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Cover Photo:
Late Harappan pot filled with beads, Harappa
(Photo by Jonathan Mark Kenoyer)

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Eye Beads from the Indus Tradition: Technology, Style and Chronology

Jonathan Mark Kenoyer

Abstract
The "eye-bead" is a distinctive form of bead or pendant that has circular or concentric circular patterns that can be interpreted as representing one or more eyes. This article investigates the origin and development of eye beads in the Indus Tradition of northwestern South Asia. Although the origins of the eye-bead may date to around 7000 BC at sites such as Mehrgarh, the development of numerous different types of eye beads is clearly associated with the urban period of the Indus Civilization. The function of the eye bead cannot be determined from the archaeological record, but ethnohistorical evidence suggests that it was used to protect the wearer from the "evil eye" or malevolent thoughts. The link between the rise of the eye bead and Indus urbanism and the continuity of eye bead used in later periods is an important issue that needs more investigation.

Introduction
The term "eye-bead" is a very general label that can be applied to any bead or pendant that has circular or concentric circular patterns that can be interpreted as representing one or more eyes. Oval or lenticular patterns are also included in this general pattern, but the circular forms are the most commonly represented in ancient eye beads. Various types of eye-beads and pendants, as well as finger rings with eye motifs are used in many parts of the world as protective ornaments to ward off evil spirits or evil thoughts that might be directed at the wearer. This use is well documented historically (Beck 1928; Dubin 1987; Elsworthy 2004) and we can assume that this practice has its origins in the prehistoric period when the first eye-beads were being produced.

The discovery of beads with distinctive eye patterns is well known from the early excavations at the sites of Mohenjo-daro (Marshall 1931) and Harappa (Vats 1940), Pakistan, but a comprehensive study of their production and use as well as their

chronology has never been undertaken. The excavations at the site of Harappa conducted by the Harappa Archaeological Research Project (Dales and Kenoyer 1991; Meadow and Kenoyer 2005) have resulted in the recovery of a large assemblage of well documented beads that are being studied to understand the overall chronology and contexts for the use of different types of beads (Kenoyer 2005). This paper will provide a preliminary discussion of the eye beads found at Harappa and some other sites, as well as the variation in production and style over time. Very few eye beads have been found in primary contexts at Harappa where their function can be determined, but the use of these beads can be determined on the basis of depictions on sculptures, such as the so-called "Priest-King" from Mohenjo-daro, as well as contemporaneous civilizations. Additional information can be obtained from the use of eye beads in later periods and ethnographic examples.

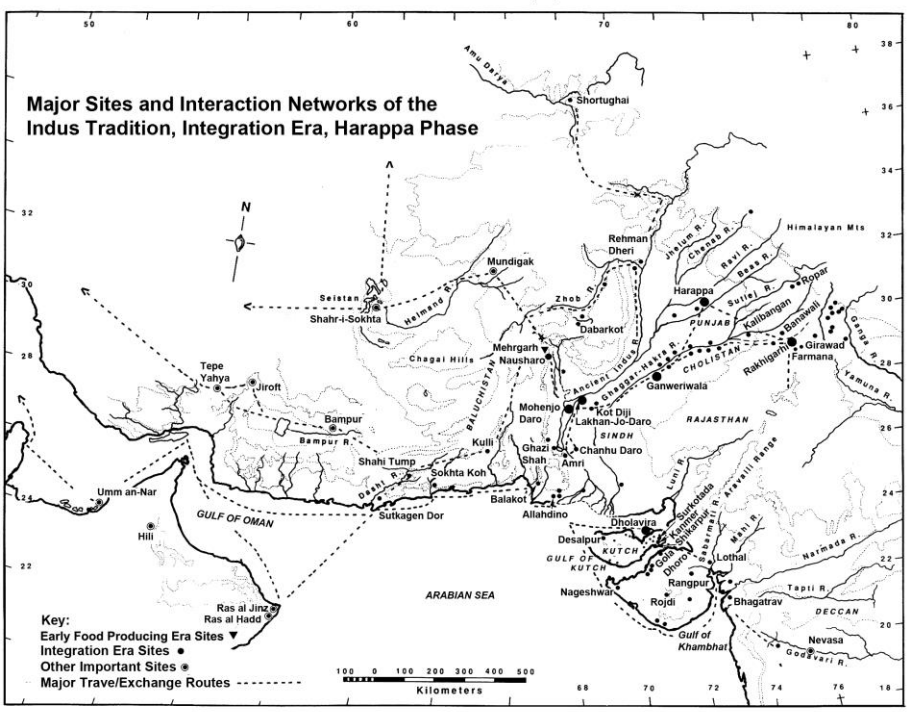

Figure 1: Major Sites of the Indus Tradition

Table 1: Chronological Framework of the Indus Tradition

Foraging Era	10,000 to 2000 BCE	Mesolithic and Microlithic
Early Food Producing Era	7000 to 5500 BCE	Mehrgarh Phase
Regionalization Era	5500 to 2600 BCE	Early Harappan Phases Ravi, Hakra, Sheri Khan Tarakai, Balakot, Amri, Kot Diji, Sothi, etc.
Integration Era	Harappan Phase	2600 to 1900 BCE
Localization Era	Late Harappan Phases	1900 to 1300 BCE Punjab, Jhukar, Rangpur, etc.

Chronology

In order to better document the creation, use and changes in eye-bead styles over time, it is important to clearly define the major chronological periods of the Indus Tradition of the northwestern subcontinent. The Indus Tradition represents the long trajectory of cultural development that includes the early settling down of hunter-gatherer communities and the eventual development of agriculture, animal husbandry and specialized craft technologies (Kenoyer 1991; Kenoyer 2008). The Indus Tradition is divided into five major Eras representing distinct subsistence practices, socio-economic and political-ideological developments (Table 1). Each Era is subdivided into Phases that are defined by pottery styles and also distinctive artifact styles. The regions encompassed by such diagnostic artifacts can be a small region or valley, or larger areas that encompass many regions. This framework provides an optimal tool for making broad regional comparisons without the confusion of individual site sequences and internal chronologies.

Early Bead Making and "Eye Beads"

Although no clear examples of eye beads have been reported from Upper Palaeolithic sites, the origins of the technologies used to make beads of shell and stone can be traced to the Upper Palaeolithic period of South Asia, some 10,000 to 30,000 years ago (Kenoyer 1992). Circular depressions in rocks that are situated in prominent locations on the landscape have been interpreted as eye motifs in the Swat Valley, but since there is no way to date their production or use, it is difficult to determine when they may have been made (Olivieri 2011). The use of

circle motifs and eye-like designs have been documented from rock art in areas along the Indus (Jettmar 1991; Dani 1995), as well as in peninsular India (Wakankar 1987), but it is not possible to assign specific meaning to such abstract motifs due to the lack of cultural context for interpretation (Haarmann 2005). It is possible that some of these motifs may reflect concepts of eye motifs, but this needs to be demonstrated with future studies.

There is no direct link between the Upper Palaeolithic cultures of the northwestern subcontinent and the later Indus Tradition, however, there is a possible connection between foraging communities of the Mesolithic or Microlithic (Misra 2002) period and later Indus cultures. These traditions are associated with the Foraging Era (Table 1) and were the communities that developed specific adaptations and technologies that contributed to the later developments related to the Indus Tradition. These communities were collecting raw materials and developing specific technologies such as stone working and fiber processing that would have been key to the later techniques associated with bead and ornament production.

The widespread development of bead manufacturing technology using soft stones and marine shell begins around 7000-5500 BC during the Early Food Producing Era of the Indus Tradition. This period is commonly referred to as the Neolithic, and represents a time when people began settling down and developing new subsistence strategies associated with domestic plants and animals and specialized craft technologies (Shaffer 1992). The most important excavated site associated with this Era is the site of Mehrgarh, Balochistan (Jarrige and Meadow 1980; Jarrige et al. 1995).

Beads of many different materials have been found in burials and in domestic areas at the site of Mehrgarh during the pre-ceramic and early ceramic phases (Mehrgarh Period 1 and 2). Various types of marine shell and soft stone, particularly steatite, were made into beads using chipping, grinding and drilling techniques that set the foundation for later developments using harder varieties of stone. During this early period no examples of eye beads have been reported from the site, but there are shell beads made from the apex of the Conus shell that have distinctive patterns which may have been used as a form of eye bead. These beads were probably made in some other settlement nearer

the coast of Balochistan and brought to the site in finished form (Kenoyer 1995). They were made by breaking off the body of the shell and leaving only the apex that was shaped into a rhomboid or diamond shape with the hole running laterally through the bead (Figure 2 and 3).

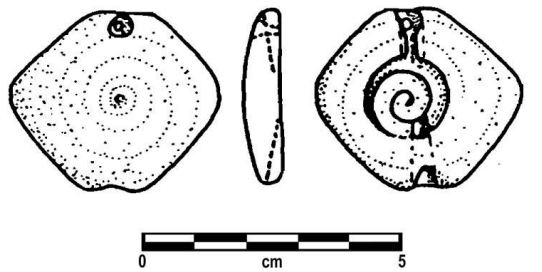

Figure 2: Conus Shell Beads from period 1, Mehrgarh

Figure 3: Indo-Pacific Conus shells with natural designs and replicas of ancient beads showing what they may have looked like originally

After being buried in the site for thousands of years the natural colors have disappeared, but it is possible to reconstruct what they would have looked like by studying modern Conus shells similar to those found along the Makran coast (Figure 3). The spiraling layers of the shell form a concentric circular pattern and the natural colored patterns of the shell may have contributed to an "eye" pattern.

During the subsequent Regionalization Era (5500-2800 BC) many different regional cultures emerged throughout Balochistan, the Indus Valley and adjacent regions. This is the time when we also see the emergence of Early Harappan communities who set the foundation for the later Harappan urban phase (Mughal 1990). Different regions have specific pottery and artifact traditions that include the development of new technologies of production. There are new techniques of drilling with hard stone drills (Kenoyer and Vidale 1992) and new ways of processing raw materials, such as the firing of steatite at high temperatures (>1000° C) to harden it and make it into a more durable material (Vidale 1995), and the manufacture of artificial materials such as glazed faience (Barthélemy de Saizieu and Bouquillon 1997; Barthélemy de Saizieu and Rodière 2005; Kenoyer 2008).

The earliest beads with circular patterns that could be interpreted as eye beads are found in the Kot Dijian phase at sites in the Indus valley, dating to between 2800-1900 BC (Table 1). Two different types of ornaments with circle and dot designs are found during the Kot Dijian Phase at the site of Harappa as well as some other sites in the Indus region. The first example is a carved steatite bead or button seal with circular motif (Figure 4a). This bead reveals an important new technological development in that the motifs were carved onto the soft surface of the bead and then subsequently fired and glazed to harden and color the surface. A thin silica glaze that may have been light blue or blue-green was found on the surface of the bead. The glaze is now eroded away, leaving only the pattern of circles that may reflect an eye motif. Two holes were drilled from the side of the ornament and it is assumed that the patterned surface would be visible when worn as part of a bracelet, necklace or headband.

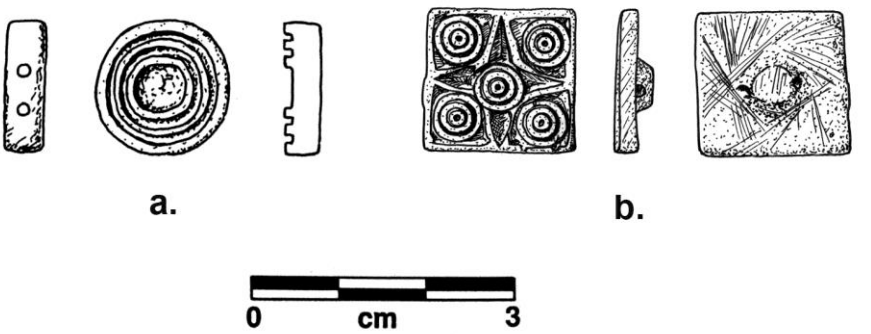

Figure 4: Kot Diji Period button seals, Harappa, Period 2, 2800-1900 BC.

Another variety of button seal with multiple circle and dot motifs could represent another variation on the eye motif (Figure 4b), though some scholars might interpret the circle and dot as a stellar or solar motif (Parpola 1994). This type of button seal was also carved from soft steatite and then glazed with a blue-green glaze that has eroded away, leaving a white rough surface. The example from Harappa has four circles and dots around a central circle and dot, with a four-pointed star pattern separating the five circles. Similar glazed steatite button seals with various patterns and combinations of circle and dot motifs have been reported from the sites of Rehman Dheri, Pakistan (Durrani et al. 1995), as well as Kunal, Haryana, India (Khatri and Acharya 1995; Khatri and Acharya 2005). This widespread distribution suggests that the tradition of making these seals and these designs is associated with the Kot Dijian Phase that represents the incipient urbanism prior to the development of the Harappan period. The fact that these motifs were made on button seals, which are generally associated with elite communities, suggests that the motifs reflect an important ideology that was becoming widespread during this time period. The use of circle and dot motifs continues on some button seals in the subsequent Harappan Period (e.g. H 1700, H1994, H 1537) (Parpola et al. 2010) but not with the same types of designs as seen during the Kot Dijian period.

Although the use of patterned beads is not well represented archaeologically during the Early Food Producing and Regionalization Eras, it is important to note that natural patterns in shell and carved patterns on steatite were being selected for ornamentation and that they may have set the foundation for the later development of eye motifs.

Integration Era

During the Integration Era, there is only one Harappa Phase that represents the convergence of many regional cultural styles into an overarching urban phenomenon. The Harappa Phase or Period III at the site of Harappa can be subdivided into three periods (IIIA, IIIB, IIIC) that represent specific stages of urban development (Meadow and Kenoyer 2005). Similar stages can be identified at the site of Dholavira (Bisht 1997; Bisht 2000) and suggest that the Integration Era was a period of dynamic development and change, rather than a period of urban stagnation and uniformity.

At the larger cities, as well as smaller sites, there is a significant increase in the variety of raw materials used for making beads, which is possible because of the discovery of harder stones that could be used to manufacture drills. The use of constricted Ernestite drills (Kenoyer and Vidale 1992; Kenoyer 2005; Prabhakar et al. 2012) for perforating raw materials such as patterned jasper and agates made it possible for Indus bead makers to select and grind natural stones to create new patterns of ornaments. Raw materials with multiple bands were chipped, cut and ground to create vertical and horizontal bands as well as circular eye designs. One of the most unique types of bead found at Harappa was in a burial of an adult male who was wearing a necklace of steatite disc beads, and three stone beads of banded agate, turquoise and orbicular jasper, along with thee small gold beads (Figure 5). The orbicular jasper bead was shaped to accentuate the circular patterns of the jasper in order to create a bead with multiple eye motifs. The eye designs on natural stones are the most difficult to create due to the rarity of specific banding patterns in the raw material. This multiple eye pattern may have had special meaning as it was sometimes copied in painted steatite beads (Figure 6e) and sometimes carved and inlaid steatite beads.

Figure 5: Jasper eye bead from Harappan burial, Harappa Period, Harappa

Because of the fact that natural stones with suitable patterning were quite rare, Indus bead makers developed new ways to create eye designs. One technique involved the use of an alkali paint on red carnelian to bleach the stone (Beck 1933) (Figure 6a, b, c). This

technique was originally referred to as etching and this term is still commonly used in the literature, though the term bleaching is more appropriate, since the beads are not actually etched, but only painted with a paint that creates a white color where there was once a red color. The technique for bleaching carnelian is thought to originate in the greater Indus region, which includes Balochistan and Afghanistan. It first becomes common during the Harappan period and beads with one eye (Figure 6a), two eyes (Figure 6b) or three eyes (Figure 6c) motifs are common at many Indus sites. The trade of these bleached carnelian eye beads extends beyond the Indus to regions to the west, including the Persian/Arabian Gulf, Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Turkey, and even as far as Greece (Aruz 2003). These beads also were traded to Central Asia and into the Xinjiang region of western China (Ming 1974). Another technique was to paint white steatite with red slip to create eye designs in a reverse of the application of white as seen above with the bleached carnelian beads (Kenoyer 2007) (Figure 6d, e).

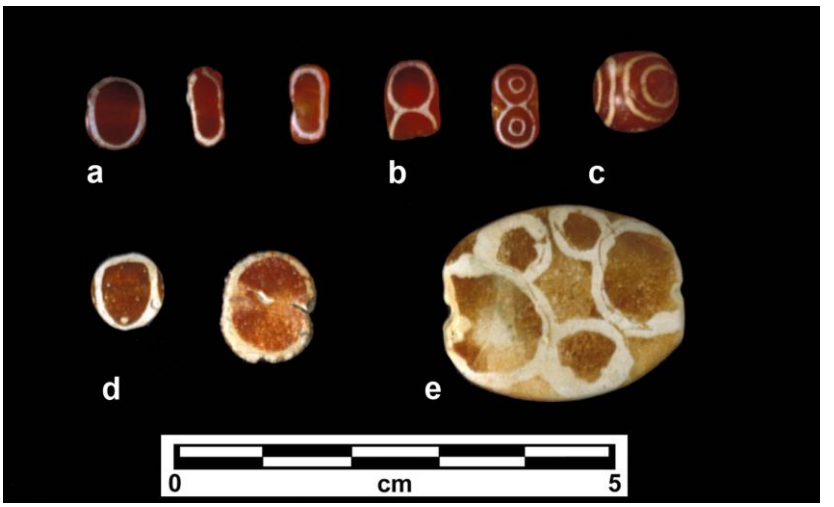

Figure 6: Bleached carnelian and painted steatite eye beads, Harappa Period, Harappa.

One of the most complex techniques used to make eye beads involved the use of red and white glazed faience (Kenoyer 2005) (Figure 7a, b). It is extremely difficult to make faience that is pure

white and also a deep red-brown color and more difficult to make both glaze at the same temperature. This technique was perfected by Indus faience producers using what has been determined to be a form of iron to make the red-brown color and calcium, possibly from ground bone to make the white color (Kenoyer 1994).

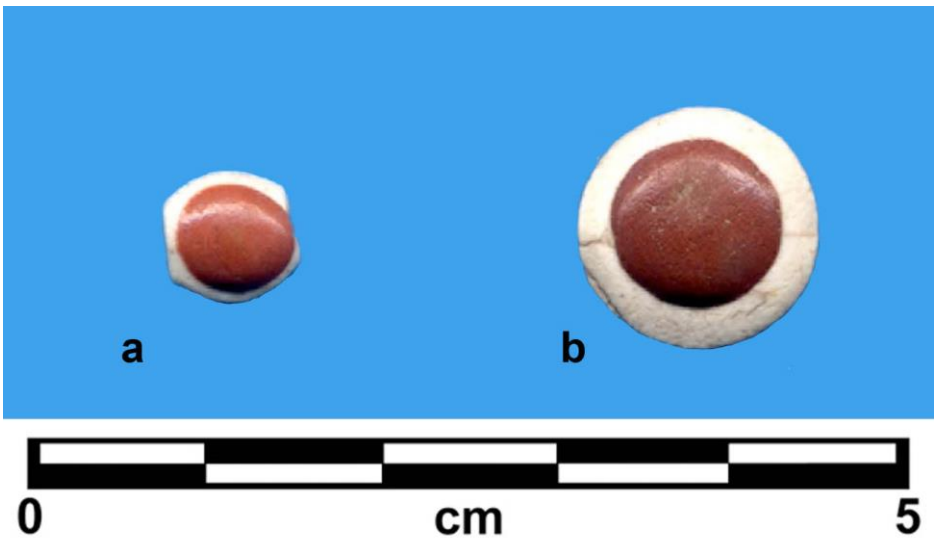

Figure 7: Faience eye beads, Harappa Period, Harappa

Composite eye beads were usually made by making inlays using red or reddish brown on a base of steatite and are reported from both Mohenjo-daro (Marshall 1931) and Harappa (Vats 1940). One rare example of different type of eye bead was found in excavations at Harappa, made from both gold and white steatite inlay. This ornament has a hole through the side and may have been worn on a headband or armband as is seen on the famous "Priest-King" sculpture from Mohenjo-daro (Figure 8).

Figure 8: Gold bead with steatite inlay, Harappa Period, Harappa.

The dramatic increase in methods to create eye designs during the Integration Era cannot be explained simply as a growth in technical expertise. There must have been a major demand from consumers for the production of eye beads and this assumes that there was a very specific belief that these beads had some important quality that was good for the person who wore them. We cannot know for sure what this property was, but based on later uses, we can assume that it was a form of protective amulet to ward off evil. The fact that this need emerges with the rise of urbanism is something that needs further research, but it does suggest that the development of urban society, with many different communities and also probably people with different belief systems, brought with it many uncertainties and perceived threats. The use of eye beads may have been one response to provide a generic protection to the wearer against any and all evil influence in these new urban settings.

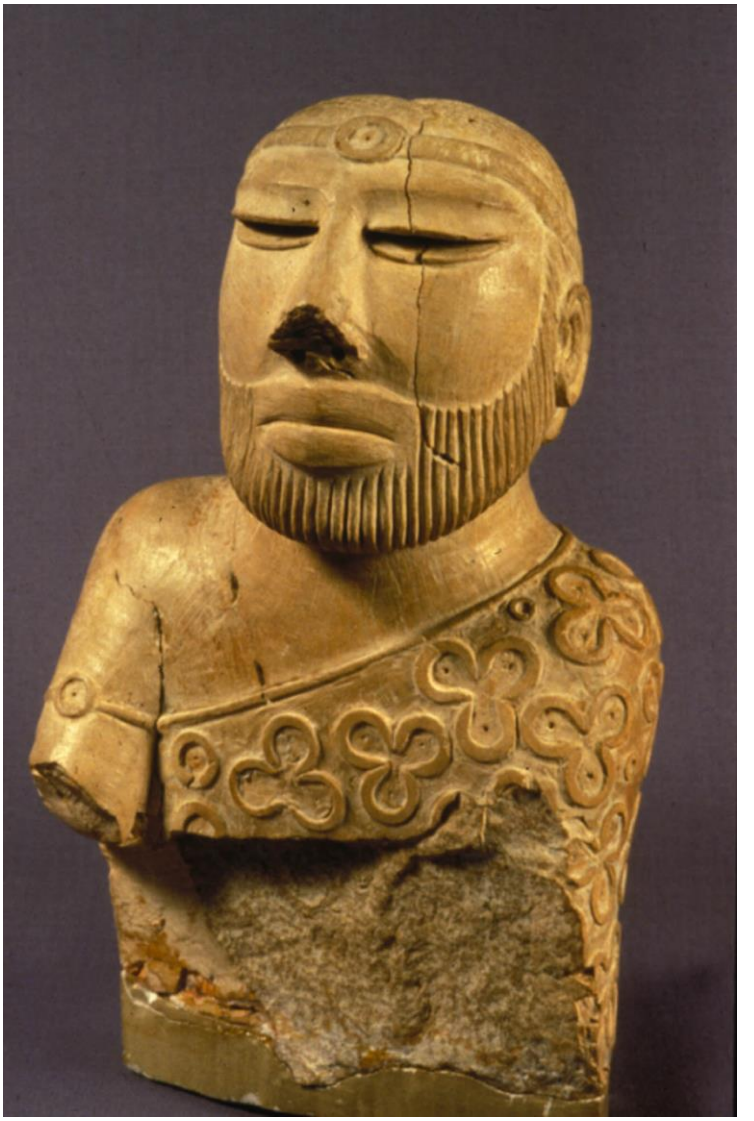

Figure 9: Steatite sculpture with eye bead ornaments, Mohenjo-daro. (courtesy National Museum, Karachi and Department of Archaeology and Museums, Govt. of Pakistan.)

Localization Era

During the Localization Era, or Late Harappan Period (1900-1300 BC) the gradual decline of urban integration resulted in the breakdown of long distance trade and the reorganization of socio-economic and political-ideological systems. The disappearance of the Indus script, along with many diagnostic styles of Indus artifacts suggests that there was a major reorganization of ideology and political structures. However, many technologies of the earlier period continued to flourish, particularly the manufacture and artificial coloring of stone beads and the production of multicolored glazed faience beads. During the Late Harappan Period the use of eye beads did not decline but appears to have become more diverse.

One important discovery at Harappa was a small pot filled with beads that can be securely dated between 1900-1700 BC. This small pot of beads had 133 beads, pendants and other objects, including important varieties of colored faience and stone eye beads that belong to the Late Harappan Period (Figure 10).

Figure 10: Late Harappan pot filled with beads, Late Harappan, Harappa.

One new type of stone bead is black and white banded agate that was not commonly used during the Harappan period, and may be derived from a source to the east in the Ganga-Vindhya regions (Kenoyer 1998). This raw material with its distinctive banding was used to create single (Figure 10 and 11a, b) and double eye beads (Figure 10 and 11c) with white lines and black background. The Harappan bead makers had already experimented with black and white banded rocks to make zone beads and they also copied this pattern in faience using black and white faience as well as brown and white faience. However they did not use these patterns to make eye beads. This distinctive pattern of black and white eye bead design can be seen as a direct contrast to the red and white eye beads of the Harappan period and could indicate a new set of beliefs or new ideologies that were emerging during the Late Harappan period.

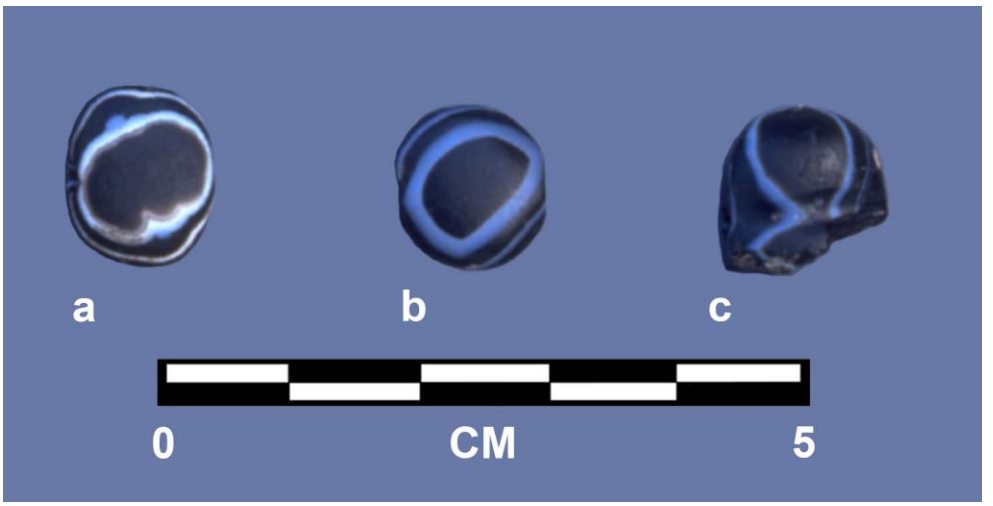

Figure 11: Black and white agate eye beads, Late Harappan, Harappa.

Advances in faience technology during the Late Harappan resulted in new colors, such as deep lapis blue as well as purple colors (Kenoyer 2005). The beads made with these colors include beads with white circles or eyes on purple background. Numerous faience beads with various types of eye designs have also been reported from the site of Sanauli, near modern Delhi, India (Sharma et al. 2004). The types of

bead designs that were made at Sanauli using faience included multiple eye beads and layered eye patterns that had never been used during the Harappan period. These innovations in stone and faience technology during the Late Harappan period began a new trajectory in eye bead design that continued on into the Early Historic period, circa 600BC to 300 AD. During the Early Historic period eye beads were made using a number of new technologies, including the use of artificial black and white designs as well as with multiple colors of glass (Kenoyer 2007). A more detailed discussion of the Early Historical continuities will be presented in a future article.

Summary and Conclusion

Based on the study of published reports from sites throughout the Indus region it appears that the use of shell beads with concentric circular patterns that could be interpreted as eyes begins around 7000 BC at sites such as Mehrgarh. Later, during the Regionalization Era or Early Harappan Period, new forms of eye designs were created using natural stones and also carved steatite beads and button seals. The use of eye motifs became more widespread during the urban period and continued to become more elaborate during the late Harappan and Early Historic periods.

The development and changing styles of eye beads during this long trajectory can be interpreted in many different ways. If eye beads were used in the past as they are today, as protective amulets against the "evil eye" or malevolent thoughts, then their connection with Indus urbanism needs to be more closely examined. Most people think of urbanism and the rise of cities as a positive development and a form of advancement in human culture. It is possible however, that the presence of larger and diverse populations in the cities may have resulted in superstitions regarding the "evil eye" or "nazar". This may have prompted the development of protective ornaments such as the eye bead. Even after the end of the major urban Indus period, the need for such ornaments does not seem to have declined. On the contrary, the production and use of eye beads increased. Based on archaeological surveys along the Indus and the now dry Ghaggar-Hakra-Saraswati River Valleys (Mughal 1982; Mughal 1990; Shinde et al. 2008; Kumar 2009; Dangi 2010), there is clear evidence for the continuity of Late

Harappan urban centers and a vibrant local culture (Kenoyer 2005; Kenoyer 2006). The new evidence from the beads suggests that there was a continued need for protective amulets such as eye beads and provides further support for the idea that there were large and diverse populations during this time period. Instead of a decline and collapse, the Late Harappan Period represents a gradual transformation that sets the foundation for later social and political developments during the Early Historic Period (Kenoyer 2005; Kenoyer 2006).

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My work on beads results from my long research at the sites of Balakot, Mohenjo-daro, Harappa, and many other sites in both Pakistan and India. I want to specifically thank the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Pakistan, the Archaeological Survey of India and all my colleagues in Pakistan and India for their continued collegial support and interactions. I also want to thank all the members of the Harappa Archaeological Research Project, with special acknowledgement to the founding director, the late Dr. George F. Dales, and subsequent co-director, Dr. Richard H. Meadow, and Dr. Rita P. Wright, Assistant Director, for their collaboration on this important research project. Support for my research on the Indus civilization has come from a number of different U.S. institutions, including the Fulbright Foundation, National Science Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, Smithsonian Institution, Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology of Harvard University, the University of Wisconsin, www.Harappa.com, and donations from private individuals.

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-2-

An Analytical Study of the Balo-Kale Gumbat Vihāra Kandak Valley (Swat): its nomenclature and style of Architecture

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Abstract

An attempt has been made in the present work to re-consider the terminology "vihāra" in the light of the recently discovered inscription unearthed at a Buddhist shrine, mentioning the term vihāra. Furthermore this paper also highlights the origin and stylistic development of vihāra in the light of different evidences, which can be observed in the sculptural art and as well as, in the structural form still existing in the Buddhist monuments of the subcontinent. Besides, in the present study an attempt has been made to analyse the various architectural components of Balo-Kale Gumbat vihāra in order to reach the roots of its genesis. Similarly in the light of previous researches, as well as, on the basis of comparative analysis, an attempt shall be made to formulate a time frame for the Balo-Kale Gumbat vihāra. The conclusions were drawn and recommendations were provided for future reference.

Introduction

The idea of "*vihāra*", as a worshipping place started during the life time of Buddha and was constructed at the different Buddhist localities in India. In this regard, the *vihāra* erected at *Jetavana* garden was of paramount importance in Buddhism. Later on, the Buddhist donors erected thousands of *vihāra* in the Indian sub-continent for the propagation of Buddhism. During the life time of Buddha two types of Buddhist establishments were constructed such as, **a.** *vihāra* and **b.** *Saṅghārāma*. The former were erected for meditation purposes; however, later on venerated issues were also kept inside the vihara for the sake of worship; on other hand, the latter were built for living purpose of the monks.. The concept of *stūpa* as a worshipping entity

was adopted by the followers after the demise of Buddha. Thus, it appears that later on, *stūpa* became the third important component of the Buddhist establishments alongside the *vihāra* and *Saṅghārāma*. These were not only practiced in the Indian territories, but were also adopted very successfully by the patrons of the *Gandhāra* Valley.

No doubt, the idea of *vihāra* cult has been derived from Indian traditions; however, this style reached to perfection in the *Gandhāra* Valley; whereas, the relic shrine of Balo-Kale Gumbat in the Swat Valley seems to be a landmark in the *vihāra* of the Indian subcontinent. Thus, with the passage of time here in the *Gandhāra* Valley, *vihāras* were constructed alongside the *stūpa* in order to accomplish the worshipping activities.

In the present work focus shall be made to highlight the importance of *vihāra*, which is indeed an ignored aspect of the Buddhist architecture of *Gandhāra*. Though several attempts have been made regarding the significance of the sculptural art of *Gandhāra*, yet little importance is given to the *vihāra* architecture in particular. Therefore, the present researchers have selected this issue in order to solve the prevailing matter of contention, which is concerning to the etymology of the term "*vihāra*" and its initiation as a meditating unit. Thus, focus shall also be made to find the roots of its genesis. Besides, an attempt shall also be made, to study the variation in the stylistic approach being adopted in the different regions of *Gandhāra* and especially in the Swat Valley.

Nomenclature

It is significant to pinpoint, that Grunwedel analyses different terminologies, used for the relic shrines. He suggested that these were generally constructed to accommodate the venerated issues. Therefore, such type of buildings are also called as, the "Buddhist temples". Similarly, these are also known as "*caitya*" or "*chaity gṛha*", which means a *stūpa* inside a cell or a chamber, is also called as, "*caitya* hall". However, in the textual sources the connotation of the above mentioned terms are alluding the different names of "*vihāra*" however, these are denoting the same meaning (Grunwedel 1901: 20).

In this context, some of the scholars have incorrectly defined the etymology of the term "*vihāra*" such as, Alice Getty, Rowland, Harle, Knappart, Dani and Behrendt. They proclaimed that the term "*vihāra*" only stands for a monastery (Rowland 1971: 56; Harle 1986: 48; Dani 1999: 4; Sehrai 1982: 31-35; Knappart 1995: 262; Behrendt 2003: 63). However, Dani proclaims that in the old Sanskrit language, the establishment of the monks has been mentioned as, "*Saṅghārāma*", which specifically means the order of the monks (Dani 1999: 4; Sehrai 1982: 31-35; & Knappert 1991: 262). While Coomaraswamy mentions, that the term "*vihāra*" means a shrine, but it was later on also applied for a monastery (Coomaraswamy 1992: 105). Getty in her book at yet another place explains, that *vihāra* signifies to the house of a monk or chapel, where the figure of Buddhist god was displayed for the sake of worshipping activities (Getty 1914: ixli). Moreover, Monier Williams suggests, that in the Sanskrit version *vihāra* stands for a monastery or a shrine, which generally alludes to a hall, where the monks met and walked. However, later on, these halls were used as temples (William 1963: col. 3). Thus, literally it can be concluded that *vihāra* means a relic shrine whereas; *saṅghārāma* indicates a monastery or residence of the monks.

Above all, Coomaraswamy in his contribution has given the most appropriate meaning of the term "*vihāra*" that it generally indicates a single cell or a chamber and was constructed for the worshipping activities (Coomaraswamy 1992: 105). Likewise, Behrendt on the same page of his book as mentioned above has given the correct definition and states that the term "*vihāra*" actually explains a "*shrine*", which seems to be the proper definition of the in question term. Moreover, Behrendt further mentions that this interpretation of *vihāra* can also be observed in the Faxian's account, who recorded various shrines in *Gandhāra* Valley, where different venerated issues were housed for the sake of worship (Behrendt 2003: 63).

In order to solve the prevailing matter of contention, we have plentiful references concerning the under discussion issue. In this context, Coomaraswamy advocates that in Ceylon the term "*vihāra*" has been applied for the Buddhist temples (Coomaraswamy 1992: 114). Similarly, Olivieri suggests that "*vihāra*" signifies to a shrine or a temple, generally housing the cult objects for worshipping activities

(Olivieri 2009-10: 296). Furthermore, Faccenna has used the term *vihāra* for the relic shrine of Balo-Kale Gumbat (Faccenna 2006: 189; Olivieri 2006: 100). Whereas Stein (1929: 32, Pl. 11-12; 1930: 13, Fig. 7), Barger & Wright (1985: 16), Inayatur Rehman (1964: 1-2) and Abdur Rehman (1985: 123-8) have recorded the term Buddhist shrine for the Balo-Kale Gumbat.

The above cited arguments, based on authentic references, clearly prove that *vihāra* is a worshiping place, which possesses venerated objects. In order to solve the prevailing matter of contention regarding the term *vihāra*, the most significant evidence has been reported by M. Nasim Khan from Kala Tassa near Mansehra (Khan 2000: 33-34, fig. 28). The rock painting I at the above mentioned vicinity, represents a *Kharoṣṭhī* inscription, mentioning "the *vihāra* of the great King *Kaniṣka* I" (fig. No.5). This significant example indicates a hollow *stūpa*, where two human figures have been shown at the entrance of the building. While, the inscription in the *Kharoṣṭhī* script can be seen above the outlines of the dome. Thus, in the light of this authentic evidence, it can be undoubtedly claimed that the term *vihāra* only stands for the Buddhist shrine or a temple rather than a monastery.

