutledge Taylor and Frances Group.
- Subhamoy, Das. *10 Hindu Deities*: 2013. (<http://hinduism.about.com/od/godsgoddesses/tp/deities.htm>). Retrieved 10 November 2013, 8. 30. ([https://www.google.com.pk/?gws\\_rd=cr&ei=QLJqUuuZIoJFtQavsIHQA#g#q=kaller+sayedan](https://www.google.com.pk/?gws_rd=cr&ei=QLJqUuuZIoJFtQavsIHQA#g#q=kaller+sayedan))

## **Silencing of Women in Chishti Hagiographical Tradition in South Asia: A Study of *Siyar al-awliyā***

**Adeela Ghazanfar**

### **Abstract**

*Hagiography/tadhkira is a sufi biographical compendium It is a conscious remembrance of sufis' lives along with the concerned cultural residue and reconstructions. It has also been termed as memorative communication. The Chishti hagiographies also stand for remembering the lineage, sufis of the Silsilah, their teachings and dealings, past heritage. They remember most of the sufis in the Silsilah, Chishti practices, khānqāh life, prayers and most importantly, social affairs of the time. The present study will deal with the very first hagiography in Indian and Chishti history, Siyar al-awliyā. Written around 1350 by Amīr Khurd, who was a close disciple of Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn Awliyā (d. 1325). Its in-depth study explicit an operative gender ideology and a masculine coding that shapes the writer's narrative. In his work, women have been commemorated as briefly as the writer could. They are only observed as pious mothers, sisters and wives. Women in the hagiographical tradition of South Asia had no other roles to play except cooking and cleaning, which depicts that there is an underlying idea of denying the spiritual equality, importance of woman generally in society and particularly in the Silsilah. The reader never comes across a woman who could be attributed as sufi in this tadhkira. The study suggests that it has silenced the women's role not only in the sufi circles but in the medieval Indian legacy too, through this communicative remembrance.*

Men who surrender unto Allah,  
And women who surrender,  
And men who believe,  
And women who believe,  
And men who speak the truth,  
And women who speak the truth,  
And men who preserve in righteousness,  
And women who preserve,  
And men who are humble,

And Women who are humble,  
And men who give alms,  
And women who give alms,  
And men who fast,  
And women who fast  
And men who guard their modesty,  
And women who guard their modesty,  
And men who remember Allah much,  
And women who remember Allah much,  
Allah hath prepared for them forgiveness  
And a vast reward.  
(*Surah al-ahzāb*: 35)

## **Introduction**

During the late twentieth century many scholars of religion and historians started writing about the women's prestige in Islam. More precisely, most of them tried to pen down the feminine component in the sufi traditions, which was not taken much seriously in the past. These were positive scholarly intrusions and opened new avenues of research. Many scholars examined and explored about sufi women in the Arab world along with the Middle Eastern sufi women and their roles in the Islamic history. (Roded 1993) Huda Lutfi, (Lutfi 2008), Jonathen Berkey, (Berkey 1992) Carl Petry, Ruth Rodded (1993), Maleeha Rahmat Allah (Allah, 1963) and (as-Sulami 1999) worked hard to add a sophisticated and different approach, towards the existing corpus of literature. The use of biographical or hagiographical literature for tracing cultural roots particularly women history, is very useful. However, not enough effort carried through in writing for medieval India's sufi women. On the other side, Sufism along with the highest concentration of Sufis, is not observable so obvious anywhere in the world than in South Asia. In this regard, it is surprising not to find sufi women names (especially during medieval India) in this fertile land, hitherto.

As far as the spiritual equality of both men and women is concerned, the last Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) communicated to His followers "on the path of ascent towards the Truth, it is the heart's work that eventually is weighed, not the corporeal form of flesh and blood" (Nurbakhsh 1990: 12). Thus, the females who step their foot on the path of Sufism, enjoy equal status in the eyes of Allah, as men do. Sufism has a different attitude towards

the issue of gender from formal religion. For sufis, women appear as symbol of a yearning soul (Kim 2009: 10). Great sufi scholar, Abū ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn ‘Arabī (d. 1240) who supposedly set the theological foundations of Sufism, showed that how God can be recognized more easily in feminine. In most of his poems, God appears as ‘women’. Similarly an Egyptian sufi poet (contemporary of Ibn ‘Arabī), Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 1235) always used feminine gender in his poetry for the mystical expressions (Schimmel 2003: 431).

On the same token, medieval Indian sufi poets also found feminine symbolism more appreciable for expressing Divine-human love in their poetry, for instance, Bābā Farīd (d. 1265) (Sekhon 1992: 17-23) and Amīr Khusrau (d. 1325) are prime examples. While, the Chishti hagiographical tradition of thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, mostly remained silent about women sufis. There is a difference among what sufi shaykhs thought about women (status in Sufism), how sufi women played key role in this tradition and what hagiographers wrote (or did not) about them. In this case, the present paper will explore the silence on sufi women in thirteenth-fourteenth century India with a focus on Chishti hagiography *Siyar al-awliyā* (written around 1350). A thorough study of *Siyar al-awliyā* suggests that only male sufis were there during thirteenth-fourteenth century India. It could not attributed a single female as a sufi. Thus the very first hagiography of Chishti *Silsilah*, (which is also a mirror-image of the said society) is unable to enlighten us about any female sufis of the period, if they ever existed.

### **Women in Islam**

Islamic concept of ‘women’ did not abruptly take its shape in a day. It was subsequent to a gradual process. The Quran gives equal status to women as to men. In the Holy Quran, Allah always use the term human being, not male or female. However, the complete possibility is that the Holy Quran can well be understood in a manner that can subordinate women. Nevertheless, numerous verses in the Quran assert that both male and female are loyal. Quran blessed women with her basic rights, she can own property, witness in legal problems, and most importantly she has full rights about the decisions of her marriage and divorce. In addition to it, many Muslim scholars and some of the sufis strongly agree about reverse implementation of the Islamic concept regarding women. Scholars like

Annemarie Schimmel are of the opinion that the Script does not reflect this biasness against the women but primarily it is the result of misinterpretation of the Quran (Schimmel 1997: 57- 59). Delusion and misinterpretation of the Quran affects the female section of society in many ways. This ‘piece-meal approach’ shows the dominance of a strong patriarchal mindsets. Which has been viewed as reasonable interpretation. Notably, this kind of detachment can easily be viewed in hagiographical writings as well. However, it ought not to be considered as absence of feminine element in sufi traditions. It just indicates that female status in the society is the reflection of what male section of society believed in (Saadaw 1982: 200). However, Quran speaks out time and again about “Faithful men and Faithful Women”, “Muslim men and Muslim Women”. As there are numerous other accounts of a number of female sufis’ presence in the early periods of Sufism, (1993) and the Quran illustrates, “The believing men and believing women are allies of one another. They enjoin what is right and forbid what is wrong and establish prayer and give zakat and obey Allah and His Messenger. Those, Allah will have mercy upon them. Indeed, Allah is Exalted in Might and Wise” Surah Al-Tawbah, (verse 71). Here, Allah has talked about the spiritual equality of his believers, either they are male or female. There are many other reference as well where the Quran has talked over spiritual equality of His believers. Likewise in Surah Al-Ankabūt (verse 62), He says “Allah it is Who gives abundantly to those of His servants He pleases and sparingly to those He wills. Surely Allah knows everything.” Allah ask both men and women to have mercy for each other. “He it is who created out of you couples, so that you may live together, and have mercy and love for one another” The Quran, Surah Al- Rum (Verse 21). He has not made it compulsory for male to be awarded. Instead, “Surely your Rabb gives abundantly to whom He pleases and sparingly to whom He wills, for He is aware of the condition of His servants and observes them closely.” The Qur’an, Surah Al-Isra’a, (Verse 30).

There are a number of other Quranic verses to confirm the female spirituality Whoever does righteousness, whether male or female, while he is a believer, We will surely cause him to live a good life, and We will surely give them their reward [in the Hereafter] according to the best of what they used to do”. The Quran Surah Al-Nahl (verse 97). There is equal religious prestige for both sexes. In a like manner, the Quran Surah Al- Hujurat in verse 13 argues, “O mankind, indeed We have created you from male and

female and made you peoples and tribes that you may know one another. Indeed, the most noble of you, in the sight of Allah is the most righteous of you.....” At the same time, (while exploring earliest sources of first century Islam), Rodded encountered with no reference which considered women as less reliable (1993: 27-30). As a matter of fact, there are female sufis who existed right from the earliest times of Islam. Many male sufis did not only attest their spiritual equality but sought their guidance (when needed) (As-Sulamī 1999: 43- 50 see also Coulan in Donal B. Cruise 1988: 121). Rumī attests that God best reveals His creative activity in Women (Schimmel 2003: 431). Al-Sulamī (d. 1021), states that their (women’s) wisdom and superiority often completely outnumbered the sufi men (1999: 17). Therefore, in order to search for the roles and specific characters about women sufis in the literary writings, one has to consult the hagiographic literature. Since it is not merely an anthology of notes on certain personalities (sufis) but it is something beyond. Thus, there is an urge from the historical perspective to look for how far woman was a compelling motif to write upon, in South Asian sufi writings, more specifically in Chishti hagiographies.

### **Understanding hagiography**

It is important to search for female sufis' names in the hagiographical literature in order to situate them historically. Apparently, hagiography explains the lives of the sufis. From deep inside, it is not only a mirror image of any society, its people, their economic conditions, ethno religious and cultural history but, it also provides a rich and clear portrayal of its scholarly activities. Historically speaking, writing hagiography/*tadhkira* takes its roots from the second century AD. They were written to edify and enlighten the readers about the resplendent glory of the Muslim sufis and Christian mystics/saints. Generally, as far as the Western scholarship is concerned, it has explained hagiographies as the ones who embrace the veneration and acts of martyr saints, their death and accounts of trials. It has also been termed as hagiology (Hagiography 1998). As a genre of sufi literature in Islamic scholarship, hagiography has been termed as *tadhkira*.

Similarly, In Islamic history, religious biographies are very important since the earliest times, and the biographical details/evidences are usually disseminated in various writings, notably, some worthy virtuous attributes (*fadā'il*) of famous pious individuals is always a key element of

many ḥadīth collections, which shows initial concepts of character and magnetism. Considering South Asian case, hagiographies serve as the textual evidence of the developments and spread of Sufism, more precisely of a specific *silsilah*. They are not only a subtype of sufi literature but they are convincingly fascinating and erudite history of Islamicate (Hodgson 1974: 59) South Asia. It smoothly elaborates the cultural patterns, touches the finer nuances of social traditions and practices of the society alongside the numinous accounts.

### **Women's role in the sufi world and silencing them in Chishti hagiographies**

Right from the early sufi history, woman sufi has been venerated as pure soul and spiritual guide. It has been mentioned earlier that women played a crucial role in the (transmission of *hadith* and) sufi activities. Mostly, they appeared as teachers or instructors interpreting the religious texts (Schimmel 1997: 42-49). They were strong *shaykhas* and active followers/disciples of certain *khānqāhs* and convents. Those were women who gave the idea of pure/true love in *Tassawuf*. They were as active in playing a strong role in the history of Islam and Sufism as men (Anwar 2006). Likewise, in Sufism one cannot explain divine-human love without the love of man for a woman. Female love has always worked like a model for the divine love (White 1965: 118). In this regard, scholars like Annemarie Schimmel, Margaret Smith and many other researchers of Sufism are agreed that women were part of the first generations of Sufism (Schimmel 2003: 426-427 see also Smith, 1984). Female child can be the leader of family's mystical line and sufi lodges is the only place where a female can enjoy equal status to her male counterpart (Coulan in Donal B. Cruise 1988: 121).

Besides this, every sufi emerged on the historical surface of Sufism, only because he was born from a pious mother. A pious spiritual mother raises the soul of her child with her piety and nearness to God. She nurtures the child through her virtue and reciting the Quran repeatedly (Nasr 2000: 205). Being mothers, a great number of mystically inclined females have trained and transformed their sons into leading *shaykhs* of the times to come, either she was *Shaykh* Abdul Qadir Gillāni's (d. 1166), mother in Iran, Bībī Qursum (Mother of Bābā Farīd), Bībī Zuleikha, mother of *Shaykh* Nizam al-Dīn Awliyā or Bībī Rasti, mother of Sultan Bahū in South Asia. Present-

day literature has started exploring that how women enjoyed mystical leadership in late Middle Eastern history (Janson 1987 see also Singerman 1995). In spite of the fact that female has played strong role in sufi rituals not only in Middle East or other Central Islamic lands, their role has been neglected or overlooked in scholarly works (Mahmood 2005). Academics like Shameem B. Abbas also started doing research in present-day Pakistan-Indian sufi music, (*qawwali* and *sufiyāna kalam*) and female voice in these practices. She throws more light on the issue of overlooking female sufis in these words;

“The field has never been the subject of investigation by either native or western male scholars for a number of reasons. Among native scholars the area is ignored despite the fact that women have done much to educate the renowned male sufis. Women are only referred to as mothers and sisters.....” (Abbas 2002: xvii see also p 123).

At the same time, it has been argued time and again that sufis challenged the ideals of blood-based and birth-ascribed, discrimination and prejudices like ethnicity, race caste and gender based biases (Anjum 2015: 9). One does not find these statements only in the later writings but also in the contemporary sources of Bābā Farīd’s life. He used feminine and bridal metaphors in his poetry for expressing Divine-Human love.

Conversely, early Medieval India’s (especially thirteenth to fifteenth century) Chishti hagiographies are unable to provide us with female sufi names. Was there no women worthy to entitle ‘sufi’? There were women sufis in Baghdad, Khurasan, Turkey during the Seljuk Era (Schimmel 1997: 44), Damascus, Egypt, Balkh (Arezou Azad 2013: 56), Syria and many other areas in Near East during, before and after, Indian Chishtis started memory writing tradition. Thus the question arises what happened to thirteenth-fourteenth century Indian history that no female sufi could be seen on this fertile soil, where very influential *silsilahs* developed and flourished. The Chishti *Shaykh* Nizam al-Dīn Awliyā’s saying about lion, has been repeatedly quoted by a number of scholars, that “if suddenly a lion appears from a forest, who would ask whether he is male or a female?” (Nizami 1979: 21 see also Dehlavi: 295 and Rizvi 1978). Which shows that he was not prejudice about the equality of woman in the society. Moreover, in *Siyar al-awliyā*, Bābā Farīd has been quoted saying “If it was lawful to pass on the *khirqā* of *khilafat* to females, I would have given it to my pious

daughter Bībī Sharifa” (Khurd 1884: 191)

Whereas, it is hard to find the names for those females who sought for the varying path of *Tasawwuf* in early medieval India. They became subject to the prevailing socio-cultural restrains. In hagiographical literature male attitude towards women can be viewed clearly as was the norm of that day. It has been explained under ‘understanding hagiography’ that it is a mirror-image of any society, on the contrary, Chishti hagiography is unable to make us aware about the women’s actions and views about anything, their role in the society generally and in sufi world particularly.

