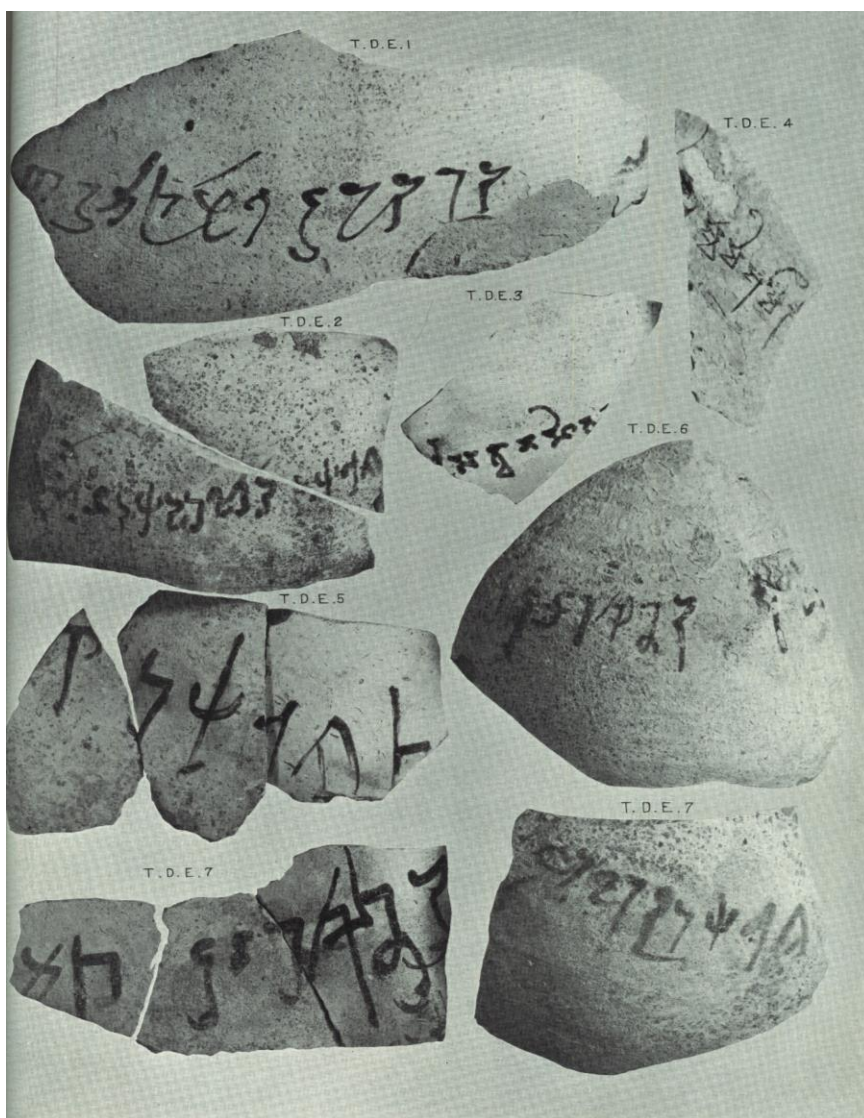


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Inscribed sherds from Tor Dherai (after Stein 1929: pl. XXVII)

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Editorial Note

The authors are responsible for the linguistic and technical qualities of their texts. The editors only tried to ensure minimum coherence to the articles. The editors always reserve the right to make all the changes in the manuscripts to maintain the standard of the Journal.

Recent Surface Analysis of Chanhru Daro An industrial hub city of Indus Civilization

Qasid H. Mallah/G.M. Vessar/Tasleem Abro/Tooba Shafaq

Abstract

The Harappan settlement of Chanhru Daro in Sindh was still considered in the 80s, after Moenjodaro and Harappa, as the third major excavated Harappan town in South Asia. Although nowadays the list of Harappan settlements is far longer, the importance of Chanhru Daro for the study of craft specialization is not diminished. The present article deals with a recent surface reconnaissance at the site, carried out more than 30 years after the last fieldwork by M. Vidale and G.M. Sher.

1. Introduction

The well known settlement of Indus civilization named as Chanhru Daro is located near the modern village Jamal Kiryo in Deh Jamal Kiryo, Taluka Sakrand District Shaheed Benazir Bhutto Abad (former Nawab Shah district) at 26° 10' 26" N and 68° 19' 22" E (Fig. 1). The site is situated near Jamal Kiriyo village along Hazari Wah a branch of Dad Canal which cross through the Nawabsha-Sakrand Road (Majumdar 1935/1981²: 35). In its current position, the site consists of two main mounds and several smaller mounds and heaps of the cultural material not more than two meters of height from surrounding ground. The main mounds exceed seven meters in height from surrounding surface. The site extends 290 m max. N-S, and 210 m max. E-W; thus the existing covered area is a total of 60,900 sqm. The cultivation around the site might have been encroached the site consequently the remains may have been defaced and damaged. The existing size of site may not be considered the actual extent

of Chanhu Daro settlement as was described by previous investigators. This urban center is famous as an industrial site for various types of beads making and seal making (Possehl 2002: 16, 74). The presence of finished and raw material debris suggest that the settlement may have maintained its status of being industrial settlement through maintaining the interaction with distant communities for obtaining the raw material and distributing the finished products.



Fig. 1 - Google Earth locational image of the Chanhu Daro showing working areas (elaborated by the Authors).

During recent documentation, the surface of the site was thoroughly examined for understanding the issue of being industrial. The architectural remains are completely destroyed only traces of some mud brick walls and hearths were present. The indicators of large scale or intensive work were marked with was GPS location of working debris like raw material nodules, flakes, polishers, drills etc were given importance. Following this strategy, at least thirteen spots were noticed where indication of any craft activity was present and all were associated with bead making. The seal

making remains were absent. The recent surface analysis did prove that Chanhu Daro was a bead making centre where raw material was processed for final products.

2. Previous Documentation

At least three major baseline research endeavor have been made; N.G. Majumdar in 1931 first documented the Chanhu Daro site* and then Ernest J.H. Mackay in 1935-36 commenced large scale excavation and established the occupational sequence of the settlement. The settlement was left unwatched until March 1984, when M. Vidale and G.M. Sher carried out a survey at the site (Vidale and Sher 1985).

Ernest J.H. Mackay in 1935-36 commenced large scale excavation and documented cultural development through four distinctive depositional layers the temporal sequence was established as:

Period IV: Jhangar – 1100 - 500 BC

Period III: Trihni- 1300 – 1100 BC

Period II : Jhukar (Late Indus) 1900 -1300 BC

Period I (A-D): Mature Indus 2600 -1900 BC

This chronology suggests that the settlement was continuously occupied from 2600 to 500 century BC. The earlier excavators i.e. Majumdar and Mackay have provided extensive account on the architectural setup and material assemblage. However, in both the reports the condition of surface of site and the preservation of architectural remains is not mentioned.

Majumdar has reported three mounds: mound I 17 ft high, mound II 19 ft high and mound III 10 feet high; all cover an area of 1000 ft in length and 700 ft in width. Majumdar opened two trenches on mound III and another trench 80 x 12 ft on mound one was opened. From these all trenches, at least four hundred objects were discovered along with architectural remains. Among the list pottery, chert stone weight, copper objects, beads of various stones like lapis lazuli, carnelian, chalcedony, faience and terracotta; unicorn seals and terracotta figurines and shell objects were listed. Majumdar also exposed walls, covered drains, and a well. How

theses exposed architectural features were treated? Whether these architectural remains were left exposed or re-buried?

After important discoveries, Mackay commenced digging of the site on November 2, 1935 and opened several trenches on Mound I and II. Mackay was successful to establish the chronology of site from Mature Indus period to Jhangher Culture and have excavated some Muslim graves as he terms it “Muhammadan Cemetery”. The graves were documented on Mound II and are described in chapter III of the excavation report. Some pottery was also recorded and termed as “Muhammadan Pottery” for instance at pp. 137-38 of his report on the site.

Mackay has exposed extensive architectural remains and has collected a huge repertoire of cultural material. All objects are listed in the preliminary report and were finally divided among government of India and Museum of fine arts Boston USA, which was the main funding body of the excavation project. The division of artifacts took four days.

On Mound II, Mackay put a deep trench up to the 28.2 ft after which water appeared and digging was stopped. In general excavation on Mound I and II, he exposed extensive architectural remains like several rooms, drains and street that resembled with Mohenjo Daro. A furnace was also exposed but was never used as the excavator has claimed. Large jars *in situ* were found sometimes one jar put on another was also exposed and were used for drainage purpose.

A huge variety of jars in various shapes and sizes were collected. Some of them were painted with floral and geometrical motifs. Peacock, *pipal*-leaf, fish-scales and intersecting circles were among the common decorative motifs. The dish-on-stand and perforated pots were part of their vessel category. Some of the decorative elements were continued into later period i.e. the Jhukar *facies* (Late Indus).

The terracotta toy cart frames and figurines rattle, walking and flying birds were made beautifully decorated. The beads were made from terracotta, stone and faience in various sizes and designs indicating the aesthetic sense of Indus people. The scale of manufacturing debris and arrangements and finished production made excavator to announce this

settlement as an industrial site. A huge number of seals was collected, majority was of the unicorn seals. The round seals continued into later periods as well. This cultural material when looked in general setup of Indus culture shows richness of this particular settlement and it was perhaps the rationale that Chanhu-Daro was considered one of the important industrial centers.

3. Recent Surface Analysis

During recent visit of the site, no any architectural features were visible, but some traces of the walls on the surface. Thus a fresh analysis the site was commenced. The site consists of two main mounds. The one on the northern side is designated as “mound A”, and it is located at 26° 10' 26" N and 68° 19' 22" E (Fig. 2), and other on the southern side designated as “mound B” which is situated at 26° 10' 21" N and 68° 19' 20" E. There are few smaller mounds on its northwestern side. In between these two main mounds (i.e. A and B), a smaller heaps of debris was noticed.

Nowadays, the cultivation activity has surrounded the site and may have covered and/or destroyed some portions as well. On eastern side, a water course is crossing which was built after cutting through the archaeological site. The entire surface of site is uneven and covered with grass (called *drubha* [*Desmostachya bipinnata*], and *khabar* [*Salvadora oleoides*]).

During this survey, the traces of the architectural remains and presence of cultural objects in any disposition mainly the finished artifact along with (a) the manufacturing debris and (b) items related with manufacturing process was recorded and given GPS coordinates (Fig. 12). The main focus was on the type of items produced at the site, and if there were further evidence to understand the notion of “seal making or bead making activity” reported in the past (Vidale and Sher 1985).

Mound A

This is the highest mound and occupies the northern portion of the site. On its north a grave of a Muslim saint is located. This is the main area of Chanhu Daro where density of craft activity, kilns and potsherds were noticed (Fig. 3). The Mound itself has very steep sides that make the narrow top surface. Along the western sides a robbers trench was seen where burnt brick wall remains were clearly visible suggesting that when this mound was excavated very high architectural remains may have been exposed as now seen at Mohanjo Daro.

At the southern base area of the mound, several burnt spots and kiln areas along with craft activity indicators were observed. The surface contained different types of objects such as the remains of large jars, polish or grinding sand stones in broken conditions, chert implements i.e. drills and blades and copper bits; all were littered everywhere. The large nodules of Agate and carnelian were also scattered (Fig. 6). Some large pieces of marine shells were also recognized and collected.

The most important features to be considered is the mud brick platforms (Fig. 4) and the burnt brick wall visible on the surface. After small scraping these features will be more cleared and can provide a clear picture of craft activity. A few kilns are also associated with such type of features.

* * *



Fig. 2 - General view of the Mound A looking south, where the grave of Muslim saint is also visible (N.B.: all the photos, unless otherwise indicated, are by the Authors).

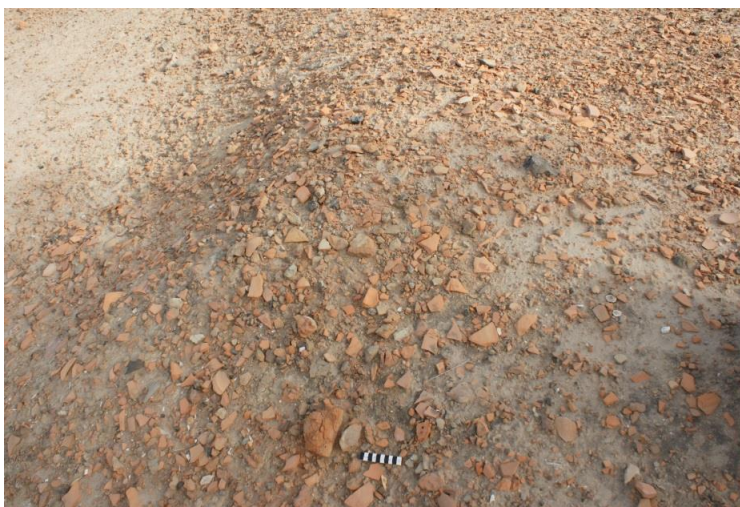


Fig. 3 - Concentration of potsherds on the surface from northern side of Mound A.



Fig. 4 - A view of the mud brick platform located at various places of the site.



Fig. 5 - The carnelian debris along with other objects like terracotta figurines (see below Fig. 10).



Fig. 6 - Above: agate/carnelian nodules; centre: flakes of quartz; centre and below: agate and carnelian flakes.



Fig. 7 - Various types of semiprecious stones:
1-5 carnelian/agate; 6-8 greenish stone; 9-12 lapis lazuli; 13 agate (?).

The surface is covered with cultural debris mainly pottery, both painted and plain (Fig. 9), terracotta figurines (Fig. 5) and toy cart frames (Fig 10), various types of semiprecious stone flakes (Fig. 7), vitrified slags, chert blades, chert drills (Fig. 8), terracotta bangles, shell pieces, and faience objects. At several places burnt spots were noticed indicating the possible presence of a kiln. Mud brick walls and platforms, adjoining with burnt brick walls and/or other types of architectural remains were also noted. Somewhere, outline of a large jar was noticed. The presence of sandstone polisher in various sizes and shapes suggested some grinding and polishing activity.



Fig. 8 - Chert stone drills, blade and saw type blades.













Fig. 9 - Painted pottery collected from surface of Mound A.



Fig. 10 - Above: humped bull, below: part of painted toy cart frame (see above Fig. 5).

Recent Surface Analysis of Chanhu Daro

SN	Activity Area	Collection	Remarks
1			The quartz working area where two chert stone drills were found.
2			The carnelian working area where a polisher and shell debris piece were collected.
3			The agate working area where copper (drill?) pieces were gathered.
4			The large carnelian nodules, quartz flake, chert blade and chert saw were collected.
5			The agate working area where painted pottery, chert saw and a drill were gathered.

6			<p>The steatite working area, where white disk beads in various sizes and steatite stone lumps were documented.</p>
7			<p>The agate working area where a lump was present along with micro debris (not collected).</p>
8			<p>The carnelian working area where chert drills were also gathered.</p>
9			<p>The carnelian working area where Sandstone polisher/ grinder along with micro debris were recorded.</p>
10			<p>The agate working area where the green stone and shell debris were also documented.</p>

11			The carnelian working area.
12			The carnelian working area where chert blades, drill and a green stone piece were documented.
13			The carnelian working area where some nodules of carnelian, green stone and terracotta balls were collected.

Table 1 - The intensive contextual GPS survey was carried out around the main northern Mound A (Fig. 1). The main focus remained on the cluster of debris of any kind or type of commodity, for instance, beads of various types like agate, carnelian, steatite, quartz and faience which possibly show/suggest the manufacturing process. The presence of steatite debris associated with the seal manufacturing process.

Mound B

This mound is located on the southern sides at 26° 10' 21" N and 68° 19' 20" E. The mound occupies larger space than Mound A. Mound B is also rich in cultural assemblage. The treasure hunters have dug a trench of about 3.80 m deep and about 1.5 m wide. This trench shows the continuity of cultural deposition down to its bottom. The physical sequence should have continued further down, but it was not reached (Mackay was also stopped due to presence of water level). On the top surface of mound to traces of several burnt brick walls were visible. One room type architectural feature and other one a small platform were observed visible on the surface. Along the slopes the intensity of semiprecious flaking debris, shell piece and terracotta round discs were documented (Fig. 11).



Fig. 11 - Top left: a marine shell;
top right: carnelian debris; bottom right:
terracotta round disks.

Other Mounds

On the NW sides, some smaller mounds were also surveyed. These mounds were not more than two meters of height and were scattered in small area. The frequency and typology of artifacts was as similar to the ones registered at other parts of the site.

The site is very rich in cultural material and qualifies as an industrial settlement where the carnelian craft activity was popular. The earlier excavators indicated seal and chert weight manufacturing were performed at the site. Unfortunately, we could not locate the actual spots where these activities were performed.

SN	Latitude - N	Longitude - E	Find
1	26° 10' 24.62"	68° 19' 23.51"	Quartz
2	26° 10' 24.68"	68° 19' 24.24"	Carnelian
3	26° 10' 24.19"	68° 19' 24.72"	Agate
4	26° 10' 24.12"	68° 19' 24.72"	Carnelian quartz, and chert
5	26° 10' 24.92"	68° 19' 22.90"	Agate and chert
6	26° 10' 24.29"	68° 19' 23.17"	Steatite
7	26° 10' 23.99"	68° 19' 23.00"	Agate
8	26° 10' 24.95"	68° 19' 22.28"	Carnelian
9	26° 10' 26.29"	68° 19' 23.49"	Carnelian, sandstone
10	26° 10' 26.70"	68° 19' 22.48"	Agate, green stone and shell
11	26° 10' 26.49"	68° 19' 22.46"	Carnelian
12	26° 10' 26.68"	68° 19' 22.70"	Carnelian chert and green stone
13	26° 10' 26.68"	68° 19' 23.61"	Carnelian and green stone

Table 2 - GPS survey was carried at the NW clusters of mounds.

4. Non-local material and its sources

During our investigation several types of non-local material were found. It was in both shapes as a raw material and as finished products. The beads were made of agate, carnelian, quartz, steatite, and lapis lazuli. There were

sandstones, chert stone and marine shell. The presence of all these commodities explain access to different and distant resources which further indicate their socio economics attribute like interaction.

The steatite was present in the west of settlement at Las Bela and Jhalawan districts of Baluchistan. The Shah Norani located Pab Range would be the nearest source (Vidale and Sher 1990); the Wayaro More Range also has steatite resources (Law 2001: 161-62). The other sources of steatite are identified at Arravalli Mountains and the “nine well defined belts” in Rajasthan and some in Gujarat region as well (Law 2001: 162). The steatite is a commodity which is found frequently within South Asian context. There are at least five localities within Karakorum sequence such as (i) Chalt (ii) Ishkoman (iii) Chaproatagh Nala in Hunza (iv) Skardu region and (v) Shi Valley. The other possible sources in Sherwan, Utman Khel, Jamrud, landi Kotal, Kund, Safed Koh Mountains, Parachinar, Bajur region, and Swat valley (Law 2001: 160). To know wherefrom the steatite was arriving at Chanhu Daro, would require further research. However, it was possible that the people of Chanhu Daro, may have used the nearest sources to them.

Another category that was commonly used and worked was Agate/chalcedony group and it was “major bead making industry at Chanhu Daro site (Sher and Vidale 1984). The most common sources used were at Gujarat in India, however this category of gem stone occurs at different places in Nagar Parker Sindh, and Chagai hills of Baluchistan.

5. Conclusion

The site of Chanhu Daro is famous as the Indus Valley crafts center where highly valuable items like seals, weight and long beads were prepared from exotic material at industrial scale. The pioneer researchers N.G. Majumdar, and E.J. H Mackay reported chert stone weight, seals and bead making activity at industrial scale. Both excavators have exposed the architectural features as well. This evidence was not confirmed by our survey. Instead we observed that semi precious stone such as agate and

carnelian may have been processed at industrial scale. Finished beads, blocks, drilled blocks, preparatory debris and large lumps/nodules along with chert drill, sand stone polishers, large jars, platform and kilns were scattered all over the site. Moreover, sub-surface research might show some concrete *in-situ* evidence to reconstruct the actual nature of settlement.

In over all, research we documented three important features (i) presence of architectural feature up to ground level and not above the ground in such a way that provide residential pattern as is explained in the reports; (ii) the agate and/or carnelian stone scattered all over the surface of site in abundance (iii) meager presence of steatite. The mud brick platform, walls along with burnt brick wall and kiln were observed everywhere but the majority was seen on the southern side of Mound “A”. Some structures were also seen on the Mound “B” as well. Following basic characteristics of workshop we documented the gem working everywhere around the “A” and at least 13 activity areas were recorded. There will be more if more detailed study is conducted. The scale of items scattered all over the site indicate and authenticate the supremacy of this settlement as an industrial center of craft activity (certainly for agate/carnelian) of Indus valley civilization.

The site is under serious threat of (a) vandalism people come and collect the nodules of exotic stones (b) natural causes i.e. rain and (c) agricultural activity as they cut the sides of mound/raised areas. There is dire need to take concrete and decisive steps as (i) to protect this site from all alarming threats (ii) document thoroughly either only surface or through excavation and most importantly (iii) make it as a tourist resort for all type of visitors with baseline idea of cultural awareness and education for the students and scholars of today and coming generations.

Notes

*The date of commencing of excavation is mentioned differently. Mackay in the preface mentions that N.G. Majumdar came and excavated the site in 21st February 1931 and left in March [of the same year]. On the contrary, G.L. Possehl mentioned that Majumdar excavated site in March 1930.

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Editorial Note

In 2015 by a French team directed by A. Didier started a new excavation project at the site in cooperation with the Culture, Tourism and Antiquities Department, Govt. of Sindh, and Department of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan. These excavations - recently published in Pakistan Archaeology (volume 31, 2016) and presented in several conferences in Pakistan and abroad - brought substantial new data on the stratigraphy of the Indus occupation at Chanhu-daro, the architecture and the craft activities developed during the first part of the Indus period. These data deeply modified some of Mackay's results and conclusions, particularly regarding the urbanism of Chanhu-daro, the issue of massive mudbrick structures and the Harappan architectural techniques, as well as the feature described in the present article as "Mound A". The present article is based on field data collected before the above project started.

Mohra: A Newly Discovered Kot Diji Phase Site in Northern Punjab

Arslan Butt

Abstract

This paper deals with the discovery of a Kot Diji phase site in the upper Indus Valley, Northern Punjab, at Mohra in District Rawalpindi. Mohra is predominantly an early Harappan-Kot Diji phase site, culturally related to Sarai Khola II, Gumla III-IV, Rehman Dheri II-III. It is a significant discovery in the area, about forty years after the discovery of Khanda, Pind Nausherri and Jhnag Bahatar sites (in the area close to Taxila Valley).

1. Introduction

Regionalization Era of the Indus Tradition (c. 5000 to 2600 BCE) is composed of numerous divergent regional phases (Kenoyer 2008: 5). The prominent phases are Hakra/Ravi in central Indus Valley e.g. Harappa (Period 1 A and 1B >3300-2800 BCE) (Kenoyer and Meadow 2000), Hakra¹ in Cholistan along the dry bed of Hakra river (ca. 3500-3100/3000 BCE) (see Mallah 2010), Tochi-Gomal in Gomal and Bannu basin (3000-2700 BCE), Amri-Nal phase in S Baluchistan and W Sindh, and Kot Diji phase.

Kot Diji phase was first identified in Sindh, at Kot Diji, Khairpur (Khan 1965) and then in Kyber Pakhtunkhwa (see below), at Harappa Period II (c. 2800-2600 BCE) (Kenoyer 1998), at Damb Sadaat Phase in the Quetta Valley and northern Baluchistan (c. 3200-2500 BCE) (Posshel 1999), and in the Sothi-Siswal phase in Indian Punjab, Haryana, but also

¹ Hakra - name for a pottery type found at early sites in Cholistan by R. Mughal (Mughal 1974, 1990, 1997) along the Hakra River - later extended to mean a “culture” that is found in all parts of the Indus valley and adjacent regions. Ravi aspect of the Hakra - refers to the total assemblage of material culture associated with the “Hakra” pottery at the site of Harappa and other sites in the Ravi drainage area

in northern Punjab (Possehl 1999). The Kot Diji phase in the northern Indus plain is crucial for the understanding the development of Harappan Civilization in the respective areas.

A pre-Kot Diji phase has been defined at Tochi-Gomal² phase, while two developmental stages of the same phase were profiled at Rehman Dheri. The Kot Diji phase contemporary with Late Harappan phase profiled at Rehman Dheri and Gumla, is termed as “Late Kot Diji phase” (up to 1900 BCE).

Research on Kot Diji phase is going on since 1955 and 1957 when the homonymous site was excavated by F. A. Khan of the Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums (Khan 1964, 1965). Interestingly, the number of sites with significant Kot Diji phases in the lower Indus Valley (where this phase was initially identified) is relatively low.³ In fact, the most recent research were carried out in areas other than the lower Indus Valley. The following is a list of the major archaeological sites with significant Kot Diji phases.

In Punjab (Mughal et al. 1996) Harappa (Dales & Kenoyer 1989, Dales & Kenoyer 1991, Dales 1991, Kenoyer 1991; Meadow & Kenoyer 1993, 1997); Jhang-Bahatar, Pind-Nausheri, Khanda (Mughal 1972_a); Islamabad area (Khan et al. 2012); Taxila Valley:⁴ Sarai-Khola (Khan 1968; Halim 1970-71, 1972), Hathial (?) (Khan 1983, 1987-88).

Khyber Pakhtunkhwa: Gomal Valley (Dani 1970-71, Khan et al. 2000, Ali & Jan 2005)⁵, Rehman Dheri (Durrani 1988, Durrani et al. 1995), Jhandi Baber II, Maru I and Gandi Umer Khan (Rahman 1997, Khan et al 2000c, Ali & Jan 2005; Ali & Jan 2009_a, Ali & Jan 2009_c), Kot Musa (Jan & Ali 2008); Bannu Basin: (Khan et al. 1991 and 2000d); Lewan (Farid Khan et al. 2000); Swat Valley: Ghaligai (Stacul 1969: 54).

Following the previous research, in a recent survey conducted by a team of scholars from the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad in District Rawalpindi and Islamabad in 2011

² A regional phase found in Gomal and Bannu Plains, dated as Pre-Kot Diji and considered as the origin of Kot Diji Phase (Khan 1990; Kondo et al. 2006).

³ With exceptions in Cholistan (Mughal 1991), on the Ravi River (Dar 1978), between Salt Range and Jhelum River (Dar 2003), and Jalilpur (Mughal 1972_b). See also Ali 2010 (area of Gwadar).

⁴ Taxila Valley is encompassing the districts of Rawalpindi and Attock.

⁵ Including also Musa Khel, Gumla and Hathala (Dani 1970-71).

under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Ashraf Khan, Mohra, a new site of Kot Diji phase has been located in District Rawalpindi (Khan et al. 2012). The recurrent study deals with its discovery, location, description, findings, and a brief comparative study. The site is vulnerable to destruction due to erosion and needs an immediate excavation to draw the cultural sequence of the site.

2. Mohra: A Brief Introduction

The site of Mohra⁶ is situated at 33° 19.994' N; 072°59.088' E and at elevation of 449 m, 40 km S of District Rawalpindi, across the Chakbeli Khan Road, two km at its west. Morphologically the area of the site seems to be the bank of a torrent. The Mohra site is surrounded by the sites of same period i.e. Taxila Valley sites at its north, Gomal and Bannu basin sites at its west, Khadianwala in the east, Harappa in the south-east whereas Jalilpur at its south.⁷

Mohra can be easily accessed through Chak Beli Khan Road, as one drives from Rawat Road. The site is rectangular in plan and oriented NW-SE. The archaeological area with its three cultural deposits (Plate 1) is now spread over a surface of about 8 ha., but once it should have covered a larger area. The site - largely encroached by agricultural fields - features naturally eroded gullies/depressions, which exposed some sections partly showing the stratigraphical sequence. There were no remains of visible structures. Some scholars are of the view that the site may have been functioned as temporary settlement (on the basis of absences of regular mounds and structural remains)⁸.

The surface of the mound is littered with thousands of potsherds, mainly buff and elaborated painted wares, stone implements, terracotta

⁶ The name is given after the name of the nearby village.

⁷ The Author have re-visited the site and studied its cultural material as a requirement of his master's degree at the Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad.

⁸ Mr. Afzal Khan, Director of Punjab Department of Archaeology and Museums (pers. comm.). Punjab Department of Archaeology and Museums have received from our team both data and photographs of the site for review and evaluation. Prof. J. Mark Kenoyer from Wisconsin University, Madison, has personally visited the site and suggested excavation to estimate the exact nature of the site. He suggested the presence of a main settlement site in the surfaced area (pers. comm.).

figurines, red-fired bangles, beads and animal bones. Different wild plant species (*phulai* [*Acacia modesta*], *karil* [*Capparis aphllya*], *baibarang* [*Myrsine africana*], *chitta-tut* [*Morus indica*], and *gandheri* [*Brachiaria ramosa*]) has grown all over the site⁹

3. Periodization

On the basis of surface collections, Mohra site features one prominent phase i.e. Kot Diji Phase. Artifacts collected from the site, especially pottery indicates a complete and specific pottery tradition with a number of types and varieties all typical Kot Dijian: simple, plain, grooved, flanged, short necked, bi-chrome and polychrome in all possible forms for decorative purpose as well as for daily use. On the basis of absolute and relative dates from the contemporaneous sites in the northern Indus Plain i.e. Rehman Dheri in D. I. Khan and Harappa in District Sahiwal, the Kot Diji Phase at Mohra must have developed from c. 3300 to 2600 BCE. Only excavations can reveal the facts more appropriately¹⁰.

* * *

⁹ Plant species have been identified with the collaboration of PhD scholar at Plant Sciences, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, Mr. Inamullah.

¹⁰ Few sections have been drawn on the mounds, except few remnants of washed layers mixed with pottery, terracotta figurines and bangles, nothing special was found. The presence of gullies and huge depressions throughout the site suggests that the structures, if any were there, have been washed away due to floods with passage of time.

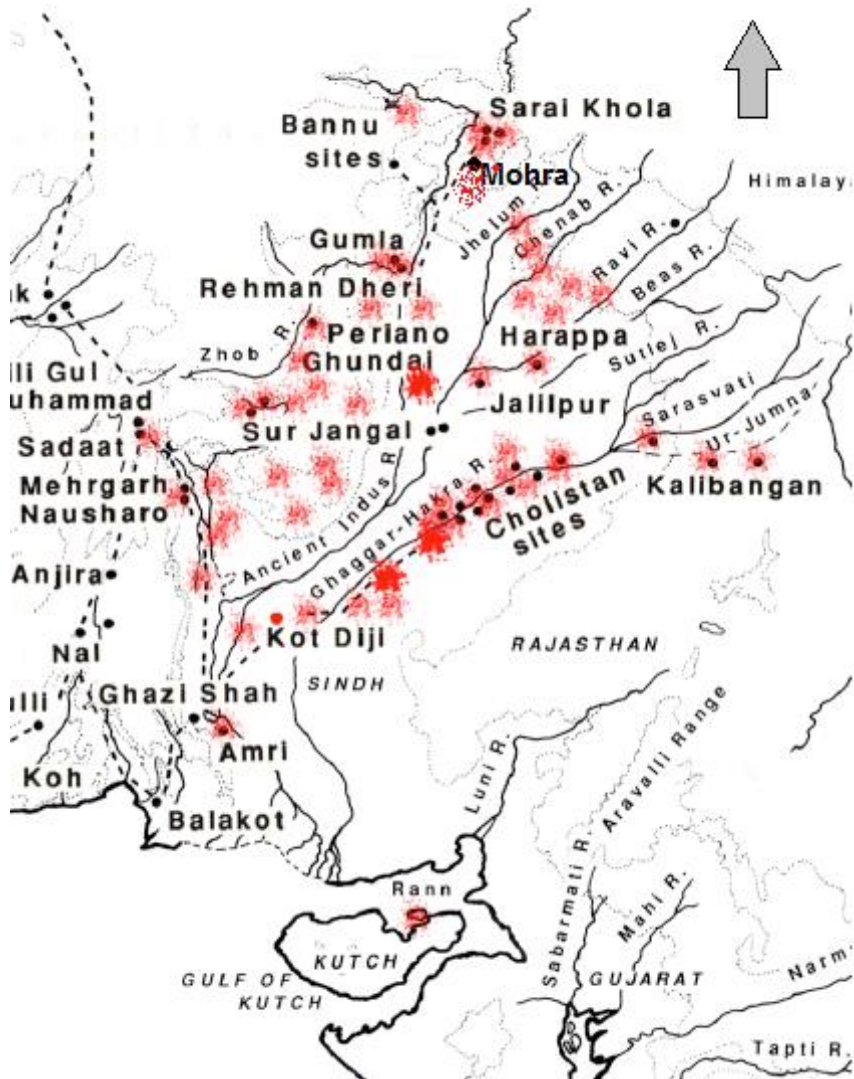


Fig. 1 - Kot Diji phase sites in Pakistan and India
(Courtesy: M. Kenoyer).



Fig. 2 - Aerial view of Mohra Site (GoogleEarth).

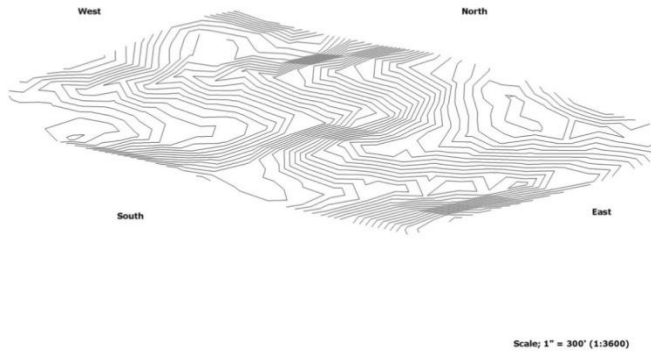


Fig 3 - Contours showing the possible orientation of the Mohra Site (Drawings by M. Bin Naveed).

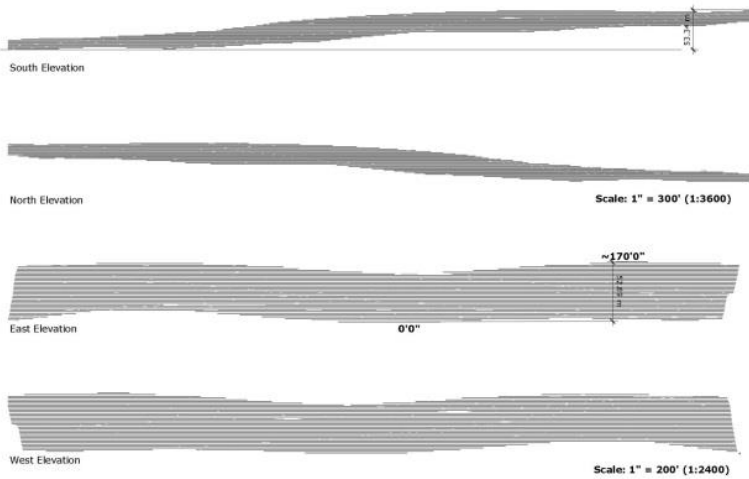


Fig. 4 - Elevation of Mohra site (Drawings by M. Bin Naveed).



Fig. 5 - A close view M-a 1 wall-section (photo by the Author).

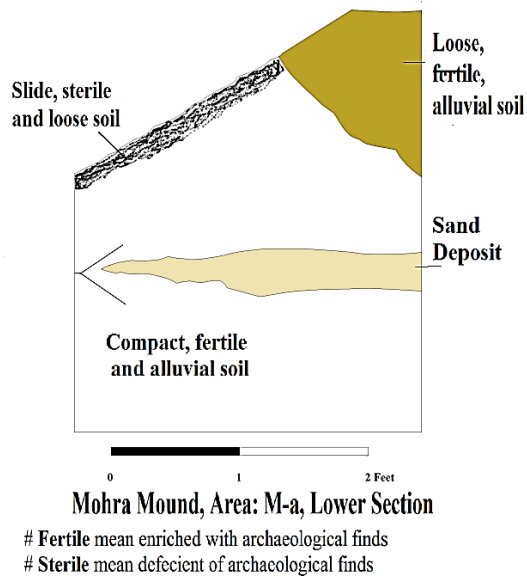


Fig. 6 – Drawings of the Section M-a 1 (Drawings by M. Bin Naveed).