Besides, the term *vihāra* or a shrine it is also called "*chaitya*". Alexander Cunningham mentions that "*caitya*" in Sanskrit language alludes to a sacred building, which is generally attributed to the Buddha (Cunningham 1854: 9). He further states, that the term *Dhatu garbha* or *Dhagoba* defines a "relic shrine" or more precisely a "relic container". Whereas, the term *caitya* signifies any religious object, a temple or a certain structure erected over a funeral pile. Thus, it appears that any relic shrine (temple) or any building enshrining the relics is known as *caitya* (Cunningham 1854: 9). However, *Dhatu-garbha* or *Dhagoba* in particular defines a relic shrine (Cunningham 1854: 9), likewise, Grunwedel advocates, that the term *caitya* has been conceived from a "*Pali*" word "*chetya*" (Grunwedel 1901: 20). It actually means a burial place. Since, it was constructed inside a hall or a chamber, therefore, it is called as *caitya* hall, which apparently means, a *stūpa* inside a hall or a chamber. Such relic shrines have also been recorded as *dhātugṛha* or "*caitya gṛha*" (Grunwedel 1901: 20-21). In fact, all these terms one

way or the other are alluding to a relic shrine, either containing a *stūpa* or any other venerated object for the sake of worship.

In order to authenticate the above mentioned arguments, Monier William has recorded the most appropriate definition. He states, that "*caitya*" also stands for *gṛha* (William 1963: 402, col. 2), which obviously means a sacred place or a worshipping chamber. While, Fergusson proclaims, that "the Buddhist temple is also called *caitya*" (Fergusson 1855: 6) In fact, the under debate structure has also been reported as "*caitya-gṛha*" likewise, "*Deva-gṛha*" and similarly, *pratima-gṛha*, all these terms are defining a temple (Coomaraswamy 1992: 109). In the light of these discussions, it appears that both these terms, "*vihāra*" and "*caitya-gṛha*" are the most widely used terms, referring to a relic shrine or a temple.

It may be further added, that Grunwedel, Coomaraswamy and Behrendt have recorded, yet another term for the *vihāra* type of buildings, that is "*Gandha kūtī*", which means "a perfumed Buddhist temple" (Grunwedel 1901: 46; Strong 1977: 392-406; Coomaraswamy 1992: 109-110; Behrendt 2003: 171). Coomaraswamy mentions an important episode, which suggests, that inside such temples or shrines sometimes a golden bowl was fixed above in order to sprinkle perfume on the displayed figure of Buddha, aiming to create good smell and freshness inside the *vihāra* or the residing chamber of Buddha. Therefore, such temples may be termed as "*Gandha kūtī*", which means a temple with good smell (Strong 1977: 392-406; Coomaraswamy 1992: 110). Coomaraswamy further elaborates few other examples of *vihāras*, known as, "*Gandhakūtī*". Such, instances can be observed in the sculpted panels reported from the *Bhārhut stūpa* (dated to the second century BC). These have been inscribed as, "*kosamba kūtī*" and "*kareri kūtī*" (Coomaraswamy 1992: 109).

In the light of above stated arguments, it may be concluded that the term *Gandha kūtī* seems to be confined, because those relic shrines containing a perfume sprinkler may be placed in the under discussion category. While those relic shrines devoid of such issues, may not be termed *Gandha kūtī*. However, since its inception with the passage of time, it became the fashion and hence we called them *Gandha kūtī* or a relic shrine.

In the light of the above mentioned rationale, the term *vihāra* is clearly denoting a meditation cell, which probably took its inception in the lifetime of Buddha alongside the "*Saṅghārāma*" (order of the monks). These *vihāras* were constructed for the sake of meditation; while, *saṅghārāma* was a kind of residence for the mediators. However, later on, these shrines or temples were provided with the venerated objects such as, **(a)** the figure of Buddha or Bodhisattva **(b)**, alm bowl **(c)** *stūpa* model **(d)** *triratna* **(e)** *chakra* **(f)** *turban* **(g)** lotus flower **(h)** and **(g)** *bodhi* tree. These were placed inside the vihāra for ritualistic purposes. Thus, keeping in view, the significance of its ritual phenomena, it can be concluded that these various names such as, "*vihāra*", "*caitya*" and "*Gandha kūtī*" are denoting the same meaning and mode of practices. Since, these were provided with the venerated objects as mentioned above, therefore, these may be termed as the "relic shrines". Thus, the present researchers shall be applying the term *vihāra*, which means a relic shrine.

The Genesis of Relic Shrines in Gandhāra

Besides, investigating the nomenclature of "*vihāra*" and its other variants, one of the other foremost pertinent issues is the genesis of *vihāra* as a cult building. This sterling concern can be concluded in the light of literary and archaeological evidences. According to some Buddhist traditions, once *Anathapindada* enquired Buddha about the display of the types of sculptures and the paintings in a "*vihāra*" Buddha answered that outside the entrance of a vihāra the figure of a *Yakṣa* bearing a club in his hand must be displayed; whereas, inside the entrance in the vestibule you must exhibit the great miracle. Moreover, *Jatakas* must be added to the courtyard of a "*vihāra*". Most noteworthy for our purpose is the part of tradition that relates that lord Buddha further explained that a figure of a *yakṣa* bearing a wreath in his hand must be displayed on the entrance of the Buddha chamber (chapple or *gṛiha*), also called as "*Gundha-Kuti*" (Grunwedel 1901:46). The Buddhist tardyons also suggest that during the life time of Buddha, his followers donated *vihāras* and *Saṅghārāmas* in order to facilitate the worshipers on one hand and on the other to pay homage to their master. For instance, *Anathapindada* constructed a vihāra and *Saṅghārāma* at *Jetavana* Garden (Coomaraswamy 1992: 109). Besides, the sculpted

panels dated to the *Śunga* period also provide important archaeological evidence. The outer corner pillar of the railing of *Bharhut stūpa* possesses different life scenes of the lord Buddha. Among these one may observe the King *Ajatasatru* visiting a foot print shrine of the Lord Buddha, inscribed in *Brahmi* script such as, "*Ajatastu Bhagvato vanadate*" (Sanskrit meaning, *Ajatastru* worships the foot prints of Buddha) (Cunningham 1879: 11, pl. xvi, fig. 3). There is yet another evidence of a relic shrine depicted in the *Bharhut* sculptures. In this case, King *Prasenajita* is riding on four horses chariot and proceeding towards a Buddhist shrine, which yields a *chakra* (turning the wheel of law) (Cunningham 1879: 11, pl. xiii, fig. 3). Later on, this religious practice gained tremendous fame in the Buddhist *Saṅgha*, which slowly and gradually disseminated to the other parts of India as well as, it immensely influenced the *Gandhāran* territories during the succeeding centuries.

Now question arises, that when and where the earliest *vihāra* was constructed? In this connection, the earliest existing evidence of a *vihāra* can be noticed on the Indian soil. For instance, Daya Ram Sahni excavated the ruins of a Buddhist temple at Bairat in Jaipur State. The temple was circular in plan, constructed of large wedge shaped bricks and wood. This *vihāra* was provided with an attached circumambulation, which seems to have been covered. The circular shaped chamber was roofed on twenty six octagonal shaped wooden pillars. The gap between the two pillars was filled through the cut & dressed brick masonry, thus, as a whole attaining the shape of a pavilion type structure. The excavators could not unearth the original pillars. However, the post holes and in some cases the bases of the pillars and the remains of bricks between the two pillars suggested that this chamber was perhaps crowned by a domical structure. This pavilion type structure alongside the attached ambulatory seems to be the unrivalled of its kind among the preceding and succeeding examples. The excavator dated the pavilion to 250 BC on stylistic grounds and the relics of typical *Aśokan* time (Brown 1959: 12; Gupta 1980: 263-64).

Similarly, the other worthwhile precedent of the pavilion shaped *vihāra* can be observed at the famous Buddhist site of *Bharhut*, which may be dated to the second century BC. It is equally sterling to

pinpoint, that unlike the Berat relic shrine, the under discussion one indicates a true form of the *chattri-sala* type structure. This pertinent category of the *vihāra* type has been mentioned in the *Brahmi* inscription, which can be seen on a sculpted relief, mentioning the name "*Sudhamma Devasabha*", showing a pavilion shaped shrine. In the midst of it was enshrined a relic of Buddha known as the "*Chuda Maha*" or headdress of the Buddha (Cunningham 1879: 119, pl. XVI, Fig. 1). This *chatri-sala* or pavilion shaped *vihāra* seems to be the earliest of its kind in the whole of Indo-Pak subcontinent. Later on, the *chatri-sala* shaped shrine was also depicted in a sculpted panel reported from *Amaravati stūpa* (Grover 1980: fig. 45; Barret 1984: fig. 10; Coomaraswami 1992: 115; Knox 1992: fig. 72), indicating the continuation of the same style. Thus, with the passage of time these *chatri-salas* were wrought in the sculpted panels and as well as, erected in the structural form, which very successfully continued during the subsequent centuries. However, during the sixth and seventh centuries A.D its improved stance can be seen in the Hindu temple architecture.

These *chatri-salas* can be divided into different categories such as, square resting on four pillars, octagonal resting on eight pillars; and those resting on twelve pillars are yielding diagonally laid architraves, converting this phase into an octagon. Whereas, the pillars are crowned by the two, three, four and at the angles in the case of diagonally laid architraves, are showing five armed brackets supporting the domical structure.

In this connection, the *Gaudargudi* and Surya temples at Aihole (dated to the 6th or 7th century A.D), Durga temple at Aihole (dated to the early 8th century A.D) (Harle 1986: 173-75), similarly Surya temples at Mudhera, dated to the 11th or 12th century A.D and at Sejakpur, (Cousens 1931: 37-8) are some of the significant examples showing *chatri-sala* style. Likewise, in Pakistan its earliest form can be seen in the Gori temple dated to the 12th or 13th century A.D. (Khan 1969: 49). However, Nadiem dated this temple and that of Virwah temple at Nagarparker to the 13th or 14th century A.D (Nadiem 2001: 143). This unique style of Hindu and Jaina architecture was later on, adopted by the Muslim builders (Fergusson 1910: 164-69; Havell 1927: 64; Cousens 1982: 41), which can be seen in the form of *Chaukandi* type tombs (pavilion shaped tombs). Later on, passing through different

evolutionary stages, finally these *chatri-sala* type tombs reached the perfection at Makli Hill Thatta (Qazi 2012: 129-30).

Besides, the rock cut sanctuaries at Barabara Hills, Nagarjuni and Sita Marhi dated to the *Aśokan* period (Gupta 1980: 187; Brown 1959: 10) seems to be a significant category being used for the worshipping activities. Though it is stated, that these were the living cells for the *Ajivikas* yet, each chamber is consisting of two parts that is the outer chamber or porch and the inner chamber. The inner cell of both at *Lomas Rishi* and *Sudama* were being used for the reception of *stūpas*, which obviously means that these were prepared as a *Chaitya* halls (Brown 1959: 16; Fergusson 1855: 29). With the passage of time, the construction of such shrines or *chaitya* halls (*stūpa* inside a cave or a chamber) became a trend and eventually spread beyond the Indian subcontinent

Likewise, such type of shrine has also been reported at Bhaja dated to the *Śunga* times (Brown 1959: 22; Kuwayama 2009-10:170-71, fig.1). Similarly, Ajanta and Ellora caves are the other important evidences, showing the continuation of the "Maha Guha" or the rock cut shrines. Likewise, this architectural movement also influenced the *Gandhāran* regions. Hence, the *stūpas* were added inside the caves (excavated inside the clayey deposit) as reported by Abdur Rehman at Butkara III, and Shah Nazar Khan at Marjanai in the Swat Valley (Rehman 1991 154; Pl. 1 & 3; Khan 1995: 9; Pl. 3b). In these instances the outer chamber was provided with the sculptures of the Lord Buddha whereas, the inner chambers exhibited a *stūpa*. These are undoubtedly the earliest *in situ* examples of the prevailing categories in the entire *Gandhāra* Valley.

Later on, a shrine containing a stupa and chapels, embellished with sculptures became the important features of the sacred architecture of *Gandhāra* Valley. These instances can be visibly noticed at Butkara III, Saidu Sharif *stūpa*, Nimogram, Shnai Sha, Aba Sahib China I and the hitherto unique double storied chapels at Toke Dhara (Pl. 4a & b) in the Swat Valley. Similar examples could be found at Takht-i-Bhai and Jamal Garhi in Mardan region and, Aziz Dheri in Swabi. Besides, in the Taxila Valley we can see plentiful specimens at Dharmarajika, Sirkap, Mohra Moradu and Julian yielding further archaeological evidence.

However, perfection in the architectural composition can be seen in the relic shrine of Balo-Kale Gumbat (Pl. 1) in the Kandak Valley

In this example, we can see the true form of the three tiered building. Here, the square chamber is placed on a raised platform (Pl. 1). The cornice moulding added to the plinth is being supported by the brackets (Pl. 3). The shrine is provided with an entrance on the eastern side; while, the sanctum is surrounded by an ambulatory (Fig. 1), which yields vaulted ceiling (Fig. 3).

The exterior side of the *cella* is surmounted by a cornice moulding projected outwards and supported by the brackets. The second tier is in the form of a drum. Below its cornice moulding, a series of brackets (Pl. 6) have been provided in order, to support the third tier that is a domical structure in bulbous shape (Pl. 1).

The inner chamber below the projected cornice moulding at the angles are provided with a low series of overlapping stones (Pl. 7), surmounted by three parallel wooden beams, laid diagonally over which the cornice moulding is placed (Pl. 7 & 8). These low pendentives and the wooden beams at the corners convert the square chamber into an octagon, supporting the ring of the dome, which supports the inner shell of the dome (Pl. 10). Whereas, the outer shell of the chamber is being raised above the cornice moulding of the drum (Fig. 2), that is projected outwards and is supported by the series of brackets (Pl. 6) in similar fashion as have been added to the cornice moulding of the platform and those provided to the cornice of the sanctum (Pl. 3 & Fig. 2). In addition to the cornice moulding and the brackets below, a low buttress system has been added, which is resting over the cornice moulding and the brackets below (Pl. 3 & Fig. 3)[1]. Thus, alongside the cornices and brackets the above cited low buttresses also provide additional stability to the superstructure. Keeping in view, these intact features, it can be concluded, that this stylistic achievement in the under debate building is the land mark in the history of Buddhist architecture of *Gandhāra*.

[1] The elevation and sectional elevation of Balo-Kale Gumbat vihāra, given in the present research paper like figs.2, & 3 were for the first time published by Faccenna in the East & West in 2006. These were prepared by P. Gui and E. Cimmino, the draftsmen of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan during their research activities in 1964.

The domical ceiling of the inner shell (Pl. 10) and that of the outer shell are veneered through the corbelling method. Right at the centre both the shells are fallen down (Pl. 10), thus, exposing the empty space between these two shells (Pl. 11). Since over the years, both the damaged central upper portions of these shells, and the naked masonry remained exposed to the climatic agencies, which slowly and gradually deteriorated the above cited issues. However, in June 1964 the then curator of Swat Museum, the late Inayat-ur-Rehman wrote the first ever conservation note in order to preserve the under discussion *vihāra*[2]. Ever since 1973-74, no further efforts have been made until 2010 in consequence to restore the damaged portions of this fabulous and unique specimen in the whole of *Gandhāra* regions.

Thanks to the Pakistan Army, who assigned the task of its restoration to Zain-ul-Wahab, under his supervision the upper shell (Pl. 11) and different other decayed portions (Pl. 1, 8 & 11) have been restored during 2010-11 (Pl. 14)[3]. Thus, due to these admirable efforts, this splendour of the Gandhāra Civilization has been saved from further deterioration. The present researchers salute to these efforts as well as, to the contributions of the Italian Archaeological Mission to Swat Valley especially under Luca Maria Olivieri, who re-excavated the

[2] In one of the interviews from the late Inayat-ur-Rahman, former Curator of the Archaeological Museum, Saidu Sharif, told the principal author that in March 1964, he accompanied F.A.Khan, the then Director General of Archaeology & Museums, Govt of Pakistan, to Balo-Kale Gumbat vihāra. After this visit, he submitted a conservation note on the Balo Kale Gumbat vihāra, in June 1964. Mr. Inyat-ur-Rahman with the help of Mian Gul Jahanzeb, the then Wali of the Swat State, had taken precautionary measures against the illegal encroachment at the said site. Besides, he also discovered the important Buddhist complex of Nimogram. Similarly, due to his personal contact he convinced the Wali of Swat to hand over one hundred and sixty Buddhist sculptures to the Archaeological Museum of Saidu Sharif, Swat. Recently Ms. Tahira Tanver, former Assistant Curator of the said Museum, has done her P.hD on those sculptures.

[3] These information regarding the conservation work have been taken from Zain-ul-Wahab, presently Assistant Professor in the Art & Design Department, Hazara University, and from a general label displayed on the eastern side of this vihāra to the right of the platform. A photograph of this label is given in this paper (see Pl.14). The above cited sources are suggesting that the conservation work in 2011 was carried out with the help of the Pakistan Army.

surroundings of Balo-Kale Gumbat in 2011-2012 and reported important evidences. Under the prevailing circumstances we suggest that all such timely made efforts, which saved this splendid monument from further damage, should be highly encouraged and recognised.

Synthesis, Conclusion and Recommendations

Besides the Colonial Period works, the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan (1956-2006) with the collaboration of the Department of Archaeology and Museums Government of Pakistan, have conducted a stupendous task in the excavation and conservation of the Buddhist art and architecture in the Swat Valley. They compiled few examples concerning the vihāra architecture. However, during the last couple of years the Italian Mission A.C.T/Field School Project under Luca Maria Olivieri conducted an important work. He re-excavated the surroundings of the Balo-Kale Gumbat relic shrine in 2011-12. Towards the eastern side of the above cited vihāra, he has been able to expose the remains of yet another vihāra. The published report is still awaited. Nonetheless, it is hoped, that the report of this fresh excavation will bring forth important information.

Besides, Pakistan Army (Pl. 14) (Headquarter Artillery 37 division), under the supervision of Zain-ul-Wahab, the then Curator of the Chakdara Museum, District Dir, in 2011 has done a wonderful job in order, to repair the damaged portions of the said vihāra, i.e., the outer top surface of the dome, the wooden architraves at the angles (Pl. 8 & 11) and moreover, the projecting cornice mouldings, which were fallen down. However, due to the courtesy of the Pakistan Army, an attempt has been made to restore these damaged portions. Since, the built heritage is the cultural property of the country therefore, such conservation works are very essential to restore these monuments for both researchers and tourists.

The Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar has also carried out diverse excavations and imperative research works for the Buddhist art and architecture of the Swat Valley. Providing a few examples, Abdur Rehman recorded two domed *vihāras* at Butkara III in Swat Valley (Rehman 1991: 156; Swati 1997: 8; 2007: 110). Besides these two *vihāras*, *caitya gṛhas* have also been constructed in their neighbourhood. These "*caitya gṛihas*" or "relic shrines" at Butkara III

have been provided with stupas to accomplish the worshipping activities[4]. Now question arises that when these shrines were constructed? Since during the course of excavations a coin of Sotar Megas was reported by the excavator therefore, he assigned the second phase of this site to Sotar Megas, which may be date-able to the first century A.D. However, on stylistic grounds he attributed the first phase of the site to the Pre-Soter Megas Era (Rehman, 1991: 155; Swati, 1997: 8, 2007: 110), perhaps dated to the early half of the first century A.D. Thus, on the basis of the above cited justifications, these shrines have been assigned to the 1st century A.D.

Furthermore M. Nasim Khan identified this Sotar Megas coin reported from phase II with Sotar Megas II that is Vima Takto II, which may be dated either to the end of the 2nd century A.D or to the beginning of the 3rd century A.D (Vima Takto II is contemporary to Vasu Deva I A.D 191-223) (Nasim 2010: 15, figs. 2-3). However, in the light of this identification now we place Phase II in the last decade of the 2nd century A.D., or even in the 1st decade of the 3rd century A.D. Similarly, Phase I of this site may be assigned to the Era of Pre-Sotar Megas II (Vima Takto II), and may be placed in the mid-2nd century A.D., or might be placed in the early half of the 2nd century A.D. However, on stylistic grounds M. Farooq Khan Swati has attributed the initiation of this site to the last decades of the 2nd century B.C. He proclaimed the Vedic-Persian stylistic approach at the earliest levels of Butkara III. Such stylistic activities also may be observed from the early levels at Sirkap in the Taxila Valley, started during the Indus Greek domain dated to the 2nd century B.C (Swati 1997: 8-9; 2007: 110-111). In the light of these justifications, it appears that these relic shrines may be considered as the earliest *in-situ* examples of the *vihāra* category in the Swat Valley as well as, in the whole of *Gandhāra* regions. All these *in-situ* examples are denoting that after its initiation

[4] The Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan conducted excavation at Butkara II (dated to the era of Gandhara Grave Culture). The Buddhist establishment of Butkara III lies near Butkara II, which was fortunately excavated by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar, under the supervision of Abdur Rehman in 1984-85, and unearthed the most significant finds in the history of Buddhist art and architecture in the Swat Valley

in the Swat Valley later on, this culture spread to the other parts of the *Gandhāra* Valley.

These sheltered cells/chambers were constructed not only to protect the cult objects but also to protect the worshipers from the sun heat and rain. Thus, perhaps the necessity of a relic shrine was emerged, which were eventually acknowledged by the patrons of the Buddhist establishments in the *Gandhāra* Valley. In this connection, if we consider the Balo-Kale Gumbat as a relic shrine; then question arises, that what was housed inside this shrine? If we agree with the Stein's view about the possibility of a Buddha or Bodhisattva figure displayed inside the relic shrine seem to be a valid justification. Though this relic shrine was found almost intact by the excavators, still the venerated objects were found missing. Stein and others reported that this shrine was occupied by one of the local Gujars family, where they housed their cattle and the fodder of their cattle was stored inside the attached circumambulation (Stein 1930: 31; 1929: 12; Berger & Wright 1985: 16; Rehman 1964: 1; Rehman 1985: 123-28), Therefore, the venerated objects were either stolen by them, or perhaps the antique hunters displaced the venerated objects before the excavators reached the prized monument.

The foregoing discussion has also addressed another important debatable issue, i.e., the genesis of the *vihāra* cult in the Indian subcontinent. In this regard, many worthwhile evidences have been reported by the researchers. For instance, Daya Ram Sahni reported the earliest *vihāra* at Berat in the Jaipur state dated to the mid-3rd century B.C. (Brown 1959: 12; Gupta 1980: 263). Besides, Cunningham reported, that the construction of such types of buildings can also be seen during the *Śunga* period at *Bharhut* dated to the 2nd century B.C (Cunningham 1879: 118-19; Commaraswamy 1992: 114, fig. 6). However, in the *Gandhāra* Valley the earliest Buddhist establishments such as, Dharma Rajika at Taxila, Jamal Garhi at Mardan and Butkara I at Swat are dated to the 3rd century B.C. Besides, the great *stūpa* and monastery at the above cited places, *vihāras* and chapels have also been constructed. It may be added here, that during the course of the excavations at Butkara I, the foundations of a Great *vihāra* were exposed near the great stupa, dated to the Saka-Parthian Period (Faccenna, 2006: 192). However, the earliest intact record of the relic

shrines has been reported by Abd-ur-Rehman from Butkara III, which he dated to the 1st century A.D (Rehman, 1991: 154-55).

After the introduction of *vihāra* architecture in the *Udhyana* valley later on, this culture was continued until 8th and 9th century A.D (Rehman 1985:128). Thus, it appears that this utmost significant place of worship was given significant importance by the patrons in order, to pay homage to their Master.

Similarly, Marshall found an apsidal temple, which he mentions; "*stupa* chapel" or "*stupa gṛha*" located in the block "D" area at Sirkap in Taxila and dated it to the late *Sakas* Period (Marshall 2006: 150-51, Pl. 124). This *stupa gṛha*, constructed in diaper masonry, is circular in shape. Marshall recorded yet another significant precedent of the apsidal temple at Dharma Rajika in Taxila, which he dated to the close of the 1st century A.D (Marshall 2006: 54-55). The rear side of this apsidal temple is constructed in octagonal shape chamber. Inside this chamber, an octagonal *stūpa* has been added. On stylistic grounds it is first of its kinds in the whole of the *Gandhāra* Valley, being constructed on octagonal plan. Apart from the above stated circular shaped *gṛha* chapel or *stūpa gṛha* at Sirkap in Taxila, yet another has been reported by Taj Ali, the then Chairman of the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar. The same has also been reported by M. Naeem Bacha Surveyor, during the course of survey and explorations in the Mardan Valley, in 1996-97, at Turra Baz Banda. This *stūpa gṛha* or hallow *stūpa* is intact just above the podium level. On stylistic ground, it may be dated to the Kushan Period (Ali 2001: 96; Ali 2003: 58; Qazi 2010: 48).

In view of the above stated early examples, it can be asserted, that among the different varieties of the relic shrines erected in the *Gandhāra* valley, one of the other pertinent examples has been exposed at Aziz Dheri in District Swabi during the archaeological excavations in 1993. This important shrine is located to the southern side of the so-called main *stūpa* of the site. Inside this relic shrine, pedestals were added to the inner sides. Above these pedestals stucco figures of Buddha were placed. Besides, lotus flowers painted in red colour with black colour outlines have been executed in local *tempra* technique (Qazi 1993: 77; Khan 1999: 5). Moreover, inside this shrine, at the centre, the remains of a votive *stūpa* were also found. During the

course of the excavation in 1993 a square platform with base moulding over which traces of circular base moulding at few places were also recorded. Although these few evidences of the base moulding were removed during the course of conservation, probably in 1994-95. However, these traces, undoubtedly, in-picture us about the remains of a circular base moulding to a round shape drum. Since, the surrounding area of the shrine as well as, the drum and the dome of the above cited votive *stūpa* was plundered by the antique hunters. Therefore, apart from the above cited traces nothing has been revealed except the debris over the circular base moulding to the drum. These include the traces of stucco plaster on dressed stone blocks, fragments of Corinthian pilasters, and few pieces of stucco sculptures, showing glimpses of red paint, are some of the important evidences, which suggest, that once a votive *stūpa* was placed here. The numismatic and masonry evidences suggest that this relic shrine was constructed during the 3rd century A.D (Qazi 1993: 77).

After passing through the different developmental phases, finally this mode of architecture reached the perfection, which can be seen in the Balo-Kale Gumbat relic shrine. Such a fabulous mile stone in the art and architecture of the *Gandhāra* Valley can be undoubtedly determined during the golden age of the Great Kushans dated to the 2nd -3rd century A.D. (Qazi 2010: 49). Besides, the issue of its initiation, the other foremost concern is, to study the different architectural components provided to the Balo-Kale relic shrine such as, the attached ambulatory with corbelled ceiling (Figs. 1 & 3; Pl.5) and stone pendentives over which the wooden beams (Pl. 7 & 8) are laid parallel at the angles converting this phase into an octagon. Moreover, the projected cornices mouldings and the series of brackets added at the various levels and the appearance of the double dome device (Fig. 3; Pl. 1, 10 & 11) are some of the other significant issues, which may be discussed at length in order to find the proper roots of genesis.

In the light of Grunwedel definition and classification regarding the concept of *vihāra* and the attached circumambulation, which is an essential category of the Buddhist establishment including the *stūpa* and *Saṅghārāma*. In this process, we have various examples. However, unfortunately such buildings have been absolutely ignored by the research scholars in past. Nevertheless, we have made an attempt in the

present paper to evaluate the various examples in order to reach the appropriate conclusions.

Behrendt refers to the Chinese pilgrims such as, Faxian (A.D 520) and Xuan Zang (A.D 629-30) who recorded the relic shrines in the *Gandhāra* Valley and stated that these can be entered (Behrendt 2003: 60). In many cases, such Buddhist shrines were surrounded by the attached ambulatory for the purpose of *pradakshinaya* (Grunwedel 1901: 21). It is indeed interesting to advocate, that the earliest attached ambulatory can be noticed in the circular shaped *vihāra* at Berat in the Jaipur state, dated to the 3rd century B.C (Brown 1959: 12; Gupta, 1980: 263-64). Later on, this style spread to the neighbouring regions, though espoused to the local values. In this connection, one of the first evidences in the *Gandhāra* Valley can be easily noticed in the relic shrine of Balo-Kale Gumbat and similarly in one of the sculpted panels recorded by Foucher and later on, Faccenna has also mentioned the provision of the attached circumambulation to the relic shrines (Foucher 1905: fig. 41; Feccenna 2006: 190-91, Spagnesi 2006: 156, fig.5). The corbelled ceiling of this corridor (Pl. 5) is yielding close affinity with the deep meditation cells at Takht-i-Bhai (date to the 1st century A.D.), and those provided to the two *vihāra*s at Butkara III, are the good examples of the in-question style. Similarly, Kanjar Kote near Balo-Kale Gumbat and traces inside the monastery at Pinj Kotai in Buner are also showing corbelled ceiling (Rehman 1985: 126). Besides, the Pinj Kotai monastery, Stein has also mentioned the provision of corbelled vaults to the *vihāra* of Pinj Kotai (Stein 1898: 35). Stein in 1898 recorded that both Balo-Kale Gumbat and Pinj Kotai yielded close similarity in terms of the architectural layout. The Pinj Kotai *vihāra* is mostly fallen down however, the surviving remains bespeak the glory days of its style of architecture.

All these examples, one way or the other, yield close affinity in the construction of corbelled ceiling and it appears that the religious interactions were caused for the development in the architectural treatment. Such achievements can also be seen in the attached ambulatory of the Balo-Kale Gumbat *Vihāra*. During the succeeding centuries the corbelling technique was frequently adopted in the different buildings during the Udhi Shahis (Hindu Shahis) in the Salt rang temples at Kafir Kot between 8th and 10th centuries AD (Meister

1996: 42-51). Later on, this style was successfully applied in the early Muslim tombs in the Gomal Valley at Lal Mahra Sharif in District Dera Ismail Khan dated to the 11th and 12th centuries A.D.

Besides, the application of brackets in series running around the neck in order to support the load of the superstructure of the Balo-Kale Gumbat relic shrine also yields close similarity to the great *vihāra* of Aba Saheb China I in Swat (Fig. 2; Pls. 6, & 4) (Tucci 1958: fig.33; Spagnesi 2006: fig. 11). In this later example, presently the *vihāra* is intact up to the phase from where the dome is just rising over the above mentioned series of brackets. This pattern can also be noticed in a sculpted panel (Pl. 2) mentioned by Foucher and Faccenna in their works (Foucher 1905, fig. 41; Faccenna 2006: 190-91; Spagnesi 2006: 156 fig.5). Similarly Foucher, Enriquez and Fergusson recorded a circular shaped shrine at Cherat near Guniyar in Thana, it is intact up to the cornice moulding that is supported by means of brackets over which the dome was placed once (Foucher 1905: 116, fig. 38; Enriquez 1910: 7; Fergusson 1910: 93). Oliveiri mentioned circular shaped *vihāra* at Tokar Dara, which is intact up to the cornice moulding of the sanctum (Oliveiri 2006: 104, fig. 53) over which the dome was raised once. It is important to mention that the idea of brackets in series running around below the cornices of the stūpa and below the cornice moulding of the drum can be seen at different stūpas in structural form as well as in the sculpted panels (Pl. 3). These examples can be seen at Butkara III, Marjanai, Gumbatuna, Najigram in Swat, Andan Dherai in Dir, Takht-i-Bhai at Mardan and in the different *stūpas* at Taxila. The brackets in the under debate order were provided to support the desired portion on one hand, while on the other it increased the grace of the entire structural composition.

Besides, the variation and the development in the different components at this Gumbat relic shrine, the beginning of a new technique in the architecture of *Gandhāra* valley as a whole and *Udyana* in particular is the beginning of a bulbous dome, composed of two shells (Fig. 3; Pls. 3, 10 & 11). This double dome pattern has been record for the first time by the late Inayat-ur-Rehman, the then Curator of the Swat Museum in June 1964 (Rehman 1964: 1-2), and for the second time by Faccenna in 1982 and again in 2006 (Faccenna 1982: 38; 2006: 190). Besides, J.C. Harle in 1986, M. Naeem Qazi in 2010,

and Michel Meister in 2011 have also recorded the application of double dome device in the Balo-Kale Gumbat relic shrine (Harle 1986: 522; Qazi 2010: 203; Meister 2011: 114).

Now question arises, that who were responsible for the introduction of the double dome device in the Indian Subcontinent? Secondly, when and where it appeared for the first time? These are some of the important questions, which need to be answered. Before this significant discovery the scholars were of the view, that this device was started for the first time in Central Asia. In this regard, it is generally believed, that it was provided for the first time to the tomb of Sultan Sanjar at Merv A.D 1158-60 in rudimentary form (Hoag 1977: 207-9, figs, 259-60). This style was later on, in more improved form appeared in the tomb of Sulatn Uljitu at Sultanya A.D 1315-16 (Hoag 1977: 250-2). However, it reached the perfection in the tomb of Amir Timur in A.D. 1405. Later on, it was further improved due to the cultural interactions and was eventually introduced by the Central Asian settlers in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. In this regard, the tomb of Sikander Lodhi at Delhi dated A.D. 1517-18 is the beginning of this style in India (Brown 1978: 28); whereas, the earliest double dome example at Lahore can be seen in the Maryam Zamani Mosque dated A.D. 1614 (Khan 1991: 170), which is also considered one of the earliest instances of the in-question style in Pakistan.

However, M. Naeem Qazi during the course of documentation in 2001 and again in 2008 at Makli Hill Thatta, was able to record the earliest double dome in the history of Muslim architecture in Pakistan. This first example can be noticed in the tomb of Sultan Ibrahim Khan Tarkhan A.D. 1558-65 (Qazi 2010: 203). Now question arises that when and where this style was originated? In this context should we agree with those scholars who proclaimed its genesis in Central Asia or to agree with those who placed its beginning in the Hindu temples in India. No doubt, these are some of the debatable issues, which need evidences to prove the theory of its origin in the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. However, the discovery of a double dome device in the case of Balo-Kale Gumbat relic shrine indicates a slightly developed form as compared to Takht-i-Bhai, which has been recorded by Cunningham and Zwalf, revealing the genesis of this style in *Gandhāra*. In this case, the chapels provided to the main stūpa show its

provision in rudimentary form (Fig. 4a & 4b; Pl. 9) (Cunningham 1875: 27; Zwalf 1979: 14), dated to the Parthians Era. Thus, it appears that the double dome device was initiated at Takht-i-Bhai in the 1st century A.D. However, at Balo-Kale Gumbat relic shrine this style appears in the true form during the 2nd-3rd century A.D. Later on, this style was spread to the other Indian and Central Asian regions. However, Nath has incorrectly mentioned its earliest instance in India, which he recorded in the Bhetargaon temple dated to the Gupta period *ca*. 5th century A.D. (Nath 1969: 28-30; 1982: 203). He further added, that this tradition successfully continued in the Hindu temples at Uttar Pradesh. However, during the 9th and 10th centuries A.D. this device was further improved, which can be seen in the different temples in South India (Nath 1982: 203-4). Similarly, Kramrisch has also recorded valuable examples showing the double dome devices in the Naga Raja Bhuaneshwara and Kajuraho temples (Kramrisch 1946: 148).

In the light of the above stated discussions, it appears that the double dome device was started at Takht-i-Bhai, which was improved at Balo-Kale Gumbat and then developed in the temple architecture of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent. Thus from here, this style was disseminated to Central Asia and later on, to the Persian territories.

The supporting agency through which, the double dome device has been raised is one of the other significant issues of interest. In this case at Balo-Kale Gumbat the inner shell and perhaps some parts of the outer shell rest on the walls of the sanctum, which is being strengthened by the few stone courses, which may be termed corner pendentives laid at the angles and a projecting cornice moulding above (Pls. 7 & 8). However, in the case of the outer shell at Gumbat *vihāra*, it seems to have been placed on the projected outward cornice moulding and the series of brackets bellow supported the drum (Fig. 2; Pls. 1 & 6). From this level rises the second shell and rolls over the inner shell. The gap between these two shells (Fig. 3) is about 2.3m. Besides, the above cited supporting components, the ambulatory around the drum, is constructed in sloping order, which reinforces the base of the drum in the form of a low buttress (Fig. 2 & 3; Pl. 3). This style can also be seen in the Aba Saheb China I (Pl. 4) *vihāra* and in a sculpted panel we can also see a *vihāra* (Pl. 2) in similar style. Thus, as

a whole the above cited issues have provided strength and balance to the double dome of this relic shrine.