However a close analysis of Chishti *Silsilah* reveals that women have been marginalized in the literary composition, especially in hagiographies. Bībī Fatima Sām (Khurd 1884: 168-9, 410) who lived around the times of Bābā Farīd during thirteenth century) is the single pious female of the time who is honored with the term *sufī*, however, only in the later secondary literature (Kakar 2006: 276). She has been mentioned in *Siyar al-awliyā* just for once, and in both *Siyar al-awliyā* and *Akhhbār al-akhyār*, she has been discussed as pious, devotional and patient old lady. Though, Khurd quotes Bābā Farīd’s words; ‘Bībī Fatima Sam was not a women she was a male in a female appearance’ (Khurd 1884: 576). It seems that the hagiographer might negated female spirituality. *Siyar al-awliyā* is a close contemporary and primary source for Bībī Fatima’s life, it could guide us about the details of her life. However, it seemed not worth mentioning to Amīr Khurd and to write any further particulars about her sufi disposition. To a greater extent, we often are the narratives and tales, tell regarding ourselves and others (Burner 2002: 40). While narrating experiences, memorizing and recollecting the past events in the stories, one creates meaning and structural narratives in the human lives. In this regard, Biography is one strong narrative ample in evaluative and explanatory frameworks, threading places, event and people together while creating a story who they are in a specific time and place in relation to others. On one hand, narration of experiences or memorizing the past helps understanding the existing situation, but on other hand there are some subjects, who are not been memorized/discussed in this narration. This approach is called silencing (any particular subject/theme), which creates vacuum, gap or evidential absence. At some point this has been assumed as impression management (Fivush 2010: 91). The silencing takes place at cultural level, where some subjects do not find enough space in memorial communication,

to be remembered at full length. This is called voicing some aspects and silencing the others.

In the case of Chishtīyah hagiographical legacy, female sufis, (recalled as pious ladies, mothers or sisters) have been silenced. Similarly, in *Siyar al-awliyā*, the religious fervor/Divine-love of pious females has been associated to their husbands, sons and fathers as if they have no individual standings. Here one can argue that the hagiographer was managing or overtly trying to manage the impression of male dominance in Indian culture. The hagiographer had no inspiration for writing any female sufi name. There is a short note on Bībī Zuleikha with reference to Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn (being his mother), while she has been dedicated one page in length, in this extensive *tadhkira* (Khūrd 1884: 88) He gives very little space to the women section of the society generally and he is as precise as he could. The reader cannot get an idea what kind of women attracted the hagiographer and about whom he is giving details as *Siyar al-awliyā* highlights the androcentric approach of the *Silsilah*, which was not the case. There is a difference in being silent or silenced (Fivush 2010: 92) and in early Chishti hagiographical traditions women sufis have been silenced or marginalized. Despite the fact that (South Asian) Chishti sufi poets also used bridal metaphors for openly expressing Divine-human love (Anjum 2013: 4), the Chishti hagiography lacks any female sufi names instead or they have not been highlighted in the literary history of the *Silsilah*.

To rationalize this impression management, one has to comprehend South Asian traditional culture, where women need to be faithful and loyal to their family and subordinate to their men. One example of concealing alongside explicating women's role in Chishti *tariqa*, hagiographer mentions one incident related to the wife (who was truly inclined to sufi piety) of Hamid al-Din Nagauri, (d. 1244) (Khurd 1884: 156-164 see also Nizami 1961: 86-7) while not even mentioning her name. On the other hand, one should not forget the role and character assigned to an 'old woman' by the sufi legends who appears in the dreams of practiced sufi/mystic, when he/she is in some problem and she comes to solve their problems and to guide them. She is always been an 'old woman' and not a man. However, there is no name for her. (Khurd: 1984 see also Schimmel 2003: 430). On the contrary, in Sufism there are a lot of examples of female saints who taught their male heads/ followers. Moreover, inherently critical of egoism, Chishtīyah sufis challenge the very idea of male superiority over female.

They are always aware of Allah's complete sovereignty and dominance that is why no human (male) can claim superiority over others (woman). While the women appear in *Siyar al-awliyā*, are mostly supporting actors to the well-known sufi men and if not associated then randomly anonymous.

As a matter of fact, Ibn 'Arabi thinks of women as "the secret of compassionate God", he narrates about two ladies who were very respectful and who taught him during their lives (Schimmel 2003: 431). Man's affection or love towards a woman is employed as a symbol for the adoration among Divine Entity and the creature. Likewise in Sudan, women sufi master is called as *shaykha* and among the well-known female sufis of Sudan is Sister Maryam. Women sufis are deeply acclaimed as sufi and treated very respectfully in that society. The tomb of Sister Maryam is a center for huge gatherings of her male and especially female followers (Morgan 2008: 58). Presently, there is also a tomb of Bibi Zuliexha in Delhi, she is being celebrated as a pious great sufi where people come and visit to ask for their prayers. (see Kakar 2006). But this only happened after centuries she passed away. The point often overlooked is, that she (and other female sufis of thirteenth-fourteenth centuries) has not been celebrated as a sufi in literary traditions of the *Silsilah*. Bibi Fatima Sam is the only independent pious lady who has been remembered by Bābā Farīd and Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn Awliyā, without any association to her male relative. However, one can find her literary references comprised not more than one paragraph, in Chishti hagiographies (Khurd 1884: 576). On the other side, during the same time there were 'women sufi schools' existing or rather flourishing in Basra. (as-Sulami 1999: 60).

In this respect, *Al-muhaddithat: The women scholars in Islam* a distinguished work by Mohamad Akram Nadwi, discusses women as teachers, seeker of knowledge *fiqh* and hadith and their role in diffusion of knowledge at length. One can find hundreds of entries of women scholars in Islam (Nadwi 2007). Ibn Taymiyya is reported to discuss an anecdote about a sufi woman in 1314, Umm Zaynab Fatima bint Abbas al-Baghdadiyya. She was spiritual leader of Ribat al-Baghdadiyya. Moreover, a renowned sufi *shaykha* of Cairo. She often played a role as a jurist and being the one who gives legal response to common man's problems. Ibn Taymiyya praised *Shaykha* Fatima for her knowledge and intelligence during his public sermons. However, he also confessed that her publically delivered lectures disturbed him (Ibn Taimiyya) a lot, even on one night

Prophet (PBUH) angrily appeared in the dream and said, “This pious lady carries out good deeds” (al-Safadi 1998: 28). There is another account of an influential sufi woman during ninth-century, other than Rabīa al-Adwīyya (d. 801) is Fatima of Nīshapur. It is reported that Dhū an-Nūn had close association with Fatima, however, once he refused to accept a gift from Fatima, because she was a female. She reacted by reminding him that being true Sufi he should not be motivated by these secondary causes rather by the Original Cause that is Eternal Giver (Schimmel 1977: 426). These accounts show that there is a bias towards women sufis broadly, but Chishti hagiographers have silenced them in the literature and these early memorative communication is not communicating female names to the generations to come.

### **Concluding remarks**

Chishti *Silsilah* is one of the most influential and important *Silsilah* in South Asia, but early hagiographic literature of the *Silsilah* either maintained ‘impression management’ of the regional culture or the ancestral (*shaykhs*) traditions to avoid giving enough space to women. The literary history of this *Silsilah* displays the absentee of women sufis in the region which is a refutation of the argument Joya Kakar made in her article “Sufism and Women: A Note on two Women Sufis and their Dargahs at Delhi” that there is much written record available on women sufis in the hagiographic texts (Kakar 2006: 277). However in *Siyar al-awliyā* the situation is reverse which tells very little, even about the pious mothers and sisters without naming any women sufi in the period. It would be a reasonable derivation to state that Chishti hagiographer silenced women sufis in his written memorial record. As it has been argued time and again that the Sufism’ history is incomplete without the mention of Rabi’a (Roded 1993: 92). Similarly, medieval Indian sufi history seems colorless without female sufis’ names. Nonetheless not only in Chishtīyyah, the sufi literature as a whole holds subjective or biased impression towards women towards women sufis. (Austin 1985: 154).

An attempt has been made for the researchers to break this silence, created by fourteenth century Chishti text (*Siyar al-awliyā*) through an in-depth study of the later Chishti hagiographies written after fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, who possess separate sections on females of the *Silsilah*. It is important to see objectively that “absence of evidence is not necessarily

evidence of absence'. Thereupon further research can attest the basis/grounds (either principles of the *Silsilah* or cultural constraints) for silencing women sufis in the Chishti hagiographical tradition of South Asia.

## References

- Abbas, S. B. (2002). *The female voice in sufi rituals: devotional practices of Pakistan and India*. Austin: University of Texas press.
- Allah, M. R. (1963). *The women of Baghdad: in the ninth and tenth centuries as revealed in the history of Baghdad of Al-Hatib*. Baghdad: University of Baghdad.
- Al-Safadi, K. i. (1998). *Aḡān al-āsr wa-aḡān al-nasr*. Beirut: Dar al-Fikr al-Mu'asir Publishers.
- Anjum, T. (2013). Bridal Symbolism in sufi poetry of Islamicate South Asia: from the earliest times to the fifteenth century. *Pakistan journal of history and culture*, XXXIV (1): 1-17.
- Anjum, T. (2015, July). Androgyny as a metaphoric practice in South Asian sufi culture. *Journal of Asian Civilization*, 38 (1): 91-112.
- Anwar, E. (2006). *Gender and self in Islam*. (1, Ed.) London: Routledge.
- Arezou Azad. (2013, January). Female mystics in mediaeval Islam: The quiet legacy. *Journal of the Economic and Social history of the Orient*, 56 (1): 53- 88.
- As-Sulami, M. A.-R. (1999). *Early sufi women: dhikr an-niswa al mutaabbidat as-sufiyyat*. (R. E. Cornell, Trans.) Louisville: Fonz Vitae.
- Austin, R. (1985). *Sufis of andalusia: rūh al-quds and durrat Al-fākhirah of Ibn 'Arabi*. Lahore: Suhail Academy.
- Barkey, J. P. (1992). *Transmission of knowledge in Medieval Cairo: A social history of Islamic knowledge*. New Jersey: Princenton University Press.
- Burner, J. S. (2002). *Acts of Meaning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulan, C. (1988). Women, Islam and baraka. In D. B. O'Brien, & D. B. Coulan (ed.), *Charisma and brotherhood in African Islam* (113-127). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Callaway, Barban and Lucy Creevey. (1994) *The heritage of Islam: women religion and politics in West Africa*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Dehlavi, S. A. (n.d.). *Akhbar al akhyar fi asrar al abrar*. Deoband: Kutabkhan i rahimiyyah.
- Fivush, R. (2010, February). Speaking Silence: The social Construction of Silence in autobiograohical and Cultural Narratives. *Memory*,

- 18(02): 88-98. Retrieved August 10, 2016, from [www.jstor.com/](http://www.jstor.com/)
- Hodgson, M. G. (1974). *The ventures of Islam conscience and history in a world civilization: the classical age of Islam* (Vol. 1). Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Janson, W. (1987). *Women without men: gender and marginality in an Algerian town*. Leiden: Brill.
- Kakar, J. (2006). Sufism and Women: A note on Two women sufis and Their Dargahs in Delhi. In H. R. Saiyid Zaheer Husain Jafri, *The Islamic path: Sufism, poitics and society in India* (p. 276). New Delhi : Rainbow Publishers.
- Khalidi, Tarif. (1994) *The Arabic Historical Thought in the Classical Period*, first. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Khūrd, A. (1884). *Siyar al-Awliyā' dar ahwāl va malfūzāt-i mashāyikh-i Chisht*. comp. between 1350- 51 A.D. Delhi: Mohibb-i Hind Press.
- Kim, S. (2009, February). A sufi approach to the issue of gender and reconcialiation . *St Francis Magazine*, 1(1).
- Lutfi, H. (2008). *Zanit al-Sittat: Huda Lutfi* . Third Line.
- Mahmood, S. (2005). *Politics of piety: the Islamic revival and the feminist subject*. Princeton & New Jersey : Princeton University Press.
- Morgan, F. C and Frederique Cifuentes. (2008, Summer). Sufi Shaykhs, Shaykhas, and saints of the Sudan, *Africanns arts*. 41 (2): 50- 59.
- Nadwi, M. A. (2007). *Al-muhaddithat: the women scholars in Islam*. London: Interface Publishers.
- Nasr, S. H. (2000). *Encyclopedia of Islamic Spirituality* (Vol. 2). Lahore: Suhail Academy.
- Nizami, K. A. (1961). *Some aspects of religion and politics in India during the thirteenth century* . New Delhi: Muslim University Ali Garh press.
- Nizami, K. A. (1979). *Tarikh-i-Mashaikh-i Chisht* (Vol. 1). Delhi: Idara Adbiyat-i Delhi.
- Nurbakhsh, J. (1990). *Sufi Women*. (L. Lewisohn, Trans.) London: Khaniqah-Nimatullahi publications.
- Rizvi, S. A. (1978). *A History of Sufism in India* (Vol. 1). New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal.
- Roded, R. (1993). *Women in the Islamic biographical collection: From Ibn-i Sa'ad to who's who*. Boulder: L. Rienner.
- Saadaw, N. E. (1982). Women and Islam. *Women's studies Int. Forum*, 5(2),

193-206.

- Schimmel, A. (1977). *Eros in Sufi Literature and Life*. In A. Marsot, *In society and the sexes in medieval Islam*. California: Undena Publishers.
- Schimmel, A. (1997). *My soul is a woman: the feminine in Islam*. (S. H. Ray, Trans.) New York: Continuum Press.
- Schimmel, A. (2003). *Mystical Dimensions of Islam*. Lahore: Sang-e-Meel publishers.
- Sekhon, S. S. (1992). *A history of Punjabi literature*. New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi.
- Sharma, S. (2006). *Amir Khusraw: The poet of sultans and sufis*. Oxford: Oneworld.
- Singerman, D. (1995). *Avenues of participation: Family politics and networks in urban quarters of Cairo*. Princeton & New Jersey: Princeton University press.
- Smith, M. (1984). *Rabia the mystic and her fellow saints in Islam: being the life and teachings of Rabia al Qaysiyya of Basra together with some account of the place of the women in Islam*. New York & London: Cambridge University press.
- White, C. S. (1965, summer). Sufism in medieval Hindi literature. *History of Religions*, 5(1), 114-132.
- Wadud, Amina. (2007) *Quran and women: rereading the sacred text from a women's perspective* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## **An Anecdote Mirroring the Female Empowerment in the Bahawalpur State**

**Samia Khalid\***

### **Abstract**

*As in early twentieth century the Saraki folklores had little access to the world of print so F. W. Skemp's work *Multani Stories*, which was published way back in 1917, is a significant contribution to local oral traditions. Since title of book depicts, this book was a collection of stories of Multani language; nine stories of book, focused on Bahawalpur State, give snapshots of different shades of life in Bahawalpur State during early ninetieth century. In this article, one story portraying women empowerment in State, has been chosen. The task of this article is to couple the information generated in anecdote titled as 'How Bahawal Khan united a Pair of Lovers', with the historical discourse to see the reality. Story goes as a married female weaver sitting on a road in the way of Nawab Bahawal Khan's hunting pursuits. Woman stopped him and begged for releasing her beloved who was imprisoned. Nawab showed sympathy and not only released her beloved but also awarded money to her husband as a compensation for divorce and then Nawab united the beloved pair by tying them up in marriage and endowed some money to new couple. This anecdote brought in light the factors of personal freedom which were also mentioned in historical records. This article will couple historical evidences and information generated by this anecdote to paint a picture of prevailing circumstances of Bahawalpur state during nineteenth century pertaining to the freedom accorded to the women.*

### **Introduction**

Bahawalpur State was established in 1727 and this book was published in 1917. The translator mentioned the name of ruler as 'Nawab Bahawal Khan' during these 190 years (1727-1917); five Nawabs of Bahawalpur State had title of 'Bahawal Khan'. To which Nawab of Bahawal Khan this story belongs to has not been revealed in story. So this study will locate

---

\* Assistant Professor in History at The Islamia University of Bahawalpur.

underlying themes of the anecdote and will give evidences from historical sources of these 190 years to examine the validity of myth as alternative sources of history construction. It is important to mention here that during these two centuries, according to historical discourse lowest stratum of Bahawalpur Society was privileged in terms of women's liberty. This is evidenced by the relatively high rate of love marriages, elopements, and married women running away from home, divorce, and remarrying of divorced women in this class. Above referred anecdote is mirroring such personal freedom of women in State.

