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Cover Photo:
Detail from the mosaic of 'the battle of Gaugamela' showing Alexander the Great, House of the Fauno, Pompei, around 100 B.C, Naples, National Archeological Museum.
(Photo by Gianni Dubbini)

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From Northern Afghanistan to Xinjiang, Hellenistic influences in the history of a Yuezhi-Kushan burial

Gianni Dubbini

Abstract:
In this essay an object in particular, that is the golden clasp with two Macedonian warriors from the Kushan site of Tillya Tepe, burial n° 3, will be discussed as a case-study. Using a comparative method, this artefact becomes clearly an example of cultural interaction with other sites, histories and objects along the Bactrian side of the Silk Road, till China.

The Hellenistic, Central Asiatic, "nomadic", and Chinese artistic and historical influences, will be here analysed in relation with a particular geographic area that is the Oxus Region between the conquests of Alexander the Great (4th c. B.C) and the early Kushan kingdom (1st c. A.D.). The area of Bactria, that has the river Oxus (Amu Darya) as a natural landmark and way of communication, saw during the period taken in consideration, an incredible and unique process of cultural assimilation and syncretism. This artistic syncretism of the ancient world clearly trespassed the traditional geographical and cultural barriers.

I. The historical background of Tillya Tepe: the legacy of Alexander the Great in the Oxus region, and the city of Ai Khanoum until the Kushans (334 B.C- 1st century. A. D)

Although it is a well studied subject (Briant 2010: 156-157), it is still interesting to summarize the history of the events that preceded the formation of the Kushan dominions of Northern Afghanistan in the area of Tillya Tepe (fig. 1). I will concentrate here the attention on the Greek military and cultural penetration into a specific region of Central Asia: Bactria. The historical parenthesis that follows is used with the aim of explaining the Hellenistic influence clearly visible in the golden clasp from Tillya Tepe in the second chapter.

Concerning the history of Afghanistan, India and Central Asia more in general, an un-precedented event was the invasion of the

Macedonian army of Alexander the Great into the dominions of the Persian Empire. In 334 B.C Alexander started war against Darius III Codomannus. With a series of brilliant, victorious and rapid military campaigns, the Macedonian general, son of Philip II, launched the first Western military expedition on such a grand scale in the vast and unknown territories of Central Asia, against the Achaemenid Empire. This enormous military enterprise arguably represented the first transcontinental conquest of the world, but it was also an exploration that arrived far beyond the lands known to the Greek geographers. On May 327 B.C. Alexander crossed the snowy peaks of the Hindu Kush and entered in the Indian Subcontinent (Torri 2007: 93). He defeated King Porus of India in the Battle of Jhelum, defined "*among the most brilliant operations of ancient warfare"* (Bosworth 1996: 6). After a mutiny of his veteran Macedonian troops, the army reached the river Hydaspes, a tributary affluent of the Indus. There, Alexander was forced to retire the whole army back to Babylon, where he died under unclear circumstances, but arguably of illness, in 323 B.C.

After the celebrated Alexander's expedition an enormous empire was formed. From Pella in Macedonia, the capital established by Alexander's father, to Egypt where the young general founded Alexandria at the delta of the Nile, to present day Syria, Iraq, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Pakistan till the Punjab (the region of the five rivers that includes the Indus), till the doors of India. After his unexpected death, the eastern part of the empire of Alexander the Great was divided and after the treaty that followed the battle of Ipsus in 304 B.C, Seleucus I *Nicator* became the ruler of a vast area from Babylon to the region of Bactria and the founder of the Seleucid Empire (Torri 2007: 93).

It should be noted that Hellenism was a truly important cultural phenomenon that introduced in Central Asia many aspects of the Greek culture, such as a greek system of writing, and most importantly, urban life in cities. In Central Asia, Alexander himself founded, on virgin territories of strategic importance, many *polis* with the first function of military garrisons flourishing. These outposts were also strategic for the spread of Hellenism. It was a period that, with the climax of the Greco Bactrian Kingdom, was characterized by multiculturalism for the

Greeks-Macedonians and a multilingual environment for the local inhabitants of Central Asia (Frye 1996: 106).

The region of the Oxus, and the region of Bactria in particular (fig. 1), seems to be an important as well as an evocative place, situated between the Oxus River and the mountains of the Hindu Kush. As Frank L. Holt recently wrote, "*like the Nile, the Oxus region had a potent influence on the imaginations […] it was rumoured for example that rich deposits of gold lay unmolested along its banks, and that the actual descendants of Alexander the Great lived near its upper reaches"* (Holt 2003: 27).

Bactria and the territories of the Amu Darya, (the current name for the river Oxus) have often been defined by specialists as the "*Central Asiatic Mesopotamia*" (AA-VV 2005: 410-411). Since the time of Strabo and Ptolemy, the region has been identified of having a strong connection with both of the banks of the river Oxus (AA-VV 2005: 411). The region has also been named by Pierre Leriche: "*the land of a thousand cities"* (Cribb and Herrmann 2007: 121).

In the Afghan province of the Seleucid Empire between 311 B.C. and 246 B.C. and in the Greek colonies, the Hellenization of Central Asia, after the death of Alexander, had reached its peak (AA-VV 1994: 95). As A. H. Dani and P. Bernard wrote, both quoting Robert (Robert 1973), this was, *"[…] a crucial period for these colonies as their Hellenism was then nourished by frequent contact with Mediterranean influences which were able to penetrate freely, propagated by officials, soldiers, merchants, artists and intellectuals"* (AA-VV 1994: 92). Between 246-238 B.C. Diodotus, the sovereign of Bactria-Sogdiana, took power in Central Asia in the region of the Oxus and formed the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom (AA-VV 1994: 92).

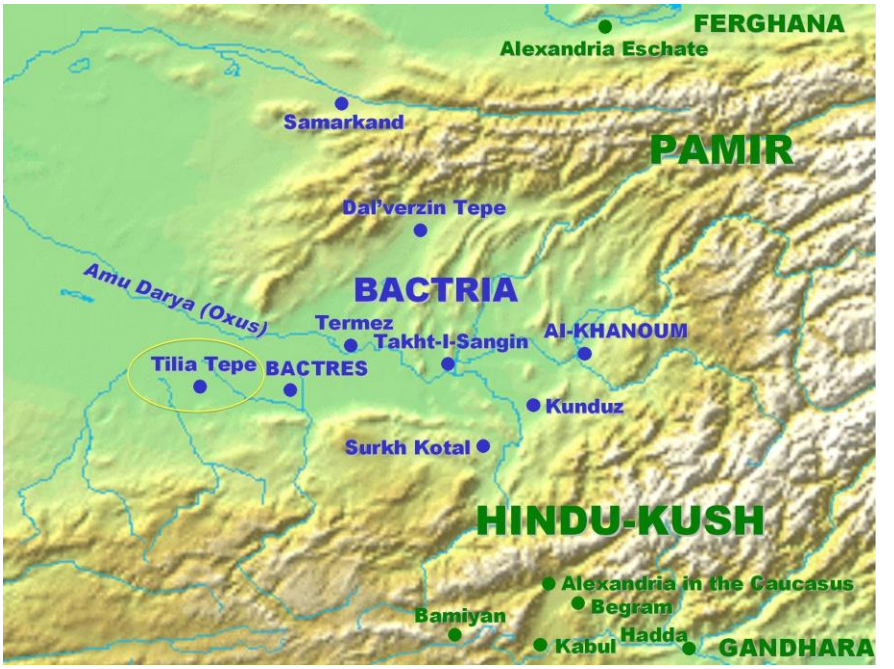

Figure 1. Map of the Bactrian region between present dayAfghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Pakistan. It shows the vicinity of the sites taken in consideration of the region. The site of Tillya Tepe is also indicated.

After the re-conquest of India made by Antiocus III the Great 203 B.C. and the conquests of the Punjab in 183 B.C. conducted by the General Demetrius, a whole Greek Empire was built over the region of northern and eastern Central Asia (Torri 2007: 93). It was the biggest empire ever formed by Greek-Macedonian colonists and it included the Oxus region, until the Pamir and the Punjab until the delta of the Indus (Torri 2007: 93). This region is often called Paropamisade (Tarn 1938: 141).

Under the reign of the Buddhist king Menander, the Greek Empire of this part of Asia was divided in two autonomous provinces: one was Bactria and the other one was the northern part of Pakistan (the present day Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), including parts of the Punjab (Torri 2007: 94). As Tarn notes, specifically underlining the essential peculiarities of this Greek Kingdom: *"Bactria […] was an Hellenistic state, with many of the usual characteristics of such states but one very important one of its own, and its history was a branch of Seleucid history […] as a Hellenistic state it must be treated."*(Tarn 1938: xx).

Before starting to analyse "the decline and fall" (Edward Gibbon) of the last Greek states, under the attacks of the Parthians and the *Sakas* in the region of Bactria, it is worth coming back to the Seleucid Empire's times (312 B.C-63 B.C), to an integral episode in the founding of the city of Ai Khanoum in northern Afghanistan.

Figure 2. Photographic view of the excavations conducted at Ai Khanoum by the French equipe of archaeologists (DAFA), directed by Paul Bernard during the Sixties, before the Soviet invasion of 1978.

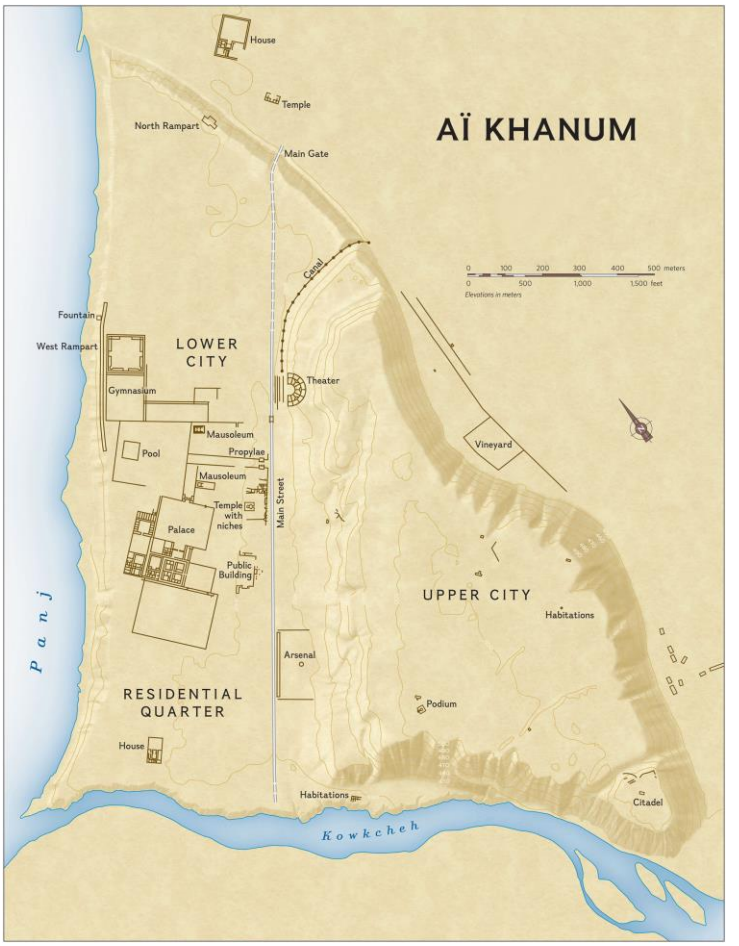

Figure 3. Map that shows in detail the city of Ai Khanoum, Bactria, northern Afghanistan.

Ai Khanoum, or "Lady Moon" (Holt 2005: 154) is the site of once upon a time a flourishing Greek colony (fig. 2), situated at the confluence between the river Amu Darya and the Kokcha, currently at the border between northern Afghanistan and Tajikistan. It is now completely devastated by the war and pillaged by treasure hunters. However, just a few years after Tarn's death and after a life of work on the Greeks in Bactria the site was discovered by the French

archaeologist Paul Bernard in 1962. The DAFA (Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan) started to systematically excavate the place with a modern methodology (Holt 2005: 155).
A recent study by the Japanese and the French also reconstructed the city in 3D and shows the real shape of how the city at the frontier of the Greek world could have appeared at visitors' eyes (Cribb and Herrmann 2007: 155-162).

The site (fig. 3) features an elevated acropolis with a citadel on the top of the upper city. On lower ramparts Ai Khanoum includes a gymnasium, a palace, a mausoleum with a colonnade (*propylae).* In Ai Khanoum, during the Greek rule, as Paul Bernard observed, the Greek language, and of course the Greek culture, were perceived *"as the cement for national identity"*(Bernard 2011: 95).

But the city of Ai Khanoum was destined to fall. As Rachel Mairs writes, *"even if the site was well-defended with a large natural acropolis and heavy fortifications […] was sacked in the mid-second century B.C., around the time that the Greek kingdom of Bactria as a whole fell to the nomadic invasions from the north"*(Mairs 2009). The destiny of Ai Khanoum was to be one of disappearing, being pillaged and destroyed repeatedly, from the wars of the ancient times, to the Russian invasion of Afghanistan in 1978, until the modern warfare of the Northern Alliance of Ahmed Shah Masood against the Taliban (Holt 2005: 154). Concerning the ancient end of the city, as Paul Bernard wrote, *"[…] it came suddenly around 145 B.C. Nomads from northeast, perhaps Sakas on their way to plunder Bactria, set fire to the palace of Ai Khanoum, the seat and the symbol of authority, and robbed the treasury* (Hiebert and Cambon 2011: 104).

The Greek dominions of the lands of Bactria, already seized by the increasing power of the Parthians, were finally left in ruins by the invasions of the Saka in 135 B.C (Torri 2009: 94). Even for the Indo-Greek kingdoms of ancient Gandhara and the Punjab those were the last days and for the first century C.E. they were also wiped out by the Sakas and by the Parthians (Narain 1957).

Ai Khanoum is therefore the best example to illustrate the Greek presence in the Bactrian region, before the invasions of the nomads and the first Kushan period that is otherwise exemplified in the Tillya Tepe archaeological findings. It is also a perfect example of the

passage between the Greek era of Bactria and the so-called "nomadic" period (Skripkin 1994: 281).

As mentioned before, the city experienced the definitive distruction in 145 B.C. by another "nomadic" population: the Yuezhi. They came from China, from the region of the Taklamakan, and they soon became the first founders of the Kushan Empire of Bactria (Hiebert and Cambon 2011: 104). As Xinru Liu writes: *"by the late second century B. C. E., according to the Han envoy Zhang Qian […] the Yuezhi tribe conquered the region called Daxia, probably Hellenistic Bactria in modern Afghanistan, and ruled this territory from a city on the Oxus"* (Xinru 2002: 256).

This invasion of the Yuezhi proves the existence of a series of contacts along the Silk Road, from China to Afghanistan, even since Greek times. With every probability they were "*the invaders of Ai Khanoum*" (Xinru 2002: 266). The Yuezhi-Kushan, are therefore, with every probability, the cultural ethnic group that produced the art of the necropolis of Tillya Tepe (Ibid: 261).

These *phenomena* of cultural migration and assimilation became even more evident thanks to the extraordinary discoveries made back in the 1970's by Russian archaeologists. One scholar in particular, the archaeologist Victor Sarianidi is the discoverer of the so-called "Golden Hill" of Northern Afghanistan (Sarianidi 1980: 125). The site is situated in the plain surrounding Bactra (Balkh), the ancient Greek capital of the Greco-Bactrian Kingdom, and not far from Ai Khanoum itself.

These revealing burials dating back from the beginning of the First Century C.E., give an extraordinary new light to the so-called period of the "Dark Ages" (Sarianidi 1980: 125; Enoki, et al. 2011: 188). Tillya Tepe is therefore one of these enlightening evidences. As the Russian scholars Enoki, Koshelenko and Haidary analysed: in Tillya Tepe, *"the social barriers dividing the world of the Greeks from that of the Bactrians were swept away […] by the nomads [and] also with them their art, which spread in their wake in Bactria, Sogdiana and the Indian Subcontinent"* (Enoki, et al. 2011: 188).

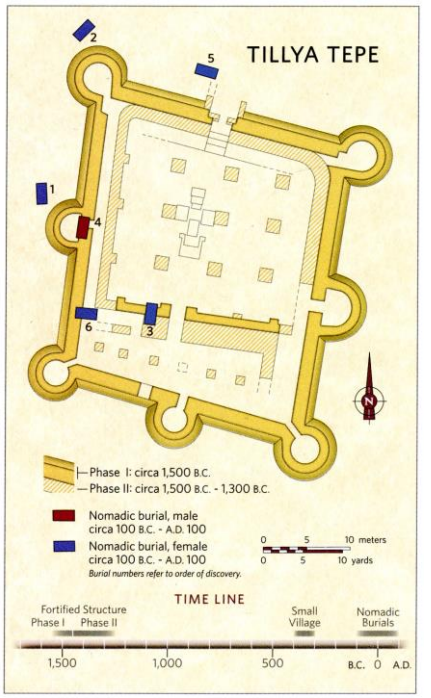

Figure 4. Map of the various phases of occupation of the necropolis of Tillya Tepe; those highlighted in blue are from the burials between the 1st c. B.C. and the 1st A.D., and the tomb 3 (Hiebert and Cambon 2011).

It therefore becomes clear that the ethnic group of the Yuezhi, moving from the Chinese Turkestan founded the first cultural basis for the Kushan Empire at the necropolis of Tillya Tepe (fig. 4). As Chiara Silvia Antonini pointed out, quoting the discoverer of the burials (Sarianidi: 1985), those *"are the tombs of the Kushan princes, dating back to the beginning of the Christian Era"* (Antonini 1994: 296). Coming in between the first century B.C. and the first century A.D., the findings of Tillya Tepe actually "fix the gap" of this obscure period in between the Greco Bactrian Kingdom and the Kushan Kingdom (Sarianidi 1980: 130).

II. The golden clasp from the tomb n° 3 of Tillya Tepe: comparative persepctives and evidence from the Oxus region to the Taklamakan desert

Figure 5. Clasp representing two Greco-Macedonian warriors, from tomb n° 3 of Tillya Tepe, second quarter of the 1st c. A.D., gold, 9.0 x 6.3 cm, National Museum of Kabul.

It clearly emerges that the findings of Tillya Tepe give light to a period about which literally nothing was known. The discovery of the "Golden Hill" connects the site to the legacy of Alexander the Great and of the Seleucids (Sarianidi 1985). However, it is also related, as previously illustrated, to the fall of Ai Khanoum and of the Greco Bactrian Kingdom.

The tomb n° 3 of Tillya Tepe is an extraordinary rich burial of a woman (Schiltz 2011: 254). It can arguably be dated in quite a precise way thanks to a Parthian coin in the hands of the lady (Schiltz 2011: 254), probably a local imitation (Sarianidi 1980: 84), dating back to the reign of the Parthian sovereign Mithridates II, 123-88 B.C. (Hiebert and Cambon 2011: 261). It is still disputed if the whole burial complex

of Tillya Tepe can be dated purely through the evidence of coins, but one coin in particular, from the time of the Roman emperor Tiberius circa A.D. 37, has been used to provide an accurate system of dating the tomb (Hiebert and Cambon 2011: 225).

One object in particular from the tomb n° 3 is reputed for our scope to be paradigmatic of this mix of Central Asiatic and Hellenistic cultures and is the golden clasp with the two warriors (fig. 5). This artefact was found around the neck of the woman of the tomb and offers a very stimulating framework of research. It is used both to understand the Greek and "nomadic" influences in the arts of Central Asia during the period taken into consideration and on the geography of the Silk Road (Frye 1996: 154).

As Joan Aruz clearly pointed out: *"the Tillya tepe ornaments reveal great skill in their execution and a local style that incorporates traditions handed down by the Greeks, combined with nomadic animal-style imaginery and features that may be traced to China"* (Aruz and Valtz 2012: 5). Paul Francfort also points out the nomadic influences of the Scythians in the art of the tomb (Aruz and Valtz 2012:6) and writes, connecting this burial from Tillya Tepe with the route of trade of ideas, men and cultures of Central Asia, "*where cities and empires developed and extensive networks of communication, notably the 'Silk Road', flourished from first century B.C. onward"* (Francfort 2012: 88). As John Boardman writes, the "*echoes of Greece and China"* from the findings of Tillya Tepe, and from the clasp with the two Macedonian warriors are particularly perceivable (Boardman 2012: 102, 109).

In analysing the various analogies traceable in the golden clasp with the two warriors from the tomb n° 3, it is important to look at the relationship between the Greco-Macedonian influence with other objects from different regions and areas.

The clasp, as is now known, does not represent a portrayal of the Greek god Ares, as Sarianidi once pointed out (Sarianidi 1980: 11), but it portraits two Macedonians warriors, one facing the other, wearing the Greco-Bactrian helmet (Schiltz 2011: 254). This helmet in particular and the bull's horns, the horns of the Egypitan god Amon-Ra (fig. 5) and as Véronique Schiltz has illustrated, offer close similarities in terms of style to the coins of the period of Alexander the Great and of the Greco-Bactrian king Eucratides (fig. 6-7) (Schiltz 2011: 254).

Figure 6. Silver coin of Eucratides the Great, sovereign of the Greco-Bactrian kingdom between 171-145 B.C. The horns visible on the helmet, a typical Bactrian one, are very similar to the horns of the helmet of the two warriors from the gilded clasp of Tillya Tepe.

Figure 7. Silver coin of the reign of Lysimachus (306-281 B.C.) with the portrait of Alexander with the 'horns of Amon'. The image of Alexander was used by the 'Diadokhoi' (his successors) as a way of legitimizing the political power.

Figure 8. Drawing representing one of the two warriors of the golden clasp with a detail of the profile that resembles the portrait of Alexander from the 'House of the Fauno' of Pompei, note the same style of the eyebrows (Aruz and Valtz 2012: 109).

Figure 9. Detail from the mosaic of 'the battle of Gaugamela' showing Alexander the Great, House of the Fauno, Pompei, around 100 B.C, Naples, National Archeological Museum.

The influence of the image of Alexander the Great also appears evident from the clasp of the two warriors of Tillya Tepe (see fig. 5). Note the portrait of Alexander from the floor mosaic of the 'House of the Fauno' at Pompei, (fig. 9) from around 100 B.C. The mosaic shows an episode of the light charge of Alexander's cavalry against the army of Darius III at the battle of Gaugamela (331 B.C.). This reference to Alexander that shows him, unlike the Persian troops, without trousers but with Greek armour also appears on Tillya Tepe's clasp. In both cases Alexander is depicted with open-wide eyes, (fig. 8-9) by the artists with the aim of emphasizing the immortal and almost divine nature of the Macedonian general. There is a remarkable resemblance of all of this visible in the golden clasp.

The style of the Greek dress, on the upper part of the motive of the robe, the *toga,* from the clasp, is also very similar to that one coming from a statue found in Ai Khanoum, portraying a young Greek ephebe, recently destroyed in a iconoclastic fury by the Taliban (Hiebert and Cambon 2011: 129, 254).

The sword that the left warrior from Tillya Tepe clasp has attached to his belt (fig. 5) is also very similar to an object excavated from the so-called "Temple of the Oxus" of Takht-e-Sangin (Hiebert and Cambon 2011: 255). This detail of the clasp is almost identical to the *"makhaira […] zoomporphic handle […] shaped like a griffin head"*, excavated from the temple of the Oxus (fig. 10) (Litvinskij and Pichikiyan 1999: 48).

Figure 10. the ‘makhaira sword’ handle shaped like griffin head coming from the ‘Temple of the Oxus of Takht-e-Sangin, 2nd c. B.C. This object is very similar to the sword that the warrior on the left of the gilded clasp has attached to his belt (see figure 5) (Litvinskij and Pichikiyan 1999).

Figure 11. Aerial view of the Temple of The Oxus of Takht-e-Sangin, southern Tajikistan, (3rd c B.C.- 1st c. A.D.)

Situated in southern Tajikistan, and also excavated and studied by the Russian archaeologists, the sanctuary of the "Temple of the Oxus" of Takht-e-Sangin (fig. 11) is modelled on the plan of an Iranian Zoroastrian temple of the fire (AA-VV 1993: 12). On the basis of an architectural comparison between Ai Khanoum and Takht-e-Sangin, the temple that can be dated back to the third century B.C., but will be later modified under the Kushan dynasty, until the third-fourth century A.D. (AA-VV 1993: 12).

A small head in ivory, clearly representing Alexander the Great, found in Takht–e-Sangin (fig. 12) also gives the most resembling artistic and cultural exchange with the clasp with the two Macedonian warriors from Tillya Tepe (Litvinskij and Pichikiyan 1981: 133-167).

Figure 12. Small ivory head of Alexander the Great from Takht-e- Sangin (Litvinskij and Pichikiyan 1981).

This cultural affiliation is of course not limited only to the Bactrian region. Interestingly, a much farther link trough the Silk Road exists. A comparative study of the artistic influences between the various objects, show the interconnections between the remarkable finds of

Sampul and Yingpan in the Chinese region of Xinjiang, at the border of the desert of Taklamakan, and those of Tillya Tepe (Jones 2009: 23-31). The trousers of tapestry found by the archaeologists in the oasis of Sampul (2^{nd}-3^{rd} c. A.D.), portraying a Greek warrior with the Hellenistic diadem (fig. 15) are reputed here symptomatic of this. A similar style appears also between the texiles enriched with cupids, centaurs and flowers that cover the body of the man of Yingpan (fig. 16). The near life-size head of the Yuezhi-Kushan prince from the palace of Khalchayan in southern Uzbekistan also shows the peculiar realism that is shared between local Bactrian traditions and Hellenistic traditions (AA-VV 1994: 189). The headband-diadem of the warrior of Khalchayan is very similar to that of the warrior of Sampul and the style of the hairdo refers to Alexander the Great, despite the artificial skull deformation (fig. 13).

Despite coming from a later period than the finds from Tillya Tepe, the golden diadem on the head of the mummy of Yingpan (fig. 16) surely exemplifies one thing. That the Hellenistic influence is still perceivable hundreds of miles away from the Oxus region, in a oasis of the Lop Nur desert, in the remote Chinese province of Xinjiang. Hellenism, after Tillya Tepe and the Kushans, therefore expanded from Bactria to the western provinces of what is now China.

Figure 13 and 14. On the left (13): Head made of clay that represents a Kushan prince, wearing an hellenistic diadem, excavated from the royal palace of Khalchayan, Uzbekistan.

On the right (14): Marble portrait of Alexander the Great, (2nd c. B.C), Archeological Museum of Istanbul.

Figure 15. Tapestry fashioned into a pair of trousers portraiting a Macedonian warrior with a tunic, an Hellenistic diadem and a spear, Sampul oasis, Taklamakan, Xinjiang, 2nd 3rd-c B.C.

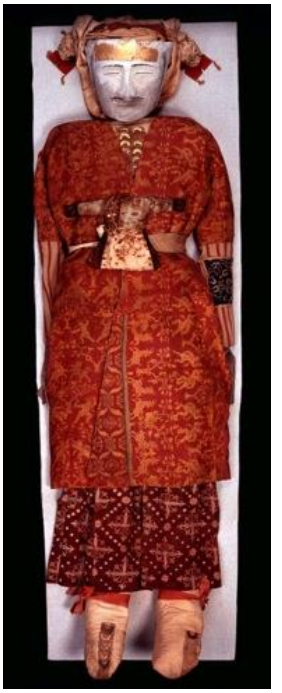

Figure 16. "The man of Yingpan", Taklamakan desert, Lopnur region, Xinjiang, 3rd-4th c. A. D.

Conclusion:

The objects of the site of Tillya Tepe, made for the vast majority with gold, are representative of the artistic fusion with Greco-Bactrian, Yuezhi, early Kushan, nomadic of the steppes and Hellenistic influences. They are an extraordinary example of cultural fusion and syncretism and the result of interactions between different archeological sites of Central Asia.

It becomes clear that Greco-Macedonian-Hellenistic, as well as local, foreign and "nomadic" elements, form a fusion of characteristics that confirms the importance of the Bactrian route of the Silk Road along the region of the Oxus in the communication of ideas, inventions and styles (Hansen 2012). In looking at the finds from tomb n° 3 of Tillya Tepe, the concept of ethnicity is put in discussion and assimilated in a pluralistic way between Western and Eastern cultural and artistic traditions.

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-2-

Representations of the Romance of Suhni-Mehar in the Kalhora Tombs (1680-1783), Sindh, Pakistan

Zulfiqar Ali Kalhoro

Abstract

Sindh, the southern-most province of Pakistan, is host to a large number of tombs that were erected during the reigns of various dynasties. The Kalhora rule (1680-1783) witnessed the unprecedented occurrence of tomb-building in Sindh. One of the most distinctive features of the Kalhora architectural decoration was the use of ceramics and wall paintings in their monuments. Wall paintings depict the social and cultural history of the Kalhoras and the tombs of both the rulers and the nobility are decorated with wall paintings.

Every 'nook and corner' of Sindh still has many storytellers who narrate tales in a rhythmic manner to amuse both the audience and themselves. In the past, their tales influenced poets and painters alike as well as many traditional romances such as those of Sasui-Punhun, Leela-Chanesar, Laila-Majnun, Umar-Marvi, Moomal-Rano, Suhni-Mehar and Sayf al Muluk wa Badri al-Jamal. The romances of Laila-Majnnu and Sayf al Muluk wa Badri al Jamal 'travelled' to Sindh from Egypt through Arabic and Persian pieces of literature and were then depicted on the walls of the Kalhora tombs. Among other depicted subjects are battle scenes showing the Kalhora army crushing the enemy troops, glimpses of everyday life and representations of dance and music. Parallel depictions of folk romance are also commonly found in the Mughal, Rajput, Pahari and Deccani paintings of India.

However, this paper deals with the folk romance of Suhni-Mehar and its representation in the Kalhora tombs. Thus, the paper is divided into two parts; the first discusses the story of the folk romance of Suhni-Mehar and the second, the depicted episodes of the story in the Kalhora tombs that are located in Sindh.

Introduction

The Kalhoras ruled over the province of Sindh for more than a century (1680-1783), leaving behind a large number of funerary monuments

(Kalhoro 2010:215). These monuments are located in almost every district of Sindh. The distinctive feature of the funerary monuments is the use of ceramics and mural paintings therein (Kalhoro 2002, 2003, 2004). The tombs which are located in Upper Sindh (comprising the districts of Larkana and Dadu) are mainly adorned with paintings. Nevertheless, a few tombs are also adorned with ceramics. A few tombs which are located in the districts of Sanghar and Nawab Shah in Central Sindh are decorated with mural paintings that mainly represent folk romances. This tradition of decorating with folk-romance paintings spread from the districts of Dadu and Larkana to Nawab Shah and Sanghar. Both Larkana and Dadu were the first and second seats respectively of the Kalhora rulers who lavishly decorated their buildings in these newly-founded cities (Kalhoro 2010a; 2010b; 2010c). In this paper, I will discuss the paintings that depict the folk-romance of Suhni-Mehar which are found in the Kalhora tombs. Prior to discussing these depictions, first it is necessary to describe the story of Suhni-Mehar that is contained in the text that follows.

The Romance of Suhni-Mehar

During the reign of the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan (1628–1658), there was a potter by the name of Tulla who lived in Gujarat (Punjab). He had a daughter named Suhni, meaning "beautiful." They lived by a river bank. Izzat Beg, the son of a rich Mughal merchant from Bukhara, chanced to come that way and was struck by the beauty of Suhni. He fell in love with her at first sight. Every day he came to purchase pots hoping for the opportunity of meeting Suhni, who returned his love. Spending all of his money in buying pots, Izzat Beg became penniless and asked to be employed by Suhni's father. He was engaged as a cattleman to look after the potter's buffaloes. He then changed his name from Izzat Beg to Mehar or 'herdsman' or 'buffalo-keeper'. The love between Suhni and Mehar continued to grow, but this did not please Suhni's parents, who forbade the lovers' further meetings to take place. In order to clinch the matter, they married Suhni to another potter's son who was named Dum (Khamisani 2003: 97) and they drove Mehar away.