4. Section 1, M-a area, Lower

The Pottery (Fig. 7; Pls. 2-3 and 7 [for comparisons])

The main types of pottery include painted jars, large, medium, small in globular and oblong forms (Fig. 7.1, 2), found comparable with Sarai Khola-II, straight and wavy grooved jars (Fig. 7.3, 4, 5, 6) found comparable with Sarai Khola-II (Halim 1972). Plain and painted flanged jars of all sizes (Fig. 7.7, 8, 9, 10) comparable with Rehman Dheri III (Durrani 1988), and with Gumla III (Dani 1970: 111), miniatures (Fig. 7.11, 12), painted carinated Jar (Fig. 7.13) comparable with Rehman Dheri II (Durrani 1988). Fashion wares include jars and flasks (Fig. 7.14, 15), painted conical bowls (Fig. 7.16), painted open mouthed bowls (Fig. 7.17, 18, 19), ring and flat bases (Fig. 7.20, 26), dish-on-stands (Fig. 7.21, 22), carinated and plain pedestals (Fig. 7.23, 24), lids and plates (Fig. 7.25, 26), sand rusticated sherd (Fig. 7.28) and pottery with pre-firing graffiti (Fig. 7.27), remnants of fishes (Fig. 7.29, 30) comparable with Rehman Dheri III (Pl. VI a.11) (Durrani 1988). Vertical and horizontal wavy bands (Fig. 7.34), comparable with Rehman Dheri II (Durrani 1988). Connected hatched squares (Fig. 7.33), variety of grooved wares i.e. straight parallel (Fig. 7.31), wavy parallel (Fig. 7.35, 36), combination of both (Fig. 7.32). The main slips noted were red, yellowish red, buff, white and pinkish white whereas the paints were dominant black and chocolate. Most of the sherds are well fired and wheel manufactured.

* * *

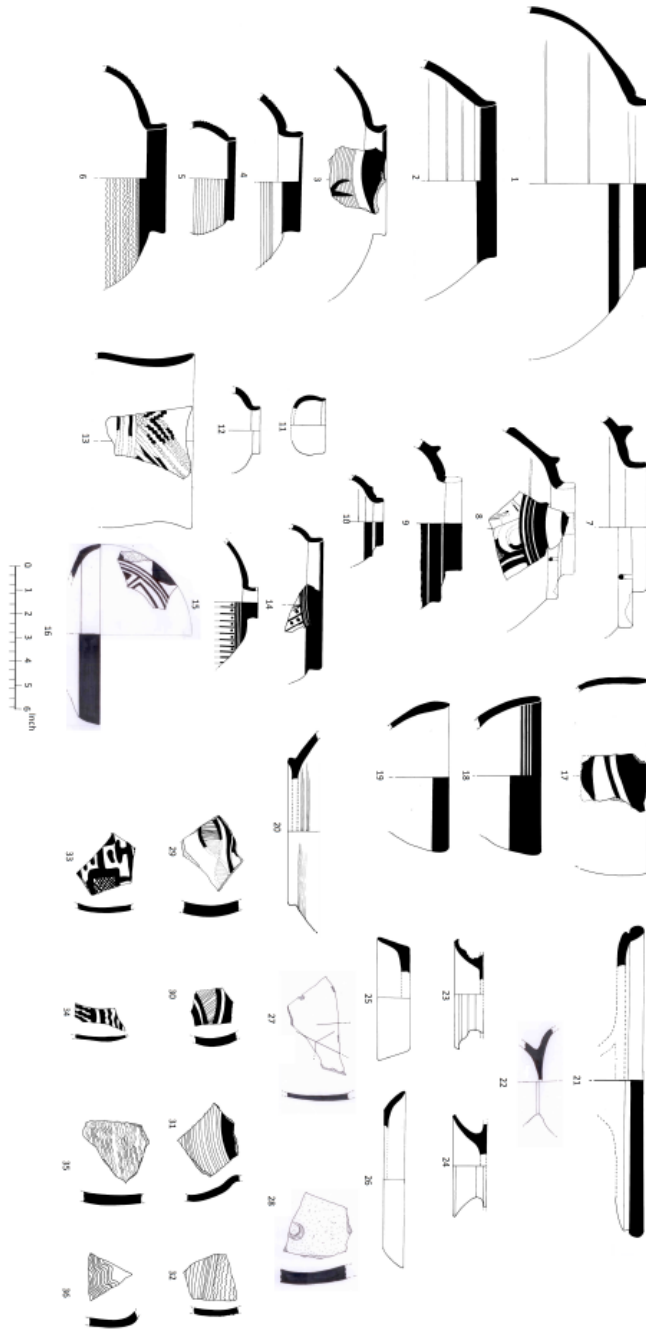


Fig. 7 - Main pottery types found at Mohra

Other Antiquities

The above listed pottery was found associated with stone implements, terracotta figurines, terracotta beads, terracotta bangles and animal bones.

Stone tools (Pl. 4)

Among the several stone implements,¹¹ two chert microliths were collected from the surface of the site. One long parallel sided thin chert blade fragment with trapezoid transverse section, and other one is small irregular sided thin chert microlith with triangular transverse section, tapering towards end, typical Kot Dijian comparable with Sarai Khola-II. Moreover blade cores, chisels, grinder, flakes in great number have been found (in chert, quartzite, argillaceous,¹² pure lime stone, soft sand stone,¹³ and metamorphic quartzite¹⁴).

Terracotta Figurines (Figs. 8-9; Pls. 5 and 7-8 [for comparisons])

Terracotta bull comparable with Harappa-II were collected, along with few unidentified fragments, broken legs, a few horns of terracotta unicorn (?) figurines comparable with Gumla-IV. Few fragmentary seated female figurine fragments are comparable with Gumla III.

Terracotta Bangles and Beads (Pls. 5 and 8 [for comparisons])

Several fragments of terracotta bangles in single coil comparable with Harappa II, and few terracotta flat, conical beads comparable with Sarai khola-II, were collected.

¹¹Analysis of raw material is being done under the supervision of geo-physicist, Professor. Dr. Shahid Iqbal (Earth Sciences Department, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad).

¹² Found in abundance in this area (pers. comm., Prof. Dr. Shahid Khan).

¹³ Dominant in the area (pers. comm., Prof. Dr. Shahid Khan).

¹⁴ Metamorphic quartzite is not locally available (pers. comm., Prof. Dr. Shahid Iqbal).

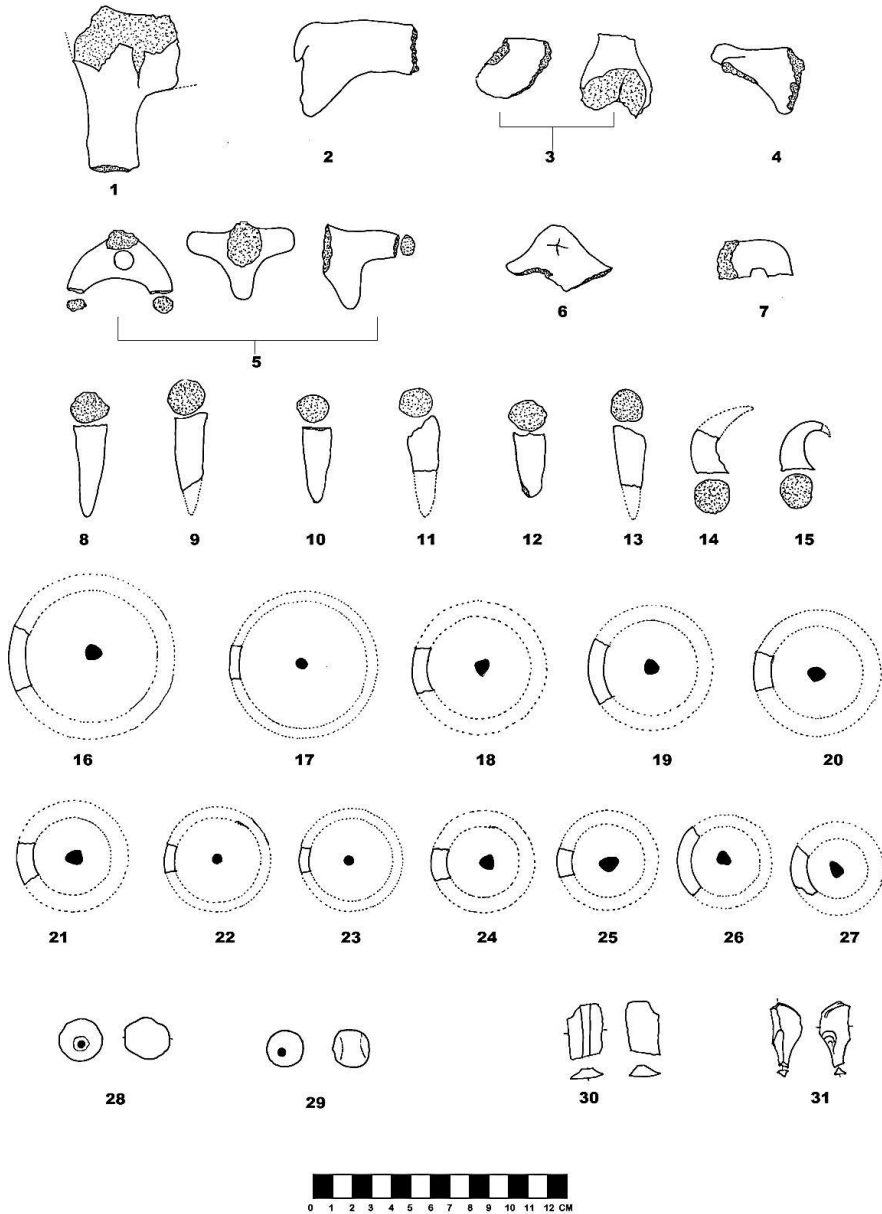


Fig. 8 - Terracotta figurines, bangles, beads and stone tools.

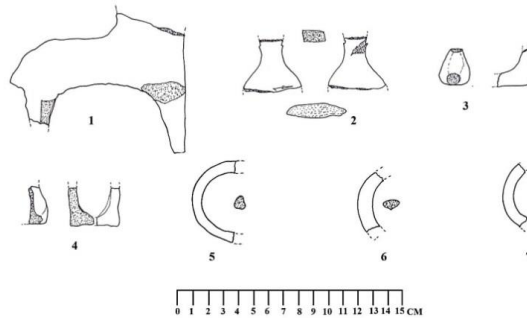


Fig. 9 - Terracotta Figurines and bangles from trial trench.

Animal Bones¹⁵

All the bones are in fragmentary form. They mostly are vertebrae, limbs, dentition, horn cores, astragalus, pelvic and foot bones, of domesticated mammals (buffalo, goat, sheep), and wild bovids (?). The presence of these bones at the site suggests the dependence of the occupants on livestock farming and hunting for dietary necessities.

5. Conclusion

The strategic location of the site (possibly a temporary camp-site) implies the possible interaction with other prominent sites in the same region. Pottery material founds comparanda in the material found at other Kot Diji Phase sites of surrounding regions, in particular with Sarai Khola and Rehman Dheri (Late Kot Diji phase sites, see Possehl 1998: 711-713). On the basis of provenance studies, done by W.R. Law, the raw gray chert for stone tools seems to be traded to this region from Sakesar, Salt Range, Punjab (Law 2011).¹⁶ On the basis of absolute and relative dates from the contemporaneous sites, the Kot Phase at Mohra might have developed from c. 3300-2000 BCE.

¹⁵ Preliminary Analysis of bones being done by current scholar under the supervision of ex- Director, Natural History Museum, Islamabad Mr. Abdul Rahim Rajpar.

¹⁶ Hematite (iron oxide) mineral, which has been in use for pottery pigments is found in large and varied deposits in N Punjab, Jammu, Balochistan, Sindh, W Rajasthan and Gujarat (Law 2011: 84-85). As pottery is a mass-scale locally produced material, it is suggested that, hematite is imported from the nearer N Punjab deposits.

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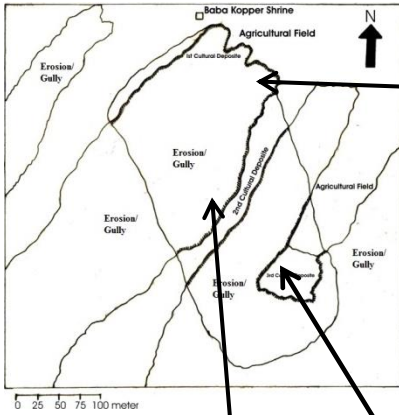
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Mohra: A Newly Discovered Kot Diji Phase Site in Northern Punjab



a. Plan of the Mohra site



a. First cultural deposit



b. Gully/depression

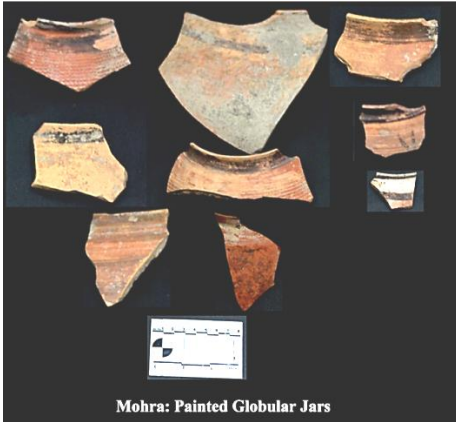


c. Second cultural deposit



d. Third cultural deposit

Plate 1



a. Painted globular jars and pots



b. Painted flanged jars and pots



c. Painted carinated pots



d. Concave sided bowls



a. White slipped dish/conical b



b. Painted pot and bottle jar



c. Disc and low pedestal bases



d. Stands (dish-on-stands)



e. Grooved Ware



f. Painted motifs



a. Raw stone nodules and fragments



b. Parallel sided and asymmetrical chert blade

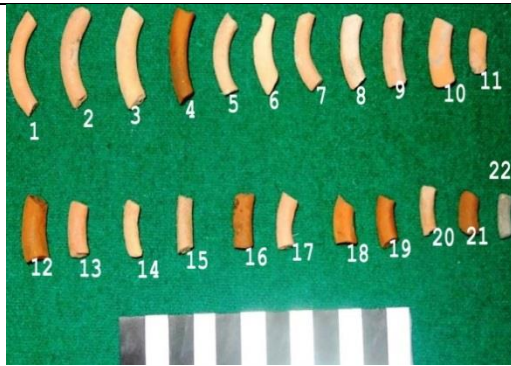
Plate 4



a. Animal and human figurines



b. Terracotta beads



c. Single coiled terracotta bangles

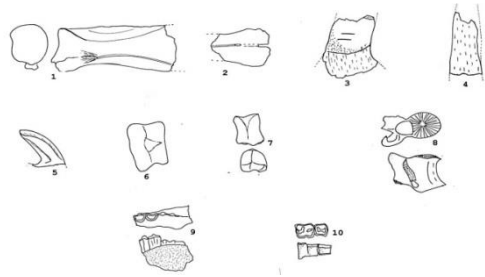


d. Single coiled terracotta bangles

Plate 5



a. Animal bones from Mohra



b. Animal bones from Mohra

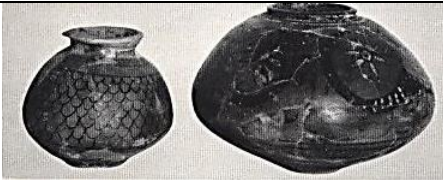
Plate 6



a. Jalilpur (courtesy: M. Kenoyer)



b. Rehman Dheri (after Durrani 1988)



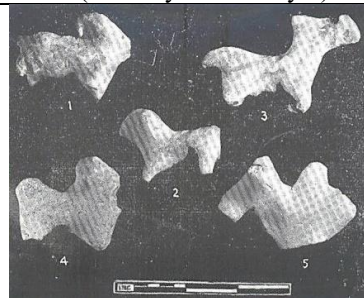
c. Kot Diji (after Khan 1965)



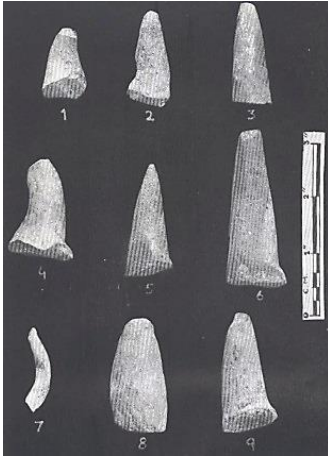
d. Kot Diji phase of Harappa (courtesy: M. Kenoyer)



e. Gumla-IV (after Dani 1970)



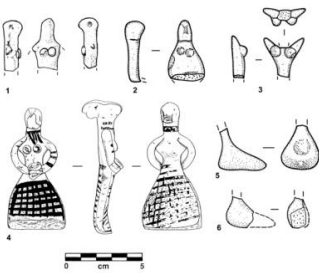
f. Sarai-Khola II (after Halim 1972)



a. Gumla-IV: broken horns of animal figurines (after Dani 1970)



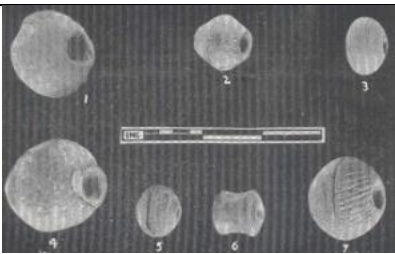
b. Rehman Dheri (courtesy: M. Kenoyer)



c. Harappa Kot Diji Phase (courtesy: M. Kenoyer)



d. Gumla-IV (After Dani 1970)



a. Sarai-Khola II, IV: terracotta beads (after Halim 1972)



e. Harappa-II: terracotta bangles (courtesy M. Kenoyer)

Plate 8

The Buddhist-stupa remains and inscribed ceramics from Tor Dherai, District Duki, Balochistan (Re-visited)¹

**Fazal Dad Kakar/Arshadullah
Abdul Ghafoor Lone/Mehmood-ul-Hassan**

Abstract

The Buddhist remains and Kharosthi and Brahmi inscriptions of Kushan period at Tor Dherai (Black hill) Balochistan were reported by Sir Aurel Stein of the Archaeological Survey of India and fellow of the British Academy in his report titled as An archaeological tour in Waziristan and Northern Balochistan (1929). The present article deals with a recent reassessment of the site, and of its important epigraphic material, following the attempt to find the whererabouts of the materials lost in the aftermath of the Quetta earthquake in 1935.

During the month of March 1927, Sir Aurel Stein excavated a Buddhist stupa site at Tor Dherai, Thal valley, district Loralai, now District Duki, Balochistan. During the course of excavations, besides the destroyed structure of a Buddhist stupa, relic deposit, Graeco-Buddhist carving motifs, he discovered about fifty pottery fragments with black inked lettering, among them five in Brahmi and the rest in Kharoshti.

The Buddhist stupa site and as well as the inscribed ceramics in Kharoshti and Brahmi can be roughly dated to around 200 AD, similar to those of Wardak inscriptions. The Kharoshti Dhammapada, however, evidently bears witness to the fact of an extension of the Kushans Empire of India towards the south-west. This fact is further enhanced by the discovery of Buddhist settlements and Kharoshti inscriptions found at Sui Vihara near Punjnad, Bahawalpur, in southern Punjab, and at Moenjo Daro

¹ In this paper diacritics are intentionally omitted.

(Sindh).

Sui Vihar stupa site is located about 16 miles south west of Bahawalpur where a copper-plate, bearing a Kharoshti inscription was found in 1869 by G. Yeates. The plate is 30 square inches with rounded corners and the inscription is incised in four lines along three of the sides and a quarter of the fourth side. It was forwarded by Major Stubbs to Sir E. C. Bayley and afterwards presented to the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The plate is dated on the 28th day of the month of Daisios of the year 2 of the Kanishka era, i.e. possibly the beginning of June, A.D 129.

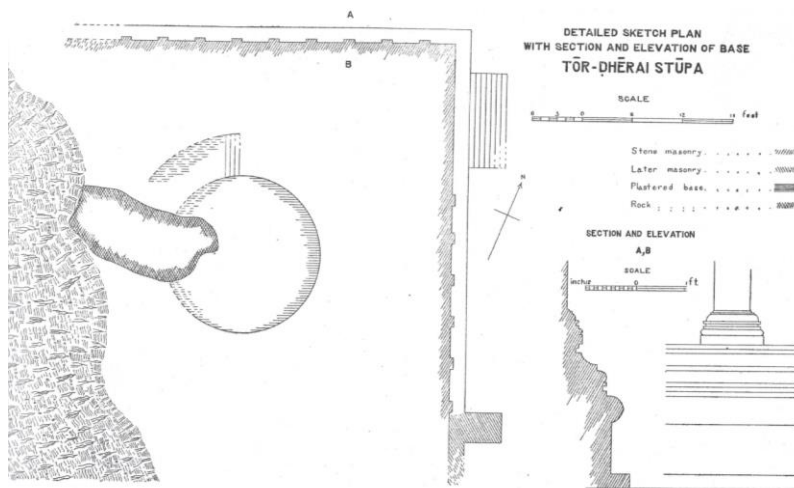


Fig. 1 – Plan, elevation and details of Tor Dherai stupa (after Stein 1929: 7).

During the extensive excavations of Moenjo Daro site in 1921-22, where the latest remains date back to the Kushana period, and in these strata were found some glazed fragments of pottery with Kharoshti inscription. The three fragments are numbered as B15, D29, and B30 respectively. On the first we can read *bramha*, on the second *tha*, and on the third *mano*. As per view of the palaeographer, the characters seem to belong to the time of or after Kanishka. The above mentioned glazed fragments were deposited in those days in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The stupa (Fig. 2) of Tor Dherai has been described and illustrated by Sir Aurel Stein. During excavations in search of structural remains, on clearing the top of Tor Dherai hillock, he was able to trace what proved to be the line of a massive base of stone masonry facing N. The excavations cleared the debris covering the E slope of the hillock, and brought to light two sides of a rectangular base faced with large, carefully dressed slabs of stone and intact to a height from about 4 to 10 ft.

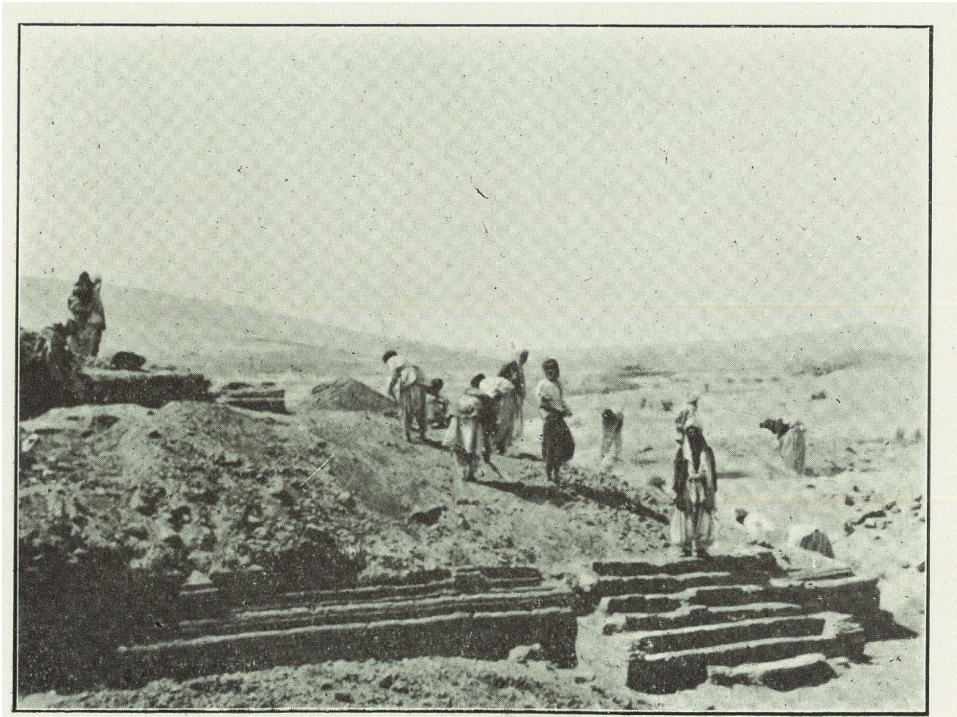


Fig. 2 - Excavations in progress, E side, stupa of Tor Dherai (after Stein 1929).

According to him the length of the base (N side) was 47 ft and that of the E side, 54 ft. However he was not able to find neither on the S nor on the W any trace of the line of the base of this stupa and he concluded that the walls of both sides of the base may have been destroyed by later quarrying activity. Since all capitals were destroyed, he was not able to determine the total height of the base of the stupa. The material used for decorations and plasters of the base was curved moldings with tufa, still in places, mostly

coated with hard white stucco. The access to the top of the base was in the NE corner of the stupa with seven steps of 11 and a half feet width. During the course of the excavation, Stein was able to find traces of a second circular base for about half of its circumference round the E and N with three steps. The diameter of the second base was 37 ft. With the help of the dimensions, Stein was able to fix the center of the base and then, definitely to prove that it was a stupa, with the discovery of the relics deposit it contained. First of all, he started excavations around the center and at the depth of about 2 ft from the surface, a flooring of big stone slabs was reached. By removing the slab, exactly in the center, he found roughly made quadrangular recess. Four thin slabs set upright and about 2.5 ft high formed its sides and within it, stood a plain terracotta pot about 2 inches of width. The contents of the pot unmistakably belonged to a Buddhist relics deposit, and it included seven small jewels, in a simple but neatly worked gold setting, having little holes and evidently intended for being sewn on textiles; two beads were made of crystal and onyx; fifteen tiny metal cubes provided with holes for stringing; three beads were of coral; two small cone shaped perforated stones; two pearls, with seventy more micro pearls, and few tiny fragments of bone.

During the excavations, Stein found dozens of architectural pieces with decorative motifs, which were part of the architectural decoration: friezes, false brackets, dividing panels, etc. (Fig. 3). Their repertoire is formed by both geometric and phytomorphic motifs. Phytomorphic motifs feature different stylized forms of acanthus, lotus, and clematis (all quite common in Gandharan reliefs). The best specimens were been deposited in the McMahan Museum, Quetta, as a loan from the Director General of Archaeology. The McMahan Museum, Quetta, was destroyed in the 1935 earthquake². The Museum's material from Tor Dherai was then buried in trenches in order to safeguard it for future study. However, since then the whereabouts of the decorated material, of the Buddhist relic deposit pot, of the material it contained, and of the fifty potsherds inscribed in Kharoshti and Brahmi could not be traced in the records by the Authors of this article.

² On the McMahan Museum see Dani 1970 and Naseer et al. 2017.

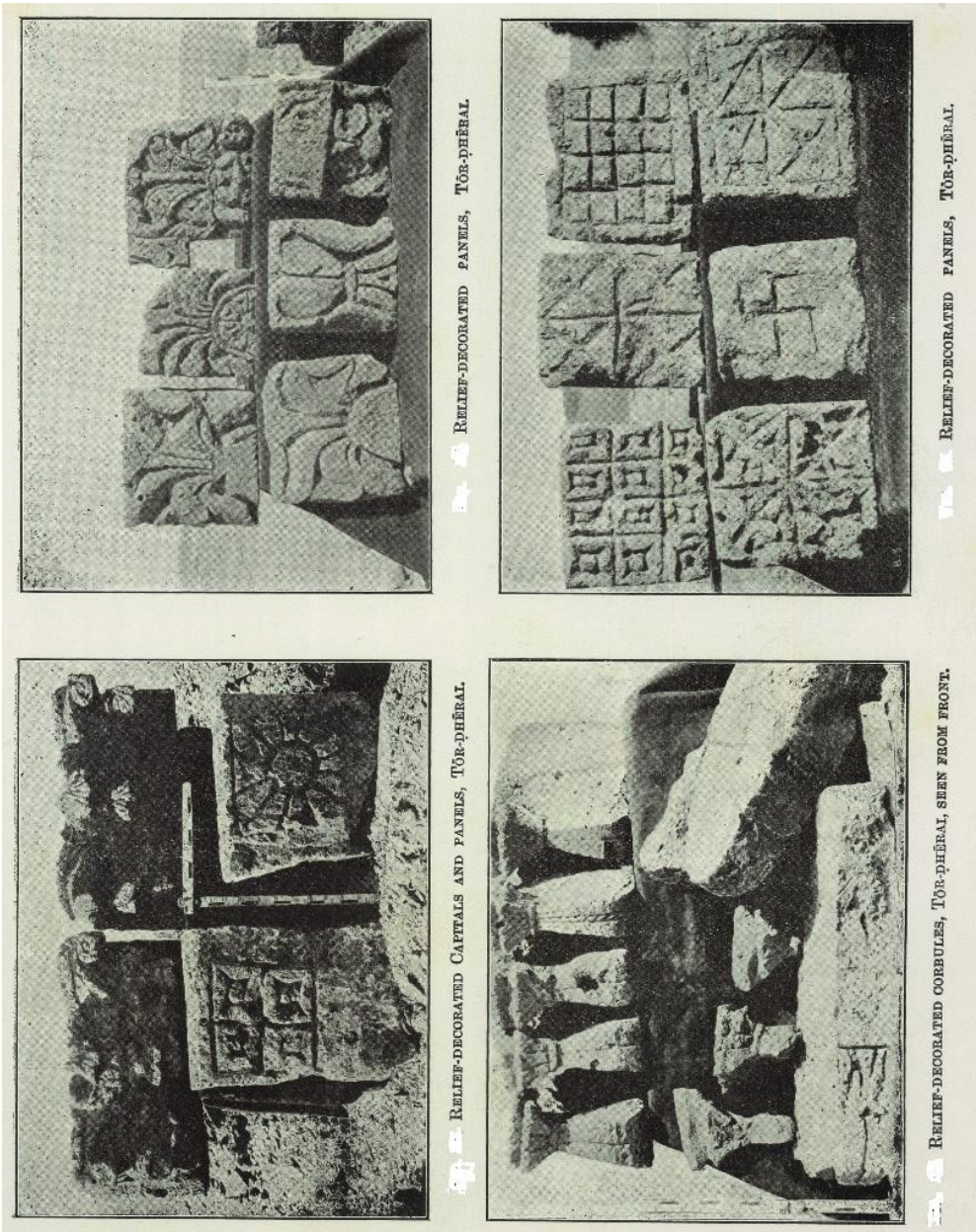


Fig. 3 – Decorative material from Tor Dherai (after Stein 1929).

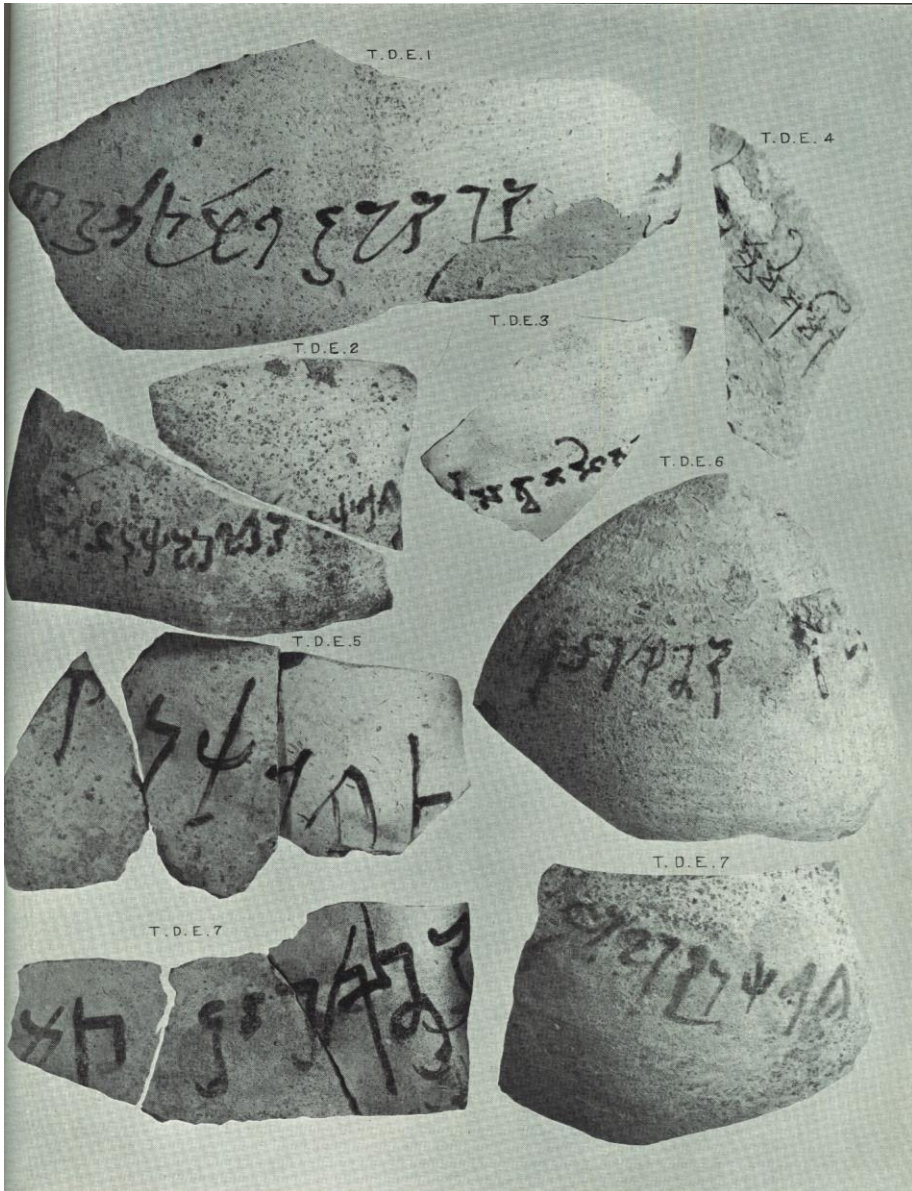


Fig. 4 – Inscribed sherds from Tor Dherai (after Stein 1929: pl. XXVII).

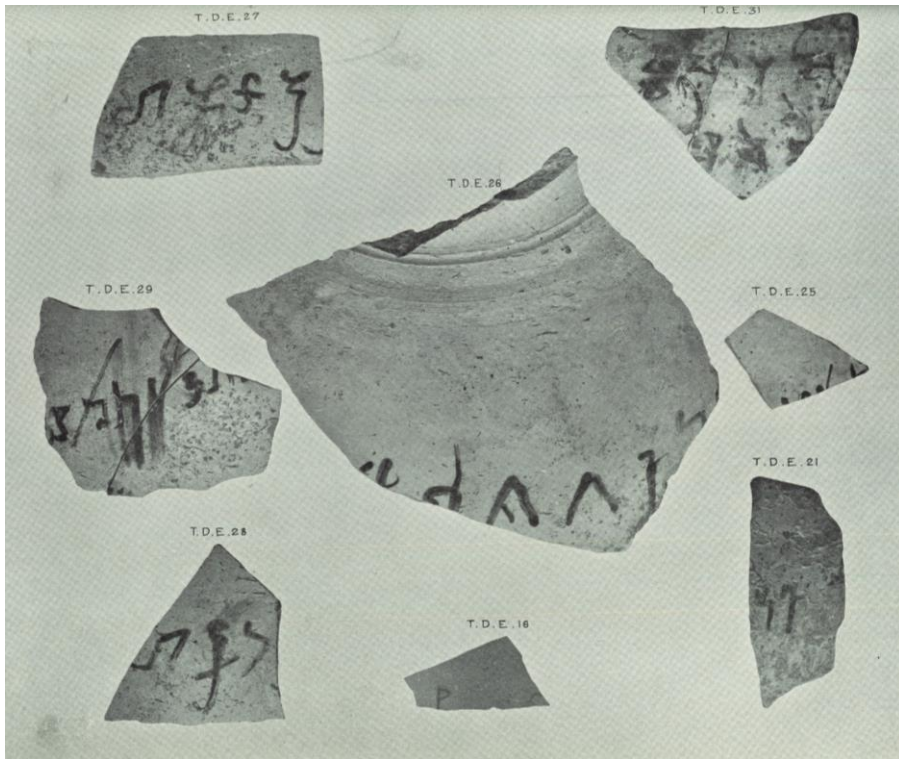


Fig. 6 – Inscribed potsherds (after Stein 1929: pl. XIX).

While clearing the sloping to the E of the Tor Dherai stupa, Stein was fortunate enough to find inscribed potsherds (Figs. 4-6) among low heaps of debris mixed with ashes, charred remains, and decomposed refuse (within an area about 15 yards beyond the E side of the stupa base). The material of these potsherds was mostly an ill levigated clay with buff or whitish slip on the surface. Photographs of all the fifty inscribed potsherds were placed at the disposal of Professor Sten Konow of Oslo University, for the purpose of decipherment and publication (Konow 1929: 173-176). As per Sten Konow decipherment, the five potsherds fragments with inked lettering in Brahmi do not allow us to form an opinion about the contents of the inscriptions. They present so much difference that they cannot all belong to one and the same record. According to Heinrich Lüders, consulted by Konow, who states that one fragment seems to belong to the

Gupta period, while the others made an older impression, probably intermediary between those of the Kushana and Gupta periods, and also similar to a Brahmi record of the reign of Huvishka.