### **Women of Bahawalpur State**

A Siraiki anecdote demonstrating the liberties of lower class women in Bahawalpur State is the focus of this article. The story titled as "How Bahawal Khan United a Pair of Lovers" goes like:

Ikk dihārē shikār tē Khān vēndā peā hā, rāh dē vich ikk puliāni tānā tāndī hai. Khān Sāhib kū āndā dēkhkē puliānī ūriā sattkē, Khān dē ghōrē dē jhabbū kū chambar gaī. Khān puchhā tū kyā āhdī hē? Ō chup kar gaī tē ākheus, Khān Sāī āpnē hān tē hatth lā dēkh. Trāe vārē puchhā; trāe phērē ihō jawāb dittus. Khān Sāhib lōkā kanū puchhā, ē kyā āhdī hē? Lōkā ākheā, Ghārīb nawāzā, phattī hōī hā hikk janē nāl dhakkeā peā. I dā dil hē hū dē nāl. E ūhō patta dēndī ē, jō Khān Sāhib dā dil kēhī nāl hōsī, yād dēvēndī ē. Khān Sāhib hū dē nikāhwālē kū saddkē, dhēr sārā rūpiya dēkē ūkanū tālāk diwaeus, te yār ū de kū chhōrkē, puliānī dē hawālē kitus, kujh rūpiya vi dittus. Vall miād kanū pichhē ū dā nikāh parhāeus (Skemp 1917: 19).

F. W. Skemp translated this story in following words:

One day as the Khan was going shooting, a weaver woman was preparing woof on the road. Seeing the Khan coming she threw away her spindles and seized the reins of the Khan's horse. The Khan asked "What do you say?" She became silent, then said, "Khan Sahib, put your hand on your heart." Three times the Khan asked: all three times she gave this reply. The Khan Sahib asked the people what she was saying. The people said, "O cherisher of the poor, she is in love with a man who is in prison. Her heart is with him. She means that perhaps the Khan Sahib is in love with somebody, and is reminding him of it." The Khan Sahib sent for her husband, and giving him much money procured her divorce. And he released her lover from prison and made him over to the weaver woman, and gave them some money too. Then after the appointed term he had them married (Skemp 1917: 20).

This anecdote mirroring the women empowerment in the State: by presenting a working married woman from lower class, sitting alone on the road, bold enough to stop Nawab, confident to express her feelings in loud and clear voice to Nawab in front of his companions; for all being married, she dares to follow her heart and pleas for freedom of her beloved. At once, Nawab ask people what she wants who also express the feelings of the woman in supportive and sympathetic way. On the other hand, Nawab being an arbitrary ruler of his principedom is a symbol of State, which patronized women empowerment. The Nawab stops his horse to listen this woman with open heart, being a kind ruler pays attention to her plea with welcoming gestures, calls her husband and declares divorce by giving him some money from his treasure, releases the beloved person, arranges second marriage of women with her beloved and awards some money to new couple.

Now, one by one underline meanings will be discussed to cross check these themes of story from historical sources.

Firstly, this story represents a lower class working woman with her occupational instruments. Common women of Bahawalpur worked in fields (Atkinson 1842: 78), in animal husbandry as well as in workshops of non-agricultural products viz. textile (Leech 1837: 65) with their men. Majority of population was associated with the profession of agriculture and animal husbandry. During the absence of men with the cattle, women would manage the household affairs entirely; produce of the cattle, milk, butter and *ghi*, was made over to them, and the cloth they spun over and above what was needed for use at home. They used to bargain with the *bantias* and ministered to the needs of the household from the profits so earned. (The Punjab Government 1908: 89)

Hence, this lady was independent and bold enough to deal even *bantias* or middlemen. Although, in the case of urban areas money was still often in the hands of men because women worked at home or in fields with men and it was the men who were selling things to other and getting money in return, but in this process ladies were filled with sense of responsibility towards her work and earning so the story woman is not wasting her time while waiting for Nawab but preparing woof on her spindles.

Second underlined theme of story is the location and position of woman of story, as she is sitting alone on the road. As already mentioned that women of this class were working ladies hence they were not hesitant of moving alone in that society and this free movement of female was

socially acceptable in Bahawalpuri society. They did not use veil and young girls of ordinary people were free to play in the streets with boys. This shows that the common women of Bahawalpur were not operating in a particularly conservative milieu.

Third theme is confidence of women to express her feelings. The women of Bahawalpur State were not shy and did not hesitate at any platform to raise their voice for what they thought right. Minchin appreciated the role of women in judicial proceedings in the Bahawalpur State. He valued that the residents of Bahawalpur stepped forward and recorded their evidence readily due to which no lapse of justice happened. He particularly admired the local females who came ahead for giving their evidence 'in a remarkably clear, straightforward manner'. Minchin honored their boldness and as a token of appreciation he gave them small rewards in addition to their travelling expenses (The Punjab Government 1870: 24).

Fourth theme is that she could break any relation or social bond to follow her heart. There were even cases of married women running away with their lovers, having children by them, only to return to their husbands with their illegitimate offspring who were divided equally among beloved and legal husband. Wade, the Political Agent of Ludhiana Agency, remarked in early 1830s, while travelling through the Bahawalpur State, with reference to the women of Jats' tribe of riverine areas in Bahawalpur State: Female infanticide prevails generally among these tribes. Mothers appear to have little affection for their offspring and little respect for their marriage tie, if one may judge by the frequency with which it is violated. A wife leaving the protection of her husband and absconding with another man, is frequently claimed and restored by the intervention of the authorities after an absence of nine or ten years, and any children she may have borne to her paramour in her absence, are equally divided between him and her lawful husband (Mackeson 1837: 196).

Here it is important to know that the Jat is a name of a cast which is an offshoot of Rajputs; this cast was in abundance in the riparian areas of three rivers, Sutlej, Chenab and Indus. But in addition to these Jats, all those people who had agrarian pursuits also identified them as Jat. (Ibbetson 1916: 107-8) Consequently, major part of population is known as Jat whether they belonged to that *baradri* or associated with agriculture.

Throughout nineteenth century, such conditions of Jat women prevailed and she enjoyed liberty granted to her by society as in early 1870s British Political Agent of Bahawalpur State, Colonel Minchin provided similar information regarding women of Jats in his manuscript:

The Jat as a rule are very timid and amenable to control. Their morals are lax, and the prevalent notion is that it is only wrong to be found out. This is certainly practiced in their matrimonial relations. As a rule the husbands take no notice of the adulterous connections of their impelled to revenge the insult, which consists not in the fault of adultery but in the notoriety it has attained (The Punjab Government 1908: 90).

Here arises a question as to why women of these strata were mostly not satisfied or happy with their married life? The answer is twofold: first, late marriages of young girls; second, polygamy and low income of husband. Runaway of unmarried girls were common because of late marriages. Lower class has limited resources to honor their social liabilities on wedding ceremonies as because they had to give a heavy dowry and throw a grand party. Not endowing dowry was deemed a social stigma. If someone could not do so he was accused by the people of his tribe of thriftiness and parsimony. To fulfill this social liability, people even got loans notwithstanding they were starving actually (Ali 1848: xix).

Until parents were able to give grand party and dowry they did not marry their daughter. Furthermore, *mirasis* made marriage ceremony more expensive and sometime *mirasis* caused the breakup of marriages. As Minchin observed:

The habit of maintaining family bards (*mirasis*) also restricts marriages; as these men [*mirasis*] take advantage of their position to recite the prowess and generosity of former generation and contrast it with the poverty and parsimony of the present members of the tribe (especially in their treatment of their *mirasis*), and to avoid their abuse they put off the marriages and avoid any occasions for calling in their services more than they can possibly help (The Punjab Government 1908: 90).

There was another group of this class, who had sources to give dower but still their daughters were getting married late. Because the parents of this group wanted to marry their daughters to higher castes that could change their social status and this search caused late marriages or no marriage of girls. Colonel Minchin, as observed in his manuscript, gave following reasons of late marriages of lower class females:

... amongst many of the tribes, girls are not married until they have long passed the age of puberty and, being no longer in the bloom of youth, are married with less ceremony and cost. Poverty is no doubt one reason for this, but pride of race is another, as, when there is a difficulty in finding a husband in the superior tribe, which they consider their daughter alone should enter, they do not allow her to marry at all, and in such cases clandestine prostitution is largely prevalent (The Punjab Government 1908: 90).

For males of this society, first thing which came into the mind after reaching puberty was to get married and polygamy was common, as was the case with the higher classes, but it was harder for men to provide seclusion for their wives. In addition, as already mentioned, endogamy was common but exogamy was also not prohibited (Ali 1848: xvii-xviii). Likewise, Hindus of the State were to great extent, influenced by Muslim customs and ceremonies, did not consider polygamy objectionable and celebrated it equally (The Punjab Government 1908: 102). In these circumstances, marrying one, two, and three women was supposed an honorable act with a view to propagate offspring. Resultantly, it was a society where even those of the poorest classes have not less than two wives, though they have hardly means to support them (Ali 1848: xvii-xviii). Polygamy was a common cause of elopement of married women.

Fifth theme of story is social acceptance of women wishes. At the point, when Nawab asked people what she is saying, they supported her demand. Above given quotes describe a society that was not strict to stop women from taking a decision of divorce and remarriage.

Finally, role played by the State was significantly important because it patronized a system that contributed to the promotion of such liberties among masses. F. W. Skemp, compiler of the anecdote constituting the premissis of this article, accounted for the first eyewitness bearing upon the instant subject in the following words:

I ... stepped out on to the verandah of the rest-house when a woman accompanied by husband, lover and their friends appeared with a petition of this kind. I had the example before me of the proper course to follow, but fears it would make the Deputy Commissioner's divorce court too popular; so, directing the husband to divorce his wife, sent the case to a local magnate to fix the amount to be paid by the lover in compensation (Skemp 1917: 19).

In the story, words *miad (iddat)* and *nikah* are mentioned which mean that State followed the institution of marriage and divorce in line with the

teachings of Islam. The State facilitated its subjects in getting easy divorce. It was common among masses that if someone did not like his or her spouse, he or she approached a local Qazi and obtained deed of divorce after paying the stipulated *Mahr*.<sup>†</sup> Among lower classes, the amount of *Mahr* did not exceed twenty-five rupees. Moreover, it was obligatory for husband to pay the woman an additional sum for her support for four months *iddat*<sup>‡</sup>, at the rate of three quarters of a seer of flour (*atta*), and a couple of pice as daily allowance for other living expenses. After *Iddat*, the woman was free to marry any person after her heart's accord. If wife disliked her husband, she was also at liberty to obtain divorce (*khulla*) on remitting her claim to the stipulated *Mahr*; and she could marry another person if she liked to do so (Ali 1848: xvii-xviii).

Special feature of this story concerns a woman who applied for divorce in local language which was referred to as *lunda*. That lady renounced her right to dower (The Punjab Government 2012: 59) but Shahamet added that she was required to return *haq-mahar* and sometimes lover of that lady rewarded her husband with more sum as a consideration for his agreeing to divorce her. (Ali 1848: xvii-xviii) Colonel Minchin criticized this divorce process because few women are reported to get such liberty to getting divorce twenty times (Din 1908: 90), which is not a good omen for social stability and moral fiber of the society. Although, this liberty facilitated women in marrying the men of their choice nevertheless this system impaired the family apparatus. State accorded great freedom to women hailing from lower class, therefore, divorce and remarrying was widespread and trouble-free than in neighboring areas. Divorce was uncommon in Muzaffargarh district; (The Punjab Government 1930: 59) females in Multan District had somewhat autonomy (The Punjab Government 2001: 82-5), however, they did not have such freedom as women of State enjoyed;<sup>§</sup> and in Dera Ghazi Khan, adultery was very

---

<sup>†</sup> *Mahr* is a sum stipulated on occasion of the marriage, to be paid to the wife by the husband, which is a debt that must be paid, unless voluntarily remitted by the former.

<sup>‡</sup> *Iddat* is the period a woman counts after being divorced. It is not more than four months and ten days. Before the time of the prophet it was a complete year.

<sup>§</sup> Story no 13 titled as "The Diwan and the Adulterers" tells that Diwan Sawan Mall, Governor of Multan (r. 1821-1844), discouraged adultery to such extent that if a man and a woman were guilty of adultery he would had tied-up their thighs with rope to an ox yoke, and ordered to drive the oxen at full speed until adulators died. Moreover, if someone killed adulators and reported to Diwan, he did not punish murder. (Skemp 1917: 26-27).

sternly penalized. A woman convicted of adultery was driven to hang herself, and adulterer was dispatched, if caught. Biloches did not know of the divorce until 1870s then it was acknowledged and allowed during 1890s but still it was infrequent (The Punjab Government 2004: 44).

### **Conclusion**

In a nutshell, the common women of Bahawalpur State were enjoying a considerable freedom, liberty and empowerment. By coupling the information generated under this discussion, the referred anecdote with the historical evidences substantiates that this story truly reflects the prevailing circumstances of Bahawalpur state during nineteenth century pertaining to the freedom accorded to the women. Bahawalpur State provided a different picture of women's life as a traditional oriental society that lacked hard formal constraints on the personal freedom of lower class women. Nevertheless, such liberty of woman was not evident in surrounding areas of Bahawalpur State. A correlation between women's participation in economic activities was found that rendered the women hailing from the lower class confident enough to think about themselves and take steps towards personal freedom. In Bahawalpur, the higher one went up the socioeconomic ladder the more restricted women's lives became.

## References

- Ibbetson, Denzil (1916) *Panjab Castes: Being a Reprint of the Chapter on "The Race, Castes and Tribes of the People" in the Report on the Census of the Panjab Published in 1883 by the Sir Denzil Ibbetson, K. C. S. I.* Lahore: Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Punjab.
- Mackeson, F. (1837) "Journal of Captain C. M. Wade's Voyage from Lodiana to Mithankot by the River Satlaj, on his Mission to Lahor and Bahawalpur in 1832-33" *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI. Part I. Calcutta: The Baptist Mission Press, (January to June):
- Skemp, F. W. (Collected and transl.) (1917) *Multani Stories*. Lahore: The Superintendent Government.
- Atkinson, James (1842) *The Expedition into Affghanistan: Notes and Sketches Descriptive of the Country, Contained in a Personal Narrative During the Campaign of 1839 & 1840, up to the Surrender of Dost Mahomed Khan*.
- Ali, Shahamet (1848) *The History of Bahawalpur, With Notices of the Adjacent countries of Sindh, Afghanistan, Multan, and the West of India*. London: James Madden.
- The Punjab Government, (2001) *Gazetteer of the Bahawalpur State with Map 1904*. Lahore: Civil and Military Gazetteer, 1808, Reprinted Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- The Punjab Government, (2004) *Gazetteer of the Dera Ghazi Khan District*, revised edition, Lahore: Civil and Military Gazetteer Press, 1898, reprinted by Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, Sang-e-Meel Publication.
- The Punjab Government, (2012) *Gazetteer of the Muzaffargarh District 1908*, Lahore: The Superintendent Government Printing, 1930, reprinted by Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, Sang-e-Meel Publication.
- The Punjab Government, (1870) *Selection from the Records of the Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies: Administration Reports of the Chamaba and Bhawalpore States for 1869*. New Series—No. VIII, Lahore: The Civil Secretariat Press.
- The Punjab Government, (2001) *The Punjab District Gazetteers: Multan District 1923-24*. Lahore: the Government Printing, Punjab, 1926, reprinted by (Lahore: Niaz Ahmad, Sang-e-Meel Publication.