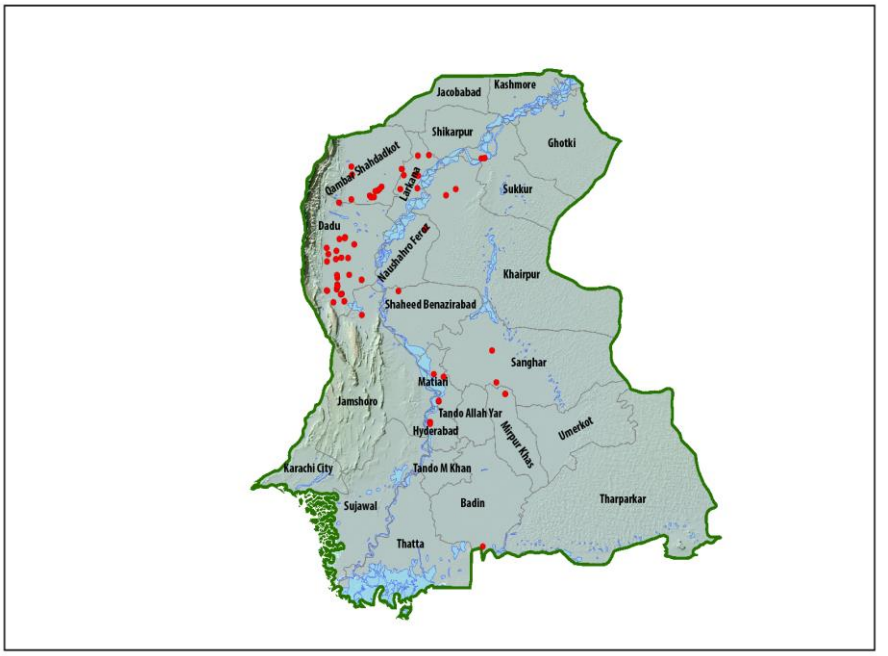

Fig. 1: The map showing the distribution of Kalhora tombs in Sindh

Mehar, however, continued to herd the buffaloes and used to graze them on the other side of the river. Every night Suhni crossed the river on a baked earthenware pot. Her parents remonstrated with her and in order to dissuade her from further meetings with Mehar, they took away the baked pot and substituted it with an unbaked one. They thought that by this device she would never dare to trust herself to the water relying on a so-fragile vessel. However, when night came, Suhni launched herself upon the river on the pot and she drowned when the water caused it to disintegrate. Mehar, who had heard her screams when the pot collapsed, rushed into the river to rescue her but also drowned, just as did the girl he loved. Mehar is fondly called Sahar ("the helper") by Suhni (ibid:98). The following five episodes related to the above-detailed story are depicted in the Kalhora tombs that exist in several districts of Sindh:

1. Suhni's crossing the river to meet her beloved Mehar
2. the initial meeting of Suhni and Mehar

3. Suhni making *lassi* (a beverage made from curd) for her beloved Mehar
4. Mehar grazing the buffaloes
5. A representation of the Suhni-Mehar shrine

The most frequently-depicted episodes are "The Meeting of Suhni-Mehar", "The Grazing of the Buffaloes By Mehar", "Suhni Making *Lassi* For Her Beloved Mehar" and "Suhni's Crossing of the River to Meet Her Lover, Mehar". These representations in particular can be seen in the Jamali tombs in Shahdadkot, the Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro tombs near Garhi [Fig. 2], the Mir Allayar tombs at Drigh Bala, the Mureedani tombs at Phulji, the Rodhrani tombs at Thull, the Shahani tombs at Chhini in Dadu, the Abra tombs in Nawab Shah and the Marri tombs in Sanghar [Fig. 3].

There are two panels in the tomb of Sobdar Khan Jamali in Shahdadkot which depict the Suhni-Mehar romance. On the first panel, both Suhni and Mehar are shown sitting on the cot. Both are depicted in conversation. On either side of the cot are representations of buffaloes [Fig. 4]. This is the most popular depiction found in the tombs. In order to portray the story of Suhni-Mehar, the painters featured this depiction as a ready reference to paint buffaloes along with the figures of Suhni and Mehar.

The most interesting display of Suhni and Mehar on the cot and being flanked by buffaloes is found in the tomb of Sobdar Khan Jamali. The tomb of Rehan Khan Jamali in Shahdadkot also depicts the Suhni- Mehar romance. In this painting, Mehar is shown standing outside Suhni's house along with his buffaloes and he is depicted playing a flute. Inside the house, Suhni is shown sitting, either with her mother or with a friend. This is quite an interesting painting in which the painter has captured all of the characters of the story.

The second panel in the Sobdar Jamali tomb depicts Suhni crossing the river to meet Mehar [Fig.5]. Suhni is shown floating on her baked pot in the middle of the river. On either side of Suhni are the representations of fish and crocodiles. Across the river Mehar is grazing the buffaloes and playing the flute. In front of the figures of buffaloes and Mehar is the depiction of a snake, which indicates that Mehar is grazing the buffaloes in the forest along the bank of the river.

On the bank of the river is the figure of a saintly person who is shown holding a large rosary and appears to be engaged in prayers (apparently praying for the safe crossing of the river by Suhni). A similar representation is also found in the tomb of Rehan Khan Jamali in which Mehar is depicted grazing the buffaloes and playing the flute. The main difference between these representations is Mehar's posture: in the tomb of Sobdar Khan Jamali he is shown as sitting on something, whereas in the representation in the Rehan Khan Jamali tomb he is depicted as standing, facing the river and appears to be waiting for his beloved Suhni. Another difference relates to the regard that is meted out to the saintly figure in each of the two representations. The saintly figure in Sobdar's tomb is shown wearing a green dress whereas in the Rehan Khan tomb, he is depicted wearing a black dress.

The earliest representations of Suhni Mehar are found in the tombs of Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro. In the tomb of Babar Faqir, both Suhni and Mehar are shown sitting on a cot and flanked by buffaloes. This Suhni-Mehar painting appeared later in several other tombs that were erected during the reigns of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro (1719-1753) and Mian Ghulam Shah Kalhoro (1757-1772). This particular painting continued to capture the attention of the painters who painted the tombs in the districts of Dadu, Larkana, Nawab Shah and Sanghar. Some additions were made to this popular depiction of Suhni and Mehar. In the earlier depictions, only the figures of Suhni and Mehar with their buffaloes were shown and, in later paintings, one finds another figure—that of a milkman who is shown milking Mehar's buffaloes.

The earliest depiction in which Suhni is shown crossing the river is found in the tomb of Mir Allahyar which was erected during the reign of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro (1719-1753). On the western wall of the tomb is a large panel depicting battle scenes and the folk romance of Suhni and Mehar [Figs. 6 & 7]. There are two small panels along with a large panel. The first panel shows Suhni in the middle of the river and she is surrounded by fish and a crocodile. She is depicted as gently touching the crocodile and it does not appear to be ferocious. On the bank of the river, a saintly figure is shown as praying for the safe crossing by Suhni. Close to this is the second panel which shows

both Suhni and Mehar surrounded by buffaloes. In this depiction both are shown standing and talking with each other. Suhni is depicted holding a bowl (possibly containing *lassi*) for her beloved which she is offering to him. These two panels are the earliest ones in the necropolis of Mir Allahyar. The figures of both Suhni and Mehar themselves have long, pointed noses and almond-shaped eyes. Apart from Mir Allahyar's mausoleum, the tomb of Shadman Laghari at Muird Dero, Johi, also depicts the romance of Suhni and Mehar. This tomb was similarly erected during the reign of Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro. Within the arched recess on the western wall of the tomb is a painting of Suhni and Mehar. This is quite an interesting representation as Suhni is shown seeking the blessings of an ascetic prior to entering and crossing the river to meet her beloved Mehar who is depicted as grazing the buffaloes on the other side of the river. Interestingly, there is the figure of a horse rider close behind the 'Suhni' figure and it appears to be that of her fiancé, Dum, who is shown to be chasing her. This is possibly the only representation of the Suhni-Mehar romance in which Suhni's fiancé, Dum, is also shown. Again the distinctive feature of the painting is the long, pointed noses of the figures. The colours of the painting have faded due to their exposure to rainwater and sunlight. The dome of the tomb has caved in, thereby exposing the murals to sunlight. On the other hand, an ascetic is depicted in the representation of the Suhni-Mehar romance in the tomb of Shadman Laghari. The ascetic or *Dervish* is shown wearing only a cap and a loincloth with a parrot sitting on his right shoulder. The earlier depictions, which I have described above represent a saintly person with a rosary and wearing either a black or green-coloured dress.

Some 3 km east of Murid Dero, where the tomb of Shadman is located, are a few tombs at Herio Khan Village that belong to the Laghari and Babar tribes respectively. There are two tombs of the Laghari tribe which lie half a kilometre west of Herio Khan Village and the tombs of the Babar tribe are located 2 km west of Herio Khan Village. All of these tombs depict the Suhni-Mehar and Sasui-Punhun romances. The tomb of Dost Ali Laghari depicts the romance of Suhni and Mehar by showing them sitting on a cot. On the left side of the cot are representations of buffaloes and on the right is the figure of either a friend of Suhni or an attendant who is holding a hand-fan. This is an

interesting painting in the sense that it also contains the figure of an attendant, which was not seen in the tombs discussed above. Suhni is shown offering her beloved a glass of *lassi*. A similar depiction of Suhni and Mehar is found in the tombs of Babar, which lie 2 km west of Herio Khan Village. In one of the tombs there are two panels which show Suhni and Mehar on a cot, with the buffaloes painted on separate panels. In one of the panels Suhni and Mehar are both shown seated on a cot with an attendant holding a hand fan on the left side. The second panel is divided into two smaller panels with the left one depicting the buffaloes and the right one showing Suhni and Mehar on the cot. Unfortunately, all of these representations have been damaged by the seepage of rainwater that entered through the cracks on the dome of the tomb. Several other representations, such as hunting and battle scenes, peacock paintings and the romances of Sasui-Punhun and Laila-Majnun, have also been damaged by the seepage of rainwater.

Apart from the paintings in the tombs of the Laghari and Babar tribes, one finds some refined representations of the Suhni-Mehar romance in the Mureedani Jamali tombs, which are located 5 km west of Herio Khan Village. There are three tombs in the necropolis that represent the romance of Suhni and Mehar as well as that of Sausi and Punhun. The tomb of Datal Jamali bears some representations of Suhni and Mehar [Fig. 8]. One of the panels shows Suhni and Mehar on the cot and on either side of it are the figures of buffaloes. It appears that this painting was made during the last days of the Kalhora rule, most probably during the reign of Mian Abdul Nabi (1776-1783) because the figures that are shown are quite different from the earlier representations found in the tombs of Mian Nasir Muhammad, Shadman Laghari at Murid Dero and Mir Allahyar at Drigh Bala. All of the earlier representations of Suhni and Mehar depicted them as having had prominent facial features, such as long, pointed noses and almond-shaped eyes. But the later representations of Suhni and Mehar lacked such style: in these figures, one finds that a more simple treatment has been meted out to the figures. However, the figures do have pointed noses, but not as long as those seen in the earlier depictions. The eyes are almost round-shaped as compared to the almond shape that prevails in the earlier representations. Moreover, the colour of the buffaloes is not black but rather blue, brown and white. This indicates that the art of

painting lacked patronship in the waning days of the Kalhoras and did not receive patronship in the succeeding dynasty of the Talpurs. However, two tombs behind Datal Khan's tomb are earlier structures that were possibly erected during the reigns of Mian Noor Muhammad or Mian Ghulam Shah. The paintings in these tombs are rather refined and correspond to the earlier style of murals which was patronized by Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro (1700-1718) and Mian Noor Muhammad Kalhoro (1719-1753).

One of the tombs, west of Datal Khan's tomb in the necropolis of Mureedani Jamali, depicts the Suhni-Mehar romance. There is a single panel that bears Suhni crossing the river to meet her beloved Mehar [Fig. 9]. As seen in several similar depictions, Mehar is shown grazing the buffaloes on the river bank. Interestingly enough, there is no image of a saintly figure as seen in several other depictions. Suhni is surrounded by fish and a crocodile that appears to devour her clay pot. This is apparently depicted to show that Suhni is in trouble and that is why one does not find the saintly figure which is depicted praying for Suhni's safe crossing of river. In this depiction, both Suhni and Mehar are depicted in red- coloured dress.

Another tomb that is nearby also depicts Suhni and Mehar. Both are shown sitting on the cot and surrounded by the buffaloes. Mehar's sword and shot gun (lying under the cot) are also shown in this representation. Above both figures, is the picture of a parrot; the parrot is a symbol of love when used in these rural folktale paintings.

Located approximately 8 km south of the Mureedani Jamali tombs are the mausoleums of the Qalandarani Lagharis. There are six tombs of which one depicts the Suhni-Mehar romance. Suhni is depicted as crossing the river and, in this depiction; a saintly figure is added (which was missing in the Jamali tomb in the necropolis of Mureedani Jamali). The saintly figure is holding a rosary in his hand [Fig. 10] and he is depicted as wearing a green-coloured dress. Suhni is also dressed in green, whereas Mehar is dressed in white, though he is wearing a green cap and belt. Also noteworthy is that the buffaloes are painted grey as compared to earlier representations in which they were in black and brown in colour.

In some depictions of the romance of Suhni and Mehar, a saintly figure is present while in others the figure is absent. There is a

Suhni-Mehar depiction in one of the Abra tombs at Muhammad Khan Vighio Village in the Nawab Shah district in which the saintly figure is also absent. However, Suhni is shown crossing the river and interestingly enough, the buffaloes are also shown as being in the river as well as on both banks of the river. Fish and crocodiles (three of them) are present in this painting. Usually, one finds a single crocodile in the Suhni-Mehar representations. This is the only depiction in which there are three crocodiles which are shown as attacking Suhni. One crocodile has caught her head and another has held her from the leg. The absence of the saintly figure indicates that Suhni is in trouble and that she is being attacked and devoured by the crocodiles.

The tomb of Sultan Marri at the Tilla Shah necropolis in the district of Sanghar displays a similar painting of Suhni and Mehar [Fig. 11]. In this depiction the saintly figure, possibly Khawja Khizar, the water saint who protects his devotees from trouble and misfortune, is present and he is shown as sitting on the fish. The figure appears very clear and defined in this depiction along with a pair of fish under his feet. Furthermore, he is depicted as reciting from a holy book. The earlier representations showed him as seated under a tree facing the river and holding a rosary, with no clear indication of any fish as his vehicle or mount. He is depicted in a green dress with a white turban and in front of this bearded figure (Khawja Khizar) are his green walking-stick and a water flask. On the other side of the bank Mehar is shown as seated under a tree playing the flute and he is depicted as wearing a yellow-coloured dress. In the middle of the river is the figure of Suhni surrounded by fish, crocodiles and the buffaloes. Unfortunately, this painting has been damaged by rainwater that has seeped in from cracks on the dome. Due to this seepage, sludge appears on the figures of Khawja Khizar and Mehar. This particular depiction of the Suhni-Mehar romance continues to appear in several tombs in the Dadu district.

Apart from these two episodes from the story of Suhni and Mehar, there is another episode that often appears in the tombs. This episode shows Suhni preparing *lassi* for her beloved Mehar. In some of the tombs, she is shown churning the milk while Mehar is depicted as milking the buffaloes.

The tomb of Ghazi Khan at Ghebi Dero depicts Suhni churning the milk while Mehar is busy in milking the buffaloes. The parrot (as a lovebird) is depicted with Suhni in every representation. This lovebird is shown as sitting on top of the churning stick **[**Fig. 12**].** A similar scene of Suhni preparing *lassi* for her beloved Mehar is found in the tomb of Mir Muhammad at Rais Bambho Khan Village. There is a single panel in which three stories have been painted. At the top is a depiction of the romance of Sasui and Punhun, on the left is a painting showing a paddy-cultivation activity and on the right is the depiction of Suhni and Mehar. She is depicted as churning the milk and behind her is the figure of Mehar seated on a cot. Buffaloes are also shown in front of the figure of Suhni. A calf is tethered to a peg while the parent buffalo is standing close to its calf. The parrot is again shown seated on top of Suhni's churning stick.

Another episode from the story is the representation of Mehar as a buffalo-herder. He is shown as grazing the buffaloes and playing the flute. This painting is found in a few tombs in the Larkana and Dadu districts. In the tomb of Mir Muhammad, one finds the painting of Mehar in which he is shown as grazing buffaloes and playing the flute. Above him is the painting of a hunter who is hunting deer. A few depictions of Mehar as a buffalo-herder are also found in the tombs of Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro.

The last episode of the Suhni-Mehar story is also painted in some tombs. This final episode shows both Suhni and Mehar as dead, after having drowned in the river, with their ultimate union taking place in their simultaneous death. The painters have depicted the final episode of the story in the form of the shrine of Suhni and Mehar [Fig. 13]. There is a large panel depicting three episodes of the Suhni-Mehar romance in the tomb of Lahno Khan at Rasis Bambho Khan in the district of Larkana. The first episode shows Suhni crossing the river and the second shows the meeting of the two lovers who are depicted as sitting on a cot with buffaloes surrounding them. The third episode shows the 'shrine' belonging to Suhni and Mehar that shows Suhni as screaming and drowning while Mehar, on hearing the screams of his beloved, jumps into the river in an attempt to save her but, in the end, both are drowned. The painter depicted the final episode by painting their tomb/shrine as a representation indicating that they both died and

met in death. The tomb of Lahno Khan was built during the Kalhora reign. There are two graves in the tomb, belonging to Lahno Khan and Tharo Khan respectively. The depiction of the Suhni-Mehar's shrine is only peculiar to the tomb of Lahno Khan and is not found in any other mausoleum in Sindh. As discussed above, the Suhni-Mehar 'shrine' has been painted between two different episodes of the Suhni-Mehar romance. On the left of the shrine is the depiction of Suhni and Mehar seated on a cot that is surrounded by buffaloes. On the right is the representation of Suhni crossing the river to meet her beloved Mehar. In between these two depictions is the representation of Suhni-Mehar's shrine with buffaloes standing on the right side, in a submissive posture.

Conclusion

The Kalhora tombs depict folk romances of not only Suhni and Mehar but also those of Sasui and Punhun, Leela and Chanesar, Laila and Majnun Moomal and Rano, Umar and Marvi and Nuri and Jam Tamachi. However, the mural paintings of the folktale associated with Suhni and Mehar are a distinctly common visual feature in every 'nook and corner' of Sindh wherever the Kalhora tombs are located. This reflects the liberal attitude held by the Kalhora rulers who patronized the art of creating paintings. Moreover, the various episodes that depict the Suhni-Mehar story are important to note for the purpose of understanding the role played by such stories in the Medieval and Post-Medieval Periods in the province of Sindh. These stories never failed to capture the minds and hearts of both painters and poets who expressed their feelings in the forms of painting and poetry respectively. These 'romance paintings' continued to be produced even after the Kalhora Dynasty was supplanted by the Talpurs, but these were rather immature representations as compared to the earlier paintings made by the Kalhora painters. Secondly, the sepulchral architecture did not develop as vigorously because it did not receive a similar popularity as it had during the Kalhora rule. In fact, the Talpur architecture was simply an extension of the Kalhora architecture and it did not form a distinctive style that can be termed as a 'Talpur style'. Rather, it can be categorized as the 'later Kalhora architecture'. Furthermore, the Talpur-Period buildings (1783-1843) lacked that robustness that was reflected in the Kalhora structures (1680-1783).

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Fig.2 Dadu: The tombs of Mian Nasir Muhammad Kalhoro at Garhi.

Fig. 3 Sanghar: Kalhora tombs at Tilla Shah necropolis.

Fig.4 Larkana: Representation of Suhni-Mehar showing them on the cot in the tomb of Mir Sobdar Jamali.

Fig.5 Larkana: Suhni swims to meet her lover Mehar, in the tomb of Mir Sobdar Jamali.

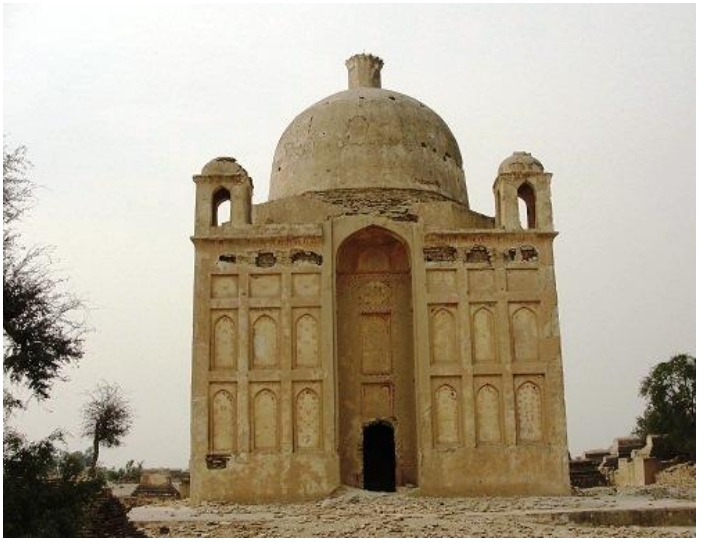

Fig.6 Dadu: The tomb of Mir Allahyar.

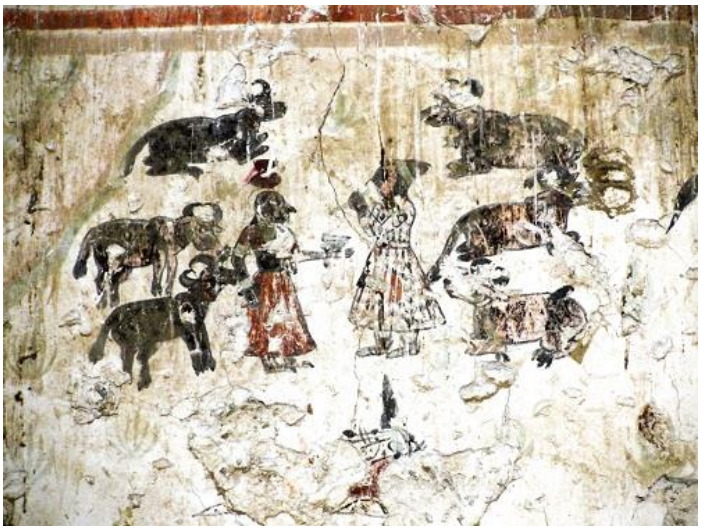

Fig.7 Dadu: Representation of Suhni-Mehar, surrounded by buffaloes, in the tomb of Mir Allahyar.

Fig. 8 Dadu: Painting of Suhni-Mehar in the tomb of Datal Jamali.

Fig. 9 Dadu: Painting of Suhni-Mehar in an unidentified tomb at the necropolis of Mureedani Jamali.

Fig. 10 Dadu: Depiction of Suhni crossing the river to meet Mehar, a saintly figure is also seen in the painting.

Fig. 11 Sanghar: Painting of Sohni-Mehar in the tomb of Sultan Marri at Tilla Shah Necropolis

Fig. 12 Larkana: Suhni is shown preparing *lassi* for Mehar, in the tomb of Ghazi Khan.

Fig.13 Larkana: Representation of Suhni-Mehar's shrine in the tomb of Lahno Khan.

-3-
Women or *Ḥūri* and Islamic Art

Mamoona Khan

Abstract
The current study is inspired by the fact that women, who occupy a considerable space in the Muslim miniature paintings, have not gained much attention from art critics and historians. Theirs is a rarely discussed domain. Major aim of the research is to bring them to light as an important subject worthy of independent study, and to view them critically, especially in the image of a ḥūri, defined in the Holy Qur'ān, with which they bear some affinity. In this context, Muslim miniature paintings of Persia will be analysed to find any of their links with the ḥūris of Jannah. Moreover, for a better understanding of the concept, Qur'ānic verses and exegeses will be taken into consideration. It will be further elaborated with ibn 'Arabi's conceits related to women, based on the saying of the Holy Prophet (pbuh). Thus, through intrinsic and extrinsic analysis, beauty of the inner and outer of women in Muslim miniature paintings will be explored.

Women are an integral part of the Muslim society and likewise of the Muslim Art. Besides men, images of women keep essential space in illustrated manuscripts of the Muslim world. All spheres of life from marginalised to the dwellers of palaces that is from ordinary women to princesses, all are dealt in the illustrated manuscripts of the Islamic art. But not much is written on the subject, either completely ignored or partially covered by a few scholars. It is desirous then that the subject must be investigated by the esteem it deserves. The paper intends to delve deep into the probing of feminine beauty delineated in the Islamic art by viewing the concept of ḥūri defined in the Holy Qurʹān, since; pious women are mentioned with great respect in the Holy Scripture.

Woman is considered to be the most beautiful creature of the world and some of the Muslim theologians bestow her sanctity of Divine beauty. Ibn 'Arabi was of the belief that though God cannot be conceived in material form but "the sight of God in women is perfect of

all" (Aziz 41). The perfection is very similar to ḥūri, emblems of physical and spiritual beauty, and a reward for the faithful.

In the Persian miniature painting, they are rendered as poetic vision of ideal beauty, mostly young and specimen of eternal spring. In Persian poetry a beautiful woman is envisaged as having moon like face, slender waist, straight back like a cypress tree, shoulders symmetrical, a perfect figure neither too plump nor too skinny, with black hair, curved eye brows like crescent, tiny mouth like rose bud, and so tiny that it seems she can hardly breathe through it. The same vision is transfigured by Persian poets to the artists, and females depicted have elegant personalities. Their attractive portrayal brings to mind the image of ḥūrīs, pen-pictured in the Holy Qur′ān. Ḥūrīs are the companions of the pious men in Jannah, a reward in the hereafter, for their piety in this world.

The metaphor of precious stones is used for ḥūris in the Holy Qur'ān. Ruby is known for the beauty of its delicate pink colour and pearl for the purity of its whitish tint. Combination of both brings to the imagination a perfect symbol of beauty, which refers to the complexions and delicacy of appearances of these women. This vision of ideal beauty is materialised in the Persian miniatures. Gems also symbolise worth of women. So, pious females are linked with precious stones or jewels and their appearances, symbolic of poetic beauty of Persia. They are further decked with light jewellery but having draped heads and fully clad shoulders. They are so attractive and seem so pious that it brings into being the concept of ḥūri, defined in sūrah: lv (al-Raḥmān), 58:

(tr.) As though they were rubies and pearls
Merit of these creatures is described in sūrah: lii (al-Ṭūr), 20, when they are identified as companions of reverent men:

(tr.) Reclining on thrones set in lines and we shall join them to Pure and beautiful ones (ḥūris)

So, physical beauty is linked with the spiritual, and besides numerous gifts for the pious men, excellent companions in the life hereafter are best rewards, described as "pure and beautiful". Thus, the concept of beauty in Islam is comprised not only of the physical but of ethical as well, and females portrayed in Islamic art mirror these traits. They are

draped from head to toe whether in the role of princesses, queens or ordinary slave girls, or even a woman just got up after sleep, e.g. Thief discovered in a bedchamber from Kalīla wa Dimna, fig.1. She is

Fig.1: Thief discovered in a bedchamber. Tabriz, 1360-1374, Kalīla wa Dimna, University Library, Istanbul.

the hallmark of feminine beauty, though sitting on her bed, appears very tall and attenuated, with arched eyebrows, dark eyes, round moon-like face and tiny mouth. It symbolises perfect feminine poetic beauty of Persia, along with an emblem of a devout person, thus, delineation of an ḥūri.

Women represented in Muslim miniature paintings are incorporated with aura of loveliness and unending youth, envisioned about an ḥūri. Apart from the physical, beauty of their inner selves,

wrought by piety is also embodied in their imagery. Parameters of a pious woman, as described in the image of an ḥūri in the Holy Qur'ān, sūrah: lv (al-Raḥmān), 70, 72:

> *(tr.) In them (Jannah) will be fair (companions), good, beautiful, (and) restrained (to their glances, living) in goodly pavilions*
> *It is further added in sūrah: xxiv (al-Nūr), 31:*
> *(tr.) And say to the believing women that they should lower their gaze and guard their modesty: that they should not display their beauty and ornaments except what appears*
> *there of: and that they should draw their veils over their bosoms. . . .*

The verses give a clear picture of the appearance desired for a Muslim woman, and her images in the illustrated miniatures are complete depiction of the model conceived. Whatever role is assigned to her in the story illustrated, the artists have tried to keep her within the limits devised by the Holy Scripture. They are always fully draped, never rendered as sensuous beings, whether represented as the beloved of a prince, an entertainer, a slave girl, a dancer or a musician, and even a nude who has been witnessed in the course of events by the protagonist while she was taking bath in a stream, figs.2-6.

Fig.2: Shīrīn viewing the portrait of Khusrau, from Khamsa-i Nīẓāmi , 1539-43.British Library, London.

Fig.3: Khusrau listening the poetry of Shīrīn's maiden, Khamsa-i Nīẓāmi, 1539-43.

Fig.4: Shīrīn and her maiden, from fig.3

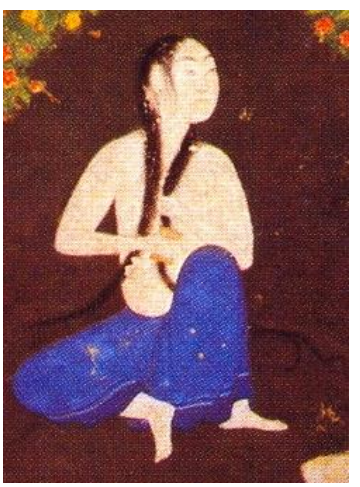

Fig.5: Portrait of Shīrīn, details from fig.2.

Fig.6: Shīrīn from Khūsru seeing Shirīn bathing details from fig.3.

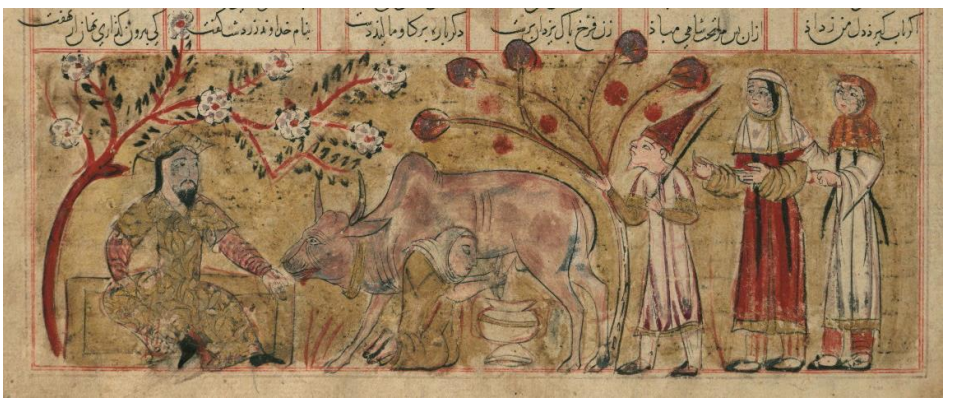

Fig.7: Bahrām Gur in the peasant's house. Shīrāz (1341), The Waltters Art Gallery, Baltimore

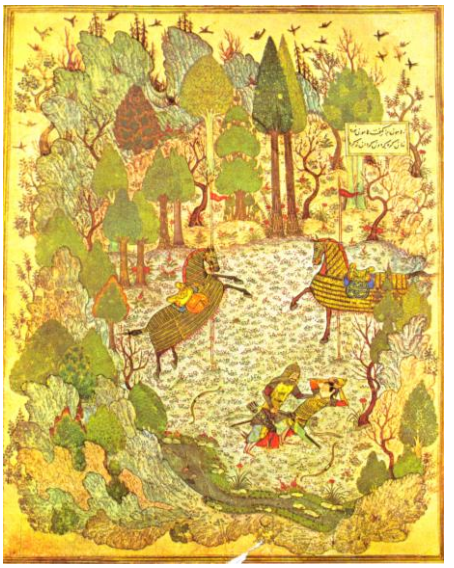

Fig.7: Combat between Humay and Humāyūn from Dīwān of Khawājū Kirmān. Baghdād 1396, British Library. London.

Fig.8: Humay and Humāyūn details from fig.7

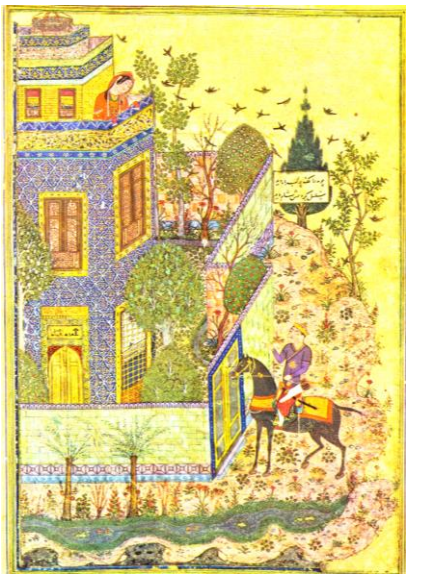

Fig.9: Humay at the gate of Humāyūn's castle. Dīwān of Khwājū Kirmāni, Jalayirids, Baghdād, British Library, London, 1396.

Fig.10: Humāyūn, details from Fig.9

one gets stirred by her nudity. Same is the case of draped women, whether ordinary women engaged in their daily toils, a princess catches the sight of her lover, enjoying the bounties of nature or engaged in any

stately discourse, she fulfils the tenets of the Holy Qur'ān about pious women and even her glances are benign not blunt. Height of these norms is apparent in the miniature where princess Humāyūn, in the guise of a man has just surrendered while fighting with the prince Humay, from the Dīwān of Khawājū Kirmān, even then she is fully covered and there is nothing erotic in her appearance, figs.7-8. In other subjects, where a deviation from the religious codes can occur, such as romantic scenes, there too, females retain the limits of ḥūris. These figures are embedded in beautiful surroundings like inlayed jewels, such as Humay at the gate of Humāyūn's castle, from Dīwān of Khawāju Kirmān, figs.9-10. The princess is looking down from the terrace of her palace, only her bust visible, having inclined head and benign looks, though embedded with jewels but completely clad, even with covered head. She is hence, a specimen of the Qur'ānic concept of Muslim women, and also the epitome of perfect and unblemished beauty that is an ḥūri.

Origin of the word ḥūri is traced in the exegesis of the Holy Qur'ān by Maulāna 'Abd Allāh Yūsuf 'Ali, from ḥawarīyūn; first disciples of the Christ, who were spiritually exalted. Therefore, she is lovely not only for her appearance but also an embodiment of the beauty of her inner-self. It means she is beautiful as well as pious. The word ḥawār" in Arabic bears another meaning: it also stands for intense whiteness of white of eye and intense darkness of black of eye. So, aḥwār: plural of ḥūr, also stands for purity of intellect and ā'īn means a large eyed person and 'āīna stands for a beautiful and wide eyed woman. Maulāna 'Abd Allah Yūsuf 'Ali envisages ḥūri as a combination of beauty, purity, truth and good will ('Ali 873), that is, besides physical, spiritual refinement is an important feature of this creature. Intrinsically, beauty here is associated with eyes because eyes are considered to be the symbol of soul, and intense black of the eyeball against luminous white, creates lovely impact that gives feeling to the facial expressions. Hence, physical beauty is combined with purity of intellect. Thus, the concept of ḥūri was visualised by the Persian poets and transmitted to the artists, who delineated it on the pages of the miniatures. Consequently, women represented in Muslim miniature paintings are incorporated with aura of loveliness and unending youth that can only be envisioned about an ḥūri.