The forty five Kharoshti fragments likewise belong to different jars and inscriptions. It is however, possible to piece them together to one connected legend, which seems to have repeated on several pot jars, only with slight variation in the wording and with somehow shortened text on some of them. The language is strongly sanskritized and some features seem to show that the writers spoke the NW Prakrit of other Kharoshti inscriptions.

The study and decipherment of these fragmentary inscriptions includes the reading of “the dedication of a *prapa*, i.e. a watering place, by certain Yola-Mira, who bears the title of *shahi*” (Konow 1929: 175) and was probably a local governor of the Kushanas. This *prapa* is a place or hall for providing water for men and beasts in connection with the Sarvastivadin *vihara* (monastery) of Yola-Mira. The inscribed fragments seem in fact to be part of a water jars or drinking cups in the *prapa*. The Tor Dherai site is the first place where travelers going towards the Indus Valley, can obtain water after having traversed an utterly arid waste of bare clay, rock and detritus.

The complete text translation of the legend by Prof. Konow, contained in these fragments is as under:

Of the Shāhi Yola Mīra, the master of the Vihāra, this water hall (is) the religious gift, in his own Yola Mira Shāhi-Vihāra, to the order of the four quarters in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers.

And from the right donation may there be in future a share for (his) mother and father, in future a share for all beings and long life for the master of the law.

According to Konow, the historical information deriving from the Tor Dherai inscription informs us that a local Kushana governor or chief bearing the Saka title *shahi* dedicated a *prapa* in his own monastery towards the end of the second century A.D. (Vasudeva I). The title *shahi*, which was earlier used by the Saka invaders of India, has something to do with the extension of the Kushan Empire into the old strongholds of Saka, where the old title had remained in use. In all probability a Kushana governor in Tor Dherai was due to a further growth of the empire south-

westwards in Balochistan.

Further chronological indications come from the script and language, which is almost pure Sanskrit. From the documents found by Sir Aurel Stein in Central Asia, which can be roughly dated to the second half of the second century A.D., is known that Kharoshthi was occasionally used for the Sanskrit (which was – by the way - the language of the *Sarvastivadins*). Interestingly, the donors in this region seems to be in most of the cases, members of the brahman community (even Yola-Mira?). Even *prapas* – Konow says – became frequently donated out of “brahmanical concern for purity” (Schopen 2004: 247, fn. 6).

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Numismatic Evidence from Bhamala

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Abstract

The article presents a catalogue of the numismatic material collected during the excavation at Bhamala, Taxila/Haro valley carried out by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa and Department of Archaeology, Hazara University Mansehra, from 2014 to 2017. This catalogue completes and updates the previous data from Sir J. Marshall's excavations at the site.

1. Introduction

Apart from other archaeological artefacts, our recent excavations at Bhamala revealed a good collection of coins. Overall 84 coins were discovered. Of these only one is of silver and the remaining are struck copper. With the exception of the silver coin, which was found on the floor of Main Stupa B, the rest were unearthed from the monastery area. Most of the coins are in a very poor state of preservation and therefore illegible. However, based on their style, weight and visible figures they can be assigned to various periods.¹

Based on their analysis, these coins include those of the White Huns (Alchon Huns), Kushano-Sasanian and Late Kushan periods. According to our advisors, the Late Kushan coins fall into the four major groups, the first group is comprised of Kanishka II imitations (Standing King/Enthroned Ardoksho). On the obverse, these depict the king standing frontally with his head turned to left, his right hand sacrificing over an

¹ The coins were examined by Prof. Dr. Gul Rahim Khan, Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar and Mr. Joe Cribb, former Keeper of Coins and Medals, British Museum, England. We would like to extend our sincere thanks for their scholarly guidance, support and suggestions. All the photographs are by the Authors.

altar while holding a sceptre in the left. The script is illegible. On the reverse is depicted a female figure seated on a throne, facing frontally, holding a diadem in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left (Gul Rahim Khan, 2010: 156-57).

The second group of copper coins depicts Vasudeva II, (Standing King/ Enthroned Ardoksho): the obverse shows the king standing with his head facing to left, his right hand sacrificing over altar and holding a staff raised in the left hand. The script is illegible. On the reverse a female figure Ardoksho (Kushan goddess of good fortune and counterpart of the Kushan god Pharro) is seated on a throne, facing frontally, holding a diadem in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left (Gul Rahim Khan, 2010: 160-61, K1a.1, K1a.2, K1a.3, K1a.4).

The third category also comprises those of Vasudeva II, (Seated King/ enthroned Ardoksho): the obverse shows the king seated/enthroned frontally, wearing a conical headdress, holding a diadem in the right hand and a sceptre in the left. The script is illegible. The reverse depicts a female figure Ardoksho seated on a throne, facing frontally, holding a diadem in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left (Gul Rahim Khan, 2010: 160-61, K2a.1, K2a.2).

The fourth and final category includes those that are imitations of Vasudeva I (Standing King/ Oesho and Bull): on the obverse there is a crude representation of the king wearing an overcoat and standing frontally with his head turned to left, right hand sacrificing over an altar and holding a sceptre in the left one. The script is illegible or absent. On the reverse is another crude representation of the god Oesho. The latter is a deity, previously thought to be identical to Shiva (or to the pronunciation of Shiva's name in the Bactrian language), but recent studies indicate that Oesho was the Zoroastrian god Vayu with admittedly many of the attributes of Shiva (H. Humbach 1975, K.Tanabe, 1992, M. Carter, 1995, J. Cribb 1997), standing facing frontally with a bull facing to left behind the god. The script is illegible or absent. (Gul Rahim Khan, 2010: 134-52).

The only silver object discovered was a single coin attributed to the White Huns, who were held responsible for the destruction of Buddhist settlements of Taxila. Evidences of the catastrophe has been noticed in the form charred timber, iron clamps, nails and other fittings from most of the excavated sites (Marshall 1952: 285) including Bhamala.

2. Discussion

The previous archaeological excavations carried out by Sir John Marshall at Bhamala revealed as many as 119 coins from the main stupa and 32 coins from the monastery area. These coins have been assigned to the late Kushans and Hephthalites respectively by the excavator. Due to the discovery of twenty-two silver coins of the Hephthalites, Marshall is of the view that the site was destroyed by the Huns in the 5th century A.D. The attribution of these coins to the Hephthalites has been contradicted by more recent research which attributes them to the Alchon Huns (Vondrovec, 2014, I: 159). But it is doubtful that the reported Hun coins are related to any destruction, as the archaeological evidence shows the continuity of many Buddhist sites into the Hun period and later (Errington, 2000: 204-5).

As per the report of Sir John Marshall six coins were reported at a depth of 11.5 ft below the surface and of another deposit of one hundred and thirteen coins at a depth of 14.6 ft. Both were no doubt buried in the stupa at the time when it was built. One of the coins from the former collection is in the Sassanian style with an indistinct head of the king on the obverse and appears to be a fire alter on the reverse. All the rest of the coins, both in the upper and lower deposits, exhibit a crude human figure on the obverse, and square within dots on the reverse. Marshall assigned these coins to the late fourth or fifth century AD (Marshall, 1951a: 396-97). In addition, 32 more coins were also reported from the same site during the said excavation. Of these, one is gold, 11 copper and 21 silver. The gold coin has been dated to late Kushan king Kipunadha (Gul Rahim Khan, 2008: 52). The copper coins assigned to the following rulers i.e. one Huvishka (king seated cross-legged and fire-god), five later Kushan (four 'Shiva and bull issues of Vasudeva I or his imitations, one seated goddess issue of Kanishka II or imitation) (Marshall, 1951a: 396). One new type of the later Kushans (Vasudeva II) depicting enthroned king on the obverse and seated goddess with cornucopia on the reverse (Marshall, 1951b: 821).

The copper coins unearthed during our excavations have come from four interconnected trenches opened in the monastery area which include L/48, L/49, K/48 and K/49. Stratigraphic and numismatics analysis suggests that they were deposited during the second half of the third century, most probably during the reign of the Kushan king Vasudeva II (c.

AD 267–300). Two types of Vasudeva II are known, one has seated king and another standing king on the obverse. They show Brahmi letters (usually Vasu) in the right field of the obverse (not visible on any of the excavated examples). Both types have enthroned Ardoksho on the reverse. One normal issue and one imitation of Kanishka II (c. AD 230–247) are also reported. The remaining coins are examples of the common ‘Vasudeva imitation’ series, which copies the obverse of coins of Kanishka II (king in overcoat) and the reverse of coins of Vasudeva I (c. AD 190–230) or Vasishka (c. AD 247–267). These imitations can be placed to c. AD 250. and they therefore, have played a very important role in reestablishing the chronology of the site by pushing the date assigned by Marshall back about a century.

3. Catalogue of Coins Reported from the Recent Excavations

Huns

Silver drachm

Obverse: Bust facing right, with deformed skull. Diadem tied behind head, wearing necklace and earring with fly whisks rising from shoulders. Bust resting on foliage spray. Inscription in Bactrian: ꞥAYO AAXANO (Shaho Alchano = King Alchan).

Reverse: Fire altar, with bust rising from top of altar and ribbons tied around stem of altar, flanked by two attendants holding rods facing altar. Star and crescent above altar.

Göbl 1967, type 60.

S. No.	Reg. No.	Year of Excavation	Locus	Context	Size (mm)	Weight (gm)
01	BML-330	2015-16	S/24 (F. 3, L.32353)	80 cm (S) 240 cm (E), 641.18 m (D)	30.35	3.3

Kushano-Sasanian

Two copper unit of Hormizd I Kushanshah, in name of his governor Kavad

Obverse: Bust facing right, wearing lion-head crown. Inscription K[ABAΔ] (Kabad = Kavad).

Reverse: Fire altar/ lion legged throne, with ribbons, with bust of god rising from top.

S. No.	Reg. No.	Year of Excavation	Locus	Context	Size (mm)	Weight (gm)
02	BML-543	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	70 cm (S) 120 cm (E), 639.29 m (D)	18.58	4.2
03	BML-272	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	180 cm (E) 270 cm (N), 639.40 m (D)	19.65	3.8

Late Kushans

Kanishka II (imitations)

Standing King/ Enthroned Ardoksho

Obverse: King standing frontally with head turned to left, right hand sacrificing over altar and holding a scepter in the left. Legend illegible.

Reverse: Female figure seated on a throne, facing frontally, holding a diadem in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left.

Gul Rahim Khan 2010: 156-57.

S. No.	Reg. No.	Year of Excavation	Locus	Context	Size (mm)	Weight (gm)
04	BML-166	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	72 cm (N), 170 cm (E), 639.51 m (D))	20	6.2
05	BML-151	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	150 cm (N), 175 cm (E), 639.71 m (D)	17	4.3

Vasudeva II

Seated King/ Enthroned Ardoksho

Obverse: King seated frontally, wears conical headdress, holds a diadem in the right hand and a sceptre in the left. Legend illegible.

Reverse: Female figure seated on a throne, facing frontally, holding a diadem in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left.

Gul Rahim Khan 2010: 160-61, K2a.1, K2a.2.

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S. No.	Reg. No.	Year of Excavation	Locus	Context	Size (mm)	Weight (gm)
06	BML-148	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	95 cm (N), 145 cm (E), 639.59 m (D)	18	3.6
07	BML-144	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	50cm (N), 190cm (E), 639.10 m (D)	17	3.5

Standing King / Enthroned Ardoksho

Obverse: Standing king with head facing to left, right hand sacrificing over altar and holds a staff in raised left hand. Legend illegible

Reverse: Female figure seated on a throne, facing frontally, holding a diadem in the right hand and a cornucopia in the left.

Gul Rahim Khan 2010: 160-61, K1a.1, K1a.2, K1a.3, K1a.4.

S. No.	Reg. No.	Year of Excavation	Locus	Context	Size (mm)	Weight (gm)
08	BML-169	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	347cm (N), 202cm (E), 639.50 m (D)	19	4.5

Vasudeva I (imitations)

Imitation copper units, initially issued by early Kushanshahs, but subsequently copied unofficially, c. AD 240–330. Based on obverse of coins of Kushan king Kanishka II (c. AD 230-250) and reverse of coins of Kushan king Vasudeva I (c. AD 190–230). Such coins disappeared from circulation in mid-fourth century.

Standing King/ Oesho and Bull

Obverse: Crude representation of king wearing over coat standing frontally with head turned to left, right hand sacrificing over altar and holding a sceptre in the left. Legend illegible or absent.

Reverse: Crude representation of standing god Oesho facing frontally, with bull standing facing to left behind god. Legend illegible or absent.

Gul Rahim Khan 2010: 134-52.

S. No.	Reg. No.	Year of Excavation	Locus	Context	Size (mm)	Weight (gm)
09	BML-170	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	77 cm (N), 197 cm (E), 639.58 m (D)	19	5.8
10	BML-168	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	185cm (N), 221cm (E), 639.50 m (D)	13	4.4
11	BML-147	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	120 cm (N), 149 cm (E), 639.50 m (D)	16	4.3
12	BML-171	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	79cm (N), 185cm (E), 639.58 m (D)	14	3.7
13	BML-153	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	100 cm (N), 177 cm (E), 639.37 m (D)	17	3.5
14	BML-150	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	212 cm (N), 136 cm (E), 639.62 m (D)	14	2.9
15	BML-152	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	250 cm (N), 195 cm (E), 639.66 m (D)	13	2.9
16	BML-149	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	278 cm (N), 112 cm (E), 639.69 m (D)	14	2.3
17	BML-167	2014-15	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	302 cm (N), 202cm (E), 639.58 m (D)	13	2.3
18	BML-561	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	17 cm (S), 131 cm (E), 639.05 m (D)	19.34	6.2
19	BML-320	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	140 cm (N), 130 cm (E), 639.04 m (D)	18.57	6
20	BML-565	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	30 cm (S), 22 cm (E), 639.06 m (D)	18.42	5.6
21	BML-278	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	47 cm (N), 233 cm (E), 639.39 m (D)	21.04	5.2
22	BML-347A	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	Sieving	19.89	5.1
23	BML-254	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	178 cm (N), 195 cm (W), 640.11 m (D)	15.20	5
24	BML-346	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	Sieving	18.5	5
25	BML-287	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5,	188 cm (S), 150	20.58	4.8

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			L.18853)	cm (E), 639.34 m (D)		
26	BML-555	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	19 cm (S), 225 cm (E), 639.18 m (D)	15.69	4.8
27	BML-562	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	180 cm (S), 15 cm (E), 638.80 m (D)	17.33	4.8
29	BML-546	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	37 cm (S), 89 cm (E), 639.33 m (D)	16.94	4.7
30	BML-549	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	39 cm (S), 75cm (E), 639.22 m (D)	17.49	4.7
31	BML-556	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	22 cm (S), 250 cm (E), 639.09 m (D)	15.32	4.7
32	BML-558	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	28 cm (S), 136 cm (E), 639.09 m (D)	18.27	4.7
33	BML-262	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	169 cm (N), 96 cm (E), 639.56 m (D)	18.76	4.47
34	BML-301	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	102 cm (N), 167 cm (E), 638.98 m (D)	15.74	4.4
35	BML-416	2015-16	L/49 (F. 2, L.18902)	Sieving	17.29	4.38
36	BML-293	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	160 cm (S), 60 cm (E), 639.32 m (D)	17.44	4.3
37	BML-261	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	178cm (S), 112 cm (E), 639.51 m (D)	18.02	4.2
38	BML-300	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	70 cm (S), 108 cm (E), 639.22 m (D)	13.06	4.2
39	BML-302	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	79 cm (N), 130 cm (E), 639.05 m (D)	20.19	4.2
40	BML-414	2015-16	L/49 (F. 2, L.18902)	Sieving	17.98	4.16
41	BML-299	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	155 cm (N), 110 cm (E), 639.07 m (D)	15.83	4.1
42	BML-282	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	210 cm (N), 134 cm (E), 639.30 m (D)	16.85	3.9
43	BML-255	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2,	212 cm (N), 162	16.25	3.7

			L.18852)	cm (E), 639.48 m (D)		
44	BM-273	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	37 cm (N), 183 cm (E), 639.47 m (D)	17.26	3.7
45	BML-348	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	30 cm (N), 105 cm (E), 638.78 m (D)	13.47	3.7
46	BML-271	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	86 cm (S), 237 cm (E), 639.53 m (D)	14.45	3.5
47	BML-542	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	36 cm (S), 31 cm (E), 639.40 m (D)	15.97	3.5
48	BML-550	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	22 cm (S), 218 cm (E), 639.14 m (D)	13.94	3.5
49	BML-564	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	155 cm (S), 55 cm (E), 638.91 m (D)	14.19	3.5
50	BML-265	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	41 cm (N), 177 cm (E), 639.49 m (D)	14.43	3.4
51	BML-554	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	11 cm (S), 212 cm (E), 639.14 m (D)	14.96	3.4
52	BML-256	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	86 cm (S), 237 cm (E), 639.53 m (D)	16.29	3.2
53	BML-310	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	72 cm (N), 90 cm (E), 638.99 m (D)	13.11	3.2
54	BML-350	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	294 cm (N), 186 cm (E), 638.36 m (D)	14.85	3.2
55	BML-563	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	30 cm (S), 90 cm (E), 638.68 m (D)	13.25	3.2
56	BML-277	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	106 cm (N), 129 cm (E), 639.30 m (D)	13.93	3.1
57	BML-547	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	40 cm (S), 66 cm (E), 639.33 m (D)	15.65	3
58	BML-309	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	112 cm (N), 90 cm (E), 639.27 m (D)	14.20	2.9
59	BML-544	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	40 cm (S), 30 cm (E), 639.33 m	14.35	2.9

Numismatic Evidence from Bhamala

(D)						
60	BML-308	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	66 cm (N), 120 cm (E), 639.27 m (D)	14.72	2.7
61	BML-257	2015-16	L/49 (F. 2, L.18901)	62 cm (W), 226 cm (S), 639.12 m (D)	16.37	2.6
62	BML-264	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	127 cm (N), 139 cm (E), 639.50 m (D)	14.38	2.6
63	BML-281	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	Sieving	12.62	2.6
64	BML-275	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	45 cm (N), 189 cm (E), 639.45 m (D)	12.70	2.5
65	BML-279	2015-16	L/49 (F. 7, L.18904)	Sieving	13.81	2.5
66	BML-541	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	45 cm (S), 38 cm (E), 639.42 m (D)	13.23	2.5
67	BML-551	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	34 cm (S), 129 cm (E), 639.08 m (D)	13.56	2.5
68	BML-303	2015-16	L/48 (F. 5, L.18853)	64 cm (N), 127 cm (E), 639.08 m (D)	12.53	2.4
69	BML-545	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	58 cm (S), 46 cm (E), 639.31 m (D)	13.7	2.4
70	BML-319	2015-16	K/48 (F. 2, L.17052)	Sieving	13.39	2.3
71	BML-263	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	225 cm (N), 168 cm (E), 639.54 m (D)	13.96	2.2
72	BML-274	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	20 cm (N), 170 cm (E), 639.40 m (D)	15.2	2
73	BML-552	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	11 cm (S), 22 cm (E), 639.09 m (D)	12.67	2
74	BML-266	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	41 cm (N), 158 cm (E), 639.48 m (D)	12.88	1.8

Illegible coins

The fabric, weight and size of these coins suggest they are likely to be of the same series as coins S. No. 9–74.

S. No.	Reg. No.	Year of Excavation	Locus	Context	Size (mm)	Weight (gm)
75	BML-415	2015-16	L/49 (F. 2, L.18902)	Sieving	19.1	4.8
76	BML-559	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	23 cm (S), 170 cm (E), 639.22 m (D)	17.59	4.5
77	BML-557	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	19 cm (S), 143 cm (E), 639.30 m (D)	18.61	4.4
78	BML-347B	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	Sieving	12.45	3.5
79	BML-566	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	190 cm (S), 100 cm (E), 638.88 m (D)	13.28	3.5
80	BML-349	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	260 cm (N), 147 cm (E), 638.37 m (D)	14.85	2.8
81	BML-548	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	30 cm (S), 154 cm (E), 639.22 m (D)	13.2	2.6
82	BML-270	2015-16	L/48 (F. 2, L.18852)	112 cm (S), 110 cm (E), 639.44 m (D)	11.29	2.2
83	BML-560	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	42 cm (S), 160 cm (E), 639.30 m (D)	13.72	2
84	BML-553	2015-16	K/48 (F. 4, L.17053)	10 cm (S), 232 cm (E), 639.19 m (D)	12.45	0.6

4. Conclusion

The present lot of coins suggests that they were deposited during the second half of the third century, most probably during the reign of the Kushan king Vasudeva II (c. AD 267–300). Two types of Vasudeva II are known, one has seated king and another standing king on the obverse. They show Brahmi letters (usually Vasu) in the right field of obverse (not visible on any of the excavated examples). Both types have enthroned Ardoksho on the reverse. One normal issue and one imitation of Kanishka II (c. AD 230–247) are also reported. The remaining coins are examples of the common ‘Vasudeva imitation’ series, which copies the obverse of coins of Kanishka II (king in overcoat) and the reverse of coins of Vasudeva I (c. AD 190–230) or Vasishka (c. AD 247–267). These imitations can be placed c. AD 250, but continued to be made with degenerate designs and reduced weight until the early fourth century. While the only single silver coin attributed to the White Huns was reported lying on the floor of the courtyard of main stupa B clearly

indicates the destruction of this Buddhist settlement. Evidences of the catastrophe were also noticed in the form charred timber, iron clamps, nails and door fittings.

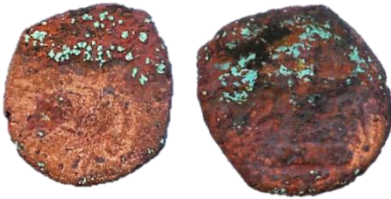
Acknowledgements

The archaeological excavations at Bhamala were resumed in 2014 by the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa with the technical support of the Department of Archaeology, Hazara University Mansehra. We extend gratefulness to the Directorate of Archaeology for the provision of full financial support, without which we would not be able to resume excavations at the site. Faculty and students of the Department of Archaeology were actively engaged in the excavations and thus need special thanks for their valuable contributions to the success of the project. We also extend our gratitude to our field team namely, Mr. Nazeer Ahmad (Draftsman), Mr. Aamir Sajjad, Ms. Neelam Abbas Ms. Shaista Sher, Ms. Sayed Gul, Mr. Muhammad Zahoor, Mr. Mehran Ashraf, Mr. Ehsan Javed (Archaeologists) Mr. Adnan (Site Supervisor), Hasnain Raza (Accountant) and Mr. Kashif (Photographer) for their hard-work to make the project a success.

* * *



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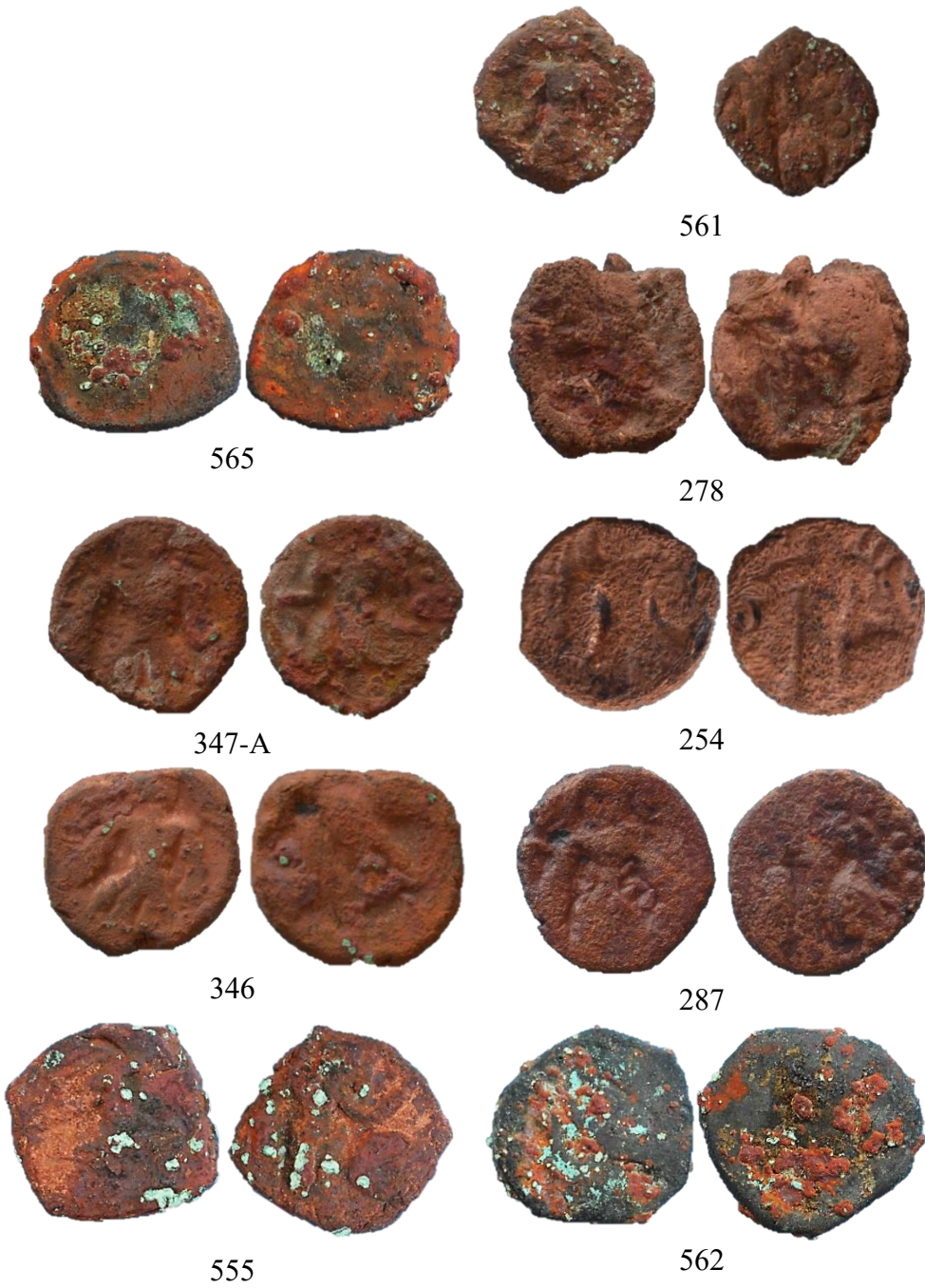
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Numismatic Evidence from Bhamala





Numismatic Evidence from Bhamala



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Numismatic Evidence from Bhamala



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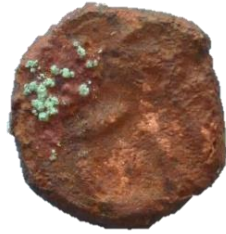




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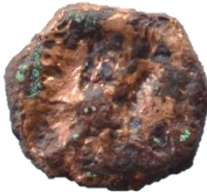
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Numismatic Evidence from Bhamala



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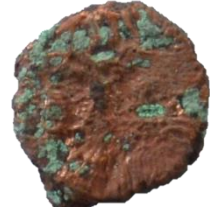
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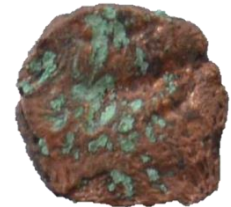
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347-B



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553



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Depiction of Footwear in Gandhara Art: An Appraisal

Kiran Shahid Siddiqui

Abstract

Footwear is an essential item of costume without which the costume is thought to be incomplete. However, in the hot climate of South Asia people preferred to go barefoot and seldom used footwear. This simple fact justifies the rare depiction of footwear in the early arts of South Asia. In Gandharan art although depiction of footwear is infrequent (and it is really rare in female representations), yet there are few varieties which need mention. The present paper aims to classify and analyze the variety of footwear depicted in the panels of Gandhara Art and also to find out their parallels in the ancient Greek and Roman art.

1. Introduction

Footwear (*upanaha*) is an essential item of costume, old as the man, without which the attire is considered incomplete¹.

In South Asia footwear was worn since the ancient times. Since the weather in most of the regions of South Asia is warmer, the people preferred to go barefoot and they rarely used footwear. In ancient literature, 'shoes have for the first time been referred to in the *Yajurveda*, the *Atharvaveda*, and the *Brahmanas*' (Kumar 2008: 54). The footwear had also been symbolic, associated to denote the presence of someone. According to the Ramayana, during Rama's exile, Bharata, despite of his mother's wish to ascend the throne, led a life of a hermit. He placed the shoes on the throne symbolizing the legal authority of Rama². Arrian

¹ In this paper diacritics are intentionally omitted.

² Bharata's plea to Rama is translated in the following words:

*Then Ráma, as his brother prayed
And these with fond affection gave
Then Bharat bowed his reverent head
"Through fourteen seasons will I wear*

*Beneath his feet the sandals laid,
To Bharat's hand, the good and brave.
And thus again to Ráma said:
The hermit's dress and matted hair:*

mentions, “The Indians wear shoes made of white leather and these are elaborately trimmed while the soles are variegated [as far as colors are concerned] and made of great thickness [to make them looking taller]” (Arrian, *Indika*, XVI, 5, Vaidya 2001: 149).

Shoes made from the skins of antelope, boar, lion, tiger, deer, cats, squirrels, owls and leopards were widely used (Kumar 2008: 54). Shoes and slippers in ancient India were made of buffalo skin as well as of bovine leather. Those made of cow’s leather were avoided by Hindu communities. Sandals of grass, rope, straw and wood were also common in ancient South Asia. Knob sandal made of wood *paduka/kharaun*, having a large knob gripped between the big toe and second toe, was preferred.

In the case of Buddhist communities, usually *bhikshus* (monks) did not wear footwear. Although in certain conditions, such as for protection when walking over the irregular ground, the *bhikshus* were allowed to use them only if their upper and under soles were made of wood or leather (Hume 2013: 106). Their sandals often had leather rings for the big toe and the upper arch of the foot was covered with strap. Simple leather shoe or cloth shoe was also worn in order to protect feet from snake bites or harsh ground. In rain and cold calf-length boots were also worn (Hume 2013: 106).

The use of footwear in ancient period is also confirmed in representations depicted in coins, sculptures and paintings. Coins of Kushan period depict kings wearing full boots. Ajanta cave paintings also depict the individuals wearing leg coverings along with full boots.

The *Vinaya* text broadly classifies the footwear in to slippers, sandals and boots which are further divided into numerous types and are of varied colors. The material of footwear was indicative of the financial position of the person wearing it. Some people, probably the rich ones, even used the sandals made from gold, silver, jewels, and glass.

Very few characters depicted in the early arts of South Asia appear in footwear. Among such rare representations, a winged lion rider portrayed

*With fruit and root my life sustain,
Longing for thee to come again,
I to these shoes will delegate.*

*And still beyond the realm remain,
The rule and all affairs of state
And if, O tamer of thy foes,*

*When fourteen years have reached their close, I see thee not that day return,
The kindled fire my frame shall burn!” (Ralph 1870-1874:781).*

on the middle false capital of the western gateway of Sanchi appears in long boots. A man fighting with crocodile depicted on the Sanchi Stupa also wears long boots. Some foreigners on the Northern Gateway are also depicted in long boots. But their details are unnoticeable.

In Gandharan sculptures, characters, male and female both, are depicted in a wide variety of hairstyles, headdresses, costumes and jewelry out of which some appear to be of indigenous origin and others represent foreign influences. Notwithstanding most of the Gandharan characters appear bare footed, footwear is an important constituent of attire. The following is nothing more than a tentative list of footwear types in Gandharan art drafted with the help of an invaluable tool, the *Repertory of Terms* published by the Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan (Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007), so far the most systematic and complete repertory of figurative motifs for Gandharan art³.

2. Male characters

A careful examination of Gandharan sculptures shows that majority of male characters are usually depicted barefooted, including obviously the Buddha and the Buddhist *bhikshus* (monks).

Bodhisattvas and Princes

Bodhisattvas and princes appear wearing bejeweled and decorated sandals whether depicted in panels or individually. Sandals are footwear in which the feet are partly exposed and are usually worn in the regions with warm climatic conditions. “Ancient Egypt was the home of the first sandals. This form of flat shoe with straps arose in response to Egypt’s climate and geography” (Bossan 2012: 10). The ancient Egyptian sandal was usually a sole held by a thong made to pass between the large and second toe attached to an ankle band.

In Gandharan sculptures, thong sandals, similar to those used in ancient Egypt, are commonly depicted which are composed of “a sole, a

³ The study could not speculate on the material of footwear. However, the designs hint, in most cases, to the use of leather. The footwear depicted in Gandhara sculptures, particularly the sandals worn by Bodhisattvas are among prevalent designs in modern times revealing an unbroken chain of continuity of trends from ancient times to date.

central strap, right and left side straps and a linking disc” (Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007: 150, fig. 6) (Pl. 1). Bodhisattvas, particularly Maitreya, are depicted wearing fine thong sandals which complement their princely attire. The sandals worn by Maitreya are almost of same design and style which are thought to be inlaid with gems and jewels with patterned straps. The traces of gild are sometimes notable on the sandals which indicate that they once held golden color.

Maitreya is often depicted with thong sandals having a big jewel instead of a linking disc which is present at the confluence of the straps reaching at the center top of the foot from the toes and around the ankle (Zwalf 1996: 58) (Pl. 2). In one variation, which is the most frequent type worn by Maitreya, the big jewel is replaced by the head of a lion. (Pl: 3). The gilt traces, still visible, are indicative of the golden color. These sandals usually consisted of a sole held to the foot by the help of strap passing around the ankles leaving the upper part of the foot exposed. These open sandals with ornamental straps were the imitation of Greek style.

Another Bodhisattva (Ashraf Khan et al. 2005: 132), now in Taxila Archaeological Museum, appears with a distinct sandal which is a very rare representation. He is shown wearing a knobbed sandal in his left foot with a large knob gripped between the big toe and second toe. The right foot is bare resting on his left leg (Pl. 4). These wooden sandals exhibit the indigenous Indian trend (Saeed-ur-Rahman 1990: 91).

Foreigners

Foreigner people have greatly contributed in popularizing various shoe types in India such as wearing boots and closed shoes. Their detailed features are not clearly visible due to miniaturization of scenes in the reliefs. Boot is special footwear that protects clafs and foot especially when horse-riding. It is tall, covers the foot and the ankle extending up to leg rising to various heights. A large variety of boots can be in Gandharan panels.

Boots with rolled tops are the most common style of footwear worn by foreigners. In representations of Western and Iranian charachters boots are short with rolled tops worn usually over a trouser tucked-in the boot and sometimes with short tunics on bare legs. A stair-riser relief, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, represents four males wearing similar boots.

(Pls. 5 and 7 [fig. 2.4]). Another male depicted in Central Asian or Iranian costume with a belted caftan and trouser tucked-in the high boots. (Pl. 6).

Haloed characters

A haloed male with a spear, now in the British Museum, is depicted in boots with turn-over flaps at the top and strip of ornament in the front which splits the upper in to two joining the sole with plain band. The toe is slightly upturned (Zwalf 1996: pl. 91). Similar footwear with upturned toe is worn by an individual devotee (Kurita 2003: 609 see also Pl.: 7 [fig. 2.2]). Depiction of this type of footwear is very rare.

Dioscuri

Dioscuri (Gnoli 1963: fig. 8), the demi-gods of Greek and Roman mythology, are depicted in a panel in which both wear boots with turn-over flaps with leafy pattern secured by straps running diagonally upwards crossing at the front. (Pl. 8 [fig. 2]).

Male Tutelary Deities

Tutelary couples are a popular depiction in Gandharan art. The male tutelary deity is shown wearing a Roman type of boot known as *campagus* (Bossan 2012: 316). This is a boot, which covers the calf at various height, fitted by lacing or buttoning leaving the foot exposed. In Gandharan sculptures, *campagi* are usually worn by the male characters wearing tunics and trousers. A panel depicting tutelary deity (Zwalf 1996: pl. 96), now in the British Museum, is depicted wearing boots which are tied at the front with intervals, leaving gaps. Its flaps hang downwards with thongs. In another panel toes of tutelary deity are exposed from the boots as in sandal. (Pl. 9 [fig. 2]). Faccenna and Filigenzi (2007: 185) mention this kind of footwear as sandals worn with leggings. Male deity in another panel, from Peshawar, in western attire, is depicted boots exposing his toes (Pl. 10).

Warriors

In Gandharan reliefs warriors appear wearing armor and long boots.

Campagi can be noticed on the feet of a coated warrior from the panel depicting “The host of Mara” (Pl. 11). A warrior from Sahri Bahlol, now in Peshawar Museum, is wearing high boots with tunic and skirt (Pl. 12).