Apart from the above cited issues, the other worthwhile striking feature of this *vihāra* is the corbelled pendentives or overlapping stones at the four corners, which have converted the square into an octagon over which the circular base of the dome is placed. The inner shell rests above this level. The idea of overlapping stones or pendentives appeared for the first time, in the chapels at Takht-i-Bhai (Pl. 9). The idea of producing overlapping stones as a supporting element, alongside the cornice moulding has been provided to the superstructure of these chapels. Similar style can also be observed in the *vihāra* of Pinj Kotai at Buner. In these examples, the overlapping stones and the projecting cornice mouldings provide support to the domical structures.

However, in the case of Balo-Kale Gumbat relic shrine, we can see a new style, in which above the few courses of stone pendentives (Pl. 7), three overlapping wooden beams have been placed at the angles (Pls. 7 & 8) over which the projected cornice moulding rests (Pl. 7 & 8). These pendentives and the paralleled wooden beams laid diagonally at the corners convert the square into an octagon, which in turn supports the rim of the domical ceiling (Pls. 10 & 11). The intact example of such corner treatment can be noticed at the southern angle of the sanctum (Pl. 7). However, at the remaining corners overlapping wooden beams above the stones pendentives were decayed. During the course of the conservation in 2011 conducted by the Pak Army, fresh wooden beams above the overlapping stones were added (Pl. 8) in order to restore the stability to the domical structure. Nevertheless the idea of diagonally laid issues at the angles, which converts the square into an octagon, actually emerged in the *Gandhāra* region. However, during the succeeding centuries after passing through the evolutionary phases, it eventually evolved into more developed stance in the Salt Range temples dated to the 8th and 10th centuries AD (Meister 1996: 42-51). But in more improved gesture, this style can be noticed in the tombs at Lal Mahra Sharif, which is being used as a foundation to transform the load of the superstructure that later on, became an essential feature of Islamic tomb architecture.

The masonry style of the Great *vihāra* at Butkara I yields close affinity to the main stupa located in its neighbourhood, which is

assigned to the third phase of its re-construction. Moreover, a coin of Azes II reported from the Great *vihāra* (Faccenna 2006: 189) is one of the other significant issues corresponding its date to the Saka-Parthian domain (Faccenna 2006: 192). Besides, the above mentioned statement of Faccenna regarding the time frame of the Great *vihāra* at Butkara I, the author on the bases of certain hypothesis stated that "for the reconstruction of Great *vihāra* (G.B), a valid reference may be the *vihāra* of Gumbat (Balo-kale Gumbat) with its tall platform and staircase, single cell with corridor around all four sides and a large double domed roof". However, since the above cited architectural components do not exist in the case of Great *vihāra* (Butkara I), therefore, it is very difficult to assume any idea regarding the actual reconstruction of the said building. Because, except the foundations nothing in proper state have been exposed in order to authenticate the hypothetic statement of Faccenna concerning the said monument.

It is indeed interesting that both Meister and Olivieri, in my view, have incorrectly quoted the claim of Barger and Wright regarding the proposed date of 2nd century A.D., for the construction of Balo-Kale Gumbat *vihāra* (Meister & Olivieri 2012: 7). In order to clarify the above cited perplexity about the date for the Balo-Kale Gumbat the present researchers have given the actual description of Barger and Wright to solve the prevailing matter of concern. In the absence of date-able antiquities like coins and inscriptions Marshall adopted the style critical method to solve the dating issues of the Gandhara art and architecture. In this regard in some cases Marshall has proposed the masonry types to suggest the time frame for different monuments in the Taxila Valley. However, the order of these proposed masonry style cannot be applied to the monuments of Swat Valley (Barger &Wright 1985: 35).

In this process one of the good looking and intact instances of the masonry style that has been frequently used in Swat Valley, can be noticed in the Balo-kale Gumbat *vihāra*. The construction of this *vihāra* is veneered from well dressed and regularly placed stone blocks, while the cavities are filled with thin diapers. In this sequence Evert Barger and Philip Wright are of the view that perhaps this stylistic approach may be considered as a variation of the "large diaper" masonry, which Marshall at Dharma Rajika relates to the 2nd century A.D (Barger &

Wright 1985: 35). Barger and Wright further advocated that it is however, far more organised as compared to the masonry style executed in the stupa located to the north of the main stupa of Dharma Rajika. Moreover, keeping in view, the above cited masonry type, the Balo-Kale Gumbat *vihāra* masonry is of a distinct type from those instances (Barger & Wright 1985: 35) employed at Dharma Rajika in Taxila.

The time frame in which Balo-Kale Gumbat *vihāra* was constructed is indeed a debatable issue. However, the stylistic approach adopted by the masons in the construction of Balo-Kale *vihāra*, and those sculpted panels depicting the *vihāra* models with special reference to those possessing the attached ambulatory are dated to the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. Similarly, Inayat-ur-Rehman in the conservation note on stylistic grounds and the approach adopted in the construction has placed this monument during the 2nd and 5th centuries A.D. (Rehman 1964: 1-2)[5].

While Meister and Olivieri like the above stated references have made another reference in which they associated an a quotation with Faccenna, who, in my view, has never mentioned that the Gumbat shrine was constructed in the early half of the 1st century A.D (Meister & Olivieri 2012: 1). However, the time frame proposed by Faccenna has been already quoted by Meister in one of his articles, which suggests, that Balo-Kale Gumbat *vihāra* does not appear to belong to the late period (Faccenna 2006: 190; Meister 2011: 115).

While M. Naeem Qazi on the basis of comparative analysis assigns this vihāra to the 2nd century A.D (Qazi 2010: 205). The above mentioned two references in which Inayat-ur-Rehman and M. Naeem Qazi on the basis of comparative analysis have proclaimed that the Balo-Kale Gombat relic shrine was built during the 2nd century A.D. (Rehman 1964: 1-2 ; Qazi 2010: 205), has been recently re-confirmed by Meister and Olivieri through the C-14 dating method from wood sample placed at one of the corners suggesting the earliest calculated date, which they published in one of their recent articles in which they assigned it to the 1st/2nd century A.D. (Meister & Olivieri 2011: 8).

[5]The principal author has taken all these information from the conservation note, prepared by the then Curator (late Inayat-ur-rehman) in June 1964 (Rehman, 1964:1-4).

Thus, in the light of above cited justifications the present researchers suggest that, most probably, it was constructed during the 2nd century A.D. This was the time, when the great Kushanas were controlling the *Gandhāra* region, and under their supervision both art and architecture reached perfection.

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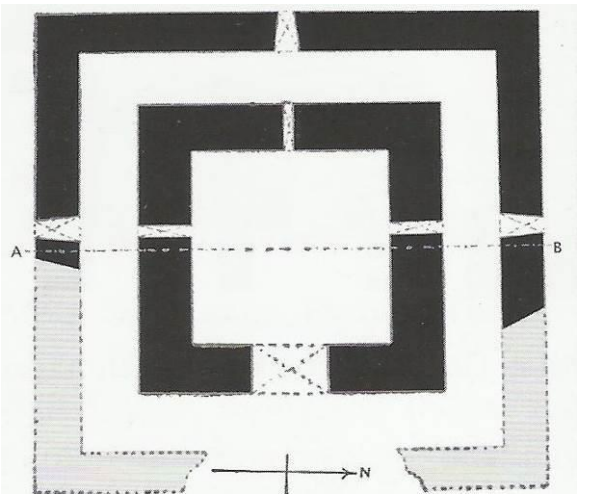


Fig. 1: Balo-Kale Gumbat. Plan (Meister 2011: fig.3c)

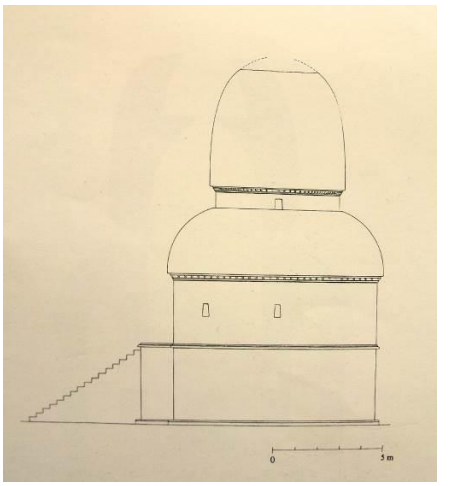


Fig. 2: Balo-Kale Gumbat. Elevation (Drawing by E. Cimmino 1964) (Faccenna 2006: fig.10)

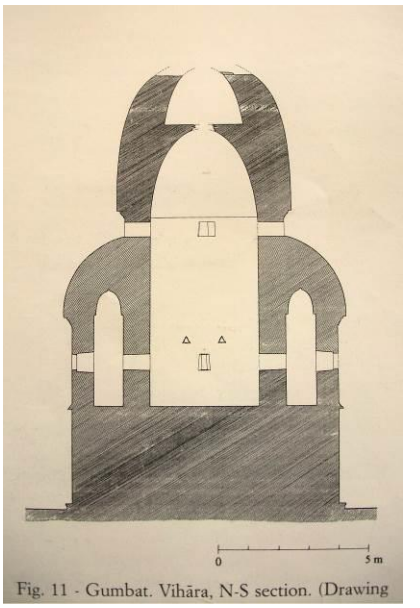


Fig. 3: Balo-Kale Gumbat, Sectional elevation (Drawing by P. Gui, 1964) (Faccenna 2006: fig. 11)

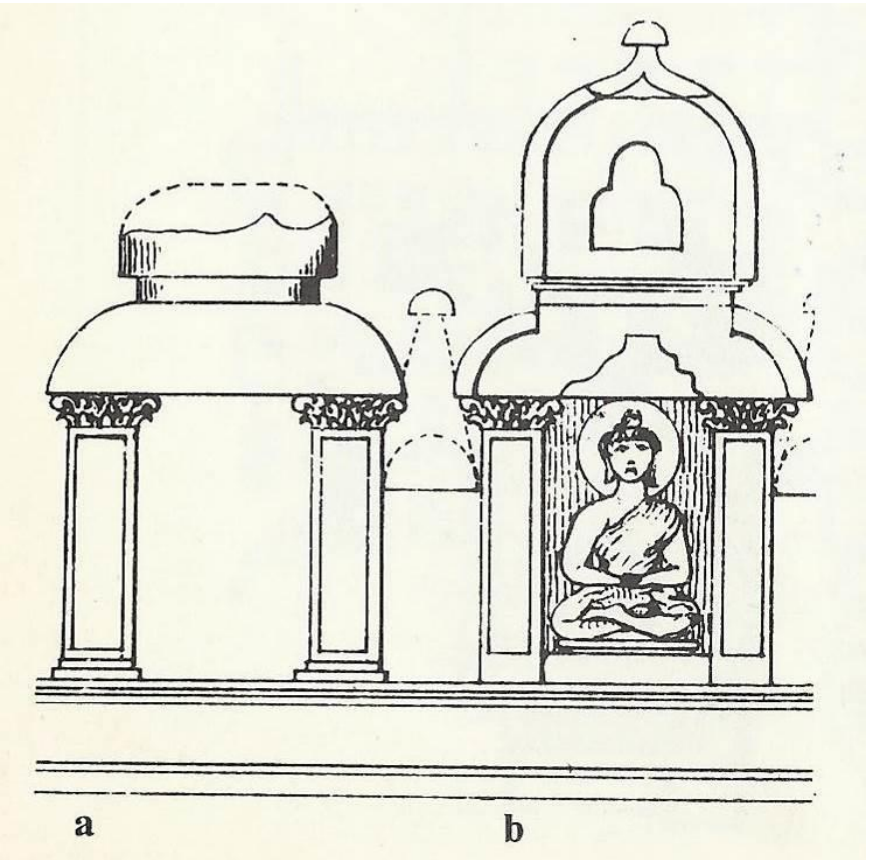


Fig. 4: Elevation of the chapels at Takht-i-Bhai (around the main *stūpa*) showing details of the double dome (Zwalf 1979: fig. a & b)

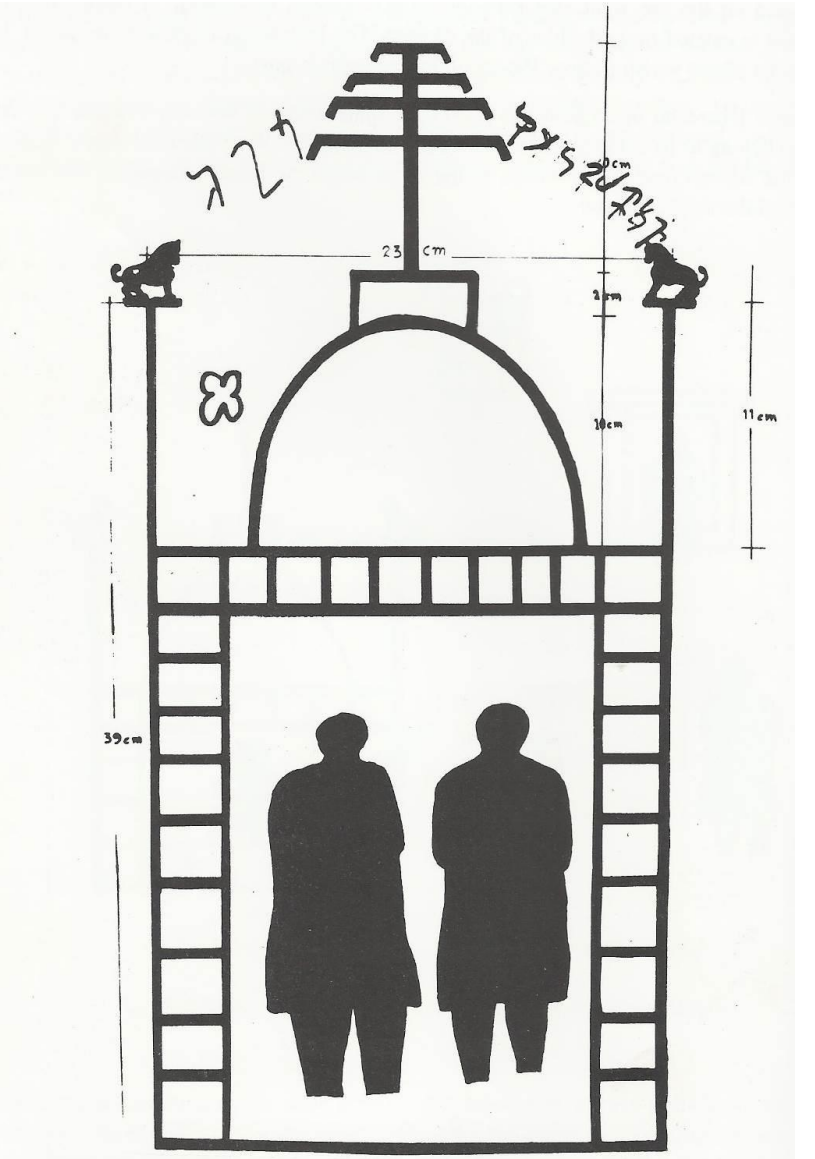
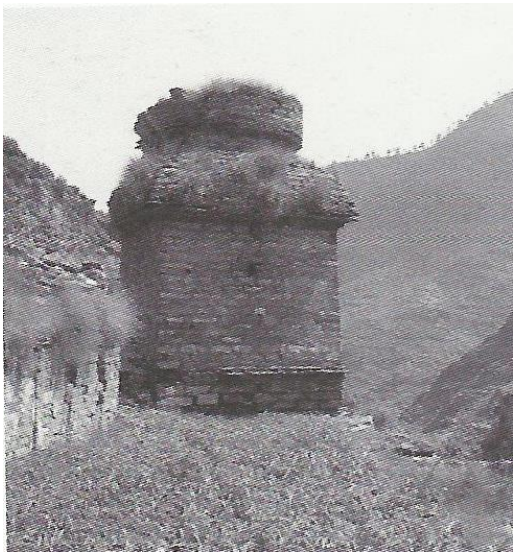


Fig. 5: Rock painting from Kala Tassa, showing details of a vihāra (Khan 2000: fig. 25)

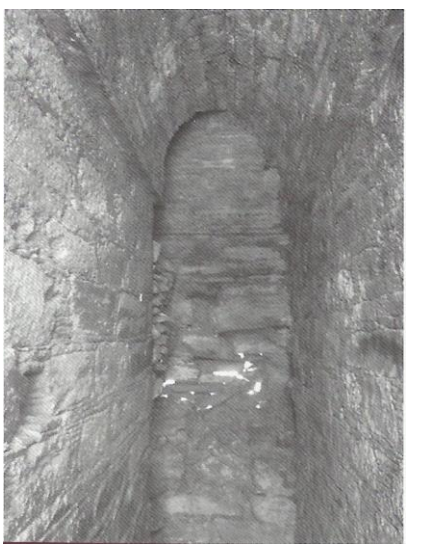
Pl. 1: Balo-Kale Gumbat: General view from the eastern side

Pl. 2: A relief panel from Mardan showing double dome vihāra (Spagnesi, 2006: Fig. 5).

Pl. 3: Balo-Kale Gumbat: General view from the southern side



Pl. 4: Aba Sahib China1.General view of the vihāra (Spagnesi 2006:fig.11)



Pl. 5: Balo-Kale Gumbat vihāra, the northern side ambulatory detail of the corbelled ceiling (Meister & Olivieri 2012: fig. 9)

Pl. 6: Balo-Kale Gumbat: View from the eastern side showing series of supporting brackets to the dome.

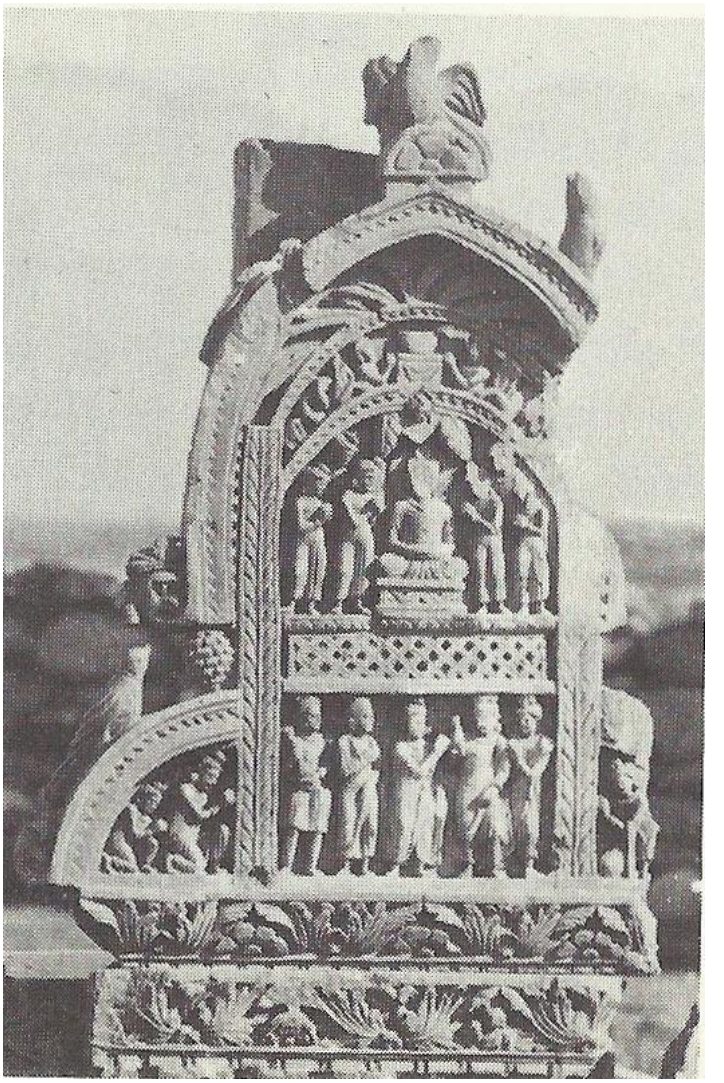
Pl. 7: Balo-Kale Gumbat: Interior detail of the south-eastern corner (before conservation) showing three parallel wooden architraves over which the projected cornice moulding is placed

Pl. 8: Balo-Kale Gumbat: Interior detail of the south-western corner showing three parallel wooden beams over which the projected cornice moulding is placed (after conservation)

Pl. 9: A chapel to the south of the main stūpa at Takht-i-Bhai showing corner pendentives

Pl. 10: Balo- Kale Gumbat: Interior detail of the double dome ceiling (before conservation)

Pl. 11: Balo-Kale Gumbat: Interior detail of the double dome ceiling (after conservation).



Pl. 12: A relief panel from Loriyan Tangai arranged in double dome pattern (Zwalf, 1979: fig. 13)

Pl. 13: A relief panel from Butkara III showing stūpa worship (Spagnesi, 2006: fig. 4).

Pl. 14: Balo-Kale Gumbat: Marble slab at the front wall showing conservation record conducted by the Pakistan Army

-3-

Excavation at Badalpur Monastery, District Haripur Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan: A Preliminary Report of Season 2013

M. Ashraf Khan
Ghani-ur-Rahman
Sadeed Arif
Arslan Butt and Maseeh Ullah

Abstract
This paper presents a brief account of the recent excavation conducted on the site of Badalpur, Taxila Valley in the premises of Haripur District Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, Pakistan .It focuses on the season 2013 excavations.

Introduction:
Taxila Valley lies north Latitude 33° 42' 30" and 33' 50° and east longitudes 72° 53' 45' and 72° 59'. The valley derives its name from the historic city of Takshasila or Taxila. The present spelling Taxila was the abbreviated form used by Greeks and Romans and since then commonly adopted by European writers (Khan et al 2007:39). Ancient Takshasila is one of the most important points of cultural diffusion. The innumerable ancient remains, scattered all over the area, is testimony to its greatness.

The earliest known settlement of the Taxila Valley is Sarai-Khola which yielded a cultural sequence from late Neolithic to Iron Age i.e. Neolithic period (4000 to 2800 BC), Early Bronze Age Culture (2800-2600 BC), and the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Culture (1000 BC). This history pushed back the history of the region from 6th century BC to the 4th millennium BC. Early Historic period of the Taxila begins with the conquest of the region by the Achamenians of Persia during the reign of Cyrus the Great (558-528 BC). Alexander the Great from Macedonia captured the region in c. 326 BC. In 305 BC; Greek were pushed out by Chandra Gupta, founder of Mauryan Dynasty of Ancient India. Ashoka, the grandson of Chandar Gupta Maurya (272-232 BC) is

said to be converted to Buddhism and made Taxila the prominent center of Buddhism.

Location of the Site

The monastery of Badalpur is situated in a village locally called as Bhera, District Haripur, between 35° 46' 56" North and 72 °52' 09" East and it is located 10 km north-east of Taxila Museum and 2.5 km north-west of Julian monastery, on the left bank of river Haro.

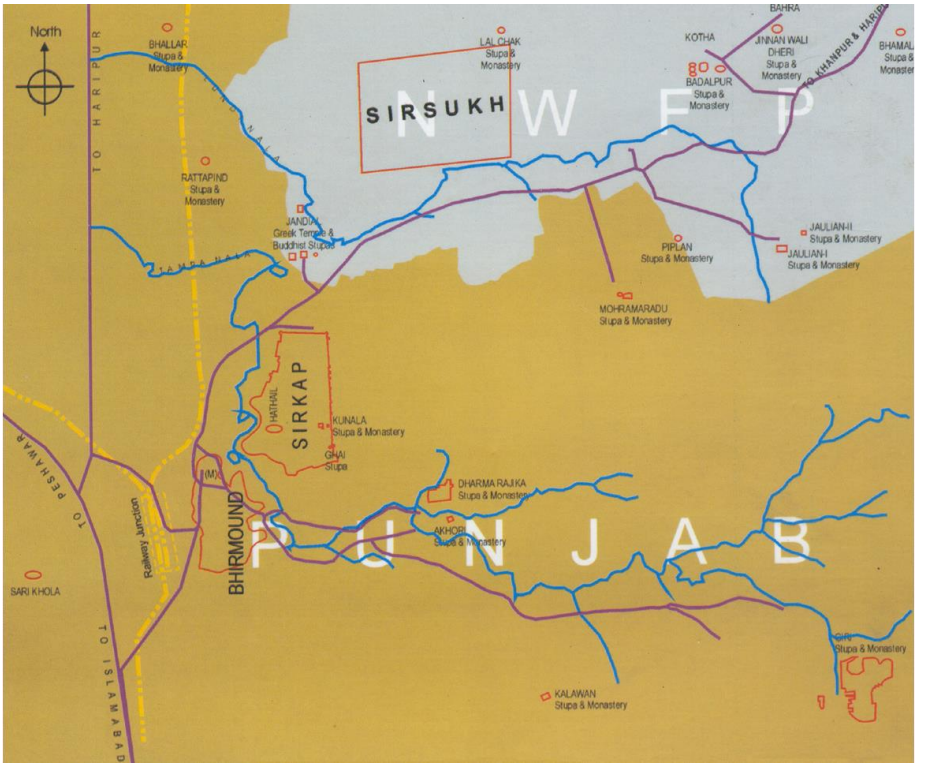


Fig.1: Location of Badalpur Monastery and its Environs

Present Status

The monastery of Badalpur is a protected archaeological site and owned by the Government of KPK.

Plan of the Site

The site is rectangular in plan and covers an area of 2.9 acres (Khan et al 2007: 41). The site has an imposing rectangular main stupa on the west which measures 71 meters north-west and 60 m east- west. The dome of the stupa is missing but its drum is added to the base which is about 6.09 m high. Two votive stupas in front of the main stupa at its eastern side, enclosure around the stupa courtyard comprising of chapels of different sizes (Ibid: 42). There is a huge monastery with 38 monk cells with two openings, one at its western and other one at its southern side, which measures 81 m north-south by 78 m east-west, kitchen, store and assembly hall is situated on the southern side of the monastery. Additional small monastery is situated on the west of assembly hall area. The stupa is made up with lime stones and built up in semi-ashlar and semi-diaper style with mud mortar inside and Kanjur stone has been used in mouldings.

Previous Investigations on the Site

The site of Badalpur was first time mentioned by Sir Alexander Cunningham, the then Director General of Archaeological Survey of India, in report of 1863-64. He reported that the facing stones of the stupa were badly damaged (Cunningham 1864). After him the site was visited by Mr. Natisa Aiyar, superintendent of Frontier Circle. He exposed the stupa from all the sides and also exposed several chapels to the north and south and found 10 copper coins, 43 sealings and lot of potsherds from the stupa courtyard (Aiyar 1917). After this the site remained neglected. Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums planed to excavate the site and assign this task to Exploration and Excavation branch, which conducted excavations at the site for consecutive five periods i.e. from 2005 to 2008 which were led by M. Asharf Khan, M. Arif and Shakir Ali of the Federal Department of Archaeology & Museums. The important antiquities recovered during the excavation are gold and copper coins, seals and sealings, terracotta beads, potteries, Buddha in red sand stone of Mathura style, sculpture of Bodhisattva Maitrya and relic casket type in black schist stone.

Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations, Quaid-i-Azam University Islamabad conducted Archaeological excavation on the remaining un-exposed area of the site from 2011 to 2013.

Aims and Objectives of the Present Excavation

- To expose the structural remains of the site.
- To determine the chronology of the site through archaeological finds.
- To promote cultural and religious tourism.
- To protect the site from further encroachment by the surrounding farmers.
- To train the students in Practical Field Archaeology.
- To collect artifacts from the site for enriching our new museum and also to preserve the culture heritage for future generations.

Present Excavation

The intensive study and observation of the site area focused on south of the main monastery and west of assembly hall which showed the traces of structural remains beneath. In order to expose the structures and their association with other features of the Badalpur complex, several squares measuring 5 x 5 m were marked, following the grid plan. To control the measurement during excavation, a reference point was fixed at south- eastern corner of the area, presently under excavation. The area under the process of excavation encompassing squares i.e. AA 14-16. Z 14-16, Y 14-16, X 15-16, W 15-16, revealed the presence of five cells. These cells have been named on temporary basis as Cell-0, Cell-1, Cell-2 running west to eastwards and Cell-3, Cell-4 running north to southwards.These cells will be renamed accordingly after the complete exposure of the plan of the area.

Fig 2.The present season excavation was confined to the extended monastic remains which commenced from square No. AA 14-16, Z 14-16, Y 14-16, X 15-16 and W15-16, located south of main monastery and east of assembly hall.

Cell # 0

Fig 3: General view of Cell # 0

This cell is located on the extreme south of monastery, west of assembly hall and east of main stupa. This cell measures 245 cm east-west and 340 cm north-south interiorly and preserved to the height of 75 cm. The cell has 152 cm wide entrance opening towards the north. On east side of the doorway, presence of 65 cm wide projection has reduced the width of its entrance. This cell was dug up to a depth of 90 cm. The important findings of this cell include one copper coin and a pottery kiln. The kiln is present right in the centre of cell and preserved up to the height of 64cm, measuring 90 cm in diameter and 300 cm in circumference. Beside these, red ware potsherds, charcoal from different layers and ashes from upper layers have been found.

Cell # 1

Fig 4: General view of cell # 1

This cell is located east of cell # 0, which measures 240 cm east-west and 233 cm north-south interiorly and preserved up to the height of 74

cm. This cell has 143 cm wide opening towards north. This cell was dug up to 90 cm. The findings of the cell include red ware potsherds and charcoal in uniform manner from all layers, fragments of burnt mud plaster from the lower layer and ashes from upper layer. As compared to cell-0, cell-1 is in good state of preservation.

Cell # 2

Fig 5: General view of cell # 2

This cell is located east of cell # 1, south of the main monastery which measures 244 cm east-west and 233 cm north-south interiorly and preserved up to the height of 104 cm. This cell has 149 cm wide opening toward north. This cell was dug up to 116 cm. Important finds were recovered from this cell is one grinding stone, red ware pottery, burnt fragments of mud plaster from different layers of the cell.

Cell#3

Fig 6: General view of cell#3

This cell is located in south-eastern corner of this additional monastic remains, east of cell # 2, south of the main monastery, the largest cell, exposed up till now in this area. This cell measures 260 cm east-west and 530 cm north-south interiorly and preserved up to the height of 102 cm. This cell has 154 cm wide opening toward north and was dug up to 179 cm. There also have been found later period temporary alignment of stones above the western wall and traces of mud plaster inside the cell. The important findings of this cell include a small headless Buddha in stucco, a terracotta bead, a terracotta condenser, red ware potsherds, copper/bronze sherds, charcoal and ashes from different layers.

Cell #4

Fig 7: General view of cell # 4

This cell is located north of cell-3, south of main monastery. It measures 250 cm east-west and 245 cm north-south interiorly and northern side wall of this cell is preserved up to the height of 173 cm and southern wall up to 109 cm. This cell has 160 cm wide opening towards the north. This cell was dug up to 173cm. Important findings of this cell include five copper coins, one thin bronze/copper sheet. Along these, a good number of red ware potsherds, charcoal and ashes from different layers of the cell have been un-earthed. The one more important aspect of the cell is presence of mud plaster at its eastern wall in well preserved condition.

Fig 8: Mud Plaster still preserved on the eastern wall of cell # 4

Square Y 14, Z 14

Along these cells, square Y 14 and Z 14 were also excavated, which are yet to be exposed much deeper so that the plan of this small additional monastery may be figured out properly. Square Z 14 revealed the presence of exterior side of the northern wall of the cell # 4 and one hearth. There also have been found later period occupation temporary walls in square Z 14 and Y 14. These squares have been dug upto 60 cm of depth. The findings from these squares include terracotta lid, pestles, grinding stones, various iron objects and animal bones.

Square W 15-16, X 15-16

These squares are located west of cell-0 and south of main monastery. These squares were dug upto to the depth of 75 cm and revealed that the southern boundary wall is continued. Beside this, later period temporary wall staructure on north-western corner and red ware potsherds have been un-earthed.

Finds

Beside the above mentioned artifacts a good number of red ware pottery and various rusted iron objects i.e. nail and hooks have also been unearthed from this area. The masonry of the complex is semi-ashlar in lime stone. The presence of ashes almost from the entire cells uniformally from different layers is evident which marked the evidences of firing activity. Charred wood recovered indicate the use of wood as prominent architectural element i.e. for making roofs and doors. The excavated area has been eroded; a result of which a continuous decreased level of the hieght of the structures from east to west-wards is evident.

A few number of antiquities were recovered during excavation, which include six copper coins, one stucco headless Buddha in Dhayanamudra, iron object i.e. nails, clips, terracotta beads, stone pestles, grinding stones and pottery include one condenser, oil lamp, animal bones, a gambling disc and several incomplete pots in fragments. The pottery is wheel turned, red ware is prominent and black ware of quite rare fine fabric. Some of the forms included small sized plain red ware vessels with tapering sides and flat base, a terracotta water condenser and dull red were bowls. Almost all the types and forms of pottery recovered on the site were typically of Buddhist period of utilitarian rather than ceremonial types and were comparable to many other sites in the Taxila valley

Conclusion

A tentative chronology of the excavated remains has been established with the help of numismatics study being done by Ashraf Khan and Gul Rahim, published in the Journal of Asian Civilizations, Taxila Institute of Asian Civilizations. The site belongs to late 2nd century CE on the basis of numismatic evidence, sealings and stone masonry that help us to date the site to the Kushan period.