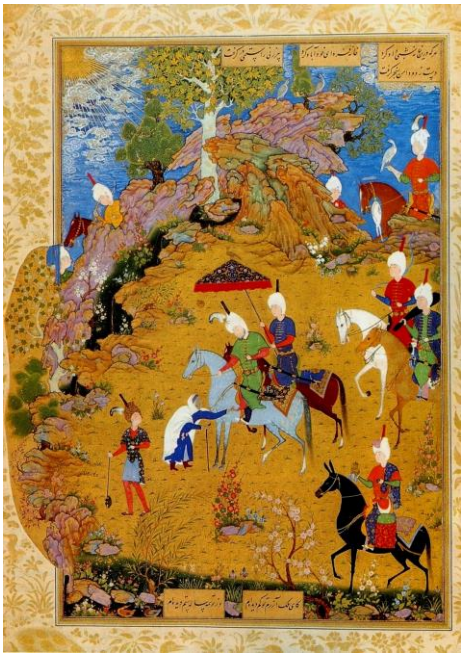

Fig.11: An old lady complaining Sulṭān Sanjar, Khamsa-i Nīẓāmi 1539-40. British Library, London.

Fig.12: Old Lady, details from fig.11

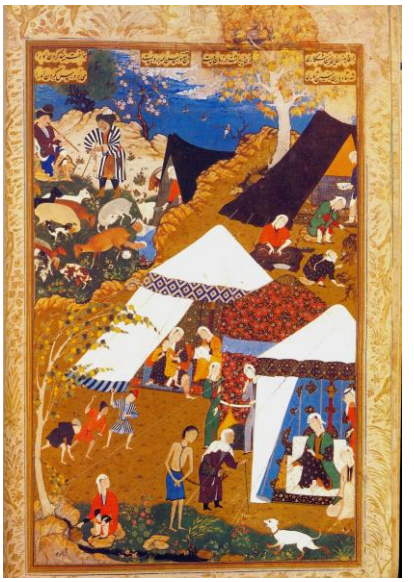

Fig.13: Majnūn brought before Laila, Khamsa-i Nīẓāmi 1539-40, Tabrīz. British Museum, London.

Fig.14: Old Lady, details from fig.13

Another amazing fact about representation of women in the Muslim miniature paintings is that the artists had never tried to capture a true likeness of any one, be that a princess or any ordinary slave girl. They are subjective and anonymous beings, who are identified with certain names, otherwise there is no individuality associated with the images of these figures. The main characters too retain anonymity (Papadopoulo 56, 1979), so much so that we cannot differentiate between Shīrīn of Farhād, Laila of Majnūn, or Zulaikha of Yūsuf from their appearances; even their maids are not very distinct from them, figs. 4-7.

Making images for vanity has been a human instinct, and to satisfy vanity conquerors and heroes have glorified themselves with their portraits. However, a Muslim conceives himself as an instrument of God and ascribes all the glories of his deeds to almighty Allāh. So the animate beings portrayed here, including women, are part of that vision. They do not have individual features but every where represented as young and beautiful. Thus, feminine beauty envisioned in paintings by Muslim artists is eternal that has nothing to do with time. They blossom like eternal spring, old age is rarely rendered, but here too, they are represented as specimens of piety and good will. For instance, An old women complaining Sulṭān Snajar, and in another miniature; Majnūn brought before Laila in chains, from Khamsa-i Nīẓāmi 1539-43, figs. 11-14, both the elderly women are double bent with age but appear determined. Their figures mirror their lovely past and they strictly follow the dress code of a Muslim lady, defined in the Holy Scripture. There are very few examples of old age; even then artist's interest is not in the decreasing strength but in maturity of an experienced person. Otherwise, women imagery recalls the lasting beauty of ḥūris that will never wither. Moreover, individuality is not attached with these women, whether young or old. One cannot differentiate between Shīrīn and Laila, figs. 15-16.

Fig 15: Portrait of Laila from fig.13

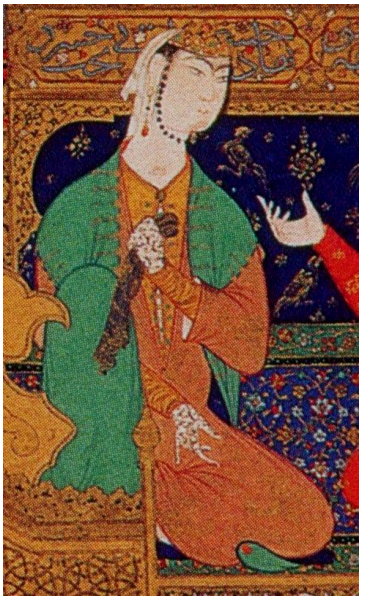

Fig.16: Portrait of Shīrīn from fig.3

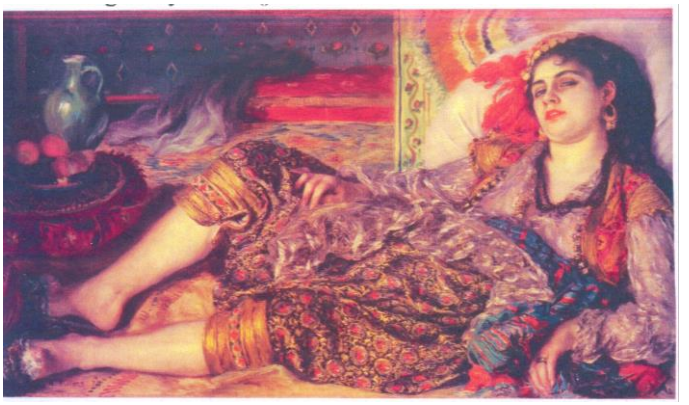

Fig.17: Odalisque, woman of Algiers by Renoir, National Gallery of Arts, Washington 1870.

Women represented in the Muslim miniatures are agile creatures, not powerful like warriors or monarchs but things of beauty or sometimes symbols of wisdom as well, never engaged in masculine pursuits. They are represented as princesses enjoying in gardens, listening music, feasting, catching the sight of a lover while standing on a terrace, appreciating portrait of a hero, committing suicide for a cause, or ordinary middle class ladies busy in their daily toils, above all, portrayed as emblems of wisdom. But never like the Greek Medusa or the Niké of Samothrace of Hellenism, rather comely and wise creatures. On the contrary, some misogynistic notions are associated with the Muslim society, wrongly perceiving the testimony of women as witness. Moreover, ḥaram, or women's quarters; the concealed part of a Muslim house has great fascination for the west; they imagine it as a place of recreation only.

Considering women as an idle object, a few artists of the occident have also portrayed sluggish images of Muslim women, as Renoir (1841-1919) did in his Women of Algiers (1870), fig.17, reflecting occident's mind set. She is depicted in extremely erotic posture and looks. Ḥaram and stories associated with it, frequently stirred imagination of the nineteenth century western writers and artists, who transmitted these stories in highly subjective manner. Similar are the accounts of Lady Montague, wife of the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. She gives

lucid accounts of nudity practised in the public baths, but it is completely denied by Julia Paradoe; a poetess, historian and novelist, who went there in 1835 and lived for fifteen months. She wrote "I should be unjust did I not declare that I witnessed none of that unnecessary and wonton exposures described by the lady M. W. Montague" (Sancar 13). Actually Ottoman women were very beautiful, as M.de.Dʾ Ohsson says:

"Beautiful figures, dark and shiny eyes, and fresh ivory like skin separate the women of this country from European . . . . Muslim women are unacquainted with rouge and lipstick. Only they like to paint half their nails with henna or 'kina' as it is called among people. They use kohl on their eye brows and more often on their eye lashes . . . . Hair is maintained in its natural shape. Either it falls down in natural braids from the shoulders or it is wrapped around the muslin cloth that serves as headdress" (Sancar).

The women in Muslim miniatures are analogous to the above defined pen-portrait, and their embellishment too, is similar. One can see beautiful patterns of henna on their hands, whether one views domestic ladies busy in their daily toils or princesses in palaces enjoying music or poetry, fig.16. Thus, women are much focused creatures in miniature paintings by the Muslim artists, where not only their physical but spiritual aspects are also explored.

Ibn 'Arabi gives a different view of women. In the last chapter of his book, Fuṣūṣ al-Ḥikmah, he discerns waḥdat or singularity in triplicity by using the metaphor of women. Laying its substrate on an ḥadīth, the Prophet (pbuh) says, "three things have been beloved to me in this world of yours: women, perfume and serenity of my eyes is placed in namāz[1]". Representing her as multi-faceted mirror, that reflects a panorama of infinite beauty of the Supreme-Being. She is embodied with the qualities of charm, beauty, productivity, object of attraction, breathed with spirit of mercy by the Supreme Lord. On the other hand, for male, the vicegerent of God, woman is a perpetual attraction, even a distraction from the recollection of God. For, ibn 'Arabi holds:

. . . a man may most perfectly contemplate God in women . . . . being,

[1]It is quoted in Sunnan al-Nīsā'i, *ḥadīth* No: 3903, and also in Masnad-i Aḥmad, *ḥadīth* No: 12066.

as she is, that quintessential sign or clue [āyah] from which he might best learn to know his own true self, which is in turn, to know his Lord (‘Arabi Bezels 271).

Man emerged from God and woman from man, holds ibn ‘Arabi, for God made man for His own recognition, and through women man knows his own self and thus recognises God. The very reason that woman in the Muslim miniatures remind the concept of ḥūri of the heavens that is an emblem of feminine beauty. Ibn ‘Arabi defines her as a microcosmic mirror who reflects multifarious qualities of God, like beauty, creativity and wisdom. He, while elucidating perfume, the second element of the ḥadīth mentioned above, relates women with its fragrance. The aroma of perfume, holds ibn ‘Arabi, “at once sooths and incites, drugs and stimulates, may remind one of the delight of women or the serenity of the sanctuary, and may either sharpen or diminish spiritual awareness” (‘Arabi Bezels 271).

In Arabic the word ṭīb is used for perfume which also stands for goodness or virtue of spirit. He views perfume for its physical and spiritual entities; something that sooths or gives comfort, similar, he holds, is drugs or women that make their impact on spirit.

An interesting analogy traced by ibn ‘Arabi is related to the delight of women with serenity of a sanctuary, may be of a mosque, where a devotee contemplates the Supreme Lord. But the best of cerebration occurs, not in the sanctuary but in its serenity. It means ibn‘Arabi has perceived woman not in her shallow appearance but in her contemplative self that opens doors of wisdom, or he loves her for her wisdom.

Fig.18: Indian Princess under black dome. Herat 1427. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

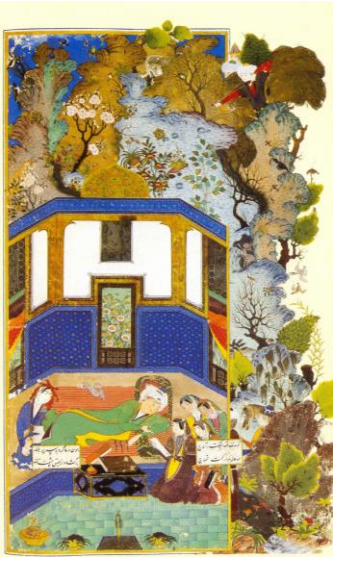

Fig.19: Princess of Khawārzam under green dome. Tabrīz, 1481. Topkapi Museum, Istanbul

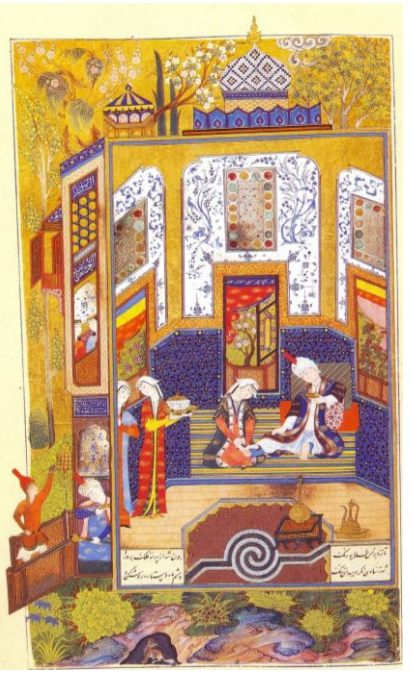

Fig.20: Persia Princess under the white dome, from Khamsa-i Niẓāmi, 1505, Topkapi, Istanbul

Under the aegis of romantic subjects, Persian artists have promoted the wisdom of women, a negation of the generally accepted notion that Muslim women are excluded from the sagacious pursuits, wrongly perceiving their testimony as witness. Moreover their role in the society is misconceived, as defined by Delacroix in the sluggish image of the Odalisque, woman of Algiers, fig. 17, where she appears as an idle being, along with sensuous and erotic symbol (Robbinson 19). While, Muslim scholars: ṣūfīs mystics or poets, along with artists have erased the misinterpretation, such as Niẓāmi eulogises erudition of women in his poem Haft Paikar. His Khamsa is apparently a percept of fairy tales but actually he has decoded the hidden talent of wisdom of women. His masterpiece Haft Paikar[2], 1197, cloaks spiritual meaning with fables. In the romantic atmosphere of music and beauty the women provide

[2] Meaning, *The Brides of the Seven Climes*.

lessons of wisdom and spiritual elevation to Bihrām Gur[3]; the protagonist, who is a symbol of virile perfection. His seven expected brides came from seven climes, resided under seven distinct coloured domes. Each colour associated with the planet ascended to her homeland, and the seven women imparted cosmic wisdom of seven different lands to a man of high esteem. Each night one of them narrated a story pervaded with a rationale of "converging virtue of the civilised world" to Bihrām (Barry 278). Having physical and mental capabilities, he was charged with the universal wisdom by women. Each woman, clad in the colour attributed to the star associated with her homeland, such as Fūrāk, the daughter of Rājā Puras in black, the colour of Saturn, the planet of India, while Byzantine princess in yellow, the colour of sun, the planet of Byzantine, etc.

The fable Haft Paikar is basically related to Gnosticism (Barry 282), in Greek it means knowledge and in Arabic it is 'Irfān. The Gnostic philosophy, though very old, secured a strong hold in Muslim ṣūfi thought. It defines human soul as a segment of Divine light, imprisoned in the darkness of matter, struggles constantly to escape from the entanglement, and to ascend to its luminous whole. In ṣūfi perception, soul has to pass through seven stages before ego prostrates before the Divine will, called in Arabic as fanā' or annihilation of self. In sequence, it begins from carnal to self critical, then inspired, specified, God satisfied, God satisfying and finally perfect. These are seven spiritual levels, ascended by human soul to acquire spiritual union, visualised by Niẓāmi in the seven brides of Bihrām Gur, who tinted his soul with seven colours of wisdom. Ibn Sīna calls it tenth intelligence[4]. The tenth or active intelligence, holds ibn Sīna,

[3] He is actually Bihrām 5th, who ruled Persia from 420-439, and was entitled the sobriquet *Gur*: the chaser of onagers, which is the fastest running animal of desert. He is said to be so brave that crown from between two lions could be easily snatched by him.

[4] Ibn Sīna, like al-Fārābi believe that power of contemplation and knowledge are the cause of all creation, best explained in their theory of emanation. In the emanation of ten intelligences, source of all knowledge is God, who is pivotal by Himself, but first cause for everything. He is perfect, necessary, self-sufficient, immaterial, unable to be defined (Fakhry 117, al-Madina al-Fadila 23). He gives a systematic account of all the things emanating from the One, resulting from His contemplation about himself which gave birth to the first intelligence. The first intelligence when contemplates the

contemplates the forms of existence by detaching them from matter. It illuminates souls with light to grant capability of abstract reasoning, provided to Bihrām by women. Seven princesses from seven climes of the world narrated him a story each night, enlightening his spirit to attain spiritual union. Fūrāk the daughter of Puras and princess of India revealed Nafs[5]-i ammāra[6] (Aziz 757) linked with corporeal desires that lead to unhappiness, fig.18. Then under the yellow dome the Byzantine princess, the daughter of Qaisar made him familiar with Nafs-i lawwāma[7] (Aziz 757) that guides to self-criticism to understand truth of life. The third princess Nāzpari from Khawārzam, fig.19, narrated about Nafs-i mulhimah[8], the true initiation of mental integration (Aziz 757), linked with virtuous piety of a believer. The fourth named Nasrīn Nush is Kremlin, that is Russian princess, directed to Nafs-i mutma'inna[9] (Aziz 757), aimed to attain intellectual and emotional balance. This state was further elevated by the fifth woman Azur Gun, the Moorish princess, facilitated about Nafs-i rāḍīya wa kāmila[10], a spiritual state when complete satisfaction of soul is attained, and one begins to have such experiences difficult to be explained in tangible form. It is related to the mystical quest that transfigures an ordinary mortal to Khizr[11] (Barry 291). The sixth princess Yaghma Nāz from China defined Nafs-i mārdīya[12] that teaches complete faith in God. The last princess is Dursati of Persia, fig.20, who narrated about Nafs-i ṣaffīya wa kāmila[13] (Aziz 757) that leads to perfect satisfaction. It is symbolic of soul freed from the entrapment of matter. In mysticism, it

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One as well as itself, it causes the flow of the second intelligence along with matter and form of the outer most heaven. Similarly, third intelligence springs the 2nd sphere; the sphere of fixed stars and the 2nd soul, and so on till the ten intelligences with corresponding nine spheres and nine souls, other than God. Thus, the philosophers relate every creation to knowledge and contemplation. The 10th intelligence is the ruling body of the terrestrial world (Nasr, *Cosmology* 203).

[5] Nafs is self, person, lust, sensuality, etc.

[6] *Nafs*[6]*-i ammāra* is inordinate appetite or ardent desire.

[7] *Nafs-i lawwāma* means accusing soul or conscience.

[8] *Nafs-i mulhimah* is the inspiring spirit in man.

[9] *Nafs-i mutma'inna* is the benevolence soul that is satisfied soul.

[10] It is complete prostration before Allāh.

[11] Khiḍr means the wise one.

[12] *Nafs-i mārdīya* means to mortify the sensual appetite or to restrain passion.

[13] It is complete piety.

is the summit or highest rung of the ladder when a soul gets united with its Original, also called unio mystica or spiritual union with the Divine. Thus, Bihrām Gur's intellect is raised from corporeal to the spiritual by women.

These miniatures are a solid proof of the misogynistic concept of the west about Muslim society. The seven brides of Bihrām are actually representatives of Muslim women, figs. 21-22, envisaged by Nīẓāmi,

Fig.21: Details of Indian, Byzantine and Princess of Khawārzam of Bihrām Gur.

Fig. 22: Russian, Moorish, Chinese and Persian princesses of Bihrām Gur.

who was a pious and contented gentleman[14]. The poet Jāmi while collecting biographies of mystics and poets gives a precise picture of Nīẓāmi, as he says:

The Sheik Nizami possessed full knowledge of the outward sciences and manners of this world. But he chose retreat from the affairs of this lower world to return his countenance towards God most high, praise He! From beginning to end, he spent his long life in contentment, devotion and solitude (Barry 277).

Only a man of this calibre can reveal the hidden powers of a creature who is fragile apparently but whose soul delves deep in knowledge and wisdom, and with agile pace activates Bihrām's soul with universal wisdom, elevating it to ecstatic heights. Bihrām Gur the symbol of virile strength, whose fame persuaded seven monarchs of the world to make an alliance with him and wished their daughters to join him in matrimony. But wisdom is not linked with physical strength, it is ones mental capacity. Women by instinct have more endurance and patience than men, though phenomenally a delicate piece wrought by the supreme creator. Thus, the path selected to initiate virtue in the legendary hero is a benign way to impart education. To digest a dry hard advice is something difficult but the allusive manner adopted by the brides is agreeable, a solid proof of their wisdom. The Holy Qur'ān too, teaches the rudiments of wisdom through narratives. In the series of miniatures illustrating Nīẓāmi's Haft Paikar, the wise stance of women is defined in a very simple way.

Ibn 'Arabi too elevates women when he explicates the ḥadīth that women, perfume and prayer are most beloved to the last apostle of God. So, the third corporeal element liked by the Holy Prophet (pbuh) is prayer; a source that leads to the Divine realms. Elucidating this ḥadīth Ibn 'Arabi boldly discerns aroma of femininity in it, asserting that the word for three in Arabic is also feminine[15]. It is linked with the supremacy of Allah's attribute of creative mercy that is Raḥīm over

[14] It is said that Nīẓāmi was so respected that the ruling monarchs showered gifts on him but he had such a contented soul that he paid no heed to the corporeal benefits.

[15] *Thalāthа* is the word for three in Arabic. Words that end with third alphabet of Arabic that is *Tā,* usually attached with its previous, is called *tā'-i marbūṭa,* is feminine and wherever a word ends with *tā'-i marbūṭa,* it is labelled as feminine.

obligating mercy. It is similar to the notion of tashbīh[16] and tanzīh[17], the positive and negative attributes of the Divine Being, while the former dominates the latter. Thus, he promotes the feminine aspect of Reality, where the object of knowledge whether corporeal or incorporeal, may be considered feminine, and the subject whether "created or self-reaffirming" of God, who were made by Him in his own image, may be considered masculine ('Arabi Bezels 270-271).

The word Nīsā'[18] is plural having no singular form; the Prophet (pbuh) also used it in plural, using the word women not woman. Moreover, the word Nus'āb means coming after. The ternary where women precede perfume and prayer, another ternary, holds ibn 'Arabi is related to God, man and woman. From man, who is in the image of God, emerges woman. Everything yearns for the one it belongs to, along with longing of the source for its created being. Thus women are liked by the prophet (pbuh) because God loves the one whom he creates in His own image. So, all love the things that emerge from them or which belong to them. In reverse the subservient things long for their sources, thus converting and ending contemplation on God again; which in other words is a mystic's path.

Concentration on women, holds ibn 'Arabi is the perfect cerebration of the Supreme Reality, in the sense that in concentration of man on women, the man views Him in passive mode, while in contemplating Him in his own-self, man sees Him in active mode[19]. But when man contemplates Him without realising the one emerged from him[20], he appears passive, while in contemplating women he contemplates reality in active and passive both ways, that is complete realisation of reality; active in the sense of His image and passive in the emergence of women. So, woman is the cause of complete cerebration of God, thus perfect contemplation of God is in the contemplation of women, the very reason that Prophet (pbuh) likes her. It is not corporeal liking in the sense that it leads to the Divine realms (Ibn 'Arabi Bezels

[16] *Tashbīh* is similarity or nearness
[17] *Tanzīh* is dissimilarity that causes distance
[18] *Nīsā'* (Arabic) = woman.
[19] Because He created man in His image, which is His active participation but in the creation of women His is passive participation.
[20] That is women.

274-75), the cause of viewing women as emblems of wisdom by the Muslim artists.

Women to man, in this sense are like Universal Nature[21] to God, on which through Divine commandment cosmic forms emerge. In physical sense their union is matrimonial but on spiritual it denotes the primeval union that is singularity of all into the one Reality. The philosophy of placing women before perfume and prayer is that she is like Universal Nature from which corporeal and incorporeal beings derive their form and it is actually the breadth of the Merciful, though it varies in both the bodies. The Prophet (pbuh) thus gives priority to women over men by using feminine noun thalāth and not thalātha which is masculine noun. While Arabs preferred masculine noun even if it describes feminine plural with masculine singular. The Prophet preferred feminine, relating it with God (Ibn ʻArabi Bezels 277); the way Nīẓāmi has elevated her in the realms of wisdom, it gives sanctity to the existence of women.

Besides all, women of these miniatures are individual yet not individual in their representation. Though, princesses of one or the other clime, each has a particular name, but not individual in delineation of her physical-self, fig.21-22, because humanism in Islamic art is not restricted to the outer-selves only. Similarly, women in Haft Paikar are not individual in the rendering of their physical, though attributed with certain names but not much distinct in their characters. ʻAllāma Iqbāl too elucidates a similar concept in Asrār-wa Ramūz:

> *Zindagi anjuman āra wa nighahdār khud ast*
> *Īy kah dar qāfla īy, bi hamashū, ba hamarū*
> *(tr.) Life embellishes associations as well as guards itself,*
> *O you, travelling in the caravan! be apart from everybody and yet move along with everybody.*

It is a pithy saying, which seems to have followed by Muslim artists in the delineation of humans in Muslim miniature painting. Iqbāl stresses

[21] It can be elucidated through Plato's theory of existence: ideas and substance without form were present in the mind of God, prior to the emergence of cosmos. When ideas were imprinted on substance, forms emerged. The Universal Nature here can be taken as substance defined by Plato.

on collective-self without denying the individual, which is the essence of harmonious life (Ahsan 39). Although, he asserts on the selfhood[22] of man but a kind that does not come at clash with communal unity, where man is isolated having original thought, as well as an essential part of the whole. This is how men and women appear in almost every Muslim miniature painting of Persia. They are individuals in the sense that each one is performing the task assigned to him in the narrative illustrated, as well as submerged in the group because their individuality is not subservient to corporeality. Women of Haft Paikar are not much individual in their physical but individual in their intellectual cerebration.

Although they do not follow natural proportions but they are proportionate to the formula evolved for the beings of these paintings. Heads of standing figures are comparatively larger, and the most prominent feature is their eyes, while hands and feet are always very small, and the most favourite position is three quarter. Head, the control room of all bodily functions is hence, provided with prominent position, while hands and feet the manipulators of corporal realities are rendered very small. Isometric view or three quarter is their favourite posture, keeping the capacity to decipher things most precisely, the whereabouts of a figure, through which they are provided solidity. Profile position conceals half while revealing the other half, on the other hand, frontal posture hides thickness of a body, and thus three quarter became ideal of the Muslim artists. Profile, full front or back are extremely rare in the Muslim miniature paintings because of their incapacity to have perfect view. Hence, third dimension, isolated from the subservience of illusionism can only be acquired through three quarter view. Moreover, their postures are not static even if a person is standing still, in attendance with a ruling monarch; motion is created through bodily twist or turn, which also creates the impression of air and space around the figures. Furthermore, human figure is stably solid without its dependence on any extraneous source of light.

Thus representation of women in Muslim miniature paintings, whether viewed from theosophical point of view or from corporeal rendering, is not based on mimesis defined by Plato. It deals with the complete self of man; here inner is corresponded with the outer to

[22] The term *Khūdi* is used by Iqbāl, for selfhood.

delineate a reality that is perfect to its core. But have never come under the sway of abstractions related to distortions. Because man is defined in the Holy Qur'ān as best of all creations, the word used is aḥsan-i taqwīm[23], sūrāh xcvi (al-Tīn), 4:

> *(tr.) We have indeed created man in the best of moulds.*

So, when God created man to get Himself recognised, He shaped him as best of all His creations. Hence, Muslim artists viewing the godly in woman configured her as the most essential and attractive of all beings. So, women represented in these miniatures are mostly young, old age is very rare, but if rendered, focus of the artist is maturity not decay of strength, figs.13-14, An old women complaining Sulṭān Sanjar. Not decay of old age but embodiment of strength though bent with age. Decay is linked with the corporeal while the inner of man is his real-self which is permanent. It neither withers nor destroys but gets mature with the passing time. Since Muslim artists, not restricting their vision to the outer, have rendered the heavenly creatures like perpetual spring. They are delineated beautiful to the core, for being in the image a ḥūri, fig.23.

[23] A creation that is best and complete in itself.

Fig.23: Women from Muslim Miniatures, a symbol of piety.

To sum up the above discussion, it is viewed that women and beauty have closer affinity and beauty in Islamic art is linked with truth, perhaps derived from the Platonic conviction that truth is eternal and

man can recognize it in himself, and beauty which is a manifestation of truth is beyond all things beautiful. It is everlasting which neither withers nor changes, and not even subservient to the outward adoration. The platonic idea of the beautiful was derived from his theory of love which was absorbed into the Muslim Ṣūfi thought that transfigures his love of worldly beauty into the Divine one. Thus, the Muslim artists treated physical beauty as a mere symbol to reach Perfect Truth. Because Ṣūfis believe that everything emanates from the One, who is Supreme, and beauty or truth are partial facts of absolute reality which can only be conceived through intellect and intuition, neither from the corporeal eye nor from objective truths. This philosophy has shaped the very essence of Islamic art, which can be conceived fully in the representation of women, as specimens of the concept of ḥūri configuring Divine love.

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-4-
An Overview of Archaeological Research in Gandhara and its Adjoining Regions (Colonial and Post Colonial Period)

Muhammad Arif
Mahmood-ul-Hasan

Abstract
Country of the ancient Gandhara, situated on the west bank of the Indus River, comprises Peshawar valley, Swat, Buner and Bajaur remained a stronghold of Buddhism from 3rd century BCE to 5th Century CE. It was thickly dotted with myriads of Buddhist sanctuaries. History of the discovery of ancient Gandhara goes hands in hands with the annexation of the Indian subcontinent in British Empire. A large number of British explorers contributed in discovery of this magnificent chapter of the history of Buddhist India. Systematic archaeological research on the Buddhist archaeological sites of Gandhara started after establishment of the Archaeological Survey of India in 1861. After creation of Pakistan the Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums, its sisterly organizations and foreign archaeological missions further broadened the spectrum of Gandharan archaeology. This paper provides an overview of the archaeological research has so far been conducted in this region.

The name "Gandhara", literary meaning the land of fragrance, is of Sanskirat origin which "met for the first time in *Rig-Veda*, a collection of old Indian hymns going back to the second millennium BCE (Ingolt 1957,13)" was "the ancient name of the tract of country on the west bank of the Indus River which comprises the Peshawar valley and the modern Swat, Buner and Bajaur. It was a country with rich, well-watered valleys, clear-cut hills and a pleasant climate (Marshall 1973, 1). Being a borderland between the high lands of Central Asia and alluvium plains of the Indus and Ganga River systems its ancient history belonged as much and as little to the one as to the other. Now the land of Gandhara forms part of the North Western Frontier Province of Pakistan.

The nature has beautifully defined the boundaries of Gandhara. From north-eastern and western side the lands of Gandhara are walled by the high ranges of Hindukush and Karakrum, while to the south its hilly tracts gradually merge in the flat Indus Valley, providing access to Afghanistan and Central Asia through narrow passes. These passes served as caravan trade routes and played an important role in commercial and cultural exchange between Sub-continent, China and the Western World.

Historic period of Gandhara starts after its annexation to the Persian Empire in the times of Cyrus the Great (558-28 BCE.) at that time it was called seventh province of Persia. In the 4th century BCE the lands of Gandhara witnessed the invasion of Alexander the Great from Macedonia. Alexander's successor Seleucus Nikoter ceded it in the year 305 to the Indian king Chandragupta Maurya who laid foundations of the Mauryan Empire. The most important king of Mauryan dynasty was Asoka who was converted to Buddhism in 262 B.C. and under his royal patronage Buddhism flourished in the whole Gandhara Region. After the death of Asoka in 237 BCE his empire rapidly disintegrated and around 190 BCE. Gandhara again wasnm conquered by Bactrian Greeks. Then came, early in the first century BCE., the victorious Sakas or Scythians, to be followed after yet another century by the Parthians and Kushans. For in the third century CE Gandhara again reverted to Persia, now under Sassanid sovereigns, and was again re-conquered by the Kidara Kushans in the fourth. Finally, the death-blow, to its prosperity was given by the Ephthalites or White Huns, who swept over the country about CE 465, carrying fire and sword wherever they went and destroying the Buddhist monasteries (Marshall 1973: 1).

With such a long history of foreign invasions and trade relations with western world the people of Gandhara were thoroughly cosmopolitan in their culture and out-look. This intimate fusion of widely divergent elements was equally apparent in the religious life of the people. In such a favorable environment the Buddhist Art of Gandhara emerged in the 2nd century CE. as a blend of local and Graeco-Roman ideas and techniques. This socio-religious art reached to its climax under the patronage of the Kushanas and their successors.

The most favorite subject of the sculptors of Gandhara was the Lord Buddha, his life stories and his faith but they also portrayed secular scenes and social life of that time in their work. Initially, the medium of sculptural art appears to have been exclusively the grey schist as witnessed at the Buddhist sites of Taxila, Peshawar, Mardan, Malakand, Dir , Swat and Buner regions, but then other kinds of locally available stones like phyllite, soapstone, green schist, chlorite, etc. were also used for carving sculptures along with the more plastic stucco and terracotta to fulfill the growing demand of Buddhist sculptures to decorate the innumerable monasteries and stupas thickly dotting the whole Gandharan region.

Besides sculptures, the architecture of Gandhara also has a marked characteristic of its own composition in nature and scope lending towards Ionic and Doric style of Classical Greeks. The city plan of Sirkap in Taxila, the remains of religious establishments Stupas and Monasteries at Dharmarajika, Jaulian, Jinan Wali Dheri, Badalpur, Mohra Moradu in Taxila Valley and those at Takht-i-Bahi, Jamal Garhi, in Mardan district, are remarkable ensemble of the dissemination and blending of foreign and local traditions of the art of building. Besides, Butkara, Panr, Udegram, Nimogram, Chat Pat, Andan Dheri, Saidu Stupa, Shingardar Stupa, Thokardara Stupa, to name only a few, are some of the famous sites in Swat and Dir area which provide ample evidence of the extent of this religious cultural phenomenon.