Male devotees and donors

In Gandhara narrative reliefs, devotees and donors appear in attendance with the Buddha. They are mostly dressed in foreign attire, wearing trousers and tunics with boots or shoes. A shoe is a footwear which covers the foot but does not extend higher above the ankles. Shoes depicted in Gandhara sculptures are usually plain and simple with no distinct features. Some appear like slippers. In a panel from Peshawar, two worshippers appear in adoration posture. One of the worshipper wearing Western costume is depicted in high boots (Pl. 13). A royal donor, dressed in sleeved kaftan and trousers with tall decorated cone, is depicted in a panel representing “Bodhisattva Siddhartha in meditation, donors and monks”. He is depicted in plain shoes (Pl. 14).

The use of footwear in the Greek and Roman cultures was not common in these representations. Some were like those portrayed in Gandhara representing *campagus*, something between a sandal and a boot from which the toes were exposed (Pl. 15).

3. Female characters

In Gandhara sculptures, like males, majority of the females were also depicted barefooted. There are only few representations of females wearing footwear, even lesser when compared to those of males.

Female worshippers

In a panel showing “Buddha and female worshippers”, from Sirkap, Taxila, now in the Taxila Archaeological Museum, two females standing in front right and one on left, are wearing some sort of footwear which cannot be analyzed due to its lesser visibility from the costume fully covering the feet (Pl. 16). It may be a slipper, a shoe or a long boot resembling a Greek prototype which was worn by the females around the fourth century BCE (Pl. 17).

A female in another panel, “Seated fasting Bodhisattva accompanied by gods and worshippers” from Jamalgarhi, now in the British Museum, London, is wearing similar footwear which are slightly visible from her long tunic (chiton poderes) (Zwalf 1996: 181). Greek female figures appear wearing closed shoes which are slightly exposed from their *himation* and long chiton poderes (Pl. 18).

Female tutelary deities

Female deities in panels depicting “Tutelary Couple” often appear in slippers (Zwalf 1996: pls. 96 and 97). A standing female deity in the British Museum, London, is wearing similar slippers or shoes as depicted in the preceding panels (Zwalf 1996: pl. 95; see also Pls. 9 [fig. 1] and 10). Those females which appear in foreign costume usually appear in slippers, while those in local costumes are depicted without footwear. It may be assumed that footwear was a part of foreign costume and indicates foreign influence. In South Asian females are always shown barefoot, while in Western arts, particularly Egyptians, Greeks, Romans and Persians, females usually wear sandals, shoes, boots or slippers, and are they are rarely depicted barefooted.

4. Conclusions

Footwear is an accessory without which the dress is considered incomplete and their selection and use reflects the sophistication of its wearer. The development of a society can be instantly traced through ages by the styles of footwear worn by its members in the different periods of history. The study of Gandhara sculptures reveals an impression of sophistication in every aspect. The artist depicts the characters in suitable attire which not only indicates their status but also speaks of their moods and intentions. A particular carefulness can be observed in the portrayal of footwear. They appear to be more functional than aesthetic which is indicative of artist’s expertise. Keeping in mind its infrequent use in the society footwear was only depicted where they realistically complemented/completed the costume of the wearer. For example, Bodhisattvas were shown wearing a variety of open sandals which go well with princely costumes.

The images of Bodhisattvas wearing elaborate sandals characterize the style imported from West particularly from Roman and Greek prototypes,

while the Indian version of the same are generally barefooted. In Gandharan art no other character is depicted wearing sandals, as it is believed that they were used only by the revered persons in the multi-cultural Gandharan society.

Foreigners, males and females, are shown wearing shoes and boots indicating an exotic implication. Footwear are in this case plain and simple devoid of any decorative motifs or embellishments. The boots complemented the Western attire specially the tunics and trousers. On the other hand, characters of indigenous origin are represented barefooted which shows the local tradition in work alongside.

In the coeval art of Central India, although there are some representations of footwear (like at Sanchi), the latter does not exhibit variety. Only the warriors are shown wearing very simple boots devoid of any variations. Vice-versa, the variety of footwear, depicted in the Gandharan sculptures fully testify of the multi-cultural panorama of a region at the crossroads of East and West.

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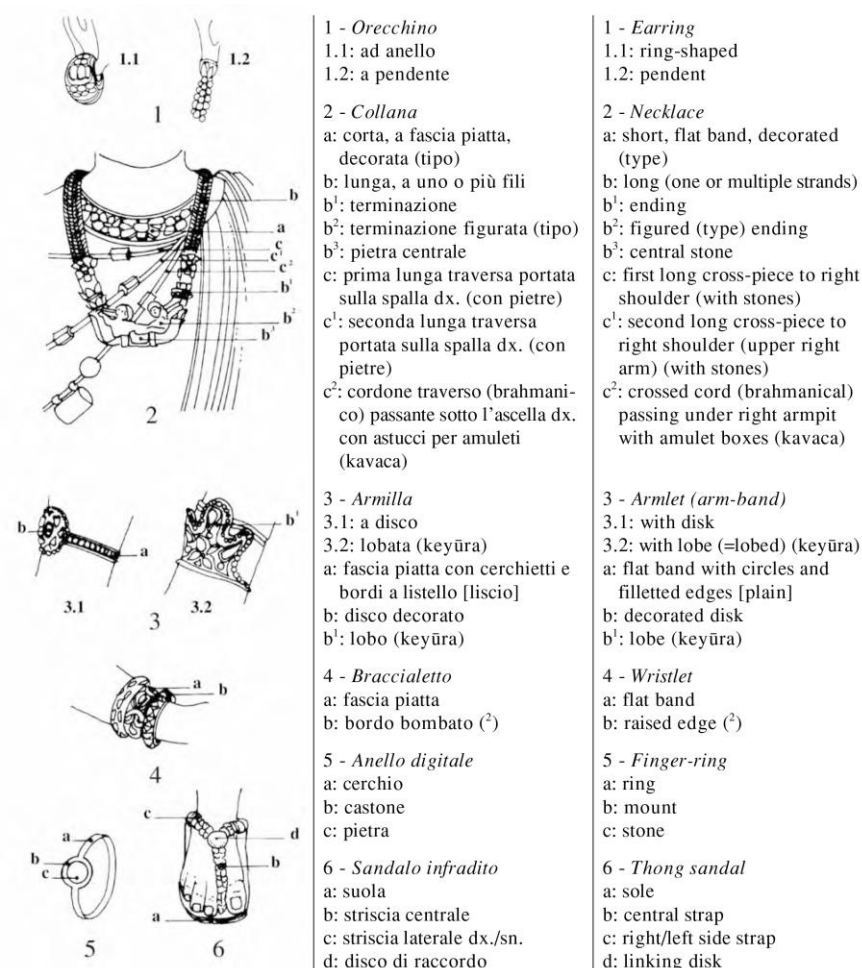
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4.3.6 - MONILI | ORNAMENTS ⁽¹⁾



1 - *Orecchino*
1.1: ad anello
1.2: a pendente

2 - *Collana*
a: corta, a fascia piatta, decorata (tipo)
b: lunga, a uno o più fili
b¹: terminazione
b²: terminazione figurata (tipo)
b³: pietra centrale
c: prima lunga traversa portata sulla spalla dx. (con pietre)
c¹: seconda lunga traversa portata sulla spalla dx. (con pietre)
c²: cordone traverso (brahmanico) passante sotto l'ascella dx. con astucci per amuleti (kavaca)

3 - *Armilla*
3.1: a disco
3.2: lobata (keyūra)
a: fascia piatta con cerchietti e bordi a listello [liscio]
b: disco decorato
b¹: lobo (keyūra)

4 - *Braccialetto*
a: fascia piatta
b: bordo bombato ⁽²⁾

5 - *Anello digitale*
a: cerchio
b: castone
c: pietra

6 - *Sandalo infradito*
a: suola
b: striscia centrale
c: striscia laterale dx./sn.
d: disco di raccordo

1 - *Earring*
1.1: ring-shaped
1.2: pendent

2 - *Necklace*
a: short, flat band, decorated (type)
b: long (one or multiple strands)
b¹: ending
b²: figured (type) ending
b³: central stone
c: first long cross-piece to right shoulder (with stones)
c¹: second long cross-piece to right shoulder (upper right arm) (with stones)
c²: crossed cord (brahmanical) passing under right armpit with amulet boxes (kavaca)

3 - *Armlet (arm-band)*
3.1: with disk
3.2: with lobe (=lobed) (keyūra)
a: flat band with circles and filleted edges [plain]
b: decorated disk
b¹: lobe (keyūra)

4 - *Wristlet*
a: flat band
b: raised edge ⁽²⁾

5 - *Finger-ring*
a: ring
b: mount
c: stone

6 - *Thong sandal*
a: sole
b: central strap
c: right/left side strap
d: linking disk

1.1 - Tissot 1985: tav. XXXII.5. 1.2 - Tissot 1985: tav. XXXII.10. 2 - Tissot 1985: tav. XXXIII.9. 3.1 - Tissot 1985: tav. XXXIV.1. 3.2 - Tissot 1985: tav. XXXIV.7. 4 - Tissot 1985: tav. XXXIV.9. 5 - Tissot 1985: tav. XXXIV.10. 6 - Tissot 1985: tav. XXXIV.12.

⁽¹⁾ Se ne danno alcuni esempi (vd. Tissot 1985: tavv. XXXII-XXXIV). | Some examples are shown (see Tissot 1985: pls. XXXII-XXXIV).
⁽²⁾ Gli elementi componenti possono essere separati. | The components can be separate.

Plate 1 – After Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007: 150, fig. 6 (Courtesy Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan).



Plate 2 – After Ingholt 1957: Pl. 315.



Plate 3 - Standing Bodhisattva, from Peshawar Museum
(Photo by the Author, Courtesy Peshawar Museum).



Plate 4 – After Ashraf Khan et al. 2005: pl. 32 (Courtesy of the authors).

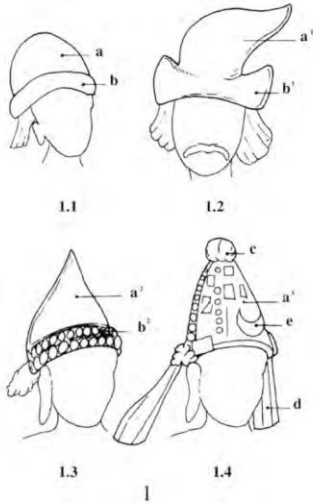


Plate 5 – After Ingholt 1957: pl. IV 1.



Plate 6 – After Ingholt 1957: pl. 421.

4.6.4.2 - COPRICAPO, CALZARI, STIVALETTI | HEADWEAR, SHOES, BOOTS

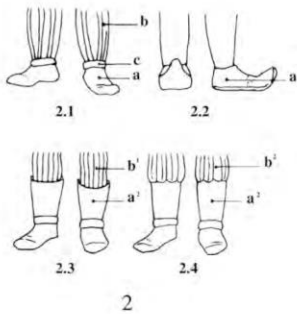


1 - Copricapo

- 1.1: a calotta
- 1.2: a cono con risvolto largo e punta alta piegata
- 1.3: a cono
- 1.4: a cono alto
- a: calotta
- a¹: cono con punta alta piegata
- a²: cono
- a³: cono alto decorato (tipo)
- b: risvolto
- b¹: risvolto largo
- b²: orlo a fascia decorata (tipo)
- c: pomo sommitale
- d: fascia pendente
- e: decorazione (tipo)

1 - Headwear

- 1.1: skull-cap
- 1.2: conical, with wide brim and high folded point
- 1.3: conical
- 1.4: with high cone
- a: skull-cap
- a¹: cone with high folded point
- a²: cone
- a³: tall decorated (type) cone
- b: brim
- b¹: wide brim
- b²: rim with decorated (type) band
- c: tassel
- d: hanging ribbon
- e: decoration (type)



2 - Calzari, stivaletti

- 2.1: calzari
- 2.2: calzari a punta rialzata
- 2.3: stivaletti
- 2.4: stivaletti
- a: calzare
- a¹: calzare a punta rialzata
- a²: stivaletto
- b: pantaloni
- b¹: pantaloni entro lo stivaletto
- b²: pantaloni riportati sopra lo stivaletto
- c: collo del calzare

2 - Shoes, boots

- 2.1: shoes
- 2.2: shoes with upturned toe
- 2.3: boots
- 2.4: boots
- a: shoe
- a¹: shoe with upturned toe
- a²: boot
- b: trousers
- b¹: trousers tucked into boots
- b²: puffy trousers loosely tucked into boots
- c: ankle band

1.2 - Faccenna 1964: tav. 483 (V 108).
fig. 609. 2.3 - Kurita II: fig. 620.

1.4 - Rosenfield 1967: fig. 77.
2.4 - Kurita II: fig. 620.

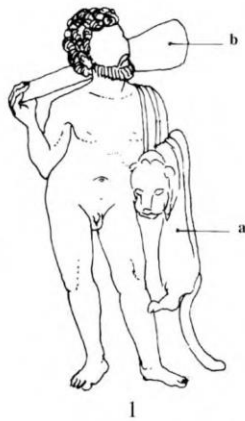
2.1 - Kurita II: fig. 620.

2.2 - Kurita II

Plate 7 – After Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007: 165, figs. 2.2, 2.4
(Courtesy Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan).

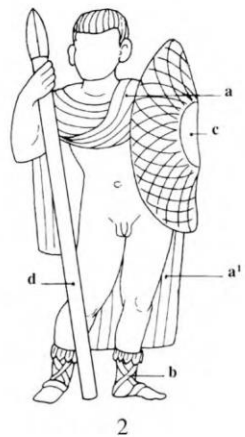
Tav. 139 | Pl. 139

4.11 - FIGURA DIVINA, SEMIDIVINA | DIVINE, SEMI-DIVINE FIGURE (¹)
 4.11.1 - FIGURA DIVINA, SEMIDIVINA MASCHILE | DIVINE, SEMI-DIVINE MALE FIGURE



1 - *Eracle*
 a: leontè
 b: clava

1 - *Herakles*
 a: leontis
 b: club



2 - *Dioscuro* (?)
 a: mantello
 a': lembo ricadente del
 mantello
 b: sivaletto
 c, d: armi

2 - *Dioscuris* (?)
 a: mantle
 a': hanging hem of mantle
 b: boot
 c, d: weapons



1 - Faccenna 1962: tav. 19 (V 55). 2 - Gnoli 1963: fig. 8 (B 5641).

(¹) Per alcune di queste figure si danno solo gli attributi specifici. Per gli elementi che ricadono in altre sezioni è sottinteso il rinvio ad esse. | For some of these figures, only specific attributes are shown. Reference to other sections is understood for other elements.

Plate 8 – After Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007: 180, fig. 2
 (Courtesy Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan).

4.11.3 - COPPIA TUTELARE; ESEMPIO: PĀŅCIKA E HĀRITĪ | TUTELARY PAIR;
E.G. PĀŅCIKA AND HĀRITĪ ⁽¹⁾



1

1 - *Pāñcika e Hārītī*

- a: tunica
- b: sovratunica
- c: cintura
- d: mantello

1 - *Pāñcika and Hārītī*

- a: tunic
- b: overtunic
- c: girdle
- d: mantle



2

2 - *Pāñcika e Hārītī*

- a: tunica
- a¹: fermaglio sulla spalla
- b: mantello
- c: tunica corta
- d: mantello
- d¹: fermaglio sulla spalla
- e: sandalo
- f: gambale

2 - *Pāñcika and Hārītī*

- a: tunic
- a¹: shoulder clasp
- b: mantle
- c: short tunic
- d: mantle
- d¹: shoulder clasp
- e: sandal
- f: legging

1 - Kurita II: fig. 497.

2 - Kurita II: fig. 417.

Plate 9 – After Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007: 185, fig. 2
(Courtesy Italian Archaeological Mission in Pakistan).



Plate 10 – After Ingholt 1957: pl. 345.6.



Plate 11 – After Ingholt 1957: pl. 64.



Plate 12 – After Ingholt 1957: pl. 561.



Plate 13 – After Ingholt 1957: pl. 420.



Plate 14 – After Ingholt 1957: pl. 287.

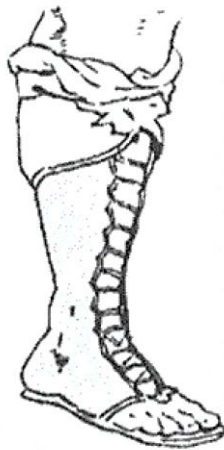


Plate 15: Plate 15 – After Bruhn and Tilke 1955: 20, pl. 22.



Plate 16 – After Ingholt 1957: pl. 189.



Plate 17: A Greek female boot with laces of the fourth century BCE.
(after Laver, 1964: 95, pl. 3).



Plate 18 - Female Figure from Boeotia with himation, chiton, and light shoes
(after Laver 1964: 95, pl. 3).

An Assessment of Conservation of Sher Singh Baradari, Lahore

Farah Jamil/M. Yusuf Awan/Ilyas Malik

Abstract

The current study deals with the history, architecture and conservation of the building of Sher Singh Baradari. The data was collected from various sources which include literature and archival documents, but it was basically verified through analytical observation of the site and its surroundings. The building had been damaged in 1992. Later the Government of the Punjab had taken the task of its conservation through Department of Archeology (DOA) in December 2011 (after the 18th Constitutional Amendment and the transfer of power on heritage and archaeology to provincial authorities). The objective of the present article is to report on the structural consolidation and surface embellishment works carried out at the site, as well as to document the types and quality of materials and the techniques being used in the project.

1. Introduction

Architecture of Lahore reflects a lively blend of Mughal, Sikh and Rajput Styles (Baqir 1984). Sikhs have made a remarkable contribution in the heritage of Sikh religion in Pakistan. Sikhism has its origin in Pakistan and Lahore got Capital status in Sikh period, which is why large part of the holy sites like Gurdawaras, *havelis*, *samadhs* and *baradari*'s are seen here¹. The current study deals with study of conservation work of the Sher Singh Baradari, one of the most important 19th century historical buildings of the Sikh period built in 1843. This historical *baradari* is named after the famous Maharaja Sher Singh who belonged to a Sikh

¹ In this paper diacritics are intentionally omitted. All the photos are from the Punjab DOA archives if not otherwise indicated.

family of Sukerchakia. He was born at Gujaranwala in 1805. He was son of Maharaja Ranjit Singh who is known as the first Maharaja of Punjab. Sher Singh succeeded his father at a very young age when he was twelve years old. The *baradari* is located in the southern part of Lahore city in a locality known as Kot Khawaja Saeed close to China Scheme. It was enclosed by a proper boundary wall but some time back, the wall was demolished by the Solid Waste Management Department (SWMD) for the extension of the Nawaz Sharif Hospital in the adjacent area.

2. Historical notes

This building has a specific historical importance, since it is linked to the tragic incident that occurred during inspection of troops by Maharaja Sher Singh (Lahore, 15th of September 1843). His general Sardar Ajit Singh Sindhwalia, killed him with the same gun that he was to present him as an honor during the ceremony. Sher Singh died on the spot while his son Kunwar Partab Singh of 7 to 9 years age was also killed at the same spot by Lehna Singh Sindhwalia. Both the son and the father were cremated at same place and later on their samadhs were built at this place. *Samadhs* of his wives Dharma Kaur, Rani Partab Kaur and Rani Randhawi have been also built in this complex as shown in Fig. 1 (Singh Darsan 1987; Brown 1942: 99-25).

Building expansion and demographic pressures were threatening the integrity of the building. The monument deserve to be restored and kept as a historical element or a landmark of the urban environment of the city of Lahore. Immediate steps were needed to stop the further decay of the building (Chauhdary 2000: 54-68). Notwithstanding, due to ignorance and lack of maintenance, the spot had become a dumping ground for garbage, it was still in quite good condition till 1992. The building was completely devastated after it was set on fire in retaliation to the incident of Babri Mosque in India in 1992. According to witnessess, during the attack, people also took away wooden doors and even bricks from the building. Eventually, the roof of the structure collapsed, and its debris was lying inside.



Fig. 1 - Sher Singh Baradari and *samadhs* in 1960
(Archives DOA).

3. Architecture plan and condition of the structures (1960-1992)

The complex of Sher Singh Baradari houses two main structures i.e *samadhi*'s of Sher Singh, Rani Mehtab Kaur, Pertab Singh and a *baradari* as shown in Fig. 2. The whole complex is planned as a raised platform of 5'6" of brick structure. The platform is approached through wide steps from the adjacent street. The building itself is a polygonal shaped structure with arched opening in its two longer side walls (Singh Mehar 1974). It consists of three rectangular halls which are interconnected and leading towards the raised platform, a terrace at the back. A well also exists at one corner of the terrace. A staircase on the left side of the front facade leads to the roof terrace which has about 3 ft high parapet.

* * *

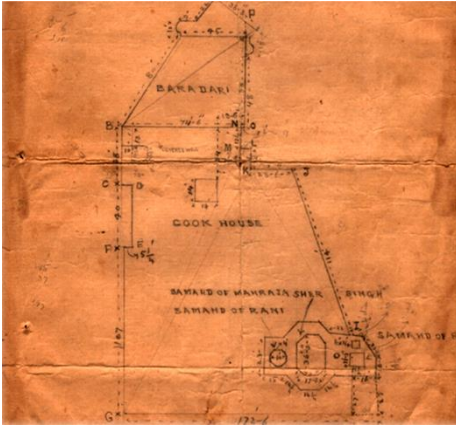


Fig. 2 - Plan of Complex in 1960
(Archives DOA).

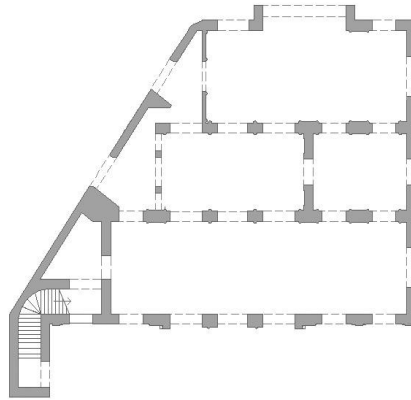


Fig. 3 - Plan of Baradari
(Drawings by the Authors).

Condition of the structures after 1992 (from the original fieldnotes):

1. Structural cracks
2. The buildings of *baradari* and *samadh*s had developed severe structural cracks due to settlement causing de-shaping of walls.
3. Brick work was deteriorating.
4. Arched openings, roof of the building and *samadh*s present were in a very bad condition as shown in Figure 4 and 5.
5. Boundary wall was also not present.
6. Efflorescent (salt effected masonry) was found.



Fig. 4 - Front facade showing
missing brick masonry.

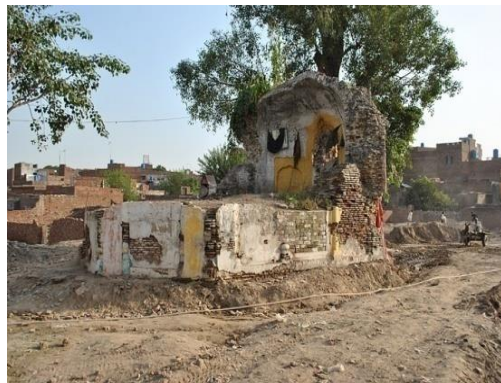


Fig. 5 - *Samadhi* of Mahahraja Sher
singh in dilapidated condition.

Facade's decay, deterioration and ornamental loss after 1992 (from the original fieldnotes):

1. At number of places lime plaster was missing or was in a very poor condition. Plaster was getting off the walls.
2. Original wooden battens and planks were missing.
3. Wooden doors were missing.
4. Walls required replacement of brick with proper pointing in same mortar as already used.
5. Fresco work on the walls was vanishing and faded as shown in Fig. 6.
6. Number of red sand stone (Jaipur quality) elements especially brackets and shades (Eaves or Chajja) were badly decayed or totally missing.



Fig. 6 - Facial decay and deterioration.

* * *

4. Preservation and restoration project (2011 - DOA, Govt. of Punjab)

The monument of Sher Singh Baradari was at the risk of its existence due to its prevailing environmental degradation and urban setting. The building was in a highly dilapidated situation. Therefore a comprehensive and integrated study was required to document and address the structural, architectural as well as environmental issues. The decorative feature needed to be studied and restored in its original form.

After Sher Singh Baradari was declared a protected site under the Antiquity Act of 1975, one of the first tasks undertaken by the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan (DOAM) was the appointment of an expert group to prepare the conservation plan for the conservation of the *baradari* complex.

The conservation plan was divided into two phases. In the first phase some preliminary structural consolidation work was done in order to stop further decay of the structure. In the second phase major works were done to uplift the facade on the basis of original features, and to protect some of the frescoes. The latter were kept in the current conditions in order to conserve the old technique, as the “first duty” of archaeological conservation was “not to renew them but to preserve them”. Proper drawings were made taking original measurements, in order to restore the buildings within the complex. It was also planned to re-shape the site with walkways and landscaping features in order to enhance overall character of the site. Some additional structures were added in the vicinity of the complex for people who visit that place for recreational purposes like gazebos, benches, fountain, and development of park.

As stated by Mr. Afzal Khan, Deputy Director of the DOA, the government of Punjab had released funds of as Rs 22 million for the project in December 2011, which would have been the first major restoration work to be undertaken on the building since it was declared a protected site under the Antiquity Act of 1975. About Rs 10 million had been given to the Parks and Horticulture Authority to construct a boundary wall and develop a park with picnic facilities. Following components of restoration works were identified.

S. No	Major Components of Work
01	Underpinning of loose and decayed brick masonry
02	Filling of cracks with original mortar
03	Providing and fixing of deodar wooden roofing
04	Restoration of old wells
05	Brick masonry of Samadh
06	Restoration of Vaulted roof of Samadh
07	Lime plaster , Glazed lime plaster , Lime pointing and Fresco Painting
08	Restoration of Red Sandstone and Brick tile Chajja (Eave)
09	Brick on edge pavement (flooring) with special size bricks
10	Provision of Deodar wood door/windows
11	Provision of Double and Single Galta under Chujja
12	Restoration of Stucco Tracery work on walls
13	Provision of Terracotta spouts
14	First Class Tile flooring on roof
15	Restoration of Cusp Arches in lime mortar
16	Construction of brick on edge apron
17	Floral painting as per original
18	Removal of debris from the site
19	Petty repairs

Table 1: Major restoration works
(from the original Project's documents).

5. Conservation plan and activities

Conservation of the building was planned in two phases considering the technical needs or priorities over a period of 22 months.

Phase I: Structural Consolidation (Time required 10 months)

1. Complete pre-conservation documentation of the existing monument/remains.
2. Archaeological investigation of the area.
3. Underpinning of decayed old walls with same size bricks in lime mortar.
4. Interlocking of cracks in the wall with beams, dowels, and small brick masonry.
5. Reconstruction of collapsed walls arches etc.
6. Re-roofing of the baradari with wooden beams and battens.

7. Waterproofing of the roofs and structures.²

Phase II: Surface Embellishment (Time required 22 months)

8. Restoration of decayed eaves of red sandstone and dressed masonry and other architectural decorative elements.
9. Kankar lime plaster, where it has decayed or is in very loose state and lime pointing.
10. Provision of Specially designed wooden doors.
11. Glazed lime plaster (Pucca Qali).
12. Preservation and restoration of fresco painting work as per original.
13. Restoration of tazakari, and stucco work.
14. Restoration of lime terraced flooring.
15. Provision of apron of brick on edge flooring.
16. Petty Repairs.
17. Electrification and illumination.³

Materials

Bricks

For the consolidation of structure special sized bricks were customized on order and used with *kankar* lime mortar in order to fill the structural cracks. Stability of floors is attained by brick ballast and by application of PCC to restore original flooring.

Wood

Deodar wood being the most reliable and good quality of wood that lasts longer with less maintenance, was used for roofing to restore original wooden ceiling which was demolished during the mob attack as shown in Fig. 7.

² From the Record of DOAM Northern Circle Lahore Fort, Lahore, with the help of its Deputy Director, Mr. Maqsood Ahmad Malik.

³ As above.



Fig.7 - Placement of *deodar* wooden beams and planks for roofing.

Sandstone *chajja* (eaves or brackets)

As originally used red sandstone which was imported from India was not used in restoration of old eaves or brackets. Sandstone available in Lahore with same characteristics was selected and executed on site as shown in Fig. 8.



Fig. 8 - Restoration and placement of sandstone eaves.



Fig. 9 - Sandstone brackets (original design).

Kankar Lime and its slaking process

Kankar lime is a bonding material for brickwork being used in old buildings instead of cement. The pure *kankar* lime was not easily available in market. Only one or two parties were manufacturing the *kankar* lime at Kasur. The manufacturing of *kankar* lime is a laborious job, i.e. collection of nodules, *kankar*, as well as cow dung cakes. Nowadays, people do not know the technique of calcining *kankar* lime. It is mainly manufactured from *kankar* (limestone), which is found in shape of nodules within all classes of soil either on the surface of the field or a few feet below ground in the low-lying portions of catchments etc. It is found in the surrounding of Lahore and mostly around Kasur. The latter has always been a major centre for manufacturing of *kankar* lime, which is commonly called *kasuri choona* (Jarrett 1978: 35-79).

After calcination quick lime has to be slaked to produce fat lime or lime putty (when used in saturated form). Quick lime is dropped in water container. As lime swells two to three times after addition of water, more quick lime is added to water rather than water is added to it. This is a very time-consuming process, which takes days to months and depends on the requirement of lime quality required. For a few days slaked lime is stirred daily with the help of bamboo and then sieves are used to remove large particles. The lime settlement takes place under water and formation of lime putty occurs beneath the clear water.

Technique of kankar lime plaster and glazed lime plaster

Base coat

Pakka qalai work is done on a wall which is first cleaned and made rough with a hard brush so that layer of lime plaster sticks to it. Coarse *kankar* lime mortar layer is applied as a base coat in a ratio of 1:2:3 (one part white lime + fine *kankar* lime + three parts of coarse *kankar* lime) strengthened with fully slaked lime. Chopped jute or goat hair is also added in the mortar for the purpose of reinforcement and to avoid the development of cracks in the base coat. The thickness of the base coat is normally from 1 to 2 inches. The thick layer of *kankar* lime is allowed to remain on the wall and then tapped with the edge of a *thapi* (a small piece of wood in triangular shape) as shown in Fig. 10.



Fig. 10 - Application of course kankar lime mortar as a base coat.

Second coat

After the first coat a thin layer of fine *kankar* lime, strengthened with well-slaked white lime in the ratio of 3:1 (three *kankar* lime and one slaked white lime), is applied over it, when the base coat is not yet set. The technical term in the local language for it is *dugha*. Furthermore, wire brush is used to make the layer rough.

Final coat

Over the *dugha* (second coat) a fine quality of lime cream is applied of 1/8"-1/16". This coat is then flattened with a small flat iron trowel called *nehla*. When it is finished, soapstone powder is dusted over it for shining

and smooth surface. The lime cream for the final coating requires very careful preparation. It must be perfectly slaked. The lime is kept in the water for months. A year is said to be desirable for the best work. Next day the water is drained off and fresh water is added, let it again stand under water till next day. This process is continued for at least a week. The lime cream for final coat requires months for perfect slaking, a year for the best work.

6. Frescoes: work and conservation stages

Fresco executions are one of the main and popular techniques used during Mughal and Sikh periods. Major surviving parts of decorative features in World Heritage sites of Lahore i.e., Lahore Fort and Shalimar garden consist of figural, vegetal, floral and geometric patterns. Fresco work was equally familiar in the general public because of its beauty and durability (Jarrett 1978).

Stages of fresco work

A fresco work gets complete after passing through a chain of processes each one of which needs high level of skill and concentration. Following various stages are followed (Nadiem 2006).

Copying: *naqal*

The sketch or the drawing to be painted is first drawn with pencil or charcoal on a thick paper sheet. Sometimes the design is copied directly from the original by tracing it on a transparent paper called *guddi kaghiz* or “butter sheet”, which in the modern period is replaced with durable tracing paper.

Tracing: *suzan khari*

The word *suzan* is derived from *suee*, needle. The entire drawing is then perforated by a needle (the compound term is *sueezen* or the needle –holes (Brown 1942: 95-125).

Drawing (*naqash*)

After the completion of tracing of the actual design the whole drawing is made bold by using the thicker pencil

Transferring (*khaka jarna*)

The taken off design is then placed over the portion to be painted then charcoal powder or indigo is puffed over the drawing. The powder penetrates through the perforations and imprints the exact lines and sequence of the actual design.

Painting

Once the motif or design is transferred on the surface prepared for fresco work and then painting work is started. Two types of colors are used in painting as stated below.

Mineral colors

- a) *Shingraf* – This is of red color and is available in the form of small stones. The stones are soaked in water for about 1 week and then grinded until a fine paste is prepared. Water is added as per requirement.
- b) *Gaeru* – This is of light brown color, of brick color. It is prepared in the same way as above.
- c) *Hurumchi* – Indian red color which is usually prepared from the naturally occurring clay material obtained from hilly areas. The color intensity is usually dependent upon the fineness that is achieved through constant rubbing it on slabs.
- d) *Khatta* – Yellow.
- e) *Peli Metti* – Yellow clay.

Chemical colours (from plants or metals)

- a) *Peorce* – Indian yellow (or *purree*).
- b) *Sindur* – Red lead = orange.
- c) *Kajal* – Black soot = black.
- d) *Phoola siahi* – Black burnt oil and residue from traditional oil lamps (*diva*) = black.
- e) *Safeda* – Zinc = White.
- f) *Nil* – Blue or indigo color obtained from *Nil* (*Indigofera* gen.).



Fig. 11 - Drawing and tracing out floral patterns as per original design.



Fig. 12 - The motif or floral design is filled with the required colors as per original design.

The area on which the fresco work is to be done, is roughened first. It is done on freshly laid wet lime plaster. After a layer of *dhuga*, a layer of white marble powder (*pora*) is applied. This makes the surface looking whiter. When the plaster is still wet, sketch or drawing is transferred to it with the help of charcoal dust as shown in Fig. 11, then the colors are applied with a wooden shovel called *nehla*. Furthermore, color coatings make it clearer and bring out details as shown in Fig. 12.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

When we talk about the preservation of a building or a historic relic our efforts should not just confine to the physical aspects of the science of preservation but should also be directed towards a wider goal. The objective should be to consider the overall aspects in order to revive the spirit of the building, put new life into it, and into what will be the prospects in the conservation process in such future works (cf. Awan 1993).

A detailed visual examination of the building had been carried out by the authors during the year 2015 in a comprehensive and systematic manner. This included examination of structures, materials used in construction and decoration works, but included a detailed inspection of the historic record of the building lying with the Department of Archaeology of Punjab. The record provided valuable information on important developments.

Looking into the conservation process, it was found that limited skilled labor was available for old traditional work like *kankar* lime plaster, *pakka kali*, fresco painting, *ghalib kari*, *tazakari*, for the cut and dressing of small bricks work, ornamental dressing of red sandstone etc. A serious shortage of skilled craftsmen has been observed in all conservation projects. It is, therefore recommended that practical training of professional staff working on conservation projects may be made mandatory.

Conservation of Sher Singh Baradari is done with same old techniques, with few technical constraints concerning material (including the availability of special sized bricks which were customized, and red sandstone which could not be imported from India). Therefore locally available materials were used.

The structures restored possess original elements which maintain their identity. Moreover, ornamentation and fresco painting has been done following the old techniques, so to revive the original character of the building. In apparent contrast, the architectural style of park/picnic areas developed around the *baradari* by the Horticulture Department does not match with the architectural features of *baradari* and neither reflects the Sikh period. However its presence has improved the environmental quality of surrounding area and provides great comfort to the visitors.

Note

More information on the terminology can be found in Awan/Kazmi, this Journal.

Fig. 14 - Walkways and gardening.



Fig. 13 – The work done by the Horticulture Department, Lahore (Photo by the Authors)



Acknowledgements

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The Importance of Craftsmanship in Conservation of Buildings A Repertory of Terms

Muhammad Yusuf Awan/Nabeela Saeed Kazmi

Abstract

Traditional craftsmen are key players in practical conservation of historic buildings. The focus of this paper is to record and explain the terminologies locally used by the craftsmen in traditional stone work and its conservation. Since local craftsmen engaged in conservation projects work under supervision of the conservation architects and engineers, there should not be any barrier of communication and language etc. between the two parties. The documentation has been carried out during on-going restoration work at the Mughal Emperor Jahangir's tomb, Shahdara, Lahore.