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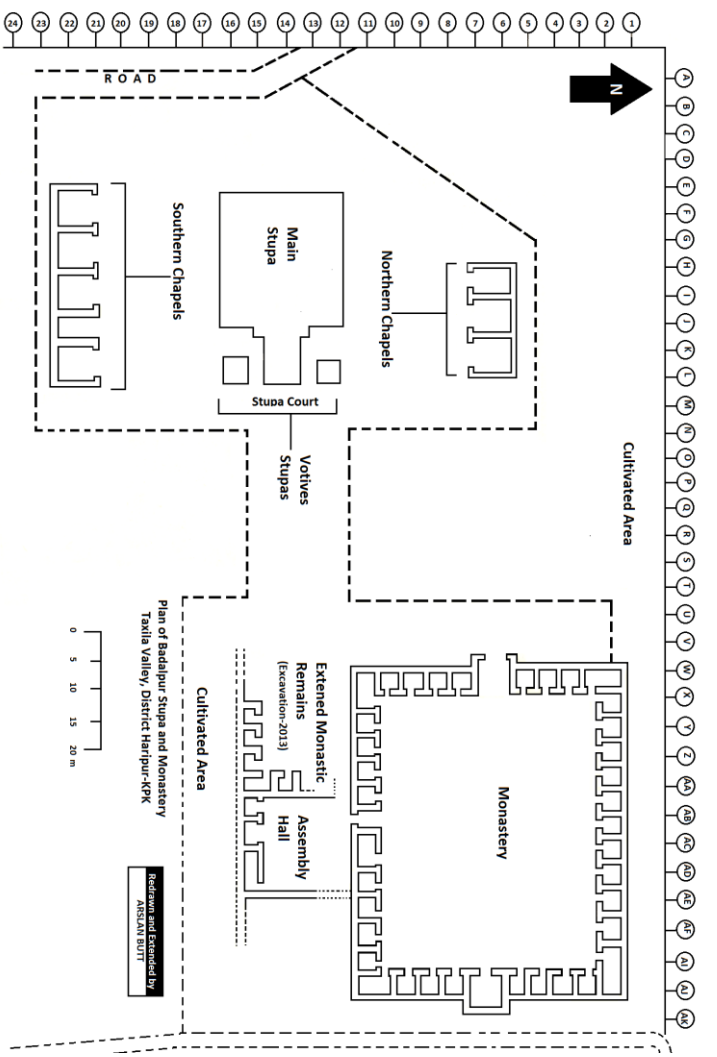
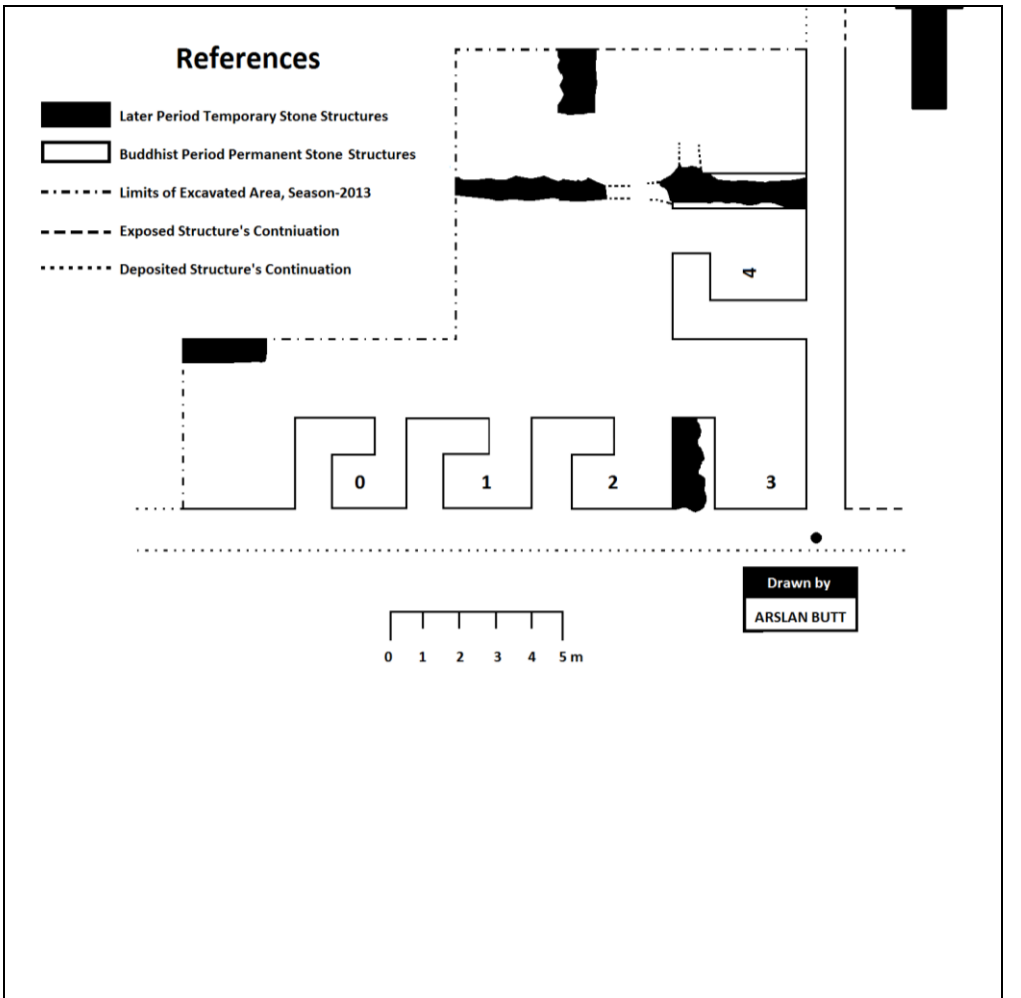
Plate I



Extended Plan of Badalpur Site

Plate II



Plan of Excavated Additional Monastery-Season 2013

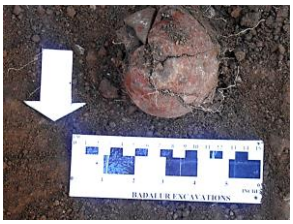
		
Fig 9: Condensor *"insithu"*	Fig 10: Oil lamp *"insithu"*	Fig 11: Headless stucco Buddha sculpture
		
Fig 12: Cooking pot in fragments lying "insithu" n square AA 15	Fig 13: Storage jar lying "insithu" in cell # 3	Fig 14: Storage jar lying *"insithu"* in cell # 1
		
Fig 15: Copper coi lyng *"insithu"* in cell # 1	Fig 16: Copper coins lying "*insithu"* in cell # 4	

		
Fig 17: Storage Jar	Fig 18: Cooking Pot	Fig 19: Lid
		
Fig 20: Condensor	Fig 21: Storage Jar	Fig 22: Miniature vase

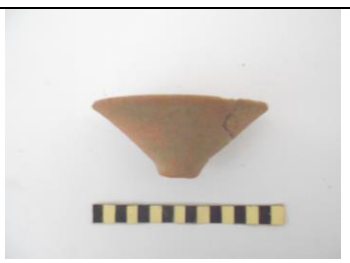



Fig 23: Bowl	Fig 24: Oil Lamp	Fig 25: Storage Jar

-4-
Gandhara Art: Historical and Religious Importance and Symbolism of the Elephant

Ghani-ur-Rahman
Sarfaraz Khan
Akhtar Hussain

Abstract

Buddhism and the Buddhist art of Gandhara represent a bright chapter of the history of Pakistan. About Buddhism we find texts in different parts of the world which narrates the life of Buddha and his teachings. Art, in addition, narrates about the environment of the society

Gandhara art has played a very significant role as an expression language which very effectively narrates not only Buddha's life story and his teachings but also the society of ancient Gandhara which include humans of different ethnic groups, flora and fauna.

For this work the importance and symbolism of an important animal, the elephant, has been selected which was a key animal in Hindu-Buddhist mythology and which was widely sculptured in Gandhara that show the diffusion of Hindu-Buddhist philosophy on this land. The significance of this animal can be understood from the most significant fact that Buddha Śākyamuni opted to be conceived by Maya in a dream for the last time as a white elephant.

Historical Importance of the Elephant

Animals found in the Indus Valley show some kind of sacred or magical importance. It is not clear whether in the Indus valley there was any importance of elephant separately but from the seals excavated from Mohen-jo Daro it seems that elephant had a prominent place in their religion or mythology.

According to Gupta (1983), it seems that from Indus Valley age up to the age of the Mauryas elephant cult continued to exist beside many other animals. The Maurya kings exploited the popularity of animal worship for their own purpose. All the Aśokan pillars can be seen surmounted by elephant and other animal capitals only.

Elephant has influenced the life of man from prehistoric times. Figures of elephants on ivory, bones, cave paintings and later sculptures found on banks of Nile prove that the ancient Egyptians were quite familiar with the beast. It was also known to the ancient Persians and Mesopotamians.

In Indian history the elephant is known as early as the Indus civilization. For among the animals on the seals elephant have a prominent place. Alexander the great found great difficulty when he arrived to India and faced elephant in the war.

The Macedonians and Romans later, too, employed the animal after knowing its importance.

Perhaps the Vedic Āryas had developed the art of taming the elephant and by the sixth century B.C. the catching and taming of the elephant had become a very refined art.

In the Epics elephant is mentioned drawing the war chariots and in the form of Gajasena division played a very important role.

Even in the Mughal times the elephant played a very important role and the Mughals were very fond of and even proud of having this important animal as there dignified vehicle and also and important division in the wars (Gupta 1983: 11, 61-69).

The existence of life in ancient India has been proved to be present at Mehrgarh with a time span of the 7th millennium to the mid-3rd millennium BCE[1]. In the Indian Subcontinent Mehrgarh is the site where domestication of animals and plants took place. Initially the animal economy of the site was dominated by twelve animal species including elephant (*Elephas maximus*) which has been termed by Richard Meadow as "12 species[2] of what might be termed 'big game'" (Possehl 1990: 264-265; Kenoyer 1991: 356). Archaeological research and excavations had proved it that elephant was also known to the

[1] Going through the Rig Veda, reference may be found to rhinoceros and bull while buffalo and elephant are missing which show that Indus people were familiar with these two animals (elephant and buffalo) before the Rig Veda was composed (Sharma 1999: 40).

[2] These twelve species are gazelle (Gazella dorcas), swamp deer (Cervus duvauceli), nilgai (Boselaphus tragocamelus), blackbuck (Antelope cervicapra), onager (Equus hemionus), chital or dotted deer (Axis axis), water buffalo (Bubalus bubalis), wild sheep (Ovis orientalis), wild goat (Capra aegagrus), wild cattle (Bos namadicus), wild pig (Sus scrofa) and elephant (Elephas maximus) (Possehl 1990: 265).

people of the Indus Civilization in the 3rd millennium BCE. Seals have been discovered at various sites of the Indus Valley Civilization depicting elephant[3] with other animals such as zebu, rhinoceros and unicorn etc (Fitzsimons 1970: 17; Srinivasan 1984: 81; McIntosh 2008: 259). According to McIntosh, 'A unicorn seal on the packages allowed those handling them to recognize that these were intended for internal distribution, while those bearing an elephant seal might have been intended for use in the external exchange network' (McIntosh 2008: 259).

There is a famous seal bearing number 420 in the Mackay's collection. According to Sir John Marshall[4] the main figure surrounded by wild animals, may be a deity. He is of the opinion that the main figure on the seal is the forerunner of Shiva or 'Lord of the Beast' (*Pasupati*). On this famous seal elephant has been depicted with other animals such as rhinoceros, buffalo, two deer or antelope, and a tiger. It may be that these animals form a *mandala,* where each represents one of the cardinal directions (Sullivan 1964: 118-119; Srinivasan 1984: 81-82; Dhyansky 1987: 92; McIntosh 2008: 285).

Hindu Traditions and Elephant

"In Indian Mythology the elephant par excellence is Airāvata, the milk-white elephant. The literary meanings of Airāvata are: 'a descendent of Irāvati', 'produced from the ocean', and the name of a mythical serpent [*nāga*]'. He is also known as Abhra matanga, 'cloud elephant" (Bannerjea 1927: 11). Airavata was the celestial elephant king and used by Indra as his vehicle. Airavat is popularly known as the white elephant with wings. His lineage has been traced as under: he was the descendant of the sage Kasyapa from a maternal line that is Kasyapa's

[3] A Harappan cylindrical seal has been recovered from an Akkadian house depicting three animals including elephant (Lamberg-Karlovsky 1972: 224).

[4] Sir Hubert John Marshall led the Archaeological Survey of India from 1902 to 1928. During his Director-Generalship, Marshall discovered the Indus Civilization with the collaboration of his Indian colleagues in 1924. He announced the discovery of the Indus Civilization in the the *Illustrated London News* on 20th September 1924. Marshall continued his archaeological excavation and research in colloboration with his Indian colleagues from 1923-1931 (Murray 2001: 654; 2007: 236, 335, 352; Smith 2006: 109; McIntosh 2008: 29-31).

wife Krodhavasa, their daughter Bhadramata, her daughter Iravati and then Airavata (Williams 2003: 52).

According to Gupta (1983)[5] in the most important myth regarding the milk white elephant it is related that it was produced during the churning of the great cosmic ocean. The task of the churning of the Ocean (*samūdramānthana*) was done by *Devas* and *Āsūras*. The main objective was to get Amr□ta (the drink of immortality) with the drinking of which one achieves immortality. At the end of the churning they, together with Amr□ta, produced seven rat□n□a-s (jewels) including the milk white elephant.

According to the legend at one time the *Āsūras* became extremely powerful because of the Samjivāni Vidya revealed to their teacher Sukrachārya by Śiva. The *Deva-s* were frightened and approached Brahmā. He advised them to cultivate friendship with the *Āsūra-s*. *The Deva-s* did the same and proposed to the *Āsūra-s* for the churning of the ocean (*samūdramānthana*) with the force of both the parties' together to get the Amr□ta and become immortal. The *Āsūra-s* accepted and with the help of the cosmic tortoise (Kūrma) which presented its back and the churning stick was made of the Mān□dara Mountain and the rope was of Ananta Śes□a or the Cosmic Serpent. Vis□n□ū was approached by both of them who was sleeping in the midst of the ocean on his abode, and asked him to lead the great task. Vis□n□ū accepted and the churning of the ocean started and went forth for the next one hundred years. After which the success was achieved and a number of jewels (*ratna-s*) were obtained from the ocean beside the Amr□ta.

In the *Mahābhārata* the list of ratna-s are found in two places. At one place seven ratna are counted. They are the Soma, Śri, Sūra, Turga, Kaustubhamani, Dhanvantari, and Amr□ta. Here there is no mention of airāvata but on a second place there is another list as follow: Parijāta, Surabhi, Airāvata, Visa, Apsarā, Jyes□t□ha and Amr□ta.

The Mastya Purān□a also narrates the legend and mentions the ratna-s produced from the ocean but, like *Mahābhārata*, this text also mentions two different lists at two places, one again includes Airāvata while the other does not. In the first list nine ratna are included which are: the Soma, Śri, Sūrya, Turga, Kaustubha Mani, Parijāta, Kalakuta,

[5] The following detail has been taken from S. K. Gupta (1983)

Dhanvantari and Amr□ta. The second list includes Madira, Amr□ta, Surabhi, Laks□mī, Kalakuta, Kaustubha, Gajendra, Haya-ratna, Dhanvantari, Chattra and Kundala. In the later *Purān□a-s* the number of *ratn□a-s* was increased to fourteen (Gupta 1983: 4, 21).

According to a legend, there are eight elephants that are guarding the eight zones of the universe (ashtha-dikpalakas). Among these eight elephants, Airavata protected the eastern zone (Williams 2003: 52).

According to the *Mahābhārata*, after taking birth along other ratnas from the celestial waters during the churning of the ocean, elephant was adopted by Indra as his vehicle (*vāhana*). This paved the way for its association with royalty (William 2003: 52).

According to the *Purān□as* and Buddhist texts a Cakravartin king-universal monarch-possesses seven ratnas including the celestial elephant. Buddha, according to the text, had two options, either to become a *cakravartin* king or a Buddha and it is because of this legend that his followers cremated him like a *cakravartin* king and monumented him in the form of a *stūpa* which was a traditional way to monument a *cakravartin* king. It was this legend and the desire of the followers of Buddha that the elephant is to be related with him as one of the important *cakravartin ratn□a* (Gupta 1983: 4, 21).

> "Another post-Vedic legend describes the birth of Airāvata from the cosmic golden egg (hiranyagārbha) out of which the sun emerged. At the request of the sages, Brahmā took the two halves of the broken shell in his hands and breathed life into them. Out of the one came Airāvata and seven other male elephants.....while out of the second sprang eight female elephant which became the consorts of the former. These eight pairs, known as Diggajas, stand in the eight quarters of the sky and bear it on their sturdy backs. Airāvata and his mate Abhramū guard the east [.....] however; the mythical account of the Diggajas gave birth to the notion that elephants support the earth" (Gupta 1983: 7, Coleman 2007: 38).

It is important to note that the concept of the elephant as a jewel of the *Ćakravartin* is not of an ordinary elephant but of a celestial one which brings luck and abundance to the king and his kingdom (Gupta 1983: 6, 19, 55-56, 63-69).

The legend that elephant was produced from the celestial waters beside other celestial jewels paved the way for its association with Śrī, the goddess of abundance and with Indra, the god of rain. It was also associated with the idea that it attracts rains. Thus it became also the symbol of fertility (Ibid).

The association of elephant with clouds and rain paved the ground for the development of a cult around him. In the *Gīta* elephant is listed among folk divinities under the name of *Airāvata-gāja* (*Bhagavadgīta*, *Vibhūtiyoga,* ch. X) (Ibid).

The origin of the worship of Gan□eśa is obscure but Ganeśa has made the animal elephant immortal. Crooke sees in Gan□eśa a Dravidian Sun God. A.K Coomaraswamy believes that *Gan□eśa* being a folk godling has affinities with *yākśa-s* and *nāga-s* (Ibid).

There are several legends about the birth of Gan□eśa. One legend says that he was the off spring of Śiva and Pārvati when they were once living as elephants in the hills to experience the delight of animal life (Bonnerjea 1927: 93, Wlliams 2003: 51).

The *Vaman□a Purān□a* narrates that Gan□eśa was born from the sweat of Śiva and Pārvati and was given the name of Vināyaka because Pārvati created him with out a husband (*vinā-nāyakena*).

According to the *Brāhmavaivarta Purān□a* when Śiva and Pārvati were making love, Vis□nu took the form of a thirsty Brāhman□a and went to the bed room and asked for water. The Śiva arose, and his seed fell on the bed. After they had presented him with food and water the Brāhmana took the form of child, went to the bed and became mixed with the seed of Śiva. Pārvati found the child, nursed him and gave him the name of Gan□eśa (Gupta 1983: 6, 19, 55-56, 63-69).

Buddhist Traditions and the Elephant

Early Buddhist traditions narrated that Buddha in his previous lives as prince Visvantara or Vessantara lived at *Shahbaz Garhi*[6], flourished as

[6] *Shahbaz Garhi* is a historic city lying on ancient trade and pilgrimage route leading to Hund in the east and connecting Taxila (an important city and capital of the Gandhara civilization) crossing the Indus near Hund. *Shahbaz Garhi* is located about 76 km in the north-east of Peshawar and 14 km in the east of the Mardan city on the main Mardan- Swabi-Buner road as the road leads to Sawabi in the east and to Rustam (Sudham valley) and Buner in the north passing through the famous ancient valley of Sudana (Su-ta-na or Sudana of Chinese source) i.e. the present day Sudham

a commercial and cultural city during Kushan Period. *Shahbaz Garhi* had also been mentioned in Chinese itineraries. XuánZàng named it as *Po-lu-sha* (*Palusha*) located 200 li in the south-east of Samaka Tope. It was here at *Palusha* that Buddha as prince donated the imperial white elephant in charity. The white elephant attracts clouds and clouds result in raining. So that imperial white elephant was the symbol of prosperity. The people of the kingdom exiled the prince. Chanaka dheri stupa commemorates the charity of the white elephant by Buddha. Chanaka dheri is located in the north of *Shahbaz Garhi* (Palusha) as mentioned by XuánZàng (Watters 1904: 217; Samad 2011: 124; Campbell 1972: 102).

According to Buddhist Jataka Tales, the royal parents of the Buddha (Queen Maya and King Suddhudana) were living in a palace on the foothills of the Himalayas. Queen Maya dreamt that Bodhisattva assumed the shape of an elephant with white lotus in his tusk. The elephant had been descended from the heaven and circled around her bed. Then he thrust his tusk in her and that was the conception of the Buddha, Siddhartha Gautama (Samad 2011: 187; Olson 2009: 166).

Elephant was one of the four animals used in early Buddhist literature as similes and metaphors. These animals are lion, elephant, the bull and the horse. These animals also found their place in Asokan, Sunga and Satavahana art as symbolical and decorative motifs. Out these four animals, three animals_ bull, horse and elephant were domesticated while lion remained wild. The domesticated three (bull, horse and elephant) are considered the source of prosperity along with jewels, land, slaves and servants. Horse and elephant are mentioned among the jewels (*ratanani*) of a 'universal monarch' (*cakkavatti*)

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valley. In ancient times, the crossing at the Indus was at *Hund* (*Udbhandapura*), fifteen miles in the north of the present day crossing Khiarabad (Attock). Being on a Crossroad, *Shahbaz Garhi* connected *Pushkalavati* (Po-sih-kie-lo-pa-ti of XuánZàng) (23 miles) in the west, *Hund* (33 miles) in the east and two roads led to Swat in the north: one to the north through *Rustam* in *Sudama* valley (11 miles) passing over *Karakar* Pass to *Swat* and other through Jamal Garhi (13 miles in north west) over the *Shahkot* pass to the lower valley of Swat and beyond to Dir and Bajaur. *Shahbaz Garhi* flourished as a commercial and cultural city during Kushan Period (Beal 1888: 64, Dani 1964:2-3). Alexander Cunningham identified Palusha of XuánZàng with modern Palo-dheri located 40 miles in the north-east of modern Charsadda (Pushkaravati or Hashtnagar) (Cunningham 1871: 51-52, Watters 1904: 217).

(Gokhale 1974: 111-113). Alongside the economic role of the elephant, religious sanctity is also proved from canonical as well as folk[7] literature. The Kusa Jataka and the Matiposaka jataka are about the elephant. The Kusa Jataka is about *Hatthimangala* (elephant festival) while the Matiposaka Jataka is abouttwo Jatakas about stone images for the religious ceremonies (Gokhale 1974: 112). Being a declared royal animal, the eating of elephant's flesh was forbidden for the monks by the rules of Vinaya (Gokhale 1974: 111-112). Elephant is also used as omen in the interpretation of dreams. Two bad omens are attached with ridding an elephant by queen. First, dreaming of sitting on the back of a white elephant means the death of the king while touching the moon ridding the same elephant is being interpreted as an attack by the hostile king on the queen's husband (Gokhale 1974: 112-113).If the queen.

The relevance of elephant with Buddhism especially with Bodhisattva mentioned in Jatakas and other Buddhist literature has described by Gokhale in these words:

> The Bodhisatta, for instance, is shown as being born as an elephant in several *Jataka* stories of which the *Chaddanta* is the most celebrated. The Buddha is compared to a tamer of elephants; his ability to suffer pain patiently is likened to that of an elephant; and the *arahat* too is described as the lonely one like the elephant disporting himself in the forest or not being frightened of lightening like the elephant. The simile of the elephant's footprint (*hatthipadopama*) occurs in two famous *suttas* or the *Majjhima Nikaya* and the *Therigatha* is replete with elephant symbolism in a variety of contexts. There is also the mention of an architectural motif called *Hatthinakhaka* which seems to have been a pillar with the capital of elephant-heads. This motif existed during the time of Buddha himself as the Buddha allowed the *Samgha* to accept a house with such pillars donated by the great laywoman Visakha Migaramata (Gokhale 1974:113).

The white elephant has also been used as the symbol for the conception of the Bodhisattva in his final life on his way to Buddhahood. It is also used in Ashokan epigraphy and art for Buddha himself. So we may safely that elephant had acquired quasi-divine character both in Brahmanical and Buddhist traditions and even the elephant had also

[7] There is a well-known motif in folklore in which wild elephant is lured through lute and it is indicated in the story of Udena and Canddapajjota (Gokhale 1974: 112).

acquired a cult-significance with its own distinct festivals. Being part of the paraphernalia of the 'universal monarch', the elephant was adopted in Buddhist art and literature to present the Buddha figure and mission with aspects of universal spiritual power. According to Ray, elephant, bull and lion are animals common in early Brahmanical traditions and when elephant called 'excellent one' or the 'white one' is specifically Buddhist one connotation (Gokhale 1974: 114, 117). So elephant stood for the conception of the Bodhisattva by Mayadevi and symbolized a miraculous-cum-historical significance in the history of Buddhism (Gokhale 1974: 117). So elephant became the symbol of prosperity and power in the public mind and got the status of emblem of the powerful Magadhan Empire and its ruler, Asoka (Gokhale 1974: 118).

Once the Buddha was born as elephant and became the leader of eighty thousand elephants in the Himalayas. It is obvious from the request of mother quail request to spare her baby quails in these words:

Elephant of sixty years,
Forest lord amongst thy peers,
I am but a puny bird,
Thou a leader of the herd;
With my wings I homage pay,
Spare my little ones, I pray (Biswick 1956: 71).

He stood on the babies of the quail till all the elephants passed save one who did not obey him as leader of the elephants. The rogue elephant earned the enmity of the mother quail by slaying all her babies. Quail made an alliance with crow, blue fly and frog and destroyed the rogue elephant.

The Master added, "Brethren, one should not incur the hostility of anyone. These four combined, weak as they were, destroyed the elephant." He identified the rogue elephant as Devadatta and leader of the elephants as Buddha himself (Biswick 1956: 72-73).

Once Buddha told his follower that he was born as white elephant in the Himalayas. He encountered Devadatta as hunter, himself as good king elephant and Sariputta as the Tree Sprite. Going through Jataka tales, one finds that Buddha was born as elephant six times (Biswick 1956: 74-75, Monier-Williams1886: 148).

Devadatta was the jealous cousin of the Buddha and always tried to harm Buddha. So once he unleashed a drunken elephant Nalagiri on Buddha. The drunken elephant was about to trample him but in the meantime Buddha Sakyamuni raised his right hand with fingers close together. This gesture not only stpped the elephant but also subdued him. The gesture is known as *Abhayamudra* in Sanskrit meaning fearlessness (Saunders 1958: 56, Coleman 2007: 40).

About Abhayamudra Saunders writes as "This is the gesture of intrepidity, of courage and of audacity. This mudra, through which was able to protect the Buddha against the elephant, will protect the believer against the assaults of evil" (Saunders 1958: 56).

What made the elephant so important that Buddha Śākyamuni opted for taking the shape of it while deciding to be born for the last time for the salvation of humans and gods? For the better understanding of the importance of the elephant it is necessary to search for its roots in Indian myths, ancient religious texts and history.

One should keep in mind that Buddhist doctrine was born out of the Vedic code and a society which was influenced by this scripture and thus was called Vedic society. It is this reason that Buddhists freely make use of the Brahmanic established mythic and cosmic systems. Because of this importance of the Brahmanic culture we will first see what the myths say regarding the elephant in Brahmanism[8].

Like the Hindū literature, in the Buddhist literature too, the elephant was described as having the power of attracting rains from the heaven. This power was supposed to be more pronounced in the white elephant. *Viśvāntara Jātaka* is a proof of the belief where Buddha Śākyamuni in on of his previous life was a prince named Viśvāntara who possessed a white elephant which had the power to attract rain.

Bodhisattva as an Elephant

A white elephant example is found in *Chaddānta Jātaka*[9] where Buddha Śākyamuni as a *Bodhisattva* in the form of a white elephant,

[8] According to Hindu popular belief, the earth is carried by elephant and when he is shaking himself, then the earth is jolting. To them elephant is responsible for the earth-quack. Hindus also had the belief that earth-bearing elephant is supported by tortoise (Bonnerjea 1927: 74, 77, 233).

[9] See Ibid, pp. 37-41.

named Chaddānta, with six tusks ruled over the herd of eight thousand elephants near a lake in Himalayas. He had two consorts namely Cullabhādra and Mahāsubhādra. Cullabhādra which was the chief of consort became harshly jealous because of several happenings and thought that the king elephant loved Mahāsubhādra.

She worshipped to Pratyeka Buddha and made a desire to be born in the family of the King of Madda and then married to the king of Banaras. Then she gave up taking food and died. Her wish was fulfilled and she was born in Madda and later married to the king of Banaras.

As the queen of Banaras she recalled that she had made a promise in her previous birth to teach a lesson to the Chaddānta elephant. She prepared everything necessary for hunting. She sent hunters and instructed them to cut and bring the colourful six tusks of the elephant king. The hunters went to the forest indicated by the queen and wounded the elephant from a covered pit. The elephant with pain tried to kill the hunter but as the hunter was wearing the yellow robe which was the symbol of sainthood. The feelings of anger extinguished and he asked the hunter why did he want him? The hunter told him the truth and he understood that she was his previous wife. Chaddānta asked the hunter to cut his tusks and present them to the queen and even he helped the hunter while he was cutting.

When the hunter arrived in front of the queen and showed her the tusks. The tusks at once brought her the memories of her lord in her previous birth and her heart became filled with great sorrow and she died. By this sacrifice of the Elephant-King Chaddānta enlightened his consort. This became one of the popular subjects for Indian sculptors and painters (Gupta 1983: 37-41).

Another Bodhisattva Elephant

Once upon a time when Brāhmadatta was ruling over Banaras[10], The Bodhisattva was born in the form of a white elephant. He ruled over eighty thousand elephants. He worshipped and was obedient to his blind mother.

It was the duty of his fellow elephants to collect sweet wild fruits for her mother. Once he found that they were giving nothing to her mother which was a painful discovery for him. One night he left his

[10] See Ibid, pp. 41-45.

fellow elephants and went away to the mount Chandorana, taking his mother with him. There he started cherishing her and both started living happily, but this did not last long.

One day a certain forester who lived in the city of Banaras lost his way. He started crying with a loudly and hearing this, the Bodhisattva went and helped him getting out of the forest. But the man went to the king and told him about the beautiful white elephant who was already in search of one. The king sent his trainer and he brought the elephant to the king. The king presented him with the best food but the elephant refused with out her mother who would be hungry in the forest. The king besought the Bodhisāttva to eat as in the future he had to serve the king. The Great Being told him about his blind mother and that he could not eat with out his mother. The king on hearing this freed the mighty elephant and who after arrival to the hills went straight to his mother and started serving her with obedience.

The king built a town near the place and served the Great Being and his mother continuously. Afterwards when the mother of the Bodhisāttva died, he went away. Thereupon the king had a stone image of the *Bodhisāttva* made and to which he paid great honour. It became a great centre of the elephant- festival.

Entering of the elephant in the body of Māyā symbolises the non natural existence of Bodhisāttva inside Māyā's womb. He was not to born like other humans, it was a divine decision to transform him from the heaven through a medium (Māyā or better to say an illusion) to the earth.

Presence of the elephant is the presence of divine existence. Being one of the symbols of the sun, elephant symbolises the light of Knowledge. After attaining Buddhahood Śākyamuni was also called the eye of the world, same like the sun (Gupta 1983: 41-45).

To conclude we can say that elephant has been an important animal not only historically but also religiously. Through out history it got importance for its need and then it evolved into spiritual attachment because of its nature, body and majestic walk.

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Fig. No. 1: Mohenjo-daro seal no. 420, Elephant on the upper right end, National Museum of Pakistan, Karachi, (from Marshal 1931)

Fig. No. 2: Sketch of Mohenjo-daro seal no. 420, (from Marshal 1931)

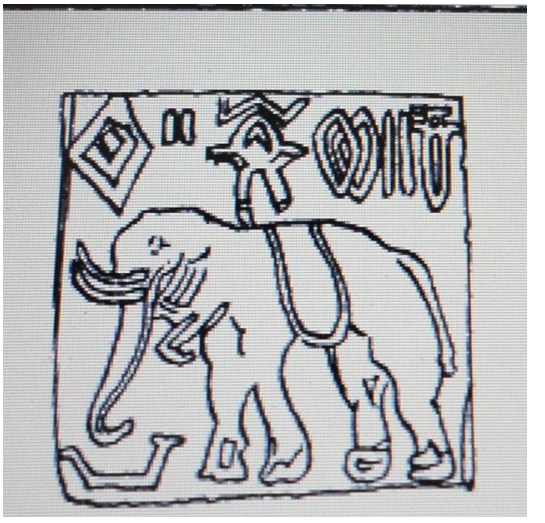

Fig. No. 3: Another sketch of a seal depicting elephant (Marshal 1931)

Fig. No. 4: The Dream of Māyā on a Stūpa drum panel, Grey schist, From Jamālgar□hī, The British Museum, (Zwalf 1996, Fig.no.141)

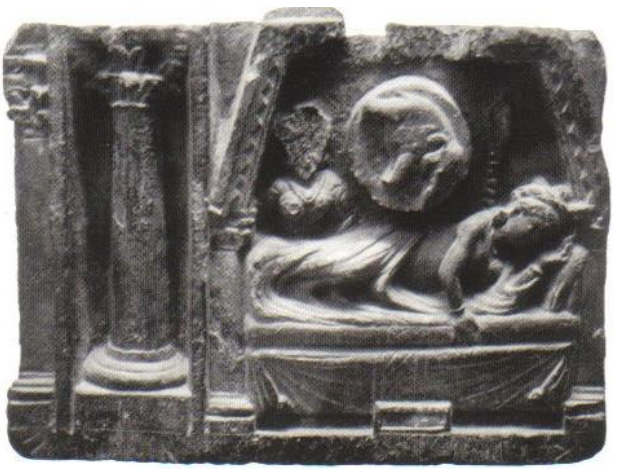

Fig. No. 5: The Dream of Māyā, Grey Schist, From Sikri, Lahore Museum, (Kurita 2003, Fig.no.19)

Fig. No. 6: The Dream of Māyā, Green Schist, From Dhir, Private Collection Japan, (Kurita 2003, Fig. no. PI-III)

Fig. No. 7: The Attempt of murdering Buddha by Devadatta's hirelings and subjugation of the elephant by Buddha, Grey schist, Provenance Unknown, © Spink & Son Ltd., London, (Kurita 2003, Fig. No. 432)

Fig. No. 8: The Attempt of murdering Buddha by Devadatta's hirelings and subjugation of the mad elephant by Buddha, Grey Schist, Provenance Unknown, (Ashraf Khan and Lone 2004, P. 68)

Fig. No. 9: Devadatta's Assassination Attempt and Subjugation of the elephant by Buddha, Green Schist, from Swat, Archaeological Museum Swat, (Photo by the author)

Fig. No. 10: Devadatta's Assassination attempt and subjugation of the mad elephant by Buddha, Schist Stone, From Swat, Archaeological Museum Swat, (Makin Khan 1999, Fig. No. 59)

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Recent Discovery of Petroglyphs at Parwak, District Chitral, Pakistan

Fawad Khan

Abstract
In Pakistan, till recently, the world knew only about the rock carvings of the northern areas of Pakistan. But in the recent years several researchers have documented rock carvings in the other areas of Pakistan too which include the areas of Sindh and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The present researcher found some undocumented rock carvings in Chitral which are the focus of this paper.

Introduction
District Chitral, located between 71°12´ and 73° 53´ east longitude and between 35° 13´ and 36° 55´ north latitude, representing the north-western boundaries of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province, is the most secluded region of the Province but is famous for its rich Cultural heritage throughout the world. Chitral is bordered with Afghan provinces of Badakhshan in the west and Wakhan in the north, the Northern Areas of Pakistan in the east, and the Districts of Dir and Swat ino the south (Ali et al 2002: 647).

Previous Researches
The petroglyphs have been reported from different regions of Pakistan especially the Northern Areas (Now Gilgit-Baltistan). Around 50,000 Petroglyphs and inscriptions have been documented by the German Expedition under the supervisions of Karl Jettmar, *Herald Hauptman* and Ahmad Hassan Dani in the Northern Areas of Pakistan. Italian scholars, especially Olivieri and Vidale have also documented many rock art sites in Swat valley (Olivieri and Vidale 2004, 2005). A few rock art sites have also been reported from Balochistan (Qamar 1976-1986). The two rock-art sites of Chiniot have also been reported by Pakistani scholars (Mughal 1999; Hayat 2001; and Saleem 2002) Recently, a number of rock art-sites have been documented by Kalhoro (2009, 2010, 2011) in Dadu and Larkana districts of Sindh

which belonged to different periods.

As far as District Chitral is concerned, it was Sir Aurel Stein who for the first time reported the Pakhtoradini and Charun rock carvings of a stupa and Brahmi inscription, and rock carvings near Moroi (Stein 1921: 34-40). Moreover, Nasim Khan has added a few more petroglyph sites at Jhondak, Gumast and Shoor Guucch (Khan 2002: 179-181). A large number of petroglyphs at different regions of District Chitral belonged to both Pre-historic and Historicity periods. The historic period engravings mostly represent the Buddhist carvings of stupa which were documented by the Archaeological Survey of District Chitral conducted by Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, NWFP (now Khyber Pakhtunkhwa) in 2004 (Ali etal 2005: 91-100). Alberto Cacopardo revisited the rock carvings mentioned by Sir Aurel Stein (Cacopardo 2007: 377-389).

The Present Findings

The newly discovered petroglyphs in District Chitral were found in the Parwak valley which is located about 95 km north-east of Chitral town. Previously, Sir Aurel Stein (1921) mentioned about the presence of a fort belonging to a Muslim saint, Darbatoshali Noghor in the area. Ali and Zahir explored Gandhara Grave sites dated back to 1600 B.C (Ali et al, 2005: 135-182).

The present findings were result of accidental discovery when I was taken by a local friend to the three different rock art sites. (Pl. 1). Due to non-availability of equipment and not enough time, we just took simple photographs and rough measurements. Most of the petroglyphs were re-chalked by the local people and it became quite difficult to know the exact nature of original engravings. These petroglyphs are also under threat due to quarrying activities by the local contractor for the newly under construction Parwak – Mastuj road.

Petroglyphs

A. Tor Lasht

The site is located north of Parwak Bala on the left side of new Parwak-Mastuj Road. A large number of petroglyphs were documented which were mostly re-chalked by local inhabitants. These petroglyphs included anthropomorhs, animals, hunting scenes and dancing figures

(Pl. 2, 3, 4, 5).

B. Nasargol

This site is also located close by towards west of previous site. The carvings assumed here were of the same nature. Although, here most of them are worn out and scratched by local people (Pl. 6, 7, 8, 9).

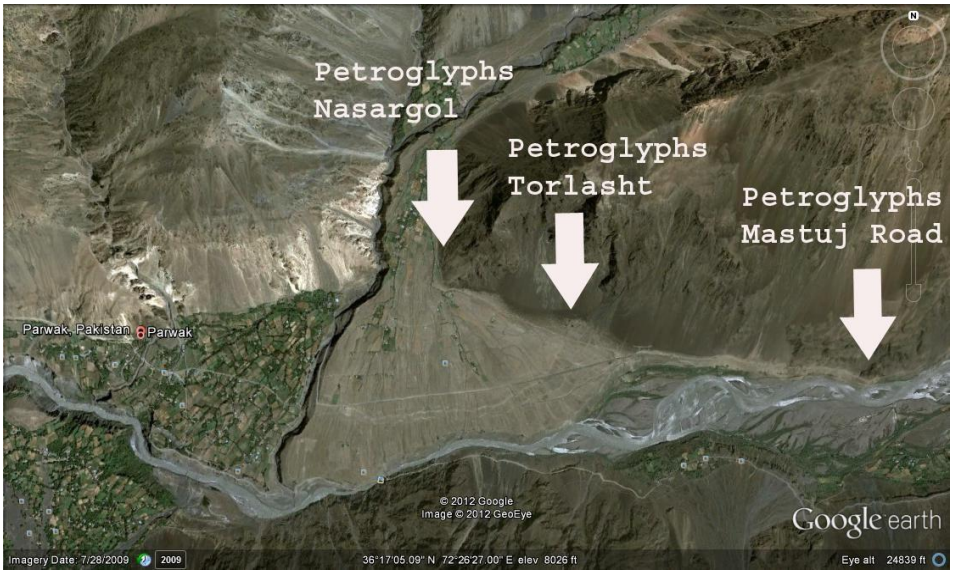
C. Petroglyphs along new Parwak - Mastuj Road

These petroglyphs are located on the new Parwak - Mastuj road. Traces of anthropomorphs, zoomorphs and hunting scenes were documented (Pl. 10, 11, 12, 13).