The history of the discovery of the Ancient Gandhara goes hand in hand with the conquest of the Indian subcontinent by the British (Swati 1998: 28). The interest in antiquity was primarily a phenomenon of Western Europe, and in the 19th century, it was a part of European national competitiveness. While this contest at the time was mostly played out in the larger European area and especially Mesopotamia, British explorers had long since started looking at the regions of the Indian colonies conquered by Britain. Among these explorers was William Finch (1608–11), who first described the Aśoka pillars in Delhi and Allahabad and recorded detailed observations about the architecture of Delhi, Agras Lahore, and other cities. Before the 19th century, there were many adventurers and archaeologists who travelled all over India and left reports of their travels. Among these were, from Portuguese colonial times, Duarte Barbosa, Tavernier from French

colonial times, Thevenot, Niebur, Hamilton, Tieffenthaler, and many others. Hanxleden (1699–1732) published the first Sanskrit grammar, in Latin, in 1731, and Calmette made the first writings of the *Rigveda* available to a Western audience.

In 1784, Sir William Jones, one of the most accomplished among these scholars, founded the "Asiatic Society" in Calcutta, where he was judge at the High Court. In 1786, he was the first to discover the close linguistic relationship between Sanskrit and the Germanic and Celtic languages and thus founded the basis for researching the Indo-European language family. Already in 1788, he founded a journal, called *The Asiatic Researchers*, and in 1814, a museum was opened, almost at the same time as the large national museums of the new European national states after the Congress of Vienna in 1815. This movement in the Indian subcontinent apparently developed in parallels to the central European movement introducing a new bourgeoisie, albeit far from the ancestral home.

It was William Jones, who, for the first time, explained the connections between Chandragupta Maurya (Sandrakottos of the Greeks) and Alexander the Great, an insight that would influence Indian archaeology, as far as it already existed in these terms, until the early 20th century.

For Buddhist research, the works of Mountstuart Elphinstone about the Manikiyala stupa, the almost dramatic discovery of the stupa of Sanchi, as well as the detailed documentation and research of Colin Mackenzie (1753–1821) at the famous stupa of Amaravati are of utmost importance.

This was the time when British draughtsman and water colourist Thomas Daniell, together with his nephew, created those unsurpassed depictions of Indian architecture in the Romantic style of the early 19th century.

Francis Buchanan (later Buchanan Hamilton) was the first who, under orders from the government, systematically started to record monuments, among these Bodh Gaya, one of the places commemorating the Buddha.

Another important personality for the history of the Indian subcontinent in the first half of the 19th century was James Prinsep, who soon became secretary of the "Asiatic Society". Between 1834 and

1837, he deciphered the writing systems of Kharoshthī and Brahmi, both scripts used at the time of the Gandharan civilisation. He was also the first to identify the names of the Hellenistic kings Antiochus II., Ptolemaios (Philadelphos), and Magas of Cyrene in the Ghirnar rock inscription of Emperor Aśoka and thus created a historical framework (3rd century BCE.

Soon after, he also realized the importance of the excavation results of the generals Ventura and Court at the Manikiyala stupa in 1830, and further research in the Indus-Jhelum region in 1833–34 brought to light a large number of Buddhist works, sculptures, coins, and inscriptions that, for the first time, referenced a new ruling dynasty, the Kushanas.

At the same time, W. Masson was working in Afghanistan, partly as a British spy, conducting research in the Buddhist ruins of Begram, among other endeavors, and bringing to light a respectable number of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian dynasties that had been unknown to historical research before.

With Alexander Cunningham, in the 1830s, yet another new luminary entered the scholarly world who would, in 1871, move on to become the first director general of the Archaeological Survey of India and who would keep working until the end of the 19th century. From1834–36, he examined the Dhamek stupa in Sarnath with its environment, and in 1851, he concentrated on the Buddhist monuments in Central India. His results were collected in the publication *The Bhilas Topes, or Buddhist Monuments of Central India* (London 1857). Besides his *Ancient Geography* (1871), he also published a book on the inscriptions of Aśoka (1877) as well as books on Indian coins of Alexander the Great's successors (1884), and *Coins of Ancient India from the earliest times down to the 7th century CE*.

The actual heyday of Gandharan research came with the integration of the "North-West-Province" after 1847 by the British, who took over the territory from the Sikhs. Additionally, new information was gained from the translation of the Chinese texts of Fa-Hien and Hiuen-Tsang, which eventually inspired Cunningham to write his *Ancient Geography*, possibly the most extensive work of its time.

When he retired in1885, he had created a large organisation that was dedicated to the research of historical architecture, art, coins, and

inscriptions. Later, under Burgess, three departments were founded: exploration, conservation, and epigraphy.

In Europe, the research on the history of humanity had been furthered by the works of Thomson, Worsaae, Fiorelli, Curtius, Dorpfeld, Schliemann et al.

Archaeology as a historical discipline on the Indian subcontinent, though, only became part of general research in the early 20th century. It is intrinsically tied to the name of John Marshall, who later, in the 1920s, also conducted the excavations at Moenjodaro and Harappa.

His first large-scale excavation was conducted together with J. P. Vogel in Pushkalavati (Charsadda), one of the great centers of Indo-Hellenic civilisation. Further excavations at places relevant for Buddhist civilisation such as Sarnath, Kasia, Rajgriha, and Vaisali followed. These times also saw the first expedition of Aurel Stein into the Taklamakan Desert, later followed by the German Albert von Le Coq.

It was also Marshall who expanded our knowledge of the political and cultural history of Gandharan to a large degree by his research. Among his achievements are the important excavations of the Shahji-ki-Dheri near Peshawar, the famous stupa of Kanishka, in which the gilded reliquary was found, the Dharmarājikā and the Jaulian stupa in the Taxila valley, and many more.

In Taxila, he also had his summer residence. Even today, visitors can tour his study; in the nearby archaeological guest house, his former home, his furniture and his crockery are still being kept.

In the Taxila valley, he uncovered three large cities, the oldest one the pre-Hellenic Bhir Mound, the Hellenistic settlement of Sirkap, Hypodermic in its layout, and later Sirsukh, founded during the Kushana period.

After Marshall's retirement in 1934, his successors changed rapidly, and all came from his house: Herald Hargreaves (1928–31), Daya Ram Sahni (1931–35), J. F. Blakiston (1935–37), and K. N. Dikshit (1937–44).

In 1944, the Archaeological Survey of India had its last glamourous apogee with the appointment of Mortimer Wheeler before

the "British Raj", the British Crown Colony of India, ended for ever in 1947.

Two new nations emerged out of the bloody secession: the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and the Union of India, later Republic of India.

The research history of Gandharan culture in the young state of Pakistan started in 1956 with Italian activities in Swat under Professor Tucci. Due to his personal connections to the ruler of Swat, His Majesty General Myangul Jahazeb, he had received a special permit to excavate in the area that was then still independent from Pakistan. The excavations, mostly led by Domenico Facenna, include Butkara I, II, the Saidu stupa (F. Callieri 1989), as well as Panr and the settlement of Barikot (probably ancient Bazira). Among the great Italian researchers of Gandhara are Maurizio Taddei, Giorgio Stacul, Giovanni Verardi, Anna Maria Quagliotti, and Anna Filigenzi.

Also in the 1950s, the first Japanese researchers (Kyoto Scientific Mission to Gandhara) under the aegis of Prof. Seichi Mizuno came to Gandhara, but concentrated their work on the area around Mardan, with excavations in Chanaka Dheri, Mekha Sanda, and Thareli. Later, Prof. T Higuchi and Prof. Koji Nishikawa continued the work there; the latter has been conducting restoration work for the UNESCO-JapanTrust Fund programme in Ranigat. At Zar Dheri, prominently located at the beginning of the Karakorum Highway, the National Museum of Tokyo has been conducting important excavation work.

German research has concentrated, most of all through Prof. Jettmar, and later Prof. Hauptmann, Heidelberg, on petroglyph research along the Karakorum Road, which was created in the 1960s to connect Northern Pakistan with China. While Prof. Härtel, Berlin, has excavated for many years in Sonkh in India, Prof. Klaus Fischer undertook research in Afghanistan and also visited Gandhara.

British research after the abandonment of the British Raj was continued for some time by Mortimer Wheeler, who led an archaeological training camp in Bala Hissar, the ancient Pushkalavati. More research was undertaken by Raymond and Bridget Allchin, Cambridge, as well as by the British Museum through Robert Knox.

Archaeological Mission of the Buddhist Dunggok, University, Seoul, South Korea headed by Prof. Moon conducted excavations at Jaulian-II site in Taxila valley (2004-05) and exposed remains of a Buddhist Stupa and Monastery belonging to the 2nd century CE. period. A part from activities of the above mentioned Foreign Archaeological Missions in Gandhara the Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums and other sister organizations i.e. Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar and Provincial Department of Archaeology NWFP carried out extensive exploratory work and excavations in Gandhara region.

In Swat region the Federal Department of Archaeology and Museums conducted excavations at Buddhist sanctuaries of Dadhara, Gumbatona(Khan Ashraf 1996), Kandaro Shaheed, Nawagi, Abu Tangai, Nimogram. Survey in Bunir and Bajor districts.

In Peshawar Valley at Buddhist Monastery of Chargul Dheri (2002-03), Buddhist rmains of Takht-i-Bahi, Mardan (2005-06), Bisak Band Site in Swabi district (Khan Bahadur 1992). An extensive archaeological exploration and salvage operations were undertaken in Swat, Buner, Nowshera, and Bajour Agency and some 380 new sites were recorded (Saeed-ur-Rehman 1996).

In Taxila Valley Excavations at Serai Khola Site (Halim M.A. 1972), Excavation at Bhir Mound (Sharif 1969), Excavation at Hathial (Khan G.M. 1983), Excavation at Bhir Mound (Khan Bahadur 1998-2002), Excavation at Jinan Wali Dheri (Khan Ashraf, Mahmood-ul-Hasan 2002- 06), Excavation at Badalpur (2005-08)[1] Excavation at Haji Shah Moor district Attock (Shareef 1986), Survey and documentation of Archaeological sites and monuments in district Attock (Khan Ashraf, Mahmood-ul-Hasan 2001-02).

Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar conducted excavations at the Buddhist site Butkara-III, Marjanai in Swat. Chat Pat in Dir district; Gor Khattree, in Peshawar; Shaikhan Dheri, Charsadda; Sangao Cave and Kashmir Smast, Mardan.

[1] Three seasons excavations at Badalpur site exposed remains of a monastery, a large number of copper coins, gold coin, clay sealings, Mathura style red sand stone sculpture of Buddha, metal objects and pottery have been recovered.

Provincial Department of Archaeology, NWFP excavated Hund Fort and Aziz Dheri in Swabi district, Safe Abad site in Mardan, and Shalkandai site in district Dir.

Post-independence research work in Gandhara region has brought new chapters of the history of the region in limelight. Excavation at Sngao Cave, district Mardan has pushed backed the history of the region from 6th century B.C. to the fabulous and remote past of 25000 B.C.[2] Excavations at Serai Khola site yielded a cultural sequence from late Neolithic to the Iron Age and filled up the major gape in the prehistory and Pro to Historic Period of Gandhara region (Halim M. A. 1972). Another important site in the Taxila Valley excavated by the Federal Department of Archaeology is Hathial lying hardly half a kilometer east of the Taxila Museum. The site rendered by revealing three occupational levels corresponding to Serai Khola-I, II and early Historic period 8th-7th century B.C (Khan G. M. 1983). Discovery of Buddhist murals at Jinan Wali Dheri, Taxila belonging to 3rd century A.D. in a highly developed stage indicate that this delicate art to edify Lord Buddha and his doctrine was for the first time employed by the artists of Gandhara and defused from Gandhara to Afghanistan, China and rest of the Buddhist World with the passage of time. Archaeological survey and excavations carried out in Gandhara Region in the post independent period have provided ample data to reconstruct the history of Gandhara region with new dimensions and in a broader spectrum of time.

[2] Excavations at Sangao Cave, district Mardan conducted by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar under supervision of Prof. Dr. Ahmed Hasan Dani have revealed stone tools belonging to Upper-Paleolithic Period.

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Excavation at Badalpur Monastery, District Haripur (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa), Pakistan: A Preliminary Report of Season 2014

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Abstract

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.

This paper presents a brief account of the recent excavations conducted on the site of Badalpur, Taxila Valley in the premises of Haripur District, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. It focuses on the season 2014 excavations. During the recent excavations a small additional monastery was exposed in the west of the main stupa and south of main monastery. A series of eight monk cells have been exposed, which are constructed in semi-ashlar and diaper masonry style. Along these cells, copper coins, pottery, iron objects and stucco sculpture were recovered from different stratas of the cells. The authors claim, on the basis of recovered coins, pottery, masonry and C-14 dating, that the site belongs to a period between the 3rd century BCE and the 5th century CE.

Introduction:

Taxila (also known as Taksh-shila), was an ancient Buddhist seat of learning, connected across the Khujerab pass to the Silk Road. It was also called Takshashila in Sanskrit in ancient India (Marshall 1945:1). Taxila Valley lies north Latitude 33° 42' 30" and 33' 50° and east longitudes 72° 53' 45' and 72° 59' (Khan et al 2007:39). Average height of the valley from sea level is 530 m which spreads over an area of about 375 square km (Dani 1986:2). 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 area testimony 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). Greek King, Alexander from Macedonia captured the region in c. 326 BC. In 305 BC; Greek were kicked out by Chandra Gupta, founder of Mauryan Dynasty of Ancient India. Ashoka, the grandson of Chander Gupta Maurya (272-232 BC) was converted to Buddhism and made Taxila the prominent center of Buddhism.

The historic period ruins of Taxila contains buildings, Buddhist Stupas, cities.Three major cities were Bhir mound, belong to Achaeminian age (6th century BCE), Sirkap belongs to Indo Greeks (2nd BCE) and Sirsukh belongs to Kushan period (1st century ACE) (Marshall 1960:2-3).

Location of the Site

The monastery of Badalpur is situated in a village locally called as Bhera, District Haripur, between 35° 46’ 55.41” North and 72 °52’ 06.15” East and elevation 527.9136 m. 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.

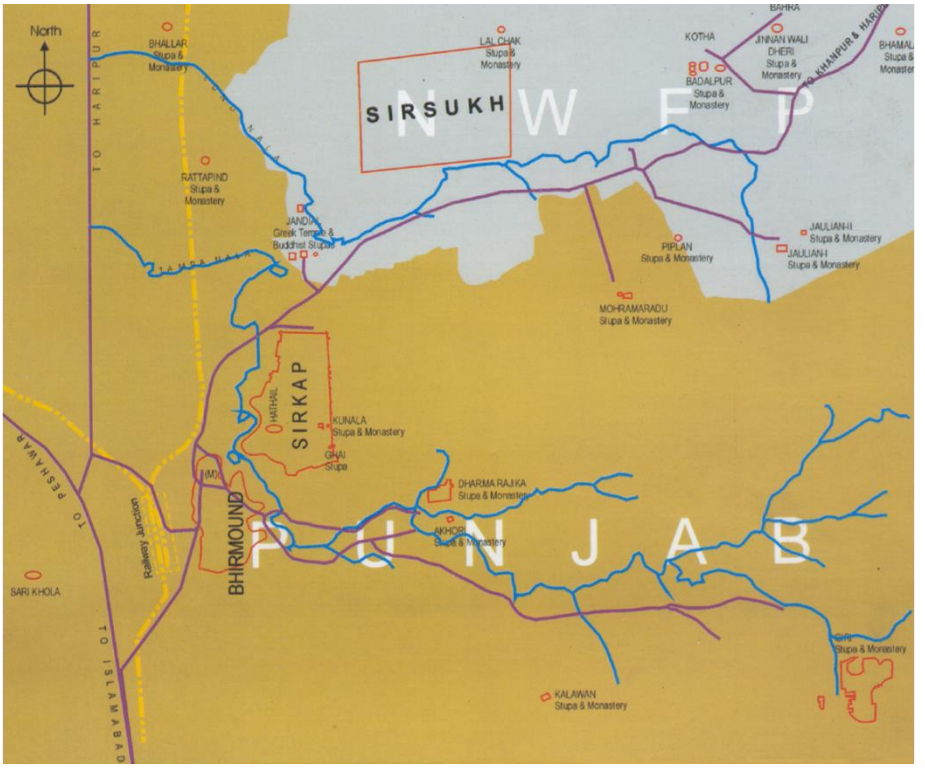


Fig.1: Location of Badalpur Monastery and its Environs
(Coutesy: M. Ashraf Khan)

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 moldings.

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 planned 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 2014 (Khan et al 2014).

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. BP-AA 13 to16, BP- Z 13 to16, BP-Y 14 to 16, BP-X 14 to16, BP-W 15 to16 and BP V-15 and V-16 revealed the presence eight cells(five cells were exposed in the previous season 2013 up to limited depth).These cells have been named on temporary basis as Cell # -1, Cell # 0, Cell #1, Cell #2 running west to eastwards and Cell #3, Cell #4, Cell # 5 and Cell # 6, running north to southwards. These cells will be renamed accordingly after the complete exposure of the plan of the area.

Fig 2: Square BP-AA 16, Z 16, Y 16, X 16, W 16, V 16

Fig 3: Square BP-Z 13 to 16

Fig 4: Square BP-Y 14, X 14

The present season excavation was confined to small additional monastic remains which commenced from square BP-AA 13 to16, BP-Z 13 to16, BP-Y 14 to 16, BP-X 14 to16, BP-W 15-16 and BP V-15 to16 located south of main monastery and east of assembly hall.

Cell # -1

This cell comes under the squares BP-W 15 to 16 and BP-V 15 to 16. This is the south-western corner cell of this small additional monastery, which is located on the west of assembly hall and east of main stupa. This cell measures 512cm east-west and 250cm north-south interiorly. Cell has varied range of depth from ground level to excavated level, due to erosion i.e. from east to west gradually size of the preserved walls and ground level decreased. Eastern wall of the cell is preserved to the height of 100 cm, southern wall from eastern edge is 85 cm, from western edge 25 cm, western wall of the cell is 10 cm at southern edge and 57 cm at northern edge and northern wall is 53 cm from excavated level. The western wall has been conserved up the height of 80 cm and northern wall of the cell up to the height of 60 cm. The cell has 155 cm wide entrance opening towards the north and 242 cm wide and 13 cm thick projection for door at the exterior side of western wall of adjacent cell # 0 at its eastern side. The unique feature of the cell is that its northern wall adjacent to the entrance seem turning from south to north direction and turned area of the wall is fallen and preserved up to height of 9 cm from the excavated level. Beside this permanent Buddhist phase structure, a late phase temporary alignment of regular and irregular shaped stones in front of the exterior side of the northern wall of the were exposed down to preserved height of Buddhist wall from ground level, which was removed after being documented, so that clear picture of the corner cell may be traced out. The important findings of this cell include iron clamp/nail, one complete base and rim and faunal remains from layer 1 and copper fragments, miniature vessel, large flate piece of iron in fragments and faunal remains from layer 2. Beside these, a good number of potsherds, charcoal and ashes from different layers have been found.

Fig 5: General view of south-western corner cell and its eastern wall

Fig 6: Interior side of northern wall of Cell -1.

Fig 7: Northern wall turned from south to north.

Fig 8:Large fragment of a pot lying *"insithu",* layer 1, BP-V 16

Fig 9:Gate projection from exterior of western wall of adjacent cell

Fig 10: Interior side of western boundary wall

Fig 11: Miniature lying "insithu", layer 2, BP-W 16

Fig 12: Complete base lying "Insithu", layer 2, BP-W16

Detailed view of Cell -1

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. This cell was dug up to depth of 98 cm. The eastern wall is preserved to the height of 98 cm, western at 80 cm from southern edge and 57 cm from western edge. The northern wall is preserved to the height of 53 cm and southern wall is preserved to 85 cm at eastern edge and 25 m at western edge. The western wall has been conserved to height of 80 cm and northern wall to the height of 60 cm. The important findings of this cell include one copper coin from layer 2 and a hearth from layer 1, Phase II, which was previously diagnosed as Kiln, but this time ashes bones revealed the confirmed it as Hearth pottery. The hearth was present right in the center of cell, measuring 90 cm in diameter and 300 cm in circumference. Beside these, bronze/copper fragments from layer 3, red ware potsherds, and faunal remains, charcoal from different layers and ashes from upper layers have been found

Fig 13: Hearth full of faunal remains and ashes

Fig 14: General view of Cell 0, after removal of Hearth

Cell 1

This cell is located east of cell # 0, which measures 240 cm from east-west and 233 cm north-south interiorly. Eastern wall is preserved to a height of70 cm at its southern edge and 95 cm at its northern edge; western wall is preserved to height of 73 cm, northern wall to height of 78 cm and southern wall to the height of 90 cm. This cell has 143 cm wide opening towards north. This cell was dug up to 102 cm from surrounding ground level. The findings of the cell include fragments of shell, fragments of copper, several pots inside of one another in broken form from layer 3, animal bones from layer 1 and specifically, 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.

Fig 15: A general view of Cell 1

Fig 16: Pot lying inside over one another, "*insithue*", layer 3, Cell 1

Cell 2

This cell is located east of cell # 1, south of main monastery which measures 244 cm from east-west and 233 cm north-south interiorly. Eastern wall is preserved to a height of 100 cm; western wall is preserved to height of 105 cm, northern wall to height of 122 cm and southern wall to the height of 115cm. This cell was dug up to 130 cm from surrounding ground level. This cell has 149 cm wide opening toward north. This cell was dug up to 116 cm. Important finds recovered from this cell is one grinding stone, red ware pottery, burnt fragments of mud plaster from different layers of the cell.

Fig 17: General view of Cell 2 from exterior side

Fig 18: General view of Cell 2 from interior side

Cell 3

This cell south-eastern corner cell of this additional monastic remains, and comes under square BP-AA 15-16, BP-Z 16-15, located east of cell 2, south of the main monastery, the largest cell, exposed up till now in this area. This cell measures 260 cm from east-west and 530 cm north-south interiorly and preserved up to the height of 120 cm. This cell has 154 cm wide opening toward north. This cell was dug up to 160 cm from present ground level. 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.

Fig 19:A general view of south-eastern corner cell, Cell 3

Fig 20: Fallen debris of western wall is removed from interior side of Cell 3

Cell 4

This cell is located north of cell-3, south of main monastery and comes under the square BP- AA15, Z 15. This cell measures 250 cm from east-west and 245 cm north-south interiorly and northern side wall of this cell is preserved up to the height of 184 cm from eastern edge and 100 cm from western edge, southern wall up to 90 cm and conserved to height of 110. This cell has 160 cm wide opening towards north. This cell was dug up to 182 cm from present ground level. Important findings of this cell include five copper coins, one thin bronze/copper sheet. Along these, good number of red ware potsherds, charcoal and ashes from different layers of the cell has 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 21: A general view of Cell 4

Fig 22: Mud plaster preserved on interior wall of Cell 4

Cell 5

This cell comes under the squares BP-AA 14 and BP-Z 14.This cell is located on the west of assembly hall and east of main stupa. This cell measures 355cm east-west and 245cm north-south interiorly. Cell has varied range of depth from ground level to excavated level, due to erosion i.e. from east to west gradually size of the preserved walls and ground level decreased. Eastern wall of the cell is preserved to the height of 120 cm at southern edge and 75 cm at northern edge, southern wall is at 110 cm, western wall of the cell adjacent to entrance is 150 cm and northern wall is 43 cm and 35 cm at northern edge from excavated level. The cell has 165 cm wide entrance opening towards the west. Beside this permanent Buddhist phase structure, a late phase compact alignment of regular and irregular shaped stones in front of the cell have been exposed, continued from east to west and turned toward north direction. This phase has its foundation down to 110 cm from present ground level. There also evidences of Hearth of later period i.e. phase II above he northern wall of the cell. The important findings of this cell include complete pointed base from layer 1, fragments of iron and iron nails, fragments of mud plaster and abundant faunal remains. Beside these, a good number of potsherds, charcoal and ashes from different layers have been found.

Fig 23: A general view of Cell 5 and interior of eastern wall of the cell

Fig 24: Interior of southern wall

Fig 25: Interior of northern wall

Fig 26: Later period Hearth over the eroded northern shared wall between Cell 5 and Cell 6

Fig 27:Southern wall of later period adjacent to Cell 5

Fig 28: Western wall of later period in front of Cell 5

Fig 29: An over-view of later period wall build twice, situated in between square BP-Y 14 and BP-Z 14, in front of Cell 5

Cell 6

This cell comes under the squares BP-AA 13 and BP-Z 13.This cell is located on the north of Cell 5, adjacent to it, west of assembly hall and east of main stupa. This cell is actually disturbed from northern side and measures 255cm east-west and 190cm (eastern wall) north-south interiorly. Cell has varied range of depth from ground level to excavated level, due to erosion i.e. from east to west gradually size of the preserved walls and ground level decreased. Eastern wall of the cell is preserved to the height of 98 cm, southern wall is disturbed and not survived , western wall of the cell adjacent to entrance is 83 cm at eastern side and 46 cm at western side and northern wall is 43 cm at southern edge and 35 cm at northern edge from excavated level. The wide entrance is opening towards the west. Western wall adjacent to entrance is also disturbed and it seems that western wall has been made separately as there is clear demarcation in between southern and western wall Beside this permanent Buddhist phase structure, a late phase compact alignment of regular and irregular shaped stones in front of the cell have been exposed, continued from the front of Cell 5. The important findings of this cell include a conical shaped pottery specimen from layer 1, shows burnt marks, might have been used for

tobacco smokers of last occupation on the site, abundant faunal remains, a good number of storage jar rims, potsherds, charcoal and ashes from different layers have been found. At the floor level of phase II, in front of Cell 6, just beside it a bulk of ashes has been observed.

Fig 30: A general view of Cell 6

Fig 31:Interior of western wall of Cell 6

Fig 32:Interior of eastern wall of Cell 6

Fig 33:Disturbed entrance of Cell 6

Fig 34: Later period wall continued from the front of Cell 5, in front of Cell 6

Courtyard: Square BP-Y 15, BP-Y 16

The courtyard has been excavated down to near of floor level, at the depth of 130 cm. Later period structure on northern section of courtyard is exposed and red ware potsherds, iron clamp; faunal remains have been removed from these squares.

Fig 35: A general view of excavated level of courtyard

Fig 36: Later period wall and fallen debris visible in the section of southern side of square BP-Y 15

Verandas: Square BP-W 15, BP-X 15, BP- Y 15

Basically these are the components of Cell -1, Cell 0, Cell 1, Cell 2, Cell 3 and Cell 4 and excavated to the same level as of the excavated level of the cells.

Fig 37: A general view of Veranda of Cell 0, BP-X 15

Fig 38: A general view of Veranda of Cell -1, BP-W 16

Fig 39: A general view of Veranda of Cell 2, BP-Y 15

Square BP-Y 14

Due to erosion, this square could be excavated at uniform level and average depth comes out like 85 cm. Present level of the square shows second layer and its findings include potsherds, and faunal remains from layer 1 and iron nails and fragments of iron, copper/bronze sherds, pot sherds from layer 2.Likewise other areas, charcoal and ashes also have been reported from first layer in abundance and rarely from second layer of the square.

Fig 40: A general view of later period wall from western side, BP-Y 14

Fig 41:An over0view of the later period wall

Fig 42:Rim of a storage jar is lying "insithu"

Square BP-X 14

This was started to excavate but after its excavation up to 15 cm, due continuous raining and bad weather, this square could not done more. This small depth of the excavation has provided potsherd and faunal remains.

Fig 43: A general view of square BP-X 14

Architecture

The architecture of Buddhist phase is compact, permanent and has been constructed in semi-ashlar and diaper masonry style. Theses structures were plastered from both sides, interior and exterior. For these structures, stones have been acquired from the nearby hill ranges, north of the Haro River. The floor levels seem to be paved with river pebbles, as a number pebbles have been un-earthed from the deepest levels of the excavations. The present excavations have not yet revealed the presence of niches and windows, as in case of the monasteries of the area. The plan of this complex is seem to be rectangular and probably will give rise to exposure of sixteen cells, five cells on southern and northern side respectively and 3 cells on eastern and western cells respectively. There might be an entrance at its north-eastern corner of this additional monastery, leading to assembly hall or might have two entrances, one at west side, leading to stupa court as well.

The architecture of late period structure is crude and some where it is compact and some where it's temporarily aligned with stone, re-used from the debris of the small monastery. There is no proper planning been observed from the exposed area.

Stratigraphy

As for the stratigraphy of the Badalpur site is concerned, three layers, comprising two phases i.e. phase I which is the permanent Buddhist establishment and phase II which is the temporary alignment of the re-used of regular and irregular stones of phase I. Phase I is composed of two layer i.e. 2 and 3. The texture of the layer 2 is slightly dark brownish in color and is a combination of fine as well as coarse grains, consists of irregular and regular shaped boulder, chips, rubbles and gravels. The texture of the layer 1 is also light brownish in color and soft grained up to an extent, but boulders were also recovered from deepest excavated floor levels, on some of the areas of the site. Phase II is composed of one strata i.e. 1, blackish in color, mostly comprising humus and coarse grained. As it is mentioned earlier, the site has experienced erosion from east to west, so that why the layers have different position in the cells, moving up to downward from east to west direction. Layer 1 has revealed the presence of three hearths, one in square BP- Z 13, one in BP-Y 15 and one in BP-Z16.Layer 1 has

revealed the uniform presence of ashes, faunal remains, charcoal and burnt pottery i.e. mostly cooking pots in fragments from all over the exposed area. This suggests that the area under excavation must have been used for kitchen purpose on large scale in later period. Layer 2 and 3 has revealed presence of charred wood pieces and charcoal along the normal red ware pottery, iron nails, clamps, burnt mud plaster and fallen wall debris uniformly from all the exposed area. This suggests that the phase I must have experienced an abrupt firing and after that slowly and gradually, the site has been deposited and buried. The pieces and preserved mud plaster on the site is turned in to terracotta and close observation of the mud plaster has revealed the blackish core, which clearly indicate an abrupt fire. One more important aspect of the stratigraphy is that, there is a probability of the intermingling of the layers because of erosion and other factors, as animal bones have also been reported from layers, where they have moved down towards western boundary wall of this small monastery.

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 uniform ally from different layers is evident which marked the evidences of firing activity. Charred wood recovered indicate use of wood as prominent architectural element i.e. for making roofs and doors.