## **The British Colonial Policy and the Khyber Pass in the Uprising of 1897**

**Ishtiaq Ahmad**

### **Abstract**

*The world famous and historic Khyber Pass has always remained busy in world politics from its known history to the present day. Different invaders crossed this pass and some of them held it for some periods. Those outsiders who established their rule in India, had crossed and held this Pass while those who had lost their Indian possessions had faced an invasion through this Pass (however with the exception of some cases). In real sense this Pass has worked as empire maker and breaker. The colonies of this empire existed in every continent and the Indian sub-continent also remained their colony. Interestingly, unlike all the previous invaders, the Britons did not come to India via the Khyber Pass. They, however, made the best arrangements for its protection. When the Britons consolidated their power in Bengal and started expansion, they gave much importance to this Pass as they knew its strategic importance. They annexed Punjab in 1849 and from the very beginning started sending expeditions against the Pukhtuns. In the summer of 1897, the British faced the most serious uprising of the Pukhtun tribes, in which the British hold on the Khyber Pass was brought to an end. They, however, regained the Pass after some months and took steps and measures to maintain the hold over the Pass and safeguard their interests. This paper highlights the historical significance of the Khyber Pass from its known history till the British occupation. The special focus is on its fall in the uprising of 1897 and the colonial policy of safeguarding it.*

### **The Khyber Pass**

*Paariyaatra Parvat, the ancient name of Hindu Kush is a mountain range nearly 1000 miles long and 200 miles wide, running northeast to southwest. The range stretches from the Pamir Plateau near Gilgit to Iran and separate Oxus river valley and Indus river valley and runs through the modern day Afghanistan and Pakistan. Historically, the passes of this range provided an easy access to the northern plains of India. Among the passes of the Hindu Kush, the Khyber Pass had been the easiest route through which most of the*

invaders from the north, from the Aryans (it is popular theory but is questionable now) till the time of Ahmad Shah Abdali, attacked India (Ahloowalia 2009: 74; Corbiau 1937: 9).

The Khyber Pass is the great northern route from Afghanistan into India. The pass begins near Jamrud, ten and a half miles west of Peshawar, and twists through the hills for about 33 miles in a north-westerly direction till it emerges at Dakka. The most important points *en route* are Ali Masjid, a village and fort ten and a quarter miles from Jamrud; Landi Kotal, the summit of the pass, 10 miles farther; and Tur Kham, at which point the pass enters Afghan territory, about 6 miles beyond Landi Kotal (IGIPS NWFP1908: 227).<sup>1</sup> It stretches for 30 miles through the Safaid Koh from Afghanistan at the western end to the plains of Peshawar at the eastern. Its complete length now lies in Pakistan (Docherty 2007: XXII). The centre of the Pass lies between 34 6' N and 71 5' E. The elevation, in feet, at various points of the pass is: Jamrud, 1670; Ali Masjid, 2433; Landi Kotal, 3373; Landi Khana, 2488 and Dakka, 1404. The ascent over the Landi Khana pass is narrow, rugged, steep, and generally the most difficult part of the Pass (IGIPS NWFP 1908: 227).

It was an ancient zone of contested ground, long disputed and never entirely at peace, incorporated spasmodically into empires and states but remaining un-mastered by even the most powerful ones. It also has been witness to a remarkably intense military and cultural interaction that forms the essence of the story of the regions that it joins together. 'No other mountain pass, strategic road or vital waterway in the world has seen such a rich concentration of history' (Docherty 2007: XXIII). The Khyber Pass runs in the Afridis' limits, is held by the six clans known as the Khyber Afridis and has been divided into six sections. Commencing from Jamrud, the first section in the hands of the Kuki Khels, the second in the hands of Sipahs, the third held by the Kuki Khels again, and the fourth, fifth and sixth were in the hands of Qambar Khels and the Kamar Khels, Malikdin Khels, and Zakha Khels respectively (Paget and Mason 1884: 279; Frontier and Overseas Expeditions 1982, 2: 14).

This Pass has a strategic position unparalleled, it served as a gateway to India and, time and again, shaped and reshaped its history (dominantly in terms of political history and from a diffusionist point of view). Therefore,

---

<sup>1</sup> Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series North-West Frontier Province.

the British colonial authorities gave it more importance.

The long and anxious experience of guarding the frontier came to raise the Khyber into a special category of imperial iconography, its very name conjuring images of mountains that were rugged, forbidding and – as the crucial line in the defence of India – matchless in their consequence. The Khyber Pass stood alongside the straits of Gibraltar and the Suez Canal as one of the strategic keys that locked up the world before the age of flight, and thus became a critical focus for imperial anxiety and military planners. The Khyber Pass entered the British popular imagination as a romantic, legendary prize to be defended at all costs (Docherty 2007: XXI-XXII).

### **Khyber Pass through the Ages**

In the words of Paddy Docherty, ‘the Khyber Pass emerges from myth into history with the rise of the Persians and the legendary founder of their first empire by Cyrus the Great, born in the sixth century BCE’ (Docherty 2007: 3).<sup>2</sup> For the safety of his empire, Cyrus came to Khyber Pass and conquered Hyrcania, Drangiana, Aria, Arachosia, Sogdiana, a part of Margiana (part of modern Turkmenistan) and Bactria<sup>3</sup> and its great city of Bactra (modern Balkh) (Docherty 2007: 10). In early summer of 327 BCE Alexander crossed the Hindu Kush, divided his army and sent Hephæstion and Perdikkas, his generals with the baggage and part of the army through the Khyber Pass to the Indus and himself followed the old route through Laghman, ascended the Kunar river, and crossed into Swat valley (Narain 1965: 156; IGIPS NWFP 1908: 228; Docherty 2007: 36).<sup>4</sup> In 305 BCE,

---

<sup>2</sup> The annexation of the Greek settlement by Cyrus the Great in 540s BCE began the long history of Persian–Greek tension which reached to its climax over two century later with the invasion of Persia by Alexander the Great (Docherty 2007: 8).

<sup>3</sup> Ancient Bactria is the plain, between the Hindu Kush and the Oxus. It was bounded on the east by the Pamir massif, and on the north-west it was joined to the vast Eurasian steppe by Margiana (with its ancient capital of Merv) and Sogdiana (Samarkand), marginal areas of mixed cultivation and pastoral economy. In Bactria the route from the Mediterranean, which ran along the northern edge of the central desert of Persia, and the road from India up the Khyber Pass and the Kabul valley met the great highways from China (Barger 1939: 378).

<sup>4</sup> Also see Olivieri 1996: 10-11; Rapson 1955, 1: 309; Longmans’ History of India 1958: 73–81; Smith 1957: 52-3; Ewart 2000: 1-7; Barton 1939: 25; Obhrai 1983: 5; Ridgway 1983: 1-11; Jaffar 2008: 147-9; Spain 1985:1; Malden 1880: 223-9). According to Narain, India had been part of the empire of Darius I; and Alexander’s invasion was only the necessary and inevitable completion of his conquest of that empire (Narain 1965: 155).

another Macedonian general, Seleucus, crossed the Khyber Pass. The areas till Pakistan were already in the hands of Seleucus and it was after Chandragupta started his expansion that he came in conflict with the Seleucids. The latter had to enter into agreement and cede territories till Kandahar to the Mauryan king in return for matrimonial relations and valuable 500 elephants. After this treaty, along with much of modern Afghanistan and Baluchistan, the Khyber Pass came under the rule of the Mauryan Empire (Docherty 2007: 53).

As the Mauryan Empire and its Seleucid neighbour declined around 250 BCE, for the next three centuries the Khyber Pass entered into an era in which kingdoms rapidly rose and fell around it. The Greek settlers of Bactria made themselves independent from Seleucids and formed their own powerful kingdom. The Scythian and Parthian nomads started their movements in that direction and the Kushans, a great Iranian tribe also appeared on the horizon (Docherty 2007: 61). In around 190 BCE, Demetrius' son of Euthydemus led the Bactrian Greeks through the Khyber Pass and extended his kingdom into India. In 160s BCE, Demetrius was killed in the battle and his Indian conquests were captured by Eucratides, the victor of the battle. He marched through the Khyber Pass, occupied Gandhara and held Taxila and thus the Khyber Pass came under the Greek ruler (Tarn 1938: 222-3).

In the early second century BCE, tribal upheavals far away in Mongolia led to a series of migratory impacts which pushed two Iranian tribes: the Scythian Sakas and the Kushans of Central Asia into India. The former tribe crossed the Oxus river, in 130s BCE, into Bactria, but were evicted from this place by Kushans in around 127 BCE. From Bactria the Kushans extended their power and by 65 BCE they advanced along the Indus river and captured Gandhara and Khyber Pass (Chander 2003: 11).

During the 30s BCE, the Greeks under Amyntas and his son Hermaeus took back provinces on the west bank of the Indus and once again the Khyber Pass went into the hands of the Greeks. This time their hold on the Khyber Pass also remained for a few decades and in the 10s and 20s CE, the Kushans descended from the Hindu Kush, captured the Khyber Pass and

---

Moti Chandra also has supported this view but presented a new idea and has stated that 'some historians have tried to assign Alexander's route through the Khyber Pass but they did not know that by that time the Khyber Pass route did not exist' (Chandra 1977: 8).

finally eliminated the remnants of the Greeks in India. By mid 40s CE this Pass was captured by another tribe, the Parthians (Docherty 2007: 72).<sup>5</sup> In mid 60s CE, the Kushans returned with force and re-conquered south-east Afghanistan and present day northern Pakistan and also razed Taxila to the ground in about 75 CE. Their king, Kanishka made Purushapura (Peshawar) his capital, a clear sign that the Khyber Pass was at the centre of this imperial project (The Date of Kanishka 1913: 931; Douie 2009: 138-9; Sabir (a) n.d.: 83; Longmans' History of India 1958: 125; Smith 1957: 263–92; Obhrai 1983: 7-8; Docherty 2007: 86; Dani 1969: 41–51).

Shapur, the Sasanian<sup>6</sup> king captured Peshawar from the Kushan in the early 240s but the Huns annexed the Sasanian province of Gandhara in around 465 CE, and marched into India (Docherty 2007: 98; Douie 2009: 139; Khan 1994: 6; Sabir (a) n.d.: 85; Smith 1957: 328; Dani 1969: 41–51). Similarly:

In around AD 558, the Turks and the Sasanian armies made a joint attack on separate fronts, and the White Huns were crushed between the two. The Turks acquired Sogdiana, and Khusrau recovered Bactria and Gandhara for the Sasanians. The borders of the Iranian empire once more rested on the Oxus river, and the Persian power was restored in the east. After almost a century in the domain of the White Huns, the Khyber Pass was again in Persian hands (Docherty 2007: 110).

The Sasanian Empire was destroyed by the Arabs in the seventh century CE, but they did not cross the Khyber Pass for entering into India, and Gandhara was once again ruled by a dynasty of the White Huns,

---

<sup>5</sup> During Parthian rule, this Pass provided for a branch line of the Silk Road system. Gandhara became a regional centre of trade based en route from Taxila through the Khyber Pass to Bagram and from there to Bactria where it joined the principal routes east and west (Docherty 2007: 74).

<sup>6</sup> 'Sasanian Empire was not at its strongest, and it seems that the Kushan vassal rulers sought to take advantage of the succession in AD 309 of a minor (?), Shapur II. While internal weakness and disorders beset Iran, the rebellious Kushans briefly captured the former glories, making some territorial intrusions into Sasanian land and freeing themselves for a time from their western masters. This independence was short-lived, however, for when Shapur achieved his majority he lost no time in returning to the east to impose himself as king. The Kushans were comprehensively destroyed, and were this time not trusted as vassal rulers; they were replaced with a line of Sasanian princes known as the Kushanshahs (Kings of the Kushans) who would henceforth govern the former Kushan lands as a province of the Sasanian Empire from their capital at Bactra' (Docherty 2007: 100).

(remnants of the former rulers who had remained when their empire was ruined by the Sasanians and Turks) till the middle of the eighth century. For the next three centuries the Khyber Pass saw no invasion, but towards the end of the ninth century the Huns were replaced by a native Hindu family<sup>7</sup> known as Hindu Shahi. The Hindu Shahi were holding Gandhara and still controlling the north-west frontier when, in the late tenth century, a new series of invasions started (Samad 2011: 274-5; Gokhale 2001: 69).

With the establishment of Ghaznavid rule, the tussle between the Turks and Hindu Shahis commenced and within two decades, the Turks took Kabul from the Hindu Shahi dynasty. By the early 1000s CE the Khyber Pass was in the Muslim hands and Mahmud, a Turk Sultan of Ghazni, had seized the road into India (Douie 2009: 140; Khan 1994: 6; Longmans' History of India 1958: 229-33; Obhrai 1983: 10-3; Embree 1985: XII-XVI). After a pause of almost two centuries, the Khyber Pass again changed hands in 1180 CE, and passed to the Ghaurids (Douie 2009: 142-3; Docherty 2007: 138; Sabir (a) n.d.: 89-90; Longmans' History of India 1958: 204-41; Obhrai 1983: 10-3; Embree 1985: XII-XVI; Sabir (b) n.d.: 91). In 1221 CE, the Mongols under Changiz Khan crossed this Pass in pursuit of Jalal-ud-Din, the fugitive chief of Khwarizm, and, in 1398, Tamerlane followed the footsteps of Changiz Khan and crossed the Khyber Pass (Chaurasia 2002: 26; Jayapalan 2001, II: 50).<sup>8</sup>

Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire in India, crossed the Khyber Pass for the third time in 1525 CE, and annexed it along with the throne of Delhi (Longmans' History of India 1958: 314-5; For Mughal invasion of India, see Gulati 1985: 24-39). And Akbar the Great built the first paved road through the Khyber Pass (Docherty 2007: 176). Nadir Shah, the new ruler of Persia, in 1739, and Ahmad Shah Abdali, after establishing his rule in Afghanistan, in 1747, time and again crossed this Pass for

---

<sup>7</sup> Raif-us Samad argues that this native Hindu family belonged to the caste of Brahmins (Samad 2011: 274-5), while Sultan-i-Rome has quoted Yogendra Mishra that the Muslim historians except Alberuni considered them Kshatriyas or Rajputs. See Sultan-i-Rome 2013: 75.

<sup>8</sup> According to Ibn Battuta, the people of Asaq or Azaf, in the steppe lands of southern Russia, exported horses to India in droves of 6,000 or thereabout. Various merchants had a share of about 200 horses each in these herds. For each fifty horses, they engaged the service of a keeper called *qashi* who looked after them and their feeding on the way. These traders travelled by a route north of the Caspian Sea, through the *Dasht-i-Qipcaq* and Transoxiana down to the Khyber Pass (Alam 1994: 209).

invading India (Sultan-i-Rome 2013: 116-20).<sup>9</sup> During Ahmad Shah's rule, the Khyber Pass remained in the hands of the Afghans till 1837, and after the battle of Jamrud in that year the Pass finally went into the Sikh hands (Docherty 2007: 187).