The only way to suggest proper dates for these carvings is to classify them into groups on the basis of patina, style and superimposition. The location of the site is also such at a place that one can wait till dawn or other suitable weather to take clear photographs. However the nature of some visible carvings may be placed in prehistoric times.

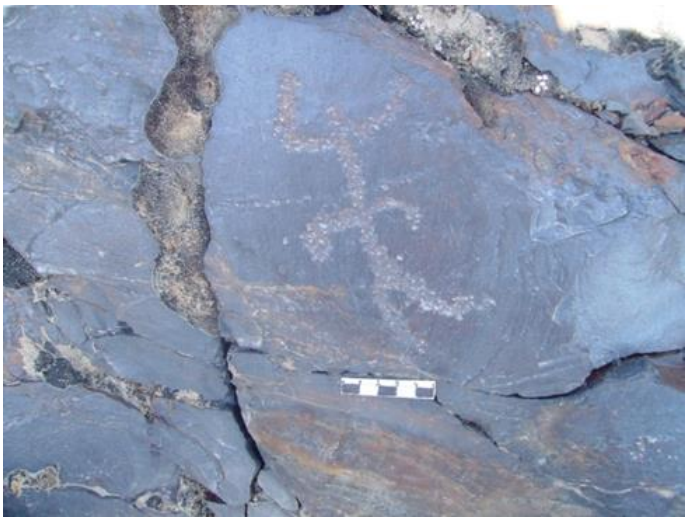
Conclusion:

Earlier, researches on the rock art of Pakistan was confined only to the northern areas, however, the recent discoveries have spread its scope wide over. These rock carvings may also point out to the ancient routes which is still in use and is the only connecting passage from Central Asia through Chitral to Gilgit-Baltistan (former Northern Areas). Still this route needs further investigations in order to add new chapters to the rock art of Pakistan. It is also helping as a new tool in the reconstruction of the history of the region.

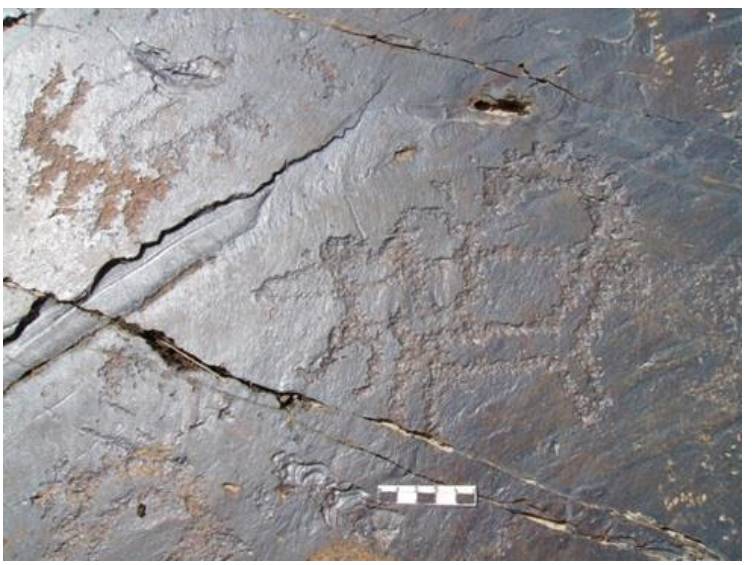


Pl. 1 Satellite image of Parwak showing location of the petroglyphs

Pl. 2 A huge boulder showing carvings and vandalism



Pl. 3 Closer view of a dancing (?) figure from Pl. 2



Pl. 4. Hunting scene from Pl. 2

Pl. 5 Boulder representing hunting scene

Pl. 6 Vandalism at Nasargol

Pl. 7 Boulder showing different figures and vandalism

Pl. 8. Boulder representing human figures with extended arms

Pl. 9 Carvings which are victim of vandalism

Pl. 10 Boulder with animal and human figures

Pl. 11 Boulder containing anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures

Pl. 12 Boulder representing animal figures

Pl. 13 Boulder representing showing animal figures and vandalism

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-6-
Prehistoric Circular Tombs in Mol Valley, Sindh-Kohistan, Pakistan

Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

Abstract

This paper is about the discovery of prehistoric circular tombs in Mol Valley which I found during the survey of the megaliths in the Kohistan region of Sindh. The circular structures had been illegally dug by the treasure-hunters. In this paper, I will present my observations on these burial sites. Moreover, I have also interviewed the diggers to find out the actual architecture of these circular tombs. The information about the graves' goods and the positions of the dead bodies in these graves was also taken from the tomb-raiders.

Introduction

The Sindh-Kohistan region, located between the main hilly ranges of Balochistan and the Indus alluvial plains, is a scattered, low-lying hilly area with gravelly soil that was covered at some time with alluvial soil suitable for the purpose of cultivation and an alluvium-rich valley. The main hilly sequences of Sindh Kohistan are Lakhi, Kambhu, Badhar, Bhit and Dumbar (Quddus 1992:197).

Thana Bula Khan, a tehsil of District Jamshoro, is the main town in Sindh-Kohistan. The drainage slope of hill torrents in the area is towards Baran Nai. Most of the catchments of Thana Bula Khan collect the surplus of run-off through Desoi, Dawoo, Darwat and other torrents during the periods of intensive rain (Mirjat et al 2011: 104). The main hill torrents that traverse the landscape of Thana Bula Khan Tehsil are Baran, Desoi, Drigh, Loyachh, Morai and Mol (Kalhoro 2011.141).

Mol Town, which derives its name from the Mol Nai, is also very rich in archaeological sites. The Mol, starting from a height of 2,000 feet, continues to flow southward until it unites with Khadeji, and the combined stream, well-known as the "Malir", falls into the sea by way of the Ghizri Creek, a little distance east of Karachi (Lambrick 1986:45). On both banks of the Mol Nai, a large number of ancient

settlement sites, rock-art sites, megalithic structures and pre-Islamic and Islamic Period tombs are located. One also finds a large number of *gabarbands* (ancient dams) in the various tributaries of the Mol Nai.

Description of the Sites

There are two circular pit graves that were illegally dug by the local people in the hope of finding a treasure. Both graves are located about 10 km north of Mol Town between the two nais - Mol and Drigh [Fig. 1]. The Nai Drigh is a tributary of the Mol Nai. There are many menhirs and stone alignments near both of the nais. I will now give my observations about both of the sites in the text that follows.

Bapro Rek Buthi

This *buthi* (hill) is located on the right bank of the Drigh Nai [Fig. 2]. The *buthi* is fifteen metres in height. The whole *buthi* is covered with graves from the Pre-Islamic Period which are oriented east-west. On the northern side of the hill a stone circular structure which was illegally dug by the local people is located [Fig. 3]. Both the interior and the exterior of the grave is circular in shape [Fig. 4]. According to the diggers of the grave, it was a stone circular structure with a height of six feet and had an entrance which opened to the east. One may believe the information of the diggers that it was a stone circular structure as the lower slabs of the stone circular structures are still visible which indicate that the information provided by the digger is correct.

The interior walls of the graves have dress-stone slabs laid one on top of the other. According to the tomb-raiders, the burial rite was flexed, with body interred in a fetal position. The small pottery vessels and bull terracotta figurines were placed near the head of the skeletal remains. To the south of the circular graves three standing menhirs are located [Fig. 5]. The central menhir is taller than the others. The height of the central menhir is 10 feet. The flanking menhirs are smaller and their heights are 3 and 6 feet respectively. Near these menhirs are also located a few stone circular structures of which one has been

excavated. Nothing was found in this circular structure. However, pottery vessels were found from the larger stone circular structures which at first glance seem to be from the Kot Dijian culture.

Shaikhani Buthi

This *buthi* (hill) is located 500 metres west of Bapro Rek. The height of this *buthi* is about 8 metres. At its foothill, a few graves which are oriented east-west can be seen. On top of the hill a circular pit grave, which has also been illegally excavated, is seen [Fig. 6]. This resembles the one found on the Bapro Rek Buthi. It is also a circular pit grave [Fig.7]. The depth of the circular pit grave is about 1.5 metres with a diameter of two metres. The stone circular structure was 5 feet in height. The interior of the grave is aligned with dressed stones of unequal size and form. Interestingly, hammer marks are visible on the outer faces of the stone slabs. Moreover, one finds three cupules on a dislodged slab of the tomb [Fig. 8]. The cupules appear to be associated with funerary rituals. Bull terracotta figurines and small pottery vessels were also found inside this grave; I was only shown the pottery vessels [Figs. 9 & 10] which also seem to belong to the Kot Dijian Period.

Similar stone circular graves are also found near the Chakhari Nai which is also a tributary of the Mol Nai.

I have seen several such stone circular structures in the valleys of Maher, Tiko Baran, Belli Thap and Taung in Sindh [Fig. 11]. A few stone circular structures have also been found in the Rek Valley in Thana Bula Khan Tehsil. Some stone circular structures also exist in the Gaj and Nali Valleys, with the largest stone circular structure seen at Rohel Ji Kund in the Gaj Valley [Fig. 12].

Conclusion

Stone circular structures are known to the scholars who are working in Sindh, but none of the scholars know when these were built. Only Fairservis (1975), who studied similar circular structures in Las Bela

and Makran, Balochistan correlated these structures to death rituals. He has given their dates to be between 1400 BC and 1800 AD. However, the illegal excavation has exposed that the true function of these stone circular structures was that they were burial sites. The illegal digging of the graves also provides some clue about the shape of the graves and the pieces of pottery that can be found in the graves. Neolithic material or pottery was found on the surface of either of the hills. The pottery vessels were only found inside the graves and this pottery seems to be of Kot Dijian Period (3200-2800 B.C.) [Personal communication with Jonathan Mark Kenoyer]. Several such pottery vessels were found in the graves and these graves should not be seen in isolation. There are a few Kot Dijian settlement sites in Sindh-Kohistan. However, the main Kot Dijian settlement site can be seen on the Kohtrash Buthi and Phang which were first investigated by Majumdar (1934) and later by Flam (1981). Several other prehistoric structures such as *gabarbands* have also been studied by Flam and Harvey (1993) who have determined them to be of the Kot Dijian Period. One can argue on the basis of the pottery vessels and the existence of pre-historic structures and sites that these stone circular structures may belong to the Kot Dijian Period. However, the presence of menhirs near the stone circular structures also provides another clue that the site of the Bapro Rek was later occupied by people in the Iron Age.

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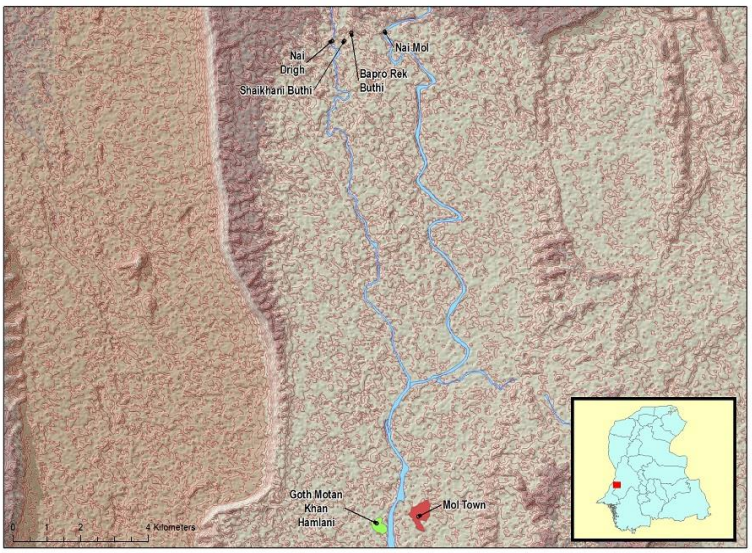

Fig. 1: Map showing the sites of stone circular structures in Mol Valley, Sindh-Kohistan

Fig. 2: Stone circular structures and menhirs on Bapro Rek Buthi

Fig. 3: Illegally dug stone circular structure on Bapro Rek Buthi

Fig. 4: Circular Pit grave on Bapro Rek Buthi

Fig. 5: Menhirs on Bapro Rek Buthi

Fig. 6: Illegally dug stone circular structure on Shaikhani Buthi

Fig. 7: Circular pit grave on Shaikhani Buthi

Fig. 8: Cup-marks on the dislodged slab of circular tomb on Shaikhani Buthi

Fig. 9: Pottery vessel found from circular pit grave at Bapro Rek Buthi

Fig. 10: Base of pottery vessel found from grave at Bapro Rek Buthi

Fig. 11: Stone circular structure at Taung Valley

Fig. 12: Stone circular structure at Rohel Ji Kund, Gaj Valley

-7-

Depleting Cultural Heritage: A Study of Pothwari Family Domain and Intergenerational Transmission

Uzma Anjum
Muhammad Aqeel
Nelofar Kiran Rauf
Khawaja A. Rehman

Abstract

The aim of this study is to precisely determine the prevailing trends in language use among the Pothwari speakers of Islamabad and Rawalpindi. Studies show that intergenerational transmission is extremely vital to the language growth and language loss (Brenzinger et al. 2003; *Fishman 1991). Using the UNESCO framework, the present study investigates the multilingual context of the capital city of Pakistan. Tool of this study is a four point likert scale. The sample (participants) of the study was the three generations of Pothwari speakers (N= 297). Locale of the study was Islamabad and Rawalpindi where majority of population speaks this language. Sampling technique exploited in this study is purposive. The results of this study show a decline in the use of Pothwari in the family domain.*

As the maintenance and future viability of this indigenous and local language in this scenario is at risk, the underlying insight of the present study is to show the possibility for the protection of lesser acknowledged cultures and indigenous languages.

Key words: intergenerational transmission, vitality, endangerment, language shift

Introduction

Language endangerment has global implication. Most of the languages spoken across the globe are potentially endangered. According to Nettle and Romaine (2000) these languages are facing impending threat of extinction. Only 4 % of the languages enjoy official status throughout the world. There are few languages employed in government and education. This situation has serious consequences on the fate of minority languages. 250 aboriginal languages spoken in

Australia have been lost. Similarly, 100 languages spoken in the state of California are neither taught at school nor transferred to the younger generation at home (ibid: ix). Ethnologue (Lewis 2009) reports 72 languages in Pakistan, while Rahman (2006) estimates a total number of 63 languages and among these 57 face looming threat of endangerment.

Vitality and endangerment of the minority language has been one of the key research areas for various linguists (Skutnabb-Kangas 2000; Crystal 2000; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Adegbija 1994; Ravindranath 2009; Hohenthal 2003; Mansoor 1993; Hallberg 2003; O'Leary 1992; Lothers 2010; Rehman 2011; Lother 2010). According to UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages vitality and endangerment of a language is distinguished by the number of speakers presently speaking, existing and emerging domains, the mean age of native and fluent speakers, the rate of language transmitted to the third and the youngest generation, attitudes of the native speaker towards their language, governmental and institutional attitudes and policies including official status and use, and materials for literacy and education and documentation (Brenzinger et al. 2003).

The present study aims at studying domains of language use and intergenerational transmission of Pothwari language spoken in Islamabad, the capital city of Pakistan and Rawalpindi. It draws upon Fishman's (1972) models of functional domains and intergenerational transmission (1991). Existing domains of a language and intergenerational transmission of a language in the family are two important indicators of language vitality and endangerment. In this regard intergenerational transmission is considered the most important index for a language. It is scaled from being safe to extinction. The numerators in this regard range from 5-0: safe (5), Unsafe (4): Definitively endangered (3): Severely endangered (2): Critically endangered (1): Extinct (0): this tool investigates the degrees or stages of language loss. If it is safe on this scale it depicts its vitality within the family domain as every member is using this language and it is being transmitted to the next generation. In the 4^{th} degree it is termed as unsafe because children of the community only speak it in family domain, the third degree of it is termed as definitively endangered (3) in this degree of the language of the community is not transmitted to

the children in the family domain the degree stage of language loss is defined as severely endangered language. At this stage parents understand the language but are unable to communicate in it, only grandparents speak this language. At this first degree of language loss the language is termed as critically endangered only some older people know the language yet they do not use it in their interaction. Finally the language is lost on the zero (0) degree of extinction when no one understand that language. Similarly the fourth factor studies the trends in existing domains of a language. These trends range from universal use multilingual to dwindling domains, limited or formal domains, highly limited domain and zero domains i.e. extinct (Brenzinger et al. 2003: 9-12). The present study investigates choices of Pothwari domain to understand the existing domain in this regard and also the trends in the transmission across the three generations.

Background

According to Ethnologue **(**Lewis 2009) Pothwari has 49,400 estimated speakers. Pothwari is spoken in some areas of Kashmir, Murree, Jehlum, Gujar Khan and Rawalpindi and areas around the capital of Pakistan, Islamabad). The Pothwari language is mainly spoken in the Pothwar plateau which has typical irregular arid landscape. Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan, is also located in this region. Rawalpindi, Jehlum, Attock, Gujar khan Mirpur and Chakwal are the other famous cities of this terrain. The plateau is also famous for the earliest civilization of the Soan valley and the relics of the Buddhist University at Taxila. The Salt Range and the Maragalla hills are famous tourist resorts. The status of Pothwari is marked as a diglossically low and stigmatized language, and attitude of the speakers towards the language has been found negative (Anjum 2007). Lothers (2010: 42) reported Urdu as a preferred language of this particular region which actually represents low prestige of the Pothwari, however, in United Kingdom it is one of the major language spoken by 500,000 immigrants. A group of British immigrant language activists especially from Mirpur has articulated against the low status of Pothwari language with an aim to remove the stigma from Pothwari language and create awareness for a separate cultural identity. In this regard they contributed through

creating orthography which includes the distinct Pothwari sounds and published first Pothwari magazine "Chitka" (Rahman 1997: 215).

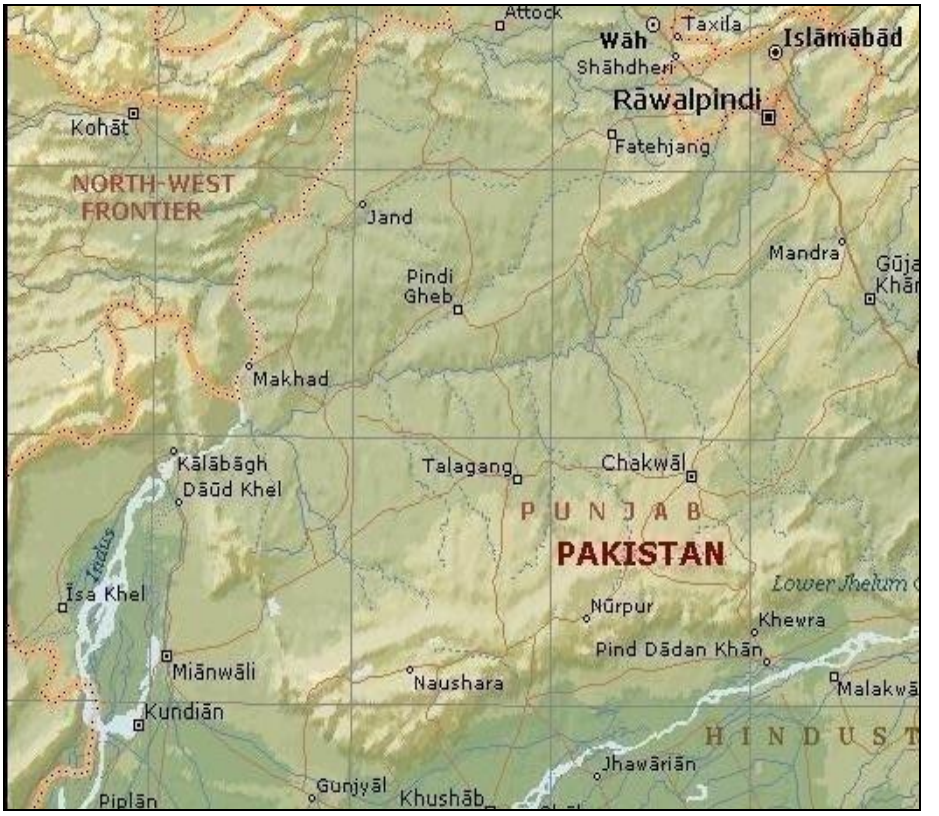

Fig. 1: Map of Pothwar Plateau as demarked by Kureshy (1986).

In Pakistan language has been an expression of discontentment among the various cultural and ethnic groups ever since its colonial and postcolonial history. All the efforts of language planning at national level have been focused on a few languages (Rahman 1999: 262). Pakistan is a country of multi-ethnic and multicultural identities. National language of Pakistan is Urdu, which is, according to recent census report (2001: 107), language of 7.57% population as mother tongue; however, English continued to be the language of power domains: administration, judiciary, education and commerce even after the end of British rule in 1947. The most important beneficiary in this regard is the establishment for maintaining power and control.

Pakistani military and civil establishment has been synonymous with Punjab, the majority province (Rahman 1999: 1). The improvement and development of the marginalized ethnic and linguistic cultures have never been seriously focused part of policy making.

Urdu was opposed in East Pakistan soon after its inception (Zaheer 1994: 21). The *Bhasha Andolan* 'language movement' started in Bengal in favour of Bengali in 1952. On 21 February 1952 police opened fire on the language activists participating in the *Bhasha Andolan.* The ruling elite of the West Pakistan considered the language movement a threat to the national integrity and their autocratic centre. Later the same movement turned into demand for separation, and the uprising in East Bengal of 1952 ended up in the creation of Bangladesh (Alam 1991: 469). The day of 21 Feb became synonymous to the global language rights and the UNESCO has recently declared the day as an International Mother Tongue Day. In Pakistan the issues of minorities either linguistic or ethnic have not been resolved yet. For instance the recent unrest of Baloch nationalist forces is the resonance of the same dispute.

Local and indigenous cultures have never been part of official patronage in this regard. The ultimate objective of the powerful class is to foster linguistic and cultural assimilation. Such decisions amount to endangering the survival of minor languages and they devalue even major ones but they are precisely the kind of policies which have created what is often called 'Urdu imperialism' in Pakistan these policies have also resulted in negative impact on the minds of the native speakers of indigenous languages (Rahman 2006). Dorian (1977) noted that low prestige has remained a main cause of language depletion throughout the world. Fishman (1991) warned against this kind of problematic when a speech community distances itself from its native language and does not transmit it to the next generation for economic gains, however, according to Rahman (2006) although this shift appears voluntary but it is caused by forceful market forces and decisions at macro level. Similar tendencies have been recorded in the studies of Anjum (2007) and Lothers (2010). Backstrom 1992; Decker 1992; Liljegren 2008; Baart 2003; and Rehman & Baart 2005, 2011 dealt the issue at length in the Pakistani context, especially Weinreich (2010) discussed a dying language, Domaakí, left with 350 speakers in

the Northern areas of Pakistan. This language is at the verge of extinction in 150 families of Nager and Hunza Valleys.

Literature review

Domains of a language are crucial for fate of a language as this particular framework presents a picture of linguistic behaviour, roles and status of different languages of a particular speech community. Sasse (1992: 10) considered this particular framework appropriate for investigating linguistic behaviour of multilingual situation. Domain analysis reflects the options available to a speech community regarding different languages in a multilingual society. This particular framework has been termed as distinct categories linguistic choices and situations in which individuals interact and communicate "who speaks what language to whom, when, where and even why?" (Fishman 1964, 1965 and 1972: 112-119).

Fishman defines 'domains' as classes of situations, in which individuals interact in appropriate role relationships and discuss topics appropriate to their role relationships. Domain analysis describes the use of languages in various institutional contexts in a multilingual society. Fishman suggests that one language is more likely to be appropriate in some specific contexts than another (1972).

Fasold (1984: 183) terms domains in institutional contexts or in terms of ecological survival of co-occurring languages. The domains have been characterized as the major sets of communicative setting that occur in particular multilingual contexts. Domains create a possibility for us to understand language choice and topic in relation to well-known socio-cultural norm and expectations. Fishman provided a list of five domains: family, friendship, religion, employment and education. In bilingual context a dominant and indigenous language perform different functions. A dominant language in this regard is often associated with modern life, national matters, connection with outer world, for creating public personas, used out of family domain, formal usage, for distant communication to establish power and control. On the other hand indigenous or subordinate language functions in different domains. It is often related with traditional way of life, regional identities, domestic and informal settings, for intimate

expressions, solidarity to particular ethnic identity and for religious practices, prayers and ritual (Tsunoda 2006: 59).

English is a majority language throughout the world but it is spoken as a first L1 in few countries. In many post-colonial societies it is the language of power domains: the domains of administration, law education, media, and a few types of literature, while the other functions of language are fixed for the mother tongue (Romaine 1995).

Hohenthal, (2003) undertook domain analysis to investigate domains of English and other regional languages. This research included: family, friendship, neighbourhood, transactions, education, government and employment domains. The results revealed that English is prevalent in power and formal domains whereas Hindi and other regional languages dominate the informal and interpersonal domains.

Tsunoda (2006) referred to such a diglossic linguistic setting in the context of Austrian village Oberwart. This village is enclaved by German speaking villages. Hungarian is used in informal domains whereas German is used in domains of power and formal interactions, which according to Fishman (1991) Ensuring permanence in the intergenerational transmission of a language is a vital element for its maintenance and future viability. However, it is difficult to plan informal social domains. The informal domains: home, family and neighbourhood are considered as the centre of mother tongue transmission and are not easily reachable to social planners. The oral interaction between grandparents, parents and children is essential to the maintenance of a language. The family is a basic unit for such transmission and most importantly it provides a deep bond with the development of language and language activities. It shares and shapes personal, social, cultural and linguistic identity According to Fishman (1991) intergenerational transmission of a language is crucial for the vitality and protection of a language. Majority of the speakers of the indigenous or a minority language do not voluntarily transmit their language to the next generations. They look down upon their stigmatised language as unlike the dominant language, it does not bring them the financial gains. This linguistic behaviour is counterproductive for the fate of a minority and lesser acknowledged language. Declining use of a language in the family domain is a major reason for the

language shift. In this regard bilingual education and mother tongue literacy may reinforce and extend the diminishing domains of stigmatized language. Fishman (1991: 67) has cautioned educationists, policy makers and language planners to overestimate educational and governmental policies in this regard, as the Native American Language Act of 1990 remained helpless to provide safeguards to different native-languages. The role of media and local radio station may create a viable environment for these threaten languages; however, the best place is the family domain to ensure intergenerational transmission of this endangered cultural heritage (Ibid).

The Present Study

The present study is investigating family domain, and intergenerational transmission of Pothwari language to evaluate how the persisting cultural and linguistic context have impacted firstly upon the choice of existing domains and secondly on the choices within Pothwari family domain. The study compared the linguistic behaviour across the three generations of this particular language. There have been previous similar studies with this kind of sample (Burhanudeen 2003; Antonini 2003; Ravindranath 200 and Rehman 2011). The present study is primarily based upon quantitative analysis. In this regard two hypotheses were formed to test. Firstly, the study focuses on different language choices available to Pothwari speakers. In this regard a check list of seven domains was included: family, friendship, neighbourhood, transactions, education, government and employment. Hohenthal, (2003) also included these domains in her study to investigate English language in Indian context. The second part of the questionnaire included linguistic choice of the family members within family domain to investigate intergenerational transmission of Pothwari. Burhanudeen (2003) and Antonini (2003) used the same framework and research tool for their respective studies. In this study the following hypothesis was tested:

Hypothesis

Intergenerational transmission of Pothwari in the native speakers is declining gradually and significantly.

Population of the Study
The population of this study is Pothwari speakers of District Rawalpindi and Islamabad.

Sampling Techniques
Sampling was done on different stages. Based on sampling frame work firstly the area of study was selected and then the sample was purposely selected. After the selection of area each household was selected and the questionnaires were distributed.

The Samples of the Study
To study the attitudinal shift of the Pothwari Speakers, the researcher selected native Pothwari informants. The total number of informants was 294 comprising sub sample of three generations (First Generation= 36; Second Generation=103; Third Generation=158). Three samples were included keeping in view the equal participation of both the genders.

Research Instrument
The instrument of the study was a questionnaire is a modified form of Likert scale. The items were modified and translated. The informants were asked to grade the scale according to the usage of Pothwari. First part of the questionnaire aimed to ascertain Pothwari usage in the different language domains (domain analysis) and consist of 7 items. Second part of the questionnaire constituted of 8 items and aimed at studying the usage of Pothwari in the family domain and the resultant trend of the inter-generational transmission of Pothwari in Pothwari households. Reliability analysis of the questionnaire depicted that it is reliable tool with cronbach Apha value of .87.

Scoring of the instrument
The scoring of the scales was simple. The numerators for rating categories were 1, 2, 3, and 4. For Domain Analysis and Household language use (intergenerational transmission): 1=never, 2 = sometimes, 3 = often, and 4 = always. In the first scale and second-scale the scores for positive attitude were 4, 3, 2 and 1.

Research Procedure

Research was carried out in three phases. In phase 1 questionnaire was translated and modification of questionnaire. In phase II pretesting was done on sample of N=50 participants (Females n=25 and Males n= 25). After the successful pretesting of the questionnaire, Phase II of the research was conducted on sample of N= 100 participant. Psychometric properties of the questionnaire were established with Cronbach Alpha .87, which indicated that it is reliable and valid measure (See table 1) In (Anjum 2007). Lothers (2010) phase iii the field research was started after establishing the reliability of the entire scale. The questionnaires were administered to the sample of 294. The samples were selected through purposive_sampling. As mentioned earlier, the study involved three generation of Pothwari speakers. The informants were assured that the information collected in this process was to be used for academic reasons and would remain confidential. The data analysis and tabulation for this study were achieved with the application of Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) version 17.

Table 1

Reliability Analysis of scales of the Questionnaire (N=100)

Scales	No of Items	Alpha Coefficient
Intergenerational Transmission	8	.91

The results of reliability analysis reveal it as a reliable instrument.

The Main Study

After the reliability of the entire scale was established, the main study commenced, which was the Phase 111 of the study. The questionnaires were administered and data collection began. The sample of 294 was selected through random sampling. The informants were assured that the information collected in this process was to be used for academic reasons and would remain confidential.

Objectives

The study explores the existing family language domain of Pothwari language and the pattern of intergenerational transmission of this language.

One-Way ANOVA method has been also chosen for testing this hypothesis, too. It was tested on the responses of the second part of questionnaire. This part of the scale is also used by Burhanudeen (2003) and Antonini (2003).

Table 2
Results of One-Way Analysis of Variance

	First Generation (n = 36)		Second Generation (n = 158)		Third Generation (n = 103)			
Scale	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	*F*	*p*
1,Grandparents to parents	3.7500	.64918	3.6076	.86573	3.3786	1.03957	3.018	.050
2.Grandparents to children	3.8333	.56061	3.4873	.97574	3.2913	1.04442	4.364	.014
3.Grandchildren to grandparents	3.5556	.93944	3.3797	1.32880	3.3301	4.14300	.097	.907
4.Parents among themselves	3.8056	.40139	3.5949	.91022	3.4369	.94630	2.535	.081
5.Father to children	3.5000	.87831	3.2233	4.23323	3.2233	4.23323	.190	.827
6.Mother to children	3.5833	.84092	3.4684	2.60492	3.1553	1.10929	.956	.385
7.Children to parents	3.7500	.60356	3.1392	1.15911	2.9903	1.18400	6.240	.002
8.Children among themselves	2.8481	1.22696	2.6990	1.25116	2.1855	1.22213	7.453	.001

This table displays the usage of Pothwari within family domain. Results of table 3 shows a decline in the transmission of Pothwari studied sample. It shows that in most of the cases there is a non-significant P values, as these values remained in rejection region both at 5% level of significance.

This questionnaire has eight items. It shows eight options available for the respondents within family domain. In this analysis the results reveal

the use of Pothwari from grandparents, parents and children. The result of this analysis shows a gradual decline in the usage of Pothwari in studied sample. The first result on the table indicates non-significant result *(P =.050).* The mean responses on this item reveal this difference statistically (the first generation 3.75, the second generation and 3.60 the third generation 3.37). This mean value shows that grandparents of the first generation of the sample used mostly Pothwari with their children. The second result which is about the transmission of Pothwari from grandparents to grandchildren presents moderately negative decline. It shows that children's language of communication to their grandparents is Pothwari (P=.014). but the mean responses on this item of the questionnaire further clearly show this variance (the first generation 3.83, the second generation and 3.60 the third generation 3.3) The Pothwari usage of grandchildren to grandparent presents a non-significant difference pattern on the *P value* at 5% level of significance (P =.90) but the mean differences reveals that the third generation is the highest on the mean value (4.14300). Interesting part is that 25% of 1st generation reported 0 (zero) years of schooling (illiterate) however, 41% of this particular group is bilingual and 29% is multilingual. The next item, parents among themselves, on the table presents the similar preference (.08). The mean values also present a regular change across all three samples. Here the demographic part of the questionnaire shows much better literacy level as 21.4% and 23.5% of second generation has acquired 14 years and 16 years of educations which might have reason (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). The results of immediately following items: father to children (*P* =.82) and mother to children (.099 and the mean variation) exhibit the same tendency of a systematic variation. The mean value at this item reveals that the third generation use least Pothwari with their mothers (3.15). Pendakur (1990) has argued those females are mostly front runners in the language change. Grenier (1984) attribute this to the influence of instruction in mainstream language of their children. Lother (2010) studied on 6% of Pothwari parents speak Pothwari to their children. It is also important to note that this item shows lower mean values on all the generation than item No. 2 (Grandparents to children). These results are moderately consistent with previous studies by Burhanudeen (2003) and Antonini (2003). Burhanudeen's study showed preference of the

first generation and the second generation for Malay in comparison with English. Antonini's study showed preference for Irish. Burhanudeen attributed this factor to formality of situation with this kind of linguistic behaviour in this sample, as the grandparent, parents and children tend to show complacence to the norm of the family domain while using Pothwari in the family with parents and grandparents. Although the data shows that Pothwari language has been transmitted to the third generation but the trend also indicates a changing linguistic behaviour. The following result, children to parents anticipates our hypothesis. It indicates significant decline of Pothwari usage (P =.002 and mean values of every generation on this item). We can see a significant and systematic pattern of change of attitude across the three generation on this item (3.75, 3.13 and 2.99). The last item, children among themselves, in fact, completes the pattern of decline presented earlier by showing a significant decline in the described background which indicates highly significant value (P =.001). The results recurrent pattern on this item also. (2.84, 2.70 and 2.185) the third generation is the lowest on mean values of Pothwari siblings' usage (among themselves) across the three generations. This finding is consistent with Lother's (2010) data which reported 5.8% of the children speaking Pothwari among themselves in a family.

The findings of this analysis are based upon the basic paradigm, which describes the protection and the continuity in the intergenerational transmission of an indigenous language and the usage of mother tongue inside family domain. The results are consistent with Burhanudeen (2003) and not consistent with Antonini (2003). One has to understand that the present language setting is different from Irish and Malay, Pothwari is associated with low social and cultural value.

Domain and intergenerational transmission are two important frameworks to investigate language vitality and endangerment. Fishman (1972) has introduced these frameworks which describe the use of languages in various institutional contexts in a multilingual society. The results of the study show that Pothwari is only used in the family domain. Hohenthal's survey (2003) indicated an entirely different scenario where English emerged as being used in all formal and informal domains of her Indian sample. Bayer (1990) defined the roles of different languages in multilingual context and confined

mother tongue to the home and in-group interactions. This study reveals Pothwari as only limited to the family domain as it is diglossically a low language of in-group loyalty and regional identity. The results validate our first hypothesis.