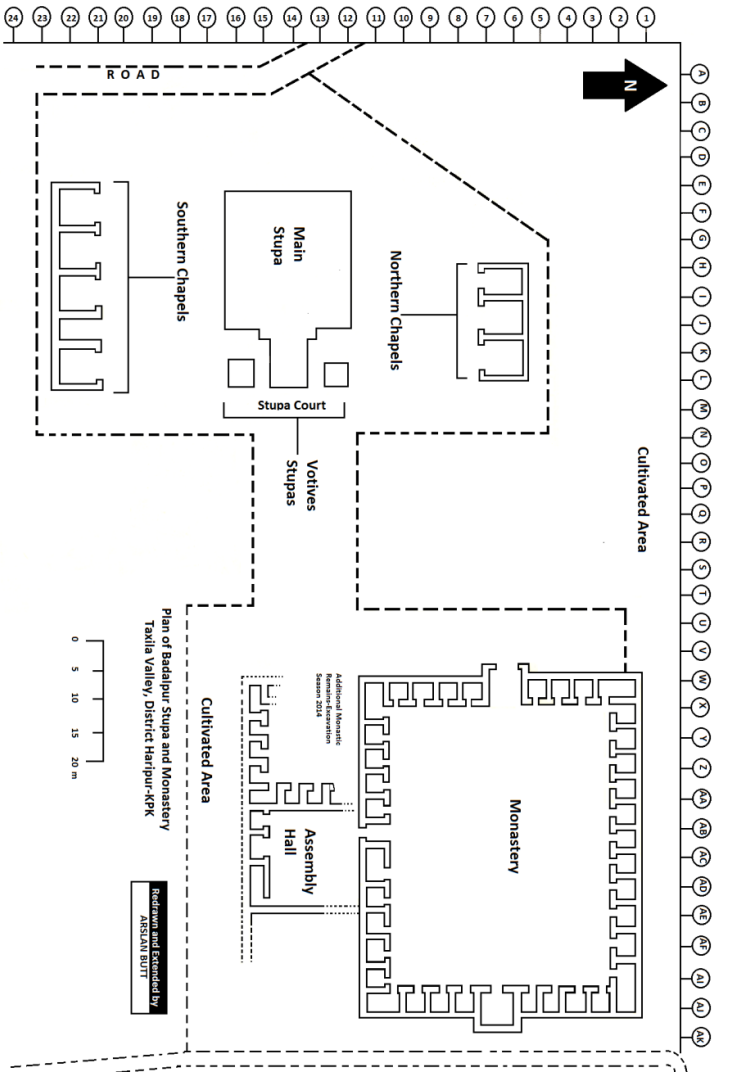
A few number of antiquities were recovered during excavation, which include unearthing of six copper coins, one stucco headless Buddha in Dhayanamudra, iron object i.e. nails, clips, terracotta bead, stone pestles, grinding stones and pottery include one condenser, oil lamp, animal bones, a gambling disc, miniature vessels, shell fragments, copper/bronze objects and several incomplete pots in fragments. The pottery is wheel turned, red ware is prominent and black ware is 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

Chronology

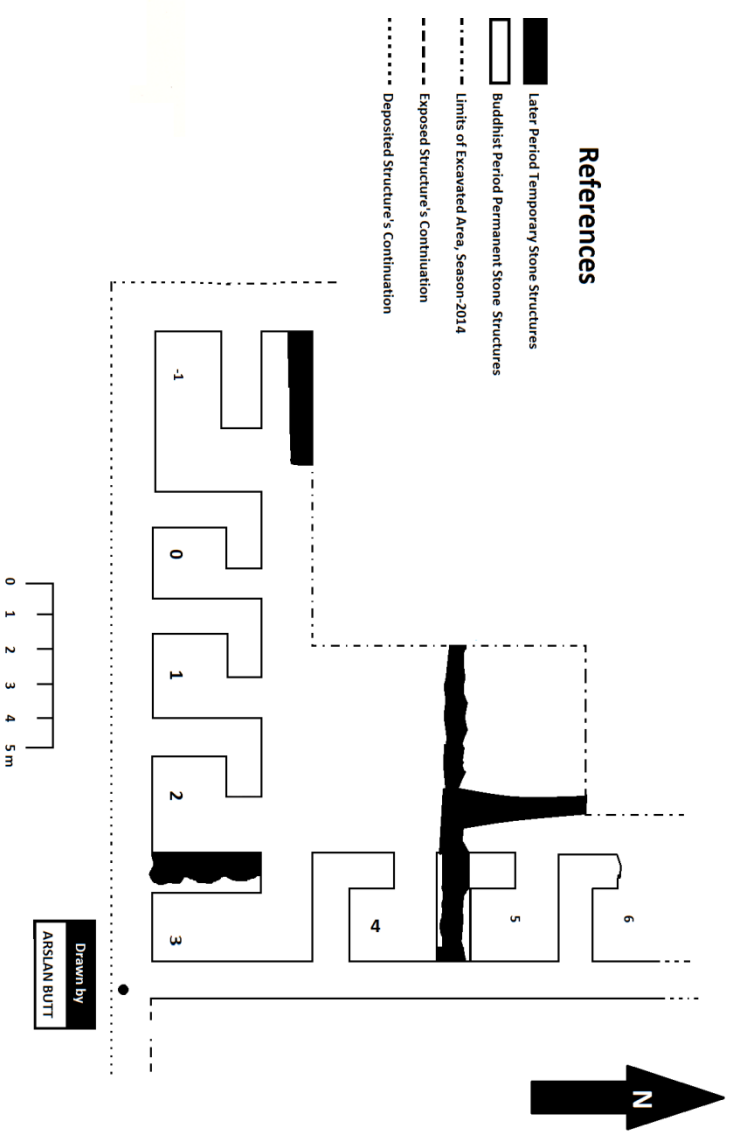
The chronology of the site has been designed on the bases of numismatic evidence, which were previously reported from the site, by Ashraf Khan and Gul Rahim Khan. On numismatic basis, the site belongs to Ist century CE i.e. Kushana period and on the bases of masonry i.e. semi-ashlar and diaper, site dates to late second century CE. Pottery analysis have shown resembles to common types reported from Sirkap level-II, III and IV, and recently absolute dating i.e. C-14 dates of charcoal samples from the deepest levels of the site revealed its existence back to 300 BCE. All these need to testify through thorough examination of the site and it is strongly suggested to draw a vertical trench on some suitable area, so that it's clear chronological framework may come out properly.

Plate I



Extended Plan of Badalpur Site

Plate II



Plan of Excavated Additional Monastery-Season 2014

Plate III

a. Headless stucco Buddha sculpture

b. Copper coins lying "*insithu"* in cell # 4

c. Copper coil lyng *"insithu"* in cell # 1

Plate IV

a.

Upper half of the Storage jar is lying in south-eastern corner cell at floor level.

b.

An iron bar fragment is lying in the south-eastern corner cell at layer # 3.

c.

An iron clamp is lying in the courtyard at layer # 3.

d.

Grinding stone lying vertically in square number Y 16, layer number # 1.

Plate V

a.

An iron nail lying at the entrance of south-eastern corner cell, at layer # 1

b.

A broken cooking pot is laying *insithu* in square AA-16, layer 1.

c.

Mortar and broken pots lying in association in squar # AA-15, at layer # 1.

d.

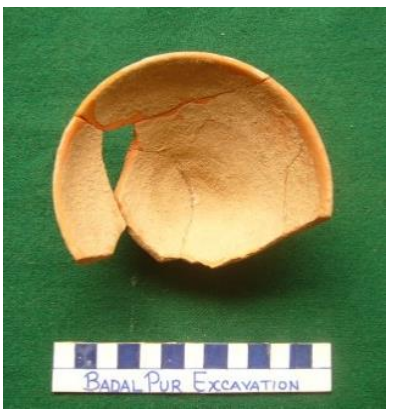
Fragment of Grinding Stone is lying in square # AA 15, at layer # 1.

Plate VI

a. A miniature vessel lying in south-western corner cell, at floor level in association with charred wood.

b. A fragment of pot is lying in square # V-16, at layer # 1

c. Terracotta small bowl (recomposed)



d. Terracotta bowl (recomposed).

Plate VII

a.
Terracotta flask

b.
Terracotta painted Basin

c.
Terracotta plate (recomposed)

d.
Terracotta lid

Plate VIII

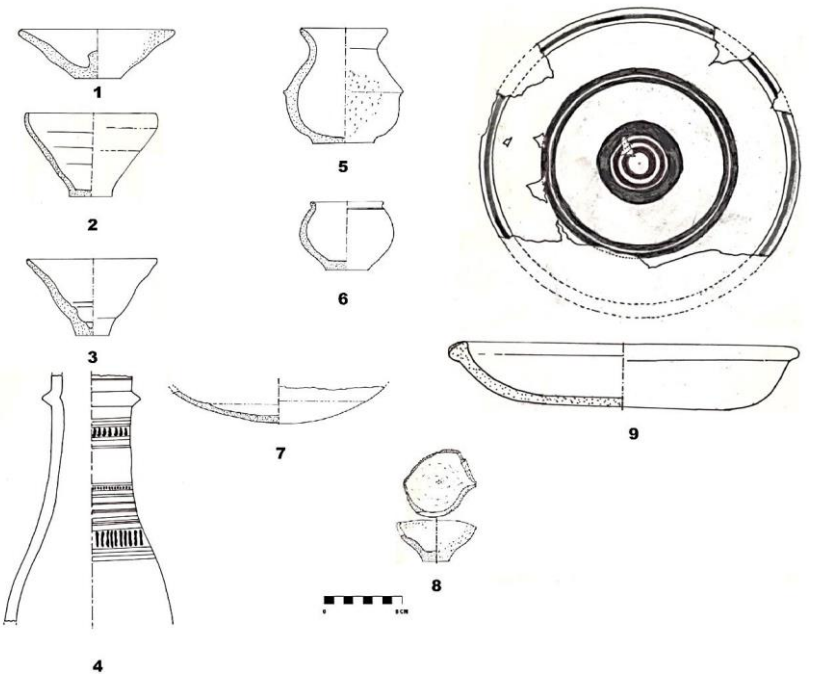
a. Terracotta small pitcher

b. An oil lamp

c. Terracotta bead

d. Gambling disc

Plate IX



Drawings of selected pottery

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-6-
Mughal's and the First Tomb of This Era in Khybar Pakhtunkhwa Province, Pakistan

Shakirullah

Abstract
The Mughals ruled on the Indian Sub-continent for a long period (1526 – 1707) and left their marks especially in shape of art and architecture. In this North West part of Sub-continent (present days Khayber Pakhtunkhwa province) they never had proper hold as compare to other parts and faced warfares. In the early buildings of this era we have the earliest one that is the tomb of Áṣā – i – Sakhi Shāh – i Mardān situated inside the old city of Peshawar, built by Emperor Humāyūn in his last reign as Khānqāh for his spiritual teacher Sayyid Darwesh and later on after his death he is buried in along with his sceptre (Áṣā) therein in 970 H/AD 1562-63.

Key Words: *Sayyid, Humāyūn, Áṣā*

Introduction

After the victory of Zahīr ad – Dīn Bābur at the historic battlefield of Pānipat in AD 1526, the foundation of Mughal dynasty was firmly laid. It opened a new chapter of great intellectual and artistic activities in the Indian history. It has been aptly described as the "Indian Summer" of Muslim Art and Architecture (Rahman 1981: 28). This obviously was the result of congenial circumstances, the wealth, the power of the empire and settled conditions. The art of the Mughal was inspired by the throne and entirely depended on imperial patronage, rising to the greatest heights when stimulated by the personal interest of the ruler, but languishing when it declined. The artistic nature of the Mughal took expression in various architectural forms such as mosques, palaces, forts, gardens, sarais and tombs.

No tomb building of the time of Bābur (1526-1530) exists in Khybar Pakhtunkhwa province. But, when in 1530 Humāyūn ascended the throne, the Sher Shah Suri pushed him out of the country in 1538. In these eight years, he was continuously engaged in warfare with the

seditions provincial governors in addition to the pressure exerted by Sher Shah Suri (Sharma 1964: 303). Under these circumstances expensive cultural pursuits such as architecture were not possible. Only one tomb of the reign of Humayun exists is known as tomb of Áṣā – i – Sakhi Shāh – i Mardān inside Sar Asia gate in Peshāwar city which is the first tomb building of this Mughal era in Khybar Pkhtunkhwa province was built by Sayyid Abū Naṣr's (Jáffar 1946: 109 – 110), a noble of the court of the emperor Humāyūn, with his financial assistance (Das 1874: 149).

The First Tomb of Mughal Era (i. e. the tomb building of Áṣā-i-Sakh-i-Shāh-i Mardān

The tomb building is situated inside the Sar ĀsiaGate of the old walled city of Peshawar. It was originally built as *Khānqāh* by Emperor Humāyun for his preceptor and spiritual teacher Sayyid Darwesh known as Mīr Abu Nāṣir in his life time and when in 970 H/ 1562-63, he died, he was buried along with his sceptre (*Áṣā*) placed upon his chest in the under ground chamber of the same *Khānqāh*. This is how it came to be known as much (Shah 1994: 233-240).

Tomb Building

(Pl. I) it is square (Fig. 2) in plan, 10x10 m, and is built in three stages: square chamber, octagonal drum and hemispherical dome. Externally the square chamber is adorned by sunk panels of which the central tallest accommodates a window blinded with a stucco screen (Fig. 1a). This central tallest sunk pointed panel is flanked by three registers of superimposed panels in which the lower register starting from the dado level shows smaller sunk pointed arches. The middle register has square panels, while the upper one has the same sunk pointed arches, like the lower register, but these are larger in size. An entrance, 2.02 x 1.01 m, is provided in the south side wall. There is a staircase to the roof in the western wall. The walls of the square chamber are topped by a recently built parapet in the form of a broad band with a facing of cemented grill.

The square chamber is superimposed by an octagonal drum. Each side of the drum has a lozenge pattern, which is worked out in the masonry. This octagon receives the hemispherical dome of which the

summit has an inverted lotus in relief with pinnacle having metallic crescent at the top. The outer decorations on the drum and the dome are later additions. Originally the tomb was white washed.

Internally the square chamber on each side shows a tall arched alcove the upper part of which has an arched window blocked with a stucco grill (Fig. 1b). The wooden almirah in the western wall just above the dado level seems to be a later addition. The south side alcove accommodates the entrance. This square chamber is converted into a circle with corner pendentives arranged as ornamental sunk arches and other designs in high relief. A narrow band runs around the top of the pendentives reducing the size of the square chamber.

The phase of transition shows two stages, the lower one is octagonal and is marked by deep sunk squinch arches just above the corner pendentives with alternating intermediary arches of even size (Fig. 1b). Each arch is separated from the other by elongated narrow decorative arch in relief. Empty spaces within the squinch arches are filled by receding pointed arches in a series. This lower stage is topped by a sixteen-sided portion. The second stage shows sunk panels of equal dimension, rectangular sunk panels each having a small pointed arch.

The floor of the tomb chamber is paved with modern marbles and chips with cement, having five graves, in which the central one is associated with the Asa and Shah-i Mardan.

Conclusion

The tomb building under discussion is a sole example of Humāyun era in the entire province and on the other hand this is the first building built by a Mughal emperor. Originally the building was a spaceman of the Mughal era architecture. Later on some additions/alterations were made by the burial descendants, but still in a very good state of preservation. After detail architectural analysis's and study of the building, it is presumed that the building under discussion is built some where in 1555 – 1556 in the last years of Humāyun reign.

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Pl. I. Peshāwar: ´Aṣā-i Sakhi Shāh-i Mardān Tomb, General View

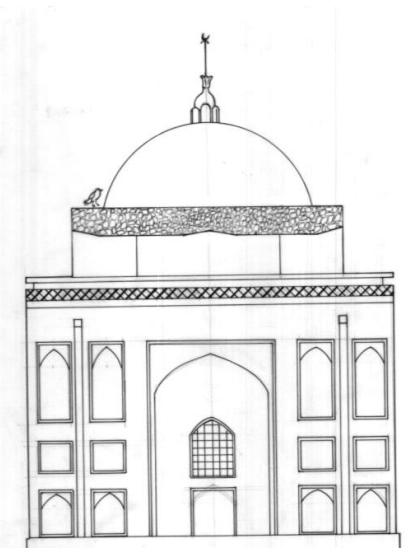

Fig.1a. Peshawar: Asa-i-Sakhi Shah-i Mardān Tomb,
Front Elevation

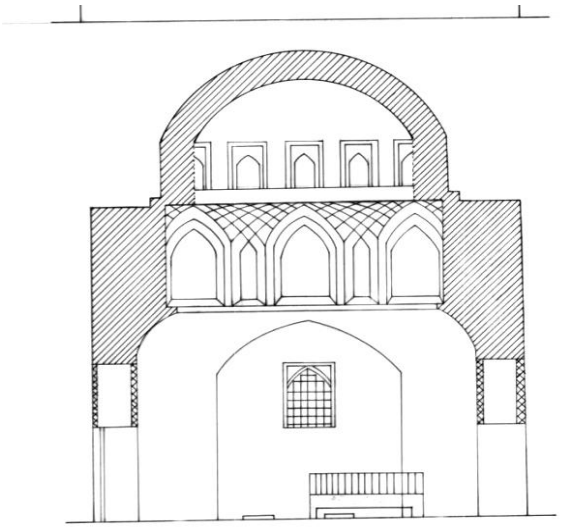

Fig.1b. Peshawar: Asa-i-Sakhi Shah-i Mardān Tomb,
Sectional Elevation

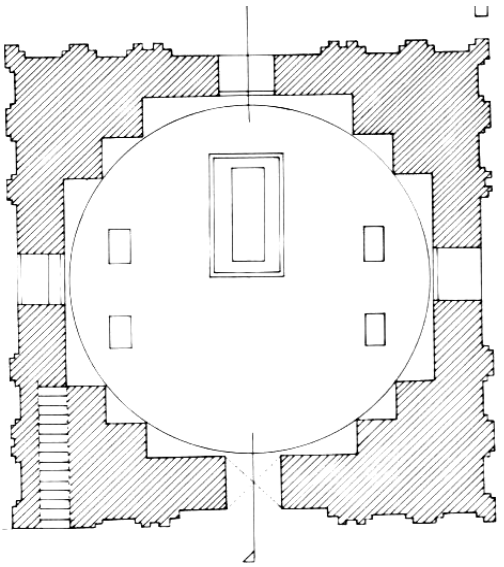

Fig.2. Peshāwar: Asa-i-Sakhi Shah-i Mardān Tomb, Ground Plan

-7-

The Palaces of the former Princely State of Bahawalpur: Inspiring Signs of Abbasid Architecture in Decay

Shahid Hassan Rizvi

Abstract

The Arab invasions in Sindh later gave way to a more established territorial rule over the areas of Sindh. In the 14th century AD, Sultan Ahmad Abbasid came from Egypt to the Indian areas now called the Sindh coast. His arrival was followed by a number of Abbasid Ameers who eventually established there subsequent rule after defeating local Hindu rulers. Later the Abbasids of Sindh split themselves into Kalhoras and Daudpotras on account of internal family conflicts and rivalries. The Latter had to cede to Kalhoras and then shifted to Bahawalpur region. Daudpotras Abbasids established their rule that lasted for more than two hundred years (from 1727 to 1955). Under their rule the state of Bahawalpur developed an impressive architectural legacy, from the first simple residential palace chau dari, to the foundations of the town of Allahabad. As the state grew, so too did its architecture, with the buildings of forts, palaces, and mosques. Later, when the city of Bahawalpur emerged as the Abbasids' new royal capital, it became the heart of Abbasid Architecture in India.This paper discusses the importance and architecture of the mentioned cultural heritage.

In fact Ameers of Bahawalpur did not confine themselves to building within their own territory- they even commissioned the constructions of a number of ribats (inns) in Saudi Arabia for Hajj pilgrims en route to Makkah. Most of their buildings were designed to meet defensive, residential, religious, or public needs. The Abbasid Ameers also rebuilt and renovated a number of ancient monuments belonging both to the pre-Muslim and mediaeval Muslim periods, the latter including the shrines of the Bukhari saints and their mosques at Uch.

In planning and design, local environment was a primary consideration. The long, hot summers meant that palaces had to be designed to allow the free circulation of air and incoming natural light. Buildings tended to face south, towards the direction of the wind. Windows, balconies, and air-ducts for ventilation were all provisioned for. Residential buildings, in particular, were provided with basements that remained cool in the summers. Thick high walls, trabeated roofs, and encircling verandas were a standard feature of state buildings. Architects were careful to keep the plinth of the palaces they designed, very high, especially in Bahawalpur where the Sutlej flowed a mere 4 km from the city.

The Abbasid Ameers developed a style of architecture that cleverly blended both local and foreign traditions- Delhi Sultanate, Mughal, Sikh, and even European. Royal Palaces of Abbasid Ameers of Bahawalpur are the architectural master pieces due to the blend of a number of architectural styles. The Nur Mahal (the palace of Light) and Gulzar Mahal in Bahawalpur, and the Sadiqgarh Palace at Dera Nawab Sahib, for example, reveal superficial details borrowed from European architecture. The nave, aisles, elliptical domes and barrel shaped roof of the Nur Mahal, as well as its stately Corinthian columns, circular and trefoil arches, pediments, and iridescent strained-glass windows also echo a growing Anglo-Indian style of architecture that had already become popular in state buildings of the British Raj in Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and Lahore.

Structures were generally built of mud bricks set in mud mortar, and veneered with burnt brick for durability and aesthetics – a Central Asian tradition popular in India that dated back to ancient times. Lush green landscaping added further to the buildings' pleasant surroundings, although, perhaps because of the scarcity of water, very few fountains were built in their premises. The palaces were protected by high and imposing gateways, thick fortification walls, and, in some cases, catacombs connecting one palace with another.

State monuments of the time were generally built using local materials, although imported stone was also used in some cases. Earlier buildings reveal the use of mud mortar. Lime mortar became more popular later, but was replaced by a mixture made popular under

Mughals. Mortar made of kankar (crushed brick), lime, pulses, and jute, commonly called Qasuri chuna or pakka kuli.

The Abbasids were inclined towards wooden doors and windows with decorated panes, using sagwan (teakwood), Shisham (dalberja sisoo), and diyar (deodar or cedar) for such fixtures. Almost every ameer of Bahawalpur took a personal interest in the construction of new palaces, but most of the state's well known palaces were completed in the reign of Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV, who, for his significant contribution to Bahawalpur architecture, was known as 'Shah Jahan' of the state of Bahawalpur. These state-palaces have gone through a detailed and delineated renovation process and manifest their architectural exclusivity with extraordinary features.

Under the Nawabs, Bahawalpur City, as the state-capital was the heart of a great Islamic State and a prolific centre of Islamic culture and learning. According to historians, the Nawabs provided the setting for a brilliant court and a rigorous cultural life which was equal to that of Baghdad on the patterns of their Abbasid ancestors (Abbasi 1986: 6). The Nawabs lived and reigned in the former princely state of Bahawalpur from 1727 to 1955 A.D (Gaztteer Bahawalpur State1904: 61). Their reign was the greatest, richest and longest-lasting in terms of stately rule over the region. This dynasty produced the finest and most elegant arts and architecture in the history of Indian state dynasties (Mughal 1997: 17). The Nawabs were well-aware of the declamatory power of architecture and used it as means of self-representation and an instrument of royalty (Al-Aziz 1962: 43). One manifestation of this fine and elegant arts and architecture that Nawabs added was the construction of Royal palaces in different parts of the Bahawalpur state.[1] Nawabs built these palaces for a number of reasons i.e. as stately

[1] Palace**,** royal residence, and sometimes a seat of government or religious centre; the word is derived from the Palatine Hill in Rome, where the Roman emperors built their residences. As a building a palace should be differentiated from a castle, which was originally any fortified dwelling. After the Middle Ages the ornate homes of the nobility of all ranks in England, France, and Spain came to be known as palaces (as did the residence of the exiled popes in Avignon), and eventually the name was applied to a number of large and imposing buildings, both public and private. A large and lavishly ornate residence; A large, ornate public building used for entertainment or exhibitions. The word is also sometimes used to describe a lavish public building which does not house a public figure; this use is intended to convey that the building

mansion, a large ornate exhibition hall to hold durbar, coronation meetings and daily courts or as an official residence.[2]

It is interesting to note that Nawabs of Bahawalpur deviated tremendously from what is called imperial style of architecture or the Delhi style on the pattern of the other provincial as well as the state rulers (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 57). These rulers, who were mostly Muslims, patronized the provincial style. Though this style was influenced rigorously by the imperial one yet it had its own individuality. This style, however, like the Mughal Architecture was neither strictly Islamic nor strictly Hindu (Auj 1995: 215). Due to in vicinity of *Rajhistani* States (Todd 1957: 172) of *Bikaner* and *Jaisalmir*, the Hindus architecture posed great influence over the Bahawalpuri-state style. Nawabs on the pattern of Mughals added spaciousness, massiveness and breadth to the local Hindus state architecture (Shihab 1964: 257). However, it is also a fact that the state-rulers could not provide the grandeur to the imperial or the Mughal buildings to their own buildings on account of a number reasons including the limited economic resources at their disposal and due to the local circumstances, which greatly influenced the provincial or state style therefore making them different not only from the imperial style but also from each other (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 58).

However, the Abbasid, Nawabs of Bahawalpur added uniqueness and grandeur to the state-palaces regardless of the scarcity of resources. Under their rule, the state developed an impressive legacy, from the first simple residential palace, Chau Dari, to the foundations of the town of Allahabad (Auj 1991: 68). As the state grew so too did

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is a "people's palace", where a sort of civic consciousness resides. In English a palace is the home of a head of state or other high-ranking public figure. In some countries, such as Italy, the term is also applied to some private mansions.

[2] Rulers and Nawabs built palaces for a number of reasons. For example a palace was built as a stately mansion, a large ornate exhibition hall to hold durbar, coronation meetings and daily courts, or as an official residence of an exalted person (as a sovereign). A palace is a grand residence, especially a royal residence or the home of a head of state or some other high-ranking dignitary, such as a bishop or archbishop. The word itself is derived from the Latin name Palatium, for Palatine Hill, one of the seven hills in Rome. Official residence of a head of state or other dignitary, especially in a monarchical or imperial governmental system.

its architecture, with the building of forts, palaces and mosques. As the history reveals, the Ameers shifted their state-capital from Allahabad to Derawar and developed it accordingly (Auj 1995: 223). Later, as the city of Bahawalpur emerged as the Abbasid's new royal capital it became the heart of the Abbasid architecture in India. Most of their buildings were designed to meet defensive, residential, religious, or public needs (Mughal 1997: 119). The Abbasids Nawabs also rebuilt and renovated a number of ancient monuments belonging to both the pre-Muslim and mediaeval Muslim periods, the latter including the shrines of Bokhari saints and their mosques at Uch (Shihab 1964: 266).

As mentioned earlier, in planning and design, local environment was the primary consideration. The long hot summers meant that the palaces had to be designed to allow the free circulation of air and incoming natural light. Buildings tended to face south, towards the direction of the wind. Windows, balconies and air-ducts for ventilation were all generously provisional for residential building in particular, and were provided with basements that remained cool in the summers. Thick, high walls trabeated[3] roofs and encircling verandas were a standard feature of state buildings. Architects were careful to keep the plinth[4]of the palaces they designed, very high, especially in Bahawalpur where the Sutlej flowed a mere 4-kilometers from the city (Rehmani & Dar 2007: 11).

Nonetheless, Nawabs developed a style of architecture, the state architecture, which was close to the provincial Architecture that cleverly blended both local and foreign traditions-Delhi sultanate, Mughal, Sikh and were European (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 59). The Nur Mahal and Gulzar Mahal in Bahawalpur, and the Sadiqgarh palace at details borrowed from European architecture (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 60). The nave[5], aisles, elliptical domes and barrel-shaped roof of the Nur Mahal, as well as its stately Corinthian columns, circular and trefoil[6] arches, pediments[7], and iridescent stained-glass windows also echo a

[3] Roof resting over horizontal beams or bettens.

[4] Projecting stepped or moulded base, the platform on which a building stands.

[5] Central point or portion of mosque, which contains *mehrab* and *mimba*r [pulpit: series of steps attached to *mehrab* from which sermons are given] and invariably roofed by a dome.

[6] Arch with three cusps or leaves.

[7] Triangular decorative motif.

growing Anglo-Indian style of architecture that had already become popular in state building of the British Raj at different cultural centres form Calcutta to Lahore (Rehmani & Dar 2007: 32).

Structures were generally built of mud-bricks set in mud mortar and veneered with burnt brick for durability and aesthetics central Asian tradition popular in India that dated back to ancient times (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 61). Lush green landscaping added further to the building's pleasant surroundings. The palaces were protected by high and imposing gateways, thick fortification walls, and in some cases, catacombs connecting one palace to another (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 62).

The Abbasids were inclined towards wooden doors and windows with decorated panes, using teakwood, *shisham*[8], and cedar for such fixtures. Wooden doors, windows, ventilation ducts and staircase banisters were often beautifully carved, some buildings even using decorative grills of cast iron.[9] The use of stucco and lacquer-work was very common. Imported frosted glass was very often fixed in the trefoil arches of doors, windows and other panels of wooden entrances and ventilations-ducts. Floral and geometrical designs, roundels, oriel[10]windows and pediments were used to embellish building exteriors. The southern wall of Nur Mahal's central chamber has a river scene painted on its surface- the only example of its kind in Abbasid state buildings (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 64).

The floors of most Abbasid state buildings tended to be plain occasionally set with imported tiles and even stone in geometrical and floral design.[11] Red sandstone[12] has been extensively used in the Durbar Mahal, for instance, probably from places as far away as *Jodhpur* and *Agra* in India or *Jung Shahi* in Sindh.[13] Most of such

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[8] Its Botanical name is *Dilberja Sisoo*, a tree whose wood is used in making building material and furniture.

[9] A kind of very hard iron.

[10] window projecting from the face of a wall and supported by brackets or corbelling [block of stone often elaborately carved or moulded, projecting from a wall , supporting the beams of a roof, floor, or vault].

[11] Floral designs were once typical to Islamic Art.

[12] Red Sand Stone has extensively been used in Mughal Architecture like in Lal Qila [The Red Fort] Delhi, Shahi Qila [Red Fort] Lahore, etc.

[13] It shows the depth of Nawabs' interest albeit the scarcity of building resources.

buildings were commonly embellished with baroque and composite columns, fluted pillars, plain and fluted piers, vestibules, turrets, domes, finials[14], Parapets, and circular and typical Mughal and Sikh arches. Roofs were generally flat and trabeated, supported by iron bars and girders, but there are instances of domed, curved, vaulted[15], and barrel-shaped roofs. The roofs of the Nur Mahal and Gulzar Mahal were partly built in brick, the roofing in brick (RB) technique[16] introduced to India by the British. Many different brick types appear to have been in use; square, rectangular, hexagonal, pentagonal, Lahori, Multani and specially made bricks manufactured from material that evolved from existing types (Rehmani & Dar 2007: 23).

It is pertinent to note that almost every Ameer or Nawab of Bahawalpur State took a personal interest (Auj 1995: 232) in the construction of new palaces, but most of state's well-known palaces were completed in the reign of Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV, (Auj 1994: 23) who, for his significant contribution to Bahawalpur architecture, became known as "Shah Jahan" (Mehmud n.d: 600) or "the Engineer-Ruler" of the Bahawalpur State.[17] Here is a brief history of the Bahawalpur State palaces, built by the glorious Nawabs during their respective reign throughout the state-period.

The very first of the Abbasid palaces which was reputed to the built by Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan-I (1723-1746) (Auj 1994: 24) was his residential mansion, which was known to be called "Chau Dari" an account of its four-gateway structure. It has been eroded to ground a very long ago and even no relics or traces of this building are reported to be found (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 66).

Shish Mahal (or the glass-ornate palace) is the second one of the extinct series of state-palaces of Bahawalpur (Auj 1994: 24). This mysterious palace was built by Ameer *Muhammad Bahawal Khan-I* (1746-1749) (Aziz 1988: 118), on the ruins of a *haveli* (Sabzwari 2003: 41) of local chieftain *Muhammad Panah Ghumrani* (Auj 1994: 24).

[14] Crowning element of dome or cupola.
[15] Arched masonry, usually forming a ceiling or roof.
[16] A brick inlaying technique.
[17] However there is no comparison of the technique and resources the Mughals manipulated with the Nawabs with limited state resources and with other constraints.

Among the early royal buildings, the Shish Mahal and *Daulat Khana* Palaces were the more notable because of their grandeur (Rehmani & Dar2007: 34). The Shish Mahal was reportedly located near the present *Jame Mosque Al-Sadiq*, (Rehmani & Dar 2007:125-126) where the Ameer would hold court and attend to state-guests. In 1787, forty years after its construction, *Sardar Ahmad Khan Nurzai*, (Auj 1994: 25) a warring Afghan General attacked Bahawalpur and plundered the city. Bahawal Khan II, (Auj 1995: 51) the then ruler of the state avoiding an open warfare with Afghans managed to flee away to Derawar, (Rehmani & Dar 2007:16-37) leaving many of his predecessor's buildings including the Shish Mahal and Daulat Khana, to be devastated by Afghan troops (Auj 1994: 26).

Next comes Ameer Bahawal Khan-IV's (Auj 1994: 27) Rangeel Mahal's historically known as "*Mahal-i-Qadeem*" (Tahir 1982: 183) (the oldest Palace). It was built at sometime between 1825 and 1852 near Ahmed Pur East (Auj 1994: 26). The Palace is one of the early state-palace with basement, newer addition to the local state-palace architecture. According to one myth it was called the Rangeel or Rangla (Colourful) Palace because of its facade decorated with sprinkled paint (Tahir 1982: 187). Although now virtually in ruins and its basement filled with debris, the palace appears to have been a double-storey building oriented north-south. It was connected to the *Zenan Khana*[18] to its south through an underground tunnel. The palace walls were made of Lahori brick[19] set with mud mortar and painted with colourful floral patterns. The roof of a room on the first floor, which is still partly in place, appears to be trabeated and its ceiling decorated with lacquer-work and *tasnimkari*.[20]

The *Daulat Khana*[21], one of the oldest palaces, rebuilt by Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV (1866-1899) (Auj 1994: 26) in 1881, is located on Durbar Road, connecting the Bahawalgarh[22] series of palaces on one side and the Abbasia campus[23] of the Islamia

[18] Part of a palace reserved for domestic purposes.
[19] A special brick originated from Lahori type of architecture.
[20] *Tasnimkari* or *tasminbandi* is a band of decorative paneling.
[21] A building used for Secretariat and other similar purposes.
[22] A compound after the name of Nawab Bahawal khan V the originator of this series of palaces.
[23] The oldest campus of the Islamia University of Bahawalpur initiated in 1925.

University[24] on the other. The palace is enclosed by a high, thick fortification wall and the main entrance is through a large, wooden arched gateway that opens to the north. Rectangular is plan, the palace has a circular lobby in the British style at the front and a double row of rooms at the back. The rooms have extraordinary high ceilings, and flat, trabeated roofs. Like the ceiling of many other state monuments, these too are decorated with lacquer-work in floral and geometrical patterns. Some traces of decoration, such as pediments and crowned oriel windows with a relief finish, remain on the outer surface of the walls (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 64).

One of the largest and the most beautiful palaces is the famous Nur Mahal[25] (the palace of light). It stands amidst rolling emerald green lawns. It was reportedly designed by Muhammad Hussain (Rizvi 2003: 9), an architect from the chief Engineer's office in Lahore, and its construction supervised by a state engineer named Heenan (Rizvi 2003: 16). Its foundation stone was laid by Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan IV (Auj 1994: 27) in 1872; a jar full of state-coins and an inscription bearing the date of foundation-laying were buried in the foundation (Auj 1988: 166). The palace was completed in 1875 at a total cost of 1.2 million rupees (Aziz 1988: 172). The palace was a residential mansion in its structure but later on it was solely reserved for court function due to a number of reasons (Rizvi 2003: 11). As one goes as the proximity of the graveyard of Maluk Shah (Meerani 1996: 52) created apprehensions in the heart of sensitive Nawab Sadiq Muhammad Khan-IV (Aziz 1988: 169). However, no documentary proof of this shift out is available in state annals (Tahir 1982: 178). Another round reason was very simple that no other palace was available to hold court functions meeting all the needs (Rizvi 2003: 13). Nur Mahal hosted a number of state functions including the installation ceremony of Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan-IV, (Tahir 1982: 180) which was honoured by the Lieutenant Governor Sir Robert Edgerton,

[24] At first this university was started as an Islamic *madrassa* [school] and it was gradually developed as a small university in 1925 and was given a fully fledged university status in 1975. Nowadays it one of the increasingly flourishing public sector universities.