1. Introduction¹



The ancient crafts are a significant part of our national cultural resources. Their continuation as a living tradition is essential to ensure the authentic conservation of our cultural asset in the form of historic buildings (Clarke, 1988). The survival of these crafts requires competent craftsmen who are able to practice their skills in traditional building crafts. A severe shortage of craftsmen (only 3 % of total staff) was recorded in the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan (DOAM) (Khan 1990; Awan 1993). Survival of skills is indirectly linked to the survival of the relative terminologies, and to the possibilities of being understood by technical experts. It is regretfully pointed out that most of architects and engineers are not familiar with terminologies used by the craftsmen during the repair work (Fielden 1982; Asthrust 1988). Written and illustrated

¹ In this paper diacritics are intentionally omitted. All the photos are by the Authors.

publications describing early craft methods, techniques and terminologies can help conservationist architects and engineers to execute restoration works efficiently (Harvey 1972; Cantacuzino 1987; Zetter 1982; Ross 1990; Faccenna and Filigenzi 2007). This paper is aiming of being one of these publications, with a special emphasis on stone working. The study presents the records collected from the traditional craftsmen during our conservation projects in Lahore.






2. Dressing tools (Table 1)

Modern cutting tools are made of tempered steel, sometimes with inserts of especially hardened cutting edges, such as carbide steel. The material of tool may be iron, brass or copper. The basic tools do not change but their names may change from area to area². There may be some other tools as well to meet specific requirements³.

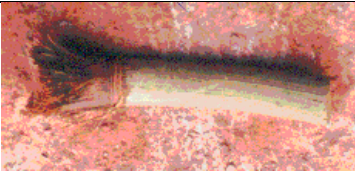





No.	Term	Description	Photograph
1	<i>bampra</i>	Chisel with sharp pointed tip with long shaft. The head is flat, to facilitate holding the shaft while using it.	
2	<i>chheeni</i>	A thick shafted small chisel with sharp square edge (V-shaped) on side. It is used for cutting or splitting the stone.	

² Arif, M. General Problems Affecting the Masonry Structures of Lahore Fort, Paper read in workshop at Department of Archaeology, 2003 (unpublished).

³ The following terms will be used in describing the tools in Table 1: head = the end of tool; shaft = the body of tool, usually thin enough to hold it; cutting edge = the part of tool that actually strikes and cuts the stone.

No.	Term	Description	Photograph
3	<i>choursa</i>	A pyramidal chisel with sharp straight cutting edge.	
4	<i>dachah</i>	It is a finishing tool of smaller shaft, with flat, straight, and broad cutting edge.	
5	<i>daroh</i>	A stone clamp (T- shaped), used to fit stone panels against the wall.	
6	<i>datary</i>	A tooth chisel (with different numbers of parallel teeth) that is used for rough shaping and to create contours/lines on stone	
7	<i>farma</i>	A stencil made of wood, metal or other materials (see Jamil et al., this <i>Journal</i>). It is used to reproduce the design on stone slab.	
8	<i>gunia</i>	Set square. A L-shaped steel ruler.	
9	<i>hathori</i>	Hammer; either metal headed with wooden handle or entirely made of wood.	

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No.	Term	Description	Photograph
10	<i>kuchi</i>	A brush for cleaning.	
11	<i>nurgey</i>	Small chisels of different thickness, with sharp flat cutting edge. Used for finishing.	
12	<i>parkar</i>	A pair of calipers, which consist of two curved arms, connected by a metal joint. It is used to measure the fractional dimensions to reproduce geometrical designs.	
13	<i>pitchar</i>	A thick shafted tool with beveled cutting edge. It is used for splitting thick layers of stone.	
14	<i>rayti</i>	Rasp. Used for smoothing the edges of stone. Available in different sizes, flat or circular in shape.	
15	<i>sooter</i> [soother]	A thick cotton thread	
16	<i>sut-salay</i> [sul]	Three to four inches long copper cramp or hook clamp with terminal tooth. Used to staple various stone components.	




No.	Term	Description	Photograph
17	<i>takla</i>	A poker type chisel with square shaft. Used for carving.	
18	<i>thalak</i>	It is a finishing tool having a long shaft with flat, broad and straight cutting edge.	
19	<i>tippay</i>	Three inches long copper rods with grooves on both edges. It is used with thread to check the uniform level of surface.	
20	<i>watti</i>	A stone used to polish stone surface or to shape the stone by rubbing.	

Table 1 - Dressing tools

3. Techniques and processes (Table 2)

In all techniques of stone works major consideration is to avoid removing the material that may be needed later. A stone worker applies some or all of these techniques during the process of treatment of raw material, from beginning to end of the work. Some additional techniques have also been explained here which are required to decorate stone masonry.

No.	Terms	Description
1	<i>auzaar thukana</i>	Sharpening the iron tools, by heating them to red hot.
2	<i>beeri lagana</i>	Fitting a patch in existing stone masonry.
3	<i>dewari nakashi</i>	Fresco painting on wall, executed while the plaster is wet (the term is now generally used for any kind of wall painting).
4	<i>ghalib kari</i>	Honey-comb ornamentation on ceiling or a wall. It appears to be a multiplication of small squinch arches, forming a geometrical design or stalactite work under

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No.	Terms	Description
		the soffit of the dome in Mughal architecture.
5	<i>gunia bithana</i>	Checking the uniformity of surface level with <i>gunia</i> .
6	<i>gutch kari</i>	Stucco on walls or vault with slow setting hydraulic lime plaster, as a base work for relief ornamentation or fresco work.
7	<i>kara lagana</i>	Technique is for making a base of lime plaster for fresco work.
8	<i>kashi kari</i>	Glazed tile work for mural decoration. The whole pattern is divided into squares of uniform size, which, put together, form a complete design.
9	<i>khuramchi surkhi</i>	A reddish powder, a type of <i>pozzolana</i> used to add red color and hydraulic properties to lime.
10	<i>likhai</i>	Drawing or tracing the design on the stone surface, with pencil, <i>sooter</i> , <i>parkar</i> and <i>gunia</i> .
11	<i>malai thandi qalai</i>	Fat lime putty/cream, obtained by slaking the fat lime in water. This cream is aged for months and years, to release all its heat (see Jamil et al., this Journal)
12	<i>masala</i>	Mortar used for masonry, plaster, stucco etc.
13	<i>mathai</i>	Finishing the stone surface fully smooth and even, by using <i>thalak</i> so that the stone does not need further smoothing.
14	<i>munabat kari</i>	Ornamentation of plain surface, to break the monotony by providing relief with special mortar.
15	<i>nashtar kari</i>	A type of fresco in which motifs are made by scratching painted surface with a sharp knife or chisel.
16	<i>paaya dalna</i>	Process of making horizontal and vertical strips of leveled surface on rough stone (used as reference points to level the whole surface).
17	<i>papri uterna</i>	This is an action taken for detachment/peeling off upper layer of soft stones, especially sandstone.
18	<i>payta karna</i>	This process is for careful splitting the rough layers of stone, to level the surface, by using different kinds of chisels and hammer.
19	<i>percheen kari</i>	Combination of small pieces of stone, glass or glazed tiles, generally multicolored, to form a design. These pieces are cut up and inlaid together in plaster, to form a kind of mosaic.
20	<i>pakka qalai</i>	It is top finish of lime plaster with pure lime putty to get a glazed surface, usually 1/8 inch thick (see Jamil et al. this Journal).
21	<i>raqam bharna</i>	Filling the inlay motifs in stone.

No.	Terms	Description
22	<i>taza kari</i>	Brick imitation in plaster, with engraving and making recessed joints.
23	<i>tik-tika</i>	Checking the uniformity of surface level, by means of thread fixed on copper rods (<i>tippay</i>)
24	<i>tipan</i>	Confirming / marking the pencil drawing with <i>nurgey</i> and hammer, to make the design permanent on stone surface.
25	<i>turan</i>	This technique is used for cutting of stone by means of chisels and hammer.
25	<i>watti marna</i>	Shaping and polishing a stone by rubbing it with <i>watta</i> .

Table 2 – Techniques and processes

4. Stone parts (Table 3)

Each part (member) has been prepared separately and fixed against the wall to form important features of the building. These members/elements have commonly been found in every Mughal building.

No.	Term	Description
1	<i>ab-shar chader</i>	Cascade, an ornamental slanting slabs of stone, with a zigzag or fish pattern, connecting a water channel on an upper level to a small pond on a lower level, allowing the water to ripple down in spray.
2	<i>bara-dilla</i> [dado panel]	The first panel above <i>dassa</i> (see below), and usually bigger in size, and slightly projected out, as compared to other <i>dillas</i> . <i>Bara-dilla</i> is usually inlaid with geometrical pattern. <i>Dillas</i> used in platform are usually plain.
3	<i>baradari</i>	A pavilion with arched openings on either side, surrounded by a water tank approached through a bridge. It was a summer resort.
4	<i>chhajja</i>	1. Bracket. Projecting element from wall or column to support a load, generally a beam. These are sometimes inverted L-shaped or scrolls, often used for decorative purposes (false brackets).

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No.	Term	Description
		2. A projecting stone feature, generally slanting, above the arches, colonnade or wall, supported on bracket to protect from rain and sun.
5	<i>chabutara</i>	A raised platform in a garden, meant for sitting.
6	<i>chhatri</i>	This is a pillared pavilion, roofed by a dome, mainly for breaking the sky-line of building.
7	<i>chhota dilla</i>	It is second panel above <i>dassa</i> (see below). This <i>dilla</i> is inlaid with floral design such as rose water-sprinkler, fruit dishes, flowers etc.
8	<i>daatt</i>	This is an arch spanning an opening with wedge shaped stones, capable of carrying a super-imposed load.
9	<i>dab</i> [base <i>patti</i>]	This is first stone of facade, laid as base of super structure, to provide uniform level. The average thickness of this base <i>patti</i> is 2–3 inches.
10	<i>dalan</i>	This term is used for verandah of a building.
11	<i>dassa</i>	This is the floor level of a building. It is provided above the mini- <i>dilla</i> (see below), with 4–9 inches maximum height. It usually has carved motifs of floral design but sometimes it is plain.
12	<i>dilla</i>	The height from <i>dassa</i> to top cornice level of main facade is divided into four panels called <i>dillas</i> . There are four types of <i>dilla</i> : <i>bara-dilla</i> , <i>chhota-dilla</i> , <i>tilli</i> and <i>takri</i> (see below).
13	double- <i>ghalta</i>	Double- <i>ghalta</i> is provided above the <i>sehra</i> (see below). It is the cornice level with double molding, inlaid with geometrical pattern.
14	<i>ghalta</i> [base moulding]	A moulding of suitable section is provided above the base- <i>patti</i> . Its average height is 5–7 inches.
15	<i>gul patti</i>	The border which runs from the top of <i>nasik</i> (see below) to the highest point of arch. The arched opening is completed on the front with bordering of star pattern of smaller size.
16	<i>guldasta</i>	A small turret like termination on parapet (looking like “a flower vase”), often having bunches of foliage or lotus petals.
17	<i>gul-e-nau</i>	Border/ <i>patti</i> running horizontally and vertically around the <i>dillas</i> , to divide them. This <i>patti</i> has inlaid motifs of star pattern or zigzag pattern. The width of <i>gul-e-nau</i> is usually 8 inches.
18	<i>gunbad</i>	A convex roof, approximately hemispherical form, erected over a square, octagonal or circular space in a building, on arcuate (arched) system.

No.	Term	Description
19	<i>jali</i> <i>mundan</i> <i>muttaca</i> -post	On the facade it is provided as parapet of roof and some time as perforated screen for privacy and protection against direct sun light (<i>jali</i>). It is usually made of marble or sandstone. The <i>jali</i> is supported with <i>muttaca</i> -posts (vertical member) and <i>mundan</i> (horizontal base).
20	<i>jharoka</i>	This is a stone or wooden window with <i>jalis</i> , projecting out from the wall of a building, in an upper storey, overlooking an open space or bazaar.
21	<i>kanguras</i>	It is marlin, a battlement like cresting at the top of a wall.
22	<i>mihrab</i>	Ornamental recess in wall usually with an arched top for surface decoration and for breaking monotony of plain wall.
23	<i>minara</i>	It is a small turret like ornament on the top of parapet.
24	<i>minar burj</i>	A detached self-standing tapering tower, generally multi storied with an inner stair-way, either functional or commemorative or ornamental.
25	<i>mini-dilla</i>	Small panel. It is provided above the <i>ghalta</i> . Its height may vary from 9 to 18 inches, depending upon the design of facade. Usually it is inlaid with different stone motifs of geometrical and floral design, but some time it is plain.
26	<i>mudakkhal</i>	Panel running horizontally on the top, with a continuous inlay design. It is without border and continuously runs around the top. It is usually 18 – 19 inches high strip.
27	<i>nasik</i>	Nook-shaft. On the top of <i>dassa</i> , <i>nasik</i> is provided on every corner of building and also on both sides of an arched opening. Its height is usually equal to the height of base panel. It is square at top and has <i>garvi</i> (curved shape) on the base. Its shaft is richly carved with zigzag pattern called <i>lehria</i> or chevrons (see Table 4, below). Sometimes <i>garvi</i> is provided as <i>nasik</i> , with square base and capital.
28	<i>sehra</i> <i>jhallar</i>	The end of panels. It is provided on the top of <i>dillas</i> and <i>gule-nau</i> , and under the top <i>ghalta</i> / double- <i>ghalta</i> . The height of <i>sehra</i> is 6–12 inches and it has inlaid motifs of floral pattern, with different colored stone.
29	<i>suraj-mukhi chakla</i>	A roundel embossing provided at the spandrel of arch is called <i>suraj-mukhi</i> (sunflower). Sometimes it has inlay of pietra-dura work or sometimes modeled to resemble a sunflower.
30	<i>takri</i>	It is the top panel of facade. It is also inlaid with rose water-sprinkler, fruit-dishes, flowers etc.

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No.	Term	Description
31	<i>tilli</i>	It is a small size panel in the entire scheme/ division, to break the monotony. It is a small horizontal rectangular panel, inlaid with floral pattern. Its height is normally 18–19 inches and width varies according to width of other panels
32	<i>top-dassa</i>	It is on <i>mudakkhal</i> and shows the top level of roof. In some Mughal buildings this is the top end of building. It is usually carved in floral pattern.

Table 3 - Stone parts (facade)

5. Decorative elements (Table 4)

No.	Terms	Description
1	<i>bandook</i>	Triangular inlay motif, used at the corner of panel.
2	<i>bangri</i>	A multi foil inlay motif.
3	<i>chirri</i>	R-shaped inlay motif with two wings.
4	<i>gaz</i>	Straight bar used for division of spaces for inlay of decoration.
5	<i>gulab pash</i>	Rose water sprinkler.
6	<i>guldasta</i>	A vase with overflowing vegetation.
7	<i>lehria</i>	Chevrons. A regular zigzag pattern of straight lines, generally disposed horizontally on pilaster or shaft.
8	<i>naag</i>	S-shaped inlay motif.
9	<i>phool</i>	A three- or multifoiled motif.
10	<i>qab</i>	Inlay design of fruit dish.
11	<i>shamsa</i>	A roundel motif, in the center of inner side of dome.
12	<i>taj</i>	A floral molding at the highest point of arch.
13	<i>taq</i>	A small arch recessed in wall, generally at dado level.
14	<i>[si]tara</i>	Star shape inlay motif.
15	<i>tikka</i>	A circular/roundel-shaped inlay motif.

Table 4 - Decorative elements

* * *

6. Miscellaneous terminology (Table 5)

No.	Term	Description
1	<i>chahar-bagh</i>	Four-quartered garden, generally enclosed, divided into four quarters by canals, each having pathways with a pavilion or building at central point.
2	<i>dilkusha</i>	Garden of contentment.
3	<i>diwan-e-amm</i>	Hall of public audience in a palace.
4	<i>diwan-e-khas</i>	Hall of private/special audience in a palace.
5	<i>iwan</i>	Central arched entrance or portal in the center of the facade of a building.
6	<i>jawab</i>	A building, which repeats to another side, for the purpose of symmetry.
7	<i>karigar</i>	Skilled worker/artisan, one who is proficient in craft.
8	<i>maqbarah</i>	Mausoleum; a building containing the grave.
9	<i>radda</i>	A course of brick or stone masonry.
10	<i>raj</i> [<i>ustad</i>]	A mason; skilled builder of building.
11	<i>sang tarash</i>	Stone-cutter or carver.
12	<i>sang-e-badal</i>	A type of limestone, grayish white having pattern or lines like clouds.
13	<i>sang-e-khattu</i>	Yellow limestone.
14	<i>sang-e-marmar</i>	White marble.
15	<i>sang-e-abri</i> <i>sang-e-maryam</i>	Limestone with yellow and reddish-brown fossils in it. This stone is also called <i>sang-e-maryam</i> or variegated marble.
16	<i>sang-e-jirah</i>	Titanium oxide. It has the same property of talcum powder. It gives smooth finish and adds property of abrasion and corrosion.
17	<i>sang-e-musa</i>	Black limestone.
18	<i>sang-e-surkh</i>	Sandstone (siliceous), generally red.
19	<i>serai</i>	Halting place, usually at the entrance of city.
20	<i>sunni</i>	Jute or hemp; a fiber used for making ropes.
21	<i>taweez</i>	Tombstone, headstone.

Table 5 - Miscellaneous terminology

7. Conclusions

It is globally established that no sustainable conservation work can be carried out without local craftsmanship. Therefore a clear understanding and communication between craftsmen and conservation planners is absolutely essential. To meet this requirement, in our work at the Jahangir tomb, Shahdara, Lahore, documentation of tools, processes, stone elements, and decorative patterns required in a conservation project, has been comprehensively carried out. Its importance is obvious and self-explanatory.

The information given in this paper will help the architects and engineers involved in any conservation work and make them familiarized with these terminologies, resultantly they will efficiently utilize the expertise of craftsmen in implementation of their conservation plans for various projects.

Note

More information on the terminology can be found in Jamil *et al.*, this Journal.

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Kūrri, Do not Let Bygone be Bygone¹

Mamoona Khan

Abstract

The article deals with the Early Modern urban site of Kūrri, in the surroundings of Rawalpindi. The study, based on archival materials as well as on field reconnaissance, introduces the first complete overview on that neglected (and now endangered) site, once the seat of a flourishing regional market town.



Fig. 1 - Map of Kūrri, called *Laīha* in local dialect, drawn in 1905.

¹ All the photos are by the Author or belong to the Author's archives.

1. Introduction

Kūrri, now a small town in the vicinity of Rawalpindi and part of the federal area is 13.8 km away from the [former] Islamabad Airport (Benazir Bhutto International Airport). Ages back Kūrri was a splendid city; still it is called and written Kūrri *shahar*², although now it has turned to a very small town. When Kūrri was at its meridian, Rawalpindi was only a small place inhabited by a few number of people. But a reversal turn took place and now Kūrri is in oblivion while all among us are familiar with Rawalpindi, where a densely populated area keeps a busy old road named Kūrri Road which passes through heart of the city. It is a reminder of the splendour and hustle and bustle of the city named Kūrri.

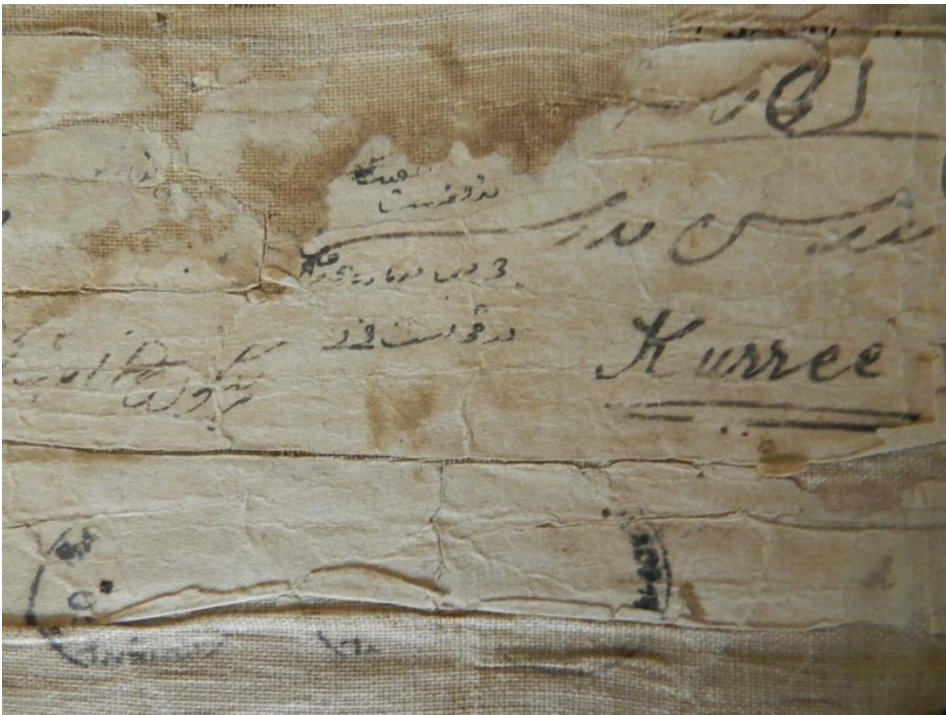


Fig. 2 - Back side of *Laíha*.

² *Shahar* means city, and Kūrri is called city from the days when Rawalpindi did not even exist.

Living nations never break links with their past. If it is splendid it pulls them up to the same vainglory and if it is not so fabulous, still it becomes a lesson to attain a better position. But the history of Kūrri is a bit neglected domain, although it still keeps remains of a fort, a *Gurdawāra*³, a legendary *Masjid*, along with ancient wells and a few other mosques named after certain casts like *Masjid-i Khatīkan* and *Masjid-i Qādīyān*. Moreover, archaeological sites like Hindu Temples, *Dharmāshālas* and indication of many wells that have got extinct, are pointed out in an authentic map of Kūrri [Kurree] (Figs.1-2) drawn in 1905. It is regrettable that modern plans of the government of Pakistan to allot plots to the Federal Govt. officials at this place can become a cause to vanish the dissipating oddments of the history of Kūrri.



Fig. 3 - A board at Kūrri School narrating its history.

Etymology of the word Kūrri is variously interpreted. Some associate it with the word *Kūr* of Pūthūhāri language that means blind, while Sikhs use word *Kaur* for woman (a large number of Sikh populations, before

³ A Sikh temple is called a *Gurdawāra*.

partition, inhibited at Kūrri, Fig. 3)⁴.

The present state of Kūrri is exactly like other small towns of the country, though a recently repaired paved road exists there, but not for its natives, rather for its future dwellers (see below). The people of Kūrri are educated, civilised and hospitable, mostly having simple and clean dwellings, along with deep rooted reverence for this place. Nannad Kishaur Wikram, a renowned Indian writer belongs to this soil and still yearns for it, calling it a beautiful and attractive valley⁵. Despite the historical value, it is a completely neglected town and instead of allocating funds to save its artefacts that connect us to the ancient past of Puṭhūhār, decisions are made for replacing the indigenous into modern dwellings not for the natives but for higher officials of the federal territory. It may turn this beautiful piece of land into a replica of some European city, but at the cost of its precious heritage, and still it lacks basic facilities of the modern era. Electricity was provided in 1970 but water and facility of gas for domestic use is still lacking.

Kūrri being on the cross roads, was once a gold market and a supplier of goods to the surrounding settlements including Kahūta, Murree and Kashmīr. Salt besides oil and *gur*⁶, were the major commodities supplied through this path to the Kashmīrites. But now there are very few familiar with its magnificent past, and not even a single monograph is attributed to this place. For being in the region of Puṭhūhār, some of the writers have mentioned it in their treatises on Puṭhūhār, but at a cursory glance, allocating only one or two lines to it. It should be documented before its history completely vanishes even from the minds of its own dwellers, living here from generations.

2. Puṭhūhār

The term Puṭhūhār, according to Azīz Malik is a combination of two words of the native language: *puṭh* and *ār*. The former means *back* and the

⁴ Another possible link can be attempted with Kurū, the name of a famous tribe or *mahajanapada* which established a flourishing kingdom in Punjab across mid-1st Millennium BCE.

⁵ His book *Unīswān Adhīyā'ay* also narrates about the past of Kūrri, in which he yearns to return to the place of his infancy.

⁶ *Gur* is raw form of sugar.

latter stands for *like*, so it connotes *back like*. It defines the undulating surface of earth of this region, which is neither plain nor fully mountainous; rather there are plains and ridges or rugged terrains combined (Malik 1987: 11). Some associate it with Bhattiwār or *Pupe hār* twisted to Puṭhūhār⁷. Whichever meaning is attached with the word Puṭhūhār⁸, Kūrri is part of it.

The perimeters of Puṭhūhār are also variously given. Some people limit it to the taḥṣīl Gujar Khān, while others restrict it to the region between the river Sawān and Nāla Kānsi⁹. But Minhās in *Tārīkh-i Puṭhūhār* allocates a vast land to the region: from Mardān to Jahlum River, and on the other side, from mountains of Kutli Pūnchh in Āzād Kashmīr district, including Murree to the Indus Kaiser Mountains in Sargudha district (Minhās 1978: 40).

3. *Mandi Kūrri*

Prior to the advent of Pakistan Kūrri was inhibited by Hindu clans, Sikhs, Jain and Muslims. But with the divide Hindus and Sikhs migrated to India, and now Muslims are the only inhabitants of this region while marks of cultures of the other two, once dominant are now disappearing rapidly.

Locals narrate that there were three major markets in Asia: *Mandi Amratsar*, *Mandi Baha al-Dīn*, and *Mandi Kūrri*. The market of Kūrri was

⁷ Rāhat Chightā'i also agrees with the previous interpretation (Chightā'i 1990: 61). Another source attributes it to the Bhatti tribes of Rājput clan, still scattered all over this region, which was called Bhattiwār, twisted to Puthwār and then turned to Puthuhār⁷ (Minhās 1978: 33). An interesting account is written in Kai Goharnāmāh that Rā'i Pithura while defeating Ghaurid Sultān Shāhāb al-Dīn chased him till river Sindh. On return he stayed with Gakhars near Daingli that was replete with a variety of flowers. He was so pleased that he exclaimed the region with joy *Pupe hār*, meaning *garland of flowers*. In Hindi *Pupe* is flower but the natives being unaware with the word *pupe* called it *puthe*, so it got famous as Puthehār (Dūni Chand 2004: 51-52). Another source traces origin of this word from the Hindu god Ardhanārī Īshawrītha, was half man and half woman called Putā in Sanskrit of Kashmīr. So the land where Putā god was worshiped was called Puthuhār (Naqvi 1995: 10-11).

⁸ Date of origin of the word Puṭhūhār is unknown, but according to Minhās it is present in the books of Sultān Gakha' Shāh, also famous as Gakha'īn Shāh. He started ruling Puṭhūhār in 412/1022, which is not more than twelve hundred years back (Minhās Tārīkh 31). In *Tuzk-i Jahāngīri* boundaries of *Puthuhār* are defined from Haith to Margalla.

⁹ Nāla Kānsi starts from Kalar Sayidān and falls in river Jehlum near Mangla.

very large, but main importance lies in the fact that it was covered from all around. All sorts of goods were available there, including a huge area for the selling and purchasing of gold. So, it was famous as gold market too. People from the surrounding settlements used to come to this place to purchase anything they needed. Residents of Malut, Bhaigaiwāl, Karu, Kahūta, Murree, Kashmīr, etc., used to visit this place to buy commodities of daily utility along with objects for ceremonial usage. At the time of marriages, religious festivals or on other similar occasions visit to this market was essential, for, it fulfilled all their required needs¹⁰ because everything was available from this single place. It was like today's Rāja Bāzār of Rāwalpindi that keeps each object of utility, from eatables to utensils, cloths, gold and silversmiths, etc. Moreover caravans of traders used to move twice a week from Kūrri *Mandi*¹¹ to Murree and then to Kashmīr. Goods were transported on *karainchīs*¹², donkeys, mules or horsebacks. It was a favourite place of grain merchants. Landlords of the surrounding regions used to come to the Kūrri market to sell their crops¹³: grains, corn or cotton, etc., for all sorts of goods were sold and purchased there. Murree under the British Rāj had almost a similar market; goods were brought from the plains to Kūrri, then to Murree and from there to the adjacent settlements.

Kūrri Bāzār was almost 1km long and all covered. It started from *Qil'ah wāli Dhakki*¹⁴ (Fig. 4) and continued very long, keeping all the

¹⁰ The account is given by Amjad Ḥafīz, a resident of Kūrri. His father Abd al-Azīz was a teacher at Kūrri School, who got retired in 1994, and grandfather Maulvi Abd al-Ḡhani was retired as headmaster from the same school. Map of Kūrri of 1905 was provided by the same source.

¹¹ *Mandi* is a market place.

¹² In the language of Puṭhūhār *Karainchi* is a bull cart, from plains goods were brought on *Karainchīs* to Kūrri.

¹³ Prof. Khālida Parvīn of Political Science at Postgraduate Govt. College of Women, Satellite town, Rawalpindi, belongs to Kahūta town, gave valuable account of Kūrri narrated by her father, while making her beloved daughter familiar with their ancestors of Puṭhūhār. He was a landlord and told that they used to come to the market of Kūrri to sell their cotton crops. It is interesting that the natives of this region have some pride for the rugged terrains, Puṭhūhāri language and their customs and traditions. They never let their children speak at home any language other than Puṭhūhāri.

¹⁴ *Qil'ah* is a fort and *dhakki* is a higher place that covers something underneath. It means the market started from the place which is quite high from its surroundings and which keeps the traces of a fort underneath.

goods of necessity. From pulses, grains, vegetables, fruits, sugarcanes, to oil, and leather goods, for oil merchants and leather merchant were in abundance there. A proof of it is still existing *Masjid-i Khatīkān*¹⁵. Herds of animals were brought from the plains of the lower Punjab and their skins were utilised and even sent to Murree and Kashmīr. Two folded path led from Kūrri to Kashmīr: from *Qil'ah wāli Dhakki* to *Chhapprān*, *Bhaigaiwāl*, Murree road,¹⁶ Angūri to Murree, and the other path starting from the similar place to 'Ali Pur Farāsh, Karu' to Murree and from there to Kashmīr. From Thāna¹⁷ Wārith Khān in Rāwalpindi to Kūrri, there was 8 km long paved road named Kūrri road still exists there. It starts from Rājābāzār, crossing Murree Road at Nāz Cinema, passing through *Chāh Sulṭān*, it crosses Rāwal Road that is a present addition, didn't exist before. It then moves to Ṣādiqābād, crossing *Chirrah* Road at Hāji *Chawk*, passes through transformer *Chawk*, *Tarlā'i*, *Trāmfi*, 'Ali pūr Farāsh, *Pindurīān* to Kūrri. Despite the present state of Kūrri, the road bespeaks its previous splendour.



Fig. 4 - *Qilq wāli Dhakki*, a place of ancient Kūrri market.

¹⁵ *Khatīkan* are leather workers: leather dyers and processors.

¹⁶ The old Murree road that passed through the region where Rawal Dam exists now. Remains of this road still get visible in dry seasons when scarcity of water in the dam causes the ground under water visible.

¹⁷ *Thāna* is a police station.

3. A bit of history

History of Kūrri is very old, even the Mughal Emperor Jahāngīr mentions it in *Tuzk-i Jahāngīri*. He writes that after suppressing the revolt of Khusrau in 1607, he decided to visit Kābul. On 7th Dhi al-Ḥajj, 1015 hijra, he moved from Lahore Fort, passing through Jahāngīrpūra, present day Shaikhūpūra then Ruhtās, he moved to Bhakhra, then to Pakkāh, he stayed at Kūr, ascribed as very near to a pond famous for crocodiles, a little away from the Rāwal town, present day Rāwalpindi and then to the Kharbūza, moving to Attock. The place Kūr is definitely present Kūrri, for all adjacent lands mentioned by Jahāngīr, directs to this place, and the pond is present day Rāwal Dam. But history of Kūrri is even older than that, for Chhapprān: land surrounding Kūrri from north-east, keeps a variety of sculptures of Buddha, many excavated but still requires to be searched out from under the earth. Abd al-Azīz, a teacher of the school of Kūrri once kept those sculptures which were taken over by the Pakistani government and placed in the Taxila Museum. Jahāngīr also mentions that word Kūr in the Gakhar dialect stands for destruction or dissipation. The Kūrri fort and ancient Buddhist edifices might not be intact even at his time!

Among the tribes of Kūrri, at the time of partition, there was no royal family, various clans, all living together. All spoke Puṭhūhāri language, even Hindus and Sikhs used pure Puṭhūhāri. Trade was in the hands of Hindus of Kūrri who were educated and very rich at that time. An authentic source of information is the map of 1905 that points out a large number of chāh¹⁸, dharamsāla¹⁹, marghat²⁰, khānqāh²¹, school, and masjid. Each clan had his dharamsāla and chāh, such as dharamsāla qum Bandrāsi, dharamsāla qum Dham, etc. It shows that Kūrri was an important place, keeping all the requisites of a civilised society. Cleanliness seems to be an essential part of their living, for presence of a chāh after very short intervals, and each clan owing an independent chāh, proves this.

¹⁸ Chāh in Puṭhūhāri language is a pit-well.

¹⁹ Dharamsālah or Dharamshālah is a building used for a pious purpose by Hindus; a place where alms are distributed, or a rest house for travelers or pilgrims.

²⁰ Marghat is a place where Hindus burn the ārthi that is dead bodies.

²¹ Khānqāh is dwelling place of saints or pious persons.



Fig. 6 - Remains of the Kūrri fort.

3. Topography

The Fort

Kūrri is situated at 33° 68' N and 73° 18' E. Once it had a fort. A thin *badrau* (moat) still surrounds it, an essential feature of fortified places. A few marks of fortification are still visible from underneath the school which is now very high from the moat. Two decades back, walls of the fort were visible as part of the boundary marks of the school (Figs. 5-6). Minhās, while discussing forts of Puṭhūhār says that account of Kūrri Fort is variously given by different writers for being almost in oblivion. Some refer it to the fort of Kūrri *Shahar*, while others locate it on the mount opposite Taxila, because remains of both are so inconspicuous that cannot narrate their past (Minhās 1978: 163). But reasoning minds will relate it with the former, on the ground that a fort which is named after a place cannot be situated at a distance of miles from the place whose name it bears. So the Kūrri Fort mentioned by Minhās is very much the one which once surrounded Kūrri *Shahar*. The *Lambardār*²² of Kūrri Mr. Muḥammad *Sharīf*²³ told about a *mut ka kunwān*²⁴ on the NE wall of the fort, because courts of justice were held there and criminals hanged in the death-well. His ancestors told him that the courts of Justice in Kūrri were far older than that of Rāwalpindi.

The School

The school now named, *Islamabad Model School for Boys (VI-X), Kurri, Islamabad* is more than a hundred years old. A respected old man of Kūrri, Qāḍi Muḥammad *Ashraf Ṣāhib*²⁵; ninety-two years old, was a student and later a teacher of that school, who got retired in 1980. Qāḍi Abd al-‘Azīz

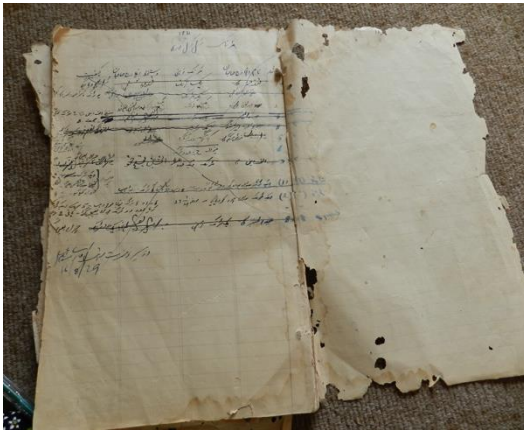
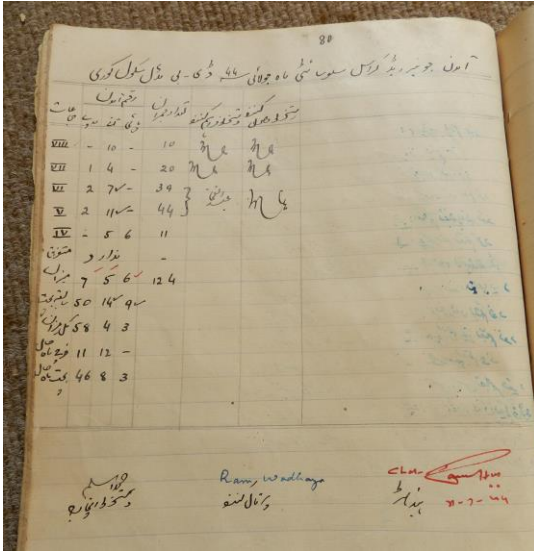
²² *Lambardār* is the headman of a village.

²³ His family has given *lambardār* to the village for five generations: the first among his family was *Lambardār* Nūr, then Faḍal Illāhi, Bustān, Muḥammad Ṣaddīque, and then Muḥammad *Sharīf*.

²⁴ It is a “death-well”.