Data shows that language use is gradually declining even in the family domain. Fishman (1991) laid great stress on intergenerational transmission of native and indigenous languages of America as home is the basic unit to transfer this linguistic heritage to the coming generations. The analysis of the data also validates our hypnosis as it shows a significant decrease in intergenerational transmission across the three generations of Pothwari sample. The framework given UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered scales Pothwari intergenerational transmission, according to these results, shows that usage of Pothwari language is declining across the three generations, and most important factor in this regard is that children (significantly) do not speak this language among themselves. Strubell has rightly observed that the choice of language in upbringing a family is not an independent decision. It depends largely upon the choices on national level (2001: 268). Similarly, Gynan (2005) also noted the same correlation. Importance of stabilizing a local and indigenous language cannot be achieved without the support of planning at higher level. Different market forces compel parents even to opt against their own languages. Similar trend was reviewed by Rahman (1996) as in 1932 Pashtuns preferred Urdu on Pashto as a medium of instruction and in 2003 also followed the same trend in the domains of power, similarly, in 1992 parents in Baluchistan opted Urdu refusing to accept the regional languages as a medium of instruction. Majority of educated urbanized Punjabis prefer to speak Urdu even in family domains and associate cultural shame with Punjabi (Ibid: 169).

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Appendix

Questionnaire

The present research is related to Pothwari language. The data collection in this regard will be a part of an academic study only. Thank you very much for your cooperation.
What is your mother tongue?

Name

Your age:

Gender: Male

Female

Area where you Live:

Your native village or town

Occupation

Highest Qualification (level of education

List all the other languages you can communicate (speak, read, and write) in

How do you use Pothwari in your family? Please tick the appropriate number from 1 to 4.

	Never 1	**Sometimes 2**	**Often 3**	**Always 4**
Parents among themselves				
Father to children				
Mother to children				
Children to parents				
Among children themselves				
Grandparents to Parents				
Grandparents to grandchildren				
Grandchildren to grandparents				

-8-
Migrants' Climatic and Adjustment Problems: A Study of the Arab Migration to Iraq, 632-750 AD.

Rafia Riaz

Abstract

Whenever people move from one place to another, they have to face certain issues of adjustment, the nature of which can be varying according to the type of migration. The Arab migration to Iraq was not as difficult for the Arabs as modern migration is for the migrants. Being the conquerors, the Arabs had decided to inhabit new cities; thus they had faced less problems of adjustment. This study will exclusively focus on the challenges faced by the migrants during their constant journey from one place to another and shorter stays at different stations. Moreover it will highlight the different climatic conditions of Iraq which at times created trouble for the migrants and forced them to flee from certain areas of Iraq. Besides the study will emphasize upon the social structural changes that came into the Arab society by adopting urban and inter-tribal lifestyle which definitely posed another issue of adjustment. The study will conclude that the Arabs adjusted easily with all of these initial problems and well-settled at Iraq within a few years of migration.

Humans have been migrating since the earlier ages from the less resourceful areas to lands which are full of affluence. Apart from seeking material goods, there can be several other reasons as well behind human migration, for instance some people are forced to flee to other areas due to the domination of another people on their land, or due to several climatic factors like drought, flood or earthquake etc.[1]

[1]Several theoretical frameworks have been formed in order to explore the major forces which led the human migrations, for instance neo-classical theory was presented by Ravenstein and his followers who emphasized upon the importance of economic factors as the most imperative motive for migration. Later on the theory of the new economics of labour migration appeared which highlighted the role of families and household in the decision to migrate. Another important factor in determining the migration decision is the role of state. Migration is being controlled

The Arab migration to Iraq[2] was a conscious movement of people made in the hope of gaining huge economic benefits and a high standard of life. The migration not only affected the demographic proportion of the newly conquered areas but also transformed the whole social and economic structures of the migrants. Migration studies usually explore the nature and complexity of the movement of people, cultures, ideas and objects. Looking at the experience of migration is a latest approach in social history in which the problems and the cultural transformation of the new settlers as well as the older residents are analyzed. This approach is applied extensively for the study of world history where human migration has revealed several important samples of the development of civilizations. This concept, if applied on the history of medieval ages can disclose significant patterns of development, and gradual shifts in social, cultural and economic structures of the society.

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by state since long. For instance mercantilist European monarchs knew that their power relied on their people and if they will move, their power will be destroyed thus they prohibited migration from their country (Ravenstein Jun 1885: 167-235; Joaquin September 2000: 285, 286-8; Castles Fall 2004: 854-5). A few of the works have also tried to adopt multiple causal factors to explain the motives of migrations. For instance William Peterson developed a comprehensive typology of migration keeping in view the different reasons behind migrations and divides migration into four major types. The first is the primitive migration which is mainly forced by ecological factors. Second is forced and impelled migration, which denotes forceful transportation of people from their native land to some other area. The third division is the free migration. Some of the individuals move as they are "adventurers or intellectuals motivated by their ideals". These individuals are followed by certain groups who migrate willingly from one place to another. The last category is that of mass migrations. There are two further types of mass migrations according to the nature of destination, one is settlement and another is urbanization. Settlement means moving of a people in mass number from one area to another but in urbanization the people move from a rural area to an urban area (Peterson June 1958: 256-266).

[2]The word Iraq was used by the Arabs to denote the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates. It has been derived from Iraqi-ud-Dalu and Iraqi-ul-Qurbat (Al-Masʿūdī 1965, 2: 43); The southern half of the great plain of Mesopotamia was called by the Arabs as al-Iraq meaning the cliff or shore, but it is doubtful how this term came originally to be applied. The alluvial plain of Southern half was known by the Arabs as al-Sawād, the Black ground which is frequently used as synonym to al-Iraq (Le Strange 1905: 24).

While exploring the general literature on Muslim history, it appears that the migration of the Arab tribes towards the areas of former Byzantine and Sassanid Empires was an obvious and notable event in the early Muslim history and almost all works of historiography on this period have dealt with the issue in one form or the other. However the particular framework of migration was hardly ever applied. A few of the historians who used the terminology of migration and settlements after conquests have also not actually dealt with the process of migration, and its social and cultural implications for the migrants or for the natives.[3] The present study is an effort to unravel a few significant patterns of Arab migration to Iraq from the perspective of migrants.

The Arab migration was a phenomenon of medieval times in which such kind of movements were common as the pattern of empire formation was already followed by the Persians and the Romans. Romans for instance conquered different areas and settled there as conquerors (McNeese 1999: 8; Christ, 1984:17-22). Thus conquest and migration were interlinked in the medieval times. Immediately after the emergence of Islam, the Arabs had started an outward conquest movement spreading from Iraq in the East to Syria in the North and leading finally to Egypt and its neighboring areas in the West. After some initial conquests, some of the Arabs started moving from Arabia to the conquered areas of Iraq and Syria and settled there. Later on, they also moved and settled in Egypt, parts of Iran and Khūrāsān. The conquest of Iraq began with the opening of the eastern front at the

[3]For instance Joseph Hell in his work *The Arab Civilization* has raised the issue of cultural amalgamation of the Arabs and the non-Arabs which happened as a natural consequence of migration yet he has not explored the nature and the process of migration (Joseph Hell 1925); Marshall Hodgson similarly believes that the effects of migration were different in different regions but did not investigate the process of migration. (Hodgson 1961); A far more related study in this field is of Fred M. Donner who has tried to explore the nature and early stages of migration. The main focus of Donner too however is on conquests, not on the migration. Moreover he has only taken into account the pattern of settlement in Iraq and certain other areas but has given no information about the motives and effects of the Arab migration to Iraq (Donner, 1981); Thus the literature on conquests has seen migration mostly in the backdrop of the conquests and hardly dealt with the implications of these migrations.

border of Arabia. The Arabs had opened this front by giving permission to the tribe of Sha'bān[4] to continue with their raids in the Persian territory.[5] The Arab migration to Iraq was a corresponding and parallel process to the conquests. The army had to migrate to the battlefields of Iraq for initiating the conquests. Throughout the initial phase of conquests, the army stayed in the new areas by forming temporary settlements. Permanent settlements were made only when a major part of the conquests was over.

Whenever people move from one place to another, they have to face certain issues of adjustment, the nature of which can be varying according to the type of migration. These problems are more severe for those who migrate during political turmoil and chaos. In most of such cases, the migrants are the undesired group of people with whom the natives are frequently not ready to share their resources. Usually, such groups have to put in great effort to position them in the new society. The adjustment matters remain intact in free migration too, however with lesser intensity as most of the free migrants had generally arranged some measures before their arrival at the new place.

The Arab migration to Iraq was not as difficult for the Arabs as modern migration is for the migrants. Being the conquerors, the Arabs

[4]Sha'bān was a nomadic sub-tribe of Bakr bin Wā'il which was a large tribal grouping of northeastern Arabia around 600 AD. Bakr bin Wā'il included many separate tribes and the most prominent are the Sha'bān, 'Ijl, Qays bin Tha'laba, Dhuhl, Taym Lāt, Yashkar and Hanīfa. Bakr bin Wā'il included both nomadic and sedentary people. The bulk of the Sha'bān were nomadic tribesmen whereas most of Hanīfa were settled tribesmen occupying the fertile region of Al-Yamāma in the eastern Arabia (Donner 1981: 25); The front of Iraq was opened by Muthanna bin Ḥāritha al-Sha'bānī who belonged to Sa'd bin Mūrra bin Dhūhal bin Sinān branch of Sha'bān. He died before fighting Qādisiyya. Muthanna had not only accepted Islam but also fought *ridda* wars along with Khālid. Ṭabarī relates that 'Ila bin al Haḍramī from Behrain ordered Muthanna to keep a check on the defeated fleeing army of the rebels of Rabī'a (Ibn Ḥajr, n.d., 3:34; Al-Ṭabarī 1964, 1:1971).

[5]Muthanna had commenced certain raids in the Iraqi territory which were probably the routine raids of border tribes in the absence of any obstacles. Muthanna was called by Abū Bakr and inquired. Muthanna requested Abū Bakr to officially declare him as the leader on his people and to allow him to fight against the people of Fars. Abū Bakr appointed him leader over his people and extended him the authority to fight the people of Fars, but he also nominated Khālid bin Walīd to lead this campaign and ordered Muthanna to obey Khālid (Al-Baladhūrī 1983: 242).

had decided to inhabit new cities; thus they had faced less problems of adjustment. This paper aims to identify and study a few of these adjustment problems of the Arab migrants mainly in the initial phase of migration. This study will exclusively focus on the challenges faced by the migrants during their constant journey from one place to another and shorter stays at different stations. Moreover it will highlight the different climatic conditions of Iraq which at times created trouble for the migrants and forced them to flee from certain areas of Iraq. Besides the study will emphasize upon the social structural changes that came in Arab society by adopting urban and inter-tribal lifestyle which definitely posed another issue of adjustment. The study will conclude that the Arabs adjusted easily with all of these initial problems and well-settled at Iraq within a few years of migration.

Adjustment at Earlier Migratory Places

The Arab migration towards Iraq was not a sudden movement to be completed in one day or one month; in fact it was a gradual process extending from five to six years and went parallel to the conquest movement. The army kept on moving step by step and stayed at different stations. After five to six years of continuous conquests and stay at different stations, the army finally decided to inhabit al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra. The intermediate places can be termed as "earlier migratory places" and can also be called as "intervening obstacles".[6] The stay at "earlier migratory places" was an uncertain period of the migration in which the Arabs were not sure about their success and had no idea about their permanent stay at Iraq.

The migrants handled several adjustment issues in the earlier migratory places with much ease. One of such issues was their very smaller stay at certain places. The army had stayed at only two stations al-Hīra and al-Madā'in for longer time and for rest of the places, their stay was very short. When the army got acquaintance with a certain place, there had already come the time to move forward. The earlier stage of migration was full of long and tiring travels. Still the Arabs

[6]The concept has been borrowed from Everett S. Lee, who believes that the intervening obstacles create difficulties for the migrants and they can be in any form, for instance long distance, difficult route, international restrictions like visa and cost of travel (1966: 51).

were able to manage it easily and there were no major complaints reported by the army. For instance the army of Khālid[7] kept on moving between the areas from al-Ubūlla to al-Hīra and resided at different stations.[8] On the other hand, the armies of Muthanna were standing at north, somewhere around al-Hīra. The tribe of Shā'ban had already been roaming in the areas in and around Iraq thus they had not travelled much. The forces of Muthanna and Khālid joined each other at al-Hīra. Until by this time the Arab army was divided into different units, and has been sent to Iraq from different fronts. The main course was to attack an area, make a treaty or to collect spoils of war and to stay there for a few days. By the end of the reign of Abu Bakr the forces of Khalid went back to Syria and another army was sent under the command of Abū 'Ubayd bin Mas'ūd of Thaqīf[9] for the support of Muthanna by Umar.

This new army fought the battle of *Jasr*, was defeated and went back to Arabia.[10] After the defeat of *Jasr*, the Arabs revived their policies; and a lot of new people were recruited (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2217-21). The army sent under the command of Sa'd bin Abī Waqqāṣ[11] never retreated from Iraq and successfully completed the mission of

[7]Khālid bin Walīd belonged to Makhzūm of Quraysh and was a famous commander. He was sent to support Muthanna on the eastern front by Abu Bakr (Balādhurī 1983: 242).

[8]For instance they stayed in areas like Al-Khūrība, Nehr-ul-Murra, al-Madhār, Zandward in Kaskar, and Ullays (Ibid.:243-4).

[9]Abū 'Ubayd bin Mas'ūd of Thaqīf was the new commander of the Muslim army. Abū 'Ubayd bin Mas'ūd belonged to Thaqīf which is a famous tribe of northern Arabia. He was an earlier convert and had migrated with the Prophet (PBUH) from Makkah to Madina (Balādhurī 1996, 6: 375-6).

[10]*Jasr* was a battle fought between the forces of Arabs and the Royal Persian army in 13 AH. *Jasr* is an Arabic word which means 'the bridge'. The battle was named as *Jasr* as the Arabs had crossed the river to fight this battle and the bridge was cut off when they tried to retreat. *Jasr* proved to be a disaster for Arabs as they had encountered the Persian royal army for the first time. Persians had brought many elephants in this battle and Arabs were unable to fight them, they were killed and many were drowned (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2175-8; Balādhurī 1996:252-3; Ibn Athīr 1965, 2: 438-40).

[11]Sa'd bin Abī Waqqāṣ belonged to 'Abd Manāf of Quraysh. He was an earlier convert and had participated in *Badr*. He was appointed as the commander of the army of Arabs at *Qādisiyya* by 'Umar . Later on, he also acted as the governor of al-Kūfa for a small period (Ibn Sa'd n.d., 6:12-13).

conquest. The new armies settled at Shirāf for a considerable time due to cold weather (Al-Kūfī 1986, 1: 138).[12] From there they moved to al-Qādisiyya and a battle was fought there. The stay at Shirāf and al-Qādisiyya were also short.

After the battle of *Qādisiyya*, the Arab army began its travel once again in pursuit of the fleeing Persian army. Persians had fled to different areas like Dīr Ka'b and finally to al-Madā'in. The Arab forces followed them in small units but when the Persians entered al-Madā'in, Sa'd sent a huge army and he himself joined them. Before entering al-Madā'in, the Arab army went from al-Qādisiyya and stayed at different stations. First they went to Sābāt and stayed there. They continued their journey and went to Buhrsīr and stayed there for many days (Balādhurī 1957: 262-3). The reason behind an easy adjustment with this rapid change of residence could be found in the nomadic character of the Arabs. The nomadic tribes of Arabia were found in large number amongst the migrants. Thus the nomadic Arab population easily coped with this rapid journey and found nothing unusual.

Even when the Arabs decided to stay permanently at al-Madā'in, the travel for smaller stations was not over. The stay of the migrants at al-Madā'in was for a longer duration, still a few of them were sent for other expeditions which required them to continue their travels. An army was sent from al-Madā'in with a force towards Jalūlā[13] to fight the enemy and the army resided at Jalūlā for a brief time (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2482). Likewise, Qa'qā' bin 'Umrū [14] was sent to Ḥulwān[15] to follow Persian forces and his army stayed at Ḥulwān until the Arabs settled at al-Kūfa (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2464).

The concerns of those stations where the Arabs stayed for longer duration were different. They lived for a long time at al-Hīra, and al-Madā'in. When the forces joined together at al-Hīra and it was

[12]Sa 'd had married the widow of Muthanna at Shirāf (Ibn Athīr 1965, 2: 453).
[13]Jalūlā was a town in Iraq lying on the Khūrāsān road (Le Strange 1905: 191).
[14]Qa'qā' bin 'Umrū was a famous leader of *Qādisiyya* and belonged to Tamīm. Later on he settled at al-Kūfa and turned against 'Uthmān (Al-Dhahabī 1987, 3: 662; Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2935-6).
[15]H□ulwān was a town of Jibal province of Iran close to Diyāla river. It lies in the mountainous region of Persia after crossing the Mesopotamians plain (Le Strange 1905: 191).

captured,[16] the army of Khālid for the first time decided to reside there for a lengthy period. This was the first Arab colony where they had settled along with their families (Ṭabarī 1964 1:2057).

Al-Hīra was previously the center of the Arab retinues of Persians and was ruled by the Lakhm dynasty. The Persian Kings used to deal with their matters at Arabia especially in Tihama and Ḥijāz through the chiefs at al-Hīra (Kister June 1968: 144-145).

In the same way there are traditions which confirm that the king of al-Hīra had always exerted his influence over the affairs of Madina. There was a time when Jews, Aws and Khazrij had disputed amongst each other and there were quarrels until Amr bin al-Itnaba al-Khazraji entered the court of Na'mān bin al-Mandhar, the king of al-Hīra and was nominated by him as the chief over al-Madina (Ibid:147). The kings of al-Hīra worked through making alliances with the local chiefs, giving them share in spoils and granting them fiefs. They also very cleverly used intertribal feuds and hostilities for their own advantages (Ibid: 148-9, 155-6).[17] Ibn Khaldūn has reported that several Arab tribes like Hudhayl, Lakhm, Ju'fī, Ṭay', Kalb, Azd, Judhām and Quḍā'a stayed at al-Hīra in ancient times. Some of them later went to Yaman and Syria but a few stayed there (Ibn Khaldūn 1979 2: 237-40).

Thus al-Hīra was a place which the Arabs always idealized. The power and magnificence of the kings of al-Hīra was known to the Makkans and the Madinans. The Arabs had utilized al-Hīra as their first base and sent further expeditions to different areas from al-Hīra. During their stay at al-Hīra, the Arabs captured almost half of Sawād and raided the areas till the end of Tigris (Ṭabarī 1964 1: 2059-75). Thus,

[16]A treaty was made with people of al-Hira on one lac dirhams annually. This treaty was made by Khālid bin Walīd (Balādhurī 1957: 246).

[17]However at the time of Arab conquests, al-Hīra no more remained as a vassal state of Persain Empire. Nu'mān bin al-Mandhar, the last ruler of al-Ḥīra revolted against his patron, the Sassanid King. The reason of the revolt of Nu'mān was that Kisra asked Nu'mān to bring his sister as he was told that the sister of Nu'mān is the most beautiful women of the Arabs. Nu'mān was enraged over this and took an army to fight the Persians. See detail in Mas'ūdī 1965, 2: 76-8; Ibn Athīr 1965, 1: 482,488-90). Kister argues that the dynasty of Lakhm was abolished because it could not be trusted. They failed to prevent the Arab tribes to raid on Persian territories and probably Na'mān had planned a new policy of supporting and backing the Arab tribes due to the weaknesses of Persian Empire (Kister 1965:115).

the Arabs were most willing to stay at al-Hīra but they were soon forced to leave the place. The armies of Khālid were called back by the Arab state and only the armies of Shā'ban had remained at al-Hīra. The Persians attacked and easily took the control of al-Hīra back from the Arabs. The armies of Muthanna had moved from al-Hīra to Dhī-Qār after the people of al-Hīra had renounced their treaty (Ibn Athīr 1965 2: 448-453). For regaining their control over al-Hīra, the Arabs had to pass a lengthy process of conquest of whole Iraq.

Later on when al-Madā'in was conquered, Sa'd decided to permanently settle the armies there. He had been offering *Namaz-i-Qasr* (short prayer during journey) at earlier stations but at al-Madā'in, Sa'd offered full prayer (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2443). Sa'd entered in *Qasr-i-Abeez (white palace)* and declared it to be place for offering prayer (Ibid). The houses of al-Madā'in were divided between the Arab population and they called their families to al-Madā'in (Ibid: 2451). The Arabs stayed at al-Madā'in for a longer period and conquered Jalūlā, Takrīt and Maḥaṣil from here. Yet, after a two years stay at al-Madā'in, the Arabs began to feel the hazards of this new place and desired to shift. This time they were not forced to leave by the local population and al-Madā'in remained in their control. It was in fact the climatic conditions with which the Arabs were not adjusting. They were not comfortable with the environment thus they decided to move to al-Kūfa.

Apart from those places where the Arabs set off as invaders, there were several places which they used for residing their families before their permanent settlement at al-Kufa. The army of Sa'd bin Abi Waqqāṣ also brought their families along with them from Arabia. There is strong evidence supporting this assumption. The accounts relate that there were women and children present at al-Qādisiyya. The majority of them were from Bajīla and Nakh'a (Ibid: 2363-4). There is also reference to many other women who had participated in the battle of *Qādisiyya* as they had brought the martyrs from the battlefield and had made arrangements for their burial (Mas'ūdī 1965, 2: 317). But during their constant journey before and after the battle of Qādisiyya, the forces of Sa'd bin Abī Waqqāṣ had left their families at al-Qawādas (probably al-Qādisiyya) and the already fighting tribes like Muthanna had their families settled at Dhī-Qār (Ibid: 2197; Ibn Athīr 1965, 2:

434-5). The women and children at al-Qawādas were almost defenseless but it was surely under the control of the Arabs, as the earlier instructions of Abū Bakr were not to leave any area unconquered before proceeding further (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2057). The spoils of war in the form of food items like goats, floor etc was sent to these women and children after the battle of Būwaīb (Ibid.: 2197). Similarly, when Sa'd was at al-Madā'in, 'Umar had ordered him to leave the women and children behind in al-'Atīq and also to leave a guardian army for them (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2419).

A further concern of adjustment at the earlier migratory places was to manage the basic necessities of the migrants. During this intervening stage of migration, it was very essential to find out proper resources of food, shelter, clothing and other basic necessities. The Arabs relied extensively on the spoils of war for the fulfillment of their needs. This spoil of war was collected by adopting the Arab custom of raids. For instance Jarīr was sent by Khālid to Bānqīyyā where he signed a peace treaty on the condition of thousand dirhams and an Iranian cloak (Balādhurī 1957: 247). The Arabs looted gold, silver and other valuable items from al-'Anbar and after the surrender of the people there a treaty was prepared finally. This peace was also signed by Jarīr bin 'Abdullah on four lac dirhams and one thousand dresses (some kind of cloaks) annually (Ibid). Likewise 'Aīn-ul-Tamr was captured from where were found the famous Abān bin Humrān, Abū Muḥammad bin Sīrīn and his brothers, and Nuṣayr, the father of Mūsa bin Nuṣayr (Ibid.: 248-9). In the same way when 'Umar had sent reinforcement to Muthanna, Abū 'Ubayd and Muthanna took slaves from different areas (Ṭabarī 1964, 1:2170). The further raids were not only satisfying the requirements of food but were also providing the migrants with a sufficient number of labour force which they could employ for different manual jobs. The captured slaves were added as part of the Arab household and played a vital role in the future polity of the Arabs at Iraq. Other successful raids from Al-Hīra included the attack on the towns of Taghlib, Rabī'a, 'Ukbara and al-Bardhan (Balādhurī 1957: 249-50). After completing all these raids, Jarīr came back to the people of al-Hīra, Nakhīla and Bānqīyyā and received the annual tax, which later on turned out to be a permanent source of income for the migrants (Ibid: 248).

This policy of raid continued even during and after the battle of Qādisiyya. Several smaller raids were attempted in order to get food, cattle and other provisions. In these raids men, women, and cattle was captured and food items were taken over to be distributed amongst the army and also amongst the families. After the conquest of Būwaīb, Muthanna was advised by two men to raid the markets of Khanāfas and Baghdād which they did followed by the killing of many men and pillaging gold and silver (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2202-5; Ibn Athīr 1965, 2: 445-7). In the same manner, when the Arabs had settled at al-Qādissiyya, they looted the local people and only those were saved who were in their fortresses; other men and cattle were taken over by the Arabs (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2223-5, 2244-5; Also see Morony 1984:226).

The stay at earlier migratory places was a hard part of the Arab migration. The migrants stayed for a very short duration at most of the stations and remained in a state of journey most of the time. Twice when they decided to stay for extensive time, their plan was failed. At al-Hīra, they were forced to leave by the local population and at al-Madā'in, they were compelled to depart due to the unsuitable environmental conditions. Leaving families behind somewhere in the new place was also a tough task. They had to keep guardian army for their families and also had to take care of their needs. For fulfilling the needs of the migrant army and their families, the migrants had to made several raids and smaller expeditions during their stay at earlier migratory places. Yet the migrants successfully dealt with these initial hardships and happily moved over to the next phase of migration.

Urban and Intertribal Lifestyle

A further change with which the migrants had to adjust was the new settlement pattern consisting of two major and some smaller garrisons. Most of the migrants were nomadic before and the garrisons were constructed to promote urban lifestyle. The main settlement was at al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra where the Arabs had built their houses. Besides, separate colonies were constructed for different tribes who began to live together at a common place.

The style of construction of the garrisons was urban in which proper planning was involved. For instance at al-Kūfa, there was a mosque in the centre adjoined with the palace of the governor and the

market place. Sa'd had originally built the palace and the mosque separate but when an incident of stealing in *bait-ul-māl* occurred, he joined the buildings of the mosque and the palace. The new joint building was constructed by Rozūba, a Persian builder who used bricks of a desolated palace of al-Hīra to construct this building and took *sang-e-mar mar* (marble) from the churches of Kisra to beautify its pillars (Ṭabarī 1964 1: 2489).

The rest of the city was constructed around the mosque and the palace. This continued to be a common pattern of construction of the Muslim cities afterwards. The design was probably originally took by Makkah in which Ka'ba held the central position surrounded by the rest of the city. Morony however believes that in the construction of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, an inspiration was taken from al-Hīra. According to him,

The organization of late Sasanian Hira around several fortified enclosures (Ar. qusur) that were identified with particular clans, the existence of tribal churches, and the political and social domination of the town by an elite of notables (Ar. ashrāf) belonging to the leading clans make Hira a good example of a late pre-Islamic Arab city as well as a prototype for tribally organized early Islamic cities such as Kūfa and Baṣra (Morony 1984:221).

In al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra, the army initially resided in tents and bamboo houses but after an incident of fire broke out, the settlers took permission from Caliph 'Umar to built houses of brick (Balādhurī 1957: 277)[18] Some of the houses later were double stories as is evident from some of the incidents (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2529-32). Al-Kūfa however was not a fortified city as al-Madā'in was.

There is not much information about the pattern of the construction of al-Baṣra but it could be assumed that the style would be the same more or less. Al-Baṣra was initially developed by the houses of tents but gradually when the population of the area increased, some

[18]Later on people built beautiful houses at al-Kūfa and al- Basra. For instance, Zubayr bin Awam prepared a house in Basra, a magnificent house in which wealthy merchants used to come and stay. He also constructed a house in Al-Kūfa and was considered to be a wealthy person. Similarly Ṭalḥa bin Ubaydulla constructed a magnificent house in Al-Kūfa. It was famous with the name of "kinasa dar ul Batheen" (Mas'ūdī 1965, 2: 332-3).

of the Arabs constructed seven colonies with mud bricks. Azd and Tamīm formed four colonies; two each, likewise three more colonies were formed by some other tribal groups (Ibn Sa'd n.d., 7: 5). There was a provision depot near al-Baṣra famous with the name of Madīnat-ul-Rizq which was a fortified city. It was originally formed as a supply centre where food was stored and cattle were slaughtered (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 681-2).

The construction of al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra was not only urban but it was also inter-tribal. The Arabs of several distinct genres were collected together and settled at one place. In al-Kūfa, the tribes were lined up in different streets around the mosque.[19] A separate settlement was prepared for the border Arab tribes of Mūsal, if in case they ever would like to come to al-Kūfa and stay there. Thus the caravan of Mosul or other borders used to stay at that specific place at al-Kūfa. (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2490).

The Arabs learnt to live in an inter-tribal environment and instead of having tribal warfare; they made alliances and cooperated with each other. Their different identities were gradually merged and new identities of the Kufan and the Basran Arabs emerged. In the initial phase of settlement, the tribes were happily settled. At al-Kūfa, Sa'd had determined the boundaries of the city and made a lucky draw between *ahl-al-Yaman*[20] and *ahl-ul-Nizār*[21] for the better part of the

[19]The tribes had settled around the mosque and market place. Three streets were constructed on the eastern and western side of the mosque, while four and five streets were erected on its back and front side respectively. On the front side Sūlaym, Thaqīf, Hamadān, Bajīla, Taym al-Lāt, and Taghlib were dwelled in different streets. Likewise, Asad, Nakh'a, Kinda and Azd were settled in the four streets on the back side of the mosque. On the eastern side, Anṣār, Muzayna, Tamīm, Muḥārib, and 'Amir had been inhabited. Finally on the western side of the mosque, Bijāla, Bajla, Juhayna, Jadīla and related tribes were settled. Other residences were built behind these main settlements (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 2489-90).

[20]*Ahl-ul-Yaman* were the southern Arabs including Quḍā'a and Kahtān. Sabā bin Kahtān, an ancestor of Arabs had ten sons according to a tradition related to the Prophet (PBUH). He informed that Lakhm, Judhām, Amila and Ghassān had dwelt in Syria, and Asad, Kinda, Ḥumayr, Ash'arī, Madhḥij, Anmār had settled at Yaman. By Anmār the Prophet (PBUH) meant Bajīla and Khath'am. In another tradition, in place of Madhḥij and Ash'arī, Ak and Azd have been mentioned (Al-Sam'ānī, 1998,1: 24; For Tribal Genealogy also see, Al-Baghdadi, n.d.)

[21]*Ahl-ul-Nizār* were the northern Arabs, generally called as Banu Adnan. 'Adnān was

city which was the eastern part. The draw was won by the *ahl-al-Yaman* and they settled in the eastern part while *Nizār* went to the western part (Balādhurī 1957: 276).

The initial period of settlement, during the reign of caliph 'Umar and 'Uthmān, was of peace between the tribes as they were busy in further conquests. Even in the time period of 'Uthmān and 'Alī, the tribes did not fight on tribal bases, instead the new identities of being the supporters of Ali or the supporters of other groups emerged. Thus in the battle of *Jaml*[22] which was fought between 'Ayi'sha and 'Alī, the members of the tribes fought against their own members. Most of the Kufans supported Ali and most of the Basrans supported 'Ayi'sha.[23] After the battle of *Jaml*, 'Ali gained control over the whole of Iraq and prepared the Kufans and the Basrans to fight against the Syrian army of Mu'āwiya. A broader identity of the Iraqi Arabs emerged and was most visible in the civil war of *Ṣaffīn* in which all Iraqi Arabs fought against the Syrian Arabs.[24] Throughout the Umayyad period, the identity of being an Iraqi remained much stronger than the tribal identity; probably that was the reason of lesser tribal conflicts at Iraq during this period.

Al-Kūfa was more diverse in its tribal composition yet no major tribal conflict was reported there. It however occurred in al-Baṣra but the duration and severity of the conflict was very low. Azd and Tamīm emerged as the two most important tribal groups at al-Baṣra. Ziyād was the governor of al-Baṣra for 'Ali, but when the position of 'Ali declined, Mu'āwiya sent Ibn al-Haḍramī as his governor over al-Baṣra who gathered the support of the majority of the Baṣrans for Mu'āwiya. Ibn al-Haḍramī was staying with Tamīm, and Ziyād had taken refuge

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the descendent of Ismail. Genealogists believe that the son of 'Adnān, Ma'd bin 'Adnān was the only descendent of Ismā'īl who remained alive. All others were destroyed in the attack of Bakht Naṣr. Ma'd had one son named Nizār and the descendents of Ismā'īl are virtually the descendents of 'Adnān alone. Nizār had four sons, Enmār, Iyād, Rabī'a and Muḍar (Ibn Khaldūn 1979, 2: 298; Sam'āni, 1998,1: 23).

[22]The battle of Jamal was fought in which 'Ayi'sha , the wife of the Prophet (PBUH) and Ṭalḥa and Zubaīr, two of the companions of the Prophet (PBUH) fought against 'Alī, the caliph of the Arab empire at that time.

[23]In the battle of Jamal, the tribes this time did not remain united, there emerged factions and it is reported by Ṭabarī that both the armies contained tribes of Muḍar, Rabia and Yaman (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 3224).

[24](Ibid: 3287; See details of battle of *Ṣaffīn* in Ayoub 2006: 106-133).

with Azd. Ziyād wanted the Azd to fight a battle with Tamīm, yet Azd refrained from it (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 3414-17).

Likewise there is another incident of tribal conflict between Tamīm and Azd. It was also associated and related with the political crisis of that period. The death of caliph Yazīd was an unexpected and shocking event for the pro-Umayyad group. It had also weakened the position of the provincial governors thus Ubaydullah,[25] the governor of al-Baṣra was also in an instable position. Ubaydullah fled with the help of an Azdi and took refuge with Mas'ūd bin Amr who was the leader of Azd in al-Baṣra.[26] After giving protection to Ubaydullah, Azd was ordered to be armed to defend him. In the meanwhile controversy began between Muḍar and Rabī'a. Ubaydullah heated up the controversy which had emerged between a Qurayshī and a Bakrī on the incident of the death of two men of Bakr bin Wā'il by 'Abdullah b. Kazim at Khurasan.[27] When Ubaydullah heard of this quarrel, he sent Mas'ūd and told him to make an alliance with Bakr (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 449). They had also made an alliance previously for the support of caliph Yazīd. Bakr and Azd renewed the old alliance and wrote an agreement (Ibid: 449). They appointed Mas'ūd bin 'Amr of Azd as their joint chief and together with the people of Yemen and Rabī'a, they went to the governor house. Mas'ūd ascended the pulpit but was killed by Tamīm (Ibid: 450-2). After Mas'ūd was killed, a great battle

[25]Ubaydullah was the son of Ziyād bin Abū Sufyān. He remained the governor of Iraq and was considered responsible for the killing of Husayn.

[26]Al-Harith convinced Mas'ūd bin 'Amr to give refuge to Ubaydullah. Mas'ūd was slightly reluctant and do not want to deceive the other tribes of his garrison. Still, he agreed to give refuge to Ubaydullah (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 445-6).

[27]In 64 AH,'Abdullah bin Kāẓim of the Sūlaym killed two sons of Sūlaymān who belonged to Bakr bin Wā'il. After this incident, Bakr bin Wā'il and Ibn Kāẓim with Muḍar fought a war for one year in which Bakr bin Wā'il was defeated. Ibn Kāẓim killed all captives of war. (Ibid.: 488-97).This had its effects on Basrans. There was a gathering in a mosque and a Qureshī spoke rudely to Mālik bin Misma' of Bakr bin Wā'il, who was previously the leader of Bakr. One of the members of Rabī'a hit that Qureshī and quarrel broke out between Rabī'a and Muḍar. Many of the Tamīm came for the support of Muḍar and defeated Rabī'a. On this, Bakr bin Wā'il got annoyed and their leader 'Ashyām bin Shaqīq al-Sadūsi ordered them to kill any Muḍar whom they came across. Mālik bin Misma' pacified them and there was no quarrel till one month. But after one month, another incident of quarrel broke out between Bakr bin Wail and Tamīm which finally resulted in a battle between the two (Ibid., 447-8).

was fought between Tamīm and Azd with Bakr as their allies. Finally Tamīm and Azd made peace on the condition of the payment of ten times the blood money for the killing of Mas'ūd (Ibid.: 462-3). Ubaydullah wanted to utilize this controversy in his own favor. When failed in his plans, he simply left his protectors for Syria (Ibid: 433). Apart from these fewer events, the sources have not reported any considerable tribal conflict in al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra despite of the fact that several Arab tribes had enmities in pre-Islamic times.[28]

The Arabs who settled at smaller garrisons were more easily settled. They were less affected from the political turmoil and crisis of the empire when compared with al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra. Several civil wars were fought at al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra but the smaller garrisons like al-Madā'in, al-Hīra and al-Qādisiyya were safe from such incidents. Some of the initial settlers had stayed back at al-Madā'in and al-Hīra but there are several examples in which some of the people of al-Kūfa later on loved those places and preferred to have their homes at al-Madā'in or al-Hira.[29] In point of fact al-Hīra was treated as a sub-district of al-Kūfa being geographically closer to it. The leader of the *khawarij* Mustawrid bin 'Ulifa, had settled at al-Hīra in 43 AH. He had a house at al-Hīra (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 29-30). Similarly Hajjar bin Abjar[30] had a house at al-Hīra closer to the house of Mustawrid. It also appears that they kept on moving from their house of al-Hīra to al-Kūfa frequently (Ibid: 29-32).