[25] It was named so due to its indigenous lighting at massive scale. Even today modern electrification illuminates it extraordinarily at night.

(Aziz 1988: 171) the Governor of the Punjab and coronation of Ameer Muhammad Bahawal Khan-V (Rizvi 2003: 14) in 1904, visited by the then Indian viceroy and Governor General, Lord Curzon (Tahir 1982: 181). After partition, the palace continued to host visiting dignitaries and was used as a state guest-house by the second premier, Khawaja Nazim-uddin (Aziz 1988: 173).

Rectangular in plan, the Nur Mahal consists of square, double-storey rooms at each of its four corners, crowned with square domes. The central dome is octagonal. Arching towards the centre, Viewed from the front, it stands out as impressively with white pillars and domes that provide a contrast against the brick construction. The porch has a unique triangular face and bears the official state emblem. The main hall is rectangular in plan and oriented in a North-South direction. It has a gallery or *Ghulam Gardish*[26] on three sides separated by pairs of columns erected below the arched openings. The main entrance to the hall is through the front porch, where a flying staircase leads inside the building. The floor of the main hall has a delicate finish of colourful, imported mosaic glazed tiles arranged in geometric patterns. The floor currently shows signs of damage at places. The hall has a barrel shaped ceiling that is delineated by three types of intricate floral motifs, each occupying a square space in diagonal rows. A painting at one end of the ceiling depicts a river scene in bright chemical colour. Receding panels in the hanging of gallery's wall display portraits of past Ameers and grand piano and large mirrors give palpably period feel to the palace (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 71).

The palace veranda is built in a series of arcades and has a trabeated roof. The roofs of each set of three bedrooms, corridors, and side halls are laid in reinforced brickwork. The roof of the corridors is also curved, and provided with ventilation ducts. In fact the palace is well provided for as far as ventilation is concerned which helps keep even the high summer temperatures tolerable.[27] The ventilation system comprises two tunnels below the main corridors in eastern and western

[26] Gallery around a hall, traditionally used by soldiers standing guard.

[27] Bahawalpur region experiences very hot and long summers due to the vicinity of the Cholistan Desert that's why the local environment becomes primary consideration regarding any kind of cultural activities including construction etc.

wings. Land in a north south direction, these tunnels draw in cooler air from ground-level and push it up through ducts on to the floors of these rooms above. The ducts are covered by cast-iron frames, through which the warm air is then automatically pushed out through the roof (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 72).

One of the notable Abbasid built residential mansions is the "Bahawalgarh Palace Compound"[28] situated North-East of the walled city[29] of Bahawalpur. It encloses the Durbar Mahal[30], Farrukh Mahal[31], and number of other contiguous buildings. It was initiated by Ameer Muhammad Bahawal Khan-V (Auj 1994: 28) in 1904, and completed in a time span of seven consecutive years. Also known as, Mubarak Mahal[32], Durbar Mahal was so named because it was used as the Ameer's Official Court or Durbar. The Nishat and Farrukh Mahals were built as Royal residences for wives of Nawab of building house in this quadrangle; the Durbar Mahal is the largest and most significant. The whole compound is enclosed by a fortification wall, and entered through a main gate to the south through a circular arch crowned by a beautiful carved wooden plank. The palace site was selected because it was cool, spacious and had pleasant surroundings, although the plan clearly disregards the direction of the wind.[33] All the palaces within the *Bahawalgarh* compound were connected by metalled and burnt-brick roads, and their surroundings areas carefully landscaped.

Square in plan and symmetrical in design, the palace stands on a four-foot high platform. It is a double-storey building constructed of burnt brick set with mud mortar. The point-lead structure of the palace is enclosed by an arcade decorated with multi-foil arched openings and blind multi-foil arches, and supported by octagonal spaces. The palace has four main entrances built on massive platforms with double return

[28] It comprises a number of residential and other palaces including Durbar Mahal, Gulzar, Mahal, Nishat Mahal and Farrukh Mahal.

[29] Like other ancient cities, Bahawalpur City was walled with more than seven big gates.

[30] As the name depicts it was specified for holding court.

[31] It was a residential villa.

[32] It was given name after the real name of the Nawab Bahawal Khan V.

[33] Due to the proximity of desert the sand-storms were a permanent feature in summers.

stairs that lead through to the central octagonal transit hall that measures 35*35 feet. Two spiral staircases lead to the first floor, and there are two U-turn staircases, just near the entrance on either side. Each corner of the palace is enclosed by the vestibules containing rooms for official use. The ground floor plan is identical to the first floor plan. The roof of the central hall is at the second level (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 75).

The façade at plinth-level starts with a moulded base putty, rectangular stone panels dressed vertically and an impost indigenously called *dasa*[34] at the top, all in red sandstone-distinctly Mughal influence. The flatted domes on top of each corner have horizontal and bearing an inverted lotus with pinnacles. The entire roof of the palace is trabeated, apart from the dome of the bastion[35] at its top, which is vaulted. The Durbar Mahal still bears some decorative traces e.g. engaged columns, pillars, pseudo-arched frames, and floral and geometrical designs created through carving, moulded brick, or stucco in relief. These decorative are typical of Durbar Mahal (Rizvi & Dar 2007:78).

Farrukh Mahal, another palace at the compound was built as residential palace for a wife of Nawab Bahawal Khan-V (Auj 1994: 27). This palace lies between the Durbar and Nishat Mahal. Square in plan, the palace stands on a raised platform with a raised terrace to its east and west. It is smaller in scale and height and different from other palace in the compound in design and plan-simpler, but bearing a distinct European influence. At each corned is a square, double-storey projected room. The façade on each side has veranda, with a set of three circular arches and two blinded arches, contiguous to each room at its corner. There are three rows of such rooms, set in a north-south direction and connected by another set of two rooms facing east-west. Every room leads into another through a wooden door fixed in an arched opening. The central partitioning wall of the two rooms in the middle row was removed to convert it into a large hall. Each room

[34] The term *Daso* or *dasa* has a versatile use. It can be an impost; wall, abutment, or stones at the tops of a pillar supporting a lintel.

[35] One of a series of projections from the main wall of a fort (or palace), constructed at intervals to enable the garrison to defend fort (or palace) against besiegers.

retains a fireplace, richly ornamented with stucco tracery (Rizvi 2003: 14).

The whole palace is built of country brick and its walls plastered. The doors-some of them display floral designs of possible European origin. The doors and windows all have trefoil arches and brightly painted panes, both also European in style. The white marble pillars of the verandas are carved in relief. The outer surface of the corner room on the first floor is similar to the room on the ground floor, but has a parapet wall at the top. Its ceiling is painted with lacquered floral designs (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 90).

The Nishat Mahal, the last one in the series of palaces at Bahawalgarh Palace compound, was named after a wife of the Ameer Bahawal Khan-V (Rizvi 2003: 14). It is a double-storey building constructed on a high platform that extends outwards on all four sides. The palace has five octagonal rooms and a peculiar geometry of plan. At ground level, west of the building's platform, is a decorative fountain of wrought cast iron. The fountain stands in a small, recently built water tank that has a raised border decorated with blue tiles.[36]

The palace building is square in plan, and constructed of country brick of three different sizes. It has an octagonal room at each corner and a fifth chamber in the centre. The four corner rooms have wooden doors to the right face, and are connected by a veranda built with a small room contiguous to each wing. These rooms are connected by wooden doors with the octagonal central chamber on one side and a vestibule on the other. Each of the central vestibules, leading to the central chambers has a wide entrance that narrows further in. The doors of the side rooms as well as the central chamber, all open into the vestibule. The first floor follows a plan similar to the ground floor, except for the veranda that row along the perimeter of the latter. The palace is not extensively decorated as compared to the other palaces in the series (Rizvi & Dar 2007: 92).

Named after one of the Ameer *Bahawal Khan-V*'s wives, Gulzar Begum, (Tahir 1982: 182) the Gulzar Mahal lies within a spacious quadrangle enclosed by a high fortification wall and is considered one of the most important state monuments of Bahawalpur.

[36] In *Bahawalpuri* Style of Architecture blue tiles assume a special place.

Although Ameer Bahawal Khan-V conceived the plan for this palace, he did not live to see it completed. On his orders, construction began in 1906 and finished in 1909, two years after his death (Auj 1995: 28).

After Nur Mahal, it is the second state building that mirrors a more elaborate foreign influence as well as the renaissance of local architecture (Rehmani & Dar 2007: 34). It lies contiguous to the Bahawalgarh enclosure on its north eastern corner, while the *Daulat Khana* is some distance away to the north-west. The palace is a square, single-storey building, similar in plan to the Nur Mahal. Its distant main entrance gate is aligned with the central axis connecting it to the central line of the palace's main hall. The entrance gate itself is an imposing structure, built in the style that was then popular. At the front of on the southern side of the palace, is a porch that is linked to the main building by a shed. A rectangular lobby, the height of a double storey building, leads into the palace. On its northern side, it has three wooden doors, the middle door leading to the central chamber. Rectangular in plan, the central hall is oriented north-south. There is supposed to have been a rectangular water tank in the centre of the hall that was sealed after an unfortunate courtier drowned init. The chamber is surrounded by a *ghulam gardish* or gallery divided by double Corinthian columns at regular intervals. The columns support a lintel[37] that extends along all side of the chamber.

The whole palace is divided into four sides, each comprising double rooms with wooden doors that open into the corridors, and connecting circular dressing rooms, each with an adjoining square wash room. Each room also has a fireplace. The palace has a lintel roof, although its front shed and porch have trabeated roofs. At each corner of the building is a circular bastion with a dome and a pinnacle. The main roof is bordered by a parapet, as is the rising roof of the central hall. The floors of the main hall and other rooms originally base a vivid Italian mosaic finish[38], but in the former, this has been replaced by square white marble stabs in the latter, by cement. The floors of the front shed and western vestibule, however, retain some patches of the

[37] Horizontal architectural element of wood or stone spanning an opening, e.g. a door or window, and supporting the wall above.

[38] It shows that the Royal palaces at Bahawalpur had a *pot pourri* of European Architecture.

original finish. Interestingly, the Gulzar Mahal was the first building in Bahawalpur to be equipped with concealed electric wiring and the system operated using a diesel generator. It is also the only site in the area with a supply of sweet drinking water, unlike the saline water found elsewhere.[39]

Last but not the least, Sadiqgarh palace is located in Dera Nawab Sahib, 39-Kilometers south-west of Bahawalpur (Tahir 1982: 182). Built by Ameer Sadiq Muhammad Khan-IV (Auj 1994: 29) as his residential Palace, it is perhaps one of the most classically beautiful of the Abbasid state palaces. Its construction started in 1882 and was completed in 1895, under the supervision of a committee appointed in consultation with the then British Political Agent.[40] Square in plan and symmetrical in design, the palace has five domes, two on the corner bastions, another two at the back that bear an inverted lotus and pinnacles and a fifth larger, cloistered dome built exactly cover the centre of the palaces Durbar hall. Inside the main hall, a wooden staircase leads to the first floor, and a mechanically operated elevator serves the eastern wing of the hall (Rehmani & Dar 2007: 122).

The imposing main hall has three huge mirrors that were imported from Britain. They have been placed in such a way behind the throne that it commands a vantage point, allowing the person seated there extended depth of vision. A massive chandelier once huge from the ceiling but is no longer there (Rehmani & Dar 2007: 123). The four storey palace is divided into a number of private and public apartments. The main hall is enclosed by eight rooms with connecting washrooms, chimney fireplaces, large-projecting wooden cupboards, and false ceilings made of wood. At its western corner is a spacious dining room fitted with wooden paneling and an exquisitely woven red carpet. The palace is furnished with paintings portraits of past Ameers, antiques, geometric and floral pattern glazed tiles, musical instruments, tapestries, and wall mounted direct and indirect lights wall-to-wall red carpets, pieces of crystal, horizontally louvered panels, and etc (Rehmani & Dar 2007: 124).

[39] Underground water in most parts of the region is saline and bitter in taste.

[40] British Political Agent also called the Native Agent was commissioned form the Central British Government in order to keep a check on the state affairs.

Three sides of the palace have arched openings on its eastern and western sides are painted chequered steel staircases as well as two isolated bifurcated and double L-shaped staircases that lead form the ground floor to the first floor. The building's façade is an odd college of Muslim, Sikh and Anglo-vernacular architectural ornamentations: projected orifices with wooden shades, bands of blue tile, red sandstone brackets, honey suckle bands, dentil bands, decorated columns inverted lotuses with delicate pinnacles, spandrels[41], base putty, square and rectangular panels, and balustrade parapets.

The palace is enclosed by high fortifications supported by buttresses[42] built at intervals. There are two main entrances, one on the southern side of the palace and the other on the western side. The façade of the southern entrance is decorated with delicate fresco[43] work and mural panels. Its huge wooden gates were probably used only by the members of the Royal Family; the western gate sufficed for ordinary subject.

There are a number of other buildings within the palace's own compound, including a single-chamber mosque to the west of the palace. To the east of the palace is a heptagonal guesthouse-a unique feature throughout the state buildings, known as *Chitti Kothi* (white pavilion).[44] A double storey building near by once served as the state-secretariat a communication centre, and political agent's office. Regrettably, the Sadiqgarh Palace has lost most of its former glory its verdant gardens withered away, and the palace itself is increasingly a victim of neglect.

Conclusion

Although Nawabs and ameers of the former princely state Bahawalpur played a distinct role in promoting architectural activities in the Bahawalpur State, this role remained undocumented as a result of the ignorance by researchers of its nature and their presumption of its similarity to that of architecture in contemporary times. It is

[41] Ornamental triangular space enclosed by the curve of an arch.
[42] Masonry built against a wall to resist the thrust of an arch or vault.
[43] Originally used to refer to painting on a wall executed while the plaster was still wet, but now applied to any form of wall painting not in oil colours.
[44] It was a unique construction with white colour.

unfortunate that no specimens of architectural drawings made by the local architects have reached us. However, their achievements speak eloquently of their use of architectural drawings, a use that is obvious in the following three axes. The first of these are the architectural vestiges that have survived and that stand witness to the meticulousness of the local architect in his work. This precision is manifest in the highly exact proportions of the components of buildings, and the attention paid by the architect to the nature of the edifice being erected and its surrounding environment. It is also clear in the architectural inventiveness of local architects and the degree of their talent, including innovations in palace architecture.

Other existing architectural marvels testify to the intimate knowledge by local architects of descriptive architecture, considered one of the most complex sciences of modern times. During the State Period, architects developed stone as a building material. Stones were used for the first time in building minarets and domes. Prior to that, bricks were the building material of choice for minarets. The use of stones in the building of the minarets led to a revolution in building styles as it allowed for benefiting from the stone's building advantages and was reflected in the minaret's elevation, shape and size. This development reached its apogee with the passage of time.

The second source is the architectural books that survived or did not survive but were mentioned in historical records. Some of these works may not have a direct relevance to the subject of architectural drawings, but their systematic topics were related to architecture as an art and a science. Among these works *Aziz-ur-Rehamn Aziz*'s "*Subah Sadiq*" [*The Dawn of Sadiq*] and *Siddique Tahir*'s "Wadi-e-Hakra aur Iss kay Asaar" [*Hakra Valley and Its Remains*] are of prime consideration which throw light on early architecture of the state. There are also records of correspondence which addressed one or the other architectural aspects. These include the letter of invitation to architects of the subcontinent in order to invite them for the drawing sketches for the construction of Nur Mahal.

The third source lies in the historical events that confirm the use by Muslim architects of architectural drawings when they built their edifices. One of these events was the founding of *Baghdad al Jadeed* (or the modern town planning of the capital city Bahawalpur).

The interest that the Nawabs of Bahawalpur took in architecture resulted in the golden age of this science with many architectural innovations. It helped highlight the important role of the architects of their time as designers and builders at the same time. They considered the men of expertise consulted by Nawabs wishing to build an edifice or carry out some other projects. They presented them with the preliminary cost evaluation and other relevant matters, and then a drawing of the palace might be made for them. At that time, the techniques and style of building and most important of these was the theory of support walls and cornerstones, were among the factors that helped implementation in this order. Furthermore, the method made it possible to inaugurate buildings even before their completion, might be fear of the untimely death.

The role of architects in Islamic civilization was not limited to architectural drawings, but exceeded it to the fashioning of miniature models of buildings. However, in Bahawalpur State Architecture no such practice has been found about the construction of models or prototypes. With the help of the plans prepared for him and the costs of construction materials and manpower, the architect made an evaluation of the building's construction costs. After completion, this would be called the itemized list and helped the owners of the project (i.e. Nawabs) gain clarity on the costs. However, these minute architecture details were often missing by the Nawabs, contrary to the common practice in olden times for the architect or the project supervisor to provide the owner with the itemized list and final accounts of the project.

Palaces built by former Nawabs and ameers although intact yet are facing decay due to neglect like Sadiqgarh Palace, *Daulat Khana* etc. Only the palaces which are under the control of army are in good position to the satisfaction of archeologists. Army took a number of measures to restore and renovate these palaces and other buildings in the state. Good intentions sometimes can be dangerous, especially in the case of historic preservation. Take the case of Durbar Mahal Palace, considered one of the finest intact groupings of royal buildings and temples in the former Bahawalpur State. Earlier restorers installed a ceiling that was inappropriate to the style and materials used in the original construction. Other attempts at improving appearances failed

to halt the site's overall deterioration, and the palace complex faced severe reshaping that was repaired only partially. Today, however, the Durbar Mahal Palace's restoration prospects have improved considerably. The recent successes of the palace's restoration and conservation project are the results of a well-thought plan of Pak Army's 32 Div placed Major General *Shujaat Zameer Dar*. This project was initiated in collaboration with the History Department of the Islamia University Bahawalpur. Many new facts regarding the history, archeology and architecture of the region were brought to surface. It was an initial effort and the Archeology Department must pay heed to restore this glorious architecture of the neglected region.

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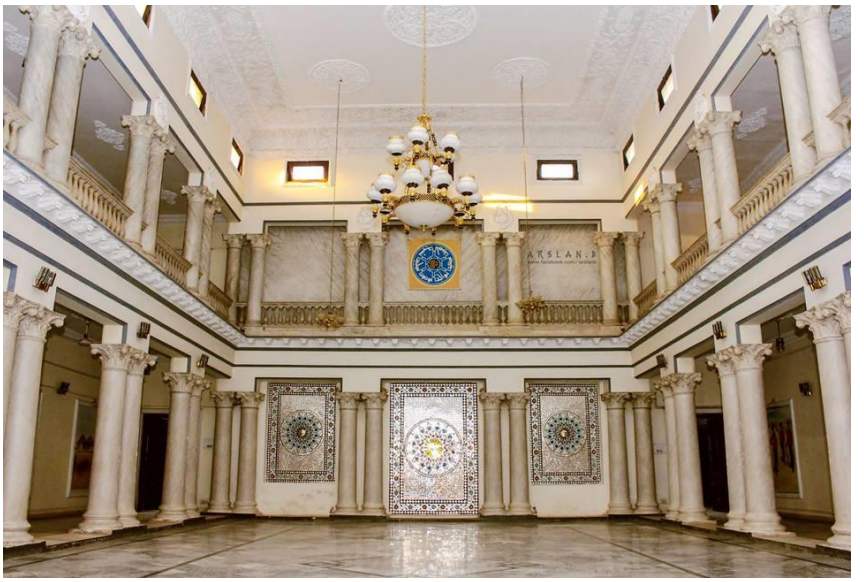
Gulzar Mahal

Darbar Mahal Baradari

Darbar Mahal

Masjid sadiq Garh Palace

Darbar Mahal



Gulzar Mahal

Darbar Mahal

Nishad Mahal

Farookh Mahal

-8-
State-Sufi Confrontation in Islamicate South Asia: A Causal Typology

Tanvir Anjum

Abstract

Historically, the sufis have had an alternative conception of power. As per the sufi worldview, political and temporal power was a means of soul's estrangement from God. For this reason, many sufis were wary of the rulers and those at the helm of state affairs, and sometimes came in conflict with the political authorities as well. In the Islamicate South Asia, as elsewhere, many sufis extended advice to the rulers for improving state policies and personal conduct of the individual rulers while some of them openly criticized the state policies and the behavior of the rulers, which sometimes led to conflict and eventually, dire consequences for the sufis themselves. Moreover, sometimes the political authorities initiated hostilities with the sufis as well. Some rulers developed conflict with the sufis for personal reasons, while others developed friction due to political and/or theological reasons. The present study tries to develop a causal typology of state-sufi conflict with the help of select empirical evidence from Islamicate South Asia.

Keywords: sufi, state, conflict, power, Islamicate South Asia

The state-sufi confrontation is based on the assumption of inherent conflict between the two spheres. The spiritual world-view of the sufis stood in sharp contrast to the mundane political ideology of the state. The sufis perceived political and temporal power as the source of corruption of the soul, while the political authorities perceived a threat in the public acclaim and popular appeal of the sufis. In fact, the sufis had an alternative conception of power (Alam 2004: 82). Though many monarchs and rulers sincerely believed in the spirituality of the sufis and sincerely sought their blessings, many of them sought the support of the sufi groups for legitimization of their political authority and rule,

and for winning public acclaim. Many of the sufis declined to extend their support to the political regimes or criticized the policies and behaviour of the ruling elite, which at times landed them in direct conflict with the state as well. Moreover, some of the rulers were also apprehensive of the growing popularity of some of the sufi Shaykhs. Fearing adverse consequences, these rulers also tried to contain the power of the sufi groups.

The literature on the state-sufi relationship reveals a complex relationship between the two that denies any simplistic explanation or sweeping generalization. The relationship of the sufis with the state has been quite varied, and thus any uniform attitude towards the political authorities is hardly evident as one comes across considerable empirical discrepancies in the sufi attitude towards the state and politics (Heck 2007: 1-2). So it is difficult to generalize the sufi attitude towards the state.

In the Islamicate South Asia, many of the sufis had a problematic relationship with the political authorities for a number of reasons. At times, the sufis were critical of the state policies, or at times the rulers opposed some of the sufi doctrines or practices. In both cases, sometimes it caused a mere friction between the relationship of the sufis and the state and sometimes resulted in an overt conflict between the two. Some of the sufis initiated a problematic relationship with the rulers when they criticized the state policies, and extended their advices to the rulers to rectify the situation. Sometimes the political authorities themselves came into conflict with the sufis for a number of reasons ranging from personal and political to theological reasons. The present paper is an attempt to develop a causal typology of state-sufi conflict. For this purpose, select empirical evidences have been cited, which are not exhaustive. The paper is divided into two sections: the first deals with the sufis who came into conflict with the state when they opposed the state policies or the conduct of the rulers; and the second section deals with the instances when the political authorities initiated hostilities with the sufis on a number of counts. The second section is further divided into three thematic sub-sections dealing with the varied causes of state-sufi conflict.

1. Sufis in Opposition to the State: Criticism of the State Policies and Advices to the Rulers

Many sufis of the Islamicate South Asia implicitly or explicitly criticized the state policies and the behavior of the rulers. Some of the kings were tolerant of the sufi criticism, whereas others were not. Some sufis even risked their lives by bluntly condemning the state policies or the views of the rulers. Here are some empirical evidences for it: When the Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad ibn Tughluq (r. 1325-51) adopted the title of '*ādil* (the just), and demanded from Shaykh Shihab al-Din to address him so, the latter mocked his false claim by saying that a tyrant cannot be called a just king. Thereupon, the Shaykh was executed by the Sultan, which earned him the title of *Haqq-go*, meaning the one who tells the truth (Dehlavi n.d.: 236; Mandavi 1395 A.H.: 46-47). The Shaykh had also refused to visit the court and see the Sultan as well as declined to accept the official position, though he had accepted it earlier, but probably under duress. Similarly, Shaykh Salah al-Din Darwish, who lived in Delhi, bluntly criticized Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq in a meeting with him (Dehlavi n.d.: 113).

When Sultan Firuz Tughluq (r. 1351-88) met Shaykh Qutb al-Din Munawwar (d. 1358/9), a *khalīfah* of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya (d.1325), at his *khānqāh* (sufi dwelling) in Hansi, the Shaykh boldly criticized his habits. Regarding, the Sultan's excessive drinking, he said that it created problems for the aggrieved in getting their grievances redressed. People were entrusted to his care, and it was not wise to be ignorant of the problems of the people. Referring to his excessive indulgence in hunting, the Shaykh said that it caused undue trouble to a large number of the Sultan's servants. He reminded him that hunting should not be merely for the purpose of seeking pleasure. That much hunting is lawful which suffices ones need ('Afif 1938: 62-64).

The renowned Naqshbandi sufi, Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi (b. 1564-d. 1624) was most outspoken in his critique of the state policies and the views of Emperor Akbar. In particular, he opposed the Emperor's religious eclecticism, which was also influencing the state policies of political and socio-religious nature, under the influence of his poet laureate, Abu'l Faiz Fayzi (b. 1547-d. 1595) and his younger brother Abu'l Fazl (b. 1551-1602), a distinguished scholar and an informal secretary of the Emperor. In order to counter it, the Shaykh

lobbied with the *umarā*' (nobles) of the Mughal court, including Shaykh Farid Murtaza Khan Bukhari, Miran Sadr-i Jahan (in-charge of religious and judicial affairs in the Sultanate), Abd al-Rahim Khan-i Khanan (d. 1627) and his son Darab Khan, for political and socio-religious change. He employed the strategy of extensive correspondence with them (Friedmann 1971: 79). Later, Sirhindi expressed satisfaction at the accession of his son Jahangir (r. 1606-d. 1627), but soon he was disappointed with the new Emperor. In 1619, Emperor Jahangir summoned him in his court and subsequently imprisoned him in the fort of Gwalior for a year. Later, he was released and given the choice of staying at the court or leaving it. During the last years of his life, the Shaykh tried to influence the policies of the state.

Acceptance of grants from the state did not always make the sufis subservient to the will of the monarchs. Many sufis' cordial relations with the kings could not prevent them from criticizing the rulers or defying their demands. Though Suhrawardi sufi, Saiyyid Nur al-Din Mubarak of Ghaznah (d. 1234/5), a *khalīfah* of Shaykh Shihab al-Din Abu Hafs Umar Suhrawardi (d. 1234), was the *Shaykh al-Islam* under Sultan Shams al-Din Iletmish (r. 1211-36), (Dehlavi n.d.: 38-40), he used to fearlessly point out all the illegal and blasphemous customs and practices prevalent in the court. He also advised Sultan Iletmish to appoint God-fearing state officials instead of the self-seekers and dishonest people having no regard for others' rights. He also urged the Sultan to dispense justice and eliminate all tyranny and tyrants (Barani 1862: 41-44).

The Suhrawardi-Firdawsi sufi of Bihar, Shaykh Sharaf al-Din Ahmad Yahya Maneri (b. 1263-d. 1381), who cherished cordial relations with the Sultans and the ruling elite, used to freely comment on the policies and conduct of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq's government in his letters. The criticism of the Sultan's views, policies and administration is reported to be admired by the Sultan himself (Siddiqui 1989: 273). Though the Suhrawardi sufi, Saiyyid Jalal al-Din Makhdum Jahaniyan (b. 1308-d. 1381) had most cordial relations with his contemporary Sultan of Delhi, Firuz Tughluq, and whenever the former used to visit the capital periodically he was given royal reception (Mirza 1962: 34-35), the Shaykh used to warn the *umarā*' and high state officials that it was unlawful for them to offer or accept

any kind of bribe. Once the Shaykh addressed the people including the nobles and Sultan Firuz Shah after Friday prayers and exhorted them not to take bribes. He stressed that during the early days of Islam, the Companions of the Holy Prophet (PBUH) used to warn the political authorities against bribery (Ibid: 38-39). Makhdum Jahaniyan criticized the rulers for their misdeeds and declared it unlawful to eat the food of nobles and kings since most of their revenues were derived from sources which are based on tyranny and oppression. He also advised the people that during the sermon or *khutbah* (sermon) of Friday prayers, when the names of tyrannical and cruel kings were mentioned, the people should get busy in *dhikr* (recollection or remembrance of God) or recitation of Holy Quran, etc. (*Al-Durr al-Manzūm*, *Malfūzāt* of Makhdum Jahaniyan as cited in Aslam 1995: 218). The Shaykh, in fact, wanted the people to divert their attention to other things when good qualities were being attributed to the kings in Friday sermons, which those kings never possessed.

The Chishti sufi, Shaykh Nizam al-Din Ambaithiwal (d. 1582) went a step further and never read the names of the kings in the Friday *khutbah* (Nizami 1980: 289). When Bahmani King Sultan Muhammad I (r. 1358-75) demanded an oath of allegiance from all the sufi Shaykhs in his kingdom, Chishti sufi Shaykh Zayn al-Din Shirazi (d. 1369), who had good relations with the earlier Sultans, defied the state demand (Eaton 2005: 47).

The sufis were not out and out for the rulers. Despite their political affiliations, on some occasions they refused to submit to the state demands. Consequently, the rulers also withdrew their support to them in retaliation. In 1415, the celebrated Chishti sufi, Khwajah Saiyyid Bandanawaz Gesudiraz (d. 1422), who enjoyed the support of Bahmani Sultan, Taj al-Din Firuz Shah (r. 1397-1422), however refused to support the nomination of his licentious and dissolute son, and instead supported the king's brother as successor to the throne, the Sultan ordered him to move his *khānqāh* to some other place in the city (Farishtah 1926: 110-18; Sherwani n.d.: 165-66; and Eaton 2005: 52). The Qadiri sufi, Shah Ismail of Ghodwadi Sharif (d. 1478) was on friendly terms with the Bahmani king, Sultan Ahmad Shah II (r. 1436-58), but his relations were strained with his successor Sultan Humayun Shah (r. 1458-61), who was a tyrant and debauch ruler, who earned the

epithet of *Zālim* (the tyrant). When Shah Ismail tried to reform the Sultan, he resented it and forced him to migrate to some other place (Bilgrami 2005: 333).

Shah Inayat Shaheed (d. 1718) of Jhok in Sindh, popularly known as 'Sufi Shaheed' (literally meaning the martyred sufi), came into conflict with the Mughal state when he challenged the authority of the landed aristocracy. He demanded land ownership for the landless peasantry, who supported his cause. When the news of the unrest reached the Mughal Emperor Farukhsiyar (r. 1713-19), he ordered Mian Yar Muhammad Kalhoro (r. 1701-19), the ruler of northern Sindh to crush the rebellion. Consequently, after a prolonged siege, Shah Inayat was arrested and later executed (Schimmel 1986: 150-74).

Some of the sufis openly criticized the attitude of the *umarā*' and the ruling elite. When an affluent Turkish noble named Aytum, for instance, spent a huge amount of money on his daughter's wedding ceremony, Shaykh Najib al-Din Mutawakkil (d. 1262; *khalīfah* as well as the younger brother of Baba Farid) admonished him for his extravagance and suggested him to spend more sum of money in charity than he spent on wedding as an act of compensation (Amir Khurd 1885: 78).

The sufis also used to fearlessly point out the politico-administrative abuses of the age as well as the attitude of the state officials. The Chishti sufi, Shaykh Nasir al-Din Mahmud 'Chiragh-i Dehli' (literally meaning the Lamp of Delhi; d. 1356) once declared: "If a person gets some official position, even of a lower level, he tends to misuse his power and authority, and creates troubles for the people" (Qalandar 1959: 104). On a number of occasions, he exhorted the people holding official positions to refrain from misusing and abusing power (Ibid. 12-13, 206, 242).

The sufis were in particular critical of the judicial apparatus of the state and the conduct of the government-appointed *qāzī*s (judges who dealt with civil disputes) and *muftī*s (the religious scholar having the authority to give verdicts in religious matters) as one comes across adverse opinions of the sufis about them in sufi hagiographies. Shaykh Farid al-Din Masud, popularly known as Baba Farid (d. 1265), considered the *qāzī*s and *muftī*s as a cause of trouble for the people. Once a class-fellow of Baba Farid came to see him in Ajodhan, and

requested him to pray for his appointment as a *qāzī* and *muftī*. Baba Farid replied that the real aim of acquiring knowledge of religion was to practice it, rather than creating troubles for people (Amir Khurd 1885, 85). Before entering the fold of discipleship of Baba Farid, Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya' had once asked Shaykh Najib al-Din Mutawakkil to pray for his appointment as *qāzī,* but the latter forbade it. The reply of Shaykh Najib al-Din Mutawakkil was: "Don't be a *qāzī*, be something else" (Sijzi 1992: 46; Amir Khurd 1885: 168; and Jamali 1893: 60). Shaykh Nasir al-Din Mahmud exhorted the *qāzī*s to act according to the principles of equity and justice, and treat the prince and the pauper alike (Qalandar 1959: 17). The views of the sufis betray that the trust of the people in the judicial apparatus of the state was somewhat deficient, as these state officials had become a source of injustice and coercion instead of redressing the complaints of the aggrieved people and punishing the offenders. Though the '*ulamā*' (religious scholars) were appointed as *qāzī*s, their appointments, transfers and dismissals were quite often politically motivated.