²⁵ He also has a valuable register, keeping a record of funds and materials of the school from 1927 to 1947. Funds given by the Red-Cross to students and materials for the school like *tāt* (Jut rug), *qufal* (lock), and *ṣandūq* (boxes), etc collected from other places, *fig. 7-8*. It is signed by a headmaster named Ch. Rām Wīdhāya along some other teachers.

and his father also studied from this school and became the *Qāḍi*²⁶ of the region from Khanna Shakrīyāl to Sunth village. Since professions of people were labeled as their casts, so his grandfather *Qāḍi Ghulām Nabi* and great grandfather *Qāḍi Quṭb al-Dīn* were *Qāḍi al-Qaḍḍa*²⁷. So the family got the nomenclature of *Qāḍi*.



Figs. 7-8 - Register of the School keeping record from 1927 to 1947.

²⁶*Qāḍi* is a judge.

²⁷*Qāḍi al-Qaḍḍa* is a Chief Justice.

The old man gave very interesting account of the school when he was a student there. The headmaster was a Hindu named Bakhshi Chait Rām, was qualified as masters in Mathematics and English. The school had boarding quarters as well and every student had to live there for at least six months, where he had to get up by 4 AM and kept engaged by twelve at night. Moreover, schools of Cherrah, Kirpa, Jagyut, Tarlā'i, Bārākahu, Pind Bigwāl, Malpūr, Khanna Dāk etc. all were under the Kūrri middle school.



Fig. 9 - Akbari *Masjid* after the renovation (1994).

He tells that there were two types of schools at that time: Anglo Vernacular Schools and Vernacular Schools: the former taught English along with other subjects and the latter, other subjects without English, while Kūrri School was Angelo vernacular. Monthly fee of the Anglo Vernacular was Rs.3.50 and of Vernacular was Rs.1.30. when daily wages

of a labourer was only two *ānās* ²⁸.



Fig. 10 - Small arches flanking the courtyard of the *Masjid*.

The Masjid

Two most ancient places of Kūrri are *Jāmi'āh Masjid* and *Gurdawāra*, called by the natives of Kūrri as *Akbari Masjid* and *Bārādari*. *Masjid* is thought to be constructed in 198 Hijra and *Gurdawāra* in the Sikh era. The former is now orbbed in new attire where it has completely lost its original state and the latter is in complete dilapidated condition but both are at their original places. A poetic inscription on the spandrels of central *mihrāb* of the mosque defines that an Iranian trader came here and laid its foundations in 198 Hijra (Javadi 173-75) that is 815 A.D. (Fig.11).

But usually, a building is hard to survive for thirteen centuries; moreover

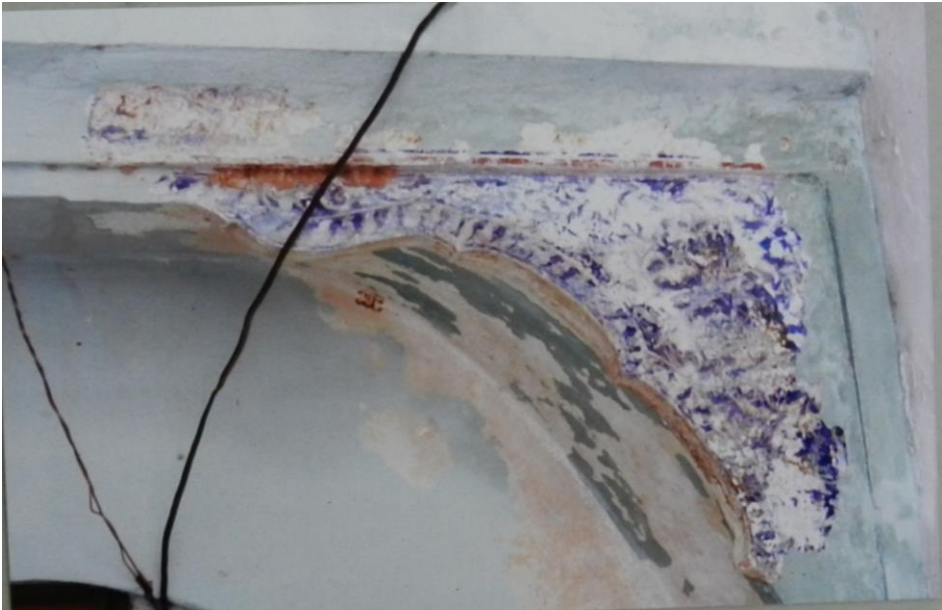
²⁸ One rupee had sixteen *ānās*.

its present structure is not so old. It is also famous among the natives as Akbari *Masjid*, but it is questionable whether the mosque has any link with the Mughal emperor Akbar or not? History deciphers that Akbar came to Rāwalpindi to settle issues of the Gakhar Clan, who always remain friendly and helpful to the Mughals. He stayed for a few days, in a camp at the bank of River Sawān. There he went on a lion hunt trip on the hills of Saidpūr with Sardār Said *Khān*, and also extended matrimonial ties of Jahāngīr with his daughter (Azīz 130). It means that Mughals used to visit this region. There are similar accounts of other Mughal emperors too, who visited Puthūhār. Thus Akbar's visit to Kūrri is not out of question.



Fig. 11 - Spandrels of the central *Mihrāb* with poetic inscription, defining its date as 198/815 (photo taken in 1994).

Furthermore, the structure of the mosque at many places resembles buildings of Akbar's period. Shapes of arches around the courtyard that are not monumental in their scale but have less than human scale, is also visible in the period of Akbar (Figs 10 and 15), because Hindu elements is most conspicuous in the Mughal art and architecture of Akbar's regime.



Figs. 12-14 – Conditions of the Masjid with traces of stucco decoration under the white paint (photos taken in 1994).

Architecture being plastic art, its decoration is usually two or three dimensional. Akbari *Masjid* too, once kept both types of ornamentation. The former in Fresco and the latter in relief form. It is unfortunate enough that Fresco has been engulfed by white paint of modern renovation of the *Masjid* whereas three dimensional is still visible through paint (see Figs. 12-14). The original layout of the mosque is unknown but it has columniar and trabeated style of construction, also having arches around the small courtyard, and central part of the sanctuary is covered with a dome. Entrance is trabeated structure but decorated with soffits of a false arch, surrounded by panels formed into rectangles, topped by projected thin cornices. Skyline forms interesting pattern of two non-functional minarets with seven cupolas in between²⁹. Entrance door opens up in a thin corridor with small scale pointed arches flanking the courtyard that are six in number. From inside these are simple pointed but facing courtyard these are three tiered; the pointed arch is most recessed, little projected is spandrels of the foliated arch and a bit more projected is the rectangle surrounding all, similar to the entrance door. It forms interesting pattern of light and shade.



Fig. 15 -
Shape of arches
flanking the
courtyard of the
masjid.

²⁹ The minarets are a later addition and part of renovation because a few decades back they did not exist.

Central part of the sanctuary is square and covered with a dome. It is extended north-south having flat roofs. Covering a square with a round needs some addition to fill in zone of transition which is provided here with simple usual squinches, in the four corners. The central *miḥrāb* is within a blind arch, spandrels of it are divided into three sections; the central one is in the shape of a small foliated blind arch which now keeps the above mentioned poetic inscription, surrounded by half D-shaped panels. Central *miḥrāb* has two small niches on each side to place small oil lamps within, but now keeping the Holy Qur'ān. Going with the general decorative scheme, small niches too are surrounded by blind foliated arches. These are slightly recessed from rectangular panels around them. Upper part of inner side of *miḥrāb* too, have similar slightly recessed panels with the same foliated blind arches, while lower part of it have just rectangular panels, five in number (Fig. 14). It is the only surviving decoration. A few decades back, it was fully decked with floral ornamentation on the spandrels of the central *miḥrāb*, and pillars but all lost in the guise of renovation, under the thick white paint (Fig. 13). Though, at places it peeps through the sections where white paint is chipped off. Moreover, embossed designs of frescoes are faintly visible through the white paint. The structure is a mixture of arch and beam styles. Combination of both the styles of construction was started by Ghiāth al-Dīn Tughlaq in the subcontinent. Here decorative and constructive elements are combined together.

The *masjid* is a witness of history that viewed many phases of reverence and disrespect. Anjum Ḥafiz gives a valuable account narrated by his father that a Bodhi tree was adjacent to the *masjid*. At the time of prayer Sikhs started jingling bells, tied with the tree and incanting mantras, which disturbed those absorbed in prayers. One night Muslims pulled the tree and threw it away somewhere, although it was very huge, that seems miraculous. People were astounded in the morning to see that the ground was plain without any mark of roots or stem of the tree. In consequences, his grandfather Maulvi Abd al-Ghani and his elder brother Ghulām Qādir had to go to jail because it was Sikh rule and the tree was sacred to them. Another sacrilegious act in the Sikh Rāj, was conversion of the *masjid* into stable where Sikhs used to tie their horses. After partition it was cleansed by digging deep, to clear the smells of feces of the horses, tied there.

The ḥammām, the chāh and the Gurdawāra

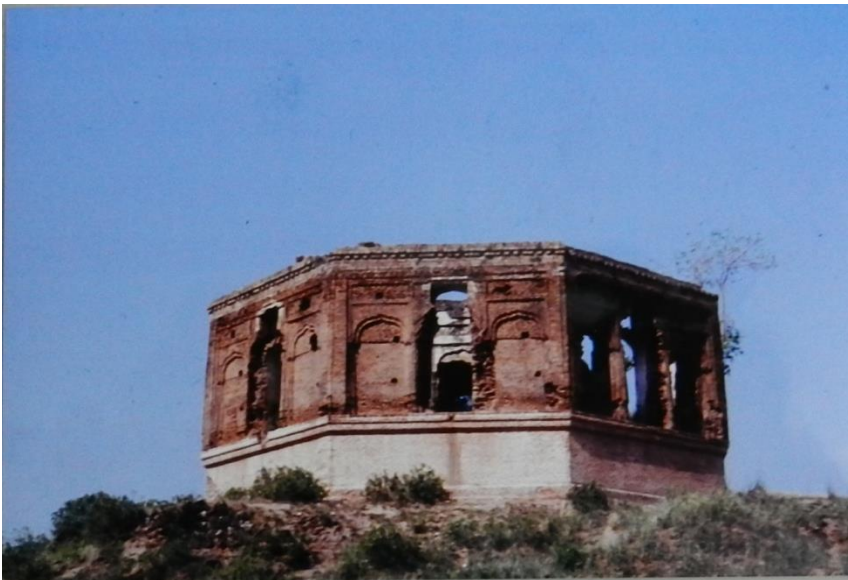
There was a *ḥammām* along with a *chāh* (pit-well), outside western wall of the mosque that supplied water to the *masjid*. In chilled weathers a metal *dīya*³⁰ was used, to get it warm: a Mughal device to warm water. The well is constructed of fine stone masonry with an epitaph stone, still visible, but without inscription, for it is flaked out due to the ravages of weather and climate (Fig.16).



Fig. 16 - Epitaph stone of the well of Akbari *Masjid*.

The other surviving ancient building is a *Gurdawāra* decaying rapidly, also popular among the locals as *bārādari* (Kalhor 2010, Id. 2012) (Figs.17-18). It is an octagonal structure of thin bricks, placed on a raised plinth of twelve stairs with eight arched entrances, one on each side. Inside its centre is another smaller octagonal structure, with four entrance arches.

³⁰ *Dīya* is an oil lamp made up of baked clay.



Figs. 17-18 - Present state of *Gurdwara* or *bārādari* of Kūrri. The same in 1982.

that made the natives call it a *bārādari*. It is regrettable that the outer structure is completely demolished and now only the inner structure survives, placed on an octagonal plinth and covered with a dome which is not pronounced from outside, visible only from the inside (Fig. 19). But closer view deciphers remains of the surrounding walls, and at corners of the plinth, minor remains of pilasters still survive that once adorned the structure.



Fig. 19 - Inner side of outer octagon of the *Gurdawāra*.

It is not very far that outer walls of the octagon were intact. Pictures of earlier part of 1980s keep valuable record of it ³¹. The whole structure was originally covered with a huge ribbed dome which was onion shaped but a bit compressed (which was visible till the 1970s) ³². This means the central part had a double dome.

³¹ For providing these valuable pictures, I am thankful to the Rawalpindi based artist and educationist Zarrar Haider Baburi.

³² It is also described by Zarrar Haider Baburi, the artist of Rawalpindi, who was a frequent visitor to this place.



Fig. 20 - Niche of inner side of the outer octagon of *Gurdawāra* with pictures on panels and an epitaph in Gurmukhi.



Figs. 21-24 - Illustrating the inner octagon with the portrait of Bābā Gūru Nānak on SE wall (now and in 1982), and the soffits.



Figs. 25-29 -
Illustrating the
pilasters and
jambs of
decorative arches
in the inner
octagon.

Such an impressive structure, in its original state! The dissipated remains narrate that it was adorned with two and three dimensional ornamentations: fresco painting and brick laying designs. Each arched entrance of outer octagon had an arched ventilator on its top and two blind arches, one on its each side. Blind arches are three tiered: the inner rectangular part is surmounted by a pointed arched shape, little projected from it, is foliated spandrels of arch, surrounded by a further projected rectangle. On both sides of ventilators blind arches are framed by pilasters. Each side of the octagon is topped by a thin projected cornice with rick-rack placing of bricks underneath that forms interesting pattern of light and shade.

A similar division is repeated on inside walls, where blind arches are in the form of niches, perhaps to keep sculptures. These are surmounted by smaller blind arches of the size of the central ventilators, also three tiered: inner most keeping painting of vases, fruit dishes, peacocks or portraits, etc. (Fig. 19). A little bit projected are spandrels of foliated arches, recessed from the outer most square. In between upper and lower blind arches there are small rectangular epitaph in Gurmukhi. It is surmounted by parallel double cornices in undulating geometric movement, and the whole very symmetrical in design. Inner structure with four arched entrances is symmetrically decked like the outer. Entrance arch is pointed, surmounted by foliated blind spandrels, horizontal rectangular panels for epitaph in Gurmukhi (Figs. 20-21), and delicate undulating geometrical cornice. Blind arches on the other hand, were fully bedecked with fresco paintings.

The vertical rectangular panels portraying, according to Kalhoro (2010, 2012), Bābā Gūru Nānak and his companions, Bāla and Mardāna. The south-eastern walls still have traces of it. Dome also once kept floral designs (Kalhoro 2010, Id. 2012). Pilasters supporting foliated spandrels are placed at edges of the octagon have delicately carved bases and tops with lotus and acanthus petals, mixture of Buddhist and Greek traditions (Figs. 25-29). Soffits too, are bedecked with floral and vegetal ornamentations in fresco (Figs. 24). On the north-eastern side a well still survives, though not functional now. The whole structure is decked and designed symmetrically.

The residences

Old residential buildings of Kūrri worth mention too. All are of chiseled and carved stone masonry, while doors are specimen of beautiful wood carving, although wear and tear of ages has engulfed their crispness. Column, beam and arch are combined in construction that plays the role of constructive and decorative elements. Most of the doorways, though having column and beam style are provided with arched entrances, projected from the doors (Fig. 30).



Fig. 30 - Entrance gate of a house known as *Hindū'un ka chubāra*.

Arches used are multi-foiled, with wedge-shaped stones laid in radiating manner. The wedge of the key stones is holding structures for more than a century. A residents of a house, known as *Hindū 'un ka chubāra*³³, told that upper storey of it was demolished in the earthquake of 1935. It means the house is more than a hundred years old. Its wooden doors are delicately carved in geometric and floral patterns. Frame of the entrance door has three strips of carving, bearing separate designs, composed of leaves and flowers (Figs. 30-32). While the inner door of the main room called *dālān*³⁴ is intricately carved, having geometric, floral and vegetal patterns, (Figs. 33-36).



Fig. 31 – Details of Fig. 30.

The most common design of the structures of Kūrri is a combination of pointed arch, attached with foliated arch, rectangular panels and frames, whether the structures are wooden, of stone or of brick masonry. Designs of the door also follow the same pattern. Most unusual design is on the underside of the spandrels that form a sort of architectural representation,

³³ *Hindū 'un ka chubāra* means house of a Hindu

³⁴ A sort of lounge

with huge double corbelled arches having thick pillars and smaller arched entrances below. A plant is also growing through pillars, and huge bells or cages hanging in the centre of the arches. All this is carved on the panel underneath the spandrels of the *dālān* door (Figs. 33-35). Upper most part of it have three sections with perfect geometric patterns, the central concentric to twelve-petal flower and the side ones on six pointed star. It is exactly similar to the Islamic designs and carvings. Frame of the door is huge and has marvelous variety of intricately carved beautiful designs that bespeak the skill of their creators. Even nail-heads that join thick pieces of wood are star shaped, not simple nails, called in the native dialect as *Kuka*.



Fig. 32 – Details of the door of another residence.



Fig. 33 - Pattern of the arch on the door of a *dālān* (see Fig. 34).



Figs. 34-35 - Dhe door of a *dālān* (see Fig. 34), and details of the upper panel.





Figs. 36-37 - Niches at the entrances of houses, shaped with skillfully chiseled stone.

Old residential buildings and wells are in stone masonry, bricked symmetrically in circular structures of wells, horizontals of walls and diagonals in radiating arches. Façade of every house has a small niche on each side of the entrance door, usually covered with a single stone, beautifully chiseled like the finial of a dome (Figs. 36-37). It was used to keep *dīya*³⁵ in it that was lit at night. Moreover, houses were faced *dakhan-uttar* that is south-north, which is align to the natural flow of wind that keep these structures airy, fresh and cool, a device frequent in ancient buildings of this region but now, long forgotten. Doors in the ancient structures were faced *dakhan* that is south and ventilators on *uttar* that is northern side. It is closer to nature but modern builders have not concentrated on these facts.

It is said that the craftsmen at Kūrri were all Muslims and business was in the hands of Hindus. The remaining old buildings signify expertise of craftsmen not only in the domain of construction but in their aesthetics as well. It is amazing that symmetry is maintained in designs whether

³⁵ *Dīya* is an oil lamp, made up of baked clay.

working in stone, on wood or at bricks. It is well said that artefacts provide firsthand knowledge of past, as John Ruskin (1877) says about Venice and its history:

Great nations write their autobiographies in three manuscripts- the book of their deeds, the book of their words and the book of their art. Not one of these books can be understood unless we read the two others; but of the three, only quite trustworthy is the last.

[St. Mark's Rest: History of Venice]

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Transcending Borders Meera Bai's Love and Lyrics Finding Hospitality in Spiritual Islam¹

Mussarrat Youssuf

Abstract

Meera Bai, a famous Bhakti poet of sixteenth century India has written beautiful songs, which have been sung as Bhajans (worship songs of Hindu religion) over centuries. Qawwali, the sub-continental speciality of devotional singing, polished under the guidance of Sufi masters has also been in practice since twelfth century. Music being the food for the spiritual life integrates well with Sufi teachings and therefore qawwali, based on poetry from a wide range of languages, was used by Sufi masters as a method of spiritual teachings. What does Meera Bai, who is famously regarded as a Hindu poet have to do with the Sufi Islam? Why and how Sufism – the offspring of the Arabian Desert, and Meera – the daughter of the Rajasthan desert coincide with each other? How her life has been viewed by researchers? Are there some other aspects of her mystical life ignored by the researchers? This paper is an attempt to answer these questions and to glimpse Meera's presence in the Sufi world of Islam both as a person and as a poet beyond what general literature has shown us so far. On one hand, use of her poetry in qawwalis, and on the other, use of Sufi diction and lexicon in her songs as well as her special status in the oral Sufi tradition makes the crux of this paper.

1. Introduction

Love, whether for human or Divine, makes the heart sing and that is how both poetry and music are created. If poetry is the voice of the heart, music is the food for the soul. The amalgamation of the charm of poetry and the skilful play of instruments make the music a double edged sword that cuts

¹ In this paper diacritics are intentionally omitted. References are given in the footnotes.

across regions, reasons and religions. *Qawwali*, originally known as *Sama* or *Sema*, the sub-continental speciality, is one such double-edged sword polished under the guidance of Sufi masters of twelfth century and developed into a recognized form of devotional singing. *Qawwali* has been sung since centuries and has audience from people belonging to various religions.

Love becomes eternal when it attains the pinnacle of spiritual ascension. Eternal love has produced timeless poetry in various regions of the world. Although both men and women tread on the path of spiritual development and both have uttered outpourings of eternal love in the form of poetry, however, for various cultural, social and historical reasons, fewer women have been remembered by history. Meera Bai, the princess poet of sixteenth century India, is one of such women whose love story and outpourings of her love in the form of poetry have been preserved to some extent. Her poetry in the form of *bhajans* (prayer songs and poems of the Hindu tradition) has been sung in India for hundreds of years parallel to the folk songs of Rajasthan.

If Meera Bai's entire life were to be encapsulated in one word, it would be *prem* (love). Her *prembhakti* (loving-devotion), is the essence of her life. A deep yearning to seek one's reality has been the foundation of all spiritual and mystical traditions. Like all other religions, in Hinduism, there are various ways adopted and utilized by the spiritual wayfarers to seek and reach the divine. There are various scriptures which indicate manifold ways for salvation. The four major *asramas* (stages) advised by *santana dharma*² include *Brahamchariya* (student) *Grihastha* (householder), *Vanaprastha* (hermit) and *Sannyasa* (renouncer) are the main four phases that one needs to pass through stage by stage³. Moreover, multiple specialised approaches and strategies suited to different temperaments have also been indicated for salvation in Hinduism. For example, *Punn karam* (noble deeds), *Dhyan* (focusing attention), *Gyan* (gnosis), *Tyag* (renouncing worldly life), *Yoga* (meditating through different physical postures and mental focus) and *Bhakti* (personal attachment and devotion to the Divine) are some of the

² The four major age-based stages indicated by traditional Hinduism, also called *Sanatana Dharma* literally meaning 'the eternal way of life'.

³ Pt. Yogesh Verma, *All about Hinduism: The religion of enlightenment* (New Delhi: Goodwill Publishing House. 2004), 36.

approaches used as per one's aptitude for achieving salvation⁴. Out of all of these, *Bhakti* has offered the most fertile land to plant flowers of *Prem*, a deep personal love, by the yearning souls⁵. Opposed to the arid and barren road toward the Supreme, taken by puritan and stringent followers of Vedanta, dedicating one's entire self for the love of one's heart is considered the most beautiful way to wed the personal, lower self with the impersonal, higher, divine self⁶. A vast amount of literature is available on Bhakti movement and its various philosophical pinnacles, however, it is beyond the scope of this paper. Here, it is attempted to see how Meera Bai is reflected as the embodiment of *prembhakti* both within Hinduism and Sufi Islam.

In order to understand Meera's love, as depicted in literature, one needs to first meet her beloved, her Krishna, more formally known as Sri Krishn Ji Maharaj. A commonly held belief among Vishnavite Hindus is that Vishnu (one of the three major deities of Hindu trinity) has ten *avatars* (direct appearance or decent on earth) in various animal and human forms in order to save and cleanse the world from the burden of sins at various intervals of human history⁷. Sri Krishn Ji is believed to be the eighth *avatar* of Vishnu. He was born in a royal family, but had to be given away right after birth by his real parents to save his life threatened by his maternal uncle, Kans, a demonic king. He was given secretly to a cowherd family of Gokul village⁸ in Brindavan where he was raised with

⁴ This understanding is owed to a discussion with Dr. Hugh Van. Skyhawk, a renowned specialist of interfaith studies, during a course titled 'The World View of Asian Religions,' in 2011 at Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University, Islamabad, when this paper was first submitted to him as a term paper.

⁵ V.P. Kanitkar, and W. Owen Cole, *Teach Yourself Hinduism* (London: Hodder Headline Ltd. 2003), 152.

⁶ V.P. (Hemant) Kanitkar, and W. Owen, 153.

⁷ Vishnavites are Hindus following *Vaishnava dharma* or Vishnavism among the four major sects or traditions of Hinduism. Vishnavites are marked by their loving devotion to an incarnation of Vishnu. There are different numbers of avatars mentioned (up to 22). For details see Sir R.G. Bhandarkar, *Vaishnavism Shaivism and minor religious systems* (Varnasi: Indological Book House. 1965), 41-2, 100-01.

⁸ A place currently situated near Mathura district in Utter Pradesh, India. The Gokul-Brindavan phase of Sri Krishn Ji's life is the most charming life story filled with tales of Krishn Ji's naughty childhood and romantic adolescent life. That part has particularly turned him into the prince charming among all other Hindu gods with a spectacular romantic yet gnostic life that took him from being a cowherd to becoming a prince and

utmost love and lived like a prince charming among a multitude of cow-herd girls who all doted on him. Since his birth, his life story goes through several miraculous episodes while he still managed to remain a naughty and adorable toddler, a charming adolescent and a courageous young man. He would always carry his small wooden *murlī* (flute) with him and play it with heavenly tunes to take away anyone's hearts who would hear it⁹. His teachings and myths ascribed to him are mainly recorded in *Bhagwata Purana* as well as in *Bhagvad Gita*¹⁰ and other books. It seems Krishna Ji is talking of Meera Bai and likes of her when he singles out the one who "is in ever constant union with the Divine, whose devotion is single-minded is the best. For I am supremely dear to him and he is dear to me"¹¹.

Under Vihsnavism, Sri Krishn Ji is believed to be the embodiment of love and protection, the aspect of the Supreme that is constantly at work to preserve and care for all created beings and save them from doom opposed to Shiva, the destructive aspect of god¹². Also, Vishnavites believe that all souls are females and Vishnu (or Krishn Ji) is the only *purush* (male) with whom the loving souls had to unite to become complete. Thus, it was none less majestic than Krishna whose *murlī* poured into Meera the *prem ras* (the kernel of love) and intoxicated her entire being¹³.

2. Meera's life – An oasis or a desert?

Over the last four hundred years, through the Indian sub-continental oral tradition of story-telling, Meera Bai's life story has been told and retold so extensively that it is impossible to sift fact from myth. Nevertheless, it is one of those stories where facts and myths both become equally sacrosanct and popular due to the sheer beauty of both diction and devotion. As narrated in various sources in books, articles, films and websites, the

then to being a commander of a historical war called *mahabharta*.

⁹ Milton Singer, *Krishna: myths, rites and attitudes* (Chicago and London: Uni. of Chicago Press. 1966), 151-7.

¹⁰ Bhandarkar, 14-15.

¹¹ S. Radhakrishnan, *The Bhagvadgita* (New Delhi: Harper Collins Publishers. 2009), 219.

¹² Vrinda Nabar & Tumkur Shanta, *The Bhagavadgita* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics. 1997), XXIII

¹³ Milton Singer, 15.

events of Meera Bai's life can be summarised as under:

Meera Bai was born somewhere in fifteenth or sixteenth century, both recorded as 1498 or 1504 at Chaukari village in Merta District of Rajasthan and passed away at a young age in 1547¹⁴. Merta was a small state in Rajasthan ruled by the Rathors, a Rajput tribe, which was a great devotee of Vishnu. Sources disagree on whether it was her grandfather or paternal uncle who raised Meera, however, all agree that Meera Bai did not have her father while growing up. Since Meera Bai was raised under Vishnu-Bhakti, generally characterized by strong devotion to Vishnu and his *avatars*, it is taken for granted that she might have picked up her devotion to Sri Krishn Ji under that influence¹⁵. The devotion to Krishn Ji that ran in Meera's family could have been a contributing factor in steering her life toward Krishn Ji. Nevertheless, the intense and matchless Bhakti practiced by Meera Bai has not been recorded for anyone else in her family. If it was a familial trait, it would have been accepted more easily. Moreover, such exceptional and exemplary love cannot be attributed only to outside influence. Since her own family was astounded at the intensity of love she exhibited from a very young age, it can be safely concluded that her love flowed from a spring within that kept gushing forth despite continuous and intense challenges.

The most bewildering aspect of Meera's love was her belief that she was married to Sri Krishn Ji. This is an open secret in her poetry. She calls him her beloved, husband, owner and Lord. She beseechs him in the most beautiful ways to share his life, his teachings and even his bed daringly in her poetry. The most common story used to explain her belief in being betrothed to Sri Krishn Ji relates a glimpse from her childhood when watching a marriage procession, Meera inquired her mother about her groom, who pointed towards a *moorti* (idol) of Sri Krishn Ji standing nearby as an answer. This childhood incident is then used as an explanation and a triggering point when Meera's young heart accepted Krishn Ji as her husband. This is also considered the reason for her

¹⁴ The historicity of Meera's birth, life and even her poetry is contested. However, this paper uses dates that are generally mentioned and can best be described as indicative rather than a conclusive evidence of her life events.

¹⁵ Anisha Sharma and Amrita Sharma, "Sublimity of thought and expression in Mira Bai", *Asian Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences* (AJHSS) 1, no.2, (Fall 2013):102-114.

aversion to marriage and wifely duties to any mortal man including the prince of Merta whom she was later married to ¹⁶.

The above story may be true and the incident might have affected a young Meera's mind. However, this explanation is not credible enough to answer the question as to how a childhood fancy turned into a lifelong passion. If considering Sri Krishn Ji a husband was such a normal and acceptable behaviour, it would not have been a surprise and taken as an oddity by her in-laws that wrought her all the difficulties. There are other possibilities including that to take a young girl's mind away from such a question, the mother pointed to the *moorti* as a safe bet. Such simple answers are found in all cultures when children ask premature questions about marriage, sex or other aspects of life considered inappropriate or complicated for kids to understand. Anecdotal stories do not explain as to why Meera continued to believe in that answer when for most children such childhood fancies get replaced by adolescent and young life's passions and desires. The justification of Meera's boundless love for Krishn Ji through this simple story seems to rather desecrate her spiritual and devotional calibre and depicts her more of a slave of a childhood fancy than traveller of a spiritual path.

Tanvir Anjum's ¹⁷ attempt at explaining the concept of brides of God provides an excellent context to the phenomenon of taking God as a groom or husband in various parts of the world, without any *moorti* story. Thus, there is a fair scope that this story was crafted as a convenient explanation for Meera's belief in being married to Sri Krishn Ji. From concept to practice, there is a long and arduous journey that only Meera undertook with a grandeur missing among all other Vishnavite women of her time. If it was a common practice, she would not have stood out so pronouncedly. Vishnu as the only male aspect of the universe with the rest of souls created as females yearning to be united with their husband¹⁸ as a religious tenet written in books was for everyone but Meera lived it. Attempts to describe her eternal love through rational or simplistic speculation are akin to fruitless efforts made by coarse minds not attuned

¹⁶ V.P. (Hemant) Kanitkar, and W. Owen, 155-6.

¹⁷ Tanvir Anjum, "Bridal Symbolism in the Sufi Poetry of Islamicate South Asia: From the Earliest Times to the Fifteenth Century". *Pakistan Journal of History and Culture XXXIV*, no. 1 (2013): 1-16.

¹⁸ Milton Singer, 130.

to music to understand a symphony, as beautifully narrated in the famous Urdu verse by Makhmur Dehlvi ¹⁹.

Meera Bai was a good-looking woman with a melodious voice and was fond of singing. She was an educated woman as well, who in her later years became known for her exquisite poetry that she sang. As part of the cultural norm and a political stratagem, she was married off to Rana Bhojraj, son of a famous Rajput tribal leader, Rana Sangram, commonly known as Rana Sangha, who was famous due to his long and continuous military resistance against Mughal kings. Meera's in-laws neither venerated Sri Krishn Ji nor followed Meera's vegetarian ethos. Her husband built a separate temple for her away from the family temple, which she visited frequently, freely mixing with people, while singing and dancing for her beloved Krishna. She did not pay much attention to her homely duties and royal etiquettes. Gradually, her husband and sister in-law became highly critical of her attitude, particularly of freely mixing with people of lower castes ²⁰. There are various incidents of torture and attempts to kill her by in-laws that she has indicated in her poetry ²¹.

Meera seems to have had a *tyagi* (renouncer) hiding in her, thus she left home and travelled to Brindavan (Krishn Ji's childhood region) and the Hindu pilgrimage city Benares (aka Varanasi). Roaming far and wide, she openly met with common people and visited various sacred places. Making the situation worse, Meera took Raidas, a great sage of the time, as her guru. Raidas belonged to the *Shudras* (lowest caste of Hindus) and therefore considered lowly and untouchable by Ranas, whereas Meera had no shame in visiting him in slums of Benares. Making situation worse, Muhammad Akbar, the third Mughal King, and his famous court musician Tan Sen came to listen to her Krishna *bhajans* in a temple. Akbar offered a precious necklace as a token of his appreciation to her. This added fuel to the fire. Being a politically volatile period and Ranas leading various encounters against Mughals, Meera's meeting with their worst enemy served literally as last nail in her coffin. She was now considered a

¹⁹ Makhmoor says, "*Muhabbat ke liyay kutch khaas dil makhsoos hotay hain; yeh who naghma hai jo har saaz per gaya naheem jata*". Only some selected hearts are suited for love; this is a song unable to play at every instrument.

²⁰ Gulzar, a famous Indian poet and film director, has produced a beautiful movie named Meera.

²¹ Anisha Sharma and Amrita Sharma, 102-114.

political rebel far dangerous than just a run-away bride. As a punishment, she was given death sentence by the royal court. The stories about Meera's death range from her miraculous melting or disappearance after drinking the jar of poison to someone helping her with a secret exit while leaving her *saree* (traditional dress) behind wrapped around Krishn Ji's *moorti* in her room. She was not seen in Merta ever after ²².

3. Meera Bai finding hospitality in the Sufi world

Is the above narration enough to summarize Meera's life story? Is the story correct and complete? The accuracy of information about an icon of love who also happens to be a woman and left this world without any evidence of death is bound to have lacunas. Some authors like Hawley have raised doubts about the 'actuality' of Meera. He raises questions on the historicity of literature associated with Meera and even considers her poetry being written by many 'Meeras' (other women) over a couple of hundred years instead of a single person named Meera. The touch of folk that makes Meera's lyrics so popular and natural is used against her to raise doubts against the authenticity of lyrics ascribed to her. He still seems to accept the rest of the story about Meera and her beloved Krishna. Most of the books and articles written on Meera are either in English using roman script for her poetry and those in Hindi are in Hindi script. Only a single, but very comprehensive, collection of her songs, translation, glossary of terms and life history in Urdu could become available during this research, written by Sardar Jaferi ²³. However, since it is just a collection of lyrics, thus there is no analysis presented in the same of the use of Sufi terminology in Meera's lyrics. It is only in the Sufi oral tradition one sees her in a new light, where she is depicted as a spiritual way-farer and a devotee of Hazrat Khwaja Mueen ud Din Chishti, one of the greatest Sufi saints of India.

Khwaja Mueen ud Din Chishti (1142-1236), came to Ajmer, Rajasthan from Iran during the reign of King Prithivi Raj Chuhan. Due to his outstanding character and spiritual blessings, a great number of Hindus

²² John Stratton Hawley, *Songs of the saints of India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press. 1998), 122-27.

²³ Sardar Jaferi, *Meera Bai prem wani (Geet, tarjuma aur farhang)* (Karachi: Aaj ki Kitabain. 2001).

converted to Islam and even those who did not convert, used to visit him, and later his Shrine in Ajmer, to receive blessings. Khawaja Mueen Ud Din Chishti gained unparalleled acceptance and love from local population due to his noble attitude expressed through unconditional love, and keen and consistent support to the poorest and most marginalized of the population. The love and reverence still persists equally among Hindus and Muslims and both visit his Shrine in millions each year. His teachings to redress and support the miserable, needy and helpless earned him the title of *Gharibnawaz* (Benefactor of the Poor)²⁴. His highly revered daughter Jamal Bibi, buried in the compound of his shrine was born of his Hindu wife, who later converted to Islam²⁵. Khawaja Gharibnawaz is regarded as the embodiment of inclusivity, plurality and compassion in the Indian sub-continental Sufi tradition as well as the father of Sufism in this region.

Beyond Meera's poetry, this paper also wants to bring attention to Meera herself having a sacred status in Sufi tradition, which is completely missing in the prominent bodies of work by Indian and Western writers. Merta, where Meera was born is less than fifty miles away from Ajmer, the powerhouse of Sufi Islam in the Indian subcontinent. A question that has been conveniently ignored by other writers is whether Meera was connected to this centre of spiritual blessings situated so close to Merta that has attracted thousands of Hindus of neighbouring areas since the thirteenth century while she was growing up in the same neighbourhood? If we ask Meera herself, she affirms that affinity through her lyrics. There are uses of Sufi lexicon and references that indicate her knowledge and relationship to the Sufi world. For example, Khwaja Mueen ud Din Chishti's titles, the Persian term *Gharibnawaz* and also its Hindi synonym *Dinanath* (Benefactor of the Poor), are directly used by Meera. However, the most impressive is her use of the term *phakeeri*, the Rajasthani synonym of *faqeeeri*, an Urdu/Persian derivative of Arabic word *faqr* (literally spiritual poverty), which is one of the original terms used by Sufis to denote the practice of Sufism. *Faqr* was a preferred term among earliest Sufis since it was first used by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (*Sal Allah o Alaihi Wa Sallam*)²⁶ himself.²⁷ The one who practices *faqeeeri* is

²⁴ Laxmi Dhau, *The Sufi shrine of Ajmer* (New Delhi: Rupa & Co. 2004), 5.