In the same way Al-Madā'in continued to be the centre of the Arabs for a longer time. Kufi reports that when 'Umar ordered Sa'd to move to al-Kūfa from al-Madā'in, he also ordered him to leave Salman Farsi with a group of Muslims at al-Madā'in (Kufi 1986, 1: 220-1). These people were registered at al-Kūfa as they used to collect their *ata*

[28]For instance Taghlib and Bakr fought many battles against each other. In the same manner Several battles were fought between Tamīm and Shā'ban. Several other tribes like Sūlaym and Ṭay' and Ḍabba also fought against Shā'ban (Ibn Athīr 1965, 1: 523-32, 598, 602-6, 608-9, 610, 612-3, 637, 647; Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2062).

[29]For instance Mughīra bin Shubah demanded from Ziyād to give him the settlements at Qarqisiyya, a town on the left bank of Euphrates where Qays Aiylan had already settled (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 72). Al-Hasan after assuming caliphate went to al-Madain and lived there until he granted caliphate to Mu'āwiya (Ibid.: 2-4).

[30]He belonged *to* Ijl of Bakr bin Wā'il and had given testimony against Hujr bin Adi (Ibid.:113).

from al-Kūfa every year when pay was distributed (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 504). They found al-Madā'in more comfortable. A few of them had also joined the repentance movement (Ibid). Apart from some attacks of the *khawarij* and consequent battles at al-Madā'in, the city was largely peaceful. Even in cases when enemy forces reached al-Madā'in, their first strategy was to close the doors of the city and to fortify themselves. Al-Madā'in was politically important and remained active throughout the Umayyad period. Ḥasan[31] stayed at al-Madian for some period (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 2). There were separate governors appointed for al-Madā'in.[32] In 43 AH, the governor of al-Madā'in was Simak bin 'Ubayd who helped the Kufan army during the revolt of *khawarij*. He kept on informing the Kufan army about the location and position of *khawarij* along with providing food and proper arrangement for their rest thus the army stayed at al-Madā'in for three nights.[33] The migrants who settled at al-Madā'in had a proper system to guard themselves. There was enough fighting army, for instance when *khawarij* tried to enter al-Madā'in, Simak bin 'Ubayd lined up his men at the gate of the city and posted archers on the walls (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 57). Later on in 76 AH, Ḥajjāj bin Yūsaf[34], the then governor ordered his commander to collect five hundred cavalrymen from al-Madā'in to fight *khawarij*.[35] The governor of al-Madā'in provided the army of Ḥajjāj with sufficient support. In return, the *khawarij* attacked al-Madā'in, seized their horses and killed many men. The people threw stones and arrows at the army of *Khawarij* from the roofs of the houses (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 899-901). Thus al-Madā'in always remained politically significant[36] yet both al-

[31]Ḥasan bin 'Alī bin Abū Ṭālib was the elder son of Ali and the grandson of the Prophet (PBUH) (Ibn Athīr 1965, 3: 460).

[32]Sa'd bin Mas'ūd was the governor of al-Madā'in when Ḥasan stayed there. He was the brother of Abū 'Ubayd bin Mas'ūd Thaqafī and uncle of Mukhtār Thaqafī (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 2; Also see Ibn Athīr 1965, 3: 280).

[33](Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 45-6; The various armies used to stay at al-Madā'in, for instance see Ibid.: 901, 903).

[34]Ḥajjāj bin Yūsaf bin Ḥakm belonged to Thaqīf. He played an important role in the politics as a strong governor of Iraq. He died in 95 AH Ibn Athīr 1965, 4: 583-7).

[35]At that time there were many men from the nobles of the garrisons and their families and numerous fighters at al-Madā'in. They were staying there to protect the areas of Jukha and 'Anbar (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 980).

[36]Al-Madā'in was politically very important. Ṭabarī wrote about al-Madain that it was the gateway to al-Kūfa and whoever takes the control of al-Madain, he takes the

Madā'in and al-Hīra faced less political chaos as compared to al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra.

The town of Qārqissīya had also settlements of Arabs. Zufaīr bin al-Ḥārith al-Kalbi was the governor over that place. Markets were set up in the town if some army of the Arabs settles there. The army of the *tawabīn*[37] stayed at Qārqissīya. It was a rich town as Zufaīr provided penitents with plenty of food items as gifts.[38] Likewise five hundred men had been posted at al-'Anbar by Ali, therefore it seems that there was also some Arab population in al-'Anbar (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 3445). People of al-Kūfa had also made houses and settlements at some far-off places in Iraq.[39] Thus Arabs had settled them in larger as well as smaller garrisons. These garrisons had gradually developed into the centers of commercial activity. All of these garrisons remained in close contact with each other and thus relied less on the local populace.

Climatic Problems

It always becomes intricate for the migrants to adjust in new climatic conditions. Same happened with the Arab migrants. They did not face much problem in the earlier phases of the migration which was also the initial stage of the conquests. Even when they decided to settle their armies at al-Hīra, there was not much trouble. The reason probably was the climatic similarities of Arabia and al-Hīra. Al-Hīra laid less than a

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control of Al-Kūfa , this statement at another occasion was put in the mouth of Muṭarrif bin al-Mughīra who was the governor of al-Madā'in and requested Al-Hajjaj to provide him with reinforcements to protect al-Madā'in as al-Madā'in is the gate and fortress of al-Kūfa. (Ibid: 929, 982); However Shabīb never give such importance to al-Madā'in, he was always interested in al-Kūfa.

[37]After three years of the murder of Ḥusayn, some of the zealous *sh'īa* began to realize the consequences of their mistake by not following Ḥusayn and began a movement with the name of *tawabīn*. The movement was led by Sulymān bin Ṣurad al-Khuzā'ī, Al-Mūsayab bin Najāba al-Fazārī, 'Abdulla bin Sa'd bin Nufayl al-Azdī, 'Abdulla bin Wal al-Taymi and Rifa bin Shaddād al-Bajīlī. The *tawabīn* decided to fight against the Syrians and a battle was fought at Ain-ul-Wardah. The *tawabīn* were completely defeated by the Syrian army (Ibid: 504-5, 563-8).

[38]Forty camels were sent to Al-Mūsayab and Ṣurad and ten camels each were sent to prominent men of the army and commanders of each quarter. Moreover a large number of animals were sent along with a huge quantity of barley and the soldiers were told to take as much as they wished (Ibid., 551-3).

[39]For instance, Mukhār Thaqafī had made a settlement at Khutarniyah. (Ibid.: 520)

league south of al-Kūfa and Arabs easily adjusted at al-Kūfa (Le Strange 1905:75). Al-Hīra was already populated by the Arabs. At the time when it was conquered by Khālid, it was ruled by Buqaīla, who belonged to the tribe of Azd (Balādhurī 1957: 244). Thus the Arabs were easily adjusted at al-Hīra. Later they stayed at al-Qādisiyya for some time. Al-Qādisiyya lie on the actual desert border, five leagues west of al-Kūfa and it was surrounded by palm-groves (Le Strange 1905:76). The Arabs remained comfortable at al-Qādisiyya too.

However when the Arabs went to al-Madā'in and decided to settle there permanently, they had to face major problems of climatic change. They disliked the climatic conditions and moisture of al-Madā'in and found themselves uncomfortable. The people complained of the environmental conditions of al-Madā'in like in one tradition they complaint of bees and in another they were wretched by the mosquitoes (Balādhurī 1957: 276-7). One of the army men of Sa'd named Ḥuzaīfa wrote to 'Umar that the stomachs and various body parts of Arabs have become weak and their body colors have changed at al-Madā'in (Ibn Athīr 1965, 2: 527; Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2483). From al-Madā'in, the Arabs went to conqueror Jalūlā and Takrīt. The weather of Jalūlā was also very extreme for the Arabs and their health had been influenced considerably there (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2482).

'Umar suggested Sa'd to treat the Arabs according to their own nature. 'Umar believed that the nature of Arabs is similar to the nature of camels and thus the Arabs would like sandy areas or would like anything that is suitable for the camels (Ibid: 2483). His other direction was to avoid a sea between that place and Arabia (Balādhurī 1957: 275). At this stage, the areas from al-Ubula to Takrīt from south to north and al-Qādisiyya to al-Madā'in from east to west were conquered. There was probably no question of settling across the Persian Gulf. Thus it can be assumed that it was most probably an instruction about river as there were two rivers between Madina and al-Madā'in. Moreover al-Madā'in was very close to river Tigris and the moist environment did not suit Arabs. Caliph 'Umar probably wanted to instruct them to remain a little away from rivers. Thus finally they selected al-Kūfa which occupied an extensive plain lying above the river Euphrates (Le Strange 1905: 75).[40] Al-Kūfa has been occasionally

[40]It is reported by Balādhurī that Buqaīla went to Sa'd and advised him to settle at al-

declared as a place of better climate. Ibn al-Faqih has mentioned a discussion in the court of an Abbasid caliph about different places. It was argued and agreed upon that al-Kūfa is better than Syria and al-Baṣra both. Al-Kūfa was declared to be unclear from the diseases which grow in Syria. The superiority of al-Kūfa was also asserted over al-Baṣra as al-Kūfa was a highland when compared with al-Baṣra and Euphrates flows from al-Kūfa which makes its water sweet (Ibn al-Faqih 1996: 201). Whenever a governor landed on al-Kūfa, he found the water sweet, the air clean and the earth dirt free (Ibid: 249).

In the same way in the selection of al-Baṣra, 'Utba bin Ghazwān[41] wrote to 'Umar that Arabs need a place to settle and to get rest during their attacks. This time 'Umar gave slightly different instructions to settle the people to an area which is closer to water and greenery. 'Utba found this place at al-Baṣra (Balādhurī 1957: 241-2). Khalīfa bin Khayāṭ on the other hand believes that when the Arabs opened another front from al-Baṣra, they made their choices according to their own climatic suitability. 'Utba bin Ghazwān reached al-Barūra which was land where Bamboos grew. He disliked it and went to al-Huraība. In another tradition, he went to al-Marbad and liked the red hard stones there. He named it al-Baṣra and told his followers to settle there (Al-Sha'bānī 1397:128; Ibn al-Faqih 1996: 227).

Initially the Basrans were not well-adjusted in the new climatic and environmental conditions. They felt jealous from the climatic superiority of al-Kūfa and considered it as the result of unequal distribution of resources. Aḥnaf bin Qays[42] went to 'Umar with some of the Baṣrans and complained about the miserable conditions in which they were living. They mentioned that their brothers (people of al-

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Kūfa which is both away from desert and is elevated from moist and wet land (Balādhurī 1957: 387). According to Khalīfa bin Khayāṭ, al-Kūfa was a place which was high and there were no mosquitoes, moreover it was a forest but was at land (not sea). He also reported it to be a green land (Al-Sha'bānī 1397:138).

[41]Utba bin Ghazwan was sent as the commander over the Basran front (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2026).

[42]Aḥnaf was the head of Tamīm at al-Baṣra. 'Umar praised him and appointed him to be the leader of people of al-Basra in the battle of Ahwaz (Ṭabarī 1964, 1: 2538, 2540; Also see Ibn Athīr n.d., 1; 55; and Ibn Khallikan 1374 AH., 2; 449).

Kūfa) were living in the houses of the earlier nations[43] and enjoying the facility of clean water and fertile green lands, but on the other side these people claimed to live in areas where on the one side lie sulphuric water[44] and on the other side, there are barren lands. They further complained that they cannot cultivate the lands, nor can keep cattle, thus have no source of income. Their women have to go to two *farsakh* (six miles as one *farsakh* is considered to be a distance of three miles) to bring water while she tightens her small kid on her shoulders. They requested ‘Umar to find some solution of their hunger and trouble. ‘Umar wrote down their names in the register for the payment of *atā* to them and wrote to Abū Mūsa al-Ash‘arī to dig a canal for them (Balādhurī 1957: 350-1; Ibn al-Faqih 1996: 232-3).[45]

Later, the Arabs not only adjusted themselves in the new environment but also contributed in stopping the deterioration of the geographic conditions of Iraq. In the last days of the Sassanid, probably in 638 or 639 AD, a flood came in Tigris and Euphrates and various dams were broken. Sassanid tried their best to rebuild those dams but the flood was very heavy. The water flowed towards the neighboring areas resulting in the formation of a swamp there. Mu‘āwiya nominated his *mawla* ‘Abdulla bin Duraj over extracting *kharāj* from Iraq. He made the lands of swamp useable, repaired the dams and controlled the water. Thus he was able to extract fifty lac dirhams from these lands. Later on various lands were made useable for Ḥajjāj and Hisham (Balādhurī 1957: 290-2).

Another important ecological factor which struck the migrants was the breaking out of plague. The major plague was reported to break out in Syria. It can be assumed that plague at al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra was probably transported from Syria through the Arab army which kept on moving from Syria to Iraq. There are some reports of plague at al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra and it was found to be the reason of the death of earlier two governors, Mughīra and Ziyād (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 87**,** 158). It also

[43]He was probably talking of the earlier settlement of Kufans at al-Madā’in.

[44]Sweet water had disappeared from Basra due to some climatic changes (Ibn al-Faqih 1996: 205).

[45]Ahnaf had actually went to complain about their lesser salaries but he also talked about climatic hardships.

seems from the accounts that there were repetitive attacks of plague.[46] In 64 AH, during the governorship of 'Abdullah bin al-Ḥārith Babbah,[47] plague again broke out in al-Baṣra. The mother of 'Abdullah died due to this disease (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 466). Therefore in the initial stages, some of the new diseases spread and created problems for the settlers. Yet most of the population was well-adjusted and liked the new place.

It was probably the result of the accommodative nature of the Arabs that they dealt with all initial problems of adjustment quite easily and within a few years of migration, they accepted al-Kufa and al-Basra as their new homes. The consequences of this migration for the Arabs were numerous. However, the transformation was brought largely by the factors associated with the migratory group itself and were less affected by the factors linked with the place of migration. The migrants got huge financial benefits as they were expecting, and a major shift came in their socio-economic structure. The combination of nomadic, semi-nomadic and settled tribes formed a new urban society in which tribes were lesser important than political affiliations and economic gains. The tribes cease to work as one unit, instead the new units of the Kufan and the Basran Arabs emerged. This identity was stronger than the tribal identity. Another kind of identities of the migrants were created on the bases of their economic and political position and later on were further distinguished because of their different response to the increasing state control.

Nonetheless the most significant change that came in the socio-economic structure of the migrants was the emergence of a strong state and consequently the shift of their status from independent tribesmen to mere citizens. The tribesmen, particularly the nomadic and semi-nomadic, were habitual of leading a free life independent of any political control. The tribesmen when initially had joined the conquest movement thought it to be the routine raids of the Arab tribes towards Iraq, the spoils of war of which were meant to be distributed equally. They were unable to comprehend the changing realities of the

[46]Plague struck at al-Kūfa and Mughīra bin Shu'ba fled from al-Kūfa . When the disease disappeared, he came back to al-Kūfa but was stricken and died (Ṭabarī 1964, 2: 87).

[47]He was chosen as governor by the people of al-Basra (Ibid.: 463).

emergence of the new Muslim elite who was keen to form a strong Arab Muslim empire. Migrants realized later that their status has been changed from independent tribal warriors to salaried regular army due to which the state enhanced its control over them. The migrants were not ready to share the fruits of their conquests with the newly emerged Arab state thus they kept on trying to invalidate its control through different means. In their clash against the state, the migrants tried to manipulate different events in their favor and played an important role in all the civil wars and political disputes of the state. At times, they were in a position to dictate their terms to the government, and at others the government controlled them strictly.

A further vital change that came in the life of the migrants was the shift in their economic status. Being the conquerors of the new land, they earned huge wealth from it in the form of the spoils of war and income being generated from the conquered areas. They inhabited new cities in Iraq which gave a boost to the economic activity. Moreover the Arabs were keen to initiate commercial activity in the form of trade and opening new businesses. They were also eager to bring reforms in the agricultural sector in order to increase the revenue from the agricultural lands. All this economic activity not only augmented the wealth of the migrant Arabs but also led to the development of an urban luxurious lifestyle. It also created many new jobs for the slaves and *mawālī* and consequently crystallized the process of assimilation of the Arabs and the locals.

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-9-

Distortion of Information regarding Islam and High Profile Religious Muslim Personalities inside Oral Pashto Literature

Syed Shujaat Ali

Abstract

Oral literature poses the problem of giving information that is different to, and sometimes, contradictory to the information given by written literature. When compared with written Pashto literautre, the oral Pashto traditions seem to contain exagerated and distorted accounts about Islam and its holy personalities. This distortion offends the sentiments of the Muslims. Pashto literature, transmited through the written medium, which is a safer means of transmitting information, and the authenticity of information of which can be established and confirmed after huge durations of time, does not endorse some of the information transmitted through the oral medium. During the birth of Islam, the written medium had already been in use, although in lesser degree; so we can not say that oral religious material was more authentic than written religious material because originally it was oral and then with the invention of writing it was later on converted to written form. Even in the case of oral transmission of religious content or in case of its transmission from oral to written, extraordinary meticulous care was observed; so, we can not say that converting oral religious material, later on, from oral form to written form, was done without care. The author hypothesised that the medium of orality was mainly responsible for the problem of variation. The author studied and analysed Pashto literary products of oral nature, with a view to various historical influences affecting them and with a view to the mechanism operative inside them. The inquiry lead to the revelation that one of the basic reasons of variation of information was the use of the oral medium, which is more vulnerable to change and distortion.

Introduction

Religious sentiments of educated Muslim audience get mortified, when as opposed to what they have read in books, they find information that

seems to them doubtful and untrue, about the history of Islam, the Holy Prophet, Mohammad (*may peace be upon him* !) and His companions (Raziallah Anhum: *may Allah be happy with them*!), inside Pashto oral literature. Oral Pashto literature is replete with such instances where one can find contradictory information about an Islamic personality who, otherwise reported for upholding a high standard of moral behaviour, is shown to engage in deeds that are below the high standard of behaviour and character cherished by Islam. The Muslims are offended, most particularly, when they find the companions of the Prophet, Mohammad (PBUH), depicted as engaging in deeds that are unbecoming of their pious reputation. They feel alarmed; as such contradictory information may render the strong foundation of established knowledge of Islam seem shaky. Deeds like their falling in love with females, getting impressed by their physical beauty or fighting to get them etc as mentioned in oral traditions, among various other exaggerated accounts of their battles and power, are not corroborated by the established knowledge reaching the audience through written literature. The information reaching through the written medium confirms that they have set a high standard of moral behavior, which, according to the injunctions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), the successors are supposed to follow and emulate with religious devotion. This contradiction in information due to two different mediums, compels them to think whether these characters were actually so as reported, or has something gone wrong in reporting facts about them. The question worth inquiry is that if the orally reported information about them is admitted as true and if the holy characters are supposed to be so, then how come the written medium, which is a relatively surer and safer means of transmission, has provided different information or has failed to provide the information transmitted through oral traditions. The researcher hypothesized and then confirmed it through inquiry, that the inappropriate information is not factual but rather distorted information, and that the use of oral medium of transmission has been one of the major factors responsible for its emergence.

Theoretical framework

According to Jack Goody (1987) without writing there is no history but

only myth and no historians but only story-tellers. The common assumption is that non-literates have better memories than the literates, which makes it possible for oral story-tellers and minstrels to recite accurately hundreds of lines of text. Goody demonstrates, with anthropological and psychological evidence, from many parts of the world, that this assumption is mistaken. It is literacy that ensured and facilitated word for word memorizing, as literacy depends on a text for reading. Before the appearance of literacy on the scene, word for word reproduction, inside oral traditions, could not be accorded the status of accuracy and reliability. As compared to oral medium, writing is a word-perfect record. When Bards were asked to reproduce a freshly heard oral piece, they insisted that they reproduced it, word for word, but their practice went against their claim. (Goody 1987; Hunter 1984, 1985; Lord 1960). Lord carried out a study of singers of tales, Sulejman Makic and Avdo Medjedovic, who were illiterate and belonged to the modern age. It came to surface that a significant change occurred in the text, each time it was re-narrated, by the same storyteller, whereas the storyteller insisted that it was, a word to word, exact reproduction of the original text. It came to be seen that instead of reproducing the original story, they reproduced the story every time in a different form by just filling in a rhythmic pattern and a famous plot with stock constituent material (Lord 1960).

When Sulejman Makic was asked to reproduce a story exactly, he reproduced it, but in a three times larger size, with personal touches by him. It can be deduced that even in reproducing a song heard from another person, one unknowingly adds to or subtracts from the length of the piece, gives it a personal touch through one's own words, but sticks to a terminology used inside the same genre and only those parts of the story are added that are found inside other variants of the story, existing inside the respective genre. So, the story instead of appearing strange appears unchanged and conventional. And still when the singer reproducing the story is asked if he has reproduced the same story without change, he responds in positive. The reason is that verbatim recall is not what the singer of an oral tradition considers exact word for word reproduction and that verbatim reproduction is neither possibly achieved to a large extent nor detected, without a written record before one. It also throws light over the process of reproduction

or singing practiced inside a genre.

Those who possess competence in reading find the singers' failure to distinguish among variants of the same song, very strange but the phenomenon is corroborated by studies conducted by Bransford and Franks, in laboratories, under controlled conditions (1971). After conducting an experiment, they found that listeners failed to differentiate between sentences that they had heard and those that they had not, save those sentences that contained a single idea. They also found that people's confidence in having heard a sentence, whether virtually heard or unheard by them, was higher if the sentence happened to contain more simple ideas, as compared to those sentences that contained single idea. These findings, when applied to oral traditions, help us understand the position of Sulejman Makic and Avdo Medjedovic when they assert it with full confidence that the songs reproduced by them were exact copies of the ones that were heard by them. These findings show that if one knows the core ideas of a sentence then one cannot exactly be sure of the ideas that were presented and the form in which they were presented but despite the fact one can be sure that the ideas had been presented as a single entity and because of that no change is believed to have taken place since hearing the song the last time.

Rhythm plays a very important role in maintaining the overall stability and safe transmission of oral traditions, for instance, rhythmic units, at all levels of the rhythmic hierarchy, create slots or gaps that need to be filled; they do not allow for the omission of part of a rhythmic unit. However, in case of change, one word is replaced by another of nearly same meaning if rhythm is not disturbed. The existence of rhythm produces a demand to recall something rhythmically appropriate to fill a gap, a fraction of a unit long. In an evolutionary analogy, it would be a force for mutation because new material must be created and added to the tradition. The added material must fit the metrical scheme and other constraints. One way to add is to borrow or adapt something that occurs in the same relative metrical location elsewhere in the piece or in another piece with the same meter. Such movement is seen in oral traditions, as well as in the psychological laboratory (e.g. Ryan 1969). Whereas the previous functions can be seen as leading to stability by increasing constraints,

this one increases variability, therefore, versified form of the oral traditions, by virtue of its rhythm, also contributes to the mixing up of different elements from different stories.

As opposed to the stability of information inside literacy, we find distortion of information inside oral traditions. Narrations by the same poet in two different sittings will also be different. Different contexts, types of memory tests, or cues can produce different recalls without necessarily indicating a systematic change in the memory (Alba & Hasher 1983) or a trend in distortions, though there will be a strong tendency for the same distortions to occur repeatedly if the recall conditions do not change (Bartlett 1932; Cofer 1941). Narrations made by the same poet but at two different stages of his/her life will be even more different. Then narration made by one after listening to another would be still more different.

The common assumption, as endorsed by Plato too, is that with the coming of literacy memory gets weakened and long verbatim recall, considered to be normally practiced inside oral traditions, becomes difficult. Singers of oral traditions also claim it very confidently that they can make word for word accurate recall of their songs. However, Hunter (1984, 1985) came up with a diametrically opposed idea. He termed primary orality as totally bereft of verbatim recall. He, first defined verbatim recall as "a fifty or more words long series, reproduced in exact order" (1985: 207) and then made a search for instances of lengthy verbatim recall inside literature. He found that first of all verbatim recall could not be found and detected if the song sung orally had no written text to be compared to it and then if verbatim recall defined by him ever existed it was when writing was present and when verbatim recall was pursued for interest or out of need .

Verbatim recall is impossible in oral traditions as their mode of transmission is such that they undergo changes in its details and language, words and story-line. A piece that is transferred from one person to another also gets changed, which is confirmed by laboratory test. But as opposed to laboratory, where mode of transmission is chain transmission, in oral traditions a more complex transmission takes place which is net transmission (Rubin 1995).

According to Bartlett (1932), when we reproduce an oral story, then we follow repeated and serial reproduction both. In repeated

reproduction, a single person listens to a story and then recalls the story many times, whereas in serial reproduction, a single person hears a story and the same recalled story is heard by the next person as a fresh story to be recalled by him afterwards. It will be influenced by the prejudices of the first person. In both ways distortions occur. When a person repeats a story heard by him several times, he will continue missing some content with the passage of time, with each recall, and in the second case, when the first recall of the story serves as the story to be heard by the next person, then the distortions occurring will not be only due to one person's failure of memory but also due to every next person's failure of memory. Variation can be caused by two sources-transmission between people and memory within people. Serial reproduction is affected by transmission between people and memory within people both, whereas repeated reproduction is affected only by memory within people (Rubin 1995).

In oral tradition, it does not matter whether one says "I could care less" or "I could not care less." The expression is, in either case, a handy way to make reference to a familiar idea (Tannen & Oztek 1977). In oral traditions, word for word transmission, neither is existent and possible without the invention of writing nor was literal reproduction their goal. Word for word transmission is impracticable in oral traditions, because in oral traditions numerous variants, instead of one variant, of a story are transmitted. So in this scenario instead of transmitting text of a single variant, word for word, we find just the transmission of the general meaning and form of the story i.e. its theme, its imagery, its poetics and some of its specific details.

David. C. Rubin (1995) terms oral traditions as fixed only within the accuracy of human memory. There is an automatic process of selection and rejection, operative inside the medium of primary orality. 'The human memory', 'is a marvelous instrument of elimination and transformation - especially what we call collective memory' (Bloch 1989). Walter Ong (1982) has asserted that as oral societies were homeostatic, therefore the past information and material that would happen to be irrelevant to the present, would get automatically forgotten and only those things, from the past, would survive in memory that would have relevance to the present.

It is, therefore, common with the medium of primary orality that

it brings changes in the material that depends on it. Due to the absence of written records and the nature of memory we see mixing of different stages with one another, mixing of different personalities and mixing of different strains of stories with one another. According to the schema theory, as mentioned by Paul Rubin (1995), those parts of a story that play similar role inside various versions of the same story are more likely to get mixed up, despite the fact that these portions may not be identical.

The schema worked a lot to preserve the stability of a genre but the schemas meant for one kind of story in a genre got mixed up with schemas of another story in the same genre. The reason for this mixing was that a bard would not be limited to the singing of only a particular type of story, but would rather be singing the many types of stories, running side by side, depending upon the situation in hand. Meticulous care required to keep religious facts from mixing with portions and schemas from the literary products was not observed. We witness different variations occurring inside oral traditions and we come to see personalities, belonging to different and chronologically distant ages, as contemporaries inside stories, despite the fact that we have written proofs, that those personalities belonged to different stages.

Data Analysis and Discussion

In the romance, '**Yousuf Khan and Sherbano'** (Joshi n.d), we see Ali (R.A), also known as Sher Ali Baba in the oral traditions, who is a very high profile, spiritual and religious, personality and in fact, the fourth Caliph, and a close companion and first cousin of the Prophet Mohammad (mpbh), being dragged into the story to play his role in the romance between two lovers. We find a lot of exaggeration and un-established information regarding him.

Similarly, we see him playing an active role of an adventurous hero, inside the story, **"Jangnama Hazrat Ali"**, a longer version of which was narrated in great detail by Mulla Naimat Ullah (Ullah 1995) and a shorter one by Mulla Ahmad Jan, under the title '**Jangnama e Mirhatham wa Maqathil**' (Ullah n.d). In the beginning verses Mulla Ahmad Jan himself admits that as he had been ordered to be brief, therefore, he should not be blamed for the brevity. Due to the influence of primary orality, oral narrations have the quality of speech, which can

be shortened or lengthened at will.

According to the information of the book, this is a story of the battle, fought as a result of the getting killed of Abu Jehel, in the Holy Battle of Badr in 623 A.D. Thaqathal, described to be a son to Abu Jehel, takes a delegation with himself to the court of Maqathal from Qandoz and informs him about the killing of his father at the hands of the Muslims, their victory and future designs and the intention of coming to Qandoz by the Holy Prophet, in the near future. They complained particularly against Ali (R.A). Maqathal assured the delegation of all possible help and even set a price over Ali's (R.A) head. The successful person would have to be rewarded with the hand of his daughter in marriage along with a great deal of wealth. A local governor, naming Makeed, took the fulfillment of the task upon himself. He took five thousands army and settled in the suburbs of Medina to lay in ambush for capturing Ali (R.A), whenever he happened to come out. The army mistakenly picked a cousin of Ali (R.A) for him and took him away with them to Qandoz. Ali (R.A) sets out to rescue him, followed by the Holy Prophet himself, and a series of battles ensues. The area of Maqathal is described to be surrounded by high mountains and situated near four rivers. In this *Dasthan* the body and physique of Makeed is described as that of a giant and this makes it seem more like a folk *Dasthan*.

Doctor Hidayat Ullah Naeem (2006), a renowned specialist of Pashto folk literature and researcher commenting over this *Dasthan* in his book on folklore, is of the view that if research is conducted for finding out the areas and names mentioned inside this story, then some missing links of history might be recovered. He admits that he has never heard of this Holy war in the written and established history of Islam but takes the plea that information about this holy battle has descended by word of mouth from heart to heart, so, there is high possibility that this might have taken place in reality and the written records might have missed picking it up. It was a battle fought somewhere in the Central Asia. The fighting of people like Raad, Raheel and others against the Muslims is mentioned. Naeem, seems rightfully optimistic about the recovery of unique and hitherto unknown facts through folk literature. However, this author differs with him in this particular case, on the ground that the information reaching

us in this case, contradicts the one reaching us through a variety of established and written sources of history.

Although writing too may also be under critique but the transmission, whether oral or written, of religious content such as the words of the Holy Prophet, is different to the transmission of ordinary material like a story. The authenticity and veracity of a story, for being fiction and involving imagination, is rarely questioned by a listener as compared to religious content having words of the Creator or His prophet; they are recorded and transmitted with great care by the Muslims. Transmission of religious content is taken up as a sanctimonious and sensitive job.

Reporting the lives of the companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) also formed the content of Islam, as the religion propagated by the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) found its implementation inside the lives of His close companions. Muslims are exhorted to follow in their footsteps if they want to be on the right path. Therefore, the lives and events of the companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) were also transmitted and reported, orally as well as in written form, with extreme caution. The problem of distortion, found in reporting the lives of the companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) inside oral stories, originated when the oral religious story and the oral romantic story, running side by side, fused together and the religious content got mixed up with the amorous content inside the genre of story.

Besides, it did not take long for the oral words of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) and the lives of His close companions (R.A), to be converted to written form: a safer medium. The facility of writing was already in use and within the reach of the Muslims. The Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) would be accompanied by the scribes most of the times, who would record the Holy Revelation there and then. According to Dr. Mahmood Ahmad Ghazi, nearly fifty companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) wrote His Hadiths during His life time (Ghazi 1980). Manuscripts belonging to the era of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) survive till date. A collection of Hadiths written by His companion, Abu Musa Ashari (R.A), is available even today and its manuscript is available in Saeed Ali Pasha Library of Ishtanbol (Ibid). A hand written collection of Hadiths by another of His very

famous companion, Jabir Bin Abdullah Ansaari (R.A), written in his own hand, is also available in the same library (Ibid). Even to this day, in the Library of Berlin, we can find, in published form, a manuscript written by Hamam Ibne Munabha, a student cum son-in-law of Abu Huraira (R.A) - a close companion of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) (Ibid). In such a situation a minor sort of discrepancy or deviation in the oral form would have been more conspicuous and could have been detected easily with the help of the information recorded carefully in the written form.

Although writing is a safer medium but, to the companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), mere availability of something in written form, would not attest its veracity. Written religious reports would also be subjected to strict examination. The companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) were aware so much of the intricacies involved in the written medium. There was the risk that hand-writing of one companion could be similar to the handwriting of another companion. His Companions would not accept a written hadith unless there would be some witness present to give oral evidence of his presence in the company of the companions of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) at the time when he was writing His hadith. Even when such a *hadīth*, supported by oral evidence of another companion, would be written, it would be also brought on record in the written form that that particular companion of His, had witnessed that that particular hadith of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), was written by the concerned companion in his presence (Ghazi 1980).

Reliability was ensured and extreme care was taken in recording even those words of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) that did not get converted to written form soon and kept on getting transmitted orally for a good deal of time. Every oral hadith would not qualify to be written but rather an oral hadith would be converted to written form, only after it went through a rigorous process of selection and only after it conformed to a variety of conditions. It would assume the status of an acceptable hadith worth writing, only after it would be evaluated externally as well as internally. Both the external evaluation of hadith, called *riwayat*, and the internal evaluation of hadith, called *dirayat*, would be carried out in the light of certain principles as their touchstones. A *hadīth*, from a reporter, reported to have been a liar,

would not be considered worth writing and acceptance (Ghazi 1980). Among the thirteen principles of internal evaluation of *hadīth*, one was that howsoever stronger the piety, credibility and authenticity of the reporter would be, the *hadīth* would not be considered a reliable hadith if it was found to be in contradiction with the proven scientific or day to day realities (Nomani & Nadvi, 1975). One of the principles of external evaluation of hadith is the presence of some witness with the reporter of the *hadīth*, who could bear out the account. A lady came to the court of Abubakar (R.A) and asked about her share in the property of her deceased grandson. He replied that he wanted to learn from the companions of the Holy Prophet about the share of a grandmother in a property bequeathed by a grandson. One of the genius of those times and a very prominent companion of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), Mughira bin Shaeba, who was present at that time, replied that the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) had fixed the share of a grandmother to be the sixth part of the total property. However, Abubaker did not give the verdict but rather asked him whether somebody else was with him when he heard the same from the Holy Prophet. At this, another companion of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), Mohammad bin Muslima Ansari (R.A), who was present there testified that he himself was present at the occasion and that the said event had taken place in his presence. So instead of giving his verdict straight away on the basis of one companion's report, Abubakar (R.A) gave it, only after he had another live witness of the same event (Ghazi 1980).

Failure and weakening of memory and the importance, reliability and authenticity of written medium are realities acknowledged by Islam. Islam encourages recording and preserving things in written form. Therefore, in the Holy Quran, the injunction of writing down of a transaction between two parties (Chapter Al-Baqara) and the mention of the teaching of man by the Creator through pen (Chapter Al-Qalam) highlights the importance that the Creator attaches to writing. With different tribes, the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) wrote four hundred to four hundred and fifty covenants, each one of which is a hadith (Ghazi 1980). The Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) also directed his companions to write down the knowledge that he gave them (Ibid). Once Abu Huraira complained to the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) about his forgetting many of the things he heard from the

Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) prayed for him in a special way and instructed him, 'Isthain Be-Yameenika' (make use of your right hand) and 'Qayyidul Ilma bil-kithabihi' (confine knowledge through writing). Abu Huraira (R.A) says that then he started writing, exactly word by word, the *hadīths* of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) and since then he has never forgotten anything (Ghazi 1980:39). Ali (R.A) is also known to have said to a group of his students that if somebody had got money then he should buy paper and write down what he told them as the next day he might not be present amongst them (Ghazi 1980).

. When compared with written literature, oral folk literature seems festered with distorted and contradictory information. The major events of the life of Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) and of Ali (R.A), reaching us through written mediums, do not include or tally with events mentioned in the above mentioned story. We do not find a mention of such long journey for fighting a battle, and a battle fought, at such a far-off and unheard of place, in the lifetime of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH). It would have been a battle of no less importance, as according to the story, a hundred thousand people had been killed in this battle. It would have been a battle consuming not less than five-month time because, according to the story, the distance between Qandoz and Madina is described to have been two months and therefore going to Qandoz, fighting over there, and coming back to Madina, could not have consumed time less than half of a year. So, failure to describe events covering half a year, from the life of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), by the written history of Islam and biographies of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), seems impossible and unbelievable, in the face of the fact, with the admission by well-known researchers, like Allama Mohammad Shibli Nomani and Allama Syed Sulaiman Nadvi (1975), that the minutest of His deeds and every single moment of His life, do not remain unpreserved.