Similarly, one comes across adverse opinions of the sufis about the officials of the revenue department. Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya narrated stories about excessive taxes on cultivators and atrocities on the people while tax collection. Once a dervish lived in a village on the outskirts of Lahore and cultivated his own land. No one had demanded any tax from him till a new deputy tax collector was appointed there, who demanded from him all the overdue taxes for previous years (Sijzi 1992: 232-33). In his poetry, the renowned Qadiri-Shattari sufi poet, Saiyyid Abd-Allah, better known as Bulhe Shah (1680-1758), used the metaphors of the cruelties of *patwārī*s (the land ownership record holder at local level) and the greed and avarice of the tax-collectors who heavily taxed the people (*Sain Bulleh Shah* 1996: 88-89, 160-61). The sufis were aware of the economic hardships of the people. While praising Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Khalji's price control system, Shaykh Nasir al-Din Mahmud used to recall the prosperity of the 'Ala'i days during the Tughluq period when the prices of essential commodities had soared up (Qalandar 1959: 88, 185, 240). It is surprising to note that the name of Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq does not occur in the entire *malfūz*.

2. State in Conflict with the Sufis

The state-sufi relationship was a two-way relationship. Not only did the sufis criticize the rulers and the state policies, the state also initiated hostilities against the sufis. There were personal, political as well as ideological or theological reasons for the conflict.

2.1 Conflict of the Rulers with the Sufis for Personal Reasons

At times, the conflict between the state and the sufis erupted owing to the personal grudge and hostility of the rulers against them. Sultan Qutb al-Din Mubarak Khalji (r. 1316-20) was jealous of the devotion of the people for the Chishti leader, Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya, and got enraged when he saw them respecting the Shaykh (Jamali 1893: 75). Later, the Sultan and the Shaykh come into direct conflict when the former ordered the latter to personally come to the court. The Shaykh tactfully replied: "I'm a recluse, and do not go anywhere. Moreover, it was not a custom of my spiritual preceptors to visit courts and sit in the company of kings. You should excuse me for it" (Ibid. 74). Later, the Sultan issued a *farmān* (royal edict) declaring the head money of one thousand gold *tankah*s for the Shaykh,[1] and ordered him to appear in court. However, before it could culminate in any untoward situation, the Sultan was assassinated in 1320 (Barani 1862: 407-8; Amir Khurd 1885: 150-51; and Jamali 1893: 75-77).[2] Shaykh Badi al-Din Shah Madar (d. 1440),[3] the founder of Madari *Silsilah*, developed a problematic relationship with the local ruler in Kalpi, Sultan Qadir

[1] According to Baranī, the Sultan had made such announcements a number of times in drunkenness. Barani, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, p. 396. In fact, Barani has not related the head money announcement to the incident of banning the visits of the *umarā*' and presenting *futūh* to the Shaykh. Cf. Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*', p. 590.

[2] For a detailed discussion on the relationship of the Sultan with the Shaykh, see Tanvir Anjum, *Chishti Sufis in the Sultanate of Delhi: From Restrained Indifference to Calculated Defiance* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 199-205.

[3] He was the disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Tayfur Shami. See brief biographical note in Dara Shukoh, *Safinat al-Awliya*, Urdu tr. Muhammad Ali Lutfi (Karachi: Nafis Academy, 1959), p. 236, and Ghulam Husain Khan Tabataba'i, *Siyar al-Mutakhirin*, Urdu tr. Mawlana Mahbub Ilahi, vol. 2: *Athār-i Khawāqīn* (Lahore: Taj Book Depot, 1948), pp. 88-89.

Shah (r. 1410-35). Once the Sultan went to see the Shaykh who was busy in discussion with some Hindu yogis or ascetics and refused to see him, the Sultan became enraged and ordered him to leave his territory (Siddiqui 2003: 43). Similarly, a local ruler, who was curious about the extensive expenditure in the *khānqāh* of Shaykh Ala al-Haqq As'ad (d. 1398) of Pandua (West Bengal), a *khalīfah* of Shaykh Siraj al-Din Uthman (d. 1357), suspected that it came from the state treasury, since the Shaykh had apparently no source of income. Consequently, the Shaykh was expelled to Sonargaon (Dehlavi n.d.: 256).

2.2 Conflict of the Rulers with the Sufis for Political Reasons

The state clashed with the sufis for political reasons. At times, the kings grew apprehensive of the sufis' popularity among the people. Some of the Sufis were even executed on charges of treason or on mere suspicion of it. In the Sultanate of Delhi, during the reign of Sultan Jalal al-Din Firuz Khalji (r. 1290-96), a sufi of Delhi named Saiyyidi Muwallih had become very popular among the people, including the disgruntled *umarā*', who had lost their positions in the wake of the Khalji Revolution. He was charged with treason and later executed,[4] though he pleaded his innocence. Similarly, Shaykh Hud Qurayshi (the successor of Shaykh Rukn al-Din of Multan) was accused of treason and conspiracy against Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, and consequently, executed (Ibn Battutah 1983: 152-54). Shaykh Haydari was executed by the same Sultan when he extended his support to a *qāzī* who was accused of rebellion (Ibid.: 155-56). However, Shaykh

[4] For details of the incident, see Barani, *Tārīkh-i Fīrūzshāhī*, pp. 208-12, Isami, *Futūh al-Salātīn (Shahnāmah-*'*i Hind)*, (comp. in 1348), ed. Agha Mahdi Husain (Allahabad: Hindustani Academy, 1938), pp. 209-11, and Abd al-Rahman Chishti, *Mirāt al-Asrār*, (comp. between 1045-65 A.H. circa), Urdu tr. Captain Wahid Bakhsh Siyal (Lahore: Sufi Foundation, 1982), vol. II, pp. 282-83. The Sultan vacillated in taking action against him, but the opponents of the Saiyyidi caused him to be trampled under the feet of the elephants during his public trial at the court. The action was taken without the approval of the Sultan at the order of his second son, Prince Arkali Khan. For an analysis, see Riazul Islam, *Sufism in South Asia: Impact on Fourteenth Century Muslim Society* (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2002), chap. 6, Appendix E, "The Tragic Case of Sidi Muwallih", pp. 298-307.

Shams al-Din ibn Taj al-Arifin of Ko'il (modern Aligarh) was put to death by the same Sultan on mere suspicion of treason.[5] When the Chishti sufi, Shaykh Zayn al-Din Shirazi, who had good relations with the earlier Bahmani Sultans, supported the rebels in Daulatabad, the Bahmani king Sultan Muhammad I (r. 1358-75) expelled him from the city (Eaton 2005: 47).

Some of the kings were apprehensive of the popularity and public sway which the sufis enjoyed, and they perceived them as a threat to their political authority. The popularity of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya had reached its zenith during the reign of Sultan 'Ala' al-Din Khalji (Barani 1862: 343-47), which alarmed the latter. Moreover, the proximity of the Shaykh's *khānqāh* in Ghiyathpur, a small village in the vicinity of Delhi, to the seat of the kingdom added to his fears. Thereupon, the Sultan sent a letter to the Shaykh seeking his counsel on some state matters, which was in fact meant to ascertain his political designs. Upon receiving the letter, the Shaykh curtly replied without opening it: "What have the *darvēsh*es to do with the affairs of kings? I am a dervish, living in your city, and devote myself to praying for the welfare of the Muslims and the King. If the King says something further to me in this regard, I shall leave the place (and go elsewhere). The land of God is quite vast" (Amir Khurd 1885: 133-34). In this way, the Shaykh tactfully handled the matter and avoided any conflict with the ruler.

Sometimes the state also made demands on the sufis. When they acceded to these demands willingly or unwillingly, the political authorities did not create further problems for them but when they refused to submit, they landed in conflict with the political authorities. At times, the blunt refusal of the sufis caused serious rifts in state-sufi

[5] Shaykh Shams al-Din ibn Taj al-Arifin was a resident of Ko'il. When the Sultan visited the area, he summoned the Shaykh, but he refused to meet the Sultan. Then the Sultan went to his place to meet him, but he slipped away to avoid meeting with him. Later, when the Sultan came to know that the Shaykh had praised a rebel *amīr* by saying that he deserved to become king, the Shaykh was executed along with his sons at the Sultan's order. See details in Ibn Battutah, '*Ajā*'*ib al-Asfār*, pp. 154-55, and Saiyyid Abd al-Ha'iyy Barelvi, *Nuzhat al-Khawātir wa Bahjat al-Masāmi*', Urdu tr. Abu Yahya Imam Khan Naushahravi (Lahore: Maqbul Academy, 1965), vol. II, pp. 79-80.

relationship, resulting in dire consequences for the sufis as well as the state.

In the pre-Mughal times, under Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, the state-sufi relationship reached its lowest ebb, as the intensity of the conflict between the two camps increased manifold. In fact, the Sultan, who wanted to involve the religious notables in his regime by making them work under the umbrella of the state, pressurized many eminent sufis to join the government service. Non-cooperation from some of them led to their punishment. The Sultan even ordered the execution of some of his contemporary sufis on political grounds. Shaykh Shihab al-Din was punished and expelled to Dawlatabad and later tortured and put to death when he refused to accept some official position (Ibn Battutah 1983: 145-46). Those worst affected by the policies of Muhammad ibn Tughluq were the adherents of the Chishti *Silsilah*, as their doctrines and traditions did not permit any association with the state or political authorities, an association that the Sultan desired. The Chishti leader, Shaykh Nasir al-Din Mahmud was maltreated by Sultan Muhammad ibn Tughluq, though the nature of punishment is a matter of controversy among historians (Anjum 2011: 275-78). When Bahmani King Sultan Muhammad I (r. 1358-75) demanded an oath of allegiance from all the eminent sufis in his kingdom, the Chishti sufi, Shaykh Zayn al-Din Shirazi, who had good relations with the earlier Sultans, defied the state demand by refusing to do so (Eaton 2005: 47).

2.3 Conflict of the Rulers with the Sufis for Theological Reasons

Sometimes the state came in conflict with the sufis on theological issues. The state, and in particular the '*ulamā*' holding official positions were critical of some of the sufi doctrines and practices such as the doctrine and practice of *samā*', the sufi concept of love of God, and other sufi views and philosophies. It must be remembered, however, that though apparently the conflict was of theological nature, often it was more political than ideological.

Samā' (devotional sufi music), often supplemented by *raqs* (ritualistic ecstatic dance), has remained one of the most controversial sufi practices. The sufis believe that hearing the recitation of Quran, chanting of poetry or music may induce ecstasy in an individual, which is considered to be a method of spiritual realization, and hence it is

permissible (During 1995: 1018-19). The Muslim philosophers such as Abu Ya'qub al-Kindi (d. 873), Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya Razi (d. 932), Abu Nasr al-Farabi (d. 950), Abu 'Ali ibn Sina (d. 1037), Abu Bakr ibn Bajjah (d. 1138), and Safi al-Din (d. 1293) as well as the *Ikhwān al-Safā*' or the Brethren of Purity (tenth century) and the sufi-theorists such as 'Ali ibn 'Uthman al-Hujwiri (d. 1074), Abu Hamid Muhammad al-Ghazzali (b. 1058-d. 1111), and Ahmad Ghazzali (d. 1126) approved of it (Michon 2000: 472-78). The practices of *samā*' and *raq*s became especially popular in the premodern times among the sufis in Persia, India and Anatolia. The practice of *samā*' found its highest expression in the sufis associated with the Mawlviyyah *Silsilah*, whose founder, Shaykh Jalal al-Din Rumi of Konya (d. 1273), the famous Persian sufi theorist and poet, practiced it along with his disciples and associates.

Devotional music and ecstatic dancing among the sufis evoked much criticism and objection from the 'externalist' '*ulamā*', jurists and theologians, who were more concerned with the outward conformity to the law or *shari*'*ah*. Criticism to this practice came not only from the juristic circles, more particularly from the Hanbalis, but also from the more sober sufi circles. Its important critics included Abu Bakr 'Abd Allah ibn Abi al-Dunya (d. 894), Abu 'l-Faraj ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1200) and Taqi al-Din Abu 'l-'Abbas Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah (d. 1328).[6] Many sufi-scholars such as Al-Hujwiri and Imam al-Ghazzali also expressed reservations for it, and approved of it with some conditions for the listeners (Al-Hujwiri 1976: 393-420; and Al-Ghazzali 1981: 203-24).

In Islamicate South Asia, *samā*' was a controversial sufi practice, contested both theologically and politically. It was a site for contestation between the sufis and the group of '*ulamā*', who opposed it, many of whom occupied official positions. Later, a categorical rejection of *samā*' was also voiced by the Mujaddidi branch of the Naqshbandiyya in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Some of the '*ulamā*' and sufis genuinely contested it on theological

[6] Abi al-Dunya authored *Dhamm al-Malāhī* (Censure of Instruments of Diversion), while Ibn al-Jawzi wrote *Talbīs Iblīs* (The Dissimulation of the Satan) in condemnation of *samā*'. Similarly, Ibn Taymiyyah's work *Risālah*-'*i Samā*' was also written in condemnation of *samā*'.

grounds, while other '*ulamā*', specifically those holding high official positions, contested it for political reasons. These anti-*samā*' and anti-sufi '*ulamā*' were envious of the prestige and public sway enjoyed the sufi Shaykhs in the eyes of the people as well as the rulers. Moreover, although *samā*' was a private practice in sufi gatherings, it had public repercussions as well, since the lines between the private and public domains or spheres got blurred in some cases. The '*ulamā*' feared such sufi practices as the former's religious authority and domination seemed to be challenged by these sufi practices. Despite criticism from various circles, the sufis, more notably the Chishtis, fondly practiced it. Therefore, the sufis often landed into conflict with the local authorities owing to their practice of *samā*'.

In the early thirteenth century, *samā*' gatherings held in the Chishti *khānqāh* in Delhi raised considerable objections from the '*ulamā*' and it seems that the Chishti practice of *samā*' had become a bone of contention between the sufis and the '*ulamā*'. The '*ulamā*' critical of *samā* even tried to disrupt the *samā*' gatherings of the Chishtis. Qazi Sa'ad and Qazi 'Imad, the two famous critics of *samā*' in Delhi, once went to the *khānqāh* of Shaykh Qutb al-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki (d. 1235) to stop the on-going *samā*' session.[7] Many of the contemporary '*ulamā*' of Baba Farid were hostile toward him owing to his fondness for *samā*', and the *samā*' gatherings held in his *khānqāh* in Ajodhan (Pakpattan).[8] One of them was the *qāzī* of Ajodhan who did not approve of Baba Farid's *samā*' gatherings in the town, and thus tried to get a *fatwā* (a legal verdict by the jurists) against him. However, when he was unable to do so, he thought of putting an end to the life of Baba Farid by hiring an assassin (Sijzi 1992: 166; and Jamali 1893: 33-34).

[7] However, when the *Qazī*s went there, they became so over-whelmed by *samā*' that they joined in *raq*s with other devotees, and then became the disciples of the Shaykh. Mandavi, *Gulzār-i Abrār*, p. 43. Mandavi also counts the two *qāzī*s in the list of Shaykh Qutb al-Din's *khulafā*'.

[8] One comes across references of '*ulamā*' like Sharaf al-Din Qiyami, and Qazi 'Abd Allah of Ajodhan, also known as Qazi Muhammad Abu'l-Fazl, who were critical of Sufism and the Sufis. Amir Khurd, *Siyar al-Awliyā*', pp. 83-85.

The huge *samā*‘ gatherings at the *khānqāh* of Shaykh Nizam al-Din Awliya in the suburbs of Delhi were an eye sore to the ‘*ulamā*’,[9] who eventually resorted to force in order to stop them. Once the *samā*‘ party of the Shaykh was unsuccessfully attacked by some soldiers accompanied by Qazi Ziya’ al-Din of Sunnam, the *muhtasib* (the censor of public morals) of Delhi, and his two sons (Hardev 2000: 187-90). In addition to the Qazi, other ‘*ulamā*’ opposed to the Shaykh included Shaykhzadah Jam (Barani 1862: 396, and Amir Khurd 1885: 590), Qazi Jalal al-Din Walwai’ji (*Nā*’*ib qāzī* or Deputy Chief Justice), (Barani 1862: 35), and Qazi Kamal al-Din (the *Sadr-i Jahān*). These ‘*ulamā*’ also pressed Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughluq to summon Shaykh Nizam al-Din in the court, and publicly defend his view-point on the issue. Qazi Jalal al-Din even pressed the Sultan to ban *samā*‘, but the Sultan refrained from passing any order at the request of Shaykh Nizam al-Din (Amir Khurd 1885: 527-31).[10] Apparently, the objective of holding the public debate on the issue was to ascertain the legality or otherwise of *samā*‘ and *raq*s, but the real intention of the state-allied ‘*ulamā*’ seems to have been to undermine and erode the influence and religious authority of Shaykh Nizam al-Din in particular, and the sufis in general. However, among the ranks of ‘*ulamā*’ associated with the state, there were defenders of Sufism, and supporters of *samā*‘ as well. One such example is the sufi-minded Minhaj al-Siraj Juzjani, the author of *Tabaqāt-i Nāsirī* and the Chief Qazi of the Sultanate under Sultan Iletmish, who had a profound interest in *samā*‘ (Sijzī 1992: 322).

In addition to the Chishtis, the pro-*samā*‘ sufis of other *silsilah*s such as Suhrawardi and Kubrawi also came into conflict with the state and the ‘*ulamā*’. The anti-*samā*‘ ‘*ulamā*’ prepared a *fatwā* against

[9] These gatherings were attended by a large number of his disciples and devotees, including some of the *umara*’ and high state officials as well. Jamali also informs that on one occasion, thousands of people attended the *samā*‘ party organized by one of the disciples of the Shaykh for him. Jamali, *Siyar al-*‘*Ārifīn*, pp. 73, 81.

[10] Jamali records the incident of the public debate on the authority of Amir Khurd, but he adds that the public debate was attended by 253 ‘*ulamā*’. See details in ibid., pp. 87-89.

Suhrawardi sufi, Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagauri,[11] which was validated and signed by many '*ulamā*' (Mandavi 1395: 47-48).[12] Sultan Iletmish, who enjoyed very cordial relations with Qazi Hamid al-Din, could not resist the pressure of the '*ulamā*' who were critical of *samā*', and apparently, had to unwillingly summon the Shaykh in his court for a public debate (*mahzar*) on the issue to determine the legality of the practice (Isami 1938: 112-14; and Dehlavi n.d.: 51, 53.) The '*ulamā*' wanted to dishonor and humiliate the Shaykh, and make the sufis subordinate to the political authorities. However, the Sultan did not pass a judgment against it. Probably, it was for this reason that the Suhrawardi sufi, Shaykh Baha al-Din Zakariyya of Multan used to listen to *samā*' in private (Sijzi 1992: 234-35, 252-53). Other pro-*samā*' Suhrawardi sufis such as Shaykh 'Uthman Saiyah of Sunnam (d. 1338), a *khalīfah* of Shaykh Rukn al-Din of Multan, practiced *samā*'(Jamali 1893: 144-45), and once he was about to come in conflict with the state on the issue of *samā*'. Other pro-*samā*' sufis such as Shaykh Sakhai' Suhrawardi (Dehlavi n.d.: 291), and Khwajah Habib-Allah Hubbi (b. 1556-d. 1617), a Kubrawi sufi of Kashmir, developed conflict with the local '*ulamā*' due to his practice of *samā*' (Wani 2004: 262).

In addition to *samā*', the state also came in conflict with the sufis owing to other theological issues as well. An scholar named Mawlana Sharaf al-Din Bahiri developed a conflict with the Suhrawardi sufi, Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagawri on the sufi doctrine of the Divine love or '*ishq-i Ilāhī* (Dehlavi n.d.: 51, 53). The spiritual practices of Miyan Shah Jiyu of Mandu, the disciple of Saiyyid Bandahnawaz Gesudiraz, brought him in conflict with a local *qāzī* of the city as people used to get fainted upon seeing him after mediation. The *qāzī* was critical of these sufi practices (Ibid.: 317-18). Similarly,

[11] Though Qazi Hamid al-Din Nagauri is considered to be a Suhrawardi *Silsilah* and was a *khalifah* of Shaykh Shihab al-Din Suhrawardi, he was also granted *khilafat* by Khwajah Mu'in al-Din Chishti as well. It was probably for this reason that he practiced *samā*'. Zahurul Hassan Sharib, *Khawaja Gharib Nawaz* (Lahore: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1991 rpt., first pub. 1961), p. 84.

[12] The *fatwā* was also signed by Shaykh Jamal al-Din Da'wd, who was a close friend of Qazi Hamid al-Din. Later, when the Qazi inquired about it from Shaykh Jamal, the latter repented his action. Sijzi, *Fawā'id al-Fu'ād*, p. 409, and Jamali, *Siyar al-'Ārifīn*, p. 149.

in Jaunpur, the capital of Sharqi Sultans in eastern Awadh, *Malik al-'Ulamā'* Qazi Shihab al-Din Daulatabadi, an eminent jurist and religious guide of Sultan Ibrahim Sharqi (r. 1400-40), sought the explanation from Shaykh Badi al-Din Shah Madar for his failure to attend congregational prayers on Fridays. Since the Shyakh's reply could not satisfy the *qāzī,* Shah Madar left the place and settled in Makanpur near Kanpur. In Makanpur, another Qazi named Mahmud also questioned him for his certain practices including his absence in congregational prayers on Fridays, but the Shaykh satisfied him through his reply (Siddiqui 2003: 43-46.

Since the sufis had attempted to redefine some of the basic concepts of Muslim theology, they were condemned as heretics by the '*ulamā*' in order to curb their freedom of speech and freedom of action. Some of the sufis were punished or executed owing to their beliefs, and in particular for their ecstatic utterances, believed to be in non-conformity with *shari'ah*. However, in many such cases, the reasons were more political than religious or theological. The views of a Chishti-Nizami sufi and poet-philosopher, Khwajah Mas'ud Bakk (d. 1387) brought him in conflict with the state. He used to reveal the secrets of Sufism quite candidly (Dehlavi n.d.: 298) [13] through his works such as *Tamhīdāt*, a *dīwān* (collection of poetry) titled *Nūr al-'Ayn,*[14] which later became popular in the sufi *khānqāh*s, and *Mirāt al-'Ārifīn* (The Mirror of the Gnostics), written about 1378, which contained his spiritual revelations (Nizami 1958: 413).[15] Most of the time, he remained in a state of ecstasy and spiritual intoxication or *sukr* (Ali 1961: 494), during which he used to utter things which were resented by the '*ulamā*'. Khwajah Mas'ud Bakk was executed during the reign of Sultan Firuz Tughluq for his controversial theological formulations. The '*ulamā*', who were envious of him, had issued a

[13] *Mirāt al-'Ārifīn* was divided into 14 chapters dealing with the revelations (*kashf*), last one dealing with the spirit (*ruh*), praised by 'Abd al-Haqq Muhadith Dehlavi, the author of *Akhbār al-Akhyār*. See Extract from the preface of *Mirāt al-'Ārifīn*, p. 299.

[14] For a detailed study, see Saiyyid Abd al-Shakur Qadiri, "*Dīwān-i Mas'ūd Bakk*", (Unpublished Ph.D. diss. Nagpur University, Nagpur, 1972).

[15] Another book with the same title of *Tamhīdāt* had been written earlier by an early twelfth-century Sufi-scholar, 'Ayn al-Quzāt Hamdānī (d. 1131).

fatwā against him (Chishti 1887: 88 as cited in Nizami 1958: 413). There might have been political reasons behind the execution since the Khwajah belonged to the royal family. He was a relative of Sultan Firuz Shah, and had enjoyed very high official position before he gave up life of pleasure and prosperity, and adopted the way of world-renunciation and austerity.[16]

The views of two sufis of Delhi, Shaykh Ahmad Bihari (from Bihar) and Shaykh ‘Izz al-Din Kakavi (from Kako near Gaya in Bengal) about divine unity brought them in conflict with the state since they used to openly express and propagate their ideas in public, and had gathered some following in Delhi as well. Shaykh Ahmad Bihari was an ecstatic sufi, who was accused of raising the self-divinizing slogan of *ana al-Haqq* (I am the Truth) like al-Hallaj, which was quite unacceptable to the some of the ‘*ulamā*’ and jurists. Sultan Firuz convened a *mahzar* or a public debate, and eventually, they both were executed when the ‘*ulamā*’ and jurists of Delhi issued a *fatwā* against them (Rizvi 1986: 231). Similarly, in Gujarat, a freedman of a prominent noble of Sultan Firuz raised the slogan of *ana al-Haqq* like al-Hallaj. Consequently, he was punished, and his treatise was ordered to be burnt (Tughluq 1954: 8).[17]

During the Mughal era, the Shattari sufi, Saiyyid Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior (d. 1563) authored a treatise *Ma*‘*irāj Nāmah*, which brought him in conflict with the ‘*ulamā*’ of Gujarat, as the Shaykh had discussed his spiritual experiences in it including his ascension. A *fatwā* pronouncing death sentence on him was issued (Dehlavi n.d.: 417; and Shukoh 1959,:243). Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi was declared an infidel owing to his views as expressed in his epistles or *Maktūbāt*. In particular, the 11th letter in the first volume of his compiled epistles sparked a controversy among the scholars (Friedmann 1971: 95, 96, 97). According to Prince Dara Shukoh (d. 1659), the allegations against him that the Shaykh claimed a higher spiritual status than the Pious Caliphs were false (Shukoh 1959: 247). Later, Emperor Aurangzeb

[16] For a brief biographical note and his ideas, see Dehlavi, *Akhbār al-Akhyār*, pp. 174-78; see also Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, vol. 1 (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1986), pp. 241-44.

[17] However, the source fails to mention that he was executed at the order of Sultan Firuz.

Alamgir (r. 1658-1707) proscribed the *Maktūbāt* in 1679 (Friedmann 1971: 94-95).[18]

During the reign of the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan (r. 1628-58), the Qadiri sufi, Mulla Shah of Badakhshan (d. 1661) was accused of heretical views, and was consequently ordered to leave Kashmir and appear in the Delhi court and face the charge of heresy and apostasy in 1634. In fact, the Emperor's Chief Qazi, Abd al-Qavi, who was an opponent of Mulla Shah, had poisoned the ears of the Emperor against him. Therefore, some of the leading '*ulamā*' of the court prepared a *mahzar* pronouncing death sentence on him, and got it signed from other *muftīs* and religious notables. However, Prince Dara Shukoh, who was a disciple of Mulla Shah, intervened and suggested to his father to consult the renowned Qadiri sufi of Lahore named Shaykh Mir Muhammad, popularly known as Miyan Mir (d. 1635), who was the spiritual preceptor of Mulla Shah. Miyan Mir declared the *mahzar* illegal (Bilgrami 2005: 329-30, 346-47), and thus Mulla Shah escaped the punishment. In this case, the reason seems to be more political than theological, as the growing popularity of Mulla Shah and his friendly relations with Emperor Shahjahan had turned the '*ulamā*' hostile to him.

The views and the life-style of the famous sufi-poet Muhammad Said Sarmad (assassinated in 1659), who lived in Delhi and was a disciple of Shaykh Sabzwari, popularly known as Miyan Harey Bharey, brought him in conflict with the political authorities during the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb. His poetry,[19] which was deemed heretical, as well as his nude posture, led the '*ulamā*' to order his execution in 1659 (Sarwar 1873: 352-53).[20] It is important to note that Sarmad was close to Dara Shukoh, the heir presumptive to Shahjahan, and the brother of

[18] See an Urdu translation of the text of the letter in Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi, *Maktubat-i Imam Rabbani Hazrat Mujaddid Alf Thani Naqshbandi Sirhindi ma' savanih 'umri*, Urdu tr. Qazi Aalim al-Din (Lahore: Malik Fazl al-Din and Co., 1913), pp. 22-31.

[19] For details, see Said Sarmad, *Rubāiyyāt-i Sarmad*, ed. Nawab Ali Sawlat Lakhnawi (Delhi: Kutubkhanah-yi Naziriyah, 1347 A.H.)

[20] See also Abul Kalam Azad, *Hayāt-i Sarmad* (Lucknow: Danish Mahal, n.d.) and Lakhpat Rai, *Sarmad, His Life and Ruba'īs* (Gorakhpur: Hanumanprasad Poddar Smarak Samiti, 1978).

Aurangzeb, who had contested Dara's political succession to the throne, and had eventually, defeated and killed him in Battle of Samugarh in 1658. Here again in this case the reasons of conflict seem to be more political than theological.

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-9-
French Rationality: The Indian Superstitious World in the Eyes of the French Travelers and Adventurers

Sakul Kundra

Abstract:

The French travelers and adventurers' records gave immense information regarding the irrational, aberrant and superstitious customs been practiced in India during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They had a scientific and rational mentality to evaluate these customs. The objective of this paper is to give an observation of varied facets given by these voyagers. The objectivity of these voyagers is based on their education as European renaissance must have played a significant role in their analyzing capacity. Many firsthand sources are used in this paper to highlight the unresearch domain of their opinion regarding Orient world.

Keywords: Rationality, Superstition, Religious ceremony, Aberrant customs, Disposing Hindu bodies, Irrationality against Europeans

Many French travelers were rational observers and so they criticized the Indian superstitious and irrational beliefs propagated by the Brahmans. The scientific and rational mind of Occidental travelers and adventurers were surprise to see the irrational and superstitious customs prevailing in Orient world. European renaissance had an impact on the understanding of these voyagers which questioned the Oriental absurd, aberrant and bizaare practices of India. The objective of this paper is to highlight the observations of French travelers and adventurers about Indian superstitious practices and its implications. First hand sources have been used in this article in order to examine the Orient preposterous world through French eyes.

Francois Bernier was the foremost among the all rational travelers who visited in India. He was influenced by the philosophy and scientific principles of Pierre Gassendi. It was Monsieur Chapelle[1] who

[1] Claude- Emmanuel Luillier Chapelle (1626-1645) was a natural son of Francois

first acquainted Bernier to Pierre Gassendi. Bernier in his letter to Chapelle expressed his gratitude for providing him with the opportunity to know Gassendi. Bernier was attracted by the genius of Gassendi and attended the lectures of the professor of astronomy at the Royal college. Bernier was once both the disciple and the secretary of the philosopher Pierre Gassendi and, whose work he helped to popularize. Bernier was inspired by the philosophical assumption of Gassendi that emphasized the demystification of the phenomena of the universe by scientific observations (Ray 2003: 159-186). Bernier's perception was influenced by scientific and rational teachings of Gassendi and, his traveler accounts depicted the same irrationalities prevailing in oriental and occidental worlds. He gave important knowledge of astronomy, geography and anatomy to his Agah or Danechmend Khan and translated for him recent discoveries of Harveus and Pecquet in anatomy and also philosophy of Gassendi and Descartes (Bernier: 1994: 324). Bernier highlights topics related to India like religious understandings, political organization, customs and mannerisms.

Many other French adventurers also corroborated the prevalence of irrational practices among the Hindus. Regarding the superstitious hindu customs, Modave said the "women burn alive there with the body of their husbands; some men voluntarily throw themselves under the wheels of these enormous tanks which are used to walk the divinities; others devoted to dreadful penitence whose excess is a point that by comparing them our more rigorous cenobite, those appeared effeminate and slackened. All these actions are ordered by the particular maximum of this religion and they only served to inspire some by the horror, nevertheless it do not deliver the people with the most monstrous idolatry" (Modave 1971: 298).

1. Critic of the Superstitious Practices

Many travelers and adventurers had discerned the tricks and treacheries of the Brahmans to claim the right to perform all the rituals and prayers at Pagodas as their sole monopoly. They claimed the total authority and ownership over these Hindu Pagodas which they believed

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Luillier's, at whose house Gassendi was a frequent guest; struck by the talent of young Chapelle, Gassendi gave him lessons in philosophy together with Moliere and Bernier.

was unchallengeable.

Tavernier revealed that he saw a women in the pagodas who was continuously present in the temple, asking the idol from time to time as she had lost her husband, how she should bring up her children and support them? (Tavernier 1977: Vol 1, 211). On further inquiry from the priest about her who said "she had not received a reply. He said that it was necessary that she should await for the will of their god, and that he would then answer what she asked"(Ibid: 211). Thus Tavernier suspected some deception and he discovered by entering in the pagoda when no priest was there he said "I then entered the temple, when the woman, on catching a glimpse of me, redoubled her cries, for, as no light entered the pagoda except by the door, it was very dark inside. I entered, feeling my way in order to ascertain what took place behind the statue, where I found there was a hole through which a man could enter, and where, without doubt, the priest concealed himself and made the idol speak by his mouth" (Ibid: 211). This dubious act was condemned by Tavernier, who not only doubted the sincerity of women but also the treachery of Brahman.

Bernier was an eyewitness to the illogical ridiculous acts attached to eclipses, which were performed by the Hindus or idolaters during 1666 eclipse. He criticized these superstitious practices by commenting on these 'deluded people' who "continue to plunge, mutter, pray and perform their silly tricks until the end of the eclipse. These Gentiles threw silver pieces into the river; gave alms and old clothes as present to Brahmans in this absurd ceremony"(Bernier: 1994: 302). He also stated that the ruling king of India, the great mughals permitted these ancient and superstitious practices without disturbing the Gentiles in exercises their religion. Bernier revealed that a mysterious justification given by the vedas for practicing these superstitions during eclipse ceremony. Bernier tried to show that these rituals were actually introduced by the Brahmans to get alms and presents by duping people. They were permitted by the Mughals to receive numerous presents before the ceremony began.