### **Khyber Pass and the British**

After the Afghans and Sikhs, the Britons entered the struggle for controlling the Khyber Pass, as they knew very well the strategic importance of this Pass for the defence of India. It was in 1830s (before the annexation of Punjab by the Britons) that Alexander Burnes and his subordinates were busy in collecting information to prepare the way for an aggressive new policy and it was during that period that the earliest maps of the Khyber Pass were produced by Lt. Robert Leech of the Bombay Engineers in 1837 (Docherty 2007: 200). During the First Anglo-Afghan War, though allays of the Company, the Sikhs did not allow the English troops to use the Khyber Pass. However, Colonel Wade, with a contingent of Sikhs troops and Shahzada Timur, son of Shah Shuja, crossed this Pass (Paget and Mason 1884: 285; *Frontier and Overseas Expeditions* 1982, 2: 20; IGIPS NWFP 1908: 229). It was very difficult to maintain proper communication and reinforcement through the Bolan Pass, therefore, the need and importance of the Khyber Pass enhanced during the first Anglo-Afghan War. The main difficulty in that regard was the native Pukhtun tribes of the Khyber who resisted the advance of Sikhs and English troops. Accordingly, the Britons solved the problem by giving them subsidies and hence used the Pass till their withdrawal from Afghanistan (Docherty 2007: 201-2).

The Khyber Pass, between Jamrud and Landi Kotal, originally belonged to the Shinwaris, Zakka Khel, Kuki Khel, and the Orakzai only. At the time of the extension of the Sikh rule to Jamrud, the Orakzai were ousted by the Afridis and their only settlement was a ruined village near Jamrud. When Colonel Mackeson was negotiating with the Afridis in 1840, the Malikdin Khel of Chora forced their way between the Zakha Khel and Kuki Khel, and established a small village at Katta Kushta near Ali Masjid. The Sipah, Qambar Khel and Kamrai also stepped in, and were admitted to

---

<sup>9</sup> Also see Douie 2009: 143-57; Khan 1994: 6-11; Sabir (a) n.d.: 92-108; Year Book of the North-West Frontier Province n.d.: 8-11; Obhrai 1983: 24-5; Macmunn 1978: 46-89; Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1989: 44-62; Merk 1911: 755-7; Chaurasia 2002: 9-10.

a share in the Khyber Pass allowance (IGIPS NWFP 1908: 231).

After the war, for next three decades the Pass remained in the hands of Afghanistan and Peshawar slipped from the Sikhs' hands to the Britons. During Second Anglo-Afghan War (1879-80), the Zakha Khel greatly harassed the British troops on the Khyber Pass. Therefore, after the completion of the first phase of the operation in Afghanistan, in June 1879, the British felt the necessity of the safety of the Khyber Pass. In pursuance of this, allowances were fixed for the Afridis, aggregating 87,540 rupees per annum (IGIPS NWFP 1908: 232). In January 1881, the complete *jargah* of the Khyber clans assembled in Peshawar, and signed an agreement with the British on 17 February 1881. The terms of this agreement were as follow:

- (1) Independence of Afridis to be recognised, but no interference by any other power than Great Britain to be allowed.
- (2) In consideration of certain allowances, the Afridis to undertake to maintain order throughout the Khaibar. [Khyber Pass]
- (3) All matters concerning pass arrangements to be submitted to a general meeting of representatives from all the tribes.
- (4) No traveller to enter the pass without an order.
- (5) The tribes not to require military aid from India.
- (6) The tribes to furnish such a number of *Jazailchis* as the Government might direct, with head-quarters at Jamrud; to be subject to political inspection, and to be paid by the British Government, but not to constitute a Government force.
- (7) All tolls, etc., to belong to the Government.
- (8) Offences on the road to be dealt with by a general *jirga* reporting to the Government.
- (9) The tribes to abstain from committing outrages in British territory.
- (10-15) Minor arrangements with reference to the custody of Ali Musjid and other Government buildings in the pass; to undertakings to forward posts and expresses at any time; and to the territorial limits of tribal responsibility, viz., Landi Khana on the west, and Jamrud on the east (Paget and Mason 1884: 309; Frontier and Overseas Expeditions 1982, 2: 50).

Thus, after the Second Anglo-Afghan War the British became the new masters of the Khyber Pass. But as Paddy Docherty has stated: Master only in the sense, of course: on the map, the Khyber Pass had become a part of the British Empire, but control on the ground was depended on relations with the Pathan tribes who lived there and who could

close the roads whenever they chose. Britain could man forts and guard posts throughout the length of the Pass, but the key to keeping it open was daily diplomacy with tribal leaders: subsidy, appointments, rewards and the threat of war were the means by which Pathan chiefs were persuaded to cooperate with the new regime and to keep the roads open (Docherty 2007: 214).<sup>10</sup>

Under the agreement of 17 February 1881, the British troops withdrew from the pass and the security of the pass was handed over to Afridis and the other concerned tribes, and a new force of *Jazailchis* (which afterwards was called the Khyber Rifles), numbering about 400 men, eventually increased to 600 strong, was raised for its protection (IGIPS NWFP 1908: 232).<sup>11</sup>

The pass was then protected by *Jazailchis*, and long trains of travelers and pack animals, convoys of treasure, and stores of ammunition for Kabul passed through it. Tolls on caravans commenced to be levied on 15 September 1881, and the income from this source was about 60,000 rupees per annum (Paget and Mason 1884: 310; Frontier and Overseas Expeditions 1982, 2: 52). From that time till 1897, no noteworthy event occurred because the Afridis were very tactfully handled by Col. Warburton. The Khyber Pass remained in the British hands till the time of the uprising of 1897.

### **Khyber Pass in the Uprising of 1897**

In August 1897, the series of uprisings—started from Maizar in June and extended to Malakand and Mohmand in the Indian north-west frontier—reached to Khyber. The nature of Tirah uprising was somewhat different from the previous two risings, i.e. the Malakand and Mohmand uprisings. This rising was also like the previous two led by a Mullah. The people, however, had also some grievances against the colonial authorities. On 4 August, the Deputy Commissioner Kohat informed the Peshawar

---

<sup>10</sup> The clause relating to Khyber Pass in Article IX of the Gandamak treaty states; ‘The British Government will retain in its own hands the control of the Khyber and Michni Passes, which lies between the Peshawar and Jalalabad Districts, and of all relations with the independent tribes of the territory directly connected with these Passes.’ (From Lefel Griffin, No. 655C: 832).

<sup>11</sup> Also see Frontier and Overseas Expeditions 1982, 2: 48-50; Sabir (a) n.d.: 109; Ewart 2000: 15; Barton 1939: 62; Baha 1978: 52; Davies 1975: 137; Morphy 1899: 54-5.

authorities about Mullah Sayyid Akbar's (leader of the Afridi and Orakzai tribes in the uprising of 1897) activities. Richard Udny, Commissioner of Peshawar, did not give any importance to the report as it was contradictory with the reports reaching him from his own sources. The warning was repeated on 15 August but again ignored. Richard Udny 'actually wired to Simla that reliable information indicated that there was no serious or general movement among either Orakzais or Afridis' (Elliot 1968: 195).

When the news of the attack on Shabqadar reached Captain Barton, Commandant Khyber Rifles, he prepared the posts in the Khyber for defence and selected the Landi Kotal as the most important post. He sent 50,000 rounds of ammunition, got in 15 days, provisions, and had 15 days' water-supply. At Landi Kotal, he increased the garrison by the Mullagori Company, making it up to a strength of 350 rifles (Mills 1979: 111). On 15 August some shots were fired on fort Lockhart and for the first time the telegraph line between Kohat and Hangu was interrupted (From L. White King No. 3-C). Amin Khan, the Malak of Kuki Khels, visited the political officer Peshawar, on 17 August, and informed him of the Afridis' rising. Cap. Barton requested for reinforcement, but his request was rejected and he was ordered to left Landi Kotal post for Jamrud and the garrison to remain at the post (Warburton 1975: 280; *The Risings on the North-West Frontier 1898*: 110; Yusufi n.d., 1: 189; Richards 2003: 136; Elliot 1968: 195; Mills 1979: 111).<sup>12</sup>

At that juncture the political authorities took some precautionary measures. Mr. Donald (Assistant Political Officer of the Tirah Expeditionary force) warned the Sheikhs and Akhels sections that they would be responsible if they gave passage to any section. The Dhar post on the Samana was taken over by the border military police while the Ghogra and Tsallai posts were made over to Rabia Khel levies. Orders for the immediate reinforcement of the Kohat were also issued (King 1984: 187). And a brigade of all arms was sent to Jamrud and a small detachment to fort Bara (Elliot 1968: 196). Charles Miller has stated that on 17 August Richard Udny was informed about the probable rising of the Afridis but Udny responded to this report by echoing Macnaghten's "All quiet from Dan to Beersheba" and Cavagnari's "All well in the Kabul Embassy" with a

---

<sup>12</sup> George Macmunn has stated that Cap. Barton asked the Commissioner on 17 August for additional troops but to his surprise he was called to Peshawar (Macmunn, 1978: 217).

reassurance of his own. "Everything quiet," read Udny's telegram to Elgin in Simla (Miller 1977: 270; Gazetteer of the Peshawar District 1989: 285). On 20 August 1897, the Afridi and Orakzai *jargah* was held in which it was decided that the Massuzai and Chamkani should move against the Kurram, while the Alisherzai, Mamozai, Ali Khel, Mishti and Sheikhan should attack the Samana (From L. White King No 3-C). On 21 August, six Afridi clans: Malakdin Khel, Qambar Khel, Kamrai, Zakha Khels, Sipah and Aka Khels, started out from Tirah. Kuki Khel under their Malak, Amin Khan, sent some of his followers to assist in the defence of Ali Masjid and Landi Kotal posts. The Adam Khel, the last of the eight Afridi clans, holding the hills between Peshawar and Kohat, maintained the road through the Kohat Pass and also declined to close the Kohat Pass when urged by the Mullas to do so (The Risings on the North-West Frontier 1898: 111-2).

After some days of doubt, as to the real intentions of the Afridis, the question was finally settled on 23 August in the shape of an attack on Ali Masjid and fort Maude, a small fort about three miles from Jamrud and just within the mouth of the Khyber Pass. The fort was held by a detachment of the Khyber Rifles<sup>13</sup> and some Kuki Khel levies who, after the attack, abandoned it and came to Jamrud (Telegram from Commissioner Peshawar, dated 24 August. Also see Yusufi n.d., 1: 189; Sabir (a) n.d.: 110; Richards 2003: 137; Elliot 1968: 196; Mills 1979: 107-8). On 24 August the Afridis *lakhkar* reached Landi Kotal, burnt Carvan Sarai there and appeared before the Landi Kotal fort. The garrison of the fort, consisted of 370 men of the Khyber Rifles, drawn from various clans, offered a steady resistance. The attack commenced about noonday and not until 10 o'clock the next morning the Afridis got inside. Some of the garrison at once joined the looting and destruction of the fort, some were allowed to escape, after giving up their arms, and some reached to Jamrud with their rifles. The building was set on fire after which the Afridis dispersed (Telegram from Commissioner Peshawar, dated 24 August; also see The Risings on the North-West Frontier

---

<sup>13</sup> Khyber Rifles, generally known as Khyber Jazeilchis, were raised in November 1878 by Cap. Gais Ford. This force controlled the line of communication of British troops during Second Anglo-Afghan War. Cap. Gais remained its commandant till 1881. After him, Col. Muhammad Aslam Khan remained its commandant for 16 years. Up to 1887 Khyber Rifles served only in Khyber Agency. In that year they were re-designated as the Khyber Rifles and then they can serve anywhere. In 1888 Black Mountain expedition, they took part under the command of Maj. Muhammad Aslam Khan (Khan 1994: 68; Barthorp 1986: 127; Morphy: 1899 71-2).

1898: 114; The Editor 1911: 5; Moreman 1998: 57; Macmunn 1978: 215–18; Hutchinson 1898: 44). One of the defenders of the Landi Kotal told the story of the siege in the following words:

When the *lashkar* came our Subadar had conversation with them and asked them to postpone the attack until he was reinforced. The Afridis then drew away and attacked. We fought stubbornly. Afridi and Khyberi alike expected reinforcements and relief. For two nights and two days we fought, Afridi brother against Afridi brother, but no succour came from the *Sirkar*, and the Subadar, seeing that we could not hold out much longer, and that times were against us, told us to disperse in the night—and we came in here (Mills 1979: 113).

Woosnam Milles has quoted Cap. Barton's view about the conduct of the Khyber Rifles and has stated:

As a matter of fact, they resisted steady attack for over twenty-four hours. The enemy lost over one hundred killed and the garrison had one native officer killed and one severely wounded. The latter, who was shot through the middle of the shoulder-blade in the early morning of the 25th, continued fighting and encouraging his men until the fort was taken about midday. *The Subadar, who was killed just before the enemy effected an entrance and who conducted the defence, had two sons in the attacking force, and one son with him in the Khyber Rifles* [my italic]... The Subadar commanding the Mullagori company, when the enemy through treachery effected an entrance into the fort, collected his company and fought his way through, losing several men in doing so. He then took his company through the Shilman country and is on his way back to Jamrud without the loss of a rifle (Mills 1979: 112).

The Khyber Rifles fought bravely and done what they can do, 'but, alas!' states Holdich:

Whilst the Afridis fought for us, we failed to fought for ourselves; 9,500 troops about the Peshawar frontier looked on whilst 500 Afridis maintained British honour in the Khaibar. Over that little episode of the withdrawal of the British officer who should have headed the Khyber defence, and the abandonment of the pass to its fate, it is best to draw a veil. There *can* be no excuse for it (Holdich 1996: 348).

When the British officers of Khyber Rifles were withdrawn in 1897, an English officer, in his lecture before the Viceroy, declared it, 'a day of pain, shame, grief and humiliation for every Englishman in India' (Barton

1939: 12). Obhrai also has asserted:

It is strange that Lord Elgin's Government, or the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, assisted by Mr. Udny, the Commissioner, showed so much concern for Afridi tribes, as not to allow the British forces, laying at the mouth of the Khyber to help the companies of Afridis, and Shinwaris in their struggle to be led out to Jamrud fort for protection" (Obhrai 1983: 54).

Woosnam Milles has further added:

These incidents made the general public believe that the Khyber Rifles were more to be pitied than blamed and the political authorities at Peshawar were felt to have committed an irretrievable blunder in abandoning the levies to their fate. All told there were only 452 men defending the pass, which is twenty miles long. At the time the Pass was attacked (and it was known for days before hand that an attack was imminent), there were 9,500 British and native troops at Peshawar, Fort Bara and Jamrud, and not a man was moved to help the Khyber Rifles, who were waiting for assistance from the *Sirkar* whose salt they had eaten and in whose good faith they had implicit trust (Mills 1979: 113-4).

The losses of the Khyber Rifles were only 10 killed and wounded while the Afridi losses were 34 at fort Maude, 12 at Ali Masjid, and 200 at Landi Kotal (Nevill 2003: 262; *The Risings on the North-West Frontier 1898*: 115). On the night of 25 August, the political officer Khyber, Col. Muhammad Aslam Khan, at Jamrud, disarmed all sepoys of Khyber Rifles present at Jamrud except Kuki Khel Afridis and were sent to their homes on ten days leave (Telegram from Commissioner Peshawar to Simla dated 27 August). From that time the Khyber Pass remained closed for any sort of movement and the British troops were engaged in the very famous Tirah expedition.