The traditions of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), converted to written form very early, though initially in Arabic language, and which are a source of external evidence, are silent over the battle mentioned above. The reliability of oral tradition, in the case of transferring and preserving the sayings of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH), is a separate matter, involving other factors. We do not find a mention of this Holy

battle in them either, although there would always be scribers accompanying him for noting down the revelations, and companions for reporting things happening to Him, be it a journey. However, a genre involving stories, which can be lengthened and shortened at will, in which exaggeration is an indispensable element, in which imagination is allowed to play freely with the material at hand and make it more appealing to the audience, and which finds expression through the mouths of all and sundry without caution, cannot be trusted to maintain the truth it used to carry initially. For once a statement starts floating in the form of a story it can no longer be trusted to remain the same, after passing through the mouths of common masses, unless it is recovered in time, by the medium of literacy, in the form of written record.

There is another story by the name of **'Khawarnama'** in which Ali (R.A) is described to have made a journey to the city of Khawar. King of Khawar, Jamshaid, was described as friend of Ali (R.A) and who is described to have a beautiful daughter, Gul Chehra. She is abducted by Malik about which the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) is informed via revelation made upon him. Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) sends Ali (R.A) after her and then Mir Sayaf after Ali (R.A). In this story Ali (R.A) is described to have eighteen sons and in the description of battle there is mention of twelve thousand martyrs, getting killed of six hundred thousand pagans and the mention of the presence and participation of the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) in it. Dr. Hidayathullah Naeem is so hopeful of all these details being true that he suggests that a fresh closer study and detailed analysis of books related to Islamic history, Arabic history and life of Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) need to be carried out. According to him the possibility cannot be ruled out that after the Holy battle of Badr and Islamic battles inside Pashtun inhabiting areas, some group of pagans might have gone to Qandoz for getting assistance and for warning its people against the risk of the alarming increase in the power of Muslims and the spreading tendency of Islam. According to him, this *Dasthan* has been very famous and has continued getting published repeatedly. The story had been in existence since long but, according to the information inside this book, it was translated into Pashto in the year 1951. This writer, instead, assumes to attribute information that is

strange and contradictory to written sources, reaching through oral literature, to the very nature of the medium of primary orality. Mixing of fiction with Islamic history has caused distortion of facts. The researcher deduces it that when a thing becomes oral, it can no more retain its original form and information and, if not for other factors, it might have undergone changes with each successor to a degree, that at times, a fact would have become totally unrecognizable and contradictory.

'Jangnama Zaithoon', (Ullah n.d) is another story, which begins with the going of Ali (R.A), at the behest of the Holy Prophet, to Koh-e-Qaaf (The Caucasus) and his conquering of the Khyber fort, by killing a pagan leader, naming Marahib. After the conquest, Ali (R.A) converts the daughter of the killed leader to Islam and marries her before bringing her to Medina. In Medina she gave birth to a male child who was named Mohammad Hanif. When the said son of Ali (R.A) was 16 years old, he went out hunting and by getting too far away, entered the premises of Shah of Irum, whose daughter, Zaithon, accompanied by 40 maids was out for a walk. Both had an encounter and Zaithon struck at the leg of his horse as a result of which Mohammad Hanif fell down unconscious. One day taunted for this, by his mother, he sets out to conquer the whole country of Irum. He gets hold of Zaithon and sends her to Medina and continues to conquer the country until at last with the interference of Ali (R.A) the war comes to an end. This story seems simple fiction as most of the narrated incidents are never known, through other more authentic sources, to have taken place inside the life of Ali (R.A) or his sons. The Muslims, and especially the companions of the Holy prophet, cannot be proved to have fought for such petty causes. It has been published time and again, showing that despite the fact that it was not based on reality, people kept on reading it with interest, firstly because they took it as real story and secondly because once floated, the incorrect information, kept on attaining the status of factual information with each repetition. People could not confirm the authenticity of the information as books and the use of the medium of literacy were rare.

Verbatim memory and word for word transmission, which are possible for the literate of today, were impossible for the preliterate man. Indeed, without writing, the non-literate cannot comprehend the

problem of verbatim recall, as he has no written text to point out the discrepancies between an oral recitation and the record. Bards, in the case of studies conducted by Lord (1960), insisted and believed that they had repeated the same immediately heard story, without any change, but actually they had brought huge changes each time. When only one bard, can bring changes in his/her own poetic narrative in the same sitting then one can guess that how much changes will be made him/her in different sittings, how much will be made by the same bard at different stages of his/her life, and then how much will be made by a different person, who has listened to the same story from that bard, learnt it by heart, and has reproduced it afterwards. Word for word transmission is neither existent nor practicable in oral traditions because, in oral traditions numerous variants instead of one variant of a story, keep running down. Non-literate memory, emphasizes groups of words or formulas rather than every individual word. So in this scenario, instead of transmitting text of a single variant, word for word, we find just the transmission of the general meaning and form of the story i.e. its theme, its imagery, its poetics and some of its specific details.

Some distortion is inevitable in the oral traditions as with the passage of time, sometimes archaic words and idioms are replaced by new words and idioms and sometimes connotations of the same word change. Among other factors of distortion are mood of the bard, personality type of the bard, and the feelings of dissatisfaction of the bard with the received oral piece, urging him/her to let it reflect his/her own voice and let its supposedly weaker points sound more forceful. Physical health and ease of the bard, external noise, type of audience response, and the nature of the occasion, are among the external potential factors directly linked to lengthening or shortening, and distortion of an oral piece.

For transmission, oral traditions depended on memory and memory is prone to forgetfulness. Memory lead to variation and distortion by mixing up different things, miss-arranging events and stages, forgetting links and intermediate events occurring here and there inside the story. Besides, memory used to pick the relevant and leave the irrelevant. Influenced by the colour and taste of the times of the listener, things of past, having no relevance to the present of a

listener, were either lost or changed. Such changes can occur in two ways. Firstly, when a story is transmitted from one person to the next, then the next person introduces changes in the story. Secondly, when the story is reproduced by the same person for the next time, after lapse of some time, then again some changes take place. Both these types of changes occur when we reproduce a story serially i.e. when the same story keeps on getting transmitted from one person to every next person with the recall of one person being the story to be heard by the next person. However, the story is vulnerable to only one type of distortion, i.e. change within the memory of that individual, when other persons are not involved and the same person keeps on reproducing the story repeatedly after the lapse of some time.

The extent of variation possible should not let us look down upon the literary pieces of primary orality as bundle of lies and trash. One thing which serves as a safeguard against total distortion is the dependence of oral traditions over net transmission. In the oral tradition, the information moves through nets instead of chains (Rubin 1995). In case of chain, a story proceeds from one person to other in a single chain, without the persons involved in that chain, to come in contact with persons from another chain. The story keeps on distorting, until in the end, the whole thing gets totally changed. However, in case of nets, story-tellers in one chain keep on listening to the same story from people, involved in different chains, and in this way, the rate of change of the material is reduced considerably. Chain transmission is used inside experiments of psychology and sometimes, at the end, we get just the opposite, of what was transmitted initially. The material transmitted through nets is relatively stable. Due to this mode of transmission the limits of variation to which a person can go are set and known. It retains the shape of a genre and a form and informs about the limits of variation that can occur within a form or genre. If in one instance, some gross deviation or distortion occurs, it can be corrected by taking guidance from other versions of the story.

In view of the researcher, the preliterate people were well aware of the changeability of material, inside the oral medium, and therefore, to preserve facts and knowledge, they imposed versified form on it, despite the fact that story is more fit to be described in prose instead of poetry. According to Walter Ong (1982), in the primary oral society,

nothing would carry any importance at all if it would not be expressed in the poetic form of balance and patterned rhythm. Apart from benefits of easy memorization and easy retrieval, these preliterate people did it, so that the stories and their material could be preserved better. This can be borne out by the fact that most Pashto stories were initially narrated in poetic form, the number of stories sung in poetic form is greater than those composed in prose form and even prosaic stories to be translated from other languages had to be dressed in the verse form instead of prose.

The nature of oral medium is such that the longer the size of a piece and the more flexible the form and mould of it, the more is the risk of distortion. As compared to narratives or romances in other verse forms, the oral tradition of *Tappa*, more than that of *Charbetha*, for being shorter and having a fixed and simple mould, was more reliable, as the ensuing rate of transformation is relatively lesser and the degree of transformation, too, is minimal. *Tappa*, has been helpful in preserving a lot of precious information. However, due to some factors, even the use of short, tight, and rhythmical couplet mould, such as that of Pashto *Tappa*, which puts a tight check over the rate of variation and change, is not enough to eliminate the process of change and variation in an oral piece totally. *Tappa* also undergoes variation, and as a result we find the same *Tappa* using two different words or phrases of the same rhythm.

In another oral story **'Da Gunbath Shahzadgai'**, by Shah Fazil (Fazil n.d), an old traveler from Egypt, accompanied by his wife, meets the Holy Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) and upon His request, describes the conditions and beauty of his country. At this, the Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) expresses his desire to visit Egypt. The old traveler takes Him to Egypt and shows Him around high buildings of Egypt and then reaches a dome and upon it narrates a story related to it. According to Naeem (2006), incidents narrated in this story are not found in the history of Islam. According to the written and established history of Islam Prophet Mohammad (PBUH) had never been to Egypt.

Attributing any statement to the Holy Prophet, that has not been made by Him actually and exaggerating or inventing an account of the Holy prophet, is a big crime, forbidden sternly by Islam. Although almost all the Pashto folk poets, as well as the audience, were Muslims

and held the Holy Prophet in high esteem, yet they were found guilty of this crime. It means that either they had no knowledge of this basic tenet of Islam or they did it deliberately despite having knowledge. Both are weak possibilities, because no age can be doubted to be so much ignorant of this ban imposed by Islam. Even if the bard did not know, then at least, someone from the crowd, could have informed, corrected or warned him. Secondly, a knowing Muslim cannot be assumed to commit such crime deliberately and repeatedly in public.

According to the researcher, distortion cropped up spontaneously and imperceptibly. Every oral piece was transmitted and received with the conviction that it was basically the same word for word, uncorrupted material, travelling down. No two narrators of the same story belonging to different ages had written records available before them to notice changes. The audience took everything new for granted and attributed not knowing something to their own lack of knowledge. Besides, mostly being illiterate, they had not read and could not read, to confirm whether something reported orally was true or untrue, nor were books commonly available on the history and Traditions of the Holy Prophet. The few available books (being chapbooks), within range of accessibility, were not authentic enough to put the bards on the right track. So absence of literacy, use of the medium of primary orality, and lack of access to authentic sources, regarding the life and sayings of the Holy Prophet, were among some of the factors that led to attribute to the Holy Prophet, false and exaggerated words and deeds.

The particular type of problem arose because mixing up of different, simultaneously existing strains of stories, took place. One strain of stories was the romances of traditional lovers. Another strain of stories was about historical Islamic events and personalities and the third strain of stories was of those stories that would celebrate a male's knighthood and chivalry. These stories of religious, romantic, magic and knighthood nature ran together side by side in the age of primary orality. Due to the absence or unpopularity of the medium of writing and print, boundaries of different forms of stories, were not fixed nor was specialization possible in each form of story with a distinct label and a distinct name. On the other hand, due to the lack of keeping record, the dependence was totally on memory. Because of the above-

mentioned factors the different forms and strains of stories kept on mixing with one another and in the process even strains or forms of stories with contradictory tastes were brought to bear the effect of one another. The meticulous care, needed in the reproduction of religious facts and information, was not observed because the bards were used to and familiar with exercising freedom and lack of caution in the treatment and reproduction of literary productions.

Normally all these different strains of stories would be sung by the same singer, without specializing in a particular strain, and would be listened to, depending upon their taste and the occasion, by the same type of audience, without limiting themselves to a particular strain of story. As a result, elements of one story, permeated through the contents of another story unconsciously, and it was accepted unconsciously by the audience too. Due to mixing up of different strains of stories, running side by side, characters from one strain of story came to assume qualities of characters from another strain of story e.g. a completely spiritual and religious personality would come to gradually assume characteristics of amorous behaviour or would be sent on errands and missions like adventurous knights seeking the hand of princesses. Some religious personalities are made to fall in love due to the effect of the strain of the romance or depicted as helping the lovers to unite e.g. inside the story, 'Yousuf Khan Sherbano' the spiritual leaders play their part in helping the heroine in her love persuit. Whereas, in reality it is expected of these religious personalities that let alone helping lovers, they would not approve of any extra-marital relationship between a male and a female.

The variety of mixing, occurring between the different strains of stories and their characters, can best be highlighted through another oral folk story, **'Dasthan-e-Amir Hamza'** by Mulla Ahmad Jan (Jan, 1949). It is a versified story about a great and holy Islamic personality, who also happened to be the uncle of The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). This is story of a very holy personality on one side and an interesting romance on the other hand.

One type of distortion can be seen as a result of mixing up of the two different stages of history. King Nosherawan belonged to an age that came centuries after the time of Ameer Hamza (R.A). Rather Ameer Hamza (R.A) passed away even before the passing away of the

Prophet Muhammad (PBUH). But in the story these two personalities are shown to be contemporaries.

Another type of distortion is the result of mixing up of two parallel, simultaneous, and distinctly running strains of stories. These were romances of traditional lovers and stories of historical Islamic events and personalities. In this case, a religious story came under the influence of a romance and Amīr Hamza (R.A) is made to fall in love with a girl, in the manner of a traditional lover. Here the getting attracted to a stranger girl by looking at her, getting impressed by her beauty and then maintaining a love-affair with her is beneath the character of a holy personality like Amīr Hamza (R.A) from Islamic and historical point of view.

Apart from the influence of a romance, it has the influence of the other strain of stories in vogue that would celebrate a male's knighthood and chivalry; in it a brave male, with a strong character, would go to far-off places and would get access to the king of the times, by winning his favour on account of his bravery and then would win over his daughter, just as can be found in some English ballads of knighthood etc.

A reason for the initial mixing of the holy with amorous inside oral literature, might be the getting access, of the informally literate readers of the Holy Quran, to the chapbooks of romances. Literacy was initiated, to considerable degree, among female folk by female teachers of the Holy Quran, known as *Bibis'*. The reason according to Tariq Rahman (2002) was that script of the Holy Quran was similar to the '*Nasthaleeq'* script of Pashto, due to which, these *Bibis'*, being well-versed in the script of the Holy Quran, would be able to read small-sized chapbooks in their mother-tongue of Pashto. These chapbooks were few pennies worth and dealt with fascinating stories on romantic and religious themes. These stories would be read to a group of other illiterate women folk and would be listened to, with great interest (ibid: 2002).

The role of live performance and audience response cannot be underestimated. These changes got incorporated on the strength of audience's positive response. To add to the amusement of the audience, the singer would, from other prevalent stories, insert those pleasurable portions that were highly enjoyable to the audience. By giving amorous

touch to an otherwise religious, tragic or heroic story, the story teller would provide some relief from the tense environment of the story and would at the same time add to the taste of the story, to keep the audience spell-bound. As the audience was the same and the different types of stories were enjoyed by the audience in the same degree at different occasions, the singer ventured to incorporate material from one type of story into the other type of story. In accordance with schema theory, sometimes a story is moulded to follow the traditional pattern or design that is common in the respective form or genre e.g. sometimes an idiosyncratic type of ending of a story, devised by a particular story teller, is automatically replaced, in the course of transmission, by the type of ending that is wished for and desired by the popular audience.

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-10-
Sufism and Modernity[1]

Farhat Iftikhar Gill

Abstract

This paper, 'Sufism and Modernity', looks at Sufism in terms of religious experience usual to all religions, including Buddhism and Islam. The paper takes modernity to be a product of European history and defines it in terms of change of worldview from a theocentric to an anthropocentric one. In a theocentric worldview, norms of good society are believed to be derived from revelation. Anthropocentric view asserts that God and his revelation are not necessary for good society. It is claimed, on the other hand, that man could build durable and prosperous society through the use of his natural reason. In Europe, this view passed through Renaissance and Reformation culminating in the Enlightment period. Sufism partakes of both the theocentric and anthropocentric views. Muslim mystics claimed a direct experience of the divine, resulting in burning love for God. But such love for God overflowed in the form of love for fellowman. The Sufi tradition of participation in public life during Muslim history has been revived during these times and is seen relevant to mitigate the inhuman consequences of man's overemphasis on acquisition of material abundance and consequent deadly conflicts.

The title of the conference can be interpreted in at least two ways. Putting Buddhism and Sufism in the same category, we can look at them with reference to modern times i.e. times which we are passing through, now. Or, we can look at them with reference to modernity as such, modernity as a concept. Alternatively, we could take Buddhism and Sufism as separate categories and then look at each one with reference to modernity, in terms both of modern times and modernity as a concept.

[1] The paper was presented in 'One day International Conference on Buddhism, Sufism and Moderniy Nov. 7, 2012' organized by World Foundation of Buddhist Youth, at Bankok, Thiland.

This study puts Buddhism and Sufism in the same category: religion and religion's relationship with mystic experience (Stace 1960: 68); the other name of Sufism is Islamic Mysticism, also known as Tasawwuf. I believe the spirit of the conference is to look at Buddhism and Sufism falling in the same category. Such delimitation lessens the burden of this study as well as burden on the writer herself who cannot claim much knowledge of Buddhism except that which ordinarily comes to an educated citizen of a country that houses much of the remains of Buddhist religion, namely Pakistan.

The mankind has been engulfed by destructive circumstances all around, destructive to physical environment as well as to human life. The new weapons to end human life do not consist in the form of simple iron made into killing arms; modern weapons wreak havoc and their ingredients of today's weapons lethally pollute the environment on which the very human life is based. The visible and invisible wars among human groups have all the makings of extermination of humankind. The hope that Buddhism and Sufism could contribute in avoiding the impending catastrophe is not a vain hope. It is a serious hope. And I pray that the conference sets a tone in that spirit.

In writing his book *Islam in Modern History*, W. C. Smith claimed that his book would promote "mutual comprehensibility" among Christians and Muslims (Armstrong 1999: 498). Smith feared that his claim might sound pretentious as he characterized himself an outsider not having much business to delve into the spiritualities of an alien community. He invited Muslims to undertake a work of interpretation about Christianity and the West in the same way as he was going to do in his book about Islam. In his view, globalization in the 20th century obliged man "to strive for some apprehension of each other's presuppositions". He continued: "Isolation is gone, and with it the kind of world in which it was feasible for one civilization or culture to ignore the values and convictions of another" (Smith 1960).

As Smith expressed his views on globalization and the need for inter-civilization/inter-faith understanding, a book *The Teachings of the Mystics* was in the offing. Walter T. Stace compiled a volume containing views of celebrated mystic masters from some eight well-known traditions/civilizations, adding an excerpt from Arthur Koestler as a specimen of 'contemporary mystical experience' (Stace 1960:

230). A perceptive student of mysticism, Stace regards mysticism as "a form of religious of spirituality" which, in his view, continues to exist through all world crises (Ibid 240). Reflecting on what Stace holds we can say that the present day testing times also require revival and reinvigoration of values relevant to meet the challenge of the crisis of our times. Mystic values have the potential more likely to meet the challenge. It is in this context of prime need for inter-faith understanding that I present my contribution under the title "Sufism and Modernity".

Modernity may be said to have sprouted from European movements of Renaissance and Reformation and fully flowered during the Enlightenment period. There, it may be more compactly described in the change of worldview from a Theocentric to an anthropocentric one. In the Theocentric view, norms of good society are to be derived from Revelation. In the Anthropocentric view, the claim was that man did not need Revelation to found good society. On the other hand, it was claimed that man was self-sufficient and that he could build prosperous and durable society with the help of natural reason that he possessed. Using such core distinctions between modernity and non-modernity, Sufism (Tasawwaf) will be looked at in terms of partaking of both the Theocentric and the Anthropocentric, worldviews. Let us first look at modernity as product of successive movements in European history, namely Renaissance, Reformation and Enlightenment.

According to the medieval, European, mainly Augustinian, view man was sinful in nature. Men and women were not capable of attaining excellence through their own efforts. It is true that several medieval scholars spent considerable time to study classical humanistic literature, but to fit the same into the Christian worldview. Medieval thinkers, thus, emphasized the Christian belief in human weakness (Parry 2001: 216-217).

The Renaissance presented a bold new view of human nature, a view that departed from the medieval view. The new view came to be known as humanism. Humanism was an educational and cultural programme based on the study of ancient Greek and Roman literature. For such humanists, the classics were a guide to the good life, the active life to achieve self-cultivation, to write well, to speak well and to

live well. Petrarch (1304-1374) maintained that "education should consist not only of learning and knowing things, but also of learning how to communicate one's knowledge and how to use it for the public good. Therefore, he emphasized rhetoric and moral philosophy in education – wisdom combined with eloquence". "This" according to Petrarch, "was the key to virtue in the ruler, the citizen and the public" (Ibid: 217).

Humanist education ideal contained seeds of transformation of the Christian human beings. Emphasis on human creative powers was an important and influential doctrine of the Renaissance. A classic expression of it was found in the Oration on the Dignity of Man (1486) by Giovanni Pico della Mirandolla (1463-1494). According to Pico, God says to man: "We have made thee neither of heaven nor of earth, neither mortal nor immortal, so that with freedom of choice and with honour, as though the maker and moulder of thyself, though mayest fashion thyself in whatever shape thou shalt prefer (della Mirandola 1948: 225).

Spreading out from Italy, humanism was concerned with the reform of Christianity and society with a programme of Christian humanism. Erasmus (1466-1536) possessed mystical piety and preached that religion did not depend on dogma, ritual or clerical power. Rather, it was revealed clearly and simply in the Bible and was directly accessible to man. Erasmus stressed the ideals of toleration, kindness and respect for human rationality (Dolan 1964: 24-93). Francois Rabelais (c.1494-c.1553) exemplified humanism in France. He asserted the essential goodness of the individual. His writings emphasized earthly life and earthly enjoyments, expressing confidence in human nature. In his view, monastic orders and clerical education stifled the human spirit. People could, by virtue of their native goodness, build a paradise on earth (Parry 2001: 224).

The humanists did not challenge Christians' belief or question the validity of the Bible. They attacked scholastic philosophy for indulging in hairsplitting arguments. They were for a purer form of Christianity, based on the direct study of the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers. However, such ideas did not reach down to include the masses. On the other hand, the new Renaissance image of the individual and the world, bold and novel, was the exclusive prerogative

of small, well-educated urban elite (Ibid: 216). What Renaissance did was to revitalize European intellectual life and in the process, discarded the medieval preoccupation with theology.

It was the Reformation that marked the beginning of a new religious outlook. Beginning of such an outlook could be traced to an Englishman John Wycliffe (c.1320-c.1384) and his continental disciple Jan Hus (c.1369-c.1415). They stressed personal relationship between individual and God. They claimed that Bible itself, rather than the Church teachings, was the ultimate Christian authority. However, Reformation, as a movement started by Martin Luther (1483-1546), flourished on the resentment against non-German papal intervention that had long festered in Germany. Luther made it clear that he did not want to present any threat to legitimate political authority i.e. to the power of the German princes. Among the reassuring pamphlets on that subject was the one Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation, which Luther published in 1520 (Rupp and Drewery 1970: 42-46). An important person in the spread of Reformation was John Calvin (1509-1564). Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion (1536) became (after the Bible) the leading text of the new theology. Calvinism became a revolutionary ideology against Church authorities (Ibid: 232). A major teaching was that "The graces the God grants in unequal measure to his faithful ones, here and now, are like an image of the glorification that awaits them in the life beyond" (Wendel 1969: 269).

Calvinism viewed hard work, diligence, dutifulness, efficiency, frugality and a disdain for pleasurable pursuits-all virtues that contribute to rational and orderly procedures and to business success. As such, Protestantism was seen to give approval to money-making and the business-people's way of life. Protestantism, thus, produced a highly individualistic attitude that valued inner strength, self-discipline and methodical and sober behavior (Weber 1930).

By the middle of the eighteenth century science and scientific method had grown up as new forces, in Europe's intellectual culture fabric. Tremendous developments accrued had left the ancients far behind, particularly in physics and zoology. Latin provided efficient system for rapid dissemination of discovery and speculation. Resulting dialogue "ensured that experiments were checked, unwarranted

conclusions challenged and discoveries quickly shared" (Hampson 1968: 85-86). The Renaissance and Reformation ideas and attitudes merged into each other there was at work the process of scientific discoveries that eventually led to Enlightenment period. Some luminaries of the Enlightenment period included, inter alia, Descartes, Hobbes, Locke and French philosophies. In one way or another, they all contributed to the force and success of Enlightment (Ibid).

Locke's denial of innate ideas meant that human beings, contrary to Christian doctrine, are not born with original sin, they are not depraved by nature. The conclusion was that if people are provided with a proper environment and education, they would behave morally. By the proper use of their reason, people could bring their beliefs, their conduct and their institutions into harmony with natural law. Before Locke, Hobbes taught that man, following the ways of nature, could create polity and society, in the same way as God was believed to have created the Universe!

In a memorable paragraph, he said:

> Nature, the art whereby God hath made and governs the world, is by the art of man so imitated that he can make an artificial animal. For by art is created that great leviathan called a commonwealth or state, which is but a artificial; in which the sovereignty is an artificial soul, as giving life and motion; the magistrates and other officers the joints; reward and punishments the nerves; concord, health; discarded, sickness; lastly, the pacts or covenants by which the parts were first set together resemble the fiat of God at the creation (Hammerton n.d.: 172).

From intense debates during the Enlightment period came Holbach's (1723-1789) book *The System of Nature: or Laws of the Moral and Physical World* (1770). The book became known as the bible of atheistic materialism. There was no supernatural alternative to nature. Nature, said Holbach, was "but an immense chain of causes and effects which unceasingly flowed from one another. To believe in a God was dishonest and a denial of man's true experience". Diderot recorded the

knowledge gained during Enlightenment and thatmade Encyclopedia a repository of technological information and, at the same time, "an anthology of enlightened opinion on politics, philosophy and religion" (Ibid: 86).

To sum up, the Renaissance emphasized man's human interests and concerns, upholding belief in the Bible. The Reformation tried to bring back the original spirit of Bible as source of reconstructing the society and polity. The process of Enlightenment was to eliminate Bible as such source. In Diderot's view, there was no need of a Creator; "Matter was not the passive, but had its own dynamic which obeys its own laws. Instead of saying that there was no God but nature, Diderot had claimed that there was only nature and no God at all (Armstrong 1993: 394).

Modernity that emerged in European history went to its satellites in the American and Australian continents. The division between modernity and non-modernity in Europe was a result of the change in the worldview from one which was Theocentric to one that became Anthropocentric. The Theocentric worldview meant that revelation supplied the principles on which to build a good society. The slogan of Anthropocentricism was that man did not need revelation. On the other hand, with the use of natural reason, man could build durable and prosperous societies. This principle was the cornerstone of modernity. Max Weber has conveniently summed up the nature of modernity in the title of his book: *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism.* During the 20th century, modernity gave rise to 'theories of modernization'. We will look at such ideas with reference to Sufism/Islamic mysticism.

Minimum definition of mysticism is 'a direct experience of the divine'. Interpretation of the experience is often according to the culture in which the mystic has been born and bred. Mysticism naturally, though not necessarily, becomes intimately associated with whatever is the religion of the culture in which it appears. Mystics make use of the certain methods to suppress sensuous images and thinking (Stace 1960: 9).

It is sometimes asserted that mysticism is merely an escape from life and from its duties and responsibilities. According to Stace, "To treat the bliss of the mystical consciousness as an ideal in itself is

certainly a psychological possibility … but this is not the mystical ideal". "The Christian mystics", he says "especially have always emphasized that mystical union with God brings with it intense and burning love of God which must need overflow into the world in the form of love for our fellowmen" (Stace 1960: 26).

One meets an even more active situation in Islamic mysticism. Muslim sufis claim the Qur'an and Sunnah to be the basic sources of Tasawwuf. The claim not withstanding, Sufism developed over time as authentic response to two perceived ills interacting in the Muslim expanding society. The two ills related to public affairs and intellectual life. In historical development, Sufism interacted with outside influence, usually on its own grounds. By 12th century, Tasawwuf had been organized into silsilahs. However, the degeneration of Muslim morals and the disintegration of Muslims' soul during the period preceding and following the sack of Baghdad by Hulagu, came as a challenge to mystic thought. Would Muslim Mysticism remain merely a cult for the interiorization of religious rites and lose its social value, or would it organize a worldwide movement for the spiritual culture of humanity and thus save Muslim society from moral and spiritual intertia? The mystics chose the second alternative and concentrated all their energies on the regeneration of Muslim society. Mostly, such men were learned persons in Islamic law but became Sufi leaders. The person who played a vital role in this regard was Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazali.

In al-Ghazzali, Sufism was an important factor that enabled al-Ghazzali to reinterpret religion, taking Sufism as a code of ethics and the basis for epistemology. In the Islamic tradition, al-Ghazzali is the supreme exemplification of the process wherein full nature of knowledge of God is disclosed adequately i.e. in many varieties of religious experience (Iqbal 1986). According to Watt al-Ghazzali successfully wrestled with the Greek thought through his mystical experience (Baharuddin 2000: 613). This was the same for Iqbal. To him, in the final analysis, the living context of the religion embraces all the great sources of our knowledge of God; revelation, reason, empirical experience and religious experience. By religious experience, Iqbal meant Sufism. The knowledge of God granted in revelation is

understood and partially confirmed by reason, but its full nature is disclosed adequately only in the many varieties of religious experience.

In Al-Ghazzali's theory of causation, 'yaqin' is a technical term used in Sufism to describe the "self-authenticating" knowledge attained when a person is in a state of what can be described a 'God relatedness' and the person obtains certainty via his own experience of direct intuition (Ibid: 613-14). Mystic experience brings conviction and such conviction is 'unequivocal and beyond doubt'. Sufism in the applied term is the experience of God by following sincerely and strictly the shari'a and a moral code of conduct as laid out by religion. Al-Ghazzali was aware of the problems of verification. '*Yaqīn*' refers to a psychological state where doubts are no longer present. Through it, man can arrive at certainty by different routes without always being able to explain how, or necessarily being justified in doing so.

Methods followed in self-discipline varied considerably, but most of the early ascetics stressed four practices: solitude, silence, hunger, and sleeplessness. We will elaborate on the four practices. Solitude, even if pursued only on occasion, distances the seeker from worldly distractions. There is not much evidence that early Sufis often lived out their lives in complete isolation, through many did seek to wander in deserts. Reference was often made to the Prophet's annual retreats to a mountain cave outside Mecca, where, following long meditation, he received the divine revelation. Al-Ghazali recommended isolation in conjunction with the remembrance (*dhikr*) of God, and meditation (*fikr*) meant to be practiced only for short periods. An entirely solitary life, while attempted by some Sufis would not ultimately flourish an eminently social religion such as Islam (Winter 1421/2000: 613).

Silence was also emphasized as a second practice. Many of the vices, such a backbiting slander, flattery, lying and cursing, are occasioned by ill-considered speech. Hence Sufyan al-Thawri could declare, "Long silence is the key to worship. A wise man's tongue is located beneath his heart: if he wishes to speak, his words will refer to his heart, and if they serve it, he will speak; otherwise he will hold his peace" (Ibid: xxx). The key is to be sought in the heart. Thirdly, the religious benefits of hunger, or at least of the renunciation of food, were recognized from the earliest days of Islam. Fasting was a cardinal

duty; fast in the month of Ramadan, requires that one refrain from food, drink, and sexual relations from first light until sundown. Fasting during Ramadan is believed to bring reward from God, and is a recognized means of self-purification. In addition to this obligatory annual fast, other days may be observed as fasts: Mondays and Thursdays, for instance, or the middle three days of each lunar month. However, uninterrupted fasting, other than the month of Ramadan, was generally discouraged, following the teaching of the Prophet (Ibid: xxx-xxxi).

The fourth famous technique of vanquishing the *nafs*, was sleeplessness. Al-Ghazali explains that "sleep hardens and deadens the heart, unless, that is, one sleeps only in that amount which is needful, when it will conduce to the unveiling of the secrets of the Unseen". Sleep is a waste of time if done to excess; one should strive to spend the pre-dawn hours in prayers, the highest activity, rather than sleep, which is the lowest (Ibid: xxxii).

During the onslaught of Western imperialist activity, many Sufi silsilahs showed resistance. Bruinessen, basing himself on the work of the anthropologist Evans-Pritchard (1949) has described how the Sunusiyya order helped in unifying the otherwise segmentary tribes in Libya (Bruinessen 131-132). The Sufi order provided an integrating structure that made collective action possible. The Sunusiyya was named after its founder, Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Sunusi (d. 1859). He combined both the reputation of a wandering holy man and a puritan reformist. He located his hospice at the intersection of major routes, with other Sufi lodges also strategically located at the boundary of tribal territories. The Sufi lodges were not part of the tribal structure but enjoyed religious prestige among the tribes. They could mediate in tribal conflicts and coordinate joint action. The Sunusi resistance against the Italian occupation (1911-43) became the most successful case of anti-colonial Sufi activity. Libya finally attained independence as a kingdom, with the incumbent head of the Sanusiyya, Shaykh Idris, as the king (Ibid: 132).

Two other segmentary tribal societies in which a Sufi order succeeded in politically uniting tribal groups were those of the northern Caucasus and Kurdistan. The resistance of the Muslim peoples of Daghestan and Chechnya to Russian southward expansion had begun in

the eighteenth century and reached its zenith in the mid-nineteenth, under three imams (politico-military leaders) with strong Naqshbandi connections, who led a jihad and for decades established sharia rule in the region until the ultimate defeat of the third imam, Shamil, in 1859.

Literature on present day Sufi activity on transnational basis has proliferated tremendously[2]. We take note of only one study relating to the International Sufi Movement of Inayat Khan[3]. The key aspect of his Sufi message was the 'unity of religious ideals'[4]. The message was conveyed through creating new rituals within the order. An important new ritual was the Universal Worship service. The new type of service took into account respect for the unity and diversity of the world's religions. There were candles for each major tradition and passages were read from the scripture of each religion. At the same time, Inayat Khan retained such traditional institutions as the *murshid–mureed* relationship. This was so because spiritual development and full realization of the meaning of the unity of religious ideals was thought to also require the inner purification and transformation of individuals[5].

Inayat Khan made efforts to deepen his knowledge of the West. As his knowledge and mission evolved, he continued to adapt the content and form of his presentation. His early lectures contained much Islamic terminology, but overtime, he employed examples and metaphors from science, Christianity and everyday Western life to convey his message. He made a point to address people's desire to live meaningfully in the face of growing disenchantment with religious authorities. In this regard, Inayat Khan distinguished mysticism from any form of religious dogma. At times, he would describe Sufism simply as "the religion of the heart, the religion in which one thing is most important, and that is to seek God in the heart of mankind" (Ibid). Sufism was presented in a way that could readily be practised within a modern society. According to Gen, "the changes were not a

[2] See two important edited compilations, Malik and Hinnels, op. cit. & Martin Van Bruinessen and Julia Day Howell eds. (2007). Sufism and the 'Modern' in Islam (New York: I.B. Tauris).
[3] Ibid
[4] Ibid
[5] Ibid

compromise with the West but rather an integral part of his vision for religion in the modern world" (Ibid: 263).

The Universal Sufism of Inayat Khan is in many ways a new impulse within Sufism and a 'Western' and 'modern' variant. Yet its appreciation of and tolerance for the followers of all faiths and its valuing of spiritual freedom and experience bring forward characteristics of a centuries-old Sufi and Islamic tradition into the modern world. The new Sufism came to resonate with the conditions of modernity and, at the same time, the Inayati order retained in the West the appreciation of poetry, music and movement found in the Chishti order and it continues to provide a disciplined path of spiritual training (Ibid: 274).

In summing up Sufism and Modernity, we state the claims/assessment contained in two good books available. Bruinessen and Howel say that their book on contemporary Sufism "helps us to understand the otherwise perplexing, and wholly unexpected, efflorescence of Sufism in modern and modernizing settings across the Muslim world in the last decades of the twentieth century, along with the more general Islamic revival". Assessment of Malik and Hinnels is: "Contemporary organized and unorganized Sufism in the West seems to have the capacity to diversify Islam, as well as to operate in different public spheres and visibilities through its rich semiotics and symbol-systems, as well as its rituals, which appeal to a variety of social strata" (Jamal and Hinnels op. cit: 25).

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