Boullaye wrote about the ways in which Brahmans get the alms and respect by propagating irrational Hindu practices in the daily lives of Hindus. He observed that the Hindus washed their bodies every morning in nearby river and came with joining hands to make

benediction to the Brahmans of their caste. These Brahmans who sat near the river put a sacred mark with their thumb on their forehead and put some grains of rice on it. These Hindus offered some handful of rice in the Brahmans's bag as offerings whereas the rich people gave double the amount of presents to them as these Brahmans performed this custom at their place (Gouz 1657 :154).

The same author described the strange saluting ways of Hindus. He said these people greet each other by putting their right hand three times on the ground and then after much time it carried on their head. Further, Boullaye wrote that these people had another painful adoration where they extend their entire body on the ground without the support of their knees which was painful to their body. They utter the word Ram, Ram, Ram when they do this salutation in the pagodas (Ibid: 156).

Tieffenthaler described another superstitious practice of cutting the tongue of devotee and offering it to the Goddess. He said "Debbie-Patan (Patan Devi a temple in Patna) is a famous temple dedicated to the Debbie Goddess: there one sacrifices, in month of march, near a tree, animals such as goats, wild goats and bulls. There are even some people who cut the end of their tongue and make the offering to the Goddess, either to fulfill some of their wishes, or to testify their recognition of some benefits received… This would only prove the superstition of these people, and the cruelty which they exert against themselves. Undoubtedly the conduct of same Gentils, strangers to the true religion, is a reproach made to the weak and dissolute life that sometimes Europeans looked at these disciples with disdain who believed to have the faith of true religion" (Tieffenthaler 1786: 263).

Indian brahmans were being criticized for provoking irrational sacrifices during religious ceremonies, and, using different dubious tricks in religious ceremonies to satisfy their sexual lust. Bernier found many fanatic religious devotees, full of wild notions, throwing themselves in front of heavy wheel procession of the Lord Jagannath which crushed their bodies based on totally irrational belief that it was an "heroic or meritorious act of self devotion and these victims believe that Jagannath will receive them as children and recall them to life in a state of happiness and dignity" (Bernier: 1994: 305). He blamed the brahmans who encouraged and promoted these gross errors and

superstitions, to which they were indebted to gain wealth.

The description of wicked brahmans who applied duping tricks to satisfy their sexual desires was described by Bernier. He stated that these brahmans presented a "beautiful maiden as bride of Jaganath who will sleep with the lord, and she was commanded to inquire of the god if the year will be fruitful…but in the night one of these imposters enters the temple from the back gate and enjoyed the unsuspecting damsel" (Ibid: 305). and made her believe whatever necessary to be said next morning as if that were words of Jagannath. Thus, Bernier showed the sly tricks employed by brahman priests to lure young maidens into bed and this might had reminded the French readers of the countless salacious stories about the sexual exploits of the catholic clergy (Stuurman 2000: 1-21). Bernier created awareness among French audiences about the dangers of priest craft, either practiced by christian clergy or Hindu brahmans.

Bernier criticized idol worship by giving description of the Jagannath temple near the town of Puri in Orissa. He mention that there "a superb wooden machine is constructed…with grotesque figures, nearly resembling our monsters which we see depicted with two heads, being half man and half beast, gigantic and horrible heads, satyrs, apes and devils" (Bernier 1994: 305). This French traveller believed idol worship outraged common sense and, was totally unworthy, as Indians were famous for idol worship. Further he questioned the belief behind idol worship practiced by the Indians. He got his answer from one famous pandit of Benaras who replied that "they indeed honour the various idols in their temples, yet these statues were not the god themselves but merely their images and representations. And we pay respect only for the sake of deity whom they represent, and when we pray it is not to the statue, but to the deity" (Ibid: 342). He mentioned that "these images were admitted to the temple because they conceived that prayers were offered up with more devotion when an image was placed before the eyes that fixes in the mind; but the fact we acknowledge the God alone is absolute, and that, He only is the omnipotent lord" (Ibid: 342). Bernier felt this explanation given by pandits was intentionally made similar to explanation of roman catholic belief, as most of the other pandits gave totally different answer from each other. The overall explanation received to justify the cause behind

the idol worship must not have satisfied the rational and objective mind of Bernier.

Tavernier mentions that the highest caste was that of Brahmans who were believed to be the successors of the ancient Brachmanes or philosophers of India, who specially studied astrology. The ancient books were understood by Brahmans who were also skilled in their observations that could correctly foretell eclipses of the sun and moon (Tavernier 1977: Vol 2, Book III, 192).

2.Superstitious Practices of Brahmans

Tavernier described the superstitious practices performed by the idolaters during the time of eclipse as he witnessed one eclipse in July 1666. He said "it was a wonderful sight to watch the multitude of people, men, women, and children, who came from all quarters to bath in the Ganges, but they must begin this bathing three days before they see the eclipse, during which time they remain day and night on the banks of the river preparing all kinds of rice, milk, and sweetmeats to feed to fishes and crocodiles" (Ibid: 192).

Other kind of superstitious activity was seen by Tavernier during the eclipse was when the Brahman gives a call for the auspicious hour of eclipse for the idolaters to break all earthen vessels used in their household and leave not one piece whole. This causes a terrible noise in a town (Ibid: 193). Bernier saw two solar eclipses, one in France 1654 and other in Delhi 1666. After first eclipse he mentions "it as a irrational thought of French people, by their groundless and unreasonable alarm…as some brought drugs as charms to defend themselves from eclipse…thousands flocked to their respective churches" (Bernier 1994: 301) fearing from evil consequences and dangerous influences of eclipse as some believed it was the last day because eclipse had shaken the foundation of the world. Bernier was quite upset with such "absurd notions entertained by" his "countrymen, notwithstanding the writing of Gassendi, Roberval (Ibid: 301) and other celebrated astronomers and philosophers"(Ibid: 301) which clearly demonstrated that solar eclipse was a rational concept as this obscuration of the sun was known and predictable. This eclipse had nothing evil attached to it.

Regarding the knowledge of astrology of the brahmans,

Tavernier said "every Brahman has his book of magic, in which there are a number of circles and semicircles, of squares and triangles, and many other kinds of figures. They draw divers figures on the ground, and whey they perceive that the fortunate hour has arrived they call cry aloud to the people to throw food into the Ganges" (Tavernier 1977: Vol 2, Book III, 193). The superstitious practices were performed at that hour as the people made terrible noise with drums, bells, large sticks and after the food is thrown into the river they jump into the river where they scrub themselves and bathe until the eclipse is over (Ibid:194). The knowledge of Brahmans was doubted by this French traveller who said that the Brahmans during the eclipse remained on the land to receive the richest pilgrims and in a clean place which was cleaned by cow dung, They draw several kinds of figures of half triangles, ovals and half ovals, made with powdered chalk, small branches of wood and put some kind of food as wheat, rice, other vegetables, upon them they throw each heap a quantity of butter, and set fire to them, "when according to the appearance of the flames they predict whether there will be in that year an abundant harvest of corn, rice and other products" (Ibid:194). Such kind of predictions made by vague performances was doubted by Tavernier as they were not based on rationality. Tavernier said the idolaters are in the depths of blindness regarding knowledge of true God, but that does not prevent them from leading in many respects, according to the nature and moral lives (Ibid:186).

3.Aberrant Ways of Disposing Hindu Bodies

Boullaye le Gouz praised the Hindu custom of burning the dead body which does not pollute the water, air and land while criticizing the Christians and Muslims whose bodies are corrupted when eaten by the worms (Gouz 1657: 148) Tavernier said the Gentil's custom was generally to burn bodies after death on the banks of the rivers where they wash the bodies of the deceased to complete the cleansing of those sins from which they have not been purified during life (Tavernier 1977: Vol 2, Book III, 161).

There were great superstitions among the Hindus as when a sick person is on the point of death was carried to the margin of a river or tank and their feet are placed in the water. Bernier and Tavernier

mentioned that "according as nature fails the body is pushed forwards, and at last it is held by the chin only, so that at the moment when the spirit departs and leaves the body, both the one and the other can be purged of all defilement by plunging the body wholly into the water, after which it is burned in the same place, which is always close to some pagoda" (Ibid: 161). Ridiculous beliefs attached to this ceremony were that their "soul may be washed, on taking its flight, from all impurities which it may have contracted during its abode in the body" (Bernier 1994: 315-316).

Thevenot said hindus had many superstitions regarding the burning their dead, he said the Banians burn their dead bodies on the river side and their ashes were carried to the sacred river Tapti. He said that "they believe that it contributes much to the salvation of the soul of the deceased, to burn his body immediately after his death, because, his soul suffers after the separation from the body till it be burnt" (Sen 1949: 34). He further said if they did not have wood, the body could be tied with stone and thrown in water but if there was lack of water and wood they could be buried but they believed that the soul was much happier when the body was being burnt.

Further, Thevenot said that the funerals differs according to places as in some places the "body is carried with a beat of drum sitting uncovered in a chair, clothed in goodly apparel and accompanied with his relatives and friends, and after the usual ablution, it is surrounded with wood and his wife who had followed in triumph had her seat prepared there, where she places herself singing and seeming very desirous to die: A Brahman ties her to a stake that is in the middle of the funeral pile and set fire to it, the friends pour odoriferous oils into it and in short time both bodies are consumed" (Ibid:119). He then explained in the "other places the bodies are carried to the river side in a covered liter and being washed, they are put into a hut full of odoriferous wood, if those who are dead have left enough to defray the charges. When the wife had taken leave of her kindred and by such gallantries as many convince the assembly that she is not at all afraid of dying, she takes her place in the hut under the head of her husband, which she holds upon her knees and at the same time recommending herself to the prayers of the Brahman, she presses him to set fire to the pile, which he fails not to do" (Ibid:120).

In other places Thevenot described that wide and deep pits were made, which they filled with all sorts of combustible matter, they threw the body of the deceased into it, and then the Brahmans pushed the wife in it after she had sung and danced, to show the firmness of her resolution and sometimes it happened, that maid-slaves threw themselves into the same pit after their mistresses, to show the love they bore to them and the ashes of the burnt bodies are afterwards scattered in the river. In the other places, "the bodies of the dead are interred with their legs a cross, their wives are put into the same grave alive, and when the earth is filled up to their neck, they are strangled by the Brahmans" (Ibid:120). Tieffenthaler describes another way of disposing the dead bodies of the ancient Parsis in Gujarat, he said "it is in these wells that old Parsis, admirers of fire, deposit their dead-men. Because they do not burn them, as are Gentil Indous, nor do not bury them, like Mahometans; they place the corpse close to the wall of the well, where it remains until corbels and other birds, or the bad weather of the air, consumed and can dissolve the flesh, and that the bones fall into a pit dug for this purpose" (Tieffenthaler 1786: 404). These different practices of disposing the dead bodies surprised the French voyagers, therefore their memoirs gave specific observations on these adverse practices.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, Chevalier explained that Ahom kings of Assam were believed to have divine character and many superstitious customs were attached to their funeral rites. These kings were considered to combine both temporal and spiritual powers that of political and religious. The people had a great love for their king so many buried alive along with him in the royal grave such as "his cooks, doctors, officers and all the people who serve the king"(Chevalier 1984: 38). Along with the king's body which was placed in large and magnificent tomb whose entrance was walled up, these miserable people perish of hunger, thirst or indulge in cannibalism. This custom made his servants enjoy a great degree of respect, honour and credit amongst their fellow citizens (Ibid: 38).

Tavernier also tells about the kingdom of Assam. He says that the Assamese were idolaters but they do not burn the bodies of the dead, but bury them. They "believe that after they go to another world, where those who have lived well in this world lack nothing, and enjoy

all kinds of pleasure; but on the contrary, those who have lived badly, and have taken the property of the others, suffer much, principally hunger and thirst, and accordingly it is prudent to bury something with them to serve them at need" (Tavernier 1977: Vol 2, Book III, 219). Thus when the nobles of Mughals attacked Assam they found large sums of riches from the graves as which were buried with the deceased king, "when the body of a dead king is buried, all his most precious possessions are also placed in the grave, such as the household idol of gold or silver which he worshipped during life and all things which it is believed will be required by him in the other world" (Ibid: 220). For Tavernier it was a strange practice as a kind of barbarism that as soon as the king was dead, some of his most beloved wives and the principal officers of his house killed themselves by poisoned decoction, in order to be interred with him, so that they could serve him in the other world. Besides this large number of elephants, camels, horses and numerous sporting dogs were also buried with him as was believed that all these animals would come to alive and serve the king (Ibid: 220). Chevalier may have made the plagiarism of Tavernier accounts on the observations of funeral rites of Assam kings.

Lauriston said religion of the Hindus prohibits the Hindus to travel on sea and it believes that they do not need anything from outside as the land which they occupy, provides them abundantly without sorrow of all that is required for the conveniences of the life. This prohibition was not imposed on the soldiers or at least was tolerated in their favour (Lauriston 1913: 257). This French governor said when the Indian travel on the rivers and especially on Ganga, they cannot cook food as long as they are on the boat, they are supported all the day by eating *bethel*, some dry fruits, rice and other grains prepared a night before. They prepared food on the land. When the Gentils prepare the food, if the person of different religion touches the food, the Gentils have to restart the process of cooking as they do not eat the food touched by a person of other religion (Ibid: 258). Gentils were the soft, superstitious and charitable people, their character was formed by their temperance, customs and religion. The religion of Gentils puts insurmountable obstacles among the manners as women were kept inside the house and they were less prone to the love. Thus religion puts severe restrictions on each individual as noticed by French

voyagers.

Wendel gave an account of the superstitions relating to Raja Jai Singh Sawai, as it was perceived that he would undergo a new incarnation, "of one of the greatest devatas in their mythology, he to this end incurred immense expenses of which he was duped by the fraudulence of the Brahmans. Furthermore, he was so weak as to be convinced that Alexander the Great was still quite alive as a result of a water of immortality which he had found and drawn from the source near the Qutb (north pole). To this purpose and full of desire to posses this water, he had a packet of jewels put aside valuing at least 30,000 to 50,000 rupees, to send to all the nations Europe whose vessels he knew to voyage from one pole to the other, to engage them to search for this source of immortality and bring him some phials to protect him against the forces of death" (Wendel 1991: 88).

Mathura was a place of devotion for Hindus, where the poor and hermits asked for alms in the name of Krishna. Tieffenthaler was amused at the absurd superstitious belief of a Brahman of Vrindavan, that the Yamuna River is sacred and its divine water would wash his sins. When the Brahman asked alms from Tieffenthaler, then he resent him to the river that he found drier than a sand stone bed. (Tieffenthaler 1786: 203). Near that place the kind of hermits called Vairagui or *Beragiens* lived who were dedicated to the worship of Krishna and lived an austere life. The adventurer said that they "dedicated to the worship all obscene and superstitious of Krishna, they cannot truly deserved to be praised: because they sing day and night in an dissonance way the impure loves of Krishna and Radha his concubine, and by the noise of the copper basins which they strike one against the other… they wound the ears of those who arrive to pay their to the homage to the idol" (Ibid: 204).

Tieffenthaler describes about the madness of these hermits when they received the alms then they returned to Krishna which was no dear to them and starts to sing a song, which contained the indecent jokes and good vulgar words, that "Krischen had habit to say to the pure and honest women who came to draw water in Djemna. Such homage is indeed worthy of similar crowd and must be pleasant to him. When of the Rajah or other people of importance and opulent are able to visit and adore the Idol; they joined their hands they strike the face;

then they incline the head towards the ground; they put at the neck of the idol a fluorine chain or pearls, and other invaluable things present to him. Then the priests making resound their bowl start to sing and make to sit the assistants. Finally those being thus stopped some time to rise, leave the temple and turn over on their premises at them" (Tieffenthaler 1786: 205).

After that Tieffenthaler describes the fables of the Hindus which say that Krishna played flute as being a shepherd and met Radha whom he liked so madly. He also mentions Goverdhana, a small mountain where Krishna, according to Gentils, raised with his finger to protect his herd of oxen and cows from extreme rain. He also describes a place named Gokal where, it is said that there lived 16,000 women with whom the Krishna was married (Deleury 1991: 736). Several fables of Hindu mythology are described by Tieffenthaler like Kishna having flute, having peacock feather in his crown, his meeting with Radha, as being a shepherd (Tieffenthaler 1786: 206). All this is described in a lustful satirical manner.

4. Superstitious Practices against Europeans

Tavernier mentioned that the idolaters of south India have the superstition of not touching any European. He said that "when by accident they touch any one they are obliged to go immediately and bathe three times in the water, otherwise they dare not eat, drink, nor enter their houses" (Tavernier 1977: Vol 1, 195). He further wrote that when the white men arrived in one of the village the inhabitant idolaters fled from fear and the Brahmans kept a distance with the Europeans, as they believed to do "in Europe with the plague-stricken, to whom one throws charity on a handkerchief spread on the road, but standing aloof" (Ibid:199). The Banians of these regions never allowed the Europeans to touch their person nor their houses and "even if one takes water from their tanks they destroy them immediately and do not use them any more" (Ibid:208).

Martin de Vitre also supports this observation of Tavernier, who said that the "Gentils have some idols that they name Pagodas to which they present some perfumes of good fragrance, offering them quantity of meat in front that to take their food, the reminder is thrown to the birds. They never served in a vessel which had been served to the

Christians, so when one of foreigner have drink inside in of their vessels (which are ordinarily porcelain) holding it for polluting, they break it against the ground, they served only that one time of a vessel of ground to cook their meat"(Vitre 2009: 80). This discrimination towards the Europeans by the hindus reflected the prevalence of irrational religious dogmas among the Hindus.

Conclusion

After surveying French voyagers' observations it can be safely concluded that they had a scientific and rational mentality. With rational and logical reasoning, they evaluated the irrational Indian customs and beliefs prevailing in religious and geography domains. The scientific and rational advances of Europe in 17th century had an impact on these following travelers and aventurers' writings. They sometimes compare these ridiculous practices to the ongoing superstitious and irrational customs prevalent in France. European Renaissance had an impact on the mentality of these French voyagers which were surprised to observe Indian superstitious practices. The Orient world was observed by these voyagers through the prism of Orientalism in order to justify their superiority and colonialism.

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-10-
Origin of the Afghans: Myths and Reality[1]

Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah
Ka Ka Khel

Abstract

Although the study of the origin of the Afghans has gained much attention previously among the local and some European scholars, the same cannot be said precisely in the present times. It became a neglected topic and no proper research has been done on this important topic for some obvious reasons. Since the last few decades the region has gone through tremendous extraordinary changes and these and similar other academic issues have been given secondary importance. The whole region became a conflict zone where many warring parties were seen in pursuing 'their' personal agendas. Chaos and anarchy prevailed in the area and this resulted in the upsurge of militancy and scholastic discussions seem irrelevant.

The main purpose of the present paper is to clear the misconception/myths regarding the origin of the Afghans and to apprise the people of the importance of the subject. It will help understand the contentious issue and will also help in explaining the matter which remained unresolved for many years. Utmost care has been taken by utilizing both primary and authentic secondary sources to recuperate the analysis by converging arguments both in favour and against the various theories presented.

"No ethnological problem is more complicated and intricate" writes C. C. Davies, "than that which is presented by the North-West Frontier of India. Hidden away in dark, inhospitable nullahs and still darker ravines, in lonely mountain passes and on barren, windswept plains, dwells a people, the human flotsam and jetsam of the past" (Davies 1974:37). More than ten million people inhabiting Afghanistan,

[1]This paper is a revised version of a chapter 'Origin of the Afghans' in a book 'Afghanistan and the Frontier', edited by Dr. Fazal-ur-Rahim Marwat and Sayed Wiqar Ali Shah Ka Ka Khel, published by Emjay Books International Peshawar-Pakistan, 1993.

Pakistan and India are known variously as Afghans[2], Pathans and Pashtuns. Who and what these people are have not yet been made completely clear. Numerous theories have been put forward to explain the origin of the Afghans. They have been traced as Jews, Armenians, descendants of Hazrat Ibrahim, Bani Solymi and the Aryans.

Several Pashtun historians are of the opinion that the Pashtuns originated from Israelites. The first one who pleaded for the theory was Khwaja Ni'mat Ullah. According to him it so happened that once in the reign of Jahangir-the Mughul King, the question of the origin of the Afghans was discussed. The Persian ambassador spoke ill of the Afghans as descended from *devs* and amused the king by giving him the following account.

"Books of authority", he said, "recounted that once King Zuhak, hearing of a race of beautiful women that lived in some far-off western countries, sent an army thither, which was defeated by the beautiful women, but afterwards, a stronger expedition being sent under Nariman, they were reduced to sue for peace and gave in tribute a thousand virgins. When, on its return march, the army was one night encamped close to a wild mountainous country, there suddenly came down upon it a phantom, smote and scattered the troops in all directions, and then, in that one night, ravished all the thousand virgins. In due time all became pregnant, and when Zuhak learnt this, he gave orders that the women should be kept in the remote deserts and plains lest the unnatural off-spring should breed strife and tumult in the cities. The off-spring was the race of the Afghans" (Hayat 1981: 53).

After hearing the disgraceful story of the origin of the Afghans, Khan Jahan Lodhi, himself an Afghan *amir* asked his secretary Ni'mat Ullah to collect the account of the history of Afghans. Ni'mat Ullah sent five[3] of his servants to Afghan country for the purpose of making inquiries of the origin of the races and from the information they gained, they pleaded for the Bani Isrealies origin of the Afghans. After their expulsion from their native land (Jerusalem) by Nebuchadnasser

[2] The derivation of 'Afghans incidentally is unknown, though it was first used in a work called "Hudud al Alam" by an anonymous Arab geographer, written about AD 982.

[3] They were Qutb Khan, Sarmast Khan Abadali, Hamza Khan, Umar Khan Kakarr and Zarfi Khan.

(Bakhtnassar) they took refuge in the 'Kohistan-i-Ghor' and 'Koh-i-Ferozah'. With increase in their number they started subduing the neigbouring countries and became the masters of the country. With the passage of time their frontiers extended up to Kohistan-i-Kabul, Kandahar and Ghazni (Bellew 1978: 52).

Khalid bin Walid, one of the most prominent generals belonged to the same tribe of Bani Isreal as did the Afghans. After his acceptance of Islam, he invited his brethren and informed them of the appearance of last of the Prophets-Mohammad (PBUH) (Ni'mat Ullah 1976: 37). They started for Arabia under the leadership of Qais and on reaching there, after prolonged deliberations, accepted Islam (Arif 1963:XXIV-XXV).[4] Kais married Sa'ra, the daughter of Khalid, by his wife, he became father of three sons, Saraban, Ghorghust and Baitan (Bellew n.d:19). Many of the historians presented numerous arguments in favour of the theory. Hafiz Rahmat Khan, in his *Khulasat-ul-Ansab*, has given a complete list of genealogical table of the Afghans descended from Talut (Rahmat 1973: 49-97),-a prominent figure in the annals of Bani Israel.

According to Sir William Jones, the Afghans are the lost ten tribes of Bani Israel mentioned by the Prophet Isdras as having escaped from captivity and taken refuge in Asarah; identical with the modern Hazarajat in Afghanistan (Caroe 1964: 5).

Alexander Burnes was of the opinion that the Afghans had strong prejudices against the Jews, it was impossible, without a just cause if they desired to claim a descent from the Hebrews (Caroe 1964: 6). H.G. Raverty, referring to Cyrus, the Persian king, has made it clear

[4] Mohammad Arif Khan, The Story of Swat as told by its Own Founder Miangul Wadood Badshah Sahib, Peshawar, 1963, pp. XXIV-XXV.
According to the traditions, Khalid bin Walid invited his brethren to accept the great faith. The elders of the Afghans, more than forty in number under the leadership of one Qais started for Arabia. On reaching there, they were presented before the Holy Prophet (PBUH) who invited them to accept Islam. After discussing the matter together, they accepted it. The Prophet (PBUH) became very pleased and conferred on Qais the title of Abdur Rashid. When the delegation left the city, Holy Prophet addressed them with these words: "Haza Batany Deen" Ibid. Batan meant the rudder of the ship. Khushal Khan added that, the title of Batan was conferred on Afghans by Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi after performing courageous deeds in the battle of Somanath. See Dost Mohammad Kamil, On a Foreign Approach to Khushal, Peshawar, 1968, p. 119.

that it was customary for the great king to transport a whole tribe or nation from one place to another. The Jews had proved themselves to be a troublesome nation, so there were possibilities if he had ousted them from his Empire and they settled in the Satrapies of the Persian Empire (Caroe 1964:6). It is also stated in *Tabacat-i-Nasiri*, that in the time of Shansabi dynasty, there were people known as Bani Israel living in that country, engaged in trade with the neighbouring countries (Bellew n.d: 15).

The Afghans have an unwritten law known as *Pashtunwali* which is very similar in character and principle with the law given by Moses to his people (ibid. 1979: 213). There is a resemblance in their names with the Hebrews like Yusufzai, Daudzai, Sulemanzai and Musakhel (Khan 1982: 407). Qazi Ata Ullah had narrated that at the arrival of Nadir Shah, the king of Persia, to Peshawar, he was presented with a manuscript of the Bible by the Yusufzais. The Bible was written in Hebrew language. The Jews that formed a part of Nadir's army acknowledged it as a part of Judaism and Hebrew language (Ata n.d:2). According to Maulana Abdul Qadir, there are several clans (Mongol and Tartars) which resemble in features the Israelites (Qadir 1964: 96).

There are several arguments which may be put against the theory. Has a Jew, ever forsaken his Jewish faith? The theory would make us believe that the sons of Afghana who went to Makkah remained true to their faith, but not the ones who went to Ghor. Nobody has ever told us about the religion of those Afghans living in Ghor, whether they were practicing Judaism or any other religion till the time of their conversion to Islam (Caroe 1964: 6). Apart from some Afghan historians, all other Muslim traditions, state that Khalid bin Walid belonged to Bani Makhzum of the Quraish (Caroe 1964: 7). The resemblance of names between the Jews and the Afghans was probably the result of Arab influences in the Subcontinent (Elphinstone 1972: 208). Holy prophet himself adopted many customs from the Jews living around him. To quote Percy Sykes, "Actually this theory is of purely literary origin and is merely an example of the wide spread custom among Muslims of claiming descent from some personage mentioned in the Koran or other sacred work" (Sykes 1979: 13). It seems incredible that the whole race, has, in course of time completely charged their language without trace. "They can adduce, however, no

authentic evidence", says H. W. Bellew, "in support of their claim to so honourable a lineage. All their records on this subject-and they are mostly traditionary, and handed down orally from generation to generation-are extremely vague and incongruous, and abound in fabulous and distorted accounts…" (Bellew 1978: 46-47).

Some people believed that the Afghans belonged to Caucasia. Mounstuart Elphinstone was informed by an Armenian that the Afghans belonged to their race. Elphinstone compared a vocabulary of Pashto with Georgian and other languages of Caucasian tribes but found no resemblance between them (Elphinstone 1972: 206).

Some are of the opinion that the Afghans descended from Bibi Qatoora, the wife of Hazrat Ibrahim. According to them, after the death of Bibi Sara, Ibrahim married Bibi Qatoora, from Bibi Qatoora he had six sons.[5] Ibrahim distributed his belongings among his sons and said goodbye to them. He sent all of them towards the east. They settled in Turan-a place in the North-West of Iran; where they were joined by their brethren, expelled by King Talut. All of them established themselves in Pasht. The same Pasht, according to them was Parthia which was known as Tabaristan in Islamic times. Slowly and gradually they were termed as Pashtin and lately as Pashtun and Pashtaneh (Zafar n.d: 62-65).

By the Muslims of the Asia Minor and the western countries the Afghans are usually called Sulemannis, apparently from the supposition that they dwelt on the Suleman Range of mountains (Bellew n.d: 24). If so, the name is misapplied for there are no Afghans settled on that range. To some they originated from the Albanians of Asia, who were exiled from Persia as far as Khorassan (Yunus n.d:10).

By a large group of historians the Afghans are believed to be the Aryans. About 1500 BC they laid the foundation of a new culture-fairly advanced (Hussain 1961:33). Historians differed on their early homeland. Some considered them Northern European people, while some are of the opinion that the Northern bank of Black Sea was their original home-land. Some traced their origin to the southern territories of Russia while others considered Mongolia and Chinese Turkestan as their birth place. However, most of the modern researchers agree on

[5] According to Bible their names were; Zumran, Yuqsan, Medan, Madyan, Asbaq and Sookh, Zafar, P. 62.

their birthplace in between the Pamirs and Oxus which is known as Bakhtar (Zafar n.d:68).

They breeded slowly and gradually in the fields of Bakhtar. When their number increased, they started moving out of the green fields of Bakhtar. One of their main groups which is known as Indo-Aryans, crossed Hindu Kush[6] settled in the valleys of Laghman and slowly and gradually reached up to the valleys of Swat and the Indus river. They crossed the Indus and settled in the Punjab. Some of them crossed the Khyber Pass and joined hands with their kinsmen in Punjab. They spread further and reached the valleys of Ganges and Jumna. The inhabitants of the areas-the Dravidians-were subjugated by the Aryans and most of them left their lands and migrated to other parts of India. Second part of the same Aryans, crossed Herat areas and formed the present day Iran. When two of the large parts of the Aryans had migrated from Bakhtar, the lands were now in plenty for the remaining ones, who were known as the Central Aryans or Aryans of Bakhtar (Ibid: 69-70).

According to the historians the same Central or Bactrian Aryans were the ancestors of the Pashtuns. They had settled in the areas of Balkh, Herat, Kabul and Gandhara. They gave it the name of Aryana. In the hymns of Reg Veda,[7]there was a clear cut indication of Sindho (Indus), Kubha (Kabul), Kuruma (Kurram), Gumati (Gomal), Savastu (Swat) and other rivers of the area. Above all, according to Bahadur Shah Zafar, the philologists agree that Pashto joined hands with the Aryans group of languages (Ibid: 73-101). Abdul Haye Habibi, the most eminent scholar, has given a list of Pashto words which resemble

[6] The name, by traditions, means 'Hindu Killer', and derives from the fact that in previous centuries thousands of slaves brought from India died in its snow blocked passes. The Hindu Kush was known to the Greeks who called it 'Paropamisus'. It is a great range, 600 miles long, with its main ridges reaching 15,000 and even 20,000 feet and the subsidiary ridges running off both to north and south. The main passes of Hindu Kush are the Khawak Pass 11,640 feet, the AK Robat at 12,560 feet and the Qipchak at 13,900 feet. It was also called the 'Indian Caucasus'.

[7] Reg Veda, The Book of knowledge, consists of more than a thousand wonderful hymns of different ages arranged into ten books. It is regarded as the earliest document of Indian history. Hymns of Reg Veda composed in between 1500 BC and 1000 BC. According to the scholars of the Vedas, the hymns of Reg Veda were composed in the vicinity of Hindu Kush and the plains of the present day Pakistan.

other languages of the House of Aryans (Habibi 1946: 15). Aryans were white and with a stout physique. They were far from physical diseases. The Afghans are also stout and are mostly of fair complexion.

A new theory about the origin of the Afghans has been presented by various scholars on scientific lines. Fraser Tytler pleaded for the mixed race theory: according to which the Pashtuns are Aryans by origin but have intermingled with elements of Turkish, Mongol and other strains, which have at different times infiltrated into them (Tytler 1958: 49). He was supported by Charles Miller saying that "they had been on the scene for centuries, by a bubbling ethnic stew of Persian, Greek, Scythian, Turk and Mongol to mention only a few of the invading and migrating peoples who contributed their racial ingredients to the Afghan stock" (Miller 1977: 8). Abdul Ghani Khan also shares the same opinion. He considers the Afghans as a mixture of many races that came through their areas from Central Asia (Khan n.d: 5). Saddum and Khyber are two places, which according to Bahadur Shah, resembled in names that of Bani Israel (Zafar n.d: 143-144).[8] Mir Afzal Khan Jadoon is of the opinion that the features as well as the habits of the Afghans resembled the Jews. Apart from the clans of Karlan and Mati, Tannawalis, Swatis and Jadoons, all resemble in their dwelling as well as clothes the Jews (Ibid: 144).

Many relics of Syriac language were found during the excavations at Taxila, Laghman, Gandhara and Qandahar. As the evidences show all of the Syriac people were ruling Aryana at a time. With the passage of time they had mixed with the indigenous population (Ibid: 145). In the fifth century A.D. Hind was invaded by a wild race known as the 'White Huns' or 'Epthalites' though they had not firmly established themselves, yet one can easily find their remnants in the Gujars of the hilly areas (Ibid.:148). In the Ummayad reign, Arabs came to Afghanistan. With the passage of time they had absorbed themselves in Afghanistan (Ibid: 149). In the beginning of 13th century Changez Khan invaded Afghanistan. Thereafter, Yellow race mixed with the Afghans. There is very much similarity in the Hazaras of Afghanistan and the Mongols (Ibid: 149-150).

To conclude, this is clear by evidences that Pashtuns are Aryans but with the passage of time many foreign strains mixed with them.

The Pashtuns of hilly areas are considered more pure as compared to their brethren of plains because of inaccessibility of the invaders to those mountains. As mentioned earlier, the aim of the present research is essentially two folds: to develop a critical evaluation of the various theories related to the origin of the Afghans; and , to attract/engage the attention of scholars writing on the area to contribute once again on this important topic, thus, help clear the mist around the origin of the Afghans and to share their opinion on academic issues rather than focusing only on the topics related to militancy and the rising tide of terrorism and only by doing so the main purpose of the present paper will be amply served.

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