²⁵ Zahid Bukhari, *Khwaja-e Ajmeri* (Lahore: Izhar Sons. 2002), 63.

²⁶ For Muslims, the prescribed way of uttering appropriate salutations while mentioning

called a *faqeer* (a Spiritual Mendicant), another synonym for a Sufi. Below we see Meera claiming to have adopted *faqeer* and explaining its tenets beautifully:

*Karna phakeeri phir kya dilgeeri,
Sada magan mein rehna ji*²⁸
Practicing *phakeeri*, then why become downhearted,
Always remain absorbed [in your Beloved]

At another place, she uses *Dinanath*, the synonym of *Gharibnawaz* in Hindi while cleverly mixing the Sufi Arabic terms Hazir Nazir (Hajir Najir in Rajasthani) in the same line. The term has various meanings, however, it is mainly used to describe the Omnipresent, Omniscient One. However, she uses that all-pervading quality for herself to depict her ever-readiness. Using a beautiful amalgamation of Hindi and Arabic/Urdu terms, she surprises us:

*The to palak udharo Dinanath, main hajir najir kab ki
khari*²⁹
O Lord of the Poor, have a glance on me, since eternity I
am standing by, ever-ready.

Yet at another place she uses the term *Mehram*, another deep and mystical word used by Sufis to denote the closeness and immanence of God. The Holy Quran uses the same term also for the closest of kin in front of whom women are legally permitted to take their veil off.

*Jaldi khabar lena mehram meri*³⁰
O my Closest One, come swiftly to behold me.

Using the Arabic/Urdu word *Sahib* (a name for God) she amplifies the

the name of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. Further in this paper, this salutation is indicated as S.A.W.S at the mention of his holy name.

²⁷ Awn, 115

²⁸ Sardar Jafery, 132

²⁹ Sardar Jafery, 102.

³⁰ Sardar Jafery, 122.

beauty of the simile:

*Sahib ka ghar door hai, jaisay langi khajoor,
Charhay to chakhay prem ras, parey to chakma choor*³¹
My Lord's house is far-off, like a tall palm tree
Getting to the top you taste the sap of love, falling down
you shatter into bits.

The most powerful indication of her involvement in Sufism and being a devotee of Khwaja Gharibnawaz comes with the following verses where she is invoking Khwaja as if he is Krishna using his titles for Khwaja Ji:

*Tha ne hum sab hin ki chinta, tum sab ke ho Gareebnawaj
Sab ke mukut sromini, sir par bhaanu punnye ka taaj
Mira ke parabhu Giridhar Nagar, baanh gahay ki laaj*³²
You care for all of us, you - everyone's Gareebnawaj (the
Benefactor of the Poor)

You are the Lord of all, honouring the crown of
righteousness on your head
You are Meera's Lord, Giridharnagar, pray have regard for
having held my hand.

The above and other verses indicating of Meera's connection with the Sufi circles and her relationship with Khwaja Gharibnawaz get no attention from non-Sufi writers. The best place to seek her in the Sufi world is to explore the field of poetry and music where Meera has been given a sacred space both as a poet and as a spiritual person. Her lyrics fit in *qawwalis* like jewels in a golden string. More importantly, and surprisingly, there is an entire song-story about her spiritual life and connection with Khwaja Gharibnawaz is present in a *qawwali*. One wonders why all authors have ignored a very strong aspect of her life that is being sung and praised by another major religion.

Although it is not surprising to see *qawwals* (traditional singers of *qawwali*) singing Hindu spiritual poems and verses in *qawwalis*, which is

³¹ Sardar Jafery, 134.

³² Sardar Jafari, 273.

a practice since the days of Khwaja Gharibnawaz. It is considered an honour for poets that their lyrics are picked up by *qawwals* for presentation in spiritual gatherings. Nevertheless, it is a far greater honour for Meera to be present in a *qawwali* as an object of praise instead of participating just as a poet. Here is the alternative life story of Meera based on the oral Sufi tradition.

4. Meera, Krishna and Khwaja Gharibnawaz

One of the pioneer *qawwal* parties in Pakistan, Sabiri Brothers, have given their audience a huge range of beautiful *qawwalis*. One of the most famous *manqabat* they sang in 1976 as a tribute to Khwaja Gharibnawaz, titled '*Khawaja ki Deewani*' received immense appreciation throughout the world and still remains popular³³. *Manqabat* is a form of poetry which specializes in honouring or commemorating saints and Sufis and is used to explain their miracles and other attributes. Therein, while praising Khwaja Gharibnawaz and his blessings for the poor, *qawwals* start narrating a story of Meera Bai. They provide a complete story of Meera's long and constant devotion to Khwaja Ji and her constant visitation over twenty-one years to Ajmer. The same *qawwali* has been performed live by Sabiri Brothers in England in 1981, where it has been meticulously translated along with its musical details by Shemeem Burney Abbas.³⁴ Along with Tom Solomon, an ethnomusicologist, Abbas undertook a fabulous linguistic and musical analysis of this *qawwali* to explain its musical contours as well. The main stanzas of the *qawwali* directly narrating Meera's story are translated below, except vocals and the lines repeated by *qawwals*, as heard from the audio cassette. I have used my own translation of selected stanzas.³⁵ This paper does not cover the entire *qawwali* due to its huge length. Instead, details of contextual information of words and

³³ Ghulam Farid and Maqbool Ahmed Sabiri. *Diwani, Khwaja ki Diwani - audio cassette. Showcase South Asia, Signature series*, 18 (1976). Karachi: EMI Pakistan Limited. Also available on line at various website as in audio and video recordings. Online available; accessed on May 05, 2017 at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=agsvXie5VKA>.

³⁴ Shemeem Burney Abbas, *The Female Voice in Sufi Ritual: Devotional Practices of Pakistan and India* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2003), 98-103.

³⁵ The same *qawwali* has been sung by Sabiri Qawwals on different occasions and other *qawwals* with somewhat different *girahs* (insertions). However, the lyrics used here are also available in audio cassettes, CDs and online.

terms have been provided as deemed necessary.

Before introducing Meera, *qawwals* sing a few stanzas to introduce her passion, dedication and high spiritual calibre by establishing that the variation of forms between religions could not deceive her. Here is one:

*Sakhi nagar, sakhi dagar dagr, mein to ishq ki aag lagati
chali*

*Mora khwesh gayo, mora des gayo, mein to Ishq ki aag
mein poori jail*

*Yeh roop saroop dikhati chali aur Khwaja ki dhun mein yeh
gati chali*

*Mein to diwani, Khwaja ki diwani, mein to diwani, Khwaja
ki diwani*³⁶

O friend, place to place; path to path, I have set aflame with
the fire of love

Gone is my family, gone is my kingdom, as I am burnt
entirely by the fire of love

Exhibiting my dazzle and glow, singing on the way to
Khwaja, immersed in him

I am enamoured, of Khwaja I am enamoured; I am, of
Khwaja enamoured.

As per standard Sufi belief, a high-calibre Sufi could appear in physical form, after death, to the person in dire need or a devotee with utmost devotion. Whoever is blessed with such physical appearance is considered to have received the highest spiritual blessings, which, not just a great honour but also an indication of a high spiritual stature of the concerned person. Here is how *qawwals* bring in the story about Meera's direct personal experience of this blissful incident and her social and spiritual context:

³⁶ During the course of writing this paper, a few *qawwals* were contacted to seek the origin of these verses. Both of the Sabiri Brothers (the *qawwals* who originally sang this *qawwali*) and their lead descendant who lately sang the same *qawwali*, have all passed away. Other *qawwals* have copied the original version sung by Sabiri Brothers. Therefore, no information could be obtained on the subject.

*Meera Bai jo thi Mehr Kerore ki
Rana Sanga se jab us ki shadi hui
Wese to woh ik maharani thi
Parde mein Khwaja ki deewani thi*
Meera Bai, who belonged to Mehr Kerore
She got married [into the family of] Rana Sanga
Although apparently, she was a queen
However, secretly, she was deeply in love with Khwaja

*Teen so meel tai kar kai jaati tho who
Pi ke darshan ko Ajmer aati thi who
Us ko aatay huway bees saal ho gaye
Paas rauzay ke ponhchi na us khauf se*
She used to visit from a distance of three hundred miles,
To have the blessings of the sight of her Beloved in Ajmer
For twenty years she kept on visiting
But never went near to Khwaja's tomb

*Ke hoon libaas-e maharani pehnay huway
Paoun me sachay moti ki payal bhi hai
Sun ke payal ki jhankar ho ga ghazab
Khaja keh den gay, Meera tu hai be-adab³⁷*
Thinking that I am wearing the dress of a queen
And also the anklets of pure pearls
The noise of anklets will create a havoc
Khwaja might say: Meera, how ill-mannered of you

*Laikin zabt ikkis-van saal nah kar saki
Aur pehli seerhi peh ja ke sada us ne di
Ounchi mehri moray Khwaja ki, mo se charho na utro jaye
Kehyo moray Khwaja se mori banyyan pakar le jaye*
But she could not resist herself the twenty-first year
Standing on the first step, she exclaimed

³⁷ *Adab* (right/respectful/appropriate conduct or mannerism has a high regard in Sufism. It is stressed much by all Sufi masters. A general rule is, *adab pehla qareena hai, muhabbat ke qareenaun mein* (appropriate conduct is the first manner of the manners of love).

High is the abode of my Khwaja, I can't climb up or down
Someone please request Khawaja to take me by my arm

Meera Bai ke dil se jo nikli sada
Un ko ban kar sahara khud ana para
Ghaib se haath thamay huway le chala
La ke rozay ke andar khara kar diya
When this call was issued from Meera Bai's heart
He [Khwaja] had to come himself to be a support for her
A hand appeared from the unseen world and led her by arm
He led her and placed her inside the sacred chamber of his
tomb

Hosh Meera ke waisay to qayam rahay
Itni himmat kahaan munh se kutch keh sakay
Bas yeh kehti gaiy
Mein to diwani, Khwaja ki diwani
Though apparently Meera sustained her senses
But not enough strength to utter anything else
But just kept repeating
I am enamoured; of Khwaja enamoured I am.

Abbas mentions his surprise seeing Meera surfacing in the ocean of the Islamic mystical tradition while attending a *qawwali* in the USA ³⁸. He reasons it with *qawwals'* attempt to please their Indian-origin audience who came to attend that *mehfil*. Although he does not describe it further, but one can conclude that his surprise is not about seeing *qawwals* singing Meera but rather seeing them sing 'about' Meera. I tend to disagree with his assumption. The same *qawwali* has gained exceptional fame in Pakistan and other Muslim countries with all-Muslim audiences. Thus, it is easy to conclude that it is the power of love that enthralls audience not because Meera was a Hindu or from India that will be the reason for an Indian audience to feel moved by a *qawwali*. Abbas also points out that she is erroneously mentioned as the queen of Rana Sangha though she was married to his son. If not ignored, this can be at least understood that in

³⁸ Shemim Burney Abbas, 98.

South Asia, many a times the 'bahoo' (daughter-in-law) is known by the name of her father in law, being the head of the household, especially if he is a well-known person. This was the case as Rana Sangha was more famous than his son. One can see that in this *qawwali*, both Meera's pomp and piety are exhibited equally. Her patience, dedication as well as humility and *adab* (appropriate conduct) are indicated to have touched the heart of the great Sufi Master and moved him to appear in physical form to come and lead Meera by hand. Even if the accuracy of any such incident was contested, the position that a narrative tradition so hugely respected has granted Meera is unquestionable.

One can see that Meera has a special status in Sufi Islam as she is one of the very few women who are sung about by *qawwals* during spiritual congregations. There are *manqabats* written in the honour of ladies like Hazrat Bibi Fatimah Alaih-i-Salam (A.S.)³⁹ the daughter of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) and other women descendants of his family and Bibi Rabia Al-Adwiyya of Basra (714/18-801) the most prominent Sufi woman of Iraq. Sometimes, as a *girah* (amplifying insertions), short verses are also sung about Bibi Maryam (A.S.), the mother of Jesus and Bibi Asiya (A.S.) wife of Pharaoh and adopted mother of Moses (A.S.), sometimes heard in certain *qawwalis*. However, Meera is the only woman from a non-Muslim, non-Abrahamic background, who has an entire story narrated about her in a *qawwali* that is a *manqabat* of the greatest Sufi master of India. This is an honour that all Muslim women walking on the spiritual path would look for. For Hindus, Meera is known by her love for Sri Krishna. For Muslims, she is known by her love for Khwaja Gharibnawaz. The name of her beloved changes as per the context but did her love too? Sufis would answer that when pure love reaches a certain depth, it gains roots beyond the boundaries of religions and regions. It is not the name of the beloved that matters anymore, it is the love itself.

5. Proliferation of Meera's love and lyrics into *qawwali*

Since Meera and her story in a *qawwali* is narrated above, it is pertinent to see what *qawwali* is and what value it carries in the Sufi world? *Qawwali*, derived from Arabic word '*qaul*' meaning the statement or saying,

³⁹ Islamic salutation Alaih-i-Salam (Peace be upon her/him) abbreviated as A.S.

indicates singing of the sayings of Sufi masers. It is the off spring of Islam's spiritual current and have resulted from the use of music for spiritual reasons that has been present in Islam for centuries under the title of *Sama* or *Sema* literally meaning 'listening'. *Sama*, an Arabic word literally meaning the faculty of listening, has been used since the advent of Islam, as a method for deep and methodical listening to the holy Quran, praise of the Holy Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.), or Sufi saints for spiritual connection and communication. Later, *qawwali* was adorned under the guidance of Sufi masters of twelfth century and was developed into the "recurrent congregational expression of Sufi mystical devotion"⁴⁰. Sufism, "one of the truly creative manifestations of the religious life in Islam"⁴¹ loves and promotes creative arts - music being one of them. In Islam, those who dedicated all their life to developing the spiritual dimensions of their personality with mystical and esoteric practices came to be known as Sufis as opposed to those who only focused on *Shria'* (law) for an ideal Muslim life⁴². Music being the food for the spirit and thus for spiritual life integrates well with Sufi teachings and therefore *qawwali* was used by Sufi masters as a method by using poetry from a wide range of languages such as Arabic, Persian, Punjabi, Purbi Urdu, and various other local languages of the Indian sub-continent. Later on, it was also called *Mehfil-e qawwali* or *Mehfil-e Sama*, literally meaning a 'gathering of/for listening', where occasionally listeners becoming ecstatic and breaking into dance.

As such, *sama* is a deep concept rather than just musical form associated with the Sufis. The faculty of listening is emphasized to help feel, understand and inculcate spiritual messages in Islamic societies in one form or the other over centuries. One can see early Arab writers talking about music and discussing "theories of music" such as al-Kindi, al-Farabi, ibn-Sina and Urmawi⁴³. Music and its use for spiritual purposes took another turn when Islam reached India. In its current form *qawwali*

⁴⁰ Carl. W Ernst & Bruce B. Lawrence, *Sufi martyrs of love* (New York: Macmillan Palgrave. 2002), 35.

⁴¹ Peter J. Awn, "Sufism", in: Mircea Eliade, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Religion* 14, (1987):104.

⁴² Titus Burckhardt, *An Introduction to Sufi Doctrine*, (Lahore: Sheikh Muhammad Ashraf. 1959), 4.

⁴³ Syed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic art and spirituality*. (Lahore: Suhail Academy. 1987), 158.

was mothered by Hazrat Amir Khusrau (1253-1325), the fondest disciple of Khwaja Nizam ud Din Auliya (1238-1325) of the Chishtiyya *silsila* of Sufis. He is also the inimitable musicologist of late 13th century India, who had incredible command simultaneously over music, poetry, political wisdom and mystical gnosis. He introduced a great range of innovations both in music and poetry of which *qawwali* was one of the most famous.

The poetry that constitutes the *qawwali* content can belong to many different languages. However, mostly poetry in Urdu, Persian, Purabi, Punjabi and Saraiki is used due to their general appeal to local audience. *Qawwali* is sung in a special way with singers picking from the unlimited treasure of poetry whatever they deemed appropriate as per the topic. For adding more to the topic at hand, a *girah*, an 'amplifying insertion' is used⁴⁴. *Girah*, literally meaning a knot, also known as *tazmeen* is the title given by *qawwals* to a couplet, verse, or short poem added to increase the depth of meaning and effect of the lyrics by deepening, strengthening and widening the idea at hand⁴⁵. It might as well be used to suddenly divert and say something totally opposite in order to give the listener a jolt for intellectual stimulation. This way, *qawwali* is not bound to a certain poet, poem or a *ghazal* (love-song) but can borrow phrases, verses and entire poems from various poets. Sometimes, even the verses of the Holy Quran and the tradition of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) are inserted to explain or strengthen a message.

Now coming back to Meera as a poet, we would try to see what her poetry has to offer for *qawwalis*. Being a bhakti follower, her poetry has similar themes that are also present in other bhakti saints. However, she is different in terms of charm. She excels in the expression of love. Moreover, her expression of love has innocence that carries a celestial purity. She shows how a seeker could attain union with God by pure love. Sometimes a loving heart brings more charm to its beloved than the actual charm there may be. Sometimes, the charm of love spills through words so magically that it would create a spell for all those who would read it and make them ache for the same. Meera creates that spell so naturally. She very innocently seems to exhibit that her Beloved is so enchantingly

⁴⁴ Regula Burekhardt Qureshi, *Sufi music of India and Pakistan: sound, context and meaning in Qawwali* (Karachi: Oxford University Press. 2007), 22.

⁴⁵ Discussion with Awais Niazi, a Sufi singer from Islamabad, Pakistan, 12 March 2017, Islamabad.

charming that he deserves to be the beloved of everyone else. Hawley in his excellent work on saints of India has tried to summarize themes of Meera's poetry such as the importance of name of God, having a true *guru* (guide) and having the company of other followers of the same path (*satsang*). Moreover, she has a feminine voice that speaks of family tensions, delicate emotions of a bride and festivals much more powerfully than other male poets when they also used a feminine voice⁴⁶. She parallels herself as a *gopi* (cowherd girl) sometimes but mostly she seems content with just expressing her love unconditionally and exhibiting her humility in front of her Beloved.

One can hear Meera singing along with *qawwals* in various *qawwalis*. However, her lyrics echo more in *qawwalis* sung in Hindi classical style that is considered the style of Hazrat Amir Khusrau. Although almost all *qawwals* would end up singing her lines inserting them as '*girah*' while singing Urdu, Punjabi or Purbi *qawwalis*, however, she is ubiquitous in Purbi style. Sometimes the terminologies she used for her Beloved are used to describe the characteristics of a spiritual master in many *qawwalis*. For example, Meera has compared her Beloved to a washer man saying:

Hari is a dhobi, takes in all stained clothes; in the river of his love, with the soap of his peace glowing iridescent in the sun he washes everyone.

No envious smear returns; the souls he's done are like muslin when worn, says Mira.⁴⁷

Her subtle musings, rhythmic diction and heart-rending romantic phraseology has the capacity of touching the deepest core of anyone ever being in love with anything. Her command over words, stream-like flow of lyrics and depth of terminologies conquer all differences. Her metaphors like *dhobi* (washerman), *jalpanhari* (the water fetching girl), *Shaam* (the evening coloured beloved) and *prem deewani* (enamoured of love) surface almost in all kinds of *mehfil-e-sama*. Internationally acclaimed *qawwals* like Nusrat Fateh Ali, Sabiri brothers, Aziz Mian, Munshi Raziuddin, Fareed Ayaz, Ghulam Kibria have sung her. It is more fascinating to see when local *qawwals* of lesser fame and exposure also

⁴⁶ John. S. Hawley, 131.

⁴⁷ V.P. Kanitkar & W. Owen Cole, 157.

sing her in villages and at shrines of Sufis in Pakistan.

Pakistan's legendary qawwal, Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan has sung Meera extensively. He has used her lyrics as *girah* in singing a number of qawwalis, but most beautifully in *Kalam-e Khusrau* (poetry of Amir Khusrau), as poetry from both run so naturally close to each other. However, one can find her full thrust in Nusrat's famous *qawwali*, "*sanson ki mala peh simron main pi ka naam*" (on the rosary of breath, I invoke the name of my beloved), based on lyrics associated to Meera.⁴⁸ One has to listen to this *qawwali* to experience the true impact of mesmerizing and agonizing feelings that Nusrat's voice generates using Meera's pain-stricken lyrics. This entire *qawwali* is studded with Meera's passion, devotion and lyrical beauty. A few selected verses are translated below:⁴⁹

Sanson ki mala pe simron main Pi⁵⁰ ka naam⁵¹
Apne mann ki main jaanun aur Pi ke mann ki Raam
On the rosary of breath, I invoke the name of my Beloved
I know about my heart and God knows about my Beloved's

Har har mein hai Har basay, har, har ko Har ki aas⁵²
Har ko har mein dhoond phiri, aur Har hai moray paas
God dwells in everyone, each has hope in God

⁴⁸ Nusrat Fateh Ali Khan and party. *Sanson ki maala*. Audiocassette rerecorded at home in 2012 from original *qawwali* recorded in 1979 (also available online at various websites).

⁴⁹ It is an over thirty minutes long *qawwali* with many *girahs* used by Nusrat, from which a few have been used.

⁵⁰ *Pi, piya, piyu, pihu, pitam, pritam* are some of the titles used for referring to the beloved both for human and divine. Since in these lyrics the word *pi* is used for the Supreme Beloved, hence the use of capitalization both for *Pi* and Beloved.

⁵¹ As opposed to the traditional followers of religion, who would count the names of Lord on a rosary, which is noticeable by other people and helpful in showing off their piety; the mystics both Hindus and Muslims, have suggested using the continuous rhythm of breath to remember their Beloved. So the breath, that depicts life, is used to invoke and thus communicate with the Beloved constantly, yet secretly.

⁵² *Har* and *Hari* are the two common words in Hindi used to describe the Supreme. *Har* also means 'every one' in Hindi/Urdu. Using this homonym, Meera (and many other poets such as Kabir, Tulsī Das) tried to point out the inseparable linkage of the transcendent, Supreme Being with mundane, everyday life and people.

Searched God everywhere, and I found Him with me

*Pritam hum tum aik hein, jo kehen sunan mein do
Mann*⁵³*ko mann se toliyay, to do mann kabhu nah ho*
O my Love, you and me are one, but are counted as two
One maund weighed against another would never be equal
to two

*Prem piyala jab se piya hai, ji ka hai yeh haal
Angaraun peh neend aa jaye kaanton peh aaram*
Since I had drunk from the goblet of love
I can sleep on burning coal and find comfort on thorns.

6. Is Love a Hindu or a Muslim?

History has many times lacunas to provide enough evidence about events, people or phenomena. Such lacunas matter only when they are big enough to put question marks against the integrity of the person's claim to fame. Meera's claims to fame are her love and her poetry – both remain far superior to any lacunas or disjointed information, which could mar her credibility either as an *aashiq* (true lover) or a poet. Meera Bai's life is well enveloped by the mystical miracles that some people may find hard to believe true. Nevertheless, her real miracle, i.e. her love has stood the test of time and had been conquering hearts since centuries. Poetry was only an outpouring of that love. In fact, what other authors have looked at as a weakness, I consider it a strength. That is the assumption that other women have written poetry in Meera's style over the years and have inserted their own lyrics under her name. It is obviously succumbing to the magnetic pull of her love that when others wanted to share similar feelings, they used Meera's diction, her voice and even her Beloved in order to find space in history. What could have been more delightful for

⁵³ This is another beautiful use of a homonym. Mann means one's inner being or heart. It also means a maund (equaling to 40 kilos of the new metric system), which people used to weigh in earlier. Thus, using that pun, Meera seems to say that when two equals are put against each other, they cancel each other that is how she and her beloved have cancelled all differences and should be considered one.

Meera than to see others showering flowers of lyrics under her name on the feet of her Beloved?

Adopting from and adapting to poetic heritage of other religions is yet another proof of the pluralistic trends of Sufis. Thus, when we hear Meera singing her *padas* (songs) or *bhajans* through the voices of *qawwals* every now and then in the most auspicious and sacred ceremonies of Muslim spiritual gatherings, one can only bow in front of her love. The plurality of Sufism and its large-heartedness has accepted Meera as a spiritual seeker, a mystic with a pure heart disregarding any reason to explore further whether it was Sri Krishn Ji she loved or Khwaja Muin ud Din Chishti. Probably both or just the One who comes under so many garbs. She seems to love the Supreme under many names. People have focused more whom she loved rather than 'how' she loved. They research on names rather than what Meera was teaching – that is how to be an *aashiq* (true lover). She has all the right to love Sri Krishna and seek him at the shrine of Ajmer. As the Sabiri Qawwal, mentioned above, singing about her already cried

Der-o-haram mein imtiaz shewah-e ehl-e-dil⁵⁴ naheen
Woh bhi dar-e habeeb hai, yeh bhi dar-e habeeb hai”

It's not for the 'People of the Heart' to discriminate
between mosque and temple

One is the abode of the Beloved and so is the other.

Meera is one of the icons of feminine love; a love so subtle and yet so powerful; so simple and yet so beautiful; rooted in the land of doctrine and yet soared far higher. Love that Sufism inculcates, promotes and respects above everything. Sufis will neither fret about Meera's love being rooted in dogma or divinity, nor question whether it was for Krishn Ji or Khwaja Ji. For them, it is the purity of love that matters because it has the power to turn mundane into divine. For Hindus, she is Meera Bai, for Muslims, she can be Meera Bibi⁵⁵ - an embodiment of love and how can we assess if love is Hindu or Muslim?⁵⁶

⁵⁴ In Sufi lexicon, *Muqam-e-Dil* is known as one of the higher spiritual stations, which the traveler of the spiritual path has to attain and sustain with arduous efforts. Those who attain it are called *ehl-e-dil* (People of the Heart).

⁵⁵ Bibi is a title of respect used for spiritually high, elderly or noble ladies.

⁵⁶ Personal discussion with Baba Jan Sarkar Dr. Muhammad Youssuf Shaheen Shah Qadir

7. Conclusions

Meera surfaces in Sufi oral tradition as a devotee of Khwaja Gharibnawaz. Her poetry as well as the story sung by *qawwals* at the most sacred spiritual places show her highly esteemed status in Sufi world. Her story also indicates that Sufis care less about names or forms. In a dogmatic world, Meera had the double jeopardy of being a Hindu as well as a woman. Both are rejected by Khwaja Gharibnawaz in her story sung by *qawwals*. Being a Hindu, she is not asked to stay out of the Muslim space. Being a woman, she is not asked to stay out of the sacred spiritual space. She is believed to have taken to the most sacred chamber by one of the greatest of the Sufis due to her steadfastness, humility and purity of intent. The qualities of sublimity, grace and mystical depth that others associate with her poetry⁵⁷, are ascribed more to her personality in the Sufi world. For Sufis, she represents the sublimity herself. She symbolizes the beauty and subtlety of womanhood along with modesty and *adab* (appropriate conduct) of a well-groomed soul. Thus, instead of just a poet, the Sufi world draws in the Meera Bai as a person, as a devotee and a true *aashiq* (lover). During the current era, when schisms are growing and widening everywhere, Meera stands for bridging the divisions. From Krishan Ji to Khwaja Ji, Meera already transcends the insurmountable borders of religions, regions and reasons.

Qalandar, a Sufi Master at Jhang, Punjab, Pakistan, on 24 September, 2011.

⁵⁷ Anisha Sharma and Amrita Sharma, 102-114.

Additional Research Papers and Items for Discussion

Jamal Garhi Monastery Excavation 2012: The Sculptures¹

Maseeh Ullah

Abstract

The site of Jamal Garhi after its discovery by A. Cunningham in 1848, was excavated only by military officers and engineers of the Army and finally it was plundered by a certain “Colonel Sahib” who, it is said, removed some twelve camels’ loads of statues (Dar 1990: 182). The situation changed with the Archaeological Survey of India in 1907-1908 (Foucher 1915: 4) and in 1920-1923. Almost 100 years later, in 2012 the Directorate of Archaeology and Museum Government of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa decided to undertake a trial excavation at the site of Jamal Garhi.

Introduction and chronology

Jamal Garhi is a large village 13 km N of Mardan. The archaeological site is located right N of the village (ASI 1920-1921: 34; Cunningham 1875: 46). The site is locally called “Kandarāt” or “Bacha Takht”. This site is situated between in Takht-i Bhai and Shahbaz Garhi, and 5 km from Thareli². The site consists of a sacred area (three stupa terraces: upper, central [with Main Stupa] and lower terrace) and monastery³.

“The coins recorded from the Jamal Garhi were of Kanishka I, two coins of Huvishka, one coin of Vasudeva I, and two silver coins of Kidara II. One of the so-called ‘Vasudeva’ coins, however is actually a coin of Kanishka II, and in fact all the remaining illustrated examples of the same ‘king at the altar and seated

¹ In this paper diacritics are intentionally omitted. Photos are by the Author.

² For details on the construction etc. see Cunningham 1875: 46 and Errington 1987: 222-443. For the end-3rd century Kharoshti inscription (eleven aksharas) found by A. Stein in January 1912 on the floor of the main stupa court see Errington 1987: 217.

³ The main stupa is located on the highest point on the site, having unique feature and circular in plan. Presently only its base survives with its double circumbulation path (the outer is large and paved with slabs while the inner one is smaller). The stupa is provided with a flight of six steps on the S side. 15 chapels are constructed around the main stupa. During the excavation conducted in 2012 the preserved stupa top was taken as a datum point.

goddess' type must also be coins of Kanishka II or the later Kushans" (Errington 1987: 303-304).

In 1920 under the Government of North-West Frontier Province, Notification No. 7455-G (Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, VIII, 1904) the site was declared endangered and the Archaeological Survey of India commenced a program of three seasons (1920-1923) for the clearance and conservation of the site (ASI 1920-1921: 3).

The 2012 field operations

In 1873 the site was explored by Sappers and Miners under the command of Lieutenant A. Crompton for the Punjab Government and here great quantity of sculptures were catalogued (ASI 1920-1921: 2).

In 2012, the Directorate of Archaeology and Museum, Government of Khyber-Pakhtunkhwa, started the excavation at the site with the aim and objective to verify the chronology, to clean and clear the dump in the cells near the Main Stupa. For this purpose they select three points, in first trial trench below Cell no. 17 (allotted number of plan given by Crompton) no material was recovered. We removed the dump from the Cell no. 6 (was filled by Crompton). From these cells, we found five coins of Kushana period and a bust of Bodhisattva (Catalogue no. 3) (see Fig. 1).

All the other sculptures presented here in the Catalogue were excavated near Trench 32 (allotted number of plan given by Crompton)⁴.

⁴ During the excavation of 1873, about 961 sculptures were recovered and sent to different museums. Lieutenant Crompton states that: "The sculptures discovered at Jamal Garhi weighed roughly about 100 maunds. Of these nearly 70 maunds in weight have been sent to General Cunningham. Those remaining chiefly consist of large imperfect figures of Buddha or kings, and some duplicates of capitals and of bases of statues" (Errington 1987: 310). During the 1920s seasons of clearance and conservation, about 270 different items were recovered, including stone lamps, terracotta, stucco heads, finger rings, coins, metal objects (ASI 1920-1921: 5). The sculptures in the ruins of Jamal Grahī were mostly of schist stone including blue, black, green and grey schist stone incised with a mason-mark "J" (most probably the Kharoshti aksara *a*). Crompton remarks that the "sculptures were carved in most cases of the shaly stone or slate of which the hill is formed; but in a few instances of the best sculptures the stone was finer grained and bluer in color than any found on the hill" (Errington 1987: 218). Few examples of stucco sculptures and decorations were also found. In 1873 Crompton says: "On many walls were found the remains of plaster casts depicting various scenes. The most common were sitting scenes of Buddha" (ASI 1920-21: 5).

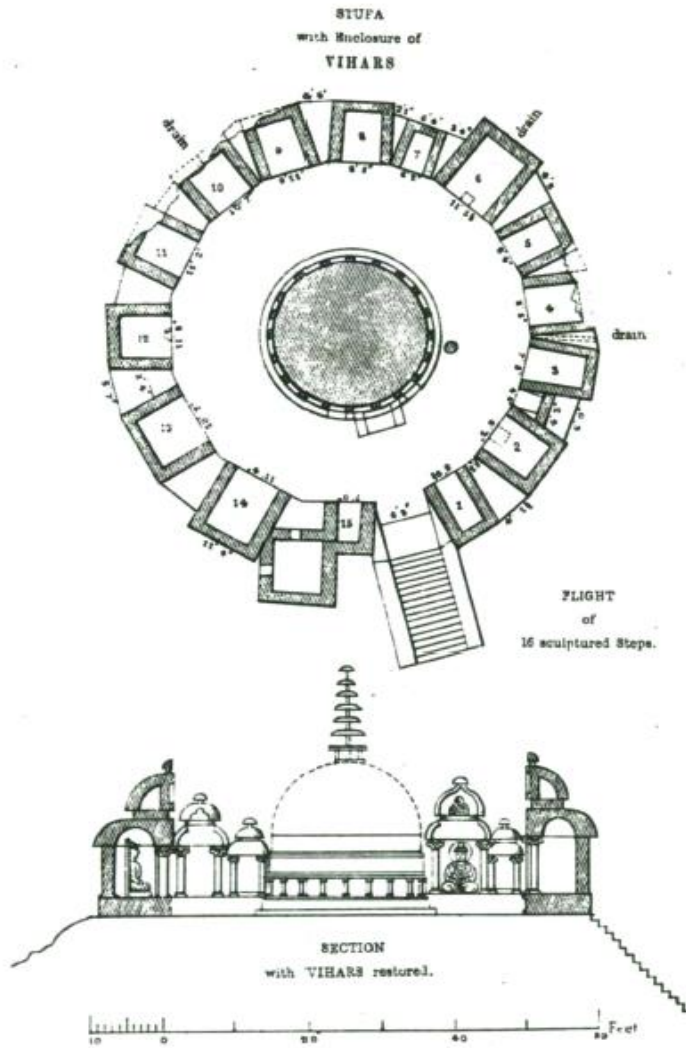


Fig. 1 - Main Stupa of Jamal Garhi (plan and elevation/cross-section)
(after Errington 1987).

Catalogue

1. Curvilinear frieze (figured) separated by Gandharan-Corinthian pilaster.

Size: 16 x 6 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted.

On the left side of the frieze is a monk wearing *antaravasaka*, seated frontal in a meditation pose with hands covered possibly at the side of the Buddha (seated in same pose and wearing the same *a.*). A tree element is visible.

On the right side of the panel two figures facing right might be devotees or worshippers wearing *uttariya* with their joined hands are moving probably towards Buddha. These two scenes separated by dividing panel with Gandharan-Corinthian pilaster.

Cf. Zwalf 1996: figs. 276 and 268; Ingholt 1957: figs. 76, 96, 97, 194 (A); Khan et al. 2005: nos. 25, 26.



2. *Curvilinear frieze (figured) separated by figured dividing panel.*

Size: 34 x 2 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted.

On the right side are six worshippers (three in the background, and three figures in the foreground), facing right towards a standing Buddha in *abhayamudra*.

On the left side similar scene (only two surviving in the background) facing left offering towards Buddha (partly missing).

In the center, panel with standing frontal naked amorino with one hand rising while the other is resting on his hip. The figure is standing on a circular base. Curly hairs are visible clearly while features are slightly damaged. Two leaves with leaflet are around his head.

Zwalf 1996: fig. 269 (figs. 211 and 277; fig. 483); Khan, et al. 2005: no. 31 (nos. 33; 06).



3. *Statue (front-view only) of Bodhisattva*

Size: 28 x 10 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted.

A bust of Bodhisattva with damaged ornaments: a beaded necklace, a flat band decorated

necklace, a first long multiple strands cross-piece to left [proper] shoulder, a second long single-strand cross-piece to left [proper] shoulder. Probably holding an object on his left hand. Head, neck and arm portions are missing.

Zwalf 1996: figs. no. 51, 64; Khan et al. 2005: no. 113,122.



4. Panel with bust of a monk (or nun)

Size: 10 x 1 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted. Broken in two pieces, recomposed.

Bust of the monk or nun in three quarter facing right, with both shoulders covered. The head is round, shaven and with hairline. Right elongated ear Both shoulders are covered by a long sleeved tunic (a nun?), raising his right hand with fingers apart.