After the return from Tirah, all the five brigades were concentrated a few miles from each other. The reopening of the Khyber Pass and visit to the Bazar valley were their next targets. With these objects the 1st (Brig. Gen. R.C. Hart), 2nd (Brig. Gen. Gaselee), and 5th (Gen. Hammond) Brigades were moved to Jamrud while the 4th (Gen. Westmacott Brigade) was left at Mamani and the 3rd Brigade (Brig. Gen Kempster) was detailed at fort Bara. The 5th Brigade moved up to Ali Masjid on 23 December without resistance; followed by the 1st and 2nd Brigades next day. On 25 December, the 1st Brigade advanced to Bara through Zakha Khel limits and

after destroying the forts of some villages returned to Ali Masjid on 29 December (From Lt. Col. Muhammad Aslam Khan, No 282). On the other side, the 5th Brigade moved to Landi Kotal, on 26 December, and destroyed the Zakha Khel forts between Ali Masjid and Landi Kotal. The Pass was not yet open for ordinary traffic but used as a line of communication for troops (From Lt. Col. Muhammad Aslam Khan, No 282. Also see *The Risings on the North-West Frontier 1898*: 230; Morphy 1899: 45). And finally the Khyber Pass was re-opened for the traffic on 12 March 1898 (Telegram from GOCTEF dated 12 March).<sup>14</sup>

For strengthening their hands on the Khyber Pass, the British, on the morning of 24 October 1898, announced new terms to the Khyber Afridis (Telegram from Gen. Egerton dated 24 October 1898. Also see Davies 1975: 139). On 27 October, Gen. Egerton and Mr. Cunningham interviewed a *jargah* of over 1100 men representing all clans of the Afridis except Qambar Khel, of which only 20 attended the *jargah* (the feud between the two sections of them delayed their arrival). Each clan nominated some 20 to 30 men as their representatives and unconditionally accepted the terms announced on 24 October which were:

*First.*—The Afridis by their own acts ruptured all agreements, forfeited all allowances, and forced the British Government to take and hold the Pass, which, as already announced by Sir William Lockhart, will be managed and controlled? as the British Government thinks? most desirable. *Second.*—The Pass will be kept open for trade. The British Government will build a fort at Landi Kotal and posts between that and Jamrud, will keep up a good road or roads and, if they want it, a railway, and will take such measures as they think fit to punish offences and preserve order on road and railway, in the fort and posts, and in the neighbourhood where necessary for their purposes.

*Third.*—The Afridis will have no dealing with any power but the British. They will be left to manage their own affairs in their own country; but, in the Khaibar Pass, they were (are?) responsible to the British Government that they will co-operate to preserve order and security of life and property on roads or railway and within the limits of the Pass.

*Fourth.*—The British Government will give allowances as formerly to the Khaibar Afridi clans for discharging this duty, and will maintain a

---

<sup>14</sup> According to Elliot, the Pass was reopened on 7 March (Elliot 1968: 207).

militia recruited from the Afridi and other tribes and commanded by British Officers. The British Government do not undertake to always keep troops at Landi Kotal, but will make arrangements for supporting the militia if circumstances require.

*Fifth.*—Arrangements for trade in the Khaibar will be made by the British Government, and the militia will be used for guarding traders.

*Sixth.*—The allowances granted by the British Government will commence to reckon from the date of the adhesion by the tribes to the terms settled by the Government of India; but they are subject to withdrawal for misbehaviour in the Pass, in British India, or against the friends or allies of Government (From Sir William Cunningham No. 3453 F).

### **Conclusion**

From 1849, the Britons started expeditions against the Pukhtun tribes of the Indian North-West Frontier as they wanted to show their strength. The British way of administration, policies and way of warfare dramatically changed with the coming of Disraeli's government in 1874. The new viceroy of the conservative government, Lord Lytton, actively persuaded the new and more aggressive 'forward policy' and within few years made the second war with Afghanistan, and finally after the Treaty of Gandamak got the control of the external affairs of Afghanistan with permanent control of the Khyber Pass. For the protection and running of the Pass, allowances were granted to the tribes concerned and a paramilitary force (Khyber Rifles) was raised for its protection. During the uprising of 1897, when the Khyber posts were attacked, the Khyber Rifles were stationed in all the posts.

The Afridi attack on the Khyber was not a sudden move like the Maizar incident, from which the colonial authorities remained unaware. In the later part of July 1897, the Malakand and Chakdara posts were attacked, followed by the attack on Shabqadar fort in the first week of August. From that time the alarming reports about the attack on Khyber posts were received by the colonial administrators, but instead of reinforcing those posts, the commandant of the Khyber Rifles was removed from Landi Kotal and posted at Jamrud.

No solid argument was forwarded by Richard Udny in this regard. But the behaviour which he showed clearly indicates the British colonial policy of brother against brother. The Landi Kotal post, which resisted the

attack of a huge Afridi *lakhkar* for one and a half day was not reinforced because the garrison of the post were the brothers (clansmen) of those who attacked the post. After the Maizar incident, the reinforcement reached just in one and half hours, covered the distance of 9 miles. In Malakand rising, the Guides covered the distance of 32 miles in 8 hours, in intense heat. The distance between Jamrud fort and Landi Kotal post was about 20 miles and there were 9,500 troops present at the mouth of the Khyber Pass, but neither a man was dispatched for the help of Khyber Rifles nor an attempt was made. The strong reason behind this is that there was no European present at Landi Kotal post. The same treatment was also met with the Sikh garrison of Saraghari during the Tirah campaign in which the whole garrison of 21 men were routed by the combine *lakhkar* of Afridis and Orakzais.

After the partition of India this Pass became part of Pakistan and played a prominent and important role till this day. Though outwardly no army has crossed this Pass for the invasion of Afghanistan, the Pass has played its role during the Afghan Jihad against the Russians and the so called 'American War on Terror' against the Taliban.



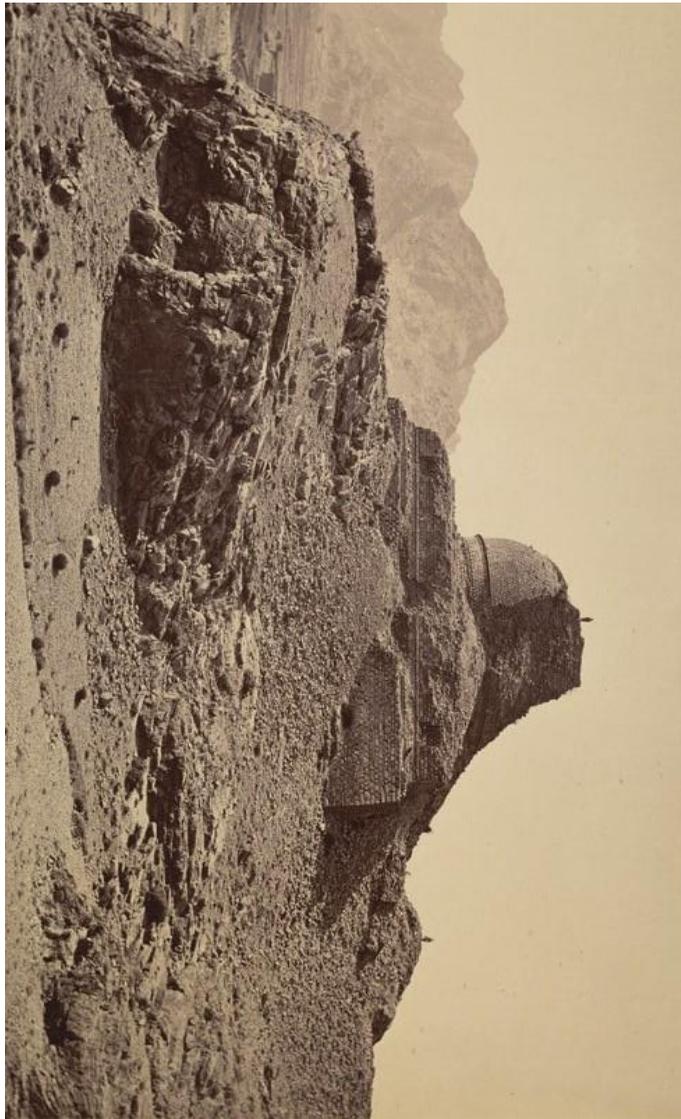


Fig. 2 - Stupa on the Khyber Pass, 1878 (Source: [www.columbia.edu](http://www.columbia.edu) [accessed by the Author]).

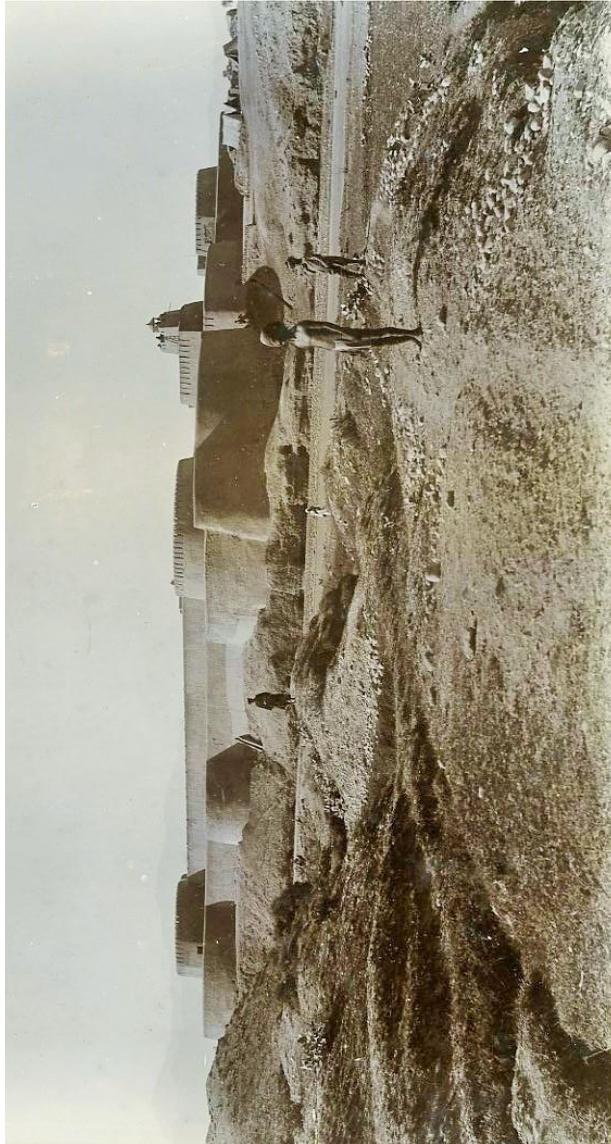


Fig. 3 - Jamrud Fort near Khyber Pass, 1920's.  
(Source: <http2.bp.blogspot.com> [accessed by the Author]).



Fig. 4 - Ancient Khyber Fort  
(Source: <http://static.panoramio.com/photos/large/11184522> [accessed by the Author]).

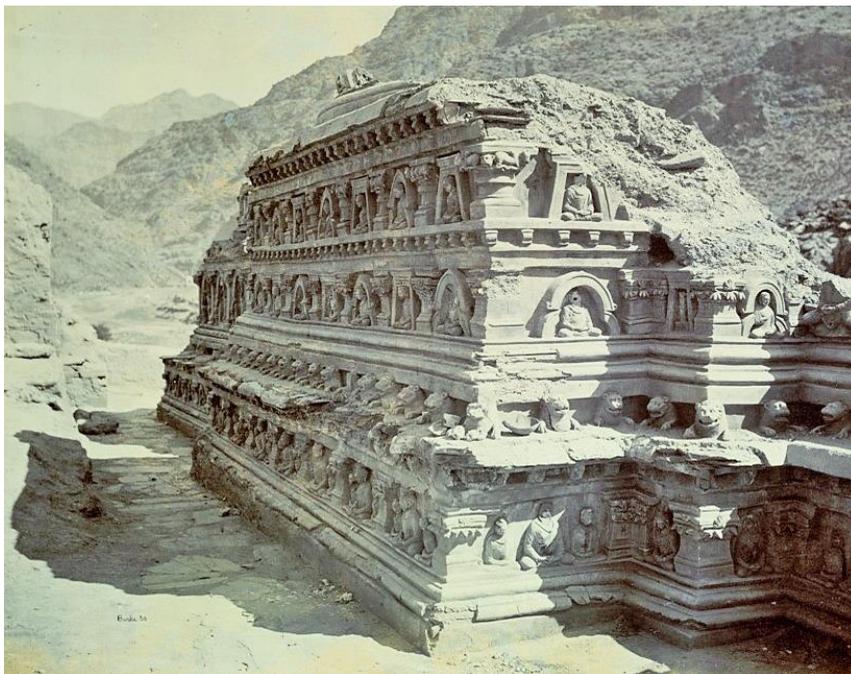


Fig. 5 - Buddhist ruins on the Khyber Pass.  
(Source: <https://upload.wikimedia.org/> [accessed by the Author]).



Fig. 6 - Khyber Pass under the British control.  
(Source: <http://blogs.harvard.edu/> [accessed by the Author]).

## References

- Ahloowalia, B.S. (2009) *Invasion of the Genes Genetic Heritage of India*. New York: Strategic Book Publishing.
- Alam, Muzaffar. (1994) Trade, State Policy and Regional Change: Aspects of Mughal-Uzbek Commercial Relations, C. 1550—1750. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 37 (3): 202–227, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3632256>, accessed on 20/08/2013.
- Baha, Lal. (1978) *N.W.F.P. Administration Under British Rule, 1901–1919*. Islamabad: National Commission on Historical and Cultural Research.
- Barger, Evert. (1939) Exploration of Ancient Sites in Northern Afghanistan. *The Geographical Journal* 93 (5): 377-391, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1788707>, accessed: 11/01/2014.
- Barthorp, Michael. (1986) *The North-West Frontier British India and Afghanistan: A Pictorial History, 1839—1947*. Poole: New Orchard Editions Ltd.
- Barton, William. (1939) *India's North-West Frontier*. With a preface by the Marquess of Willington, London: John Murray.
- Chander, Prakash. (2003) *India: Past and Present*. New Delhi: APH Publishing Corporation.
- Chandra, Moti. (1977) *Trade and Trade Routes in Ancient India*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications.
- Chaurasia, Radhey Shyam. (2002) *History of Modern India, 1707 A.D. to 2000 A.D.* New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
- Corbiau, Simone. (1937) New Finds in the Indus Valley. *Iraq* 4 (1): 1-10, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4241597>, accessed on 11/01/2014.
- Dani, Ahmad Hasan. (1969) *Peshawar: Historic City of the Frontier*. Peshawar: Khyber Mail Press.
- Davies, C. Collin. (1975) *The Problem of the North-West Frontier, 1890—1908: With a Survey of Policy since 1849*. 2nd edn., revised and enlarged, London: Curzon Press.
- Docherty, Paddy. (2007) *The Khyber Pass: A History of Empire and Invasion*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Douie, James. (2009) *The Panjab, North-West Frontier Province and Kashmir*. Reprint, Lahore: Takhleeqat Publishers.
- Elliot, J.G. (1968) *The Frontier 1839—1947: The Story of the North-West Frontier of India*. Preface by Olaf Caroe, London: Cassel & Company Ltd.

- Embree Ainslie T. ed. (1985) *Pakistan's Western Borderlands: The Transformation of a Political Order*. Reprint, Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd.
- Ewart, J.M. (2000). *Story of the North West Frontier Province*. Revised by E.B. Howell, reprint, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Frontier and Overseas Expeditions from India: North-West Frontier Tribes Between the Kabul and Gumal Rivers* (1982) Vol. 2. Reprint, Quetta: Nisa Traders.
- Gazetteer of the Peshawar District, 1897-98* (1989) Reprint, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Gokhale, Balkrishna Govind. (2001) *Ancient India: History and Culture*. Reprint, Bombay: Popular Prakashan.
- Gulati, G.D. (1985) *India's North West Frontier (in Pre-Mughal Times)*. New Delhi: Ess Ess Publications.
- Holdich, T. Hungerford. (1996) *The Indian Borderland 1880—1900*. Reprint in India, New Delhi: Asian Education Services.
- Hutchinson, H.D. (1898) *The Campaign in Tirah 1897-1898: An Account of the Expedition Against the Orakzais and Afridis Under General Sir William Lockhart, G.C.B., K.C.S.I.* London: Macmillan and Co., Limited.
- Imperial Gazetteer of India: Provincial Series North-West Frontier Province [IGIPS NWFP]* (1908). Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing.
- Jaffar, S.M. (2008) Miscellaneous Articles. Book two in *Peshawar: City on the Frontier*. Edited by Ahmad Salim. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Jayapalan, N. (2001) *History of India: From 1206 to 1773*. Volume II. New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers and Distributors.
- Khan, Muhammad Nawaz. (1994) *The Guardians of the Frontier: The Frontier Crops N.W.F.P.* Peshawar: The Frontier Crops North West Frontier Province.
- King, L. White. (1984) *The Orakzai Country & Clans*. Introduced by Akbar S. Ahmad, reprint, Lahore: Vanguard Books Ltd.
- Longmans' History of India (From the Beginning to A.D. 1526)* (1958). Reprint with amendments, Lahore: The Punjab Religious Book Society.
- Macmunn, George. (1978) *The Romance of the Indian Frontiers*. Reprint, Quetta: Nisa Traders.
- Malden, Henry Elliot. (1880) *Alexander the Great in Affghanistan*.

- Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8: 223-229, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3677829>, accessed on 17/09/2013.
- Merk, W.R.H. (1911) The North-West Frontier Province of India. *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 59, (3054): 745-763, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41342022>, accessed on 14/02/2013.
- Miller, Charles. (1977) *Khyber: British India's North West Frontier; The Story of an Imperial Migraine*. London: Macdonald and Jane's.
- Mills, H. Woosnam. (1979) *The Pathan Revolts in North West India*. Reprint, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Moreman, T.R. (1998) *The Army in India and the Development of Frontier Warfare, 1849—1947*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Morphy, Edward A. (1899) *The Khyber: A Sketch of the Pass, its Establishment, Physical Features and Recent History, with an Out-Line Map, and Some Hints to Travellers*. Bombay: Thacker and Co., Ltd.
- Narain, A.K. (1965) Alexander and India. *Greece & Rome* Second Series 12, (2): 155-165, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/642312>, accessed on 05/01/2014.
- Nevill, H.L. (2003) *Campaigns on the North-West Frontier*. Reprint, Lahore: Sang-e-Meel Publications.
- Obhrai, Diwan Chand. (1983) *The Evolution of North-West Frontier Province: Being a Survey of the History and Constitutional Development of N.W.F. Province in India*. Reprint, Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank.
- Olivieri, Luca M. (1996) Notes on the Problematical Sequence of Alexander's Itinerary in Swat A Geo-Historical Approach. *East and West*, 46, (1/2): 45-78, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/29757254>, accessed: 30/10/2011.
- Paget, W.H. and A.H. Mason. (1884) *Record of the Expeditions Against the North-West Frontier Tribes: Since the Annexation of the Punjab*. London: Whiting & Co Ltd.
- Rapson, E.J. ed. (1955) *The Cambridge History of India*. Vol. 1. Ancient India. Reprint in India, Delhi: S. Chand & Co.
- Richards, D.S. (2003) *The Savage Frontier: A History of the Anglo-Afghan Wars*. Reprint, London: Pan Books.
- Ridgway, R.T.I. (1983) *Pathans*. Reprint, Peshawar: Saeed Book Bank.
- Sabir (a), Muhammad Shafi. (n.d.) *Dastan-i-Khyber* (Urdu). Peshawar: University Book Agency.
- Sabir (b), Sultan Muhammad. (n.d.) *Khpalwaki aw Pakistan* (Pashto).

- Quetta, Islamia Press.
- Samad, Rafi-us. (2011) *The Grandeur of Gandhara: The Ancient Buddhist Civilization of the Swat, Peshawar, Kabul, and Indus Valley*. New York: Algora Publishing.
- Smith, Vincent A. (1957) *The Early History of India: From 600 B.C. to the Muhammadan Conquest Including the Invasion of Alexander the Great*. 4th edn., revised by S.M. Edwardes, reprint, London, Oxford University Press.
- Spain, James W. (1985) 'Political Problem of a Borderland' in *Pakistan's Western Borderlands: The Transformation of a Political Order*. Edited by Ainslie T. Embree. Reprint, Delhi: Vikas Publishing House Pvt Ltd.
- Sultan-i-Rome. (2013) *The North-West Frontier (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa): Essays on History*. Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Tarn, W.W. (1938) *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge: At the University press.
- Telegram from Commissioner Peshawar to Simla, Punjab, dated 24 August 1897. *Disturbance in the Khaibar and on the Kohat and Kurram Borders*. EX-DD files, Serial No. 2015, Bundle No. 18, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives at Peshawar.
- Telegram from Commissioner Peshawar to Simla, Punjab, dated 26 August 1897. *Disturbance in the Khaibar and on the Kohat and Kurram Borders*. EX-DD files, Serial No. 2015, Bundle No. 18, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives at Peshawar.
- Telegram from Commissioner Peshawar to Simla, Punjab, dated 27 August 1897. *Disturbance in the Khaibar and on the Kohat and Kurram Borders*. EX-DD files, Serial No. 2015, Bundle No. 18, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives at Peshawar.
- Telegram from General Officer Commanding Tirah Expeditionary Force [GOCTEF] Peshawar to Lahore, Punjab, dated 12 March 1898. *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Foreign Department for the Month of April 1898*, Punjab Archives at Lahore.
- Telegram from Gen. Egerton and Mr. Cunningham to the Lt. Governor's Camp, Chief Secretary to Government, Punjab, dated 24 October 1898. *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Foreign Department for the Month of October 1898*, Punjab Archives at Lahore.
- The Date of Kanishka (1913). *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* Urnal of the Royal Asiatic Society of

Great Britain and Ireland: 911–1042,  
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25189072>, accessed on 02/05/2013.

- The Editor. (1911) *Tirah. 1897*. London: Constable and Co. Ltd.
- The Risings on the North-West Frontier* (1898). Allahabad: Pioneer Press.
- Warburton, Robert. (1975) *Eighteen Years in the Khyber 1879-1898*. Third impression, reprint, Karachi: Oxford University Press.
- Year Book of the North-West Frontier Province 1954 Peshawar (Pakistan)* (n.d.) Peshawar: Secretary to Government, N.W.F.P. Information Department.
- Yusufi, Allah Bakhsh. (n.d.) *Azad Pathan*. Vol. 1. Khyber Agency (Urdu). Karachi: Sarhad Syndicate.

### **Archival Documents**

- From L. White King, Esq, Deputy Commissioner Kohat to Sir Richard Udny, Chief Political Officer, Tirah Expeditionary Force, No. 3-C, dated Kohat, 4 January 1898. *Tirah expedition*, FF Supplementary list, Serial No. 184, Bundle No. 14. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives at Peshawar.
- From Lefel Griffin, Secretary to Government, Punjab to the Secretary to the Government of India, No. 655C, dated Simla 11 August 1879. *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Foreign Department for the Month of August 1879*. Punjab Archives at Lahore.
- From Lt. Col. Muhammad Aslam Khan, Political Officer Khyber to the Commissioner and Superintendent Peshawar Division, No. 282, dated Landi Kotal, 18 May 1898. *Khyber Administration Report for the Year 1889-90 to 1890-1901*. Commissioner Office Peshawar, Serial No. 874 C, Bundle No. 31. Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Provincial Archives at Peshawar.
- From Sir William Cunningham, Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign department to Brig. Gen. C.C. Egerton, Commanding Khaibar Brigade, No. 3453 F, dated Simla, 7 October 1898. *Proceedings of the Government of the Punjab in the Foreign Department for the Month of October 1898*. Punjab Archives at Lahore.

## **Analysis of Illuminated Manuscript of Qur'an at Ganjbakhsh Library Islamabad**

**Saima Syed**

### **Abstract**

*This study focuses on illuminated manuscripts of the Qur'an and samples have been collected from Ganj Bakhsh Library (GBL), Islamabad. The purpose of this study is to highlight the common and uncommon dependent variables (calligraphy, glossy golden dots, colours, floral and geometrical shapes, marginal frames, Surah Heading, Surah indication (rosette, medallion), marginal design, variance in paper/page size, binding style and clouds underlining the text) and independent variable(time) of the sample. GBL collection is from different regions of subcontinent, Iran, Afghanistan and Kashmir. The study divided the samples into two groups. Group "A" (text with translation) and "B" (text without translation). The study is conducted under the theoretical framework of manuscriptology.*

### **Introduction**

The Qur'an is a holy book of Muslims. Initially, it was written on regional available material (stone, animal skin, bones and leaves). Gradually, it transforms into book form (horizontal and vertical). In the Muslim art, the field of illuminated manuscript of the Qur'an is an important subject. The illumination may be defined as the process of beautification of the manuscript or a written page with a variety of calligraphic styles, colours and designs. The Holy books are specially beautified to make them prominent and significant among other books. Divine religion followers (like Muslims, Christians and Jews) have fundamental beliefs in Holy writings. The words of these Holy writings are highly respected. The extreme love and respect resulted in the use of visual ornamentation and production of illuminated manuscripts with extraordinary care and design sensitivity.

The ancient illuminated Islamic manuscripts are not organized and properly placed. These are present in various places and even in scattered portions and parts. A significant proportion of these illuminated Islamic manuscripts had been lost, destroyed and stolen. It has been observed that many Qur'an's leaves are found in the various parts of the world.

Sometimes it is hard to find, out the name of the artist or calligrapher of ancient manuscripts. Art historians classified the illuminated manuscripts in terms of typology and chronology. In the initial centuries of the Islamic glorious era, the art of the book is emphasized to the manuscript of the Holy Qur'an. The classification of the arts of the book is as calligraphy, illumination, illustration and book binding.

Initially the calligraphy was practiced as decorative way and then gradually with the passage of time; the inscriptions are decorated with different elements. The commonly used elements include foliage (leaves, flowers, fruits and vegetables). There was no usage of animal and human representation as these are prohibited in the Islam. For the illumination of borders, gold, silver leaves, red, black ink, reed pen and brush were used. After thorough evaluation of artistic work, it may be concluded that it was for the royal class due to the usage of most expensive, highly decorated material. It is also a time-consuming activity. The illumination/decoration is normally planned at the beginning of the manuscript writing and done after the completion of the text.

Ganj Bakhsh Library (GBL) has a variety of illuminated manuscripts. The selected manuscript of Holy Qur'an can be divided into two categories. The first category "A" includes the manuscript of the Holy Qur'an with Translation and commentary (sample no 1618, 825) the second category "B" includes manuscripts of the Qur'an without translation and commentary (sample no 10049, 10071)

Aims and objective of this study is to find out the various decorative elements (variables) in the selected illuminated manuscripts of the Quran. The study is based on primary (physical analysis) and secondary data drawn from the various sources.

### **Main Feature of Sample**

The first line of every part and word Allah is golden of this sample (1618 group A). A text box is enclosed in frames. Golden circles with blue outline are designed on deep red background. Other pages are less illuminated and outer margins contain a zigzag commentary on the path of the text. A large pear shaped marginal illuminated medallion mark a new *Juz* in the gold *thulath* script (Fig 2). *Shamsa* medallion (Fig 3) is commonly used for the indication of *raqu*, *sajda*, *ruba*, *nisaf* and *salasa*. *Sura Maryam* is designed the way like Indian manuscript of the Qur'an has adopted.



Fig. 1 - Sample 1618 (Photo by the Author, source: *GBL*), six lines only for opening pages and fifteen lines per page.

It is a combination of Indo- Persian patterns and colour palettes with outstanding combination. This Indian *naskh* script called *bihari/bihari*. J.P Losty argued on the assigned name of script *bihari* like “This term of vague origin unlikely refers to the Bihar region of India, where no tradition of manuscript copying” (Losty 1982). It was promoted under the patronage of *Sultan* of Jawnpur in the 15th century CE, kings of Bengal and Mughal sultans (Blair 2006). According to the James, the tradition of the copying Qur’an in this script appears to have been short- lived, coinciding with the period between the collapse of the Delhi *sultanate* in the last year of the 14<sup>th</sup>

century CE and the consolidation of Mughal rule in the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century CE (James 1992). A few features are common like floral spray, detailed and delicate design, border, text box, double pages with Timurid and Turkoman Qur'ans. Indo-Pakistani manuscript of Holy Qur'an may easily be distinguished by the characteristic version of *naskh* (*Bihari* script).



Fig. 2 - A large pear shaped marginal illuminated medallion (Photo by the Author).



Fig. 3 - Shamsa marginal medallion (Photo by the Author).

The layout and design (of sample 825, Fig 4) resemble to the manuscript of the Holy Qur'an described by the Blair in her book "Islamic Calligraphy".

She explained about the Holy Qur'an "it was transcribed in the land of Kashmir in 1759-60 CE". She further described that a copy in Tehran whose colophon specified the actual date. Kashmir emerged as a new centre for the fine manuscript production in seventeenth and eighteenth century CE. The Holy Qur'an was transcribed in a fine, bold *naskh* and *aya* marked by black outlined golden rounds. The text of the opening and ending pages are set in clouds bands.



Fig. 4 - Sample 825, eight lines of text with sarloh, Borders of the pages filled with Persian translation and explanation of Arabic text (Photo by the Author).

Every page has three colourful triangles (Fig. 4), add the beauty in the commentary. All pages have the eleven lines except the first page of *sura Bakrah* (eight lines). The Arabic text is in *naskh* (enclosed with clouds) and

Persian translation in *nasta'liq* script. Text in black and diacritic marks are in red. This manuscript of the Holy Qur'an has a unique *sarloh* with a variety of colours. And the paper they used called *Hirati*. The manuscript of the Qur'an (10049, group B, Fig 5) is handy-sized and portable of 1200 Hijri (which is approximately around 1785 CE) by unknown artist.

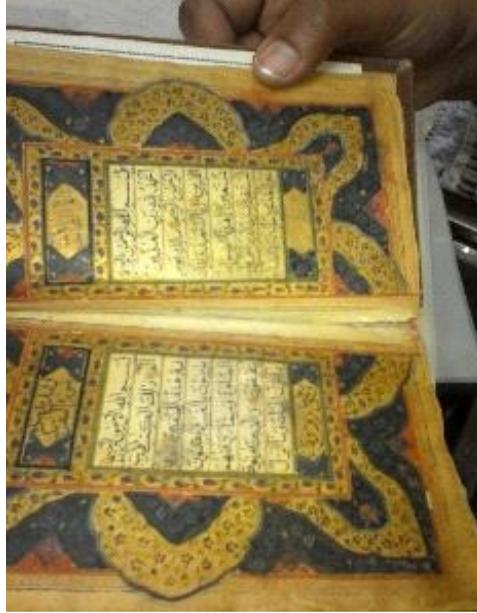


Fig. 5 - Sample 10049, page layout, double faced sample, photographed by Syed Umer Armaghan (Photo by the Author).

Prominent blue background of first and last pages enhance the golden colour. Opening illuminated pages are designed in three parts. The first part is a beautiful vertical frame. A flower bud pattern enclosed the whole frame. Secondly, there is a text box inside the vertical frame and thirdly, the highly-illuminated part is full of colours and flower patterns inside and outside the golden arches.