Zwalf 1996: fig. 444 (the difference is the left hand is raised and one shoulder is bare, i.e.

is wearing *antaravasaka* = monk).



5. *Panel with Padmapani (?)* [photo not included]

Size: 8 x 4 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted. Broken in two pieces, recomposed.

Padmapani holding maybe a heap of petals in both hands joined in front of the chest. The figure is turned to the left. He is wearing *uttariya* leaving one shoulder bare the halo is broken.

Khan et al. 2005: fig. no. 138 (complete).

6. *Statue (fragment): right hand in abhayamudra*

Size: 14 x 3cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted. Thumb and little finger missing; tips of the fingers are also missing.

Probably with *uttariya*.



7. Relief (fragment): *Buddha's head* [to the left, next page]

Size: 4 x 2 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted.

The head is round to oval with wavy strand of hair with broad *usnisa*. The nose is broken and thin mouth has shaped and narrow upper lip. The eyes are slanting with more or less prominent lids and sharp edges. The chin is more prominent and pointed. The long and well-formed left ear is close to the head with the remains of long grooved lobes.

Ingholt 1957: figs. 261, 271; Khan et al. 2005: nos. 97, 101, 108.



8. *Relief (fragment): Buddha's head* [to the right, this page]

Size: 5 x 1 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted.

Buddha head with wavy hairs arranged upward in flattened round *usnisa*, convex forehead, urna in relief, small slanting eyes with heavy eyelids, eyeballs are indicated by means of incised circles. Nose and lips are damaged, however the lower lip looks thick and face is bulky.

Ingholt 1957: figs. 102-189; Khan et al. 2005: 134-136, nos. 96, 99.

9. *Curvilinear frieze (decorated)* [photo not included]

Size: 13 x 6 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted.

Above: a row of vertically grooved brackets of cyma reverse profile. Below: lattice design.

Zwalf 1996: fig. 450; Ingholt 1957: fig. 466; Khan et al. 2005: no. 268.

10. *Harmika (fragment)* [photo not included]

Size: 20 x 4 cm

Material: schist

Period: 2nd-3rd century CE

Condition: broken, damaged, defaced, encrusted.

Cornice of *harmika* with stepped pyramids (two surviving). Side band decorated with chequered grid with alternating relief squares.

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Brief sketch of bejeweled male figures in Gandharan Art¹

Samia Anwar

Abstract

The following notes are just an attempt to present a list of the main Gandharan male figures adorned with jewellery. Contrary to men of today, men in Gandhara and India profusely adorn themselves from top to toe. This fact is attested both in literary and archaeological sources. The research, which was part of a wider PhD program, was conducted throughout selected specimens of Gandharan art male sculptures housed in different Museums in Pakistan.

1. Introduction

A page of *Lalitavistara Sutra* indicates that King Suddhodana had made, by five hundred *cakyas*, five hundred ornaments, such as ornaments for hands, ornaments for the feet, ornaments for the head, ornaments for the neck, rings with a seal, earrings, armlets, belts of golden material, hair nets with bells, hair nets with pearls, shoes decorated with precious stones, scarves decorated with various precious things, gold wristlets, collars, diadems (Foucaux 1884: 103). Gautama when was a prince was used to wear elaborate jewels, whereas he, as Enlightened, after having renounced the world for the search of truth, took off all his ornaments.

The ornament for men other than personal adornment serves as an icon to tell others how to behave with the wearer. In this context, jewellery serves as an attribute of authority as the sacred text says “Than Pharaoh took off his signet ring and put it on Joseph’s fingers. He had Joseph dressed in robes of fine linen and put a gold chain around his neck.” (*Genesis* 41:42). This probably had monogram of king of Egypt, which allowed Joseph (peace be upon him) to act on behalf of the king (Neva 2012: 16). There are number of articles of jewels worn as testament of social status. One such item is a diadem, which is worn as a symbol of royalty or a holy being as god. The following sacred verse testifies the fact, “And the turban on its front, he set the golden plate, the holy crown, as the lord [Lord] had commanded Moses” (*Leviticus*, 3.18-19) (Neva 2012: 20). The royalty and the spiritually sentient beings like the bodhisattvas of Gandhara art

¹ In this paper diacritics are intentionally omitted. Drawings and photos are by the Author.

are adorned with a wide variety of diadems or tiaras. Some jewellery items, such as earrings, were worn for the purpose of protection. Due to its intrinsic value, jewels were also used as status symbol (Neva 2012: 23), while brass ornaments were used for military purposes, and members of the civil society used jewels diversely in social, economic and cultural milieu. Language of jewels is therefore extremely complex and carrying numerous meanings and functions within different ethnic groups and over the ages to be described in this limited study. We, therefore, are confined here to the survey of bejewelled Gandharan males with special focus on bodhisattvas, gods, kings, servants and soldiers.

2. Bodhisattva

In Gandharan art a bodhisattva is represented as an embodiment of masculine beauty heavily bedecked with extra ordinary ornaments from top to toe. The jewellery he puts on different parts of his body could be categorised in head dress, earrings, necklaces, bracelets, armlets, belts, finger rings, thong slippers, etc. They are briefly described as following.

Head Dress

Hair Web

This ornament is consisted of two strings of pearls, one secures the topknot and the other adorns the area at the front, linked with each other and held together by more strings of pearls that culminate in a disc and gems fixed at the front. Hair webs are mostly worn by bodhisattvas, whose hair is arranged in topknot. Highly ornamented hair web with a bow-like knot is seen worn by the future Bodhisattva Maitreya (Zwalf 1996: 96, no. 50)

Turban

From the Vedic times turban was worn by nobles on occasion of sacrifices as *Rajasuya* ritual (Visnu 1993: 16, pls. XXV.B, LV.A, VI.3, 7, VII.2, 6). Turbans worn by bodhisattvas are composed of self-restraining crisscross bands with a jewel fixed in mid-front, which is usually super imposed by dais of fabric carrying a diadem supported by puffed cockade at the back. Turbans of bodhisattvas have usually two to three panniers on both sides, which are ornamented with jewels, gems in bezel, string of pearls and discs. In some cases panniers flank the turban on both the sides. Also Panchika is wearing a turban with panniers on sides (Fig. 1; from Sahri Bahlol).

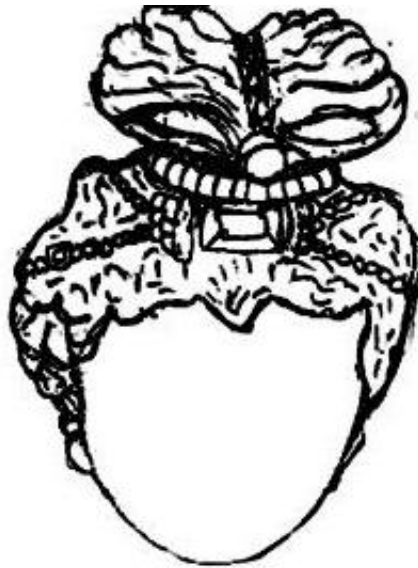


Fig. 1

Ornamentation on the fan

Fans of turban are ornamented with a variety of thematic jewels as a stupa, bunch of string of pearls, e.g. in a *kirtimukha* (Faccenna 1962: pl. CCLXXXVI, no. 3154), a Garuda carrying a *naga* or *nagini* (Foucher 1905-1951: figs. 320, 390, 415), Buddha seated in *abhayamudra* (Kurita 1988-1990: 68, pls. 173, 174), a figurine holding a garland (Mallmann de 1947: 80-89, fig. 3).

Ornamentation on sides

Sides of turban are ornamented with precious stones, winged dragons like animals (Zwalf 1996: 53, pl. 81), *centaurus* or bifide triton (Schmidt 2008: fig. 26 a, b,) and *kirtimukha* (Zwalf 1996: 58, pl. 90).



Fig. 2

Ear ornaments

Earrings

The most interesting amongst the ear ornaments are the lion-shaped earrings. These earrings are of Indian origin and combine Hellenic and Persian traditions in certain examples. Early Buddhism adopted lion as symbol of Sakyamuni Buddha (Beer 2003). A bodhisattva from Nigiram [?] is wearing lion earrings (Kurita 1988-1990: Vol. II, P. 10, Pl. 8), a bodhisattva from Tahkt-i Bahi is wearing earrings with lion proteome vomiting strings of pearls (Zwalf 1996: Vol. II, P. 52, no. 79).

Ear tops

Among variety of ear tops worn by bodhisattvas we have selected Cubic ear-tops because these are worn by males only. Few tops are incrustated with gems of same shape and others are left plain (cf. a bodhisattva in *abhayamudra* in Kurita 1988-1990: pl. 6).

Ear pendants

Ear pendants in the form of string of pearls dangling from a disc or anthropomorphic figure are of worth mentioning. A bodhisattva from Yusufzai [Swat?] (Zwalf 1996: 51, no. 78) and a Maitreya from Taxila (Marshall 1951: pl. 224, no. 143) are wearing this type.

Neck ornaments

Neckband

Neckband or collar is a flat metallic strip of equal width. It is usually divided into two sections with a rosette of round or pointed petals set on a pedestal in the mid-front, while the flanking parts are inlaid with floral or geometric patterns, which are formed by inlaid square, round, oblong and *cabochon* gems. Upper and lower rims of the collar and the boundaries of each section are beautifully lined with pearls. A Bodhisattava is wearing a beautiful neckband (Pl. 2; from Peshawar Museum).

Torque

The *torque* or *torc*, is a, not fully circular necklace and was worn at the base of neck. Torques were worn by Gallic warriors and Livy comments that Hellenistic marble sculpture of the Dying Gaul, from Pergamon, now kept in the Capitoline Museum in Rome, is wearing nothing else but a torque (Livy *Hist.*, XXXVI.40. 12, XXXIII.36.13). These are made of solid twisted wires, ends of which are thinned out and coiled around with different fastener in the mid-front (Fig. 4). Such type is seen in the neck of a bodhisattva from Loebanr from Swat (Plate 3).

Necklace

Among necklaces the largest one is the *brahmanical* cord worn across the torso, which manifests the noble ascendancy of the prince (Tissot 1999: 309). Small square amulet boxes with round hooks are hanging from it. The most attractive of them rests on the chest in the centre. It is composed of interwoven strings of pearls terminated in gem (Faccenna 1962: pl. CCLXXXII, and no. 3196) or monster's head holding a gem in their jaws (Zwalf 1996: nos. 63, 65). In one case necklace ends in winged celestial beings holding a cylindrical gem (Pl. 3) (Fig. 4). Sometimes two to three cords decorate the naked chest of a *bodhisattva*.

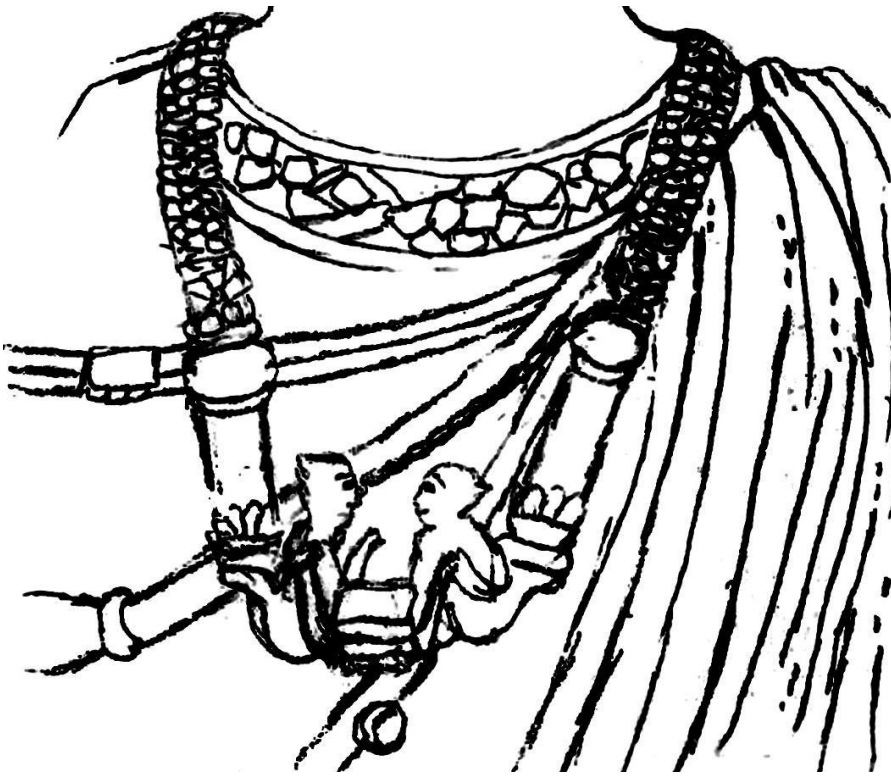


Fig. 4

Arm ornaments

Bangles and wristlets

Bangle is any circlet (closed or open) made of a continuous homogeneous material that can be worn on an arm or an ankle. Bodhisattvas wear on both arms bangles, which in some cases plain and in other inlaid with beads or pearls. Bangles made of metallic wires are with spirally twisted ends to expand while putting them on (Kurita 1988-1990: 62, pl. 152) and some are engraved with oval patterns (Plate 5). Plain and ornamented wristlets (Zwalf 1996: pl. 51), engraved in beautiful floral and geometric pattern inlaid with pearls and stones (Kurita

1988-1990: 60, pl.150) are also worn by bodhisattvas.

Armllets

Bodhisattvas also wear armllet on the upper right arm, which is normally uncovered. In some cases armllet is tied on left arm is visible under the shawl. Armllets in outline are seen when both arms of bodhisattvas are covered with a shawl (Ingholt 1957: pl. 318). They are usually circular, oblong or shield like and are ornamented with rosettes or inlaid with gems in different patterns (Zwalf 1996: 44, no. 63). They have beaded outline and some are provided with ornamented string.

Waist ornament

Girdle belts or *kamarband*

Girdles were used to keep *dhoti* in place in India recalls the Roman practice of changing the *toga praetexta* for the *toga virilis*, when the *aurea bulla* was removed from boy's neck and consecrated to the domestic Lar (the Rome domestic guardian deity). Similar ceremony is in practice in India (Birdwood 1997: 185-86). *Dhoti* (loin cloth) of the bodhisattvas is secured at the waist with an ornamented belt or *kamarband* tied in reef knot (Foucher 1905-1951: fig. 137). Terminals of belt fall free at front or they are tucked at back or side (Leoshko 1988: 36).

Footwear [see Kiran S. Siddiqui, this Journal]

Sandals

Bodhisattvas wear simple thong slippers/sandals consisting of a sole/bottom having two fixed straps, one spring out between the big and the adjacent toes and the other passes across the crest of the foot, where they are joined together. Middle part is ornamented with tinsel or zoomorphic design, mostly lion head.

2. Gods

Other than the Buddha and bodhisattvas we encounter with other bejewelled male figures of importance such as gods and minor deities. The brahmanical gods Indra and Brahma accompanied the Buddha on various occasions: at his birth as they receive him from the mother's body (Foucher 1905-1951: fig. 155), after the first bath (Marshall 1960: pl.36, fig. 58), exhorting prince Siddhartha to renounce

the world (Sehrai 1991: pl. 23), entreating him after becoming the Buddha to preach (Foucher 1905-1951: fig. 212), and visiting the Buddha at the Indrasala cave (Ingholt 1957: 128).

Head dress

Crown

Indra wears a crown, which is called *mukuta*, usually inlaid with precious gems.

Turbans

Indra also wears turbans which are mostly ornamented as is seen in case of entreatment scene (Pl.8)

Ear ornaments

Earrings

Among other earrings Indra wears an Indian class of earring consisted of a pin which passes through pierced ear lobes and worn perpendicular of ear (Pl. 4).

Ear tops

Indra is mostly seen wearing cubic ear mention in detail above.

Neck ornaments

Neckband

Among other neckbands Indra wears a neckband consisted of flat metallic strip inlaid with gems of various shapes or a plain flat metallic strip as in case of (Pl. 4).

Necklace

Indra also wears necklaces consisted of flexible strings reaching his chest (Pl. 4).

Arm and leg ornaments

In his arms Indra is mostly seen wearing plain armlet and a bangle (Pl. 4). He wears plain anklet in leg and thong slippers. Brahma is always clad in a simple or monastic dress wearing no jewellery at all.

Case study: Panchika

Panchika wears very elaborate turban, densely decorated with gems and strings of pearls. In cases his turban with side panniers is profusely ornamented with disc shape gems and precious stones, while sometimes a tuft of hair flanking the head on one or both the sides. Mostly he wears discoid earrings inlaid with tiny gems or a variety of ear pendants. He wears neckband decorated with circular discs or stones in geometrical to floral designs. Besides this he puts on a thick rope like necklace, made of several strings, terminated in *makaras* holding a gem in their mouth. At times, he also wears a thick rope like sash, which hangs down from his left shoulder. He is also bedecked with bangles, armlets and anklets. Secured at the waistline, his *dhoti* falls in folds on his bent legs as he is seen seated on a throne (Pl. 1).

3. Kings

In Gandhāra mostly represented royal figure is king Suddhodana, father of the Buddha and the then ruler of Magadha state. He is clad in *dhoti* and shawl and wears a bejewelled turban. He wears earrings or ear pendants, necklaces with pendants, neckband inlaid with gems, wristlets, armlets and anklets (Pl. 5).

4. Miscellaneous Male Figures

Cupids or Amorini

Amorini or Cupids (the god of desire, love and attraction in the Greek Mythology) are generally naked plump figures found in Gandhara art. But sometimes they are clad in shawl, “caftan” and *dhoti* (Swati 1997). They wear cylindrical ear pendants, long beaded necklaces with pendants, plain neckbands or neckband with pendants (Hargreaves 1930: pl. 2b) plain wristlets, thick and plain anklets with or without a clasp. The Atlant from Chatpat in lower Dir is wearing a plain pectoral girdle.

Donors

They are shown wearing *dhoti*, shawl and turban and adequately adorned with

Jewellery. They wear turban with gem-studded panniers on both sides, and spiral earrings and neckbands inlaid with triangular stones. Another male in the Parthian dress from Butara I is wearing twisted torque with overlapping ends in the front (Faccenna 1962: pl. CDLXXX). A unique necklace of gadrooned beads is seen worn by a noble man from Butkara I (Faccenna 1962: pl. CLVI). Devotees in grass offering scene from Marjanai in Swat are wearing large bracelets, necklaces with plaques fitted along the tube, ear studs and a male of extreme left is wearing a belt inlaid with gems (Ali 2005: pl. 13). A donor from Butkara I is wearing cap like turban inlaid with gems, ear reels, neckband inlaid with gems in sheaf and rosette motifs and thick ling bracelet of metallic plaques (Faccenna 1962: pl. CLXXVII).

Nagarajas

Nagarajas are shown wearing *dhoti*, shawl, elaborate turban and Jewellery. Nagarajas from Butkara III are wearing pin shape earrings and flexible necklace with or without pendants (Pl. 6). A *nagaraja* emerging from a flower from Butkara III is wearing a plain armlet (Abdur Rahman 1991: 161, pl. 7).

Guards and wrestlers

Even guards and soldiers of Gandhāran society wore jewellery. Guard from Chatpat is dressed in a skirt reaching his knees; his hair is tied in a side knot with a string of pearls and wears ear reels. Acrobats from Lahore Museum are wearing neckbands and square ear tops (Ingholt 1957: 164, no. 427). A figure of a soldier in Indian costume is wearing a neckband inlaid with gems and a beautiful belt incusted with gems (Rosenfield 1933: pl. 67).

Addendum

Ornaments worn by sculptures have been found by archaeologists. Actual torques had been found from Sirkap (Parthian-early Kushana) (Marshall 1951: Pl. 195, fig.147).

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Captions to the Plates

Pl. 1 - Hariti and Pancika surrounded by children
(Peshawar Museum PM 03013 - Sahri Bahlol)

Pl. 2 - Bodhisattava
(Peshwar Museum PM 02893)

Pl. 3 - Bodhisattva
(Lahore Museum)

Pl. 4 - Scene from Life of Buddha
(Swat Museum - Butkara I)

Pl. 5 - Interpretation of dream
(Peshawar Museum PM 02724 – Mardan)

Pl. 6 - Nagarajas
(Peshawar University Museum – Butkara III)

Plates



Pl. 1



Pl. 2



Pl. 3



Pl. 4



Pl. 5



Pl.6

Unraveling the jural geneology in ancient India: scattered notes¹

Shaheen-ul-Zaman

Abstract

The study of the judicial system in ancient India based on Vedic, Buddhist and Late-Vedic texts, may provide useful information on the definitions of crimes, misdemeanor and delinquency in the late Protohistory and Early Historic times. Although the ancient Indian system cannot be compared with the modern-day criminal justice system, there was a well ordained mechanism to disseminate justice to the laity. In these notes are explored some of the features, which characterized the relationship between law and crime in ancient India from Vedic times onwards.

1. Introduction

May we break open the mountain and illuminate the reality. Just as our ancient and supreme Fathers. Oh sacred Fire! Seeking the truth, following the clear insight, sustaining the chant, broke through Heaven and Earth and revealed the radiant Spirit.

Rg. Veda IV 2.15-16

India has extensive literary, legal and historical records, the largest of the ancient world, in the form of Vedic texts. On the basis of Veda we can explore the civilization of the world. At the beginning of each *kalpa* Brahma awakes. He is

¹ This is a modified and adapted version of the text presented by the Author at the seminar on “Ancient Civilizations” during his MPhil course work. It became also part of his PhD dissertation on “Islamization to Modernization of State Apparatus”, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-e-Azam University.

In this paper diacritics are intentionally omitted, and the Author is the responsible for the romanization of Indic terms and names. For the *Apastamba*, *Baudhayana*, *Gautama*, and *Vasishtha*, the Author followed the edition by M. Müller, *Sacred books of the East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, ed. 2007). For the *Acara*, *Vyavahara*, *Prayascitta*, the Author followed the translations by P.V. Kane, *Index to History of Dharmashastras* (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt Ltd., ed. 1997).

asleep at the end of the *kalpa* and the worlds are again reduced to chaos and all beings who have not attained liberation through their devotion or exemplary actions must prepare for rebirth according their *karma*. Brahma wakes up for next *kalpa*. *Kalpas* are divided into 1000 *mahayugas* (Great Ages) which are again subdivided into four ages: The *karitayuga*, *tretayuga*, *dwaparayuga* and *kaliyuga*.

Karitayuga lasts for 1,728,000 years. *Dharma* (the god of justice) walks on four legs. During this golden age people are contented and virtuous. The *tretayuga* lasting 1,296,000 years is less happy. *Dharma* walks on three legs. Most of the people are dutiful in this age but there start stifles and people become selfish by and by. In 864,000 years of *dwaparayuga* virtue and vice are balanced. *Dharma* walks on two legs for discontent, lying and quarrels are widespread, while other people still do their duties properly. *Dharma* has therefore one leg resting in the *Kaliyuga*. The god of justice is helpless in this age. During *Kaliyuga* spanning 432,000 years people are wicked, poor, and unlucky because that is what they deserve. They live in cities full of thieves and they eat voraciously. They are oppressed by the rulers, and ravaged by natural disasters, famines, and wars. The men are dominated by lecherous women. *Kaliyuga* ends only with utter destruction to make way for new *Mahayuga*.

2. Vedic Society

During the period 2000 BC-1400 BC when Vedas were composed we do not see class discrimination apart from two groups i.e. Aryans and Aborigines (*dasa*). Cast system did not exit at the time of composition ad even at the time of writing of Vedas. We have not a single passage to show that the community was cut up into hereditary castes. There is a word *varna*, meaning “colour”, used in Rig Veda (III, 34-9) to distinguish the Aryans from non-Aryans. There is no indication the separate sections in the Aryan community (III 34.9). *Khshatriya* denoted strong, and it was used mainly for gods. *Brahman* was used in hundred places for composer for hymns. The same is admitted by a *Rishi* in IX 112.3. It reads: “Behold, I am a composer of hymns; my father is a physician, and my mother grinds corn on stone. We are all engaged in different occupations. As cows wander in pasture fields (in different directions for food) so are we in various occupations”.

Every father of the family was his own priest and his house was a temple. There is neither mention of idols in Rig Veda nor of temples (I 131.3, V 43.15). As it is mentioned earlier that the *rishis* composed hymns, fought wars, ploughed fields but were not either of *brahmans*, *khshatriyas* and *vaisyas*. During the *Karitayuga* there were not castes and subsequently *Brahma* established division among men according to their work (*Vayu Purana*). A later hymn of RgVeda, the

Purushasukta describes that when gods divided the primeval giant *Purusha* into the social being (*brahma* was in his mouth, the *rajayana* was in his arms, the *vaisya* was in his thighs; the *sudra* sprang up from his feet), as it was a form to control and maintain the social order. Those of them who were suited for command and were prone to deeds of violence, were appointed to be *khshatriyas*, from their protecting others, those disinterested men who attend upon them, spoke truth, and declared *Vedas* alright, were the *brahmans*. Those of them who were formerly feeble, engaged in the work of husbandmen, tiller of the earth, were the *vaisyas*, cultivators and providers of subsistence. Those who were cleaners and ran after services and had little vigour were called *sudras*. *Brahmana* were to study, attend sacrifices and receive chairity and gifts. Duties of *khshatriyas* were to protect all creatures, rule righteously, support *brahmans*, support non-*brahmans* in distress, and prepare for war, levy taxes, firm stand till death in the battle and support ascetics / public servants. *Vaisyas* were supposed to rear cattle, perform trade, and cultivate land. Functions of *sudras* in the class ridden post-Vedic society were to practice truthfulness and humility, performance of funeral rites, supporting family, menial services on wages, self-restraint, etc. (Sen 1992).

3. Law and Religion

Sanskrit word *dharma* (Pali: *dhamma*) is translated as religion or law. The latter is accepted by the legal historians. Root of *dharma* is *dhari*, which means to hold. *Dharma* holds men together in a society. The object of law (*dharma*) is maintenance of peace and dissemination of justice according to *manava* code. The *dharma* taken as religious law leads to the everlasting truth. Vedic conception of law is of truth: “by the law they came to truth”. Law and truth were regarded as two sides of one reality. *Atharvaveda* declares law is above the gods “the home and life of gods”. *Dharma* is created to put a stop to the harm done by the harmful natured men. It sounds like modern concept of imperative law. As the concept of right and wrong is the very essence of law the same was the core of customary law of Vedic Age. Justice was based on the philosophy of public and national good. Girls were free to choose their husbands in early Vedic society.

According to Bhatia (1992) the *Manu Smriti* (“Institutes of Manu”), the legal text of the *Dharmashastra*, is the oldest law compendium of ancient India. He writes that the divine sages approached Manu when he was in contemplation of the supreme god. They requested him to tell them about the sacred (*sruti*) laws. Manu opens the secret that Brahma after making all the creatures and him enacted the code of law: “He having enacted this code himself, taught it fully to me in the beginning; afterwards I taught it to Marichin and he to the holy sages [...] Bhirgu (one of the ten sages) will repeat the divine code to you without

intermission; for that sage learned from me to recite the whole of it” (Sen 1992). Agreement of men and religion were twin roots of law for early Aryans. There were two councils (*Samiti* and *Sabha*, see below) having the authority to declare laws in Vedic period. We see the state itself as the child of law. The *prohitas* were law makers (parliamentarians) and judiciary had authority and prestige.

The puranic concept of justice declares that *dharma* should deal people according to their nature: punishment and its quantum must be determined keeping in view the offender. This realistic approach to law informs that the laws must address wrongs. By that time society had also developed with diverse and varying needs. Their interests could only be guarded with the help of different laws. At this stage of legal development, a law student cannot ignore the marked difference between Common law and *dharma*. The king punished the according to the common law normally but he also punished the sinners under *dharma* law. In the Brahmanical period law was not distinguished from the rules of the religion. There were four legs of law in the *Arthashastra*: *dharma*, evidence, history and edicts of the king. Violation of *dharma* was considered as destruction of the justice. In *Smriti* literature law was regarded all powerful and above the king which means rule of law in modern sense.

4. Sources of the Law

Dharmasutras belonging to Vedic schools are the oldest books on law. These are not mere compendiums of law but have much broader connotations. The same cover religion, duties, customs, good conduct and all that comes within right. These are instructions to do right and perform religious duties. These are not for practical application in the courts. Though the justice remained subject of these *sutras* but as a part of the scheme. *Apastamba Dharmasutras* address the very subject in only one i.e. seventeenth part of the whole work. These date from 800 to 300 BC. Sir William Jones attributed the Code of Manu or *Manu Smriti* to 13th century BC, and A.W.V Schelgel to not later than 1000 BC (Bhatia 1992). *Dharmasutras* of *Gautama* belong to *Samaveda* School, *Vasishthas* belong to North Indian School of the *RgVeda*, *Baudhayana* represented South Indian School of Black *Yajurveda* and *Apastamba* bases on Black *Yajurveda*. These legal authorities are assigned to the period 600-300 BC. *Dharmasutras* were later versified into *Dharmashastras* which must have been written about 200 BC to 200 AD. There are numerous *Dharmashastras* and *Smritis* which are from later period. These are in fragments and mostly quote and borrow from the old works. Most of these points are in agreement with the opinions of those writers but there are considerable differences at some points e.g. there are eight kinds of marriages in *Gautama* but six are given in *Baudhayana* and larger share in inheritance is allowed in *Baudhayana* and it is not sanctioned in *Apastamba* etc. Traditionally,

Dharmashastras are divided into three major topics i.e. *Acara*, *Vyavahara* and *Prayascitta*.

5. Legislation

Though the law remains the sole province of the king since The Vedic period of civilization, this royal prerogative was shared by the monarch with local administration in most of the cases. King's authority to legislate was somewhat curbed by two assemblies called *Sabha* and *Samiti*. *Sabha* consisted of a selected body of men perhaps specialists in different fields. *Samiti* was a comprehensive house including common people, learned Brahmans and rich businessmen. The later presided over by the king mainly dealt with political business. Exchange of opinions was remarkable; the common ideal sought was to secure concord not only between the king and assembly but among the members as well. Different communities and groups were authorized to legislate for themselves. Local laws were peculiar to the region and its needs. Laws were also made by castes, clans, guilds and industrial corporations under the king's authority (Sen 1992).

6. Administration of Justice

The king also performed duties of a judge. He was a court of final appeal in civil matters while in criminal justice he exercised a wide jurisdiction. Theft, burglary, robbery, cheating, gambling and cattle lifting were the principal crimes. The usual form of punishment was to tie the criminal to a stake. The system of monetary compensation to the relatives of deceased was probably in vogue. The price of blood of one person was one hundred coins or cows (Bhatia 1992).

The *Gautama* declares that "Administration of justice shall be regulated by the Vedas, the *Dharmasutras*, the *Vedangas*, the *Puranas*, and the *Upavedas* ["applied knowledge"]." *Dharmasutras* normally deal with the law with special emphasis on taxation aiming at to support business of the state and the king. The king could take a prescribed share out of produce and other holdings depending on needs of the state at some point of time. Later law books are those of *Manu*, *Yajnavalkya* and *Narada* in verse form, and the *Vishnu* in prose. The most authoritative, eloquent and elaborate out of these is *Manu Smriti*. It gives us an account of four regions of Aryan culture, their customs, social set up and legal administration thereof. Period of its compilation falls between 200 BC and 200 AD. The *Yajnavalkya* (c. 100 BC to c. 300 AD) is more systematic and concise. It introduces subjects of medical and anatomy. *Vishnu Smriti* is based on *Manu* and is larger than it. The abhorrent custom of *sati* is given in it, and it gives us information about yellow robed ascetics (probably Buddhist) and *sudra* ascetics. *Narada Smriti* introduces several new subjects i.e. it lays rules for apprenticeship

and partnership. Desertion from a good master was subject to confinement and corporal punishment. It gives us basic rules of industrial business in ancient India and paves way for other exquisite qualities. Industry was carried on partnership. It is more elaborately discussed in this work than *Manu*. Eighteen titles of law we see in *Narada* with 132 subordinate divisions of cases. *Bhraspati Smriti* starts from the *dicta* of Manu; it supplements and extends them. It deals with legal documents and shows more advanced stage of development. There are numerous other *Dharmashastras* which are in fragments only and are mainly commentaries to these earlier works. They do not deal with the whole of Dharma. Comparatively old is the *Parasara Smriti* of fourteenth century. Important law books are *Dharma Nibandhas* which are systematic and extensive works on treatises on *Dharma*. Several other books represent later authorities on law. These institutes have given us criminal and civil laws at a great length. They also provide us some insight into the mode of administration of justice. There was a court commonly called “Court of Brahma” with a chief judge and three assessors. Chief Judge was to be appointed out of *brahmans* (and never from the *sudras*!). Trial tools were placed in an open court. Witnesses were examined in the presence of parties.

Arthasashtra a famous work by Kautilya, the minister of Chandragupta Maurya was written about 300 BC. Two books of this work deal with secular matters. It is divorced from all sorts of religious and sacred elements. *Dharmasthia* deals mainly with civil matters whereas *kanatakaso dharam* deals with criminal offences primarily. Basing on this bifurcation of laws we can assume separate courts dealing civil and criminal matters under the Mauryas.

7. Classification of Substantive Laws

In ancient texts substantive law is subdivided into a number of topics. Exact number varies slightly (from 18 to 22). Division is in most the authorities is limited to 18 classes according to *Dharmashastras*. The classes are:

1. Nonpayment of debts or recovery of debts (recovery through court)
2. Law of Deposits (deposits in king’s treasury)
3. Sale by a person who is not owner of the thing sold (unauthorized sale deed)
4. Resumption of gift (occupying or taking back)
5. Resumption of gift Sale (occupying or taking back)
6. Nonpayment of wages (to workers and matters of default)
7. Breach of contract (individual as well collective)
8. Rescission of sale and purchase (annulment or suspension or rescinding)

9. Disputes concerning the owner and the guardian of cattle (ownership and shares on feeding etc)
10. Boundary disputes (demarcation of dimensions of land)
11. Insult (verbal abuse)
12. Assault
13. Theft
14. Sahasa
15. Adultery
16. Duties of husband of wife (maintenance of wife and children among others)
17. Partition and inheritance (distribution of inherited property)
18. Gambling and betting (games of chance and to stake money or cattle or other things on anticipated happenings)

The same division is in Kautilya's *Arthashastra*.

8. Judicial System

Although minute details are noted about the administration justice in above mentioned law books, they do not however, present a clear picture of a working criminal court. There were some rules of business of the court i.e. procedure, law enforcement and recording of evidence in ancient India which are briefly discussed in these lines. There was a king's court which was the highest court of appeal. Apart from king's court there were several courts of subordinate jurisdiction. These *Sahbas* (assemblies) are divided into four kinds namely: temporary, permanent, confirmed and constitutional. The first deals with all assemblies occasionally convened for deciding cases referred to them, the second included all the established villages / town courts, the third constituted and convened by the chief judge and in the last the presence of the king in person made the court. In the *Smriti Chandrika* fifteen kinds of *Sahbas* or assemblies or court are given. They are the following: an assembly of foresters, a guild of merchants, a council of soldiers, mediators chosen by the parties, an assembly composed of villagers, strangers and military men, a village court, a town or city court, and assembly composed of all the four classes indiscriminately, an assembly of working classes, council of learned persons in all the four strata, an assembly of irreligious men, meeting of same family members, meeting of relatives of plaintiff and defendant, a court held by deputy or chief judge with assessors and the king's court. The first three courts are called unsettled and last two are permanent. An appeal was filed from inferior to superior courts.

9. Buddhist Era and concept of *Dhamma*

Bhandarkar (in Dutt 2001) compares Ashoka with Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon. It seems an exaggeration at first when he places him at the head of world's reformers. He substantiates his stance that Ashoka and *Buddhism* are synonyms.

Ashoka ruled from 273 BC to 232 BC. He converted to *Buddhism* in ninth year of his reign. According to Dutt (2001) period between 320 BC and 500 AD is Buddhist epoch. King Ashoka was a devout Buddhist. He thought *Dhamma* (religion or law) a panacea to all social ills. He is well known in history for his ideal brotherhood for all living beings. He maintained "there is no higher duty than welfare". Welfare to him was universal extended to all living things of the whole world. Officers of his state would say according to Rock Edict IV "The king (Ashoka) is unto us as even a father; he loves us as he even loves himself; we are to king as even his children". His visionary Rock Edicts are embodiments of law, religion and morality. *Dhamma* was his own creation being practical and moral. He wanted to transmute Buddhism from purely religious philosophy into a great social and intellectual force. To Ashoka propagation of *Dhamma* and observance of its orders in true letter and spirit throughout the Empire was the cure to all social evils. He devised concept of *Dhamma* as way of life based on harmonious blending of social ethics, moral virtues and civic responsibility.

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