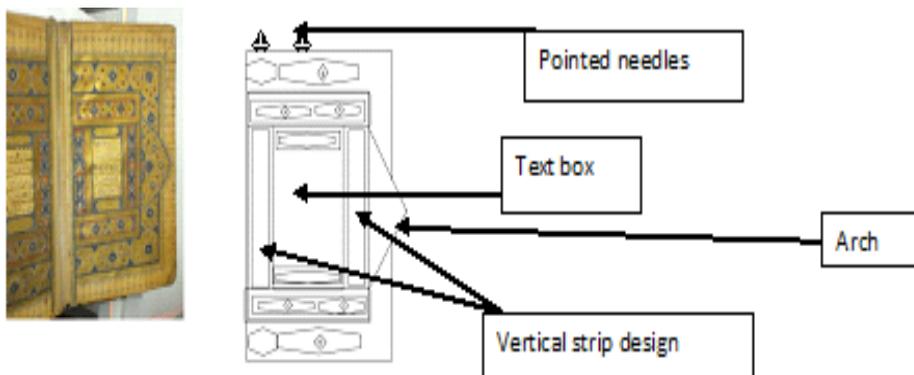


Fig. 6 - Design layout of sample 10071 (Group B) Design layout of sample 10071 (Group B) (Drawings by the Author).

The sample no. 10071 (Group B) manuscript was transcribed in eleven hundred *Hijri* which corresponds roughly to 17<sup>th</sup> century CE. It was an experimental work by an unknown artist during the Mughal rule. For the elaboration of layout both facing illuminated pages may be divided in four parts.

The First part is vertical in shape and 5 lines of black text wrapped by golden clouds within the box. Aya marker is a small circle with four blue dots on its surroundings at equal distance. During the Mamluk rule, Ahmad al-Mutatabbib transcribed the manuscript of the Qur'an at Cairo in 1330 CE which had rosette at the end of every *aya* (Blair2006). The second part is an illuminated vertical frame which is made of four designed (with floral and geometric) stripes. The third part has a prominent arch, placed in the middle of the both facing pages. Which breaks the sequence of the fourth part of the layout. Arch background is golden.

The different patterns and colour combinations, enhanced the beauty of the page. Corners of the facing pages have a flat leaf gold pattern filled with floral repeated patterns of the red range along with the Centre aliened blue pattern. Fourth part has a series of pointed needles with three leaves on its head. That is also repeated in the arch of *the Sura Baqrah head piece* in this sample.

These manuscripts have lined (ruled) frames and the margins are very narrow. Ruled frames are rare in Mamluk's manuscripts of Qur'ans initially (Gallop 2006). A manuscript of Qur'an belonging to the Mamluk

period (15<sup>th</sup> century CE) had ruled frame. From the 14<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the manuscripts of the Qur'an from Turkey, Iran and China have a verity of ruled frames. It reveals that the ruled frames were in fashion during the 14<sup>th</sup> & 15<sup>th</sup> century CE in various parts of the Islamic world.

S No	Q.no	N of Page	Ink	Group	Internal Width (cm)	External Height (cm)	External Width (cm)	External Height (cm)
1	10049	798	Black	B	8	13	9	14
2	10071	648	Black	B	6	12	11	18
3	1618	1164	Black, Gold, Blue	A	14	23.5	22.5	34
4	825	980	Black	A	11	20.5	15.9	22.4

Table 1 - Features of Samples

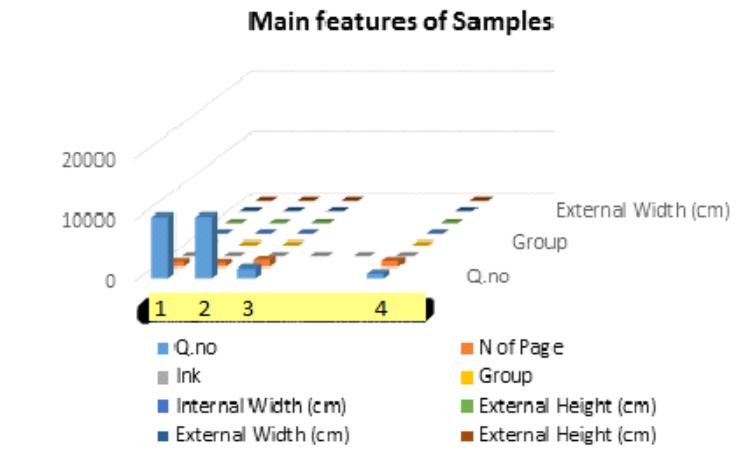


Chart 1 - Features of Qur'an Sample (10049, 10071, 1618, 825) (Chart by the Author).

According to the Graph first two samples are almost close due to certain reason, firstly assigned number is in 5 digits, secondly belong to the same group / category, thirdly text ink is black in both samples, fourthly there is a minor difference in external width, internal width and external height of the pages. Next two samples have not similar characteristics. Their differences are, script, paper quality, colour combination, page layout, diacritical marks and size.

<b>S No</b>	<b>Q. No.</b>	<b>Calligraphy</b>	<b>Paper</b>	<b>Colour</b>	<b>Condition</b>	<b>Clouds</b>	<b>Decorated Both (front and back)</b>
1	10049	Naskh	Kashmiri	black blue red white golden	Good	No	Both
2	10071	Naskh	Kashmiri	black red golden blue	Good	Yes	Both
3	1618	Bahari	Samarqandi	black red golden blue	Damaged	No	One first and two last pages
4	825	Naskh	Hirati	pink golden black blue red	Damaged	Yes	Both

Table 2. Characteristics of Samples

\* \* \*

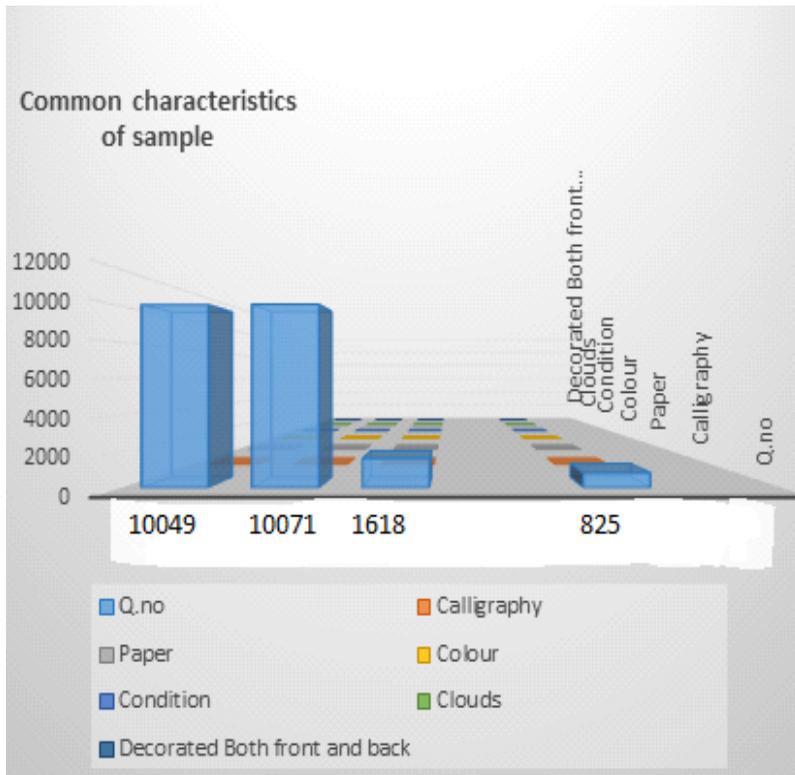


Chart 2 - Common characteristics of samples (Chart by the Author).

The Selected manuscripts of Qur'an can be categorized based on size into three classes small, medium and large. Sample numbers 10049 (16 lines per page), 10071 (14 lines per page) belongs to small as their size of the pages are 8x13cm and 6x12x5cm. Sample 825 is medium in size (20.5x15.9cm and 11lines per page). The larger sample is 1618 (15lines per page).

### **Conclusion**

In first group (A) samples are different in size, style and have their own identity (overall design) along with common variables. Though these variables are the part of each design, but in a different way. As this study mention time as the independent variable, so it shows the changes in the behaviour of its dependent variables. Like in the second group (called B) table 1 shows that most of the elements (variables) are same in both samples. But chronological order (1100, 1200 *Hijri*) indicated a lot of

differences, firstly, regional and foreign influences on script, colour application and design pattern secondly page layout, thirdly diacritic marks (simplified by the time).

Artistic preferences and high class involvement also fashioned the hybrid style. This fusion created a little bit difficult for the indication of the specific style. Sample 10071 is hybrid (inspired by the Ottoman and Safavid style) in nature. Different elements of design are introduced by the artist like marginal frames has no significant importance at the beginning, gradually it became a part of illumination which may be due to two reasons, first for the alignment of the page (just to separate the text box from marginal text) which gives some extra spaces for binding and second for beautification. This study indicates that the first reason is more appropriate because marginal lines and ruled frames separate the text box from the marginal text and other indicators aesthetically which enhances the importance of text.

Sample no 1618 is a very different from the others. The words in this manuscript are not congested like other samples. While one line has maximum six words. The words are clear and easily readable due to sufficient space between them. The last letter of the word is swiftly laid down as in the honour of the next word.

### **Acknowledgement**

Special thanks to Director, Librarian of GBL, they provided me all facilities, access to all desired samples and allow me to hold photographs. Thanks to Dr. Abu Turab and Sir. Hassani, they always help me and opened the door of GBL for my research. I thankful to Head of Department TIAC Dr. Ghani ur Rahman for his helpful suggestions and guideline. I express my deepest gratitude to respected teacher Dr. Rafiullah Khan for his continuous support, criticism, encouragement, and cooperation in the completion of this paper.

## **References**

- Blair, S. S. (2006) *Islamic Calligraphy*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Gallop, A.T. (2006) The Art of the Qur'an in Banten. Paris: *Archipel*, 72(1):99
- Gallop, A.T. (2004) An Acehnese style of manuscript illumination, *Archipel*, 68 (1):193-240.
- Blair, S. S. (2000) Colour and Gold: The Decorated Papers Used in Manuscripts in Later Islamic Times. *Muqarnas*, (17): 24.
- Ranjha, M.N. (1993) *Catalogue of the Manuscript of Quran-I-Majid in the Ganjbakhsh Library*. Iran –Pakistan Institute of Persian studies, Islamabad-Pakistan: Manza Printing Corporation
- D. James. (1992) *After Timur: Qur'ans of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Whelan, E. (1990) Writing the Word of God: Some Early Qur'an Manuscripts and Their Milieux, Part I, *Ars Orientalis*, (20): 113-114
- Pedersen, J. (1984) *The Arabic Book*, Trans: Geoffrey French. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Losty, J. P. (1982) *The Art of the Book in India*. London: British Library.

**LIST OF CONTRIBUTORS\***

- Paolo Biagi                      Department of Asian and North African Studies,  
Ca' Foscari University of Venice, Ca' Cappello,  
San Polo 2035, I-30125 Venezia, Italy.  
Email: [pavelius@unive.it](mailto:pavelius@unive.it)
- Luca Maria Olivieri      Director,  
ISMEO Italian Archaeological Mission in  
Pakistan (ACT Project)  
ISMEO Representative in Pakistan  
(*Sitara-i-Imtiaz*)  
Email: [act.fieldschool@gmail.com](mailto:act.fieldschool@gmail.com)
- Zarawar Khan              Lecturer in Archaeology, Institute of Cultural  
Heritage, Tourism and Hospitality Management  
(ICHTHM), University of Swat.  
Email: [zarawarkhan22@yahoo.com](mailto:zarawarkhan22@yahoo.com)
- Mueezuddin Hakal        Assistant Professor,  
Karakoram Centre for Cultural Studies and  
Heritage, Karakoram International University,  
Gilgit.  
Email: [mueez.hakal@gmail.com](mailto:mueez.hakal@gmail.com)
- Samina Saleem            PhD Scholar,  
Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-  
Azam University Islamabad.  
Email: [saminafives@gmail.com](mailto:saminafives@gmail.com)
- Adeela Ghazanfar        PhD Scholar,  
Department of History, Quaid-i-Azam University  
Islamabad.  
Email: [adeelaghazanfar@gmail.com](mailto:adeelaghazanfar@gmail.com)

---

\* The order follows the contents.

*List of contributors*

- Samia Khalid Assistant Professor in History at The Islamia University of Bahawalpur  
Email: [samkhameo@gmail.com](mailto:samkhameo@gmail.com)
- Ishtiaq Ahmad PhD Scholar,  
Department of History, University of Peshawar.  
Email: [ishtiaqahmadphd@uop.edu.pk](mailto:ishtiaqahmadphd@uop.edu.pk)
- Saima Syed PhD Scholar,  
Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad.  
Email: [sarisyed@yahoo.com](mailto:sarisyed@yahoo.com)

**Publications Sponsored by  
Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations  
Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan**

1. Report of the UNESCO Symposium on the contribution of the people of Central Asia to the history of Science, Islamabad, 1970.
2. Alberuni's Indica, abridged and annotated by Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani, Islamabad, 1973.
3. Ghurrat al-Zijaj, edited by Dr. N.A. Baloch, Hyderabad, 1973.
4. Muslim Conduct of State based upon Suluk-ul-Muluk of Fadlullah by Prof. Muhammad Aslam, Islamabad, 1974.
5. Proceedings of the First Congress of Pakistan History and Culture;  
Vol. I. ed. By Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani, Islamabad, 1975.  
Vol. II ed. By Prof. Ahmad Hasan Dani, Islamabad, 1974.  
Vol. III ed. By Prof. Waheed-uz-Zaman, Islamabad, 1974.
6. History of Science in Central Asia: papers contributed to the National Seminar on History of Science, held in December 1974, ed. by Dr. Asghar Qadir, Islamabad, 1978.
7. The Last Two Dynasties of the Hindu Shahis by Dr. Abdur Rahman, Islamabad, 1979.
8. Indus Civilization - New Perspectives (Papers submitted at the International Seminar held in Karachi in 1978-79) Islamabad, ed. By Prof. A.H. Dani, 1981.
9. Chilas, The City of Nanga Parvat (Dyamar) Islamabad, by Prof. A.H. Dani, 1983.
10. The Middle Stone Age Cultures of Northern Pakistan by M. Salim, 1986.
11. Shah Rais Khan's History of Gilgit ed. by Prof. A.H. Dani, 1987.
12. Mathematics. The Islamic Legacy by Dr. Q. Mushtaq and A.L. Tan, 1990.
13. Rediscovery of the Civilization of Central Asia by Prof. A.H. Dani, A.A. Askarov & S.P. Gubin, 1991.
14. Lower Palaeolithic in the Soan Valley, Rawalpindi, by Dr. M. Salim, 1996.
15. The Palaeolithic Cultures of Potwar with Special Reference to the Lower Palaeolithic by Dr. M. Salim, 1997.
16. Pakistan Egypt Relations in World Perspective by Dr. M. Noman Galal, 1998.
17. Dynamics of the Egyptian National Identity by Dr. Noman Galal 1998.
18. Ancient Hunters, Farmers and Sea Traders in Sind; Stone Tools to Stone Carved Graves by Dr. M. Salim 2002.
19. Sufi Traditions and New Departures. Recent Scholarship on Sufism in South Asia edited by Søren Christian Lassen and Hugh van Skyhawk and published as volume I in the monograph series, Hugh van Skyhawk and Ghani-ur-Rahman (series editors), Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, 2008.
20. Proceedings of the International Workshop on Gandharan Cultural Heritage 1-3 December 2010, Islamabad, Pakistan. Edited by Prof. Dr. M. Ashraf Khan and Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman. Published by the TIAC as volume 1.
21. Giuseppe Tucci-On Swāt. Historical and Archaeological Notes, TIAC, Islamabad, Pakistan, 2013. Edited by Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman and Dr. Luca M. Olivieri
22. Threat to the Cultural Heritage of Pakistan: Survey and Documentation of Tangible and Intangible Heritage of Azad Jammu & Kashmir and Northern Areas of Pakistan Edited by Dr. M. Ashraf Khan and Dr. Ghani-ur-Rahman